

**IMPEDIMENTS TO SOCIAL RE-INTEGRATION OF WOMEN
RETURNING TO SHELTER HOMES: A CASE STUDY OF PUNJAB
PROVINCE PAKISTAN.**



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(Session: 2010 – 2011)

*IN THE NAME OF ALLAH WHO IS THE MOST
BENEVOLENT AND MOST MERCIFUL*



In the Name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful
Read! Your Lord is the Most Bountiful One,
Who Taught by the Pen, Taught
Man what he did not know.

(Sura Al-Alaq 30:3-5) Al-Quran

ABSTRACT

Pakistani society is patriarchal and most women in Pakistan experience various and multiple types of violence throughout their lives. Leaving an abusive relationship is a difficult decision for women and sometimes multiple attempts are made to leave the household. This study uses a qualitative approach and semi-structured interviews to study the experiences of 57 women who had returned to shelter homes in eight districts of the Punjab province, Pakistan after attempting re-integration into their communities. Focus group discussions (FGDs) with 34 service providers of shelter homes were conducted in five major districts of Punjab.

The findings that emerged from the interviews and FGDs indicated that women faced abuse which was associated with individual, relationship and societal level factors. When women tried to re-integrate back into the communities they faced life threats, psychological abuse and legal consequences due to the stigma and honour issues associated with fleeing abuse to take refuge in shelter homes. The women in the study proposed various recommendations including the need for domestic violence legislation criminalizing abuse. Recommendations of the study include developing campaigns to increase awareness of violence against women and women's right as well as the need for education, skill training and income stability for women and counseling and follow up services at shelter homes for women shelter users.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I have deepest sense of gratitude to Allah Almighty who enabled me to finish my study successfully.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family and friends for their untiring patience and support throughout this process. Specifically, I would like to acknowledge my parents for their financial generosity; without which this last year may not have been possible.

I would also like to thank the representatives of civil society organizations and NGOs who facilitated me for either finding the relevant literature or facilitating me in the field work and FGDs. I would also like to acknowledge the support of Directorate of Social Welfare and Bait-ul-Maal Punjab for extending me permission to conduct interviews and FGDs at respective shelter homes of Punjab province. Most importantly, I would like to acknowledge the strength and courage of the women who participated in the study as without them this work would not have been possible.

I also want to express my deepest gratitude and thanks to Prof. Dr. Basharat Hussain for his guidance and encouragement and review of my work. His efforts and time has helped me to make this thesis a quality work.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my parents who developed in me a zeal for learning!

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Chapter One: Introduction

According to Babur (2007), violence against women (VAW) is common in Pakistan. It is present in one form or another in almost every family or household in the country. Women are frequently tortured, maimed, beaten and killed because of minor and mostly false charges of breaching their family's honor, pride and reputation. This widespread social problem needs to be studied and understood from the perspectives and perceptions of women who have been victims of violence.

The recorded history of VAW dates back to 753 BC when wife beating was a conventional practice and an accepted norm as the law of chastisement allowed and made men responsible for all the crimes committed by their wives (Martin, 1976). The period of 1600 AD saw women taking refuge in convents to escape from violence in their homes (Martin, 1976). In 1767 AD the British Common Law was enacted, which allowed men to discipline or chastise their wives with a stick or rod no larger in diameter than the thumb. This became known as the "rule of thumb" (Schechter, 1982). In 1871, almost a century later, a number of US states proclaimed wife beating as unlawful and illegal (Schechter, 1982). These changes led to greater attention to wife abuse during 1900s in the United States of America (USA). Attention to VAW increased after that time becoming an important impetus for the start of the feminist movement in the 1950s and 1960s (Schechter, 1982).

As a result of women's activism, shelter homes emerged throughout the West. The first modern women's shelter home in the world, Haven House, was established in 1964 in California, USA (Sproul, 1996). The most widely known shelter home, Chiswick Women's Aid Center, was established by Erin Pizzey in London, United Kingdom in 1971 (Sproul, 1996). Around the same time period, the Ishtar Transitional Housing Society established the first transition house for

women facing abuse in 1973 in the province of British Columbia, Canada. In the USA, the second women's shelter home was started in 1974 in Minnesota. During this time period others shelter homes were established in Glasgow and Edinburg, Scotland (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). Legislation against VAW was also enacted during in the 1970s in the US. Pennsylvania was the first state to pass legislation for protection of battered women, in 1976 as well as establish a Coalition against Domestic Violence. During the same year, Oregon State enacted legislation that outlined the arrest of the accused perpetrator as mandatory in domestic violence cases (Heinemann, 1996).

Violence Against Women in Pakistan

The issue of VAW in Pakistan is significant. According to the 2011 Thomson Reuters Survey, Pakistan is the third most unsafe country for women in the world, behind Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Reuters, 2011). Common types of VAW in Pakistan include domestic violence, sexual harassment, abduction, trafficking, honour killings¹, custodial violence and violence during armed conflicts (Shackle, 2013). In Pakistan abuse also occurs in the form of forced and early marriages, son preference, traditional marriage practices (*watta satta* or exchange marriages), dowry related crimes, and acid throwing (Lemkey & Sana, 2001). Despite the seeming epidemic of VAW in the region, research is scant and underdeveloped.

According to the 2013 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report, the total population of Pakistan is 182,142.6; 88,570.0 females and

¹An honour killing is the murder of a member of a family by other members, due to the belief of the perpetrator that the victim has brought shame or dishonour upon the family or has violated the principles of a community or a religion. The reasons for honour killing of a woman in Pakistan usually are marrying in love or refusing an arranged marriage, having sex outside marriage, becoming the victim of rape, dressing in ways that are not appropriate to the family or their social circle, engaging in homo-sexual relationships, or renouncing a faith. The death of the victim is viewed as a way to restore the reputation and honour of the family.

93,572.6 males. Pakistan has a low rate of literacy and a high rate of poverty. In 2008, 21% of the population of Pakistan was living below the international poverty line of 1.25 dollars a day (Khalid, 2013). In 2010-2011 adult (aged 15 and above) literacy rate for men was 67% for women was 42% in (UNESCO, 2011). In 2012, the percentage of the adult population (ages 15 and above) in Pakistan who can read and write with understanding a short and a simple sentence about their everyday life was 55% (Khalid, 2013).

According to the Aurat Foundation (2013), national women's rights NGO, the number of cases of VAW reported in newspapers increased by 4.5% from 2012 with 7,516 cases to 7,852 cases in 2013. The province of Punjab had the highest number of VAW cases (n=5,815), followed in descending order by Sindh province (n=1,130), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) (597), Baluchistan (n=151), Islamabad Capital Territory (n=147), and the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) (n=12) (Aurat Foundation, 2013). The high rates of reported cases in the Punjab province reflect the fact that it is the most populated and developed province, people are educated and thus tend to report cases of VAW more frequently. VAW cases remain underreported in the other provinces. These statistics however are incomplete and inaccurate and do not provide a true estimate of VAW in the Punjab or in Pakistan.

According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP, 2013), 389 cases of domestic violence were reported in the newspapers; all perpetrators were husbands of the victims. According to print media, including newspapers in Pakistan, 869 women lost their lives due to honour killings, 800 women committed suicide due to domestic issues and 56 women were killed for giving birth to girls. This data suggests that women predominately face domestic violence from their husbands and in the context of breeches to male 'honour'.

Women are at risk of violence by husbands and in-laws due to customary marriage practices. In 2013 the Rutgers World Population Foundation studied the relationship between VAW and customary marriage practices in two districts each within each of the three provinces of Pakistan namely: Naseerabad, Jacobabad, Jaffarabad, Kashmore, Muzaffargarh, and Dera Ghazi Khan. Among the 4885 married women interviewed, 77% reported that their marriages were arranged and influenced by societal customary practices like *vani* (decision by tribal elders), and *watta satta* (exchange marriages). The majority of women also reported that since marriage, they had experienced physical (75%), sexual (66%), or psychological(81%) violence (Rutgers, 2013).

Research to date suggests that VAW in Pakistan is a serious issue. The high prevalence rate of VAW, and the risk factors like traditional marriage practices, high levels of poverty and low levels of literacy which creates lack of awareness on the part of women about their rights, combines to create extremely harmful circumstances for women. The need to investigate the phenomenon of VAW in Pakistan, in a context of gender inequity and discrimination, is thus extremely urgent. This study is designed with the goal of contributing to that body of much needed research.

Theoretical Framework on Violence Against Women

There are a number of theories that can explain the multifaceted phenomenon of VAW in the context of Pakistani society. The most relevant theory in the Pakistani context is Bandura's 1971 Social Learning Theory. In essence, this theory asserts that that people learn their behaviours through experience or exposure, in this case, to violence. Bandura proposed that social circumstances are mainly responsible in shaping the frequency of violent incidents, the making of situations or circumstances and also the target of violent actions (as cited in Campbell

& Humphreys, 1993). In Pakistan, families are usually close knit and elders or parents are considered to be role models (Ali & Gavino, 2008). Therefore, according to Bandura's Social Learning Theory (1971), if a son sees his father abusing his wife or daughters, he will understand the behaviour as approved and will be more likely abuse his wife and/or daughters (Ali & Gavino, 2008).

Feminist theory can also be used to understand violence in Pakistan. According to Feminist Theory, violence is an outcome of male dominance or patriarchal social structures where the socialization process within the family and society teaches men and women gender specific roles (Jasinski, 2001). Pakistan is a highly patriarchal society and the risk factors for women and girls include the fact that girls are less likely to get an education compared to boys (Ali & Gavino, 2008). This is problematic because studies have also shown that women whose educational qualifications are less than those of their husbands or other male family members face higher rates of abuse than those whose educational attainments are equal to or exceed those of the men of the family (Ali & Gavino, 2008). Adding to this are the high levels of gender inequity and discrimination in Pakistan. For example, men are designated as the head of the family and thus also have the decision making authority in Pakistani society. Therefore, men tend to be dominant in families and impose their authority and decisions on women. Patriarchy is also related to higher rates of men becoming violent and verbally abusive against their domestic partners and other women of the house (Ali & Gavino, 2008).

It is clear that patriarchy, culture and society, violence in the family of origin and gender inequality are contributing factors towards VAW. The study will use Feminist Theory and Social Learning Theory as a framework for the study design, to develop research questions and to analyze the findings of the study.

History of Shelter Homes in Pakistan

Shelter homes have played a major role in the prevention and intervention of VAW in Pakistan. *Anjuman e Himayat e Islam*, established the first female *Dar ul Shafqat* (place of care and shelter) for orphan, destitute and un-attended girls and women in 1886. The main purpose of the Anjuman e Himayat e Islam was to promote Islamic values and beliefs and to help destitute Muslim women so they would not look for help from other religious places (*Anjuman e Himayat e Islam*, 1988).

In the pre-independence era of the Indian subcontinent, many women participated in the political struggle of independence of the country from British rule (Ghilaman, 2011). Several notable people engaged in this movement including the mother of Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Johar Ali known as *Bi Amma*, and the wife of Muhammad Ali Johar who addressed public gatherings of the All India Muslim League, as well as Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan (Ghilaman, 2011). In assisting men in their political struggle for an independent country, they played an active role in the empowerment of women in the Indian sub-continent.

One of the first well-documented efforts in women's right in Pakistan was the establishment of the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), formally founded in 1949 by Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan (Ghilaman, 2011). This was perhaps the first NGO in Pakistan working solely for women's welfare. The founders of this organization also provided shelter to women who came unattended and unaccompanied after the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947. Subsequent to partition, many Muslim families migrated from Indian to Pakistani territories and were subjected to much killing and looting by rival groups. During this time people also lost their homes, families and their belongings. In addition, many women reached

Pakistan without men and the founding members of APWA arranged shelter and provided them training to be economically independent. The APWA continues to be engaged in the welfare and empowerment of women in Pakistan and has started many colleges, schools and technical institutes to educate and empower indigent girls (Ghilaman, 2011).

In 1963 *Anjuman e Himayat e Islam* established a *Dar ul Aman* (the term for shelter homes in Pakistan) in Lahore for destitute women and women victims of domestic violence (*Anjuman e Himayat e Islam*, 1988). The *Dar ul Aman* provided basic needs like food, shelter and clothes to the women residents; most efforts were directed towards reconciliation between the victim and her immediate families (*Anjuman e Himayat e Islam*, 1988).

In 1974, the Government of Punjab (GoP, 2004), under the Ministry of Social Welfare, Women Development and Bait ul Maal, took up the charge, establishing eight “Rescue Homes” for women who were victims of violence, had left their homes and needed immediate shelters. Rescue Homes were first established in the eight former divisional headquarters of the Punjab (Lahore, Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Multan, Bahawalpur and D. G. Khan) (GoP, 2004). In 2002, with the enactment of the Devolution of Power Plan where the powers were delegated to the local tiers from the national form of governance, the divisional headquarters were devolved into District Governments increasing awareness of VAW and women’s rights in Pakistani society. The Ministry now, called the Ministry of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal, Punjab, established 27 new women’s shelter homes, “*Dar ul Amans*”, in the remaining 27 districts of Punjab bringing the total to 35 women’s shelter homes in each of the 35 districts of Punjab. Only Nankana Sahib District is without a *Dar ul Aman* (GoP, 2004).

Women in distress or facing physical, psychological or sexual violence are referred to shelter homes by court, NGOs or come of their own volition. The maximum stay in the shelter is

three months, which may be extended under some circumstances, such as when a woman has no safe accommodation or if the case is still under trial in court. Shelter home residents are provided with basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing as well as training and other services provided by volunteer lawyers, physicians and psychologists. Shelter homes have a manager or in-charge who is responsible for administrative affairs, along with a skill teacher and a religious teacher (GoP, 2007). The majority of shelter homes do not provide after care or rehabilitation services like finding work, housing, or short term financial aid (Siddique, Ismail, & Allen, 2008).

Shelter homes provide temporary refuge to women fleeing domestic violence and most of the solutions offered are in the form of reconciliation, divorce, or re-marriage. There are no follow up services for women, which means in most of the cases women are forced to reconcile with their husbands, which are in most cases the perpetrators of abuse. This has been identified as a concern for women's right activists and organizations (Siddique, Ismail, & Allen, 2008). In most shelter homes women are permitted to bring their daughters, however they are limited to two children and they are not allowed to bring male children over five years of age. Leaving behind children with their abusive husbands, creates further anxiety and worry for women seeking admission to shelter homes (Shirkat Gah, 2012).

Aims of the Study

Canadian studies on shelter homes have examined the problems women face while residing in shelters, the reasons women leave shelter homes, and the services women need to support them after their residency (Tutty, 1996; 1998; 1999; 2006). Some research on this specific to Pakistan has also been conducted (Critelli & Willett, 2010, Critelli, 2012, Watto, Naz, Murtaza, & Rashid, 2012). This study is unique in that it is perhaps one of the very few internationally that has examined the reasons why women return to shelter homes after going

back to their communities after their first initial stay in a shelter home. It also contributes to the literature in that it considers the experiences of women who return to shelter home within the Pakistani context. It is believed this approach will add to the creation of a comprehensive picture regarding the widespread phenomenon of VAW in Pakistan, as little is known about the population of women who return to shelter homes after attempting reintegration into their community.

The aim of the study is to examine the causes of VAW in Pakistan from the viewpoint of the women victims of repeated violence who use shelter homes. The study will further shed light on the nature of VAW including community and societal repercussions for women shelter home users. The findings of this research will be used to suggest ways for leaders and all concerned departments to institute measures to deal with societal and political patterns that contribute to the perpetuation of VAW in Pakistani society, as well as to foster further research on the issue in Pakistan.

Objectives of the Study

1. To identify the demographic profile of the women who have returned to shelter homes.
2. To document the sources of support available to the women once they return to the community after residing in shelter homes.
3. To explore the reasons for women's return to shelter homes after having returned to their community after their first stay in a shelter home
4. To develop a deeper understanding about the norms, values and behaviours of the community in repeated acts of VAW.
5. To document the availability of legal framework protecting women from violence.
6. To suggest measures for reducing VAW and improving the status of women in Pakistan.

Key Terms

Domestic violence. Since there is no law related to domestic violence in the Punjab province of Pakistan where the study was conducted, there is no legal definition of the term. The debate however, has started in the Punjab Assembly and a bill was presented on domestic violence but it is still under discussion and not yet finalized. However, some other provinces like Sindh and Balochistan have enacted domestic violence laws in their jurisdictions.

According to the Balochistan Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act of 2014: Domestic Violence includes but is not limited to, all intentional acts of gender based violence or other physical or psychological abuse committed by an accused against women, children or other vulnerable persons with whom the accused is or has been in a domestic relationship. (p. 3)

As this definition was developed in the same context as the study, it will be adopted for the purposes of the study.

Shelter homes. A shelter home is a place of temporary refuge for women and their children to escape from domestic violence. Women along with their children can stay in these shelter homes for a short period of time. The women take this time in shelter home to decide whether to leave the abusive relationship or to go back to the perpetrator. Women are provided with basic needs such as food, shelter and sometimes clothing along with counseling and legal support in shelter homes. The main purpose of shelter homes is to provide a short term shelter to such women so they are safe from their violent partners (Medicine Du Monde, 2007).

Contributions of the Study

This research study is unique in that, it aims to examine the problems faced by women when they return to their communities after staying once in a shelter home; and subsequently

returned to shelter home again because of exposure to violence. This study helps to understand the social repercussions and the consequences women endure when they decide to leave the violent relationship. Thus, the study aims to suggest measures that can be taken at the state, institutional, and community level to assist women victims of violence adjust and integrate safely back into society. Recommendations will also be provided for how shelter homes and service providers can effectively help the women.

Overview of the Thesis

The thesis is composed of five chapters: Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Findings, and Discussions. The literature review chapter has four sections. The first section highlighted the history of VAW in the west, its recognition as a social problem and emerging interventions. The second section reviewed the history of women's rights movement in different ruling regimes of Pakistan. The third section discussed the history of VAW in Pakistan and the development of social welfare and shelter homes in Pakistan and fourth section is composed of social context of VAW in Pakistan.

The methodology chapter describes the method of qualitative research used in this study. The data collection methods, semi-structured individual and focus group are outlined along with the ethical considerations of the study. The chapter also describes the theoretical framework of the study which is comprised of Social Learning theory and feminist theory of patriarchy in the context of Pakistani society.

The findings chapter presents the case studies, the thematic analysis with illustrative quotes drawn from the transcripts of the individual interviews and the FGDs. The discussion chapter sheds light on the dynamics of the issue with individual, relationship and societal factors contributing to VAW in Pakistani society. The discussions chapter also suggests implications for

policy and practice, limitations and strength of the study and ideas for future researches on the issue so that it paves the way for improvement in the situation of women victims of violence in the country.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The literature review is composed of four sections. The first section will provide a brief history of VAW, summarizing how VAW became recognized in the West and how laws and services were developed. This provides the necessary relevant background, as most developing countries like Pakistan, learn and borrow concepts, knowledge and understanding on various issue from the West. For example, developing countries frequently replicate services or programs originated in western countries, Moreover, when an issue achieves global recognition, for example by UN, then the member developing countries have to take steps to mitigate the issue in their respective countries as well. Thus, all this is important to know when and how the west recognized the issue of VAW to understand and know better the history of Pakistan recognizing the issue and taking steps to decrease it in its own country.

The second section of the literature review outlines the history of women's right movement in Pakistan and the women's rights organizations. This will outline how and when the issue of VAW became recognized in Pakistan, which organizations started working on the issue and what were the critical milestones.

The third section describes the history of social welfare and shelter homes in Pakistan. It is necessary to understand how public departments in the Punjab province took up the challenge of working on the issue of VAW in Pakistan. The restriction of this information to the Punjab province was threefold: (a) the researcher was a resident of the Punjab province; (b) the study was conducted in Punjab; and (c) it was difficult to get information about other provinces because of distance and language barriers and there was no funding for this study. The last part of this section is about the impediments the women victim of violence face when they leave a shelter home and aim to integrate back in the society.

The fourth section of the literature review provides a detailed discussion of the social, relationship and individual context of VAW in Pakistan.

The following section of the literature review will provide a brief overview of international perspectives on VAW.

Section 1: History of VAW in the West, Its Recognition and Emerging Interventions

This section will discuss the historical laws that supported wife beating, how and when the VAW was being recognized as a social problem, the feminist movement involvement in developing VAW interventions, and global recognition of discrimination and VAW.

Wife Beating Supported by Historical Laws

Ancient Roman society was an inspiration for modern republics and contributed to modern government laws, customs, literature, technology, language, religion and society (Lemon, 1996). For example, beating a wife was accepted and forgiven by the Law of Chastisement during the rule of Romulus in Rome in 753 BC. This law allowed the husbands to reprimand and physically discipline their wives as they were considered accountable for their wives' misdeeds. Hence, husbands were given the privilege of beating their wives with a stick or rod equal to the circumference of a man's thumb, to protect themselves from their wife's harmful actions. During 1767 AD, the British Common Law was enacted, which allowed men to discipline or chastise their women with a stick or rod no larger in diameter than the thumb. This became known as the "rule of thumb" (Schechter, 1982). This law was a basis of most of the laws made under English Common Law as well as other laws over Europe (Lemon, 1996). But as the Punic War finished in 202 BC, women were given some freedom in the form of property rights and bringing their husbands to court if he had beaten her unduly (Lemon, 1996). During 300 AD,

the Fathers of the Church restored the authority of the husbands according to the patriarchal values of Jewish and Roman laws.

During the Middle Ages (from 900 to 1300 AD) in Europe noblemen or masters used to abuse not only their slaves but often their wives; their slaves also tend to follow the examples of their lords in beating their wives (Martin, 1976). The Church also promoted the helplessness of the abused wives by advising them to win the hearts of their husbands by more obedience and serving them with more devotion. This was a time when a woman's feelings and capacity for sufferings was not considered as valued and equal to that possessed by a man. In the *Manual of Medieval Theology* (edited and translated by McCracken and Cabaniss, 1957) a man was given permission to rebuke and reprimand his wife even with physical beating for her correction (as cited in Martin, 1976).

During the 1400s, the Christian church was indecisive as to whether to support wife beating or to encourage husbands to be more sympathetic towards wives and to have self-control in punishing their wives (Lemon, 1996). Rules of marriage, including the trend of beating wives by their husbands, were documented by Christian scholar, Friar Cherbubino (Lemon, 1996). However, the *Book of the City of Ladies* (1364-1430), a classic book on women's issues, accused men of cruelty towards their wives in the form of physical abuse and promoted basic rights for women including education and the need to show kind and caring behaviour towards women in marriages (as cited in Pizan, 1999). In 1427, the Bernard of Siena advised his male worshippers to have self-control and mercy in treating their wives as they would with their hens and pigs (Lemon, 1996).

In 1500 English Jurist, Lord Hale laid down the foundation of non-recognition of rape in marital relationships as he stated that when a woman marries she gave herself to her husband in

the form of contract which remained intact until their divorce (Lemon, 1996). He also stated that a wife cannot retract from the contract of all types of sexual relationships with her husband; thus a husband cannot be considered guilty of raping of his own wife owing to their contractual agreement (Lemon, 1996). This was also the basis of the origin of contractual consent theory according to which the wife was to be available for sex to her husband at all costs. Lord Hale has been described by women advocates as misogynist. He also used to burn women alive at the stake claiming that they were witches (Lemon, 1996). There was some retaliation to the concept of contractual consent as Abbe de Brantome raised the question that although husbands may have great authority over their wives, this did not extend to allowing men to kill their wives (Martin, 1976). In England, during late 1500s, under the Golden Age of the Rod Law children and women were advised to be obedient of their men as their sacred duty (Martin, 1976).

Thus the practice of beating a wife has longstanding historical roots. The next section will describe some of the major milestones in the creation of laws in support of elimination of VAW.

Recognition of VAW as a Social Problem

The 1800's saw some favorable response towards the alleviation of suffering of women. For example, in 1824, the Mississippi Supreme Court of USA in *Bradley v. State* 2 Miss. Walker 156 decided a husband could only exercise restrained reprimands to his wife and then only emergency situations (Lemon, 1996; Martin, 1976). Similarly, in 1829 a husbands' unconditional power of physically reprimanding and rebuking his wife was abolished (Schechter, 1982). In 1874, the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in the United States renounced the finger-switch rule or rule of thumb that allowed the man to beat his wife with a stick not thicker than the finger and decided that under any situation a husband did not have the right to corporally punish

hiswife. The decision also included the provision that if a husband does not show his wife permanent hatred, cruelty or dangerous violence then both parties should forgive and forget (Martin, 1976).

In 1878 English author Francis Power Cobbe wrote, *Wife Torture in England*, wherein she criticized the abusive behaviour towards wives in the Liverpool's district. She documented 6000 cruel physical attacks on women (for example, mutilated, blinded, trodden, set ablaze and murdered) in a three years span, concluding that most women were abused because people generally believe that a wife is the property of her husband.

The Parliament of England enacted the Matrimonial Causes Act in 1880 which allowed women victim of their husband's violence to take legal separation from him (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). The Act also allowed women custody of their children in case of such separations and entitled them to keep the earnings and property that they secured from their husbands (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). But separation could only be sought in cases of brutal assault by husbands in which the women's life was considered to be in grave danger (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Lemon, 1996).

In 1882, the state of Maryland made wife beating unlawful, the stated punishment was either one year imprisonment or 40 lashes (Martin, 1976). But in North Carolina in 1886, a lower court affirmed that a husband cannot be convicted unless the beating caused some permanent injury, the wife's life was endangered by the assault, or the beating was cruel (Martin, 1976). Subsequently, in 1890 the Supreme Court of North Carolina prohibited husbands from committing even a minor assault on their wives (Martin, 1976). During 1894 in Mississippi, according to *Harris v. State*, 71 Miss. 462 case, the court withdrew husband's right to administer even restrained chastisement (Lemon, 1996; Martin, 1976).

With Queen Victoria's ascension to the English throne in the late 1880s, lawmakers brought further reforms against wife causing endangerment to her life was considered grounds for divorce; it was also prohibited to sell wives and daughters for prostitution (Lemon, 1996). Further, in 1895 the Married Women's Property Act termed sexual and physical assault as sufficient grounds for divorce (Schechter, 1982). During late 1880s, the courts began to consider husbands responsible and thus guilty of marital rape (Lemon, 1996).

During 1919, America passed 19th Amendment in its constitution which gave right of vote to women in public elections (Martin, 1976). In 1945, California, USA passed a law which stated that a husband who deliberately meted out corporal injury upon his wife or child that was harmful or traumatic would be considered guilty and punished either in prison for not less than one year or more than 10 years (Martin, 1976). However, there was some criticism of this law. As an example, San Jose Superior Court Judge, Eugene Premo overruled charges against a husband who was accused of murdering his wife as unconstitutional, as the law only identified husbands as perpetrators of abuse (Martin, 1976).

These events and incidents set the stage for the development of the feminist movement wherein activists advocated, demanded and struggled for more humane treatment towards women in the society.

The Feminist Movement Involvement in Developing Violence Against Women

Interventions

The 1950s and 1960s gave birth to the US civil rights movement, the anti-war movement Black liberation and finally the feminist movement (Schechter, 1982). The feminist movement challenged unfair labour practices and discriminatory laws against women (Schechter, 1982). According to feminists views, violence and abuse against women are socially generated to

maintain dominance and social control over women (Lempert, 1996). Feminists also assert that as a consequence of male dominance in society men enjoy dominant positions economically, politically and socially (Greene & Bogo, 2002; Loue & Faust, 1998). Men have greater access to material resources and this economic discrimination against women promoted their dependency on men and their lack of ability to terminate abusive relationships with their male partners (Okun, 1986).

In 1962 New York State shifted cases of domestic violence from Criminal to Family Courts (Martin, 1976). As a consequence of the adoption of civil procedures in Family Court, couple's disputes were considered family affairs, VAW was shifted from a criminal act to a family's personal affair, and less severe charges were placed against the perpetrator (Martin, 1976).

In 1964, the feminist movement gave birth to two institutions for abused women in the USA: the Rainbow Retreat in Phoenix, Arizona and Haven House in Pasadena, California (Schechter, 1982). Both community-based institutions offered help to battered women who had abusive husbands by providing temporary refuge to women and their children as well as other basic needs such as food, shelter and clothes and counseling for women (Schechter, 1982).

The efforts of feminist's movement in terms of labour relations came to some success when the American Congress in 1965 passed a law that prohibited employment discrimination by guaranteeing the same pay for women as equivalent work done by men (Martin, 1976). This was also a supporting step towards women's economic independence and it played a role in allowing women to be able to afford to live independently if they decided to separate from abusive relationship (Martin, 1976).

Further, in 1966 New York State legalized beating as sound grounds for divorce; but the wife had to present proof that substantial beating episodes had occurred before the courts would grant a divorce (Martin, 1976).

A groundbreaking study conducted in Chicago from 1965 to 1966 showed the widespread prevalence of VAW; 46.1% of the crimes against women took place in their homes and that police dealt with more complaints of domestic violence than crimes like rape, murder, or other assaults (Martin, 1976).

As a consequence of emerging data on the prevalence of VAW and agitation by the feminist movement, shelter homes, whose aim was to provide temporary shelter to the women victims of domestic violence, began to be established in the USA. In 1976, Maine established the first shelter home, the first state-run institution also provided women with basic needs like food, clothes, and shelter (Lemon, 1996). This idea was later replicated by other states and countries around the world with the same purpose and structures. As a result of women's activism, shelter homes emerged throughout the West.

In the late 1960s, Italy declared that the honour killing, that is that in the terms used to describe in situations when women were either killed or traded to settle the dispute and to bring the honour back to their family, was a serious crime (Schechter, 1982). Soon after, other countries adopted this law. However, honour killing is still practiced in most of the world's developing countries (Schechter, 1982).

The feminist movement of 1960s and early 1970s in the US gave rise to the battered women's movement by claiming that a person's private life at home is a political issue (Schechter, 1982). As a result, women crisis centers and hotlines were established for battered women seeking help and support from their turmoil (Schechter, 1982). A group of

feminists, established the Women in Transition Institute in Philadelphia, in 1971, which provided services to battered women, separated and divorced women as well as to single women who were facing abuse in their homes (Heinemann, 1996).

The feminist movement also resulted in the establishment of similar structures in other countries. For example in the same year in 1971 in London England, an advice center, the Chiswick Women's Aid Center or Battered Wives Center, for battered women and their children was established by Erin Pizzey (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Martin, 1976). At this center women could come to escape loneliness and could share mutual interests by meeting their peers (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). Erin Pizzey (1974) also wrote the book, *Scream Quietly or the Neighbors will Hear*, the first of its kind to highlight the issue of domestic violence in the society and its repercussions on women and their children.

Until 1980, approximately 150 shelter homes existed in England; most of which were sponsored by the National Women's Aid Federation and aimed to serve the battered women and their children (Johnson, 1981). During 1976, due to campaigning by Pizzey and other activists, the British parliament enacted laws which gave broader protection to women victims of domestic violence (Tierney, 1982). Thus, the issue of VAW became increasingly recognized as laws and institutions were created to safeguard women victims and to punish perpetrators.

After the establishment of shelter homes, crisis hotlines, where women can call to ask for help at times of immediate needs, emerged. The Women's Advocate Inc. started a crisis hotline service in St. Paul Minnesota, which provided counseling to battered women and later the female staff members also provided shelter to such women in their own homes (Martin, 1976). The Abused Women's Aid in Crisis, founded by social worker Maria Roy from New York, established

a hotline in 1975, and a shelter home in 1976 in New York (Tierney, 1982). The first emergency rape crisis hotline was started in Washington, D.C. in 1972 (Heinemann, 1996; Schechter, 1982).

The Rainbow Retreat of Phoenix Arizona established in 1973 was considered as the first formal shelter home for battered women in the USA. In 1974 Haven House, for battered women, was established in Pasadena, California and subsequently, two additional grassroots shelter homes were established: La Casa de las Madres in San Francisco and a Transition House in Massachusetts (Tierney, 1982). According to the United States News and World Report of 1979 almost 170 shelter homes were established in the USA from 1975 to 1978 (Tierney, 1982). By 1979 almost a dozen states of USA had made laws on wife beating and by 1980, 45 states of USA and the District of Columbia established special legal provisions for cases of wife beating (Seltzer & Kalmus, 1988).

Another achievement in the VAW struggle occurred in 1974 in California, when battered women were given rights to claim the compensation for the injuries inflicted on them by their husbands (Martin, 1976).

In the early 1970s Canada also established the first formal transition houses, which provided women and their children who are escaping violence housing until they find a safe alternative house (Gilman, 1988). Inaugural shelters include: Vancouver's Transition House, Ishtar in Langley, British Columbia and an Oasis House (now known as the Calgary Women's Emergency Shelter) in Alberta and Saskatoon's Interval House in Toronto, Ontario (Gilman, 1988; Hebert & Foley, 1996; MacLeod, 1989).

Thus, the recognition of VAW globally by the UN specifically, led to support for victims of violence through enacting laws, the establishment of shelter homes and crisis hotlines and

other efforts. As members of UN, countries were responsible to take concrete steps in decreasing VAW and to establish structures to help women impacted by violence.

Global Recognition of Discrimination and Violence against Women

The UN (1981) recognized the prejudiced and biased practices against women on December 18, 1979 when its General Assembly implemented and approved the Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which was enforced on September 03, 1981. This convention stated that men and women have fundamental human rights of freedom, equality in dignity without any distinction on the basis of their sex and that all members of the UN have to ensure equal rights of men and women in all civil, political, social, cultural and economic fields (UN, 1981). Article one of CEDAW defined gender based discrimination as “damaging the respect of a woman and thus barring women from enjoying their basic human rights like equality and self-determination in the social, civil, cultural, economic and political fields” (UN, 1981, p. 3). In addition to fostering recognition of the global discrimination of women, this convention also paved the way for members of UN to address VAW in their respective countries as most members pledged to ratify it.

In December 1993, the General Assembly of United Nations also approved the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. It recognized that VAW is a demonstration of habitual imbalanced relationship of power between women and men that has created supremacy and unfairness of men towards women (UN, 1993) Moreover, it has blocked the means of development of women and as a result women are considered lower and secondary in status with regard to men in the society (UN, 1993).

According to the 1993 UN declaration, VAW is any act that is carried on the basis of sex which causes physical, sexual or psychological injuries whether it occurred in public or private

life(p. 1). Physical abuse means unwanted contact of anything with the body of the women. Sexual abuse means pressurizing or coercing a woman to do something sexually which they do not wish to do. Psychological abuse means non-physical behaviours like constantly threatening, insulting, humiliating, monitoring, stalking, isolating, or intimidating a woman (UN, 1993). This was a landmark step in the movement of women's right as the issue of VAW became recognized globally. By adopting this declaration the members of UN were required to take concrete steps to decrease the turmoil of women in their respective countries.

This section presented the history of the recognition of VAW recognized internationally; the next focus is on the history of women's rights movement and shelter homes in Pakistan.

Section 2: History of Women's Rights Movement in different Ruling Regimes of Pakistan

This following section of the literature review is composed of the history of women's right movement in Pakistan. It outlines the history relevant to the recognition of VAW in Pakistan. Specifically, which organizations started working on the issue and what were the important the milestones. In this section only the major ruling regimes that had effects on the women's rights movement in the history of Pakistan before and after Independence in 1947 are outlined.

Pre and Post Partition of Pakistan (Before and After 1947)

Pakistan's women's rights movement has its history from the colonial period when there was British rule on Indian sub-continent and also of the political and economic situations of the 19th century (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The British brought western laws related to land, revenue, criminal cases, transfer of property and law of evidence but they did not introduced any laws that deal with domestic life of people like family relations, customary and religious laws,

and status of women. They enacted only those laws that would enhance their power and control in the region (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). One of these laws, the lack of right in property, in which land was generally transferred from father to his son, ignoring the women of the house, was a prominent problem for women (Coomaraswamy, 2005). The colonial powers also allocated most of the lands to powerful feudal landlords and tribal heads that were loyal to British Government after the uphill of 1857 war, mostly in Punjab and Sindh provinces (Coomaraswamy, 2005). This perpetuated the feudal and tribal system in the region whose beneficiaries had been ruling Pakistan since independence. It also reinforced the subordinate role of women who had been ruled over by landlords and patriarchs (Moghadan, 1992). Women were considered a liability, as they did not have right of inheritance of their property; they were frequently used as property and were subjugated as a person having no liberty, freedom and voice in family matters (Moghadan, 1992).

