

Gendered Victimization and Response of the Civil Society in Pakistan: The Profile of the Worst Year – 2012

Anwar Shaheen *

Abstract

Pakistan, since its inception, has been going through an unending series of internal and external conflicts. The anatomy of wars and conflicts related to Pakistan reveals that there are persistent as well as emerging reasons behind both types of conflicts. The resultant victimisation has a special gendered nature and gendered impact thereof. The year 2012 has been the worst with