In 1937, Muslim women protests for their right of share in property resulted in the enactment of the Muslim Personal Law, which gave some property rights to Muslim women, however, agricultural property was excluded (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). Further, the Guardian and Wards Act of 1890, related to child custody, the Muslim Personal Law (*Shariat*²) Application Act of 1937, which dealt with property matters of Muslim women was enacted in 1937. The Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act of 1939, provided seven grounds to a woman to divorce her husband including addiction, adultery, giving her no money etc. was enacted,

²*Shariat* means Islamic canonical laws based on the teachings of the Holy Koran and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). These laws prescribe both religious and every day duties of a Muslim and also describe retributive penalties for the breaking of these laws. The *Sharait* laws are supplemented by legislation in Muslim countries that are adapted to the conditions of the day. Although the manner in which it should be applied in modern states is a subject of dispute between Islamic fundamentalists and modernists.

however, it was rarely effective as women were required to prove these allegations in court(Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

Indian Muslim women participated in the independence movement with full zeal as the leader of the nation Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah noted in a 1944 speech “our women should not be kept within the four walls of the house rather they should be taken along in each and every sphere of our lives” (as cited in Khan & Hussain, 2008, p. 245). After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the Women’s Voluntary Service (WVS) was established in 1948 and the Pakistan Women’s National Guard (PWNG), later named APWA, founded by Begum Rana Liaqat Ali Khan in 1949. These organizations looked after needs of the refugee women and young girls, helping in their rehabilitation and settlement in a new country. They also fought for women’s political rights and paved the way for advocating women’s rights nationally. The Muslim Family Laws of 1961 that dealt with rights of woman in case of her marriage and its dissolution, implemented by then President Mr. Ayub Khan, was one such example (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

Several other organizations focused on women and children’s health and women’s political participation in the early period of Independence included: the Pakistan Red Cross, the Family Planning Association of Pakistan, the Girl’s Guide Association, the Pakistan Child Welfare Council, the Pakistan’s Nurse Federation, the Domestic Women Association and the Housewives Association (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). Also during this time the YWCA provided hostel facilities to working women and also arranged for training of women in office administration and managerial skills and the United Front for Women’s Right raised the issues of women’s rights and reforms in laws regarding women (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). Their aim was to advocated for women to find employment outside their homes as well as have legal

support to ensure an adequate quality of life (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). This marked the beginning of working on women's causes and rights in the country and these were some of the landmark organizations that started the work on the issue of women's legal rights and women's economic independence. However, women were still unable to occupy political positions.

General Ayub Khan's Military Regime (1958 – 1969)

In 1958 General Ayub Khan imposed martial law, which banned the United Front for Women's Right because it was working on bringing changes in the legal system for women (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). He did however, support women's education, employment and their teaching jobs and joining medicine and journalism as profession (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). Also, military and bureaucrats of the state supported western ideologies which promoted women participation in the full social environment by engaging in professions and social life (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). During 1964, Ms. Fatima Jinnah, sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah the founder of Pakistan, contested elections against Ayub Khan which paved the way for women to take part in public and political office (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

In order to become a recognized member of the international community, Pakistan modified its existing legislation regarding women in line with the United Nations Conventions on Human Rights, adopting the Convention on the Consent to Marriage and Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriage in 1950 and the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1953 (Weiss, 2003).

Under the leadership of Ayub Khan (from 1958 to 1969) the Muslim Family Laws was enacted in 1961 (Weiss, 2003). These laws dealt basically with registration of all marriages, restrictions of polygamy, taking written permission of a wife in case the husband wants second marriage and other safeguards for women in case of divorce between couples like sending

written divorce to chairman of local council of the area and a copy to the women instead of verbally giving divorce to a woman (Weiss, 2003). Marriage registration meant that women had rights to and shares in her husband's property, husbands needed a wives' consent to marry someone else and men could not verbally divorce their wives, it was necessary to send a written copy to the local council and to the woman as well (Weiss, 2003). This latter condition helped women to prove that they had been divorced and their former husband who then could not continue to exploit them.

Other important organizations were formed during this time period. Behbood Association, founded in 1967, for example, served as a social welfare organization aimed at developing economic skills for women to earn a livelihood and become economically independent (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The Soroptomist Club, founded in 1967, organized seminars and documented papers for raising awareness on women's rights (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). In 1969, the Anjuman Jamhooryat Pasand Khawateen also known as Democratic Women Association was established in Karachi to support women laborers, including advocating for equal remuneration for equal work, hostel and transport facilities for working women and educational facilities for women in general (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). These early organizations paved the way for recognizing the importance of women's rights and issues in the country and to bring improvements in the lives of the women at that time.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Democratic Regime (1970 – 1977)

The government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan People's Party was in power from 1970 to 1977. It was characterized by a marked development in feminist awareness (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The leader also was successful in formulating the Constitution of Pakistan, implemented in 1973, that legislated fundamental rights to women by stating that there will be no

discrimination in the country in all fields on the basis of sex, caste, religion, especially at the time of appointment in jobs (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). As a result of this favourable atmosphere women held several important offices including: Begum Liaquat Ali Khan- first woman Governor of Sindh province, Begum Kaneez Yousaf- Vice Chancellor of one of the premier university of Pakistan (Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad) and posts were allocated for women in Foreign and District Management groups in Pakistan (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

Additional women's organizations established in this period included the Women's Front which worked for equal right of women in society and at workplace and the Shirkat Gah established in 1975, which advocated and supported women's rights in the country and the Aurat Foundation formed in 1976-77 advocated for women's rights through information and awareness (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The latter two still play a prominent role in advancing women's rights in Pakistan (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

General Zia ul Haq's Military Regime (1977 – 1988)

Advances in the women's movement suffered during the period of martial law 1977 to 1988 imposed by General Zia ul Haq. He revoked the constitution and propagated Islamization through Shariah Laws, which subjugated and oppressed women (Basu, 2005). The Hudood Ordinance that dealt with rape, adultery and theft cases for example, denied woman the right to testify and the Qanoon e Shahadat or Law of Evidence, enacted in 1984, stated that woman's witness evidence was to be considered as half as credible to that of a man's (Peter, 2005).

In response a women's right campaigner the Women's Action Forum (WAF) was created which advocated or women's rights, the reinstatement of the 1973 Constitution and the restoration of democracy in the country (Engels, 1970). However, WAF faced strict censorships in media and was not allowed to gather in public demonstrations (Engels, 1970).

Due to international pressures, in 1979 the government established the Women's Division to improve the status of women in the society and its successor was Ministry for Women Development. As noted previously, the 1981 CEDAW made the state to revise the discriminatory laws made during Zia's regime (Farida & Hussain, 2007). In 1990, Pakistan became a signatory on the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child and in 1993 signed the Vienna Declaration on Women's Rights as Human Rights (Farida & Hussain, 2007).

Benazir Bhutto's Democratic Regime (1988 – 1990 & 1993 – 1996)

Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and member of the Pakistan's People's Party, was elected as first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1988; she was also the first elected woman Prime Minister of a Muslim country (Mustafa, 2007). It is noteworthy that even under her rule the discriminatory laws made during Zia's period could not be repealed as she faced acute criticism from the religious leaders (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

In 1994, Pakistan's Senate prepared a national report by the Commission of Inquiry for Women for Beijing Conference which stated the grave situation of women in the country by considering them as inferior being under the false pretext of Islamic laws and customary practices and traditions (Weiss, 2003). This was the first time the state presented the statistics on the situation of women in the country to present at an international level. This was only possible as Pakistan had pledged to ratify the above mentioned conventions.

Nawaz Sharif's Democratic Regime (1990 – 1993 & 1997 - 1999)

The above situation of religious party criticism and non-cooperation in repealing or amending the discriminatory laws persisted during the rule of Nawaz Sharif of the Pakistan Muslim League a political party that supported mostly the Islamic ideology. Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan in February 1997 and was unable to repeal any of the

discriminatory laws. Further, during this time period honour crimes dealt with under Hudood Ordinance were prevalent (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

No significance changes in the laws related to women can be made during these periods as Benazir and Nawaz were unable to get support from the house and the general population as a consequence of Islamization and militancy of the Zia ul Haq's regime.

General Pervaiz Musharaf's Military Regime (1999 – 2008)

Martial law was again imposed in 1999 by General Pervaiz Musharaf. However, he appeared more liberal towards women as he introduced Local Government System in 2000, in which women were given 33% representation in local government and 17% of the seats were reserved for women in national and provincial assemblies (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). This was the first time any South Asian country gave such a substantial representation to women in political avenues (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). On International Women Day in 2002, General Musharaff formed the National Commission for Women whose role was to safeguard women's rights in the country (Weiss, 1986). The Musharraf government also made some women positive laws, including: the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 2004, implemented in 2005, which meted severe punishments for honour killing and the Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act of 2006 that modified Hudood Laws, returning crimes like rape and adultery into the Penal Code, which resulting in rape again being considered a crime against women (Weiss, 1986). The Musharraf government also fixed a 5% quota for women seats in government service (Hassan, 2006).

Asif Ali Zardari's Democratic Regime (2008 – 2013)

Asif Ali Zardari, husband of the late Benazir Bhutto, who belonged to the Pakistan People's Party, became Prime Minister in 2008. The Protection Against Harassment of Women

at the Workplace Act 2010 was enacted, which aimed to protect women at the workplace (Weiss, 2012). This was followed closely by 2011 laws including the Preventions of Anti Women Practices (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, which made some customary practices, such as compelling women to marry especially to settle a dispute between tribes locally known as *Wanni* or *Swara*, punishable crimes, the Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act, that made throwing acid on women a punishable crime, and the Women in Distress and Detention Fund Act (Amendment) Act, that provided legal and financial assistance to women who might be in detention or are in distress (Weiss, 2012).

Nawaz Sharif's Democratic Regime (2013-)

Under the previous regime of Asif Ali Zardari in June 2011, the provinces were made autonomous by passing the 18th Constitutional Amendment. All public departments were under Federal Government before the Amendment but subsequently provinces were responsible for their own laws and the regulation of their public departments. The following section details provincial laws that were made for prevention of domestic violence and child marriages in Pakistan.

Legislation to Prevent Domestic Violence in Pakistan

The Sindh Provincial Assembly of Pakistan was the first to legislate for VAW by enacting, The 2013 Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act. This law included as the aggrieved persons not only woman, but children or any vulnerable person who lives with the perpetrator in the same house as a nuclear, joint or extended family. It also defined punishments and fines for the perpetrator of violence against the aggrieved person (Aurat Foundation, 2013). The law gave the right to the aggrieved person to stay in the same house and put restrictions on the perpetrator to commit violence against her while she is in the house. It also prohibits the

perpetrator from coming near the aggrieved women, entering her place of employment or communicating with her electronically or by print (Aurat Foundation, 2013). The Act also required the formulation of a Protection Committee, consisting of a social welfare officer, medical practitioner, psychologist, a psycho-social worker, an official appointed by the court, a female police officer, two representatives of civil society and the protection officer. The Committee would inform the aggrieved women about her rights, arrange for her stay and to help her to file the case under the Act (Aurat Foundation, 2013).

In 2014 the Balochistan Provincial Assembly enacted, The Balochistan Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act. This Act has the similar provisions as the Sindh's Act for the definition of an aggrieved person, filing cases in courts, right of the aggrieved person to stay in the accused house, the accused not to come near her to harass or abuse her and not to enter her place of employment. The Act also adds that the accused has to pay monetary relief to the aggrieved woman for her expenses and the losses she had suffered (Balochistan Government, 2014). The Act indicates that a Protection Committee comprising of a Tehsildar, a head mistress, and two women from relevant tehsils (sub-division of a district) and a protection officer shall be made. The Committee serves to inform the women her rights, arrange a safe place to stay, arrange medical treatment, if needed and assist her to file a case under this act in the court (Balochistan Government, 2014).

In 2016, the Provincial Assembly of Punjab enacted, The Punjab Protection of Women against Violence Act, which was designed to punish abusive partners and establish new protection centers and shelter homes for women fleeing abuse can take refuge (Punjab Government, 2016). This law defined aggrieved person as a female only and, unlike the previous examples, it did not include children or any other vulnerable persons. The Act stated that the

government shall provide a national toll free crises line so the aggrieved women can call to get immediate help. It also added the provision for the government to establish protection centers and shelter homes. The mandate of the protection center is to arrange for rescue, medical treatment, psychological support and legal assistance of the aggrieved women and to assist in mediation and reconciliation between the two parties. The Act also indicates that the aggrieved woman shall not be evicted on force from her house and she can choose to continue to stay there or at some shelter home (Punjab Government, 2016). In addition, the accused shall not come near the aggrieved woman and the accused shall wear a wrist bracelet GPS tracker so he can be monitored to ensure the enforcement of the protection order. The perpetrator would have to surrender his weapons and be restricted from communicating with the woman electronically or by print or entering her place of employment. The court can also ask the accused to pay monetary relief to the aggrieved woman for her expenses and the losses she has suffered (Punjab Government, 2016). Also, within the Act a District Women Protection Committee shall be established, comprised of executive district officers (health and community development), a representative of district police, district social welfare officer, district public prosecutor, district women protection officer and four members from civil society and philanthropists (Punjab Government, 2016). The responsibilities of this committee would be to supervise the protection centers, shelter homes and the toll free crisis lines, provide mediation and reconciliation between parties, ensure that VAW cases registered in police stations are referred to protection centers for medical examination and collection of forensic and investigation, and providing transportation for consenting aggrieved women to protection centers (Punjab Government, 2016).

However, the religious scholars and parties were against the Punjab's Act, terming it as contrary to the teachings of Islam, which grants a husband the right to reprimand or punish his

wife if she makes troubles for him(Hassan & Farooq, 2016). Religious scholars and members of political parties were of the opinion that the Punjab's Act will increase the rate of divorce in Pakistan, since once women began to file violence cases their husbands would immediately divorce them to avoid any hardships (Hassan & Farooq, 2016). As divorce is discouraged in Islam, religious scholars and members of political parties advocated for the cessation of the implementation of this Act. The Council of Islamic Ideology (CII), whose role is to advise the assemblies, the president or the governor in case a question is referred to them that the proposed law is not contrary to the teachings of Islam(Shah, 2016), was asked to review the Act by the Punjab Government. Nevertheless, the provincial government has the authority to enact the law before the CII advice is furnished. At the time of writing this section, the recommendations of the CII were not accepted by the Punjab Government who is in the process of establishing new shelter home in the Multan district and notified a Women Protection Authority at provincial level recently under this law who shall monitor and regulate the protection centers and shelter homes of all district of Punjab province (Hassan & Farooq, 2016).

The KP province of Pakistan has not yet established any laws on the issue of VAW. It has sent a draft of the law to the CII for advice and is awaiting a response (Shah, 2016). Further, people of KP are mostly tribal and traditional and it is difficult for the provincial government to lobby for pro-women legislation in assemblies in these circumstances (Shah, 2016).

Legislation to Restraint Child Marriages in Pakistan

Pakistan borrowed many laws from British rule in Indian sub-continent before its Independence in 1947. Similarly, the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 was enacted by British Government in Indian sub-continent to prevent and discourage the child marriages (Punjab Government, 2015). This Act defined marriageable age for boys as 18 years and for girls

as 16 years. The Act described the punishment for perpetrators, defined as the adult marrying a child, the individual solemnizing a child marriage, and parent or guardian of child being married, as one month imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 rupees (US\$ 10) (Punjab Government, 2015). Any person can report the marriage to the Union council or a competent local authority but not to police and he can refer the case to family court that can issue an order to prohibit an impending child marriage. This case can only be referred to court within one year of solemnizing the child marriage but not later. This law did not state and allow for dissolution of a proven child marriage (Punjab Government, 2015). This law was still applicable in all provinces of Pakistan, till the Sindh Provincial Assembly of Pakistan made its law for restraining child marriages in 2013.

The Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act, 2013 defined the marriageable age for both boys and girls as 18 years. The perpetrators were the same as in above law that is the adult person marrying a child, a person solemnizing a child marriage and parent or guardian of child being married (Sindh Government, 2013). However, it put two or three year's rigorous punishment and fine for the perpetrators. It also states that the matter can be reported to the police and then to Magistrate of the court. The offence would be cognizable, non-bail-able and non-compoundable. Although, the law does not provide for courts to prohibit any impending child marriage and it also does not allow for automatic dissolution of a proven child marriage (Sindh Government, 2013).

The Punjab Provincial Assembly was the second to enact, The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act 2015 by making amendments in the British Law of 1929. According to this law the marriageable age is 18 years for boys and 16 years for girls. It defined six months imprisonment and 50,000 rupees (US\$ 500) fine for the perpetrators (Punjab Government, 2015). The perpetrators are the same as the adult marrying a child, person solemnizing a child marriage,

and the parent or guardian of the child being married. The law states that the offence would be non-cognizable and the case should be reported to the Union Council or any competent local authority not the police that can move the case to family courts. Similar to the Sindh's Act, the Punjab's Act too does not provide for court to prohibit an impending child marriage and also does not allow for automatic dissolution of a proven child marriage (Punjab Government, 2015).

At the time of writing this section of the dissertation, the KP and Balochistan Governments were in the process of drafting their laws for restraining child marriages in their provinces. As stated previously as the KP and Balochistan provinces are conventional and tribal, it is thus difficult for their governments to enact these type of laws. However, the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 is still applicable in KP and Balochistan (The Institute for Social Justice, 2016).

The women's rights movement in Pakistan has given rise to the establishment of different women's organizations and promoting the creation of pro-women law. The following section will provide an overview of the evolution of public social welfare department and in relation to the establishment of shelter homes in Pakistan.

Section 3: History of Social Welfare and Shelter Homes in Pakistan and Impediments in Social Re-integration of Women from Shelter Homes

In this section some of the significant events and issues of the Indian sub-continent that gave rise to the evolution of social welfare teaching and practice and also the establishment of shelter homes later in Pakistan after independence in 1947 are presented. It is important to know the history of social welfare and shelter homes in Pakistan in order to understand how various public departments took up the challenge of working on the issue of VAW in the country. The impediments and problems faced by women who had stayed in a shelter home are also examined

in this section. This review is limited to a discussion of the public and private shelter homes of the Punjab province of Pakistan where the study was conducted. The study was unfunded and as a resident of the Punjab province it was difficult for me to get information about other provinces because of the distance and language barriers.

Social Welfare in Indian sub-continent

Pre-partition period of Indian subcontinent (before 1947) was influenced by caste system; where the upper caste not only exploits, but also to some extent, was responsible to provide for the needs of the lower castes in times of difficulties (Bhattacharya, 2008). The state was not involved in providing alms or services (Bhattacharya, 2008). During 1800-1900 AD, Indian women did not have right of share in property, there was a custom of early marriages of children especially girls, there was lack of education facilities especially for girls, inequality persisted in society through un-touchability system, widow marriages were not allowed and there was a custom of *satti* in which an Indian woman was burnt alive with the cremation of her husband (Bhattacharya, 2008).

The Muslim's organization, *Anjuman Himayat e Islam* (AHI, 1988), was established in 1884 in Indian sub-continent for advocating Muslims rights in province Punjab. Its aim was not only to propagate the religion of Islam in the region but also to provide food and shelter to needy Muslims who were going to temples and churches for alms and charities and were thus influenced to convert to these religions and were leaving Islam (AHI, 1988). In 1886 it was the first organization in Indian sub-continent to establish a place of shelter and care for destitute and orphan Muslim women and girls--*Dar ul Shafqat* (AHI, 1988).

Some prominent Hindu social reformers also emerged before partition of Indian sub-continent to alleviate the suffering of the poor and to aware and educate people of the social evils

of the society. Famous among them was Mahatama Gandhi who influenced many young people, who however, were not trained social workers, to serve their communities (Bhattacharya, 2008).

Under British rule, western education and Christian missionaries the profession of social work was brought to Indian sub-continent (Bhattacharya, 2008). A protestant missionary Clifford Marshal started the first professional school of social work, Sir Dorabji Tata School of Social Sciences, in 1936 in Nagpada, Bombay (now Mumbai). In 1947, the Delhi School of Social Work was established; followed by many other similar institutions throughout India (Bhattacharya, 2008).

Social Welfare after Independence of Pakistan in 1947

Just after partition, Pakistani state was not only trying to establish a new system of governance, but was also trying hard to cater to the needs of persistent refugees who were coming from India especially to the big cities of Karachi, Lahore, and Dhaka (Dhaka was then in East Pakistan and is now in Bangladesh). At the time of Independence, the resource-constrained state has to deal with many socio-economic problems a severe shortage of trained and skilled labour that was aggravated with the influx of refugees from India (Rehmatullah, 2002). At the time of independence there were several private and voluntary charitable organizations in Pakistan, for example, Khalikdina Hall Library, Sindh Muslim Madressa, the Jaffer Fadoo Dispensary, the Ojha Sanatorium, the DJ Science College, private schools that provide free education, the Ida Rieu Poor Welfare Association for the Blind and Deaf. Including in the list was *Anjumane Khawateen e Himayate Islam*, YWCA, the Pakistan Girl Guides Association, Pakistan Red Cross Society, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and the Boy Scouts and other charitable trusts and endowments established by Muslims, Hindus, and Parsees (Rehmatullah, 2002).

In addition, a number of organizations were formed after partition by prominent Muslims leaders to solve the problems of refugees like APWA formed by Begum Raana Liaquat Ali Khan in 1949 (Rehmatullah, 2002). APWA arranged for shelter and food of the women who came to Pakistan from India after partition and who had lost their families during the turmoil of partition and migrating to Pakistan and thus had no one to look after them and were now un-attended (Ghilaman, 2011). Later APWA arranged for the economic needs and placements of these women also (Ghilaman, 2011). The Muslim Women's Association headed by Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah was established in 1949. The international agencies especially from the UN organizations like United Nations Technical Assistance Administration (UNTAA), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations (FAO), and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) etc. were also present and working in Pakistan (Rehmatullah, 2002).

Beginning of Social Work Education and Training in Pakistan

The advent of social welfare, in developing countries of the global South, is accredited either to their cultural and religious values or the colonial influence (Boyden 1997; Graham, Al-Krenawi & Zaidi, 2007; Rehmatullah, 2002). In Pakistan, from the very beginning of the establishment of a state welfare system, the official rhetoric was that of Islam. However, the reality was somewhat mixed. The country had not inherited any social welfare structures from British India, therefore, in 1951, the Government of Pakistan sought help from the UN to advise the government on social welfare issues (Rehmatullah, 2002). The UN advisers recognized that the Islamic values and injunctions pertaining to social welfare, such as providing assistance to the poor, providing care for the indigent and the orphan, and the principles of *Zakat* (an obligatory religious tax to purify our wealth by giving a defined portion to the needy and

destitute), were engrained in the daily lives of the people. The UN advisers, therefore, recommended that these values be translated into the social welfare policy of the country (Rehmatullah, 2002). However, considering the dearth of trained social workers, social administrators and social policy makers, training for social work was given priority over formulation of a national social welfare policy (Rehmatullah, 2002).

The government held a meeting with the UN regional advisor on social welfare and requested United Nations Technical Assistance Administration (UNTA) aimed at solving problems in a more systematic way (Rehmatullah, 2002). As a result, in 1953, In-Service Training Course was provided to 75 participants, 11 of whom were women, in Karachi at the Civil Defence Training School (Rehmatullah, 2002). Sixty-five participants completed the five days in class and two days field work course (Rehmatullah, 2002). Subsequently, a similar course was held at Dhaka for administrators and beginning workers; 44 completed the course, 16 of whom were women (Rehmatullah, 2002). The third course, a six-month training course on social work was held in Karachi in 1954, during which 31 participants were placed in a slum area, Lyari, to gain on the job training by involving them in direct services of community projects, medical settings, remand homes and social administration (Rehmatullah, 2002). Twenty-six participants completed the course. This model laid the foundation for future professional training programs at university level in Pakistan and also for establishing social welfare policy (Rehmatullah, 2002).

On November 15, 1954; the first Department of Social Work was inaugurated at the University of the Punjab, one of the oldest university of Pakistan, located in Lahore Pakistan in the province of Punjab (Rehmatullah, 2002).

First Social Welfare Policy of Pakistan

On the policy front, UN advisers recommended that the Islamic values of welfare, which were engrained in the daily lives of the Pakistani people, be translated into the social welfare policy of the country (Rehmatullah, 2002). Thus, the main elements of Pakistan's first social policy included; community development program, encouraging the establishment of private welfare agencies, to initiate social welfare programs at the provincial and local level, a new housing policy, and an expanded program of labor protection (Rehmatullah, 2002).

However, the first social welfare policy remained buried in official files and for almost 20 years there was no clear social welfare policy (Jillani & Jillani, 2000). During the course of four Five Year Plans (1955-77) and the two Annual Plans (1975-77), a variety of private and public social services were established (National Council of Social Welfare, 1976; Jillani & Jillani, 2000). The National Constitution, adopted in 1973, placed social welfare on the Concurrent Legislative List, meaning both the federal and the provincial governments could legislate in this field (Jillani & Jillani, 2000). This however, resulted in a lack of direction and poor co-ordination between the state and the provinces as each was looking to the other to take initiative (Jillani & Jillani, 2000). It was not until 1988, that a full-fledged Ministry of Social Welfare produced a comprehensive policy document to guide the social welfare programs. This policy had a mixed approach to social welfare as it was based on the concept of an Islamic welfare state and the contemporary concept of social development (Rehmatullah, 2002). The third (1992) and fourth (1994) social welfare policies also reflected a struggle between traditional remedial services and the contemporary concept of social development with a rhetoric of Pakistan being an Islamic state having a given set of welfare-related values and practices (Rehmatullah, 2002).

With the passage of the 18th constitutional amendment in 2010-11, which devolved considerable power to the provinces, social welfare became a provincial matter and the era of national social welfare policy ended. All four provinces of Pakistan inherited a Directorate of Social Welfare, which, traditionally, had been responsible for the administration of social welfare services in the provinces, but, having no experience or expertise in policy formulation. Therefore, it remains to be seen what direction each province take in terms of its social welfare policy, given the great socio-economic and cultural diversity (Rehmatullah, 2002).

Evolution of Ministry of Social Welfare

In terms of social welfare administration, experimental urban community development and medical social services projects started in Karachi (1953). The Village-Aid Program (1953), started in cooperation between the International Cooperation Administration of the United States and the Government of Pakistan, are considered the first social welfare services in Pakistan (Ghafur & Mollah, 1968). In 1955 after extensive consultation with the government officials and prominent social workers, the first UN Adviser on social policy and administration recommended the creation of an independent Ministry of Social Affairs. Similarly, a national conference on social welfare held in Karachi in November 1955 demanded the same (Rehmatullah, 2002).

However, these demands were not met; instead, a Department of Social Welfare was created in the Ministry of Works. The administrative structure of this department was in line with the existing bureaucratic system rather than the unique social work and social welfare needs (Rehmatullah, 2002). In 1956, a National Council of Social Welfare was established, followed by provincial councils the next year. Initially, the Council was assigned some policy making and surveillance functions, but, eventually, it became a grant funding agency (Rehmatullah, 2002).

As late as in 1958, a separate Ministry of Health and Social Welfare was created at the national level. However, soon after, with the promulgation of 1962 Constitution, the Central Directorate of Social Welfare was abolished and the country was divided into two units and social welfare became a provincial subject to be administered through two Directorates of Social Welfare (Ghafur & Mollah, 1968). This bureaucratic social administration was almost inaccessible, especially to voluntary social welfare agencies working in remote rural areas (Rehmatullah, 2002). A Directorate General of Social Welfare was established in September 1964 in the then West Pakistan. The Departments of Health, Education and Home were given the development schemes of medical social work, remand homes and schools of deaf, dumb and blinds by transferring their control from provincial Directorate of Social Welfare and thus the role of Directorate of Social Welfare remained only to monitor and regulate the community development program and registration of voluntary agencies in the then West Pakistan (Khalid, 2006).

Pakistan initially consisted of two parts: West and East, subsequently West Pakistan was further divided into four provinces and East Pakistan was one province. These parts were separated with the Indian region between them and consequently East Pakistan received less preference from the leaders of the country and its lagged behind in progress (Khalid, 2006). On November 22, 1954, One Unit policy was announced where all four provinces of West Pakistan were announced as one unit or one province and East Pakistan as another province (Khalid, 2006). But in 1970, the One Unit policy was disbanded, and as a result all four provinces of West Pakistan were revived and a Directorate of Social Welfare and a Council of Social Welfare were created in each of the four provinces of West Pakistan and one each in East Pakistan (Khalid, 2006).

A full-fledged Ministry of Social Welfare is only a relatively recent development, established in 1980s. In January 1979, a separate Women's Division was established and was upgraded to a Ministry of Women's Development in 1989 (Khalid, 2006). The shelter homes are run under Provincial Ministry of Social Welfare in Pakistan.

The Advent of Public and Private Shelter Homes called *Dar ul Amans*

The history of the emergence of shelter homes in Pakistan is not well-documented. It is limited to historical reports from organizations and project proposal documents from the Ministry of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal Punjab.

The AHI (1988) established the first shelter home, *Dar ul Aman*, in 1963 in Lahore for women who were needy and suffered from violence in their homes. Ten years later, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal, Government of Punjab established eight shelter homes, termed Rescue Homes, for women who had left homes due to domestic violence and needed immediate shelters in each of the eight ex-divisional headquarters of Province Punjab (Lahore, Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bahawalpur, Sargodha and Rawalpindi) (Government of Punjab, 2004). After the Devolution of Power Plan in 2002, the divisions were devolved into districts and the Punjab province was split into 66 districts (GoP, 2004).

The increase in awareness of women's right among general public and especially among women, led to an increase in the number of reported cases of VAW and the establishment of 27 additional *Dar ul Amans* in Punjab (GoP, 2004). Each of the 36 districts of the Punjab province has a shelter homes except for the district of Nankana Sahib which has only recently achieved the status of a district (GoP, 2004).

All shelter homes in Punjab province are mandated to provide residence for a maximum period of three months to women who leave their homes after facing violence by their family

members and are referred either by court, police or any women's advocating organizations such as NGOs or in some dire circumstances a woman might come herself (GoP, 2007). While residing in shelter home, women shall be provided with free shelter, food, medical and legal help and skill and religious training and the three-month residency can be extended in unique cases where a woman's circumstances do not allow her to go back in the society (GoP, 2007).

Private Shelter Homes in Punjab Province

In addition to state established shelter homes, there are a few private shelter homes in the Punjab province, the most famous of which is *Dastak* (meaning knock). It is an internationally funded organization, started by renowned lawyer sisters and women's rights advocated Hina Jilani and Asma Jahangir (Siddique, Ismail, & Allen, 2008). It provides similar services as other shelter homes, however, women are not restricted in their mobility and are allowed to move outside according to their needs but are advised care outside the walls of shelter home (Siddique, Ismail, & Allen, 2008). There is no distinction on the basis of religion or other factors; all destitute women are given shelter on request. Women in *Dastak* are also allowed to go to their jobs while residing there and can stay for several years until they find a secure place for them outside (Mahmood, 2009).

There are 18 Edhi Homes in Pakistan, three of which are in the Punjab province (Lahore, Islamabad, and Multan districts). These are privately funded shelters established by Abdul Sattar Edhi, a volunteer social worker. Edhi Homes do not have a maximum limit of stay and, in addition to sheltering women victims of domestic violence, they provide shelter for orphan and abandoned boys and girls, shelter-less and helpless men and cognitively and physically disabled people (Siddique, Ismail, Allen, 2008).

Bali Memorial Trust was founded as tax exempt charity organization in 1997 by a couple who lost their young son, nicknames Bali. The organization initially provided free education services and now has two schools, two hospitals, many dispensaries, two old age homes, a shelter home and an orphanage, a women's crisis center and a crisis helpline (Aurat Foundation, 2012). Bali established a women's shelter home in Lahore in 2006, which provides shelter, food, health care including counseling; vocational and in-formal education training so women can be financially empowered and can find employment upon leaving the shelter home (Aurat Foundation, 2012).

Impediments in Social Re-Integration of Women from Shelter Homes in Pakistan

There are massive barriers faced by women seeking help to flee from violent relationships including a lack of information and awareness of their legal rights (Critelli & Willet, 2010). Although the state has acknowledged the need for shelter homes for women fleeing violence, there are few services for women in distress (Bari, 1998; Critelli, 2012; Jilani & Ahmed, 2004).

According the HRCP (2009), privately run shelters are considered to have better quality of services and rules of administration compared to public or government run shelters; government-run shelters are often overcrowded, have poor facilities and lack trained staff. Most shelter homes aim to reconcile women with their families as it is a taboo for a single woman to live alone in society (HRCP, 2009). Public shelter homes, *Dar ul Amans*, lack trained staff, gender sensitive environment and are of poor quality. According to the HRCP (2009) report, shelters operate like detention centers offering a mixture of both protection and prison. Further, women residents are not allowed to leave the home and have restricted access to outside world while staying there (Medicine Du Monde, 2007; Zaidi, 2002). Shelter homes do not provide a

gender sensitive environment (HRCP, 2009) and staff are not equipped with the necessary skills to deal with women victim of violence (Médecins du Mond, 2007).

Shirkat Gah (another NGO for women's rights in Pakistan) indicated that the quality of the free legal aid services offered by public shelter homes is also questionable; most cases were not handled properly and lawyers complained that they are not provided access to women for free legal aid (Shirkat Gah, 2012). The HRCP (2009) report also stated that most often staff of public shelter homes encourage women domestic violence victims to reconcile with the perpetrators as a woman cannot survive without a man in Pakistani society as well as a lone woman cannot rent a house in Pakistan. Both public and private types of shelter homes are considered as places of bad repute, where only 'bad' women who have ran away from their homes go (Khanum, 2009).

Police stations are unsafe for women, who face being raped and abused while in custody (Bari, 1998). Thus, the services available to women fleeing violence are extremely inadequate and may additionally disempower and silence women who perceive violence in their lives as part of their fate.

Western Literature on Impediments in Social Re-Integration of Women from Shelter Homes

Western research on shelter homes documents their effectiveness in providing security to abused women, although most are available for short periods of time, mostly three weeks to three months (Bowker & Maurer, 1985; Johnson, Crowley, & Sigler, 1992; McDonald, 1989). Little research has examined how shelter facilitates women's independency post-residency (Tutty, 1996). Of concern, studies in North America have found that over half of all women return to their abusive partners following their stay in a shelter home (Aguirre, 1985; Cannon & Sparks,

1989; Snyder & Scheer, 1981). For example, according to Giles-Sims (1983), after a few months following their return, 33% of the women were re-victimized by the same perpetrators, and as a result, they decided to return to shelter home again, and eventually separate (25%), or divorce (33%). Thus, Giles-Sims (1983) opined that it took almost four or five attempts by the women to return to their abusive partners before making a final decision of separation or divorce. Other research by Okun (1988), suggests that women returning again and again to shelter homes and going back to their spouses or perpetrators, is not a reflection of inefficiency on the part of shelter home staff or a lack of inconsistency by the battered women; it may be considered as the necessary process by which a woman eventually decides to leave her abusive husband (Tutty, 1996).

According to Gondolf and Fisher (1988), who conducted a large scale study interviewing over 6,000 women residents of 50 VAW shelters in Texas, women who are economically independent, such as those having own transportation, sources of income and child care facilities, are most likely to decide to live independently after leaving a shelter home; the women's social background and the type of abuse experienced had no effect on this decision. Most of the women arrive at shelter homes without their personal belongings like clothing, money, etc. (Tutty, 1996). Schutte, Bouleige, Fix, and Malouf (1986) identified that women who returned to their abusive partners had low self-esteem and self-blaming attitude.

In shelters which provide less time for stay, like two to three weeks, women have less choice in post-shelter, resulting in 78% of the residents returning to shelter homes (McDonald, Chisholm, Peressini, & Smillie, 1986). Also, some women return to their perpetrator as they wish to give him another chance (Johnson, Crowley, & Sigler, 1992). Others return to their abuser, fearing that if they establish themselves independently, the perpetrator would find them and

would harm them and their children as is the case when there is a lack of legal and custodial safety and security (Tutty, 1996).

Several authors report that some women leave abusive relationships for their children, because the children who witness violence between their parents are more likely to develop behavioural problems (Fantuzzo & Lindquist, 1989; Giles-Sims, 1983; Jaffe, Wolfe, & Wilson, 1990; Moore, Peplar, Mae, & Kates, 1989; Wilson, Baglioni, & Downing, 1989). According to Jaffe et al. (1990), children who have seen violence between their parents or have been victim of violence themselves by either of their parents, can suffer from aggression or withdrawal.

According to Sullivan, Basta, Tan, and Davidson (1992) and Tutty (1996), women who decide to leave the violent relationship but return to the same house of the perpetrator, face difficulties like employment, housing, child-care, children's behavioural problems in accepting the separation between the parents, society's disapproval and lack of support of separation and divorce, and also the burden of taking care of the children alone. Thus, they have difficulty in re-integration back into society. Scyner and McGregor (1988) and Tutty (1996) suggested that followup programs and plans for assisting women and children independence should be an important part of the service provision of a shelter home.

In summary, Pakistan has an extremely high rate of VAW. Current services to address VAW in Pakistan, including those provided by shelter homes are insufficient to meet the needs of women fleeing violence or to adequately facilitate their re-integration into society when they leave the shelter home. Further, little research has examined this issue from the perspective of women seeking shelter in shelter homes. Thus, there is an urgent need to study the phenomenon in detail in order to inform the development of measures for effective practices and policies for women leaving shelter homes in Pakistan.

This section highlighted the history of women's movement, and the development of social welfare and shelter homes in Pakistan. The next section will discuss the social context of VAW especially in Pakistan.

Section 4: Social Context of VAW

Accurate estimates of VAW in Pakistan are not available, as Constable (2000) and Fikree and Bhatti (1999) identify, there have been no formal surveys on VAW in Pakistan, however informal surveys by private organizations have yielded high estimates. There are many complex societal, relationship and individual-level factors that influence the prevalence of VAW. The fourth section of the literature reviews these factors, especially in reference to Pakistan. The social factors that contribute to VAW include: illiteracy, unemployment, joint or extended family system, rural and urban differences, patriarchy perpetuated by feudalism and tribalism, media and social taboos. The relationship factors of abuse includes violence in the family of origin, marriage patterns and divorce, woman as property, woman as liability, burden and inferior, seclusion and segregation of woman, men's honour and women's seclusion, land ownership and property inheritance. The individual factors include marriage of a girl at young age, age of the woman, and alcohol addiction of the man. Each of these factors is reviewed in more detail in the following.

Most of the literature mentioned in this section is by Pakistani researchers, in addition some western researchers have conducted studies on South Asia or Pakistan, which are also included in the review. When literature specific to Pakistan is unavailable, documentation from western sources is utilized.

Societal Factors Contributing to Abuse

Illiteracy. According to the last official Census of Pakistan, completed in 1988, the literacy ratio of the population (10 years of age and older) for both sexes was 43.9, with 63.1 in urban areas and 33.6 in rural areas (Census, 1998). The overall male literacy ratio was 54.8, with 70.0 in urban areas and 46.4 in rural areas. The overall female literacy rate was 32.0, with 55.2 in urban areas and 20.1 in rural areas.

According to 2011 Statistical Pocket Book of the Punjab, Bureau of Statistics (BoS, 2011), the literacy ratio of population (10 years or age and older) in the Punjab province, for both sexes was 46.6, with 64.5 in urban areas and 37.9 in rural areas. The overall male literacy ratio was 57.2, with 70.9 in urban areas and 50.4 in rural areas; whereas the female literacy ratio was 35.1, with 57.2 in urban areas and 24.8 in rural areas (BoS, 2011).

Illiteracy is linked to VAW. For example, Visaria (1999) and Jejeebhoy (1998) identified that women who are more educated than their spouses are less likely to face abuse than the women who are less educated than their husbands.

Unemployment. The western literature by Visaria (1999), Jejeebhoy (1998), and Coker, Smith, Mckeown, and Melissa (2000) explained that unemployment increases the chances of anxiety, depression, and violence. Pakistan has widespread unemployment ratio, which has been identified as a contributing factor of VAW (Ali & Gavino, 2008). Further, in Pakistan, a woman's economic independence is considered as permission or privilege granted by men to a woman and not a right (Kadir, Fikree, Khan, & Sajan, 2003; Shaikh, 2003). In most cases, where women have economic independence, men became more violent to regain control on them (Niaz, 2003).

Joint or extended family system. In Pakistan, people typically live in joint or extended families, where in-laws live with the married couple and influence the decisions of couple about

their family size and other household decisions (Kadir, Fikree, Khan, & Sajan, 2003). One study found that marital abuse or violence was an outcome of interference by in-laws, especially mothers-in-law (Fikree, & Bhatti, 1999).

Rural and urban differences. The social development of Pakistan is uneven in rural and urban localities. In urban areas, traditional values are less practiced and women enjoy somewhat more freedom of movement and opportunities to access education and employment (Bari, 2000; Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). In urban areas, although only as a minority, women are professionals like physicians, scientists, professors and engineers. Despite the more progressive atmosphere of the cities women remain subordinate to male supremacy, as dictated by the traditional beliefs, customs and practices (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

In rural areas, local customs and traditional practices supersede national laws resulting in greater oppression for women. In rural areas women have lower status, less educational and employment opportunities and less decision-making capacities about their personal matters than urban residing women.

Patriarchy perpetuated by feudalism and tribalism. According to Niaz-Anwar (1997) the analysis of patriarchy in Pakistan can be extended by entwining the local cultures of tribalism and feudalism. This culture was prevalent in the area even before the creation of Pakistan in 1947 as a country, and continues to contribute to the subjugation of women in Pakistani society.

When Pakistan was created it inherited vast agrarian lands, dominated by feudal lords who owned the land and had power over their workers and their families. The mountainous areas of the Northwest Frontier Province, now KP, although less populated is inhabited by people who adhere to their own rigid tribal codes (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). These feudal and the tribal systems have roots in the ideology of kinship, which is basically patrilineal and hierarchical in

structure. Therefore all major social institutions (social, economic, political, and familial) are based upon the concept of kinship and political, business, and personal decisions including marriage and inheritance are based on loyalty to and continuity of the group (Safdar, 1997). In these kinship-based societies, the feudal or tribal lord is the ultimate patriarch who is the protector, provider and decision-maker for his clan and family, including the women and children of his own family as well as all the families of his clan and the working class (Safdar, 1997). In exchange for the protection and provision of the landlord, the working class is expected to fully submit to the rule of the feudal or tribal lord.

Media.Media also perpetuates the social acceptance of VAW. Most dramas, films, theatre, radio, newspapers in Pakistan have a common theme of violence(Ali & Gavino, 2008). There have been no studies on effects of media violence and aggressive behaviour in Pakistan, however, western literature identifying the link between media violence and VAW is available. A study by Fikkers and colleagues (2013), for example,found a significant relationship between violence shown in the media and family conflicts. They assert that the exposure to higher media violence can increase the subsequent aggression in families with higher levels of conflicts. Dominick and Greenberg,(1972), McLeod, Atkin, and Chaffee,(1972a, 1972b),and Robinson and Bachman, (1972) found significant correlations between the frequency of viewing violent programs on television and various measures of aggressive behaviour and attitudes. Another study by Atkin, Greenberg, Korzenny, and McDermott (1979) found that the viewers of heavy TV-violence are more likely to indulge in physical and verbal aggressiveness for solution to their interpersonal conflict situations. Similarly, Walker and Morley (1991) found that adolescents who reported that they watch and enjoy TV violence were more likely to hold the values and attitudes that were likely to behave aggressively in conflict situations.

Social Taboos. Social taboos are the social and cultural values and rules guide the behaviour of an individual (Ali & Gavino, 2008). Sometimes the role expectations within a culture also support the tendencies of violence within families. The social factors like male dominance, access to resources and social support for women, the social norms and values; all are determinants of VAW in Pakistani society (Dasgupta, 2001; Heise, 1998; Schur, 1984). Women are considered to be inefficient, insecure, ineffective and incomplete without a man (Niaz, 2003). Men are expected to be masculine, brave, courageous, and have machismo, while women are expected to be feminine, timid, fragile, and submissive (Ali & Gavino, 2008).

According to Niaz (2003), the tribal and feudal cultures of Pakistan consider women (*Zan*) together with *Zar* and *Zameen* (money and land) are the source of all evils. This belief blames women of the house for all of the undesirable behaviours of men. Thus, under this ideology if a woman is non-compliant or rebellious beating, imprisonment, isolation, and murder are justified (Niaz, 2003).

Relationship Factors of Abuse

Violence in the family of origin. Pakistani families are characterized as close knit and tribal, with elders and parents viewed as role models by children. Consistent with the Social Learning theory, if a father beats his wife or a daughter, the son is more likely to beat his wife and daughters (Ali & Gavino, 2008).

Marriage patterns and divorce. Marriage in Pakistan is mostly not a romantic relationship but rather an alliance between two families, primarily arranged by parents (Abraham, 2000). Although illegal, forced marriage, in which the consent of the woman or girl is not taken before her marriage, is widely practiced in Pakistan (Amnesty International, 1999; Jilani & Ahmed, 2004). Some religious traditions such as Islam discourages divorce (Hoffeler,

1983). Also in Islamic countries such as Pakistan, a woman marrying for love where the groom was not chosen by the family is considered an offence. This can lead to violence by the family including being murdered by the family in the name of honour to restore the family's prestige and respect in society (Abraham, 2000; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008).

The customary practice of dowry also makes the women vulnerable; the woman who brings inadequate dowry to the marriage suffers more harassment and violence than the woman who offers a more lavish dowry (Human Rights Watch, 1999).

Woman as property. In feudal and tribal cultures and traditions of Pakistan, women are considered as a property of men (father, brother, or uncle, for example) (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987) who they have to serve, submit to and sacrifice to uphold their honour and values (Niaz, 2003). A woman is considered a symbol of a man's honour, so she must be protected and thus literally kept within the four walls of her home. Typically, she is denied education and has little say in the major decisions of her life, like marriage. Historically, clashes between two tribes were settled by trading animals and women for reconciliations, thus most marriages of women arranged to restore political and tribal peace (Visaria, 1999).

Woman as liability, burden and inferior. Girls are considered to be a burden in most Pakistani families (Niaz-Anwar, 1997) and her designation as inferior starts from birth (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). The birth of a female is deemed a liability and a social burden (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987), which brings guilt or despair to the mother, shame and anger to the father and concern and sympathy on the part of family and friends. Women's labour is also not recognized perpetuating the widespread myth of females as an economic burden. In contrast, males are highly valued in society; they are considered an asset and the sole contributor to family sustenance. According to Hazarika (2000) and Winkvist and Akhtar (2000), parents consider

sons an investment and daughters as a burden, as married daughters require a dowry and will go to another home, whereas sons will stay with parents, earn money and provide a home for his parents in their old age.

Seclusion and segregation of woman. Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) indicated that a Pakistani woman's only assets are her reproductive capabilities and as an object for sexual service. Therefore, most of the socially prescribed roles of a woman are based on these two beliefs. Social pressures on female's sexuality dictate how she may behave within and outside her home. Thus, great emphasis is placed on maintaining a women's chastity until she is married and beliefs about her reproductive abilities render her as a commodity that is owned by her husband.

Hassan (1995) relates these beliefs of guarding the woman's sexual and reproductive functions to the practice of *pardah* (veiling) which can also be translated into the concepts of 'chadder' and "chardewari". A *chadder* literally means a shroud which is used to veil women from strange men, so that she cannot sexually excite men. *Chardewari* literally means four walls and refers to the four walls of a woman's home. Hassan (1995) also indicated that although currently not all Pakistani women observe veiling and remain confined within the four walls of their homes, the concepts of *chadder* and *chardewari* underscore the social ideology of the roles expected of both sexes. Hassan (1995) also explained how the concept of *chadder* supports the emphasis on women's sexuality while the idea of confining women within the four wall of house implies that they are not capable of functioning outside their house and thus renders them submissive to the man of the house. Hassan (1995) refers to confinement of women in their houses as seclusion rather than segregation. She believes that the concept of *chardewari* not only segregates women from other sexes it also prevents them from connecting with other women to share their views and sufferings. This segregation and seclusion, she suggests, has also resulted

in women being denied access to education, vocation, and self-determination. Further, women are prevented from participating in economic and socio-political processes (Mernissi, 1987), which hampers women's self-growth as well as a community member.

Similarly, Mandelbaum's (1988) analysis of gender relations in South Asia is based on the concepts of *izzat* (honour) and *pardah* (veiling of a woman). *Purdah* which literally means physical covering and spatial closure, but, in broader terms, connotes beliefs and values about the behaviour of women, including: the restrictions on movements outside the house and the requirements for women to be respectful and courteous within the home to maintain honour of her men. The *izzat* or honour of a family or a tribe in general, and of the males in particular, brings men social power and ensures dominant of men in the social hierarchy (Mandelbaum, 1998). According to Mandelbaum (1998), *izzat* is mainly positive in connotation in that it refers to what a man should do if he can, whereas *purdah* is negative as it means what a woman might do but should not. There is relationship between a family's *izzat* and its *purdah* practices; *purdah* practices if properly done will enhance a family's *izzat*. This also suggests that in order for *izzat* to be properly maintained unfailing *purdah* observance is required. Therefore "*purdah* strengthens *izzat* and *izzat* strengthens *purdah*" (p. 24).

Ahmed (1986) and Shah (1997) reinforces that women are required to maintain and increase male honour or family honour by observing the code of *purdah*. Any deviation from this prescription of modesty, either real or alleged, can bring grave consequences for the woman; she could be subject of gossip, or have the chances of her marriage being ruined, or could even be beaten or murdered by her immediate male kin. Hence, in some regions of Pakistan which have the tribal and feudal cultures generally, VAW in the name of honour is widespread.

Land ownership and property inheritance. Mandelbaum (1988), Ortner and Whitehead (1981) and Pastner (1972) identify that the emphasis on female virginity in South Asian countries is central to prestige and honour of the man and his family. However, Shah (1997), highlighted that veiling of a woman, female's sexuality and virginity in cultures of honour are more related to the issues of land ownership and property inheritance, which in turn is then related to men's prestige and social status. It can be speculated that by controlling woman's movements and her sexuality, the men of the family actually eliminate the chances of a woman mating outside the group which could lead to transfer of property outside the family through inheritance, and thus reduce the family's power. Historically, forced marriages in the form of marrying a virgin to the Holy Quran, or marrying an adult woman to a minor, were instituted to keep the land in the family (Shah, 1997). Similar practices are still present in some South Asian countries including Pakistan, that is women are married within the family or caste to ensure that ancestral family land cannot be divided and shared with other families (Niaz, 2003).

Individual Factors of Abuse

Several risk factors operating at the individual level have been implicating in increasing the risk for VAW in Pakistan. The following section reviews some of these.

According to the HRCP (2000), women who give birth to more daughters face increased levels of violence by husbands and in-laws than those who have more sons. Sons are considered to have more social, economic and religious utility than girls who are considered a liability (Fikree & Pasha, 2004). Women who have no children are harassed not only by their families but also by society in general (HRCP, 2000).

Abuse towards women occurs in all ages and an old age does not protect a woman from being safe from violence (Shaikh, 2003). Marriage at young age, however, makes a girl more

susceptible to being abused by her husband and in-laws and she has fewer skills to defend herself (Fikree & Pasha, 2004). In a similar vein, a study in Bangladesh reported that young women are more likely to face violence than the older women (Schuler, Hashemi, Riley, & Akhter, 1996).

Research in western countries indicated that alcoholic or substance abuse by male partners is associated with higher rates of VAW (Galvani, 2004; Coker, Smith, Mckeown, & Melissa, 2000; Orford, Copello, Velleman, & Templeton, 2010). The role of alcohol or substances in the perpetration of violence in Pakistan is less clear. In a study of 150 women in Pakistan, only 3% endorsed the statement that drugs can contribute to violence between couples (Fikree & Bhatti, 1999).

This section of literature review chapter outlined the social, relationship and individual factors that contribute to VAW especially in Pakistan. The societal factors like illiteracy, unemployment, joint or extended family system; rural and urban differences, patriarchy, media and social taboos and relationship factors of abuse like violence in the family of origin, marriage patterns, honour of a man, women's seclusion and segregation, land ownership and property inheritance, all contribute towards high incidences of VAW in Pakistan. The individual factors like a woman having more daughters, or marriage of a girl at young age and addiction of the man are also the sources of violence for women in Pakistani society.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

The methodological design to conduct the current study is outlined in this chapter. In this chapter first the aims, specific objectives and theoretical framework of the study are described. Then the details on the methods and tools used to conduct the study along with sampling frame and sample size are provided. At the end of this chapter, the procedures of data collection, analysis, and the ethics considered to conduct this study are discussed.

Purpose of the Study

Research is the process of locating and evaluating information. Central to the research process is the formulation of research aims and objectives. These provide the researcher with a direction and framework for the research in the field (Francis, 2000). Research aims are the targets a researcher wants to achieve by the end of the research journey. Therefore careful consideration is required during the formulation stage, otherwise, the study could mislead the researcher and the research findings as well (Punch, 1998).

The study intended to find out the reasons of VAW in Pakistani society from the perspective of the women who have returned to shelter homes after going back to their communities from shelter homes. Thus the study intends to highlight the practices of repeated acts of VAW in society, the victim's situation, and the impacts of VAW and supports on women. The results of the study could be used to suggest measures for policy makers and all concerned public and private departments and organizations to formulate policies and practices to cope with communal patterns that add to the continuation of VAW in Pakistani society. The study findings can also help to promote the culture of further researches on the problem of VAW in Pakistani society.

The specific objectives of the study were as follows:

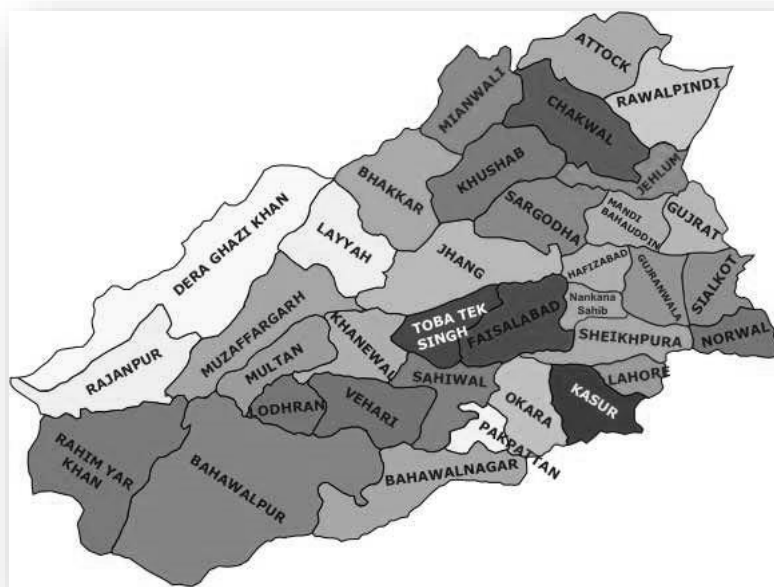
1. To identify the demographic profile of the women who have returned to shelter homes.
2. To study the sources of help available to the women once they return to the community after residing in shelter homes.
3. To explore the reasons for women's return to shelter homes after having returned to their community.
4. To understand the norms, values and behaviours of the community in relation to ongoing or repeated acts of VAW.
5. To determine the availability of a legal framework to protect women from violence.
6. To suggest measures for improving the status of women in Pakistan in reference to violence.

Research to date suggests that VAW in Pakistan is widespread and serious. The high prevalence rate of VAW, and the risk factors like traditional marriage practices, honour killings, social taboos, high levels of poverty and low levels of literacy along with the lack of awareness on the part of women about their rights and inadequate social supports and legal frameworks, combine to create difficult and often lethal circumstances for women. The issue and situation of women in Pakistan makes clear the need to explore and study the phenomenon in a systematic way, in order to explore the causes of discrimination and VAW in this society. This study is designed with the goal of contributing to this body of urgent research.

The above discussion implies the importance of selecting VAW and most specifically domestic violence, as the topic of the study. After the selection of the topic, the next step was to select the study area. My decision to undertake this study in the Punjab Province was as a consequence of it being the most populous province and thus having the majority of reported VAW cases. According to the last Census of 1998 in Pakistan, Punjab province's area is 205,345

square kilometers, its population is 73,621,290 persons while sex ratio (males per 100 females) is 107 and urban population is 31.3% (Census, 1998). Figure 1 depicts the Punjab province with its 36 districts. The other reasons were familiarity of the study area, feasibility and cost. It was not safe to interview women in their homes and thus, the shelter homes in all of the districts (subdivisions of a province) were selected as natural setting of the study from where the women victims of violence can be approached more readily. This also provides women greater privacy and security.

Figure 1: Map of Punjab province showing its 36 districts (picture taken from Google).



After deciding on the study area, the next stage was the selection of the specific issues and focus of the study. Many studies on shelter homes have investigated the reasons for women seeking shelter homes and the problems they face while they reside there. However, this study is perhaps one of the very few that looked at reasons for women returning to shelter homes after they went back to communities after an initial residency in a shelter home. It was believed that

this approach would present a comprehensive picture of how widespread is the phenomenon of VAW in Pakistan and will also illustrate the chronic nature of VAW and the limitations in existing support system.

Theoretical Framework

For purposes of my qualitative research study, I have applied several theories in relation to more deeply understanding of the phenomenon of inquiry. According to Yin (2009), case study approach is based on analytic generalization which means that a theory which is developed previously will guide us to compare the empirical results and to serve as a guide to determine which data to collect and which strategies to use to analyze the data. The study had a feminist approach and the Bandura's Social Learning theory and the feminist theory of patriarchy were used as a theoretical framework to collect and analyze the data.

Bandura's Social Learning theory. Bandura's Social Learning theory explains that marital violence is an outcome of childhood exposure of violence within family. The children tend to copy the violence they have witnessed in their early lives and thus violence is a learned behaviour that an adult reinforce and continue to cope with his own stresses and as tool for conflict resolution (Bandura, 1973).

According to Mihalic and Elliot (1977) the childhood experiences and observation of relationship between parents provide learning of intimate partners relationships in adulthood. They further states that if in a family the means of dealing with stress and frustration is anger and aggression than the child when grow up would show the same type of behaviours. In this conceptualization, family not only exposes the child to violence but also teaches her/him the techniques and approval for violent acts(Gelles, 1972). The intergenerational cycle of violence hypothesis explains that most adults who happen to be violent and abusive with their intimate

partners were actually either themselves a victim of violence or have witnessed abusive behaviours in childhood (Browne, 1980; Gelles, 1972; McCord, 1988; Roy, 1982; Steinmetz, 1977; Straus et al.,1980; Walker, 1984).

Straus et al.(1980), Okun (1986), and Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) found that children who faced physical punishment or corporal punishment have greater chances of showing marital violence or violence behaviours with their own children. This body of reseach also asserts that witnessing violence between parents also result in low self-esteem and tendency to alcoholism and increased stresses in marriages.

The limitations of Bandura's Social Learning theory are that it is based on the assumption that human memory can recall in detail experiences of so much past life till the late adulthood life (Goode, 1971). This theory also asserts that adult male violence is attributed to their childhood experiences but the consequences of such experiences on female adults and their behaviours has been subjected to limited investigation (Mihalicl & Elliott, 1997). Also observational learning depends on four factors; attention, retention, motor production, incentive and motivational factors, each of which might be might lost or altered with the passage of time, of throughincapacities which restrict the ability to follow or value learned observations, this, in turn, can cause the failure to adhereto the learned behaviours (Mihalic & Elliott, 1997).

Hines and Malley-Morrison (2005), Levinson (1989), and Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981) explained that men are more likely to adopt and learn violent behaviours if they have witnessed it in their childhood than females and, as adults, are more likely to be abusive towards their partners. Forsstrom and Rosenbaum (1985) reported that females with violent parental background suffer from more anxiety, depression and aggressiveness. Anderson (1997) stated that children who have witnessed violence between their parents are more likely to adopt

violence with their own partners that the children who have themselves being victim or have experienced themselves violence in their childhood.

In contrast to the intergeneration cycle of abuse theory, several authors report that if a child has the support and love of one parent, a less stressful life and acknowledgement and determination of not repeating his childhood experiences, than the cycle of violence can be stopped (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Herrenkohl et al., 1983; Kaufman & Zigler, 1987). Andrews and Brown (1988) found that childhood neglect, young marriages, and premarital pregnancies also increase the risk for marital violence. Straus et al. (1981) suggested that although the family is a basic training ground for children, media and peers and other factors are also influential.

Feminist theory of patriarchy. Little available literature on the feminist theory of patriarchy is specifically related to Pakistan. Western literature available on patriarchy and feminist theories focuses on women's oppression and ways in which to overcome it (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). According to Eisenstein (1980), the feminist theory of patriarchy can be defined as a system of power that is based on sex and where males have more economic privileges and superior powers than females. Lerner (1986) defines patriarchy as the institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and in society more generally. Brock-Utne (1989) defines patriarchy as a type of social organization that is based on the higher social status of men compared to women; it involves having power over others, that is primarily men having power over women.

Patriarchy is founded on the ideology that one group in society can naturally be dominant over another (Lerner, 1986) and that the dominant group can use any means to remain in power and keep the subordinated group under control and in its place (Brock-Utne, 1985). Thus, the system of patriarchy provides grounds for violence as patriarchal structures are based on the

ideology of domination and power over the oppressed (Lerner, 1986). Feminist theories explain that women are abused because men want power and control over them (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; DeKeseredy & MacLeod, 1997).

Smith (1990) distinguishes between social and familial patriarchy. Social patriarchy means men's dominance in the society in general, whereas familial patriarchy relates specifically to men's control within the family. However, termed these two types are inseparable, noting the oft cited adage, the personal is political. More specifically, gender inequality at home is related to the differences in power between the two sexes in the society at large. A feminist approach to understand men's control and violence over women must consider analysis of patriarchy and the cultural systems that create male superiority and the dominance over women (Brock-Utne, 1989). Therefore most feminist perspectives do not usually differentiate between social and familial patriarchy and tend to focus more on understanding the larger social structural forces that contextualize VAW.

Kurz (1989) outlines that a feminist perspective of "wife abuse" is gender inequality where domestic violence is a way to control women. According to Gelles and Straus (1988) the family violence perspective asserts that sexism is a factor responsible for family violence among others including: unemployment, financial pressures, and exposure to violence in the family of origin. Some feminists use the term wife battering instead of the term family violence or domestic violence to underscore the gender based nature of violence. According to Kurz (1989) the feminist perspective also involves looking at the larger structural and institutional aspects of society which have disregarded and continued men's VAW historically. One such institution, marriage, has legalized inequity and in doing so overlooked or sanctioned wife abuse.

Historically in marriage the women is dependent on men because of labour division within families, which, in turn, increased men's control over women (Kurz, 1989).

Feminist theories have argued that the phenomenon of VAW is widespread and universal regardless of culture and class (Kelly, 1988; Liddle, 1989; Schwartz, 1988). DeKerseredy and Schwartz, (2011); and Liddle (1989) asserted that most of the studies on VAW are limited in value as they have not accounted for the perspectives of women victims or men offenders. Scully (1990), for example, opined the male offender's social construction should also be considered and studied while studying the reasons of violence.

Feminist Inquiry

The methodological design of this study is based on feminist orientation, which according to Nagy Hesse-Biber and Piatelli (2007), has four aspects: 1) asking new questions, 2) engaging in new kind of relationship, 3) applying innovative research techniques, and 4) promoting social change and social justice. Following is the detail how these feminist principles influenced and were incorporated in the study design.

The first aspect of asking new questions means giving voice to marginalized sections of society in the research. It emphasized including the marginalized voices that are otherwise neglected, disregarded or excluded from the mainstream world views (Hawkesworth, 2007). As discussed in the literature review, there have been no substantial researches on VAW in Pakistan especially on women who returned to shelter homes and thus have faced repeated acts of abuse in their lives. Further, most of the available literature has not considered the opinions and views of abused women. Therefore this study attempts to prioritize the voices of women who have faced repeated acts of violence by illuminating their opinions about their experiences, societal norms, services available and the needed legislation in this regard.

According to Nagy Hesse-Biber and Piatelli (2007), the second aspect of feminist inquiry “engaging in new kind of relationship” refers to considering the participants of the research study as active and knowledgeable subjects and not as passive objects of study(p. 147). They also indicated that knowledge can only be produced or mediated by lived experiences and can be communicated by interaction through face-to-face encounter. This aspect was incorporated in the study by considering the women participants as experts of their lives and experiences. The women and the service providers at the shelter homes were involved through their active participation providing valuable and unique insight for future legislation and service delivery, an area that is generally neglected.

The third aspect of discovering and applying innovative research techniques means transforming most of the conventional methodologies to include women’s subjective experiences, through interviewing (DeVault & Gross, 2007). The feminist interviewing is based on four principles that include building rapport, listening actively, honouring the stories of women and applying non-victim blaming language and theory (DeVault & Gross, 2007; Nagy Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007; Patton, 2002). For this study, I tried to build the rapport with the participants by explaining and sharing clearly about myself and the reasons, purposes and aims of the study. This also serves as an attempt at transparency and a hope to establish trust with the participants. The second principle of active listening was implied by involvement and attentiveness to women while they were sharing their experiences and their perspectives. It was also ensured by dynamically processing the information received to uncover deeper meaning that might have been remained concealed by past research endeavors. The third principle of feminist interviewing Honouring women’s stories was achieved by giving the women a chance to tell their stories and not assuming about the meanings. Each participant told her story in her own

way during the interviews and questions were raised to show interest, respect and openness so the woman could continue sharing her stories in her own way. The participants were also asked questions in a thoughtful way during interviews to clarify the content rather than jumping to assumptions. This was also a means of showing respect to them and their stories. The fourth principle of feminist interviewing using non-victim blaming language and theory refers to considering the women as active agents rather than passive victims. Women were encouraged throughout the interviews as survivors whose strengths were acknowledged, not as victims. This stance aimed to transform their experiences so they would feel empowered with the ability to affect social change. The theoretical bases of this study; Social Learning theory and feminist theory of patriarchy both helped to respect the women's experiences and perspectives and with a non-blaming attitude.

According to Nagy Hesse-Biber and Piatelli (2007), the fourth aspect of feminist inquiry fostering social justice and social change aims to changing circumstances for women. The knowledge that value women's perspectives actually challenges the dominant male culture of the society, and is thus a political action (Hawkesworth, 2007). Therefore, the basic aim of this study was to listen to the views of the women about their experiences and to suggest measures for service delivery and policy development. This study adhere to this aspect during course of the study by giving authority to women at shelter homes and the service providers of FGDs to suggestmeasures for better service delivery and offer legislation recommendations for survivors of violence that are culturally appropriate for Pakistan. These are presented in the final chapter of the dissertation.

Research Strategy

Every research project undertaken has its own strategy, which varies according to the nature of the study (Punch, 1998). The research strategy employed in this empirical study was based on case study method of qualitative research design (Creswel, 2013). The decision to select case study for conducting the research was aligned with the fact that the women who returned to shelter homes were relatively few and case study method allowed for an in-depth study with fewer cases.

Qualitative research was used as a method as it aims to comprehend and recognize the meaning and importance people have made to their lives, and also to learn the perception of people about their lives and the experiences they had in their lives (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative research was best suited for the study as it is a method which uses case studies and participant observations to narrate and describe a phenomenon (Parkinson & Drislane, 2005). Another way to explain why qualitative research method was used in my study as its interest in explicating phenomenon in its natural settings; to be able to understand the phenomenon in terms of what meaning people gave to it (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Case study method of qualitative research supports developing an understanding of the complex social phenomenon by focusing on current and real life situations (Yin, 2009). As sometimes case studies involves studying a number of individuals and events having same traits (Stake, 1995),the case study method was used to find out the distinctive qualities of the cases. The information thus gathered can be used to describe other similar cases and situations. Qualitative case study method usually employs in-depth interviews with each case that help to investigate unique features of the cases in detail (Yin, 2003).

Therefore to select the cases for this research, the distinctive features and attributes that were of interest to the researcher and were relevant to the study objectives were kept in mind.

The analysis in case study method of qualitative research mostly focuses on explaining the unique attributes of a case or cases, and the differences they have with larger population. The main aim was to find out why these cases selected are different and what makes them different from the larger population. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested that the information and knowledge acquired through case study method can be generalized to the theoretical assumptions.

Empirical studies are based on information gathered by observation, experiment or experience which means that it should be based on evidence (MacNealy, 2005). This case study used participant's interviews in shelter homes – the natural setting for this study. This approach supports gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of inquiry.

According to Neuman (2006) and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003), purposive sampling technique is one of the types of non-probability sampling where cases are selected on the basis of precise purpose only and not as randomly. Purposive sampling technique involves selecting unique cases and is generally used when the individual case or cases is a main focus of the study rather than an issue (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, purposive sampling technique was used to select the sample of the study.

Sampling Procedure

According to the Directorate General of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal Punjab Pakistan's statistics sought on November 20, 2014, there were 121 returned women in 35 shelter homes of Punjab Province. There is no shelter home in Nankana Sahib district of Punjab province as it is a newly sanctioned district. Table 1 presents the total number women who were residing in these shelter homes 611, 121 of whom were returned women accompanied by their 206 children. A returned woman is defined as a woman who had returned to a shelter after an

initial shelter stay and a return back to her community. The sampling frame for the study from each district is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Total number of returned women in shelter homes of Punjab province.

| Serial # | Name of Districts | Total number of Women Residents | Children living with Women | Returned Women |
|----------|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Attock | 03 | 01 | 0 |
| 2 | Bahawalpur | 24 | 15 | 10 |
| 3 | Bhakkar | 10 | 05 | 02 |
| 4 | Bahawalnagar | 15 | 03 | 04 |
| 5 | Chiniot | 14 | 02 | 0 |
| 6 | Chakwal | 11 | 03 | 01 |
| 7 | Dera Ghazi Khan | 14 | 05 | 03 |
| 8 | Faisalabad | 53 | 21 | 14 |
| 9 | Gujrat | 18 | 05 | 03 |
| 10 | Gujranwala | 12 | 02 | 02 |
| 11 | Hafizabad | 04 | 01 | 02 |
| 12 | Jhang | 10 | 01 | 03 |
| 13 | Jhelum | 12 | 02 | 02 |
| 14 | Khanewal | 36 | 06 | 06 |
| 15 | Kasur | 06 | 02 | 0 |
| 16 | Khushab | 12 | 05 | 03 |
| 17 | Lahore | 70 | 19 | 10 |
| 18 | Lodhran | 15 | 02 | 03 |
| 19 | Layyah | 08 | 0 | 02 |
| 20 | Muzaffargarh | 12 | 08 | 03 |
| 21 | Multan | 55 | 34 | 11 |
| 22 | Mianwali | 07 | 02 | 03 |
| 23 | Mandi Bahauddin | 15 | 01 | 01 |
| 24 | Narowal | 04 | 01 | 01 |
| 25 | Okara | 12 | 03 | 02 |
| 26 | Pakpattan | 16 | 03 | 03 |
| 27 | Rawalpindi | 28 | 12 | 02 |
| 28 | Rajanpur | 08 | 03 | 03 |
| 29 | Rahim Yar Khan | 21 | 08 | 02 |
| 30 | Sargodha | 26 | 10 | 08 |
| 31 | Sialkot | 10 | 03 | 01 |
| 32 | Sahiwal | 18 | 06 | 04 |
| 33 | Shiekhupura | 11 | 07 | 04 |
| 34 | Toba Tek Singh | 12 | 02 | 0 |
| 35 | Vehari | 09 | 03 | 03 |
| | Total | 611 | 206 | 121 |

Source: Directorate General of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal Punjab, dated November 20, 2014.

Four shelter homes had no returned women, therefore 31 shelter homes comprised the shelter sample frame with a total of 121 returned women. From this total, purposive sampling was used to select shelters and to ensure access to the maximum number of returned women and thus meet the needs of the study.

Eight shelter homes were chosen with a total of 65 returned women. These eight shelter homes and 65 women comprised the sample of the study, among these 65 returned women 57 gave consent to be interviewed. Thus 57 returned women from these eight shelter homes comprised the actual sample size of the study as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: List of selected shelter homes and total number of returned women interviewed.

| Total number of districts | Shelter Homes selected through purposive sampling | Number of women who have returned to selected Shelter Homes | Total number of women who gave consent and were interviewed |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bahawalpur | 10 | 09 |
| 2 | D.G Khan | 03 | 02 |
| 3 | Faisalabad | 14 | 12 |
| 4 | Khanewal | 06 | 06 |
| 5 | Lahore | 10 | 10 |
| 6 | Multan | 11 | 10 |
| 7 | Muzaffargarh | 03 | 03 |
| 8 | Sargodha | 08 | 05 |
| | Total participants | 65 | 57 |

Five major districts, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur, Faisalabad and Sargodha, were selected through purposive sampling technique for FGDs. These districts were selected as they were larger in geographical area and population, with higher numbers of returned women in their respective shelter homes. The FGDs were conducted with all the service providers of the shelter homes of these districts which included managers, psychologists, lawyers, physicians, NGO workers, and religious and skill teachers. Table 3 shows the total number of participants of FGDs in each selected district.

Table 3: Total number of participants of focus group discussions.

| Name of the District | Total Number of Participants | Designation of participants |
|----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Lahore | 8 | Manager, 2 Lawyers, Psychologist, Physician, Skill Teacher, 2 NGO Workers. |
| Multan | 7 | Manager, 2 Lawyers, Psychologist, Religious Teacher, 2 NGO Workers. |
| Bahawalpur | 7 | Manager, Lawyer, Psychologist, Physician, Skill Teacher, 2 NGO Workers. |
| Faisalabad | 6 | Manager, 2 Lawyers, Psychologist, Skill Teacher, NGO Worker. |
| Sargodha | 6 | Manager, Lawyer, Psychologist, Physician, Skill Teacher, Religious Teacher. |
| Total participants | 34 | |

Tools of Data Collection

The methods of data collection were in-depth interviews and FGDs. Young (2009) defined interviews as systematic technique which helps to ingeniously entering the personal life of a complete stranger. Another definition by May (1997) describes interviews as a mean of sustaining and generating a conversation with individuals on an issue or a topic, and to later analyze to fulfill the purpose of the interview. The face to face interviews helped me to engage and observe woman participants while she shared her story, by listening to her voice attentively and with care; thus respecting her as an expert of her life. The interviews were conducted in the natural setting i.e. shelter homes in this case, where the participants were residing at that time.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews. I interviewed the respondents using a semi structured interview guide which had mostly open ended questions for exploring in detail the issue under study. According to Patton (1990), semi structured interview guide helps to follow interesting points where needed. In semi structured in-depth interviews, questions were pre-determined but the researcher has the flexibility to probe and explore the answers of the

interviewee to elicit information on the study focus. Semi-structured interviews are interviews conducted to explore issues in some depth. Unlike the structured interviews, this type of interview allowed me to explore the phenomenon of interest using open-ended questions and to follow interesting leads as well as allow interviewees to provide details on the ideas and opinions that are important to them (May, 1997).

This type of interview is particularly useful when one wants to look at an issue in more depth than is possible in a simple questionnaire with yes or no type answers. Semi-structured interviews can also be conducted over the telephone or in person. In this type of interview some questions were pre-determined. According to Young, (2009), in semi-structured interviews questions can be asked using a flexible checklist rather than a formal questionnaire. In this way unnecessary or irrelevant questions were dropped and useful train of thoughts provided by the interviewee (the person being interviewed) were followed. Semi-structured interviews are actually dialogues or conversations in an informal way and mostly have a checklist of questions that are followed as flexibly as possible and are not formal questionnaires where questions are pre-determined and are asked in the sequence and are strictly followed (May, 1997). Thus, this approach helped to study the phenomenon in great detail and rich data was collected that would assist in drawing analysis and conclusions.

Interview guide. The interview guide was used to solicit information from the returned women at shelter homes and from the participants of FGDs who were service providers at those shelter homes. (See Appendix A and B for a copy of individual interview and FGD guide). Interview guides are a bit more structured than the informal conversational interviews, while there is still a bit of flexibility in its composition (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003). In this process the interviewer has the liberty of changing the wording of the questions as per the need, thus

there is a lack of uniformity in the way the research questions were asked to an individual or different individuals as the researcher can interchange the sequence and wording of the questions according to the requirement of the situation (McNamara, 2009). Thus, each interviewee does not answer the same questions as the interviewer poses different questions to each interviewee as per the direction of the story told. The researcher has the ability to collect same general areas of knowledge from each respondent in interview guide which provides more focus to the researcher than in a conversational approach, as it still provided some freedom and adaptability in interviewing the interviewee (McNamara, 2009). This interview guide helped to probe conveniently the interesting leads and the questions were molded as per the situation.

Focus group discussions. Krueger and Casey (2000) promote FGDs as a means of acquiring varied views on the issue under study. According to Patton (1990), FGDs help to explore the phenomenon with depth and participants could join the conversation whenever they feel like contributing and they help in finding out detailed information from a particular group of people. A focus group is generally a group of people from similar backgrounds who are invited to come together to give their views, ideas and opinion on a certain issue. In a focus group participants should feel relaxed enough and have sufficient time to explore issues in depth.

According to Baker, (1999), generally a FGD is held with six to 10 participants who discuss the issues related to particular topic with the help of a trained facilitator. In following this advice, I conducted five FGDs, in five shelter homes with 6-8 professionals in each including: in-charge or managers of shelter homes, skill training teachers, religious teachers, and other voluntary service providers such as physicians, lawyers, psychologists, NGO representative.

Discussions were led by myself as the facilitator and, following the recommendations of Patton (1990), I made sure that the main points were covered and that participants did not stray

too far from the field guide. To ensure that the discussion could be used to plan future work, an audio-recorder was used to record the conversation and I took written field notes on the key points that were discussed by the participants. The inclusion of an observer is sometimes useful to gain an overview of the discussion, to observe the body language and non-verbal forms of communication of the group and after the session to add any point that might have been missed by the facilitator/interviewer or by the recorder (Patton, 1990). However in this study, I was the facilitator and the observer both and the interviews were audio-recorded.

The FGDs helped to get different views and perspectives on the issue under study from various service providers who were engaged in helping the women with the aim of making their experience of residing in shelter homes better as well as their re-integration into society.

Other sources of evidence. According to Yin (2009), in addition to verbal modalities, other sources of evidence can include direct observation in terms of active listening to try and more fully understand the women participants as experts on their lives. These were the values that were employed to build rapport with the participants. Physical artifacts were the audio-recordings and their transcripts to record each interview so no detail is missed while interpreting and analyzing the data and my filed notes. As Yin (2009) suggested, the reports or documentation from other sources could also be reviewed as data sources. Therefore personal files of the participants at respective shelter homes were consulted to augment the information that the women provided in the interviews. Moreover, the annual reports of organizations working on VAW in the country were used to access information on the statistics and to select the most critical geographical location for the study in respect of VAW. Therefore multiple sources of data collection or evidence were employed to conduct the study.

Ethical Considerations

Ethics clearance was sought from the Advanced Study and Research Board (ASRB) of University of Peshawar, Pakistan (see Appendix C). Ethical behaviour in social research means that researcher should not bring any harm to the respondents, and should ensure privacy and confidentiality of the participants (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2000). It also means that confidentiality of respondents should be ensured at all costs, and the informed consent shall be obtained from each respondent so that they have a chance to refuse, withdraw or participate voluntarily with full knowledge of the purpose and aims of the research. The ethical considerations also ensures that inappropriate behavior by the researcher would also be avoided; for example the data would be transcribed and analyzed honestly without misrepresentation (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2000).

The research process was divided into three phases: the preparatory stage, the pilot study and the main field research. The aim of the preparatory stage of field research was to introduce the research objectives to the officials of the Directorate of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal Punjab Lahore, Pakistan and to seek permission for conducting the interviews. It was also important to obtain the officials' opinions about the interview guide and focus group tools and the approach to data collection. It took approximately one month to get permission from the Directorate of Social Welfare & Bait ul Maal, Punjab Lahore Pakistan as they had to send an official letters to all the managers of selected shelter homes working under the Ministry and to inform them to extend their support in conducting the interviews in their respective shelter homes (see Appendix D for a copy of the authorization letter).

Pre-testing is an important step in empirical research. It is often seen as good practice in research to pre-test questionnaires before using it in a main research (Collins, 2003). In this study, I conducted a pilot study to determine the utility of the research instrument the field guide

and its ability to achieve the aims of the study and answer the research questions. It assisted me in determining the clarity and understandability of the questions and the degree to which respondents felt at ease to answer them. Furthermore, the pilot-study helped to determine the length of time it would take to complete an interview to aid in planning the field visits. The pilot study was completed at the shelter home of Lahore district by interviewing five women. The tools were revised and amended on the basis of the learning and experience of the pilot study. For example, some of the questions were reworded to be more understandable for the participants before they were used for the main study. The data collected by pilot-study was not included in the main study.

The list of returned women was taken from the manager of respective shelter homes before visiting the venue. Thus main study started after the pilot study, with interviewing the respondents in respective eight districts in Punjab Province as indicated previously. Before interviewing the participants, verbal informed consent was sought from them as is the local practice. Most of the women recruited for the study were illiterate and could not read or write in any local or national language, therefore they could not read or sign a consent form. Following the introduction of the consent form (see Appendix E) the purpose and aims of the research was clearly explained to women participants. Women were told that participation in the study was voluntary and that they could terminate the interview anytime they wished. Pseudonyms were used in the final report and in any presentation or publication of the study to keep confidentiality and not bring any harm to participants. The dates of the interviews, the home areas of the women and the district names of respective shelter homes where the women were residing at the time of interviews were omitted in the final report to minimize any identification of the women. Additionally, to respect the confidentiality of the women participants their individual stories in

total, although collected for the study, are not provided in this dissertation. The districts names of the shelter homes for FGDs are provided in the report, however the names and designation of the various service providers are not provided to keep the confidentiality of the persons involved.

Data Analysis

An active analytical process is required throughout the research study for the purpose of data analysis in qualitative studies (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Patton, 1990; Thorne, 2000). Therefore, it is important that qualitative researchers record their ideas, thoughts and processes in detail throughout the research process, especially during data collection stage where the research starts making sense (Patton, 2002). I used a notebook to record my personal thoughts, emerging themes and interpretation throughout the study. According to Thorne (2000), this type of documentation helps the researcher to capture his theoretical lens and the means to determine what data is important and relevant for the study. According to Patton (2002), qualitative studies are distinctive in that they mainly depend on the intellect and style of the researcher. Therefore, noting down my thoughts, views, and processes helped to shape the subsequent analysis of the study.

The process of data analysis was also influenced by my feminist perspectives which were reflected in my thoughts as documented in the note book and influenced the analysis process. I was deeply aware that women's personal experiences, their reactions and choices were based on the larger socio-political context of the society. All this influenced how the categories were formulated during data analysis, many of which were contextually based. For example, categories like child, forced and exchanged marriages, recognized that women are abused in the context of customary practices that have roots in the social environment.

The next step of analysis includes verbatim transcription of all the audio-tapes, which I did myself. According to Coleman and Unrau, (1996), transcription should entail all spoken words along with non-verbal comments like laughing or crying. The process of transcribing the recordings by the researcher creates an intimate connection with the content and helps the researcher in the analysis (Coleman & Unrau, 1996). This transcription process also helps to identify the themes from the data, which is an important step of data analysis. Therefore, each interview was typed in a separate computer file in detail by me. Each file contained personal details of each interviewee including demographics, the case history as told as full transcripts of the interviews. As Corbin and Strauss, (1990) suggested that transcribing information from tape recorded interviews is a lengthy process; therefore one hour of the recorded interview took from five to six hours to transcribe.

The tools constructed in this study were in English but the interviews with the respondents were conducted in *Urdu* (national language), *Punjabi* or *Saraiki* (local languages). Thirty interviews were conducted in *Urdu* the remainder in *Punjabi* (n=19) and *Saraiki* (n=8). I translated all of the interviews that were in *Urdu* and *Punjabi* language as I was fluent in both these languages. A translator, who was a service providers of shelter home, assisted in *Saraiki* interviews. Extreme care was taken in translating words into English. In some cases where it was difficult to find the exact equivalent word in English, the original local words were used in the interview transcripts, with an explanation provided in English in order to convey to the reader, the best interpretation of what the respondent meant.

During the process of transcribing the interviews, I carefully noted down all my thoughts and ideas in the notebook so I could consult them in the later phases of investigation. After preparing verbatim transcription of approximately half of the interviews, I began next level of

analysis that is coding. According to Anastas (2004), coding is the heart of qualitative data analysis as it makes meaning-making possible. I started constructing the preliminary codes by reviewing the transcripts of the interviews (Patton, 2002). This review of the data was the first step towards organization and the next step was to manually coding and re-coding the transcript data to identify themes, creating categories and coding the categories (Coleman & Unrau, 1996). This process helped to determine the obvious elements and themes from the text (Patton, 1990). This step of analysis does not bring forward deeper meanings of the data, rather the coding remains at the surface.

According to Coleman and Unrau (2005), Glesne and Peshkin, (1992), Lincoln and Guba (1985), and Thorne (2000), comparative analysis method refers to comparing data on the basis of similarities and differences. Thorne (2000) indicated that comparative analysis helps the researcher to conceptualize the possible relationship between different sections of the data. I used this constant comparative analysis process to develop meaning of categories and documented it in my note book.

Later I transcribed the remaining interviews and followed the same process to make additions and changes to the coding framework. According to Coleman and Unrau (1996), the next step in data analysis is to identify similarities and differences between the categories to detect relationships. This second level of coding involves deep, abstract, and interpretive exploration of the data. Therefore, I separated the meaning units from interview transcripts and grouped them into specific categories. According to this step in analysis shifts the focus from the context of interview towards the context of categories (Coleman & Unrau, 1996). The final step was to examine the categories and search for themes and patterns to provide a guide for discussion and recommendations of the study.

Trustworthiness and Credibility

According to Anastas (2004), the quality in qualitative research depends on its trustworthiness. There are different strategies and processes used to establish quality or truth value in qualitative research methodology (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Coleman and Unrau, (2005), Leitz et al. (2006), and Lincoln and Guba (1985), trustworthiness in qualitative research can be attained if the research findings are believable to other researchers and accurately present the meaning described by the participants of the research. Morrow (2005) and Williams et al. (2005) identify four types of standards to adhere to trustworthiness in qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. How these standards influenced this study is outlined in the following.

Credibility. Credibility is the first means of ensuring quality in qualitative research. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), credibility reflects the researcher's confidence in truth and believability of the research findings. I ensured the credibility of this study by utilizing peer debriefing to reduce bias, triangulation and thick description.

Peer debriefing refers to minimizing the researcher's bias by connecting with people outside the research process (Lietz et al., 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007; Morrow, 2005). Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007) add that peer debriefing helps the researcher in finding an objective person who raises difficult questions about the meanings, procedures, analysis and conclusions and also provides opportunity for catharsis to the researcher. Creswell, (2013) also indicated that peer review and debriefing can also be used to get varied views on findings and analysis. The methodology, theories, findings, themes and analysis were shared occasionally with fellow students and other experts, such as feminist's researchers to help me avoid personal biases. Personal bias is present in selecting the issue for

study and describing the findings and analysis(Creswell, 2013). Therefore the feminists approach was used subjectively in proposing the framework and to analyze the data. Participants views were also solicited after each interviews, and the participants were briefed about the summary of the interview and emergent issues from the interview.

Triangulating information can be another step towards validation and credibility(Creswell, 2013). Therefore source triangulation was achieved by collecting information from national NGOs reports to locate evidence for documenting the themes and codes that emerged during analysis. Collecting data from 57 women and from 34 different service providers in five FGDs was also a means of source triangulation. The triangulation of analysis was achieved by sharing the summary of the interview and general themes emerging, immediately after each interview with the participants. This gives the participants an opportunity to clarify and provide further information. Triangulation of theory was achieved by utilizing diverging theoretical perspectives that helped to analyze results with both current literature base and previous studies.

The last measure of credibility involves thick description that provides detailed descriptions of participant's experiences so the other readers can judge the transferability of the findings (Franklin & Ballan, 2005;Morrow, 2005; Patton, 2002). According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), thick description can be best accomplished by utilizing verbatim transcription. This study adhered to thick description by providing rich data from verbatim transcription in the findings chapter.

Transferability. Transferability is the second measure of achieving trustworthiness. Transferability refers to the ability of the researcher to generalize, transfer and apply the findings to other comparable context or the similar client population(Williams et al., 2005). Another

researcher can only judge the transferability of the research if description of the participants, the methodologies utilized and study findings are provided in detail in the research report. I achieved this by utilizing audio-recording and verbatim transcription as the methodology of the research and by providing detailed information of the participant's experiences in the findings chapter of this report. This can be helpful for other researchers to determine the transferability of findings into other contexts.

Dependability. The third means of achieving trustworthiness is dependability, which refers to providing explicit documentation so that other researchers can follow the process and can arrive at the similar conclusion(Coleman & Unrau, 1996; Morrow (2005). Coleman and Unrau, (2005), Lietz et al. (2006), Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007) suggest that the dependability process is similar to meeting credibility of the study and can be achieved by triangulation and peer debriefing, both of which have been discussed previously. Lincoln and Guba (1985) indicated another means of meeting dependability and that is audit trail to provide detailed chronology of all research process and activities in the report. This was achieved by documenting all emerging themes, influences on data collection, process of decisions made and analysis in the report, so the study could be replicated.

Confirmability. The fourth measure of trustworthiness is confirmability that can also be called as researcher's neutrality. Confirmability can be attained by acknowledging that the research is in no way objective and the findings reflect a research process rather than researcher's bias(Morrow, 2005; Patton (2002). The study achieved this by utilizing audio-recording and verbatim transcription to capture accurately the responses of the participant without my own interpretation and biases included in them.

Methodological Limitations and Strengths

Qualitative researchers are critiqued because they employ small samples which make it difficult to generalize. According to Sheppard (2004), in the social work profession, researchers use non-probability samples as the studies are carried out in environments or with populations where it is difficult or impractical to access random samples. It is therefore difficult to access and recruit survivors of domestic violence from outside services. The survivors of violence also struggle with societal stigma and feelings of shame and embarrassment which prevent them from coming forward and sharing their experiences openly with others. The trauma associated with violence and ethical implications involved in re-traumatizing the women by asking about their painful experiences, is a challenging task. Non-probability sampling used in this study helped to obtain a sample that was able to speak to the questions posed, while being mindful of the barriers these women could experience in sharing their stories.

The Report

In following the approach outlined by Creswell (2013) and Yin (2009), case studies and the final report are presented within a chronological structure. The introduction chapter has the brief overview of VAW history in the west, along with situation of VAW in Pakistan, definitions of key terms, objectives and contributions of the study. The literature review has four sections. First section is about history of VAW in west, the recognition of the issue and emerging interventions. Second section has the history of women's right movement in different ruling regime of Pakistan. Third section has the history of social welfare and shelter homes in Pakistan and fourth section is about social context of VAW. The methodology chapter has the overview of Bandura's Social Learning theory and Feminist theory of patriarchy. It also has the details of sampling framework, tools of data collection, ethical considerations for the study, and analysis approach used for the study. The findings chapter has the quantitative data about demographic

details of the participants and the qualitative data describing the themes with the help of quotes taken from interviews and FGDs. In the final chapter of implications, these outcomes were used to suggest measures for policy and practice by social welfare agencies and organizations and also for social workers so they can better help the women survivors of violence in Pakistani society. Suggestions also include the practice and intervention strategies of western countries that are culturally appropriate for replication in Pakistan.

All the above systematic and technical approach to data collection, analysis and reporting the study would be helpful to evaluate the authenticity and originality of the study. The qualitative method of social research provided flexibility in approach and practicality of the current study. The in-depth interviews were the strength of the study as they provided a means to study the cases in detail and FGDs helped to study the phenomenon with different perspectives. The study was important as it not only gave voice to the women to describe their situations but would also helped to suggest measures to promote social justice and freedom with respect to the women victims of violence and abuse in the society.

Chapter Four: Findings

This chapter reports the results of the study from the interviews with 57 shelter consumers and five FGDs with 34 service providers. It first presents the demographic and descriptive information on the women, including: age, literacy, poverty and family background. The results of the thematic analysis are then described. Five major themes were found, three which contribute to abuse at the societal, relationship and individual level; the fourth theme concerns the types of abuse and the final theme concerns the prevention and intervention of domestic violence. Societal factors that contribute to abuse include sub-themes of patriarchy, media and social taboos. Relationship factors are comprised of sub-themes including: violence in the family of origin as well as several types of marriage traditions based on customary practices. Individual factors that contribute to abuse involve subthemes of male experiences with addiction, gambling and unemployment. In the themes, causes of abuse, women describe their physical, verbal or emotional, sexual and psychological abuse experiences. The fifth theme involves the prevention and intervention of domestic violence, examining how women accessed shelter homes, their duration of stay, and the length of time they remained outside of the shelter home, before returning for a second time. This is followed by discussion on the re-integration process and the dangers and difficulties women experience at this time. The chapter closes with findings regarding the legal sanctions against VAW including legislation on domestic violence and appropriate punishment for perpetrators.

The quantitative data about demographic details of the returned women is presented first in findings followed by the qualitative data about women's and service provider's quotes on their experience of VAW.

Demographic Profile

Age of the participants. The majority of women who returned to the shelter home were young; more than half (52.6%) were under the age of 25. Women under the age of 35 represented 96.4% of the participants; only one woman in the study was over the age of 45. Table 4 shows the age distribution for women who participated in the study.

Table 4: Age Range of Women Participants

| Age Range (years) | Percentage |
|-------------------|------------|
| 1-19 | 26.3% |
| 20-24 | 26.3% |
| 25-29 | 26.3% |
| 30-34 | 17.5% |
| 35-39 | 1.8% |
| 40-44 | 0% |
| 45-49 | 1.8% |
| Total | 100% |

Family background, structure, and size. Most of the women in the study lived in villages (70.2%), while 15.8% lived in towns and the remaining (14%) lived in cities. Prior to returning to the shelter, the majority of women (75.4%) lived in extended families and just less than one quarter (24.6%) lived in nuclear families after marriage.

Table 5 outlines the number of siblings for women in the study. In terms of family composition, just over half of the women had between three and six siblings (50.9%) in their families of origin. Very few women were from single child families (5.3%) and fewer still had nine or more siblings (3.2%). In contrast, husbands of women in the study came from families of slightly larger size: 37.5% had five to six siblings, 28.6% had seven to eight siblings, and 8.9% had nine to ten siblings.

Table 5: Number of Siblings of Women Participants

| Number of Siblings | Percentage |
|--------------------|------------|
| Only child | 5.3% |
| 1-2 | 17.5% |
| 3-4 | 26.3% |
| 5-6 | 24.6% |
| 7-8 | 10.5% |
| 9-10 | 14% |
| More than 10 | 1.8% |
| Total | 100% |

All but one woman in the sample was married. Most of the women were married at young ages: 59% between the ages of 10 to 15 years, 20% between 15 to 20 years and 12% between 20 to 25 years. Only 9% of women were married after 25 years of age. By comparison, men were considerably older when married to the women in the study; most (29%) were over 40 years of age at the time of their marriage. Few men were young at the time of marriage, 9% had been less than 15 years old and 9% were between 15 and 20 years of age.

Regarding the duration of marriage, the majority of women had been married for between 6 and 10 years (39%). Very few women were married more than 20 years. Women's duration of marriage is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Number of Years Married

| Number of years married | Percentage |
|-------------------------|------------|
| < 1 yr | 14% |
| 1-5 yrs | 12% |
| 6-10 yrs | 39% |
| 11-15 yrs | 11% |
| 16-20 yrs | 20% |
| 21-25Yrs | 2% |
| >25 yrs | 2% |
| Total | 100% |

Most of the women in the study did not have children (37.5%). Of those who did have children, most had between three and four children (28.6%), followed by those who had one to two children (25%) and a small minority who had from five to six children (8.9%).

Education and illiteracy. The overall education level of the women in this study was quite low. Most of the women were illiterate (70.2%), defined as the inability to read or write a simple sentence in any language. Most women had a minimal level of education; approximately 15% of the women had completed primary school, 7% had completed middle or lower secondary school, and 5.3% were educated up to matriculation or secondary school. Only one woman in the study had intermediate or higher secondary education and none had post-secondary education.

Much like the women in the study, the education levels of the women's husbands and fathers were also very low. Nearly all fathers (93%) and most husbands (80.3%) were illiterate. Only 7% of fathers and 8.9% of husbands were educated up to matriculation. Very few husbands were educated up to middle, intermediate, and, bachelor's levels and none of the fathers received intermediate (higher secondary) education.

Employment/unemployment. Most of the women (56.1%) were unemployed working instead in their homes carrying out unpaid domestic work. Of the 43.9% of women who were employed, most (40%), had irregular work as a tailor, doing embroidery or weaving sweaters or carpets by order in their home. Some women (24%) were employed as farmers or labourers on the lands owned by others in their villages while a small percentage of women worked as maids, tutors, school teachers, or in factories (see Table 7.).

Table 7: Types of Employment for Women

| Type of Employment (N=23) | Percentage |
|---------------------------|------------|
| Tailor | 40% |
| Farmer/laborer | 24% |
| Maid | 8% |
| Tutor | 8% |
| School teacher | 8% |
| Factory worker | 4% |
| Nurse | 4% |
| Brick kiln worker | 4% |
| Total | 100% |

Much like the women in the study, the majority of women's fathers (34%) were employed as laborers or daily wage-workers. Some fathers (32%) were feudallandlords who farmed their own lands, and 9.1% were employed in the police or the army or as guards. A small number of the fathers (4.5%) worked asreligious scholars, shopkeepers, drivers or house-builders. By comparison, only 2.3% of women's mothers were employed, one as labourer and another as a traditional birth attendant.

Of the women's husbands, 71% were employed, the remainder (29%)were unemployed. The vast majority of husbands (89%) were entirely supporting their own families, while11% had financial help from their extended family. Of the total working husbands, 27.5% employed as labourers or daily wage earners, 20% were either feudal landlords or farmers, and 15% were shopkeepers and 15% were working in factories. Employment for the remaining husbands includeshome-based worker (tailor, carpet weaver), drivers, milkman, cook, and working in a brick kiln (see Table 8.)

Table 8: Types of Employment for Women’s Husbands

| Type of Employment (N=40) | Percentage |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| Laborer | 27% |
| Feudal Landlord/Farmer | 20% |
| Shopkeeper | 15% |
| Factory worker | 15% |
| Security/police/army | 7% |
| Tailor/carper weaver | 5% |
| Driver | 5% |
| Shepherd | 5% |
| Milkman | 5% |
| Cook | 2% |
| Building contractor | 2% |
| Brick Kiln | 2% |
| Total | 100% |

Income.Most women in the study (52%) reported earning between 5,001 and 10,000 rupees per month (US\$51 – 100) and slightly fewer (48%) earned less than 5,000 rupees per month (US\$50).The monthly income for a large number of women (43.9%) was low. For example, women working as tailors, earned only 200-400 rupees (US\$2 – 4) per embroidery order.

The monthly household income of the women’s biological family was also low. Most families(52%) earned between 5,000 -10,000 (US\$50 – 100) rupees per month and 20% earned between 15,000 – 20,000 rupees per month (US\$150 – 200). Only 2% of families earned more than 25,000 rupees monthly (US\$250).

The monthly income for the women’s husbands was likewise minimal. For example, almost half of the husbands (49%) earned between 5,000 and 10,000 rupees per month (US\$50 – 100). Almost one quarter of husbands (24%) received 10,000 - 15,000 rupees per month (US\$ 100 – 150), while 16% earned 15,000 – 20,000 rupees (US\$ 150 – 200) and only 2% up to 25,000 rupees per month (US\$ 250).

Framework of Themes

The following section presents the findings from the qualitative analysis. The framework of five themes, 14 sub-themes and 27 categories is presented in Table 9. Illustrative quotes, drawn directly from the written transcripts, are provided as data. Data is also drawn from each FGD with the service providers. In order to maintain the confidentiality of the women in the study, pseudonyms are used with the quotes.

Table 9: Framework of Themes

Theme 1: Societal Factors Contributing to Abuse

Sub-theme 1: Patriarchy

Sub-theme 2: Media

Sub-theme 3: Social Taboos

Theme 2: Relationship Factors of Abuse

Sub-theme 4: Violence in the family of Origin

Sub-theme 5: Customary Marriage Practices

Category 1: Early and Child Marriages/Arranged Marriages

Category 2: Forced Marriages

Category 3: Exchanged Marriages

Category 4: Money involved in Marriages

Category 5: *Panchaiyat*'s (Tribe's or Family Elder's) decided Marriages

Category 6: Love Marriages

Category 7: Dowry and *Haq Meher*

Theme 3: Individual Factors of Abuse

Sub-theme 6: Addiction

Sub-theme 7: Gambling

Sub-theme 8: Unemployment

Theme 4: Causes of Abuse

Sub-theme 9: Physical and Verbal or Emotional Abuse

Sub-theme 10: Sexual Abuse

Category 8: Sexual Violence

Category 9: Sexually Abusive Husband

Category 10: Sexual assault/sexual advance by male family member

Category 11: Illicit Relations

Sub-theme 11: Psychological Abuse

Category 12: Non Acceptance of Verbal Divorce

Category 13: *Halala* (Re-marriage with ex-husband)

Category 14: Compromise and Reconciliation with Abusive Husband

Category 15: Social Stigma

Category 16: Honour

Category 17: Issues Related to Children

Category 18: Doubts Character

Theme 5: Prevention and Intervention

Sub-theme 12: Shelter Homes

Category 19: Access to Shelter Home

Category 20: Duration of stay

Category 21: Satisfaction level

Category 22: Peer Relationships

Sub-theme 13: Community Reintegration

Category 23: Reintegration

Category 24: Impediments to reintegration

Category 25: Future Plans

Sub-theme 14: Legislation

Category 26: Domestic violence laws

Category 27: Punishment for perpetrators

Societal Factors Contributing to Abuse

This section provides detailed accounts revealing societal influences that contribute to VAW. It first describes how patriarchy upholds woman abuse then highlights media and social taboos as additional factors.

Patriarchy. Women explained that they experienced abuse from brothers, fathers and husbands. Other relatives like *Tayya* (father's elder brother), *Chacha* (father's brother), *Mamoo* (mother's brother) and sometimes mothers-in-law or step-mothers were aggressive to the women. Many women discussed how men in their family believed they were entitled to be abusive towards them and reasons for the abuse were most notably, entitlement and honour. They explained that because men are the primary wage earners and decision makers in their families, men maintain a lot of power. Three excerpts from the FGDs further explain how male patriarchy and entitlement contribute to abuse against women:

The persons most hostile to women in their homes include the father and brother. In one case, the brother was hostile to the woman who had left her home twice as he considered it an issue of his honour. He accused her of going out and meeting people believing that when this occurs, other people will believe that she has eloped with a boy or has left home to take refuge in a shelter home. It is viewed as disrespectful and dishonouring for them and their family and as a result, they become hostile toward their sister. In the case of women who are married, their husbands are the ones who are abusive to their wives. (FGD of Bahawalpur district)

Generally, in rural areas, there is an extended family system where all married brothers live together with their children and parents. The *Chacha*, *Tayya* and even the *Mamoo* influence family decisions, especially those that pertain to the women of the house. These male relatives are considered the head of the family and are the primary earners, thus giving them the most power. Even when the extended family comes to a shelter home for reconciliation with the women staying there, they play an active role. The woman's parents

in contrast, have very little power in helping and making decisions for their daughter.
(FGD of Faisalabad district)

It is most often the brother or the husband that acts abusively to the woman of the house, as they consider it their honour to do so. Most of the women who come to a shelter home in Faisalabad belonged to rural areas, where at times, rather than her husband, it is the husband's brothers or husband's mother and father who are abusing the woman. (FGD of Faisalabad district)

Media. Women also reported that their husbands used to watch violent and indecent movies, suggesting this was also a contributing factor to their abusive behaviour at home. Five participants explain the link between violence in the media and woman abuse in their lives:

My husband and his brothers used to watch indecent stage dramas and violent movies and used to beat their wives. (Ammara)

He had bad company and used to go to the village's small video shop to watch violent movies with his friends and people said that his friends also beat the women of their house. (Shagufta)

My husband did not have a good company of friends so he learnt bad habits from them. He watched violent movies with them and when he came home after meeting with them, it looked like he had taken drugs or had drunk with them. He did not do any work either.
(Rehana)

My husband was eldest in his family and was an addict and he also used to watch violent movies. (Kausar)

My husband used to drink alcohol and beat me when he was drunk. My husband was eldest among his three sisters and five brothers. He had decision-making powers within his family and used to watch violent Punjabi movies as there was cable in the house. (Naeema)

Social taboos. Women were asked about social taboos related to women in Pakistani society. They acknowledged that Pakistani social norms dictate that women should be submissive, obedient, timid and fearful; they cannot be brave, courageous, or rebellious. In contrast, when asked specifically whether women could be brave, 89% of those interviewed indicated 'yes', 9% said 'no' and 2% were 'uncertain'. Arifa offered, "A woman should be brave *takey apni jang khud lar sake*[so she can fight her battle herself]".

There is also a social taboo in Pakistani society that a woman cannot live alone and must be supported by a man. Most of the women interviewed (58%) agreed with this notion, while a smaller but substantial percentage disagreed (40%) and a few (2%) were uncertain. Three quotes from women illustrate the importance of having a man as support:

Women cannot live alone as *aurat tou hamesha kamzor hoti he*[woman is always weak].
Woman is incomplete without a man as *admi sahara hota he*[man is a support] but now onward my children will be my support. *jo bhi aurat ghar se nikalti he majboor ho ker nikalti he, shouk se koi bhi nahi ata yahan*[whosoever woman leaves her home, it is always in dire circumstances, none comes for pleasure to the shelter home]. (Saima)

A woman cannot live alone in this society as *agar mujhe bahir sahara na hoye tou main bahir kaise azad ho sakdi an ya bahir kithe ja sakdi han; ais liye aine parishani he mard ke bagiar ka aurat dar ul aman ke darwaze se bahir akeli nahi ja sakdi*[if I do not have support of a man outside I cannot go out of this shelter home and it is that difficult for a woman that she cannot go outside the gate of this shelter home if there is no man with her for her support]. (Rehana)

Woman cannot live alone in this society as *mard ka jab tak aurat ke sath nam na jura ho, aurat ki koi zindagi nahi, duniya hi us ko jeene nahi de gi*[if a woman does not have man's name as her sir name she has nothing, this world will not let her live without a man]. (Farhana)

Whereas, one woman, Shamim, felt that a woman should be able to make due on her own: A woman can live alone [with determination], *kion nahi reh sakti; jis key mar jate hain woh bhi tou rehti he*[why cannot she live alone; those whose men die, live alone so she can live alone too without a man].

Another social taboo is that woman, land and money create problems in society. When asked about this belief, 46% of women denied this taboo, 37% supported it and 17% said that they do not know. Mehwish challenged, “*aurat se kaise masle ban sakte hain?* [how can a woman create problems]?”

Relationship Factors of Abuse

Women identified relationship factors in their experiences of abuse. This included violence in the family of origin and customary marriage practices.

Violence in the family of origin. Several women reported that their husbands had been exposed to violence in their childhood as many had witnessed their fathers assaulting their mothers. Many women also shared that their husbands would abuse them in front of their children, thus perpetuating the cycle of violence. Three quotes illustrate this theme:

It was told to me by my neighbours and relatives that my husband's father also used to beat his wife and my husband's elder brother who lived in the upper portion of our house also used to beat his wife in front of his children and neighbours. (Ammara)

The father of my husband used to beat his mother when he was a child and my husband used to beat me in front of my children. (Uzma)

My husband's younger brother also used to beat his wife in front of his children and my neighbours and other relatives told me that their father also used to beat their mother in front their childhood, (Samra)

Customary marriage practices. Women reported that they faced abuse from their immediate family members including their parents who had married them off following customary practices and without giving consideration to their wishes and interests. As noted in the demographic section most of the women in the study were young when they were married to older men. These arranged marriages, at times, were forced by coercively putting the woman's thumb impression on marriage contract papers or by accepting money from the groom's family. Some of the marriages were also arranged by *Panchaiyat*, which occurs when the tribe's or family's elders arrange a marriage to settle a dispute between two families and the woman is

given to the rival party as compensation. Descriptions of the relationship between woman abuse and arranged marriages are described in the following:

Some women report domestic violence if they are married and there are economic problems such as their husband not providing basic needs like food and clothing. However, most women seek refuge in a shelter home because they endured domestic violence in their homes either from their husbands or parents. Unmarried women who come to the shelter home report issues of choice marriage and forced marriages. Another case involved a girl who wanted to continue her studies and did not want to marry at that time. Her parents were forcing her to get married, to leave and discontinue her studies so she left home and came to the shelter. (FGD of Lahore district)

Many types of customary practices that contribute to woman abuse, data analysis revealed the following themes: early/child marriages, forced marriages, exchange marriages, money involved in marriages, *Panchaiyat* marriages, love marriages and dowry/*Haq Meher*.

Early/child marriages or arranged marriages. The majority of women (61%) indicated that their marriage was arranged. For many, this occurred when they were children. Women explained that they were married after having menstruation once or twice, around 12 or 14 years of age. Five women shared how they were married young, often to much older men, by their parents:

My parents arranged my marriage when I was only 14 years old. I had menstruations only twice before my marriage and my husband would be around 40 or 50 years old at that time. He was my mother's *Mamoo* and I received no dowry and no *Haq Mehr* at the time of my marriage. (Tanzeela)

I was only two years old at the time of my Nikkah [signing of marriage contract] and it has been eight years to my Rukhsati [leaving parent's home and going to husband's home to live with him]. She said that I had menstruation only one time before leaving my parent's home and second time I had menstruation in my husband's home. (Rahla)

My father arranged my marriage with the son of my *Chacha* three years back when I was almost 19 years old and my husband was only 12 years old at the time of our marriage. (Waheeda)

I was 12 years of age at the time of my marriage and my husband was 60 years old at that time. (Shameema)

I was 15 years old at the time of my marriage and my husband was much older than me almost above 50 years of age as his sons were of my age and he was married twice before marrying with me and I was his third wife. (Rehana)

Some women, who are married young, come to the shelter home when they are older. They have matured and come to know their rights. One excerpt from the FGD explains:

There have been cases in the shelter home where women reported that they were married at the age of 12 or 13 years old and, after tolerating abuse for ten or more years, they

mature in age and then try to escape from the unpleasant situation. (FGD of Multan district)

Forced marriages.Some women (12.5%) reported that their marriages had been forced, where only their thumb impressions were taken on marriage contract papers. Among these women, 19% reported that their parent's family (father or brother) physically abused them forcing them to marry according to the family's choice and against the women's wishes. Four women explain how they were forced to marry, often in the context of physical violence:

I did not know how much *Haq Mehr* was decided at my marriage as I was against this marriage and one of my cousins just took my thumb impressions on the marriage contract papers and I did not even say yes at the time of my *Nikkah*[marriage]. (Saira)

My husband was of the age of my parents at the time of our marriage and he had been married twice before marrying me. I did not know even on the day of my marriage that it was my marriage function, I was sitting with my friends and a Maulvi [religious scholar] just came to me and everyone said that I am the bride and my family just took my thumb impressions on marriage contract papers. (Tanzeela)

I was interested to marry a boy from our neighbours but my parents married me off with someone else by taking only the impressions of my thumb forcefully on marriage contract. I could not refuse in front of *Maulvi* because *kabool nahi kerti tou marte mujhe*[if I have not said that I agree in front of the religious scholar then they would

have tortured me]. After 15 days of my marriage I left my in-laws home and came to shelter home to seek refuge. (Palwasha)

I was interested in a man who lived in my village and he also sent his proposal for me to my parents but as he was not of the same caste as of my parent's family so my parents refused him. My parents arranged my marriage against my will and just took my thumb impressions on marriage contract papers. My brothers and one of my cousins had beaten me when I asked my family to marry me on my own choice on the pretext that I had asked about my choice for marriage. (Samra)

Most of the time, an unmarried girl comes to the shelter home if her parents were arranging her marriage against her will and she wanted to marry someone else by her own choice. Two excerpts from the FGDs illustrate this theme:

For one woman, her parents did not ask or consider her willingness to be married but when the woman realized that she could no longer live with the man her parents chose for her, she started looking for other options to get out of the situation. (FGD of Multan district)

In the case of unmarried girls, if a girl wants to continue her studies but her parents force her to quit to be married or if a girl wants to marry someone by choice, against her family's wishes, she may be beaten until she obeys. In these circumstances, some will leave home and come to the shelter home. (FGD of Faisalabad district)

Exchange marriages. Eleven women shared they had been a part of an exchanged marriage (a type of forced marriage). These women were married in exchange for their father, brother, *Chacha's*, or *Mamoo's* marriage to either the daughter of their soon-to-be-husband or the sister of their husband. A few of these women (4%) revealed they faced physical abuse at the time of their exchange marriage and a further 2% reported they were abused by their husbands because of their exchange marriage. Four share their experiences with exchange marriages and the often physical violence that accompany this arrangement:

I got married in exchange for my brother's marriage with my sister-in-law and after my *Rukhsati* I went to my husband's house but my in-laws did not send their daughter [my sister in law] to my brother's home after his *Nikkah* saying that my brother had no proper house to keep his wife there. So my in-laws used to torture me mentally by using abusive language against my brothers and my family and used to beat me in front of my children also that their sister is still living with them and I had come to live with my husband at his home. (Mehwish)

I was 17 years old at the time of my marriage and my husband was 12 years old at that time. My parents married me by force; I asked them to marry me with someone else *itni bari baradari he kisi ke sath bhi kara den jo meri umar ka ho*[we have such a big family so marry me with someone else who would be of my age also and would be appropriate for me], although I was also not interested in someone else but they refused and married me without my willingness. I was told that I will be engaged only but on the day of the engagement ceremony, they brought a *Maulvi* and took my thumb impressions by force

and I did not even utter 'yes' to anyone at the time of my *Nikkah*. In exchange for my marriage, my younger brother was married to my sister in law. My father and my *Chacha* owned joint land, thus they married their daughters with each other's sons so that their property will remain in the family and they do not have to give share of property to their daughters, if they get married out of the family. (Rehana)

My father married me in exchange of his own marriage and my husband was son of my father's new wife. Whenever there was dispute among my father and my new mother, my husband used to beat me in revenge of my father's ill treatment of his mother. (Shahzina)

I was married in exchange of my brother's marriage with a sister of my husband and when my brother used to beat his wife then my husband also started beating me in revenge. She said that my brother had thrown his wife (my sister-in-law) from his house and when she came back to her parent's house (which was my husband's home) my husband threw me out of his home in revenge and took my son also from me. (Khalida)

Money involved in marriages. In 3.5% of the marriages, the women's parents took money from the groom's family in exchange for marrying their daughter. In a few cases, women faced physical and verbal abuse by the groom's family after the marriage as her parents had not returned the money, which was considered a loan. Two quotes illustrate this circumstance:

My parents told my in-laws that they have to pay them in exchange for their daughter's marriage to their son and thus my in-laws paid rupees 100,000[\$1,000USD] to my

parents and arranged all the furniture and other things themselves for the bride and groom. Initially my parents said to them that it is a debt on them but later after marriage they refused to pay them back the money so my in-laws did not allow me to visit my family after my marriage and my husband who was an addict started beating me and asked me for the money they have paid to my parents. (Mehnaz)

My father took rupees 20,000[\$200 USD] and some gold jewelry from my in-laws before my marriage to their son. My brother, along with my father and grandparents, sold the jewelry and married my brother with this money to a girl of his choice. (Arifa)

Panchayat's (tribe's or family's elders) decided marriages. *Panchaiyat* is a group of elders of a family or tribe who decide family matters and settle disputes between two families or tribes. Frequently, they hand over a woman from the opposing family to the aggrieved family to resolve the dispute. Some of the women's marriages(2%) were a result of *Panchaiyat*. In these cases, women's thumb impressions were taken by force and placed on marriage contract papers. Rukhsana explains:

I came for the first time to shelter home as my family was marrying me against my will. But when I was there, my family came to meet me and promised me that they will respect my choice and would not marry me on force. Thus I went back with them and they did not keep their promise and forcefully married me by taking the impression of my thumb on marriage contract papers. When I went out of shelter home for the first time, it was the *Panchaiyat* that married me against my will and now when I have returned back to shelter

home again they are now trying to make *Sullah Nama*[settlement of dispute contract] and is asking money from the man I loved in return of this agreement.

A passage from an FGD also illustrates this theme:

Due to cultural practices like *Vani*, women are handed over to other tribes or clans to settle a dispute between two groups. *kabhi kisi mard ko qurbani ka bakra nahi banaya jata; hamesha beti ko dia jata he*[a man is never sacrificed in such a way; it is always a daughter/woman given in exchange]. Some women try to escape and take refuge in shelter homes. (FGD of Multan district)

Love marriages. Of the 57 women interviewed, only 5% had married based on their own choice, termed a love marriage. Without parental knowledge of marriage, the only option for these women is to marry in court. Two quotations describe this:

I was interested in someone, who also sent his parents asking for my hand in marriage to my parents, but my parents refused to marry me with him as he was not from our caste; he belonged to *Qureshi* caste and we were *Malik*. Although that boy's family told my parents that they will agree to any of their demands or conditions that my parents would ask from them, and in return they require only their daughter's hand in marriage with their son. But my parents refused them, so I did court marriage with him. And after marriage, I have life threat from my parents so I came to shelter home for seeking refuge. (Mahpara)

I liked one of my cousins who used to live with my parents but my parents did not marry me to him. I did not want to live with my husband and when I returned to my parent's house from shelter home, I asked them to marry me with my cousin but they refused and said that they had not married me before and they would not marry me to him now. My brothers had said to me that they do not care if I jump into a well or get electrocuted and will not support me as they live in this society and had to face their own in-laws who would disapprove of my second marriage with my cousin in love or my own choice. (Rehana)

Description from an FGD also relates to the theme of love marriages:

Most of the unmarried women, who came to seek refuge, come when their parents wanted to marry them against their will or the woman had married on her own without the knowledge of her parents. In this case, she is now afraid that her parents will kill her so she came to the shelter home to seek protection. (FGD of Multan district)

Dowry and *Haq Meher*. Dowry is defined as financial or material resources given to a bride by her parents at the time of her marriage, to be available in the event of the loss of support from her husband, such as through death or other causes. According to Islamic laws, *Haq Mehr* is a fundamental and mandatory right of a wife to receive a dowry at the time of her marriage. Whether or not it is specified or written in the marriage contract, it is always implicit that it must be paid promptly and without delay. Cash money, jewelry, gold or land can be

written in the marriage contract as *Haq Mehr* and has to be given by the husband after *Nikkah*. Sometimes it may be returned to or waived by the wife.

The majority of women interviewed (55.4%) claimed they had not received any dowry from their parents at the time of their marriage. Only 30.4% of women reported receiving an adequate dowry; 14.2% of women described their dowry as inadequate.

Regarding the type of marriage, most women whose marriages were arranged by their parents reported receiving an adequate dowry. Women whose marriages were either love marriages, forced marriages, or *Panchaiyat* decided marriages, did not receive any dowry. Of the women whose parents took money from the groom's family, half of them collected very small dowries and the other half did not acquire any dowry from their parents. Among the women who got married in an exchange marriage, the majority also did not receive a dowry.

For 46.4% of women who had arranged marriages, their *Haq Mehr* was decided at the time of their marriage. Some of the women (39.3%) stated that no *Haq Mehr* was declared for them at the time of their marriage and 14.3% of the women said that they did not know how much *Haq Mehr* was decided for them and that they never received it from their husbands.

Among the women whose *Haq Mehr* was decided at the time of their marriage, in the largest percentage of cases (34%), the *Haq Mehr* was 500 rupees (US\$5), while for others (27%), the *Haq Mehr* amount was 1,000 rupees (US\$10).

Among the women whose *Haq Mehr* was decided at the time of their marriage, the majority (54%) of these women's *Haq Mehr* was not paid by their husbands, while only 23% of them received the *Haq Mehr*. The same percentage (23%) of the women returned the *Haq Mehr* amount to their husbands when the husbands gave them the money. Four quotes illustrate women's experiences with dowry and *Haq Mehr*:

I was 13 years at the time of my marriage and my parents arranged my marriage. My husband's age was almost 35 years old at the time of our marriage and he was crippled from legs. I received adequate dowry from my parents *zarorat ki her chez thi*[all necessities were there]. My *Haq Mehr* was decided only rupees 500 (US\$5) which I returned to my husband at the time of our marriage. (Zubaida)

My marriage was arranged by my parents and I did not receive any dowry from them at the time of my marriage and my mother-in-law used to rebuke and taunt me for not bringing dowry with me. (Samina)

I received no dowry from my parents as I was married in exchange for my father's marriage to my sister-in-law and I do not know about the *Haq Mehr* amount as it was never paid to me. (Rania)

My marriage was arranged by my parents and my *Haq Mehr* was decided only rupees 500 (US\$5) which my husband had not paid me yet. (Saima)

Individual Factors contributing to Abuse

A notable number of women discussed individual factors that they believed led to their husband's abusive behaviour. Addiction to drugs and alcohol, gambling and unemployment were all commonly identified.

Addiction.Some women shared how their husband's struggled with addiction issues related to drugs and alcohol. They explained that they believed the addiction made the men lose control and become violent. Uzma and Saira explain:

My husband used to drink with his friends and when he came back home after drinking, he used to quarrel without any reason and would start beating me and if I advise him not to drink, he would say I am not his mother or father and that I should mind my own business. (Uzma)

My husband was an addict and he used to beat me severely and said to me that I should leave his house and that he would divorce me so he can live as a free man [crying hard].He used to beat me in front of my children and then took my children with him to his brother's home and left me alone in the house. My husband and his younger brother were into drugs and both used to beat me. (Saira)

Two passages from the FGDs also add evidence for this theme:

Most of the time the women reported that their husbands were hostile towards them due to a combination of financial issues and addiction. These husbands spent all their earnings on indulging in addictions and did not attend to their wife's basic needs because all the money was spent. (FGD of Lahore district)

The husband of the women in shelter homes were mostly addicts, they did not earn any money and did not fulfill the wife's needs. When the women asked for the husband to help

meet the needs of their children and themselves, the husband became abusive. (FGD of Sargodha district)

Gambling.A few women discussed how their husband's gambled away their money:

I had two Tola (23.3 grams) of gold, which I sold and was able to rent a shop for my husband where he used to work as a barber, but he was a gambler and spent all his earnings and did not pay the utility bills for the shop so the owner of the shop threw him out after two months. (Farhana)

My husband had decision making powers in his family because he was the eldest of the house. He was into gambling and addiction and used to beat me the whole night for no reason. Even though I was arranging the food and all necessities for the house by working myself, he still he was not happy with me. (Adeeba)

Unemployment.A smaller percentage of the women (4%) indicated that their husbands would abuse them because the men were unemployed and did not use their energy in constructive ways. According to women, these men were idle spending time with bad company that taught them to abuse their wives. Two women share their experiences:

My husband used to beat me because he had no job and he was an addict and when he lost control of himself he used to beat me in front of my children without any reason. (Mahida)

I did not have any support of a man in my life as I neither had a brother nor a father to whom I could go to ask for help. My husband was an addict and used to sit idle the whole day and *kehnda si dafa ho ja yahan tou. Kam nahi si karda, kam main khud karti thi; mainu kehnda si jithon marzi paise liaya; main keha main kithon liawan, te main kithon jawan; the phir mainu marda si*[my husband said to me to go away. He did not do any work. I myself used to do work; he would ask me to bring money from wherever I can; I would answer that where should I go and from where I can bring him money and then he used to beat me]. (Laila)

A passage from the FGD also discusses unemployment:

For most of the married women who lived in villages, their men did not work and the woman had to work in fields and also at home in order to earn money and support their families. But their money was usually taken by their husbands and they are left with nothing. (FGD of Multan district)

Causes of Abuse

Women reported various and multiple types of abuse during the interviews. These included verbal, physical, sexual and psychological abuse. The following section describes each theme.

Physical or verbal or emotional abuse. Almost all of the women reported experiencing verbal and physical abuse. Marriage practices, in particular, marriage by choice, forced and exchange marriage, was given as common reasons for this abuse. Other explanations included

husband's addiction, husband's unemployment and lack of financial resources, and honour. Four women share their experiences of verbal and physical abuse:

I came to shelter home as all at my home used to rebuke, taunt and get angry at me that I had married by my own choice in courts, but no one has physically abused me. (Sidra)

My stepmother did not allow me to take a beautician or a stitching course and kept me busy throughout the day doing household chores (cooking, washing, cleaning etc.)for the family. On one such occasion I was cutting vegetables and had asked my stepsister to help me by washing clothes;the stepmother became angry, shouted at meand cut my hands with a knife. My paternal grandmother applied medicine to the wound, but no one ever helped me against the ill treatment I experienced from my stepmother. When my father or my grandmother reprimanded my stepmother,my stepmother responded by stating that if they cared so much for their daughter then why don't they marry me? (Sobia)

Everyone knows that my husband beats me because he always physically abused me openly in front of everyone, but no one ever helped me. Even my children witness him beating me. My husband is authoritative and mostly makes decisions of the house. In our community of brick kiln, most men beat their wife despite the fact that their wives helped them in their work on brick kilns. (Komal)

My brothers used to beat me when the neighbours said bad things about my character. First they used to get angry at my mother that she did not forbid me from going out of home for work and then they started beating me also. (Mehwish)

Sexual abuse.Some of the women reported sexual abuse including rape, prostitution, and sexual assault by husband. Some of the women also reported that their father-in-laws or brother-in-laws approached them for sexual favours. A few women stated that their husbands had illicit relations with other women and were consequently physically violence with them.

Some women described experiences of sexual violence including rape and forced prostitution by people other than their husband. Mahnaz for example, was assaulted as a 13-year-old girl by someone she worked for. As her quotation illustrates, she was consequently married off as a result of her abuse experience:

I started working at people's houses as maid at the age of seven years as my stepmother used to take five years advance money from the people and send me to stay and work at their house [started crying].Once a man of the house where I was working as a maid raped me when I was very young and did not even know the meaning of sex. When the woman of that house came to know about it, she sent me out of her house and so I returned to my house. After sometime I became pregnant but I did not know about what was inside my belly and when I told my stepmother that I have severe pain in my abdomen and I feel that there is something inside me. She took me for abortion and afterwards asked my father to marry me as soon as possible, thus I was married at the age of 13 years.

In another situation, a family member forced a woman into prostitution. This is captured in the FGD of Lahore district:

Sometimes women also report that their family members such as their husband or stepmother forced them into prostitution. In one case, a girl had come to the shelter home in very bad health. She had been forced into prostitution by her stepmother. While at someone's home for the purposes of prostitution, the police raided the house and she was sent to shelter home by police. (FGD of Lahore district)

Sexually abusive husband. Women also disclosed sexually abusive behaviour by their husbands. Ammara and Mahpara describe how their husbands physically and sexually assaulted them:

My husband beat me for the first time when he insisted I have sex while I was having menstruations and when I told him that I have pain when he does sex in this situation then he started beating me that I was refusing him. He used to beat me inside closed doors of our room and used to rape me on my unwillingness for sex during menstruations. On one such occasion I left his house and came to my parent's home but he came to my parents' house and tried to do sex with me there too. My mother tried to reprimand him but he did not listen so she asked me to compromise with my husband as *bat man le uski tera shohar he koi begana nahi he* [agree with him as he is your husband not a stranger]. (Ammara)

My second husband used to do intercourse with me for eight or ten times in one night and would say to me when I complained that he has given money to my parents so he can do

anything with me. I married in love in court against my family will and could stay only for four days with my husband as my family took me away from him on force and showed me false papers of divorce. They married me again with the man they had taken money from (without the legal divorce). That second husband used to ask me about my first husband that what he has done with me in those four days and when I told him that he was my husband and he could do anything with me then he would start verbally abusing him and me and start beating me harshly. He used to do sex after beating me harshly and he used to do indecent acts with me like he has taken a prostitute woman for sex. (Mahpara)

Sexual assault/sexual advance by male family member. Some of the women also said that their fathers-in-law and brothers-in-law approached them for sex. This was very upsetting for two women who shared their experience:

A woman can tolerate the ill treatment by her husband and in-laws. So I tolerated the beating by my husband but when the elder brother of my husband tried to have sexual relationship with me then I decided to leave the house. I even tried suicide twice by swallowing poisonous pills but I did not die and God gave me life again. I even complained to my mother-in-law of ill treatment by my husband's elder brother but she started beating me and did not reprimand her son, not even my real mother helped me against this. (Nadia)

The day when I was leaving my husband's home, my father-in-law who was the stepfather to my husband, held me from my legs and asked me to take divorce from my

husband and marry him instead as he would also divorce his wife (my mother-in-law). I asked him not to say that to me again as I considered him as my father. But he came to the shelter home twice and tried to meet me and asked me to marry him but I have refused him. (Farhana)

Illicit relations.Some of the women interviewed reported that their husbands were having illicit relations with other women and either the husbands wanted to marry the other woman or their mothers-in-law and brothers-in-law wanted the husbands to remarry. This often co-existed with physical abuse. Two women describe their experiences:

My husband had illicit relations with some other woman. I used to reprimand my husband to stop the ill practices but he did not listen. He used to say that I was not as he likes a woman to be. When I objected, he burned my hand saying that *mere te ilzam landi he*[she is bringing bad repute to his name and her blames were false]. One day when I reprimanded my husband, he became aggressive and burned my hand with hot knife many times,so I have a big wound. My husband wanted me to leave his house and then he would be free to do whatever he liked. (Zubaida)

My husband was illiterate, had no job and was an addict. One day he quarreled with me that he shall give all his earning to the woman he had relationship with, but I told him that we have children who need his money for their needs and education, He told me *zaban na mar*[mind your language] and threw an axe on my head and later I had 15 stitches on my head. (Shahida)

Psychological abuse. Women also reported incidents that were psychologically abusive and caused them great distress. Themes that women considered psychologically abusive were their parent's non-acceptance of a verbal divorce, *Halala* (remarriage with ex-husband), pressure to reconcile with abusive husband, issues related to children, social stigma, honour and doubts of character.

Non-acceptance of verbal divorce. In most Muslim faiths verbal divorce is an accepted and legal practice, but due to excessive poverty, parents often do not want their daughters to come back to their homes, insisting instead that the woman remain with their husband. One woman reported that she was misguided by her parents and her elders and was told that verbal divorce is not accepted. Another woman's husband denied verbally divorcing her even after he had remarried:

My husband had many times verbally divorced me but my parents and my grandparents did not admit it when I told them. Then one day they called *Panchaiyat* [a gathering of all heads of the family who make decision about family disputes]. My husband verbally divorced me there in front of everyone. But later my elders said that *is tarha talaq nahi hoti* [divorce could not be given like that] so I should return to my husband's home. My two brothers asked me one day whether I would go back to my husband's house or not? I replied to them that he had divorced me in front of all so how can I go back to him. On that they started beating me and pulled my hair and threw me on the ground from the cot and my daughter who was in my lap started crying hard but they had no mercy on us.

(Tasneem)

It has been eight years of marriage with my husband and he had once verbally divorced me and then he married some other woman but now he says that he has not given divorce to me. So I have come to shelter home and have now applied to court for divorce so I can have a document that marriage has been dissolved. (Tanzeela)

Halala (re-marriage with ex-husband). In Islam, a woman can only remarry her ex-husband if she marries another person and then divorces from that second man or if this second man dies. This is the Islamic belief called *Halala*. In most of the situations this arrangement is a source of psychological stress for woman.

Some women reported that their families were forcing them to re-marry their ex-husband through *Halala*. Women described how this creates a high source of psychological stress as the woman must first marry another man and then divorce him in order to remarry the first husband. Waheeda's experience illustrates this theme:

I came to the shelter home and stayed for ten months. While I was there I took divorce from my husband with the help of a lawyer and then went out after completion of my *Iddat*[a period of waiting following divorce or death] to my father's house. Now, after almost three years, my family is pressuring me to re-marry my ex-husband. They said that they will first marry me to the younger brother of my husband, who will divorce me shortly after. Then I shall be married again to my ex-husband. I was against this marriage and this whole drama. My family made this decision after hearing people talk and rebuke me that I have ran away from their house and remained out for so long, questioning where I have stayed and what I have done. My family could no longer tolerate this talk by relatives and neighbours. My *Chacha* said to my father that he is willing to take me again

as a wife of his same son. But I refused and said to them that if wanted to stay with him I would not have ran away from his house and took so much pain to get a divorce from him. But they pressured me to obey. My family said to me that now that I have stayed in a shelter home no one will marry me. Thus, I have to marry again my ex-husband as he is from the family and his father is still supportive of my father and is willing to remarry me with his son to keep the honour of the family intact. (Waheeda)

Compromise and reconciliation with abusive husband. Some of the women (11%) faced abuse from their own families in an attempt to compel them to return to their husbands. Women were sent back to their husbands, even though her family was aware that she was being abused. For some women, family told them they should accept it as their fate and that they were unwelcome back in their parent's home. Two quotes illustrate this:

I went to my parent's house and asked them to help me to get divorce from my husband but they forbade me and asked me to go back to my husband and accept him as my fate, so I came to shelter home. (Farhana)

My husband threw me out of his home after beating me and taking my *dupatta*[head scarf] and my shoes off in the night of winter and when I went to my brother's home, he also refused to support me and asked me to go back to my husband and bear whatever he does to me. So I had only one option to come to shelter home. (Adeeba)

This theme was also noted in two FGDs:

Married women come to shelter when they could no longer tolerate their marriage. For the most part, women will first seek solace at their parent's home but find they are not

welcome. Instead families will not support her and compel her to patch it up and compromise with her husband. They are told to tolerate whatever may come in his house.

(FGD of Bahawalpur district)

Mostly women came to shelter home to seek refuge and protection from domestic violence by either their husbands or from other family members or their in-laws. The married women first go to her parent's home to take shelter but is not welcomed by her parents who instead ask her to stay at her husband's home and face all hardships herself.

(FGD of Faisalabad district)

Social stigma. Leaving abusive homes and relationships and taking refuge in a shelter home is stigmatized in Pakistani society. Leaving a home is considered an honour issue. Some of the women (11%) faced verbal abuse from their families because they had left their homes. A few women (11%) reported that they also faced physical violence from their families because they had stayed at a shelter home, a place considered to be immoral by greater society. Two quotations demonstrate this:

My parents arranged my marriage with my cousin who was 10 years younger than me. I came to the shelter home with the help of a friend and wanted to take divorce from my husband. But my family came to meet me and gave promise on the Holy Quran that they will help me to get divorce from my husband so I should go back to home with them. Thus I went back to my home, but on my return my family rebuked and taunted me and said *dobara nikal ja, wahan yar honge* [go again or run again, there would be your boyfriends there] and *isi tarha ki aur gandi batain kehte the* [used to rebuke me in

suchbad language also]. I went out on the promise of the *Panchaiyat* who were some senior politicians in my area and they kept me in their house for a month afterwards. But later a *Panchaiyat* was held in the Madrassa and there I was asked to promise on the Holy Quran that I will not do such shameful acts of running from my home again. I said to them that I should not be married with a boy so much younger than me and if I would be married to a man of proper age I would have not ran away. I was sent to my elder *Chacha's* house afterwards and there, *Chacha* along with his brothers, tried to kill me two or three times on the pretext that I had ran away from the house so I must have ruined my dignity [virginity] so I should be killed. (Hameeda)

When I went to the home of my husband he used to beat me on the pretext that I had run away from my home and had lived in a shelter home. Once he even hit me with an axe on the head and there was lot of blood loss from that wound. (Rukhsana)

Three passages from the FGDs further attest to the social stigma of leaving home and staying at a shelter home:

The shelter home is stigmatized in our society. When a woman enters a shelter home she is stigmatized immediately. Since she has run away from her home, she is not accepted in other people's homes again. When she returns to her home and society, people regard her with this stigma and consider her of bad character. (FGD of Multan district)

In our society, the woman who has gone to court for the solution of her problems or who has gone to stay at shelter homes to seek refuge and protection for her problems; is not

considered of good moral characters. People say that *aik dafa adalat dekh li tou kuch bhi ker sakti he*[if she has seen or gone to courts once; then she can do anything]. Although these institutions are welfare institutions and are made to help needy women but people torture her more after this. (FGD of Bahawalpur district)

There is stigma attached to shelter homes and the women who stay there. People believe that there is something illegal occurring such as men coming to shelter homes for sex or the women going out for prostitution. As such, women who stay in the shelter home are severely stigmatized in society. People consider them of bad character. (FGD of Multan district)

Honour. Some women (9%) disclosed that their parent's family physically abused them. Women described how in their regions the action of leaving their home reflects badly on the family's honour in that it is perceived as a violation of family norms, punishable by physical abuse. A passage from the FGD describes this further:

Most people consider it a respect and honour issue when a woman has left their home. Brothers and ex-husbands deem it to be an insult against them as their women have challenged their authority and power by leaving their homes and taking refuge in a shelter home. It is against custom that a married woman returns to her parent's home. Her parents will then face condemnation from relatives and society because it is perceived that the woman was improper or of bad character. (FGD of Bahawalpur District)

One interview participant reported:

My brother was after my life and wants to kill me now as he says that I have ruined their family honour by leaving my husband's house. My grandfather is in support of him.(Arifa)

Another woman shared:

When I told my father about the ill treatment by my in-laws, he said to me *Aehoiey asan teri bas shadi ker diti he*[we have married you there so we would not do anything else now]. And if I tell my brother, he would also start beating me because I cannot live peacefully with my husband [started crying]. My parents and my brothers would say to me *tou hamain rishtedaran wich phohar lagi he*[you are ruining our family honour among our relatives]. (Rehana)

Another 7% of women faced physical abuse from their parent's family when they wanted to dissolve their first arranged marriage and pursue a love marriage because it was perceived as an honour violation.

Issues related to children. A few of the women also reported that they had been physically abused when they objected to their parent's family's insistence on leaving their children at the home of their husband after getting a divorce. These families said they could not bear the expenses of their daughter's children along with their daughter herself. The following three quotes reveal this situation:

I asked my parents many times to help me with getting a divorce from my husband and to have custody of my children. But they said that they can only let me live in their house and cannot bear the expenses of my children also. (Mehnaz)

My family asked me to leave my children with my husband after getting divorce from him as they would support me alone but I wanted to have my children with me also. (Kanwal)

My parent's family refused to support me when I left my husband's house and said that I should tolerate and bear his abuse and remain in his house, because they said that we have to support our families also because they cannot support me and my children along with their own families. (Saleema)

Some of the women faced psychological abuse from their husbands and mothers-in-law because they had not produced a child:

My husband did not allow me to meet my family for three years after our marriage and used to beat me for petty household issues and also because I did not bear a child for him in the seven years of our marriage. Actually after my marriage with my husband who was of my parent's choice, when I conceived a baby twice, my husband forced me to get abortions alleging that I was not carrying his child but the man I loved before my marriage. (Samra)

My mother-in-law wanted to re-marry her son because I could not give them a child and my husband also treated me harshly mostly because of it. (Rehana)

My husband used to rebuke and taunt me because I could not have a child. He would not give me money for my needs and expenses. For this reason, he verbally divorced me and re-married. (Tanzeela)

Doubts character. The final theme of psychological abuse occurs when the family or husband doubts the woman's character. Eleven percent of the women's families physically abuse them because they doubted the women's character. Another 8% of the women said that their husbands, mothers-in-laws and sisters-in-laws physically abuse them for this same reason. Examples of doubting a woman's character include accusing her of having relationships with other men.

I came to shelter home for the first time because my husband did not do any work and beat me frequently in front of our children. I used to work and arrange food for my husband and my children but despite all this he used to beat me alleging that I talk with other men. He used to say to me that *Jis ke sath bethi thi batain ker rahi thi usi ke sath jao* [with whom you were sitting and talking, you should go with him]. But I did not have any bad intention and used to talk only with other people for the sake of work. He *shaki mijaz* [always doubts my character] that he did not even let me sleep at night and sometimes start beating me at night or sometime he took out knife and would threaten me that he would kill me. (Shagufta)

My husband used to doubt my character and for this reason he used to beat me and had thrown me outside of his home many times but I always returned to his house for the sake of my children. But then one day he tried to kill me on the same false allegations of bad

character so I left the house and came to district court and asked the judge that I feared my life is in danger from my husband so the judge sent me to shelter home - *kisi a dil nahi kerta yahan ane ko per majboori le ai he*[no one wants to come to shelter home but our problems brought us here]. (Kaisara)

Prevention and Intervention

This section focuses on the prevention and intervention of abuse by examining themes related to the shelter homes, re-integration and impediments to re-integration in society and finally, domestic violence legislation.

Shelter homes. Women described their experiences with shelter homes. They discussed how they accessed the service, the duration of their stay, how satisfied they were with the program as well as their peer support and peer relations while in the shelter home.

Access to shelter home. Women learned about the shelter homes from a variety of sources. The majority (26%) came to know about this service from relatives, including their fathers, their *Khala* (mother's sister), and *Chacha*. Another 21% of the women heard about the shelter home from their well-wishers [a term for the person they loved and were interested in marrying], while a lawyer or judge directed 19% of the women to the shelter home. For 18% of the women, their neighbors were the source of this information, and the remaining 16% had heard about the shelter home from friends.

When speaking of the actual referral procedure, the findings show that the majority of the women (80.7%) were referred to the shelter home by law enforcement agencies including courts, lawyers, and police. The second largest group, 8.8%, came on their own, while 7% were referred

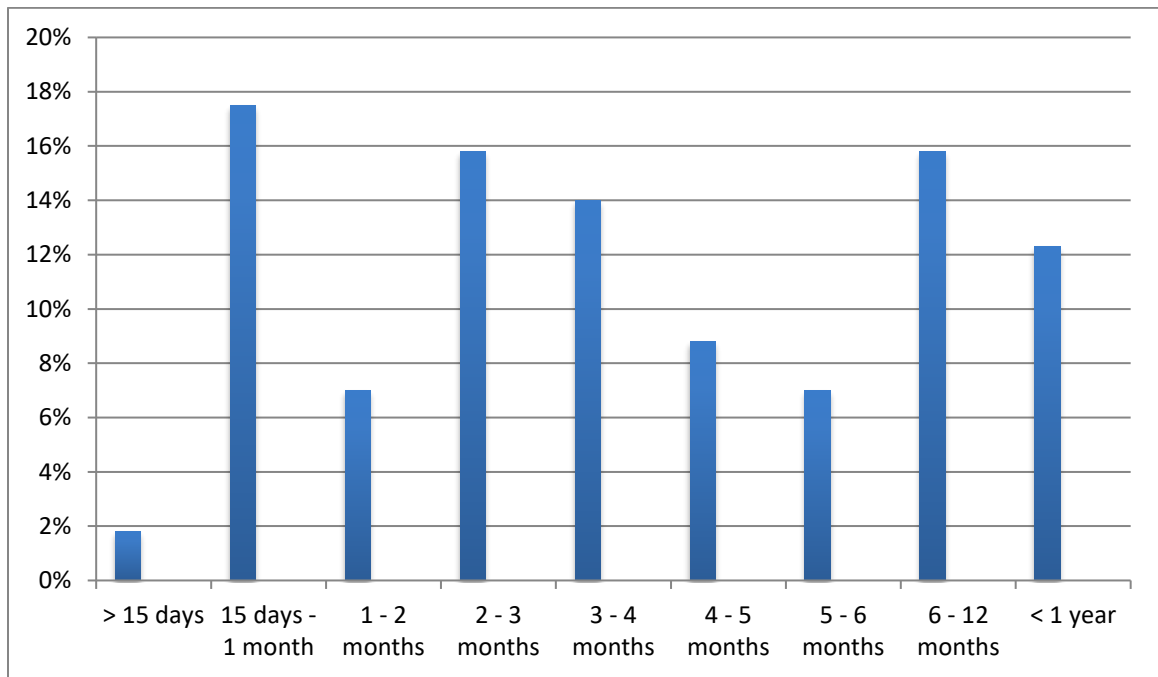
by their well-wishers and 3.5% of the women were referred by NGOs. Two FGD's excerpts explain how women come to access the shelter homes:

Women who come to the shelter home could be referred by court, NGO, media, lawyers, advisory committee members and also government departments. Most come through courts however, which they access mostly with the help of their well-wishers who could be their neighbours, aunts, girlfriends or even boyfriends. (FGD of Faisalabad district)

Most of the times women come through court but if someone came herself than the manager of the shelter home has the authority to allow her stay. One woman came because her husband threw her out of his home. When the shelter home management asked her to go and get approval from court she said that she cannot go as her family is after her to kill her. The manager let her stay. Sometimes women come when court is closed. The shelter home allows her to stay as they can send her for statement from the court the next day. (FGD of Sargodha district)

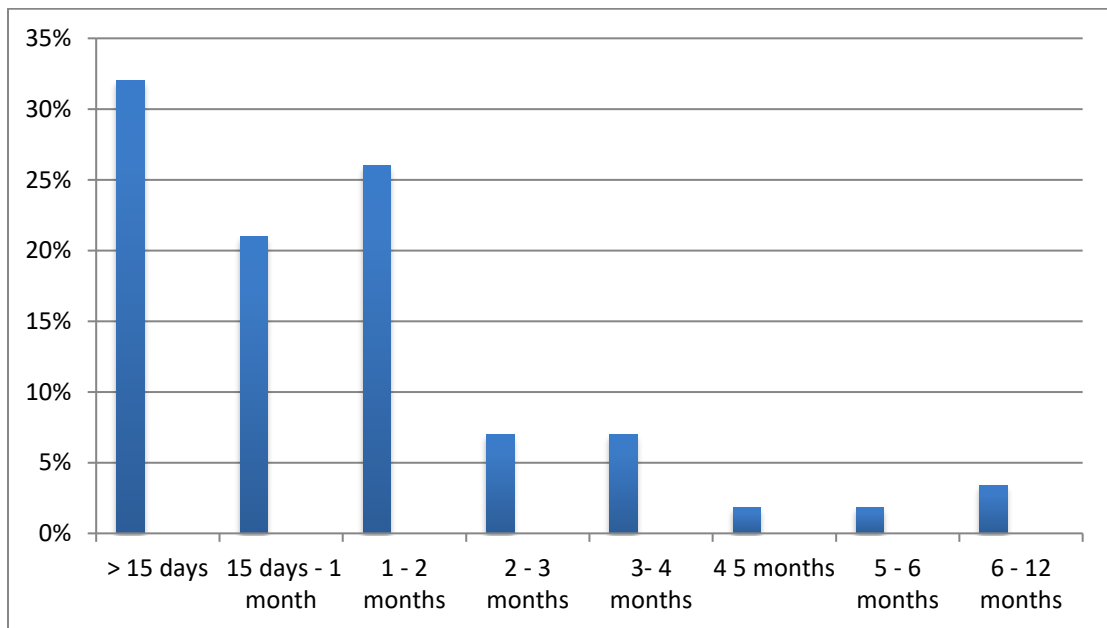
Duration of stay. The time period when women first came to the shelter home ranged between a few days prior to the study to more than one year ago (see Figure 2). The largest group 17.5%, had come to the shelter home for the first time between 15 days and one month before the study. Other common time periods were two to three months earlier and from six to 12 months.

Figure 2: Time Period when Women came to the Shelter Home for the First time



The majority of the women had been at the shelter less than two months while a small number were still at the shelter after six months (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Length of Shelter Stay - First Time



Following their initial shelter stay, a slight majority of women (50.9%) left the shelter and remained outside for less than 15 days before returning (see Figure 4). Fourteen percent of the women had stayed outside between 15 days to one month and 12.2% of the women for one to two months. In other words, nearly three quarters of women remained outside the shelter for less than two months.

Once women returned to the shelter for their second time, half of the participants stayed for up to one month: 25% had been there for less than 15 days and 25% had been there between 15 days and one month (see Figure 5).

Figure 4. Duration of Stay outside of Shelter

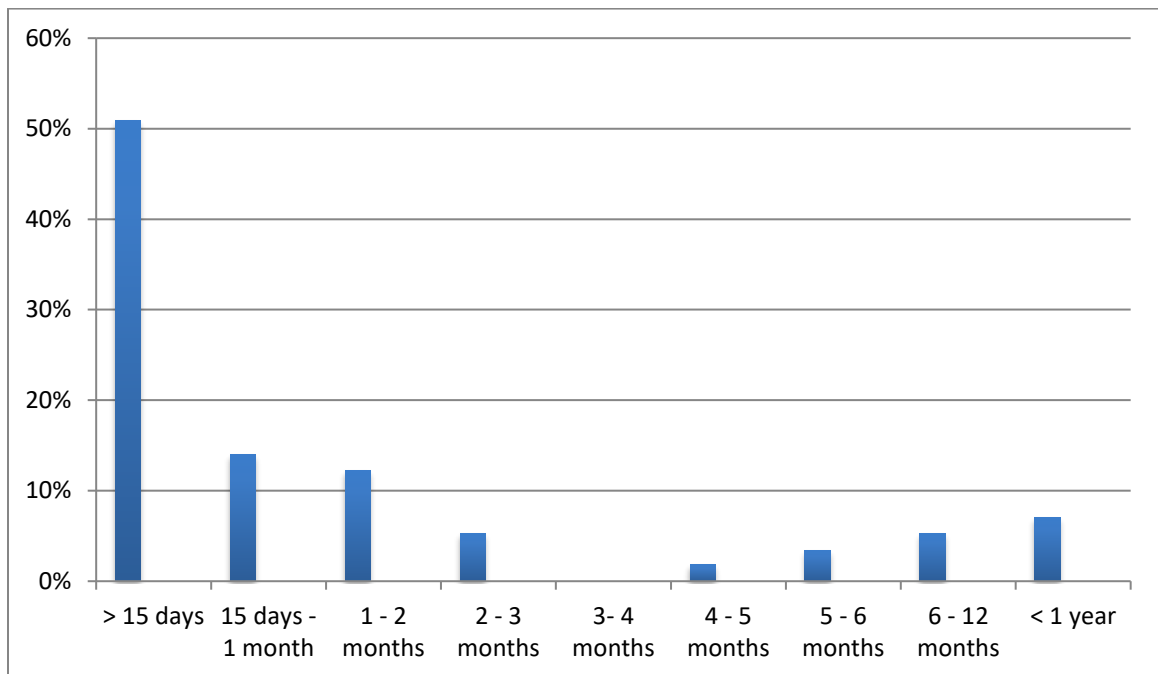
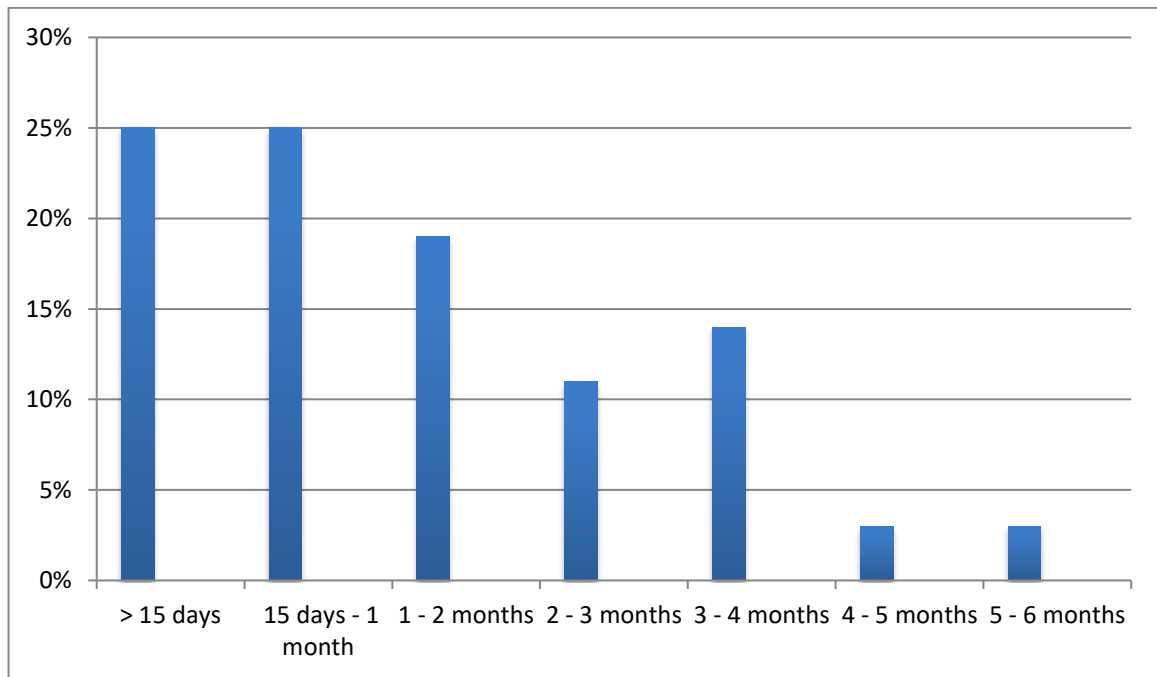


Figure 5: Length of Shelter Stay – Second Time



The findings also showed that the vast majority of women (89.5%) had returned once to the shelter home, while 10.5% had returned twice. Of the women who had returned twice to the shelter home, 50% had stayed outside for less than 15 days before returning while 33.3% had stayed outside for one to two months. For more than half of the women (66.6%), the duration of their stay the second time was 15 days to one month (at the time of the interview).

Satisfaction level. Most women (67%) were fully satisfied with the services provided at the shelter home, the remainder (33%) were unsatisfied. Among the satisfied women, a large majority of them (90%) reported they liked their stay because they were provided with food and shelter and were secure and safe, particularly as no men were allowed in the home. This is exemplified in the following quotes:

Dar ul Aman hi sahara he, izar mehfoz he [shelter home is the only support and our modesty is safe here]. (Komal)

Ethey te asi hifazat nal bethian aan per bahar wale log kehnde aan ke dar ul aman galat jaga he. Per main kendi aan jitni dar ula aman wich hifazat he utni kisi aur jag ate nahi he, ithey bari hifazat he; ithe koi admi nahi anda[we are safe here (in shelter home) but people outside say that shelter home think it is a bad place. But I say that we are that much safe in shelter home as we are nowhere else. We are sure safe here; not a single man comes here]. (Rania)

Dar ul aman ka mahol acha he koi gher mard ander nahi a sakta[the environment of shelter home is good as no strange man can enter the shelter home]. (Sajida)

I liked staying at shelter home as *na koi khatra he yahan, na koi khinch ke le ja sakta he, roti pani sab muft ka he. aur koi larai jhagra bhi nahi karta jaise ghar main sab marte the* (there is no danger here, no one can pull us outside. We get free food and water here. No one quarrel here like it used to be at my home) (Naeema)

Five percent of women reported they were satisfied because they felt the staff was supportive and another 5% said that they were content because there was no pressure regarding meeting visitors and they were able to meet whomever they wished. One interviewee shared the importance of peer-support:

I liked everything about shelter home and mostly because *Apne jaisi bohat si aurtaain hain yahan, jo dukh sun leti hain aur sath deti hain*[there are many women like me here who listened to my sorrows and are supportive towards me]. (Mahnaz)

Among the participants who were unsatisfied with the shelter home, 37% reported this was because of the quarreling amongst residents. Another 26% of the women complained they were not allowed to keep mobile phones with them inside the shelter home and thus they were left unaware about current situation with their home and families. One participant noted:

The residents had only one difficulty that the management of shelter home did not allow us to keep mobiles and we are allowed only one phone call after 15 days so the women do not know what is going outside as we do not have any contact with anyone outside. (Mehwish)

“I liked everything about shelter home but I do not like the quarrel of inmates with each other and I wish that every woman staying at shelter home should live with peace, love and respect with other inmates of shelter home.” [Laila]

Some of the dissatisfied women (16%) reported that they had no other housing options, and because the shelter home was a last resort for them, they had to tolerate their stay. Kalsoom stated:

I did not like anything in shelter home as *majboori da nam shukriya hoye* [I am living here as I have no other place to live a secure life].

A further 16% of women said that management’s behaviour was unacceptable once they returned to the shelter home and that they had to do chores. Naseema said:

I am staying at shelter home because of my *majboori* [problems] as *yahan dil nahi lagta* [it’s difficult to live there]. It is difficult to live in shelter home as we have to work

there also because management gives duty to the residents to work there in kitchen and also because the women in shelter home quarrel with each other a lot. (Naseema)

A few women (5%) stated they were disappointed that they were not allowed to leave the shelter home in the morning to go work and then return in the evening. As two women in this study described:

I had no problem while staying at shelter home but I want that if I was allowed to work somewhere and could leave shelter home in the morning and can come back after my job back in the evening but this facility is not provided at shelter home. I liked the safety and security that is provided to me there in shelter home as not a single man can enter shelter home so all women are safe there. (Kalsoom)

Women resident of shelter home feels that they are living in prison in shelter home as they are not allowed to go out of shelter home to buy things of their needs even. (Kaisara)

Peer relationships. During their first shelter stay, most women felt worried (75.4%) when they saw women returning to the shelter for a second time.

The women who come to shelter home for first time; when they see the women returning again and again they get afraid for themselves as they think that this could happen to them. Most of the women either coming for first time or second time were facing life threats from their families; so it's almost the same ordeal for all residing in shelter homes. (FGD of Bahawalpur district)

Other women were not worried about the returning women because they felt clear about their personal legal process and rights. These women were expecting a court decision soon and believed they will only be in shelter for a few days.

The woman who comes to shelter home for the first time is usually composed and has little stress when she sees some women returning. This woman has been well informed by her lawyer of her situation and her rights and she knows that she has been sent to shelter home for few days until a court decision comes forward. (FGD of Faisalabad district)

Other women believed that their situation was different than the majority of returning women and that they would never find themselves in similar circumstances.

The women who have come to shelter home for the first time and see women returning to the shelter home are mostly confident that this could not happen to them, thinking that the person they want to marry cannot do such things to them; that he will be loyal, caring and will fulfill their needs. Sadly, most of these dreams are not fulfilled and the women do end up returning to shelter homes. The management tries to advise such women, by telling them the ordeals of the returning women, but they do not care, thinking that this could never happen to them. (FGD of Sargodha district)

Arguing amongst women was another sub-theme related to peer relationships found in the data analysis. Several women stated that there was a lot of disagreement amongst the women residents. This is portrayed with quotes from the following women:

I liked everything about shelter home but I do not like the quarrel of inmates with each other and I wish that every woman staying at shelter home should live with peace, love and respect with other inmates of shelter home. (Laila)

dil chatah he jaldi se yahan se bahir nikal jaen.....kionke larkian yahan per apas main bohat larti hain, fasad kerti hain[I want to go away from this shelter home - girls here quarrel and fights with each other a lot and creates panic always]. (Razia)

I liked my stay in shelter home as *izzat mehfooz he yahn*[modesty is safe here] and we get proper meals and all other services. But I do not like one thing in shelter home and that is when residents quarrel with each other on petty matters. (Rahla)

Community Reintegration

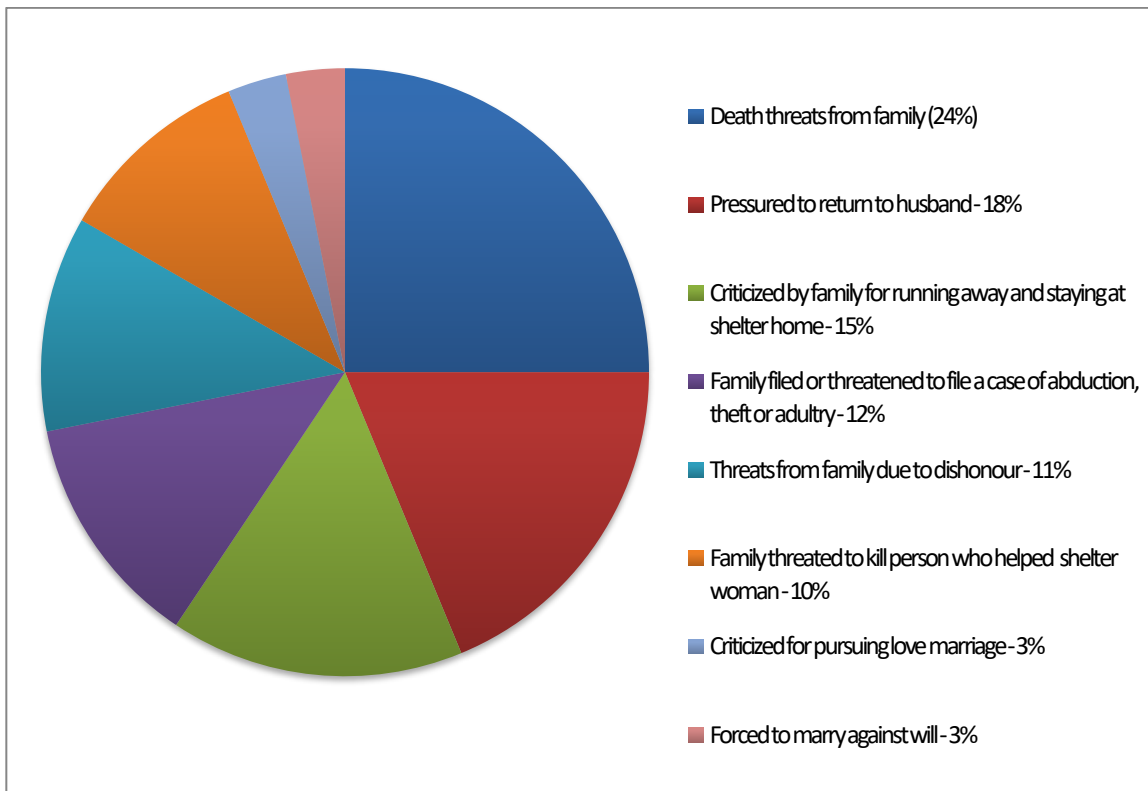
Once women left the shelter home, they attempted to reintegrate back into their communities. Women often stayed with their families, husband, or well-wishers following their time at the shelter home. But they faced many hardships and impediments in integrating and thus returned back to the shelter homes. This section will discuss their reintegration experiences and their plans for the future.

Re-integration. When the women left the shelter home after their first stay, many stayed with their relatives(40%), 18% returned to their husband's home, 16% went to stay with their well-wishers, 14% went to stay with their friends, 7% went back to their parent's homes, and 5% went to another shelter home or other social welfare institution. Rahla explains why she left the shelter home for another institution:

It has been only one month that I came to shelter home for the first time and here I came to know about another institute named *Dar ul Falah*; where I heard that children got free education. So I left this shelter home and went there but returned after a few days as I did not have money to bear me and my children's expenses. When I reached *Dar ul Falah*, the management asked me to get some documents verified by my husband and the administration of my village but I could not go there as my husband was trying to snatch my children from me.

Impediments to re-integration. There were many obstacles women faced when they left the shelter home and tried to return to their homes and society including rebukes, pressure to return to the husband. Twenty-five percent of the women reported experiencing death threats. Figure 6 shows the difficulties and dangers women encountered once they left the shelter home.

Figure 6: Difficulties and Dangers faced by Women after Leaving Shelter Home



An excerpt from an FGD highlights the danger women face in attempting to re-integrate into society:

Women who come to the shelter home for the first time hear about a girl who was murdered by her relatives when she left the shelter home. They fear about themselves and their safety outside of the shelter home as most of the time family promise on the Holy Quran that they will not harm the woman if she were to go back with them. But if a brother promises on the Holy Quran then the other relative like *Mamoo* or *Chacha* would kill her on the pretext that it was not him that promised on the Holy Quran. (FGD of Lahore district)

Two women detailed the death threats they experienced:

I have filed a case of divorce from my first husband while I was in shelter home with the help of the man whom I loved and wanted to marry after my divorce. My husband and his brothers now said to me that they shall *kat dain ge*[kill me by making my pieces]. My husband now wanted to kill me and he would keep my children with him. (Shameema)

My *Khala* came to visit me and asked me to come out of shelter home and stay at her house, so I went out in September 2014 and stayed for only nine days at her home. But my family started threatening my *Khala* that they would file a case of abduction on her and they also threatened to kill me as I had run away from my house. So I returned to shelter home again on 20 September 2014, to save my *Khala* from troubles and to save my life. (Shamim)

The second most common impediment to reintegration was pressure to return to their husbands. An FGD from the Bahawalpur district explains:

Most women return to the shelter home after their first initial stay with their parents who pressure them to compromise with their husband. But after living there for some time the issues with the husband emerges again and the woman returns to shelter home.

Two quotes illustrate how women are pressured to return to their husband:

My husband used to doubt my character and alleged that I have illicit relations with other men. Even if I talked with anyone else, my husband would start beating me that I had relations with him. He used to abuse me verbally and physically in front others including my children, family and neighbours. When I went back to my parent's home after

saturation from my husband's ill treatment, my family did not support me and asked me to go back to my husband's home. (Shameema)

I came to shelter home one year ago and filed a case for divorce in court against my husband and stayed at the shelter home for five months but my parents took me back to their home and then asked me to compromise with my husband and take back my case of divorce. I only obeyed because of my children that they would go astray if I take divorce so I returned to my husband's home and stayed there for five or six months but my husband did not mend his ways [started crying]. One day my husband tried to hang me from the fan to kill me but I got a chance to run away from his home and came back to shelter home. I was so disturbed that my husband was trying to kill me that I could not even take my four year old daughter with me when I left his house. (Kausar)

Another 15% of women stated they were criticized and taunted for running away from their homes and staying at a shelter home. The stigma attached to staying in a shelter home and how women are treated following their stay is illustrated in the following quote:

The social taboos and cultural impediments to women's acceptance and adjustment back in society are vast. The stigma attached to the shelter homes is significant. It is believed that women run away to stay at the shelter home. People consider such women as those with undesirable character bad repute. (FGD of Lahore district)

Kaneezan explains the taunting she endured for staying in a shelter:

I went out once thinking I will find solace in my husband's house and stayed there for almost one and a half months but on my return, my in-laws rebuked and taunted me a lot that I had lived in a shelter home and thus have ruined my dignity and respect. I told them that my modesty and respect was safe in shelter home but they did not listen to me and tortured me mentally so much that I returned back to shelter home. (Kaneezan)

In 12% of cases, families filed, or threatened to file, various court cases against the woman or her well-wisher. This included filing cases of abduction (12%), theft (3%), or *Zinna* (adultery) (3%). This theme is noted in two regions in the FGDs:

Women when leave the shelter home for the first time they do not go to their family in most of cases, instead staying with any friend, aunt or well-wisher. When their family comes to know about this, they lodge a case of abduction or kidnap on the well-wisher, threaten, harass or try to murder them so they woman will return back to shelter home for protection (FGD of Faisalabad district)

In most of the times, when women leave for the first time from shelter home they went to stay with their friend, an aunt or a well-wisher and on coming to know that, the family of the woman mostly file a legal case of abduction against the person they were staying with so they had to return back to shelter home to save that person. (FGD of Lahore district)

Three quotes illustrate this above mentioned experience of the family filing a case of abduction against the well-wisher:

I went to stay at my *Phupo*'s [father's sister] house, but my family threatened her that they will file a case of abduction against my *Phupo*. So she requested me to leave her house and took me to a lawyer who helped me to reach shelter home. (Rehana)

I left my husband's home after *Eid ul Fitr*(major religious festival of Muslims after a holy month of fasting) and lived with my cousin and filed a case of divorce with his help. But I had to come to shelter home as my family threatened my cousin that they will file a case of abduction on him so he brought me to shelter home. (Kalsoom)

My in-laws had filed a case of theft against me that I have stolen cash and jewelry when I left their house. (Palwasha)

Some women (11%) faced threats from their family specifically because they believed she had ruined the family honour, as Khalida explains:

I went out of shelter home once and went again to my sister's house where all my relatives gave remarks and taunted me that I had gone to shelter home so I am now not appropriate for marriage with any other man in the family and that I had brought bad name to the honour of the family.

A small number of women (10%) reported that their family was threatening to kill their well-wisher or lover, or their *Khalaor* friends for having given shelter to them:

I had to return to shelter home because my family, parents and husband both, were threatening to kill me and my well-wisher.(Samra).

Saman shared a similar experience:

I stayed for one and a half months at shelter home when I came first there and then went out for just four days and stayed with the man I was interested in marrying. I had to return to shelter home as my family came to know that I was living with that man and I was afraid that they will harm me or the person I love, so I returned back to save our lives. My family had asked me to come back to them and that they will marry me as per my wish. But I know that if I go to them they will kill me and never marry me to the man of my choice.

A few women (3%) endured rebuke from their family for pursuing a love or court marriage. The following quote describes this further:

When the woman leaves the shelter home for the first time to marry by her choice, she gets threats from her parents as they consider it against their prestige. She cannot do as she wants and then has to return to the shelter home to seek protection from her parents.
(FGD of Bahawalpur district)

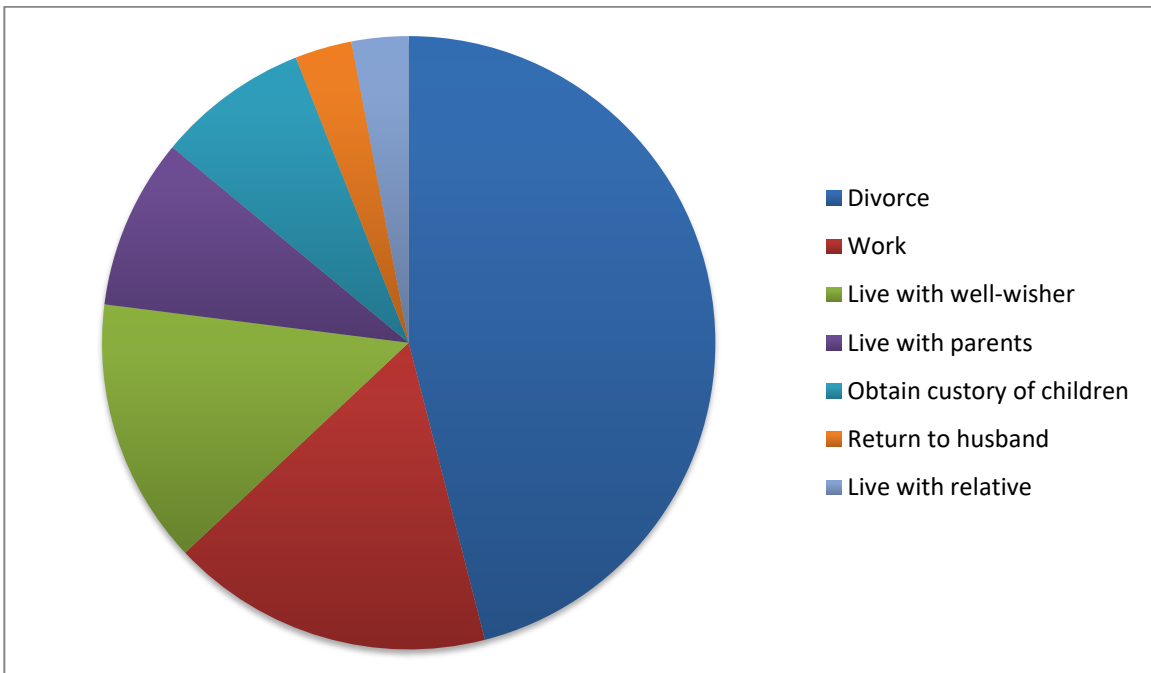
A few other women admitted that their families had tried to force them to marry against their will once they returned home from the shelter home. This was apparent in the FGD of one region:

When the woman wants to marry someone else whom her family is not willing to, she does not return to her family home knowing that if she returns to them she will have to marry against her will. (FGD of Lahore district)

Future plans. Figure 7 depicts the responses women offered when asked about the nature of the plans they were making their future. The largest group of women planned to obtain a divorce from their husbands(46%),several intended to become independent by working and earning money for themselves (17%), some wanted to go to live with their well-wishers (14%), a few (9%) expected to go back to their parents' home, while others intended to pursue custody of their children (8%). A small minority of women wanted to go back to their husbands (3%) or live with their relatives (3%). One woman, for example stated:

I want to take divorce from my husband now and after getting divorce I will file a case of custody of my children also.(Samina)

Figure 7: Future Plans



Legislation

Women were asked a series of questions about current legislation concerning VAW. Themes included women's demands for a law on domestic violence and their opinion on appropriate punishment for perpetrators.

Domestic violence laws. Women were consulted on what measures government should take to reduce violence against women in society. Almost all of the women (94%) said that the government should establish a law against domestic violence. Several quotes from women illustrate this stance:

The government should make a law to reduce the incidents of domestic violence from society and *jaise unhon ne hamari zindagi barbad ki, hakomat unhain bhi sabak de*[as they have ruined our lives so government should give a lesson to the perpetrators as well]. (Shafaqat)

The government should make a law on domestic violence and *unhain aisi saza dain ke who dobara kabhi kisi per zulm na karen*[they should be given such punishment that they do not indulge in violence against women ever again]. (Mehwish)

The government should make a law on domestic violence but *mard jo bura hota he; bura he rehta he chahe use jitni marzi saza de lain*[If a man is bad; he shall always remain bad, whether punished much or less]. (Imrana)

Reflections from three FDG passages describe the need for a law on domestic violence further:

There should be a law to curb the incidences of domestic violence in society and there should also be implementation of that law and also a general awareness about the law so the cases of domestic violence can be reduced in our society. (FGD of Lahore district)

The participants of the FGD of Multan district said regretfully that in their province, the assembly has not yet passed a domestic violence law. They asserted a law was needed soon as without one, women cannot be protected. (FGD of Multan district)

The government has made a social welfare department and some institutions focused on the welfare of women but strict laws around domestic violence are still needed in our society. For example, when a woman goes to the police to register a First Information Report (FIR) to register their complaint, often the police do not register the report and then do not investigate it properly. As a result, women do not get proper protection. There are certain provisions in the present laws which can protect a woman, but if a man slaps or beats them, and she contacts the police, the police consider it as petty offence and no FIR is registered. Because of this, the perpetrators are not punished and the violence continues. (FGD of Bahawalpur district)

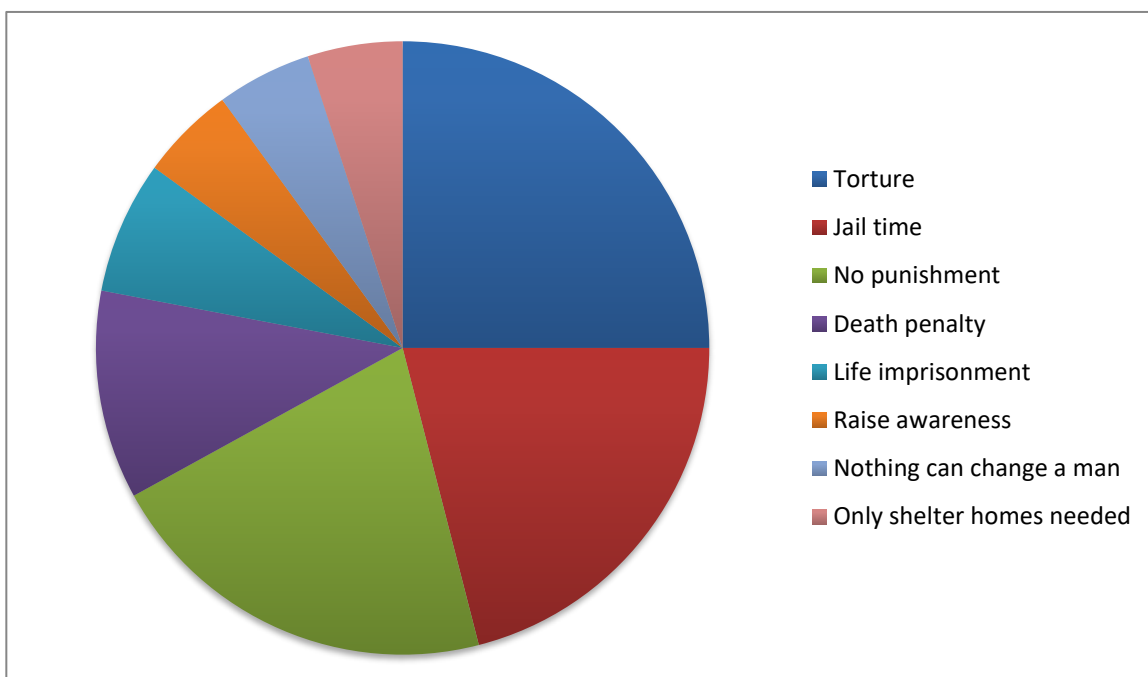
A small number of women (4%) felt that a law was not needed because shelter homes are available and 2% of women did not know, as illustrated:

I do not know of any law made by government for women but government had made shelter homes for women. (Komal)

Shelter home made by the government are a big source of protection for women like me.
(Zubaida)

Punishment for perpetrators. Regarding punishment for perpetrators under a domestic violence law, women expressed strikingly different opinions (see Figure 8). One quarter felt that the perpetrators should be tortured, as they have been tortured, slightly less wanted the perpetrators to be sent to jail(21%) or no punishment for their husbands even if they were assaulted again(21%). Fewer women wanted the death penalty, either by gunfire or hanging for their perpetrators, while 7% preferred life imprisonment. A few women supported raising awareness among men regarding women's rights (5%) while the same percentage said that no punishment can change a man (5%) and other than shelter homes, no other initiative is needed (5%).

Figure 8: Women's Opinions on Punishment for Perpetrators



Quotations from women depict their preferences on punishment. Some women argued on behalf of the death penalty:

Government should make a law to ask about the woman after two or three months, when she goes back to her parents or her husband [crying]. *Un se bhi aise hi zindagi ka haq cheen le jaise hum yahn reh rahe hain; jaise hum rul gaye hain*[the right of living should also be taken away from the perpetrators as they have taken from us and as we have become astray].(Tasneem)

The government should make a law for domestic violence and the punishment for perpetrators should be *zulm da badla zulm hi he*[violence is the revenge of violence]. (Tanzeela)

The government should make a law to safeguard women like me and should kill the perpetrators as my husband had killed my child before it was born by beating me harshly and I had a miscarriage, so the killer must be killed as per the law. (Uzma)

The government should make a law for domestic violence and should hang the perpetrators till death. (Kalsoom)

Other women wanted the perpetrators to go to jail:

The government should make a law to curb violence in society and the perpetrators should be sent to jails.(Kausar). Another interviewee stated:

Unhain mar dena chahiye, unhain aisi saza deni chahiye ke kisi ki beti ya behen ke sath aisa zulam na karen; unko mout se barh ker kia saza ho sakti he unhain mout hi de deni chahiye; ya umar kaid de deni chahiye, jail bhej dena chahiye; ke kisi per zulam na ho. Hum bhi ksi ki batian hain; kisi ki behnain hain; aj yahan per un ke bagair reh rahi hain, hamara nahi dil kerta ke hum apne ghar walon ke sath mil ker rahain[men should be hanged or given such punishment that they could not do violence with a daughter or sister of others. Or they should be given life imprisonment, sent to jails so that there should not be violence on anyone. We are also daughters or sisters of someone and we have to live without our families here in shelter home. We also want to live with our families]. Men who do violence on their women should be hanged or sentenced to life imprisonment so they serve as an example for others and people refrain from doing violence to the daughters of other people. (Ammara)

In contrast, other women did not want their husbands punished:

I do not want that any government and its law should punish my husband even if he had beaten me with his pistol. I only want my husband to mend his ways. (Shamim).

I only want to take divorce from my husband and do not want him to be punished under any law even if he had beaten me many times and had thrown me out of his house also.

(Sajida)

I do not want my husband to get any punishment; whether he had beaten me and doubted my character as he was by nature a good man and only his family had instigated him

against me so the real culprits should get punishments and not my husband as he once loved and respected me. (Farhana)

I do not want my husband to get any punishment for the violence he used to do on me and I am thinking to go back to him if he comes to meet me in shelter home and I am also ready to take my case of divorce back. I have bared his beating for four years and shall bear his beating for the remaining years of my life also as people in shelter home think that I have come here for some other man and now I want to marry that other man that is why I am taking divorce from my husband. I cannot tolerate such taunts throughout my life so I shall go back to my husband again. *lokiy kehen ge mar kha ke bhi bethi he, yeh tou nahi kehege ke kisis de nal nas gai he*[people will say that she has bared her husband's beating and did not leave his house and would not say that she had ran away with other man]. (Naeema)

Other women supported raising awareness of women's rights.

The government should make men aware of the respect and dignity of their women. (Shagufta)

If government makes a law to reduce domestic violence from the society, it should make men aware to respect and honour their women and do not punish them. (Adeeba)

This chapter presented the findings from the data analysis. It showed that the women returning to shelter homes in the Punjab province have experienced a wide range

of violence in their lives including verbal, physical and sexual abuse. Many have had their lives threatened and some have been victims of attempted murder. Women identified various customary practices as contributors to VAW such as marriage patterns, honour issues, social taboos and stigma. They added that individual factors such as addiction, gambling and unemployment amongst men were also factors. Women offered their opinions on domestic violence laws and punishment for perpetrators.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The main purpose of this study was to examine the problems faced by women when they return to their communities after staying in a shelter home. This study aimed to uncover the consequences and social repercussions women endure when they decide to leave a violent relationship and seek shelter as well as the impediments women faced when they integrate back in the community after leaving shelter homes. The study findings showed that prior to entering a shelter home returning women experienced violence and abuse from both their family of origin and family of marriage. Even after escaping their violent family context by taking refuge in a shelter home, the cycle of violence does not stop. In the process of re-integration, women continue to face violence including threats against their life and psychological abuse and stigma related to ruining their family's honour. This chapter will discuss the findings of the study in the context of the literature. Implications for the social work profession and limitations of the study will be shared along with directions for future research, practice, policy and education.

The findings of the study revealed that women faced various types of violence including physical, sexual, verbal and psychological abuse. Physical intimate partner violence is common in Pakistan with over 80% of households reporting this type of exposure (Coomaraswamy, 2005; Jillani & Ahmad, 2004). The United Nations (2008) report that approximately 60% of women in Pakistan face verbal, physical, emotional and sexual abuse within their own homes. The various types of VAW are highly correlated. A western study of 340 men arrested for physically assaulting their wives reported that 96.8% of the participants perpetuated all four major types of violence against their partners and mostly multiple forms of violence (Basile & Hall, 2011). In their study of 100 women including 50 educated and 50 uneducated of Mandi

Bahauddin and Dera Ghazi Khan districts of Punjab province, Shahzadi, Qureshi, and Islam (2010) reported that physical abuse leads to more severe psychological effects for women.

The study identified several complex and interrelated factors on the individual, relationship and societal levels that place women in the Punjab province of Pakistan at heightened risk for VAW. While these factors are presented largely in isolation in the study results, in women's lives they manifested as a tapestry of intricate, interconnected and tightly woven threads. The following sections review the factors within these three contexts.

Individual Factors Contributing to Abuse

The study identified several complex and interrelated individual factors that place women at heightened risk for VAW. These factors included: gender, young age, low levels of education and literacy, rural background, unemployment and poverty, men's addiction and gambling.

The majority of women who had returned to shelter homes were young, under the age of 35, married, illiterate, poor with low levels of employment. Husbands of returning women had similar backgrounds; the majority was uneducated, poor, unemployed and some men were alcohol, drug and gambling addicts.

Gender. Pakistan has a 'high' rate of gender inequity according to the 2014 Social Institutes and Gender Index (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016). In fact, the 2013 World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report 2013, which "assesses 136 countries, representing more than 93 per cent of the world's population, on how well resources and opportunities are divided among male and female populations" ranked Pakistan 2nd last in the world (Haider, 2013, para. 1). Although the relationship is multi-dimensional and complex, the literature is clear in highlighting that gender inequality is a key determinant that underpins VAW (Wall, 2014). Due to the current and historically high levels of gender inequity,

women in the study experienced high rates of violence attributed to their gender. This relationship will be discussed more fully in the section on patriarchy in societal factors.

Young age. All of the women in the study were from large families in rural settings. In large families, parents often chose to reduce their economic burden and responsibilities by marrying their daughters at a young age. Hence, the majority of the women in this study were married between 10 to 15 years of age, most often to husbands who are much older, who is able to support his family economically. According to Zakar, Zakar, and Abbas (2016), women who are married at an early age are subject to increased rates of violence. A recent study found that women married as children were more vulnerable to domestic violence (Nasrullah, Zakar, Zakar, Abbas, & Safdar, 2015). A western study by Pandey (2014) indicated that women who are married at the age of 15 years or younger have an 83% greater chance of experiencing physical violence and 71% chances of experiencing sexual abuse, than those who marry over the age of 15.

Education and literacy. Low levels of education result in low rates of literacy and together exacerbate the risk for VAW (Zakar, Zakar, & Abbas, 2016). When girls and women are not permitted to go to school, and illiteracy is high, their options are limited. They also lack sufficient decision-making ability and then are ultimately at higher risk of becoming victims of violence. Lack of education and low levels of literacy are related to a lack of awareness regarding the rights and duties of individuals towards each other, which can result in violence (Naqvi, Ibrar, & Hussain, 2011). Girls and women who have low levels of literacy and education experience more challenges in saving themselves from the difficulties of married life and as a consequence many suffer abuse at her husband's home. According to Zakar, Zakar, and Abbas (2016), women with less education have greater risk of domestic violence. In contrast, Khan,

Sindh, and Hussain (2013), found that female education decreases their chances of becoming a victim of physical violence.

The local studies by Naqvi, Ibrar, and Jabeen (2013), Sathar and Lloyd (1994), Khan and Ali (n.d.), and Alam (2012) indicated that parents, who are themselves mostly uneducated, place little emphasis on the education of girls as their primary role is considered to be as wives and to assume responsibilities for household chores and child rearing.

Rural. Residing in a rural area is related to low rates of education for women and girls. In general, the mobility of girls and women are restricted; much of the time they are limited to the home and are thus unable to attend schools. Further, most rural villages in Pakistan do not have educational facilities for girls and travel to schools in urban settings is prohibitive due to social restrictions, taboos, lack of transportation, and security issues (Naqvi, Ibrar, & Jabeen, 2013). Rural residency is also associated with greater rates of traditional marriage practices, which, in turn, places women at heightened risk. This will be discussed more fully in the section on family relations. According to Human Rights Watch (2000), in rural areas of Pakistan if a girl expresses a desire to choose her marriage partner, it is considered rebelliousness of the authoritarian family and the social rules and can result in extreme consequences like honour killing.

Unemployment and poverty. The interviewed women, their families of origin and their husbands had high rates of unemployment and poverty. This is particularly evident in view of their large family size. Prior to entering the shelter home, most of the women in the study were unemployed, others were doing handicrafts, stitching, or as labourers in other fields. Similarly, most of the husbands were unemployed or working as laborers. The relationship between men's

unemployment and heightened VAW has been established in Pakistan (Ali & Gavino, 2008) and in western settings (Coker, Smith, Mckeown, & Melissa, 2000; Jejeebhoy, 1998; Visaria, 1999).

Thus women and their families suffered from economic insufficiency which could bring tensions in the lives of the women, as they often cannot adequately fulfill their own or their children's needs. For example, some women in the study reported that asking husbands for money for household needs, often resulted in physical abuse, particularly if husbands were under or unemployed. According to a study by Naqvi, Ibrar, and Hussain (2011) conducted in Peshawar, KP province of Pakistan, the majority of married women participants (78%) had been victims of violence and 29% of them attributed their violence to poverty and economic instability. Another study reported that low income status of women and family financial problems were significantly associated with greater VAW (Zakar, Zakar, & Abbas, 2016). Similarly, a study in Egypt (Li Li 2010) indicated that women's resource constraints increase the risk of physical violence against them. Another western study by Terry (2004) showed that poverty increases woman's exposure to violence and reduces their ability to avoid and escape from such situations.

Men's addiction and gambling. A notable number of women in the study reported that their husbands' addiction to alcohol, drugs, and gambling was associated with perpetuating VAW. Often these men were unemployed and therefore had time to associate with others with similar problems. To support their addiction men asked their wives for money and when women, who were earning so little and they wanted to spend that money on their own and their children's needs, refused the men abused them physically and verbally and took money from them by force. This situation women said was one of the reason they had left their husbands.

Women's report regarding the relationship between addiction to drugs and alcohol and VAW is consistent with western studies (Coker, Smith, Mckeown, & Melissa, 2000; Galvani, 2004; Orford, Copello, Velleman, & Templeton, 2010). A Pakistani study by Fikree and Bhatti, (1999) of 150 women however, only 3% of respondents endorsed the statement that addiction to drugs can contribute to violence between couples. Western literature also identifies that spouses of compulsive gamblers have a greater likelihood of being physically and verbally abused (Bland, Newman, Orn, & Stebelski, 1993; Muelleman, Denotter, Wadman, Tran, & Anderson, 2002), although no Pakistani literature on this relationship is available.

Relationship Factors of Abuse

Women in the study cited relationship factors as impacting their vulnerability to experience violence. Important relationship factors highlighted by women included violence in the family of origin, customary marriage practices, living in extended families, and concerns about children.

Violence in the family of origin. The women interviewed in the study reported that their husbands had been exposed to violence in their childhood, as they have seen their fathers assaulting their mothers. The women also indicated that their husbands had abused them in front of their own children. This serves to perpetuate the cycle of violence, as children learn behaviours from their elders who are their role-models and they then try to imitate them in their relationship with others. Thus, children who have seen their fathers abusing their mothers would behave similarly with their own wives in adulthood. For example, Abbassi and Aslinia (2010) found that violent behaviour is learnt by children and they also transfer and teach this behaviour to their own children. Also a western study by Murrell, Christoff, and Henning (2007) indicated that men who experience domestic violence in their childhood are more likely to commit domestic

violence as an adult. This relationship is explicated by Bandura's Social Learning theory (1973), which is also supported by an extensive body of literature (Anderson, 1997; Browne, 1980; Forsstrom & Rosenbaum, 1985; Gelles, 1972; Goode, 1971; Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2005; Hotaling and Sugarman, 1986; Levinson, 1989; McCord, 1988; Mihalic & Elliot, 1977; Okun, 1986; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Roy, 1982; Steinmetz, 1977; Straus et al., 1980; Walker, 1984) as discussed in the methodology chapter of the dissertation.

Women in the study also reported that they have seen their own fathers abusing their mothers. According to Islam, Tareque, Sugawa, and Kawahara (2015) women who had witnessed their fathers beating their mothers in their childhood, think that their husbands have a right to beat them, and are subject to greater chances of being abused. This could be a reason that women in the study took multiple attempts to leave the abusive relationship.

Customary marriage practices. Customary marriage practices were described by women in the study as a cause of abuse from their immediate family members. Customary marriage practices refer to child marriages, exchange marriages, forced and compensation marriages (Amnesty International, 2004).

According to Pakistan Press Foundation (2007), the overall ratio of love marriages in Pakistan is only 2.25%, whereas the ratio of customary practice of arranged marriages is 63.4%, followed by bride price marriages whose ratio is 14.87% and exchange marriages ratio is 10.9%. Azad Jammu Kashmir has a highest rate of arranged marriages (89%) and Sindh province being the second with 88.5%. In Balochistan province the bride price marriages are at highest at 81.5%. Exchange marriages are common in all parts of the country, however the highest ratio is in Gilgit (17.5), followed by Punjab with 13.5% (Pakistan Press Foundation, 2007).

Early or child marriages. Early and child marriages in Pakistan are common. It is estimated that 21% of girls in Pakistan are married before the age of 18 (Girls Not Brides, n.d.). The drivers for this are manifold but include: economic constraints, poverty, low levels of education and illiteracy and large family size (Alam, 2012; Fikree & Pasha, 2004). Abuse related to customary marriage practices vary. For example, interpersonal violence could be in the form of emotional abuse as in parents who marry girls off, often at a young age, without giving consideration to their wishes or interests.

Girls are considered to be an economic burden and a liability that parents prefer to get rid of as soon as possible, through marriage (Alam, 2012; Fikree & Pasha, 2004). Once married, a young girl's is typically forbidden to continue her education as her main role is to raise and care for a family and perform household chores, which do not require education. In contrast, boys are considered an asset; if parents invest in boy's education, as adults they will have a better chance of good jobs to earn money for their families (Alam, 2012; Fikree & Pasha, 2004).

According to UNICEF (2014a), if the current trend of girl child (under 18 years) marriage continues, it can be predicted that more than 140 million girls will marry early in the next decade or nearly 40,000 per day. The influential factors could be social and cultural norms, socio-economic status, levels of education, and community context (Parsons, et al, 2015). The poorest families have high rates of girl child marriages as poor families have fewer resources and opportunities to invest in alternative options for girls. Poor parents marry their daughters young because they consider them an economic burden that can be relieved through marriage (Parsons, et al, 2015).

The child brides are more likely to face physical, sexual, emotional and other forms of abuse at the hand of their husbands and in-laws (UNICEF, 2014b). As they are mostly dependent

on their husbands and in-laws so they are not likely to speak against or ask for help against these acts of violence. A western study by Clark, Bruce, and Dude, (2006) indicated that girls who are married at early age are at higher risk of experiencing abuse than the girls married after the age of 18. A study by Kanethasa, et al. (2008) in India found that girls who are married before the age of 18 years are twice as likely to report being slapped, beaten or threatened by their husbands than the girls who are married after 18 years of age. Western studies by Le Strat, Dubertret, and Le Foll (2011) and Nour (2009) reported that child brides also suffer emotional abuse in their husband's homes and experience severe isolation and depression as a result of early marriage.

Early child marriages are also associated with poor sexual and reproductive health of the girl as she is often unable to negotiate safer sex with her husband, which can result into early pregnancy, increased child bearing over time, unhealthy birth spacing, and being more susceptible to sexually transmitted diseases. According to UNICEF (2014a), the infant mortality is 60% higher in mothers under 18 years than the children born to mothers over age 18.

Love marriages. Love marriage, or a girl expressing her choice of a partner for marriage, is taboo in Pakistani society (Abraham, 2000; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008). Not only is a love marriage not accepted in society, it is considered to be an honour issue which can result in abuse or even death for the woman. Further, society does not support couples who marry for love; they are stigmatized and their character and family upbringing are disparaged (Abraham, 2000; Haj-Yahia & Sadan, 2008). Zaman, Ferdoos, and Watto (2013) reported that a woman who expresses her personal choice for marriage is subjected to exchange or forced marriage, which are also forms of domestic violence.

Generally women are considered as weak in reason and open to adulation, flattery, trickery and deceit (Yefet, 2009). Therefore she is taken as unable to understand the nature of marriage and lacks the competence to enter into marriage on her own (Yefet, 2009).

Forced marriages. Some participants in this study revealed that they were subjected to forced marriages, often when they were young to a much older man and, in some cases, without their knowledge by using their thumb impressions as consent on her marriage document. These types of forced marriages are common in rural areas of Pakistan, where young girls who do not know their rights or where they can go to get help in such circumstances, became a victim of abuse in the hands of their family of origin and later by their husbands as well. Although illegal, forced marriages where the consent of the girl is not taken before her marriage, are widely practiced in Pakistan (Amnesty International, 1999; Jilani & Ahmed, 2004).

Women are forced into marriage for a number of reasons, for example to strengthen the family links meaning if the family has committed for marriage among their relatives long ago or in childhood of the girl than the family pressurize the girl to marry as per their choice (Hassan, 1995; Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987). The other reason for forced marriage could be if the girl has her own choice for marriage that the family does not approve for then the family can force her to avoid the unsuitable relationship to protect the perceived social and cultural norms (Hassan, 1995; Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987). Also forced marriage is related to maintaining family's honour by controlling the girl's behaviour in terms of her sexuality or virginity. Women of the family are tasked with protecting girls virginity and chastity until they are married off, for the honour of the men of the family. The honour of a man is only his need to control women's sexuality and her freedom (Hassan, 1995; Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987).

Exchange marriages. Another form of traditional marriage, exchange marriage, is also common. In this practice, a woman and her brother or any other male relative is married to a sister and brother or any male relative of another family usually at the same time (World Bank, 2005). It is noted that exchange marriages account for about 51% of marriages in southern Punjab and 68% of marriages in northern Punjab (World Bank, 2005). Exchange marriage is not just exchange of daughters among two families but there is also a shadow of mutual threats across marriages as if a husband mistreats his wife he can expect that his brother-in-law retaliate in the same way with his sister (Jacoby & Mansuri, 2007). Generally, families marry children in exchange to save themselves from giving or receiving dowries or monetary compensations. Both parties decide that they will spend equally on the marriage, and bring or give away a bride (World Bank, 2005).

Some women in this study indicated that they were married so that their fathers or uncles could marry a younger girl from the other family. This practice of exchange marriage works as a barter system in which young girls are exchanged to satisfy the desires of much older men, which can be considered abusive. Zaman (2011) notes that the constant reciprocity of exchange marriages can lead to abuse and violence.

Some women in the study also shared that they were married in exchange with younger boys within their own families to keep the property within the family. One of the woman also said that her parents married her with a boy (her first cousin) younger to her just to keep the property within family. She also told that in exchange an older sister of her groom/husband was married to her younger brother. According to Shah(1997) the woman's movements and her sexuality is controlled by men of the family to eliminate the chances of a woman mating outside the group which could lead to transfer of property outside the family through inheritance, and

thus reduce the family's power. Historically, forced marriages in the form of marrying a virgin to the Holy Quran, or marrying an adult woman to a minor, were instituted to keep the land in the family (Shah, 1997). Similar practices are still present, women are married within the family or caste to ensure that ancestral family land cannot be divided and shared with other families (Niaz, 2003).

Bride price marriages. Pakistan has high of poverty, particularly in rural areas. According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (n.d.), although rural people comprise two thirds of the population, they represent 80% of Pakistan's poor people. Under such circumstances, families cannot afford to provide for their large families and they take money in exchange for marrying their young daughters to older men. This study found that the practice of bride price may be done openly or by deceiving the groom's family. When confronted, the family refused to pay back the money on the pretext of the money spent on the marriage ceremony functions. Often in these cases the girl is subjected to taunts, allegations and physical abuse by her in-laws who justify their actions on the basis that the girl's family took the money under false pretexts and refuse to pay it back. A woman also reported that she married in love but her father and brothers took thumb impressions of her husband on divorce papers and married her to a man from whom they had taken money. That second husband raped her several times in retaliation.

The practice of fathers selling their daughters very young to get a handsome bride price, money or land is in essence the practice of women being used as an object of trade or merchandized between men. This practice, Amnesty International (1999) asserted, has led to VAW in Pakistan as "customary and traditional" (p. 34). Western researchers Hague, Thiara, and

Turner (2011) suggested that the customary practice of bride price introduces ways by which men can justify the abusive attitudes towards women.

Panchaiyat decided marriages.In rural areas of Pakistan, *Panchaiyat* are non-state forums or local and customary agencies, that also negotiate domestic violence cases in their areas(Nagaraj,2010). *Panchaiyats* advocate for counseling, settlement and compromise as against the formal justice system and local men regard it ideal as it is a means of quick, flexible, effective and desirable solutions to meet their needs. *Panchaiyat* however play a role in the oppression, subjugation and ultimate abuse of women. For instance, often they settle disputes between families by trading a woman of accused family to the aggrieved family (Niaz, 2003; Visaria, 1999). The aggrieved family then is allowed to marry her with any person of their family and to regard her as a servant of their house. In that house she is subjected to all types of abuse as she is considered compensation for the crime done by her own family and thus she cannot raise her voice on any of the abuse against her and she cannot attempt to get help. According to Manzoor, Rehman, and Bano (2013), girls are bartered as slaves in Pakistan as they are given as an offering to settle disputes and conflicts.

Sometimes domestic violence cases are also referred to *Panchaiyats*. One woman in the study reported that despite her desire not to return to her abusive husband's house, the *Panchaiyat* compelled her to return. Another woman said that although she wanted a love marriage the *Panchaiyat* required her well-wisher to provide money in exchange of her marriage to him.

Dowry and Haq Meher.It is customary in Pakistani society for the bride's family to provide everything a couple would need in married life in the form of a dowry. Most women in the study however, reported that they did not receive any dowry from their parents at the time of

their marriage. This was likely due to the higher rates of poverty among the women's families. Failing to provide dowry can contribute to abuse towards a woman after her marriage. Women in the study whose families did not provide dowry supported this relationship as they indicated they were consequently subjected to verbal and physical abuse by their husbands and in-laws. According to Human Rights Watch(1999), the customary practice of dowry also makes the women vulnerable as the woman who brings inadequate dowry suffers more harassment and violence than the woman who offer a more lavish dowry. Srinivasan and Bedi (2007) stated that larger dowries increase a woman's social status and control in her family and reduce her chances of experiencing domestic violence. However, this relationship is not straightforward as bigger dowries lead to never ending expectations of material benefits from the bride's family, with violence against the bride as a consequence if these expectations are unmet (Khan & Hussain, 2008). Daughters are then considered to be a life-long burden which exacerbates women's difficulties.

Haq Mehran Islamic obligation of a husband towards his wife was also not practiced by most of the families, as told by the interviewed women. Most of the women said that no *Haq Mehr* was declared for them, or, if was declared, it was not a substantial amount. In addition, some of the women waived off their *Haq Mehr* after marriage on the request of their in-laws.

Dowry and *Haq Mehr* are important assets for women. It is considered to be the sole property of the wife and neither parents nor any other relatives have any right over it. In case of a problem, a woman can use Dowry and *Haq Mehr* to provide for her own and her children's needs. However, this protective factor was denied to most of the women in the study. The role of *Haq Mehr* as a risk or protective factor for VAW has not been investigated.

Extended families. Prior to entering the shelter in the first instance, women in the study had lived with their extended families, that is with their husband's parents and his other siblings and their families. This is the most common family structure in Pakistan (Blood, 1994). Kadir, Fikree, Khan, and Sajan, (2003) indicated that most people in Pakistan live in joint or extended families where the married couple live with the parents and other siblings of the husband as a result the in-laws influence and interfere the decisions of couple about their family size and other household decisions. The influence and interference of in-laws family in the married couple's personal life is also a reason why marriages end up in separation or divorce.

Also, as mentioned previously, most of the women in the study were young, illiterate, uneducated with little knowledge about their rights and how to deal with complexities of married life and how to deal with their in-laws, specifically. These factors increase her risk of being ill-treated by her husband and/or extended family members. Nasrullah, Zakar, Zakar, Abbas, and Safdar (2015) found that women who live in extended families with their in-laws have more family problems and issues with their in-laws and greater chances of experiencing domestic violence. Another study found that marital abuse or violence was an outcome of interference by in-laws, especially mothers-in-law (Fikree, & Bhatti, 1999).

Concerns about children. Most of the women in the study were married for five to 10 years when they returned to the shelter home. Approximately three quarters of women in the study did not have children; this is not typical for Pakistan with the average number of children per family size in 2007-2008 of 2.96 and 2.59 for urban families and 3.16 for rural families, respectively (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Western research confirms that women with children are at greater risk of domestic violence (Moe, 2009).

The high rate of childless women found in this study sample may indicate that women who had children are less likely to flee violence. Some research suggests that women with children may choose to remain in situations of violence (Fantuzzo & Lindquist, 1989) or delay leaving the abusive relationship due to concerns about their children (Jaffe, Wolfe, & Wilson, 1990; Varcoe & Irwin, 2004). Further, a woman who is economically vulnerable may fear for her children's future, in terms of her ability to provide for their schooling and other needs and if she leaves her husband's house. Thus, women with children according to Western studies are more likely to stay and suffer more in an abusive relationship (Moore, Peplar, Mae, & Kates, 1989).

Societal Factors Contributing to Abuse

Women in the study illustrated how they experienced abuse because of structural or societal factors, included: patriarchy, media and social taboos.

Patriarchy. Pakistani society is patriarchal and the men have power and authority over women (Fikree et al, 2005; Munir, 2002). In Pakistan's patriarchal society women and girls are expected to subordinate their personal desires and interest to those of the family (Bari, 2000).

In most of families, all family matters are decided by the men with women having little say (Ali et al, 2011; Naqvi, & Ibrar, 2015). Men have this power because they earn and bring money to the household and provide for the needs of the families (Zakar, Zakar, & Kraemer, 2013). Women in the study faced violence from the men of their family including brothers, fathers and husbands and other male relatives such as father's brothers or mother's brothers. Most of the women in the study were responsible for household chores and were not earning income and consequently they had little power in their household and were subjected to abuse by the men of the house. The relationship between power and dominance and violence in patriarchal societies is well documented. This relationship is explicated by feminist theory of patriarchy and

supported by an extensive body of literature (Brock-Utne, 1985 &1989; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; DeKeseredy & MacLeod, 1997;DeKerseredy & Schwartz, 2011;Eisenstein, 1980; Gelles & Straus, 1988; Gondolf & Fisher, 1988; Kelly, 1988; Kurz, 1989; Lerner, 1986; Liddle, 1989; Schwartz, 1988; and Smith, 1990). Fikree, Razzak, and Durocher (2005) and Munir (2002), for example,indicated that men try to control the women of the house and if a woman resists, the men use violence and this is because of the centuries old system of patriarchy.According to Brown (2014), controlling behaviours of a husband can lead to domestic violence.

Patriarchy and entitlement contribute to VAW, according to study participants. Women in the study offered that they were subjected to abuse were because men in the family were the primary wage earners and decision-makers in their families and thus they maintained power in the family. On the other hand, women's economic dependence meant that she had very low status which increased her chances of being abused by men of the house.

Women participants also faced abuse at the hands of their mothers-in-law who have power in the household as elders and decision-makers. This form of abuse is also in line with patriarchy where the younger women are considered unequal and are devalued by all, including older women in the family (Naqvi & Ibrar, 2015). A local study by Rabbani, Qureshi, and Rizvi (2008) of 108 women victims of abuse revealed that although the majority of abuse was perpetuated by husbands (58%) the second most common perpetrator was mothers-in-law (15%) followed by sisters-in-laws and brothers-in-laws. It was also stated that mothers-in-law provoked husbands by complaining against their wives and the husbands in aggression initiated abuse against the women. Khan and Hussain (2008)indicated that older women like mothers-in-lawalso are verbally or physically abusive towards their daughters-in-laws and prompt, provoke

and instigate their sons against their wives, who in turn become aggressive and abusive towards their wives.

Media. Women in the study reported that their husbands used to watch violent and indecent movies, suggesting this was a contributing factor to their abusive behaviour at home. Media can be a source of spreading abuse and violence in the society (Dominick & Greenberg, 1972; Walker & Morley, 1991). Exposure to violence by watching violent dramas and movies and sexually indecent material leads, in the case of some individuals, to enact violence in the home. Some research has shown that this type of violence exposure has social repercussions (McLeod, Atkin, & Chaffee, 1972a, 1972b; Robinson & Bachman, 1972), including criminal behaviour (Atkin, Greenberg, Korzenny, & McDermott, 1979; Fikkers, Piotrowski, Weeda, Vossen, & Valkenburg, 2013). In Pakistan too, the media portrays the patriarchal culture where men are shown aggressive and powerful and the women are depicted as fragile and weak (Ali & Gavino, 2008). The influence may be more prevalent among the illiterate in rural society who learn these norms from the media, without counter role-models and practice them in their daily lives (Ali & Gavino, 2008). This has increased the abuse in the lives of women.

Social taboos. Centuries old taboos and social norms are deep-rooted in Pakistani society. These dictate that women should be submissive, obedient, timid and fearful; women cannot be brave, courageous, or rebellious. A woman cannot live alone in society and must be supported by a man (Niaz, 2003; Ali & Gavino 2008). Single woman cannot live independently in the society; she cannot rent a house, cannot go alone to markets or to schools or jobs (Niaz, 2003; Ali & Gavino 2008). A woman who rebels or goes against society's norms is considered a bad with a flawed character.

A common idiom, *ZAN, ZAR AUR ZAMEEN* -- women, money and land create problems in society underlies the commonly held belief that women create misunderstandings or tensions in the family; and money and land can be a source of dispute between two parties or families (Niaz, 2003; Ali & Gavino 2008).

These taboos and norms of the culture and society reinforce the low status of women and the power men have over women. They can also lead to or justify VAW. For example, Karmaliani, Pasha, Hirani, Somani, and Hirani (2012) assert that a woman's role in the home is to be submissive, passive and subservient and failing to meet these expectations can lead to punishment in the shape of different types of violence against her.

Deeply entrenched gender inequity in Pakistani society holds women responsible for maintaining the respect and good name of the family. Men on the other hand have considerably more freedom and his wrongs do not bring disrepute to the family; they are regarded as manly and bring pride to the family.

Causes of Abuse

Physical, verbal or emotional abuse. Physical and emotional abuse was a consequence of multiple factors of customary marriage practices by immediate family and due to husband's addiction, unemployment, lack of financial resources, honour and husband's illicit relations. These factors have been discussed above also that the women's family of origin physically and verbally abused them to force them to marry according to the family's wishes instead of their own. These marriages were based on customary practices and the interest and wish of the woman was not considered. The women were physically and verbally abused by the husbands also after their marriage. Some of the women said that when they told their families about their interest in marriage, the family took it as a breach of its honour and abused them physically and verbally.

As love marriage is a taboo in Pakistani society, a girl or a woman who expresses her choice in marriage is considered an honour issue--the girl is considered to be of bad character and she should be taught a lesson to mend her ways. Therefore she is abused physically and verbally so she can learn society's approved ways that are supported by her family also. Although these approved ways are actually an abuse against her in the form of forced, exchange, bride's money and elderly decided marriages that do not give her basic rights of freedom of expression and liberty.

Some of the women in the study reported that their husbands had illicit relations with other women and when confronted, the women would face physical and verbal abuse. In some cases, men spent all of their money on these illicit relationships and did not have money for their own wives and children. When the women asked them for money for household expenses, they would again be subjected to physical abuse. This creates problems in the lives of women and children such that women seek shelter services.

Sexual abuse. Sex is considered a taboo in Pakistani society and not discussed openly with anyone (Haider, 2016). It is generally believed in Pakistani society that sexual abuse and sexual crimes do not happen in our culture and not local literature on sexual violence is available. Indeed a study conducted in Vietnam indicated that sexual violence often remains hidden and silenced because of the stigma and prejudice related to the survivors of the sexual violence in the society and media (PHAM, 2015). Women's stories revealed a different truth. However, during the interviews some of the women were so depressed about their experiences that they wanted to confide in someone. Therefore they shared their experiences of sexual abuse by their husbands and sexual advances they faced from their husband's relatives. The women in the study revealed some grave incidents of sexual violence in the form of rape, prostitution and

sexual assault by their husbands. The relationship between early and forced marriage and sexual abuse is in need of study. According to a western study by Freeman, Collier, and Parillo (2002) girls are more likely to face sexual violence as most of them experience conventional patterns of socialization and have dependent status in families.

Psychological abuse. A study in Punjab Pakistan found that women and girls of all ages are vulnerable at home and in society and face more psychological abuse than physical abuse y (Manzoor, Rahman, & Bano, 2013). The causes of psychological abuse for women were in the study was in the form of their parent's non-acceptance of a verbal divorce, *Halala* (remarriage with ex-husband), pressure to re-conciliate with abusive husband, issues related to children, social stigma, honour and doubts on character.

When a husband gives verbal divorce, the woman has no proof of it, therefore she can be manipulated and forced to go back and reconcile with her husband. Some of the women in the study said that they have come to shelter home so they can apply to court for a documented proof of a divorce and then go back to their communities to live an independent and respectable life. In many cases the parents compel these women to reconcile and compromise as they cannot afford to have them back with their children. The parent's economic insufficiency restricts them from accepting them back into their house.

Khan and Hussain (2008) reported that men doubt the character of their women by presuming that they are having an affair and increases the risk of physical or psychological abuse for women. Even polite behaviour with any male relative in husband's family or sometimes talking with a female neighbour can arouse suspicion of the men and can result in abusive attitude of husbands. This aligns with the stories shared by some women in this study who said

that their husbands doubt their character whenever they saw them talking or standing with any other men. This was a cause of psychological stress and abuse for the women.

Some women in the study advised that they wanted custody of their children but their parents discouraged that for economic reasons. Concerns about their children were also a factor they took longer to leave their abusive husbands. Leaving a husband is mostly not supported by immediate families of the women and fear of losing their children and the children's future are also the key factors that women remain longer in abuse relationships (Khan & Hussain, 2008).

Seeking a divorce or leaving a husband is considered a stigma and honour issue in the society and the woman is blamed mostly for the failure of a marriage. Women are expected to compromise in all situations and to not disagree with their husbands or in-laws. Leaving a husband and seeking divorce is considered as bringing shame and dishonor to their families and thus women tend to remain in abusive relationship feeling the pressures of social norms and expectations (Hussain, 2008). Women who do leave their husband's house to seek shelter home are stigmatized and are considered a bad repute and bad character women.

Prevention and Intervention

Recommendations for prevention and intervention of VAW are set within the experiences of women residing in shelter homes and in reintegrating into society as well as by examining domestic violence policies and legislation. Women's experiences in shelter homes focused on how they accessed the service, the duration of their stay, how satisfied they were with the program as well as their peer support and peer relations while in the shelter home.

Access to shelter home. Bari (1998) indicated that there are many barriers for women who want to seek help against VAW including a lack of information about services and supports and a lack of awareness about their legal rights. This was articulated clearly by women in the

study, most of whom indicated that they learned about the shelter home from their neighbours or friends, who had themselves been to shelter homes. This also aligns with the findings of Critelli (2012) who reported that women in Pakistan learn about shelter homes through their neighbours who had previously sought shelter services themselves or through lawyers in their communities.

Other women in the study resorted to asking strangers at bus stops about the address of shelter home; this also could be dangerous as the possibility existed that strangers could not only help but could abduct them to exploit them. Some women asked an auto-rickshaw (a local transport) person to take them to the shelter home, other women were advised to go to court and to ask a lawyer who could refer them to a shelter home. Finally, some women reported coming to the shelter with their well-wishers, who planned to wait until matters were settled until they resumed their relationship.

For most of the women in the study leaving their abusive relationship was a sudden decision and consequently upon arriving at the shelter home they lacked finances and other basic necessities. Women described that they had to flee in this manner or they would have caught, asked where they were going and could have been killed (Critelli, 2012).

Most of the time, women could not take more than one child with them while fleeing and shelter homes do not allow more than two children to accompany a woman. The majority of women in this study did not have children which differs from the study by Critelli's (2012) which suggested that women seeking shelter services are mostly accompanied by children.

Traveling on local transport and reaching cities and then finding a shelter home was also a difficult task for women seeking shelter. Critelli (2012) indicated that women from small towns who have little experiences outside their homes, when seeking shelter services had to travel longer hours on buses to reach a city where shelter homes are situated and have less money for

travel. This is confirmed by Watto, Naz, Murtaza, and Rashid (2012) who reported that women may not be able to seek formal help like shelter services because they have restricted mobility or lack finances to travel to it. A western study by Jubert (2009) found that women's help seeking behaviour is influenced by their geographical residence, that is, women who live far from formal help provider institutions may tolerate the abusive relationship longer as they have difficulty in accessing the institution.

A western study by Han, Chen, Hwang, and Wei (2006), indicated that societal and cultural values and norms about gender and the social class of the woman encourages and discourages them to seek different helping sources. Women who sought shelter homes services in this study were mostly from rural areas. Perhaps urban residing women have greater fears about their status and repute in their communities and are more likely to refrain from accessing shelter services, instead they tend to seek services from specialized agencies like courts and NGOs.

In summary, it is very difficult for women who live in rural areas to access VAW services, who are likely coming to a city for the first time. Only brave and strong women can do all the struggle necessary to safely reach a shelter home. Critelli (2012) reported that the decision to leave home and seek help at a shelter home is an act of courage, forethought and presence of mind by the woman. Leaving a home by Pakistani women should be taken as a bold step by the women in such circumstances and it involves several attempts by these women (Critelli, 2012).

Duration of stay. All of the women in the study had previously resided in a shelter home, a few of whom had two previous shelter stays. The initial shelter home residency for women in the study was from three to six months, although a few women had stayed as long as a year. In terms of community re-integration, most of the women in the study had stayed outside

from shelter home for only 15 days prior to their return, which indicates how difficult the family circumstances were. The stigma attached with fleeing their home and staying in a shelter home is so grave in Pakistani society that it is extremely prohibitive for successful re-integration (Critelli, 2012). Women in this situation are not accepted by society, their character and dignity are in disrepute such that it is intolerable for them, which in turns, leads to their return to the shelter home.

Satisfaction with shelter home. Most of the women in the study reported that they were satisfied with their stay in shelter home because they were provided with food and shelter and they felt safe and secure. In particular, women described feeling secure and free from harm since men were forbidden from entering the shelter home, women were not allowed to leave the shelter home and that visitors were managed by shelter staff (women were not required to meet with visitors) and were under scrutiny. They also indicated that this was in contrast with the general beliefs about the shelter homes as being unsafe for women. Women in the study also expressed satisfaction with peer-support in the shelter home. These align with Canadian studies, which found that women who had stayed in shelter homes were satisfied about the safety, staff and peer support, and provision of basic needs (Tutty, 2015; Tutty, Weaver, & Rothery, 1999). Other western research on shelter homes documents their effectiveness in providing security to abused women (Bowker & Maurer, 1985; Johnson, Crowley, & Sigler, 1992; McDonald, 1989).

Studies about women's satisfaction of shelter homes from developed countries, however, cannot be directly applied to understand the satisfaction of women about shelter homes in Pakistan. The quality of services in shelter homes in developed countries would be far better than the quality of services provided in shelter homes of Pakistan (CITE). Nevertheless, women in the

study also reported satisfaction with services of shelter homes including safety, peer support, provision of basic needs, staff support.

Despite the above findings, a few of the women also raised concerns about the shelter including mobility and communication restrictions, resident's relationship with each other, and the duties (chores) assigned to them while staying in shelter homes. Women in the study expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that they were not allowed to keep their mobile phones, since they would not know what was going on in their families and what their families were planning in respect to them. According to shelter management, this rule was enforced because of safety reasons: if women were able to communicate freely on mobile phones they could inadvertently provide information about the shelter home or about themselves that could put their or management's lives in danger. Women were allowed to make calls from the shelter home landline once a week, of which management kept a record.

Some of the women respondents offered that they disliked doing assigned chores at shelter home. Shelter management reported that they assigned chores to women residents, in turns and not on a daily basis, so they had something to occupy their time.

Study participants expressed dissatisfaction that they not allowed to leave the shelter home for employment or to buy things they needed. Women stated that they felt like living in detention centers while in shelter homes (Medicine Du Monde, 2007; Zaidi, 2002). Women indicated that they are forbidden to leave unless they have to appear in courts and when they do so, they are accompanied by police and shelter staff. Shelter management enforces this security as a consequence of the very real threat to life women shelter residents experience. This concern is not unsubstantiated as some women in the study reported that when they went to court their

husbands tried to abduct or kill them. However, restricting women's mobility is against their human rights.

Although women noted that peer-support was an important aspect of the shelter service, they also complained that quarreling by their peers created discomfort in shelter home. Peer-support is an important factor for shelter residents. As Critelli (2012) indicated, as residents of shelter homes, women would likely have the first opportunity to share their experiences with others who have had similar experiences. This would build their confidence through acceptance, support, and counseling from their peers in the shelter home. However, when women of different backgrounds live together it is natural that some misunderstandings and tensions can occur.

Women also expressed concerns for first-time shelter residents that they would be worried that they would face the same problems as those who returned to the shelter home. It is also natural for the women to fear for themselves when they see women returning to shelter homes after only a few days of living outside.

In their study of 154 women shelter residents of two shelters in Lahore, Pakistan Watto, Naz, Murtaza, and Rashid (2012) found that most of the women were not satisfied with the services. In addition to their belief that residency in a shelter home would bring more difficulties for them, women shelter residents were also concerned that shelter services would not support a longer stay and would not provide free legal aid to pursue their cases in courts against their abusers. Interestingly, these two latter concerns were not mentioned by women in the study.

Study findings align with the body of available research, which indicated numerous problems in state run shelter homes including: poor quality, lack of trained and gender sensitive staff, institutions are operated like jails in which women the women are forbidden to leave, women are not offered any support services like proper legal aid to rebuild their lives,

management encourage women to reconcile with perpetrators and shelter homes are considered places of poor repute (Bari, 1998;HRCP, 2009; Medicine Du Monde, 2007; Shirkat Gah, 2012; Zaidi, 2002).

Community Re-integration

After leaving the shelter home, women most often stayed with their relatives, returned to their husband's home, and a smaller number stayed with their well-wishers, friends, their parent's homes, or other institutions such as another shelter home or social welfare institution.

Impediments to re-integration. Women faced many obstacles after they left the shelter home and tried to return to their homes and reintegrate into society. For women, fleeing from home is highly stigmatized (Jibeen, 2014) and considered to be the last option for women to escape the dangers of abuse and violence (Coomaraswamy, 2005). Once women leave the shelter homes they face extreme difficulties in finding a secure living place and they, and the people who try to help them, are at great risk for their safety. Women in the study who chose this route experienced severe sanctions from family members ranging from rebukes to death threats against them, their well-wisher or friends or family members who had provided shelter. On receiving these threats, well-wishers and others suggested that women should return to the shelter home for protection and security.

Hassan (1998) notes that a woman running from home is highly stigmatized and is taken as a matter of family ego and honour in Pakistani society. Families of women who leave home consider it a private matter that is to be dealt with by the family alone (Niaz, 2003; Noor, 2004). As it is considered to be disgraceful to the families' name and honour, leaving home and can result in grave consequences for the woman including death in order to reinstate their status and

repute. In Pakistan rigid gender separation, strict codes of behaviour and a strong ideology that links family's honour with woman's virtue are used to control girls and women (Bari, 2000).

Upon leaving the shelter, women reported being pressured to return to their husband, they were frequently criticized and taunted for running away from their homes and staying at a shelter home, and, in some cases, were forced to marry against their will. For many of the women in the study, families filed, or threatened to file, court cases against women or their well-wishers including: abduction, theft, or *Zinna*

In her study of 15 young women in three shelter homes in Lahore Pakistan, Jibeen (2014) described that women who runaway from their homes sufferer from unfortunate circumstances and running away is a means of escape from that situation with the hope of improving their lives. Unfortunately, circumstances for most women in the study worsened after leaving the shelter home and trying to integrate into society. Jibeen (2014) noted that the fact women chose to leave home despite being aware of the potential dire consequences for them, clearly shows the unbearable situations they were facing in their homes.

Jibeen (2014) indicated that patriarchal families in which wives have little control relative to their husbands or sisters have less control than their brothers may build more favourable conditions for abuse towards women and consequently women leave homes or run-away from homes. A western study by Martin and Martin, (2000) suggests that family's authoritative, rigid and permissive characteristics may lead towards abuse against women and in turn their deciding to leave the house.

As discussed previously, traditional practices of marrying young girls to older men places girls at heightened risk for abuse and is implicated in their decision to leave the home (Hassan, 1998; Hossain & Turner, 2000; Shumaila & Perveen, 1993; United Nations, 2008).

Women in Jibeen's (2014) study reported that the constant conflicts in their homes, including emotional abuse made them to decide to seek service from shelter homes. They experience this abuse from multiple perpetrators like fathers, step-mothers, brothers, husbands, and sometimes from relatives also. The women also faced verbal abuse for pursuing a love marriage and the families threatened to kill their well-wishers or to file a case of adultery against the men and compelled these women to leave him and were forcing them to marry on the family's choice to have the family's dignity and honour intact. As discussed earlier love marriage is a taboo in Pakistani society and a girl or woman desiring a choice in marriage is considered an honour issue; the girl or woman is regarded as having immoral or bad character and must be having disrespectful relationships with the man.

Future plans. The women respondents were making plans for their future while staying for the second time in the shelter home: Most planned to obtain a divorce from their abusive husbands while in the shelter home and then would be free and independent once they left the shelter home. While residing in the shelter, women expressed their desire to become independent for them and their children through securing employment. This could prove difficult as most women in the study were illiterate and uneducated and it is difficult for single women to secure work or live independently in Pakistani society (Shirkat Gah, 2012). The options women have for employment means that they would not be able to earn much money and would live in extreme poverty (HRCP, 2009).

Some women wanted to live with their well-wishers after leaving the shelter home. This too would create difficulties for women as women received life threats from their families on pursuing a love marriage (Critelli, 2012). A few women expected to return to their parents' home where they would be forced to obey the demands and wishes of their parents. Others women

intended to pursue custody of their children, however without being economically independent they are likely unable to care for their children. Also parents of the women, who are also poor, would refuse to provide shelter for them and their children for economic reasons.

A minority of women wanted to go back to their abusive husbands, as they had no other place to turn to for help and assistance therefore they were thinking to go back to their husbands' house. The lack of a favourable social and economic environment for women in Pakistan means that women are forced to remain in an abusive marriage for longer duration or to get re-married sooner(Critelli, 2012).

Re-integration decisions made by the women in this study, aligns with the findings of Critelli(2012),who interviewed 18 women in the shelter homes of Pakistan. Most of the women in Critelli's (2012) study planned to live independently after leaving shelter home, fewer women wanted to marry their well-wishers and some wanted to return to their husbands. Women in her study also had repeated stays at shelter homes.

Legislation

The demand for domestic violence legislation was met under the rule of Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif, the Provincial Government of Punjab enacted the Punjab Protection of Women against Violence Act 2016 which was designed to establish new shelter homes and protection centers for women fleeing abuse.

The punishment for perpetrators under the Punjab Protection of Women against Violence Act included payment to the aggrieved women to meet the loss and the expense, it provided her with the right to stay in the house or choose to stay at a shelter home or a protection center where she can get medical treatment, psychological support and legal assistance. The law does not criminalize the offense meaning does not punish the perpetrator for any imprisonment.

Women in the study were also supportive of domestic violence legislation. Regarding punishment for perpetrators under a domestic violence law, women in the study expressed strikingly different opinions including: the death penalty, life imprisonment, or tortured, whereas, some said they did not want any punishment for their husbands even if they were assaulted again. Other women advocated for campaigns to increase men's awareness of women's rights. This call is enacted in the recent UN Women Pakistan's new 'Try to BeatMe; I am UNbeatable' campaign which advocates for women's rights against gender-based violence. Some women reported that no punishment could change a man, and a few indicated that no initiative other than shelter homes was needed.

Implications for Practice and Policy

Although the prevention of VAW should not rely on women and women's behaviour, as the causes of VAW are primarily structural. Findings from this study suggests that there is need for increased literacy and economic opportunities for women and girls to support independence, understanding of their rights within marriage and family relationship and permit greater ease of access to supports in case of VAW. The Government of Pakistan and social welfare ministries should promote the benefits of women's education in terms of its relationship to the prevention of VAW.

The customary practices like forced and early marriages remain a reality in Pakistan. These practices have been highly linked to negative consequences including separation, divorce and importantly VAW, and thus need to be prohibited. Marriages should happen when one is mature enough to take and accept the responsibilities and complexities of married life.

Poverty is also complicit in the perpetration of VAW. Poor families seek to marry daughters in early age to be free from the responsibilities of feeding and clothing due to pervasive gender inequality and discrimination, women who are employed outside the home may be suspected of having illicit relations with men (Critelli, 2012).

There is also stigma attached to women who decide to leave abusive relationships (Critelli, 2012). She is considered to have violated social norms and is then subjected to rebukes on her character. Women in these circumstances often blame themselves and suffer emotional and physical consequences which have long-term consequences for her well-being.

Any effort to understand and address the issue of VAW in Pakistan must take into account the deeply entwined role of gender in Pakistani society. Women in this male-dominated society have little say in personal or domestic matters, and thus are frequently subjected to abuse by their husbands and other relatives (Naqvi & Ibrar, 2015). The government, social workers and civil society organizations, and NGOs who work in the community should prioritize addressing the deeply entrenched gender inequality. One important strategy to advocate for and provide education of women and girls and in so doing, increase the awareness of rights for women and girls. NGOs should establish community-based awareness raising sessions about the dynamics of patriarchy and gender inequality and how these relate to VAW and honour issues in society.

In addition, social workers and NGOs can mobilize key community stakeholders such as religious leaders and village heads to make them aware about their leadership role in advocating for the rights of women and girls and in the prevention of VAW. As most community members follow the directives of and seek advice from these leaders, it is important that they are sufficiently aware of the issues to serve as effective role models and guides. Social workers and NGOs should also mount advocacy campaigns to involve key policy makers and

parliamentarians aimed at increasing their knowledge about VAW issues in their communities. This is a critical first step towards encouraging them to uptake leadership roles in addressing VAW issues at local, provincial, and national levels.

Mass media like television and radio is a major source of information for women living in both rural and urban areas in Pakistan. Advertisement campaigns about VAW broadcast during popular times i.e. drama time, as this is the prime time when the family of the house watch television together, could serve as one mechanism to educate the populace more broadly. Also negative depictions of shelter homes propagated in the media (such as shelter homes encourage prostitution) stigmatize shelter homes and the women who access them. The erroneous messages should be countered by highlighting the safety and security aspects of shelter homes and the needs of extremely vulnerable women to flee from unsafe homes.

Women in the study wanted to divorce from their abusive husbands but feared the economic and social consequences. For many women this meant that they remained in abusive relationship longer or would return to the same abusive environment. In order to address this problem, women should be provided with the opportunity to obtain skills to earn a living and become economically independent. However, in shelter homes in Pakistan typically provide shelter for up to three months, which would not allow sufficient time to develop such skills. The development of second stage housing programs for women in Pakistan, such that they were provided housing after leaving temporary shelters could be a solution to address this gap. Second stage shelters could be provided advanced skill training for residents under the auspices of *Kashana* and *Sanatzar* institutions of Pakistan, which provide skill trainings to women in their communities (Punjab Government, n.d.). Shelter homes and training institutions are both operated under the Ministry of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal, Punjab province, Pakistan. The women in

second stage housing can be enrolled in the training institutions and receive daily skill training, which can facilitate their independence once they leave the program.

Counseling for women survivors of abuse in individual or group sessions is an important step towards alleviation of the women's suffering from abuse (Tutty, 2012). Although group work techniques of social work and counseling is less practiced in Pakistan, supportive peer groups in shelter homes should be available for women victims of violence. Women should be given opportunity share their experiences and stories to learn from each other and to provide mutual support. The supportive peer groups for victimized women would help them to understand that they are not alone in experiencing these situations and would help them to alleviate their guilt. The counseling sessions for women should include: relaxation techniques, building trust, providing crisis counseling and safety issues. The workshops and trainings should be offered on legal literacy, family laws, divorce rights, child custody, health issues, gender, and women's rights so that women are well-informed while making decisions about their lives.

Tutty (2012) suggests that both abusive men should also receive counselling services to change their abusive behaviours. Support groups for abusive men can help them to understand the societal roots of the problem and develop models for leaving abusive behaviours. In Pakistan, there are no counseling services provided for perpetrators, this is a neglected field. It is important that the abusive men should also get counseling individually or in groups to become healthier members of society and to change their negative behaviours.

Currently, lawyers, psychologists and physicians provide services to shelter home residents on a voluntary basis. This is insufficient to address the complex and multiple needs of women fleeing violence. There is a need to have a permanent lawyers, psychologist and physician appointed in each shelter home to provide more consistent and effective services.

Follow-up services are not provided to victims of abuse after they leave a shelter home. The records of the women who leave shelter homes are not available to the management due to confidentiality reasons and therefore it is generally not possible for them to keep in touch with the women after they leave a shelter home. However, when women leave shelter homes they are provided with contact numbers and other information that they would require in case of emergencies. Most however, are unwilling to access shelter services once they leave. Women should be provided with full information about all agencies that can be helpful for her in her future life. These agencies should make it part of their mandate to provide follow-up services if these women contact them.

University social work departments should provide education, workshops, seminars, lectures and discussions on VAW as a compulsory component of their curriculum. Also university-based researchers should conduct and fund research on VAW issues and advocacy to contribute to the national efforts.

Limitations and Strengths of the Study

The Punjab province has a large geographical area. This study was limited to those specific areas on the Punjab province with shelter homes having the maximum number of returned women. While this selection strategy meant that some areas of the Punjab province were not included in the study, this approach facilitating collecting the maximum number of interviews that could be conducted at each shelter home. This was necessary as there was no funding for the study.

The face-to-face interviews conducted with women in shelter homes was a strength of this study as it permitted building rapport and trust with women. It also helped me to clarify women's responses during the interview. This also provided a platform that women could

use to openly discuss their highly personal experiences of violence. My professional knowledge and experience of VAW and domestic violence issue guided me throughout the process of this research study and the interview process with women. This, together with the use of flexible research methodology, and data collection techniques all contributed to make the experience rich and safe for women participants.

Future Research

The issue of VAW is underreported and understudied in Pakistan. Importantly, there have been no national surveys on VAW in Pakistan. Data on the prevalence and severity of VAW in Pakistan a national survey is needed to inform educational initiatives and programming as well as the development of policies and legislation to effectively prevent and intervene in VAW. To address this major gap, the Government of Pakistan in partnership international and national NGOs should conduct a national survey on VAW in Pakistan.

The current study on the experiences of women who flee to shelters and attempt to integrate into society from the perspectives of women shelter residents was limited to the Punjab province. This issue needs to be studied in the other three provinces of Pakistan, as their context differ, to get an overall picture of the state of services and the impediments to reintegration for women exposed to VAW in Pakistan. Research examining supports for women fleeing violence is also required. Critelli (2012) confirmed that women seeking formal help or been successful in leaving abusive relationship is an understudied issue in Pakistan.

Sexual violence as a specific focus of VAW, has been subjected to little examination because of the taboo nature of sex and sexual violence in Pakistan, in general. Although, some women in this study revealed grave incidents of sexual violence against them during their interview, this was not the specific focus of the current study. Sexual violence needs to be

studied more extensively in Pakistan, in order to understand this issue more fully and to develop measures aimed at the prevention and intervention of sexual abuse against them to understand the gravity of the issue.

This study also revealed that children were witnessing the abuse towards their mothers by their fathers at their homes, thus they could be harmed acutely and could perpetuate the cycle of violence in adulthood. This was not the focus of this investigation specifically. In the absence of local Pakistani literature on this issue, studies concerning the extent of child witnessing and the impact of childhood exposure on children and its contribution to the intergenerational cycle of abuse are needed.

Conclusions

Women who returned to domestic violence shelter homes had experienced severe and multiple forms of VAW. Women reported violence in their families of origin, in the context of their marriage and in re-integrating into their families and communities after a shelter home stay. VAW was attributed to a number of complex and interrelated factors which played out on societal, familial and individual levels. Exposure to violence was not reduced after shelter residence, indeed upon attempting to re-integrate, women faced significant social sanctions, stigma and increased rates of violence. Violence exposure for returning women was attributed to patriarchal society and the resultant social constructions of family honour.

Findings of this study call for legislation, actions and advocacy to increase awareness, reduce gender inequality and promote the rights of women in Pakistan. It also highlights the profound need to examine the issue of VAW in Pakistan more fully in order to create educational initiatives and awareness campaigns to reduce the prevalence and social acceptance of VAW in Pakistan. Study results also point to the need for the development of effective intervention

service for women to both assist them in fleeing from abuse and to successfully reestablish themselves in Pakistani society. Finally, laws and legislation designed to address and reduce VAW are necessary. Women in our society deserve our most concerned and sincere efforts to alleviate their immense sufferings.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide for Interviews of Returned Women at Shelter Homes

Demographic Information

1. Respondent's Name (Optional):
2. Age:
3. Home Location (Rural/Urban):
4. Address (City/Town):
5. Education:
6. Do you have an NIC?
7. Occupation (if any):
8. Amount of Personal Assets (money, property etc), if any:
9. Do you have a Bank Account? Who deals with your financial matters, if not yourself?
10. Who bear your expenses of basic needs (food, clothes, housing), if not yourself?
11. Family Structure: Joint or Nuclear?
12. Marital Status:

Married

Un-Married/Single

Engaged

Widow

Divorced/Separation

In a Love Relationship

13. If, Un-Married then

- Father's Education?
- Mother's Education?
- Father's Occupation and Income?
- Mother's Occupation and Income (if any)?
- Number of Sisters and Brothers and their Age, Education and Occupation (If any)?

14. If, Married then

- Respondent's Age at the time of her Marriage
- Was it a choice/love, arranged or forced marriage?
- Received adequate or insufficient dowry from parents?
- Amount of *Haq Meher* decided & whether paid by husband or not yet
- Husband's Age at the time of their marriage
- Husband's Education?
- Husband's Occupation and Income?
- Number of Children and their Age and Education (If any)?

Reasons for Leaving Home for the First Time

15. What were the circumstances of your leaving home? Who was the perpetrator?

16. Was the perpetrator head of the family? Have decision making powers at home? Was an earning member of the family? Mostly shouted at family members? Beats others too at home and in neighbours? Does he beat in front of your children? Has anyone from his elders also used to beat their wives? Had seen violence in family in childhood? Did the perpetrator watch and like action or criminal movies, dramas or literature like newspapers, magazines etc? Was the perpetrator into drugs and alcoholism? Was he/she mostly aggressive? Was he/she had some medical like psychological problems like depression, anxiety etc?

Experience of Shelter Home during First Visit

17. When did you first come to shelter home (Month/Year)?

18. From where you first come to know about Dar ul Amans (Shelter homes)?

Newspaper/Television or Drama/ NGO or NGO Worker/Friend/Neighbour/Any Other?

19. Does someone help you to reach shelter home and what was his/her relationship with you?

20. Does court or any law enforcing agency like police referred you to shelter home? And what is the reason behind it?

Leaving Shelter Home for the First Time

21. Where did you go after you left shelter home for the first time?

22. What was the reaction of your family, friends, neighbours and colleagues on your return from shelter home?

23. What went wrong that you have to return to shelter home again?

Life in Shelter Home after Return

24. How other residents who have come for first time think about you? What is their response when they come to know you have returned again? How do they feel about their own situation when they see you returning to shelter home?

25. What problems do you face while living in shelter home as a returned resident?

26. What things you enjoyed most at shelter home when you returned? What was the most satisfying about a shelter home on your return?

Way Forward

27. What plans you have for your future?

Women and Social Taboos

28. Do you think, women should be submissive/obedient and timid/fearful or they should be brave, courageous and rebellious? Explain why?

29. Do you feel now that women cannot survive without a man around, in this society? Do you think women are incomplete, insecure, ineffective and inefficient without men? Explain why?
30. It is commonly said in our society that *ZAN, ZAR, ZAMEEN* (Woman, Money, and Land) is the source of all types of problems? Do you agree or disagree? Why?
31. In your opinion, what measures government should take to reduce violence against women in our society and how to punish the perpetrators to be an example for others?

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Focus Group Discussion

Participants Names:

- Manager Shelter Home:
- NGO Worker:
- Psychologist:
- Lawyer:
- Skill Development Teacher:
- Religious Teachers:
- Any Other:

Questions

1. In your views, why women leave their homes? What is the problem they report in most of the cases? Why women seek refuge and protection in shelter homes usually when they come for first time? What are mostly the reasons of women's return to shelter homes?
2. In most of the cases you have experienced in shelter homes, who among the family members was mostly hostile towards these women that they have to leave their homes?
3. Was it someone who holds power in their homes? An earning member? Head of the family? Witnessed violence in family in childhood? More prone to action and criminal media? Had some medical like psychological problems or an addict?
4. What advice you generally gave to women leaving shelter home for the first time? What measures are usually taken to solve the problems of a woman when she first comes to shelter homes? Do you care that solution should be of woman's choice?
 - Do you try to make them economically independent (job)

- Make alternative housing arrangement so they do not have to return to the house where they had problems (housing)
5. In your opinion, what are the social impediments to integration of women back in their homes and society once they return from shelter homes after their first initial stay?
 6. What mostly are the social, psychological, legal and economical or any other problems the returning women have while living in shelter home and how they are being dealt with?
 7. What usually is the reaction and opinion of the family when they come to know that the woman has returned to shelter home? Do the family contact shelter home and the woman who had returned? Or do they just leave her on her own then? In your opinion, what role a family can play to re-integrate the returned women back in the family and society?
 8. What is the influence of returned women on other women who had come to shelter home for the first time?
 9. In your views, what measures government should take to reduce the issue of violence against women in our society?

Appendix C: Advanced Studies and Research Board (ASRB)'s Approval

Ph.D Items *Extract from the Minutes of ASRB held on 20/9/2014*

Item No. 14 APPROVAL OF RESEARCH TOPIC AND RESEARCH PROPOSAL IN RESPECT OF MS. RAAZIA HASSAN NAQVI, PhD RESEARCH SCHOLAR, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY (SESSION 2010-2011).

On recommendation of the Supervisor, the Board approved the following Research Topic with change in respect of **Ms. Raazia Hassan Naqvi**, PhD Research Scholar, Institute of Social Work, Sociology & Gender Studies. However, the corrected Research Topic should be resubmitted to the Directorate of Admissions for office record:

RESEARCH TOPIC: IMPEDIMENTS TO SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF WOMEN RETURNING TO SHELTER HOMES : A CASE STUDY OF THE PUNJAB PROVINCE, PAKISTAN

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: The Board directed that the Research Proposal should be resubmitted after squeezing the introduction and corrections pointed out by the Board, to the Directorate of Admissions for office record.

Item No. 15 APPROVAL OF RESEARCH TOPIC AND RESEARCH PROPOSAL IN RESPECT OF MR. MUHAMMAD USMAN, PhD RESEARCH SCHOLAR, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS (SESSION 2010-2011).

On recommendation of the Supervisor, the Board approved the following Research Topic in respect of **Mr. Muhammad Usman**, PhD Research Scholar, Department of Economics:

RESEARCH TOPIC: THE IMPACT OF INTERNAL MIGRATION ON THE ECONOMY OF KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA (1998-2012)

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: The Board directed that the Research Proposal should be resubmitted after corrections in the text pointed out by Prof. Dr. Taj Muharram Khan, to the Directorate of Admissions for office record.

Appendix D: Authorization Letter of Directorate of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal Punjab to
conduct research in Shelter Homes of Punjab.



042-99204152

19755
NO. DSW-P&E-1 (109)/08-2-
GOVT. OF THE PUNJAB
DIRECTORATE GENERAL SOCIAL WELFARE,
& BAIT UL MAAL PUNJAB,
41-EMPRESS ROAD, LAHORE.

Dated Lahore the, ^{10th} November, 2014.

To

Ms. Raazia Hassan Naqvi
Department of Social Work
University of Peshawar.

SUBJECT: AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN SHELTER HOMES WORKING UNDER SOCIAL WELFARE AND BAIT-UL-MAAL, LAHORE

Reference to your letter No. 512/S.W dated: Nil regarding "Facilitation in Research Study for PhD in Social Work".

Permission is hereby granted to you to conduct the research study entitled "Impediments to Social Integration of Women Returning to Shelter Homes: A Case Study of Punjab Province Pakistan" in the selected shelter home working under Social Welfare and Bait-ul-Maal on the condition that routine task of shelter home will not be disturbed. You are also directed to keep privacy of information that is provided by women residing in shelter homes.

It is also informed that you will require to deposit one copy of your thesis to this office. Moreover, private person cannot stay in the shelter home according to policy of the department. Therefore, you are not allowed to stay in Dar-ul-Aman.


(MUHAMMAD SULEMAN)
DIRECTOR (PLANNING & EVALUATION)

Appendix E: Informed Consent Form

Project Title: Impediments to Social Re-Integration of Women Returning to Shelter Homes: A Case Study of Punjab Province Pakistan.

Researcher: Raazia Hassan Naqvi. PhD Scholar.

Faculty Sponsor: Department of Social Work, University of Peshawar, KP, Pakistan.

Introduction:

You are being asked to take part in a research study being conducted by a student of PhD Social Work for a thesis/dissertation under the supervision of Dr Basharat Hussain, Chairman Department of Social Work at University of Peshawar, KP Pakistan. You are being asked to participate because the study involves seeking to know the social problems of women returning to shelter homes. Almost fifty seven such women shall be interviewed for this study in different districts of Punjab. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before deciding whether to participate in the study.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is find out the problems faced by women returning to shelter homes and suggest ways to overcome these problems.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in the study, you shall be asked to participate in an interview where some questions related to you, your family, your relationship with society and about your reason for coming back to shelter home will be asked at the shelter home where you are residing. The interview shall take about half an hour. The audio recording of the interview will be done and later that recording shall be transcribed or written down in detail and presented in a report without mentioning your name.

Risks/Benefits:

“There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life.”

“There are no direct benefits to you from participation, but the study findings shall be shared with larger audience to aware and educate people on the issue of violence against women and what measures could be taken to improve the situation of women taking refuge in shelter homes.

Confidentiality:

Confidentiality shall be strictly followed. You can choose not to share your name or your family names as no names shall appear in the findings and anywhere in the report.

Voluntary Participation:

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. Even if you decide to participate, you are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty. If you refuse to participate it shall not influence your relationship with any of the shelter home staff or any personnel with Ministry of Social Welfare and Bait ul Maal, Punjab Pakistan.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to contact me at 042-99231553.

Statement of Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above, have had an opportunity to ask questions, and agree to participate in this research study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Participant’s Signature

Date

Researcher’s Signature

Date

Appendix F: Demographic Details of the Women Interviewed

| Serial # | Pseudonyms given by the Researcher | Family Background | Family Type | Age at Interview | Total Number of Children | Education | Occupation | Monthly Income in US \$ | Language spoken during Interview |
|----------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Sobia | Town | Extended | 20 | 0 | 8 | Tuition | 45 | Urdu |
| 2 | Komal | Village | Nuclear | 30 | 2 | Illiterate | Brick kiln worker | 30 | Punjabi |
| 3 | Nadia | Village | Extended | 27 | 3 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 4 | Mehwish | Town | Extended | 27 | 0 | 10 | Nurse | 45 | Urdu |
| 5 | Zubaida | Village | Extended | 22 | 2 | Illiterate | Embroidery | 30 | Punjabi |
| 6 | Sadia | City | Extended | 18 | Un-married | 8 | Tuition | 50 | Urdu |
| 7 | Shagufta | Village | Extended | 30 | 5 | Illiterate | Sweater Weaving | 60 | Punjabi |
| 8 | Saima | City | Extended | 27 | 3 | Illiterate | Embroidery | 30 | Urdu |
| 9 | Rania | Village | Extended | 45 | 3 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 10 | Ammara | City | Extended | 20 | 2 | 5 | Maid | 60 | Urdu |
| 11 | Tasneem | Village | Extended | 22 | 1 | 10 | Teacher | 35 | Urdu |
| 12 | Rukhsana | Town | Extended | 24 | 0 | Illiterate | Handicraft (head braids) | 20 | Saraiki |
| 13 | Hameeda | Village | Extended | 20 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 14 | Shamim | Town | Nuclear | 32 | 4 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 15 | Shafaqat | Village | Extended | 23 | 0 | 5 | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 16 | Kaneezan | Village | Extended | 25 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 17 | Shahida | Village | Extended | 20 | 3 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 18 | Sofia | Village | Nuclear | 28 | 0 | 5 | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 19 | Uzma | Town | Nuclear | 24 | 3 | Illiterate | Stitching | 30 | Urdu |
| 20 | Saira | Village | Extended | 27 | 5 | Illiterate | Farming at other's Fields/ Labourer | 60 | Saraiki |
| 21 | Mahida | City | Nuclear | 25 | 2 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 22 | Kalsoom | City | Nuclear | 30 | 0 | 12 | Teacher | 20 | Urdu |
| 23 | Raheela | City | Nuclear | 45 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Saraiki |
| 24 | Khalida | City | Extended | 17 | 1 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 25 | Saleema | Village | Nuclear | 32 | 5 | Illiterate | Stitching | 60 | Punjabi |
| 26 | Kaisara | Village | Nuclear | 35 | 4 | Illiterate | Farming at other's Fields/ Labourer | 60 | Saraiki |
| 27 | Palwasha | Village | Extended | 18 | 0 | 5 | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 28 | Naseema | Village | Nuclear | 22 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 29 | Shameema | Village | Extended | 25 | 4 | Illiterate | Farming at other's Fields/ | 30 | Saraiki |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------|----------|----|---|------------|--|-----|---------|
| | | | | | | | Labourer | | |
| 30 | Samra | Village | Extended | 24 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Saraiki |
| 31 | Sidra | Village | Extended | 19 | 0 | Illiterate | Stitching | 50 | Urdu |
| 32 | Shahzina | Village | Extended | 19 | 1 | 5 | Farming at other's Fields/ Labourer | 50 | Urdu |
| 33 | Farzana | Village | Extended | 25 | 2 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 34 | Farhana | Town | Extended | 19 | 3 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 35 | Farheena | Village | Nuclear | 19 | 3 | Illiterate | Maid | 30 | Saraiki |
| 36 | Noreen | Village | Extended | 25 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 37 | Laila | Village | Nuclear | 35 | 5 | Illiterate | Farming at other's Fields/ Labourer | 60 | Punjabi |
| 38 | Mehwish | Village | Extended | 27 | 2 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 39 | Razia | Village | Extended | 40 | 2 | 10 | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 40 | Kausar | Village | Nuclear | 30 | 4 | Illiterate | Farming at other's Fields/ Labourer | 60 | Saraiki |
| 41 | Waheeda | Village | Extended | 22 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 42 | Saman | Village | Extended | 18 | 0 | 5 | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 43 | Mehnaz | Village | Extended | 22 | 2 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 44 | Mahpara | Town | Nuclear | 18 | 0 | 8 | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 45 | Rehana | Village | Extended | 25 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 46 | Zahida | Village | Extended | 35 | 4 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 47 | Kaloom | Village | Extended | 35 | 3 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 48 | Tanzeela | Village | Extended | 22 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 49 | Adeeba | Village | Nuclear | 35 | 4 | Illiterate | Factory Worker | 70 | Punjabi |
| 50 | Arifa | City | Extended | 21 | 2 | 6 | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 51 | Naeema | Town | Extended | 26 | 0 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 52 | Samina | Village | Extended | 28 | 3 | Illiterate | Carpet Weaver | 20 | Punjabi |
| 53 | Rahla | Village | Nuclear | 30 | 2 | 6 | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |
| 54 | Imrana | Village | Extended | 22 | 2 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Punjabi |
| 55 | Amna | Town | Nuclear | 19 | 0 | 8 | Stitching & Embroidery | 50 | Urdu |
| 56 | Kanwal | Village | Extended | 28 | 5 | 5 | Stitching | 100 | Urdu |
| 57 | Asma | Village | Extended | 33 | 4 | Illiterate | Housewife | 0 | Urdu |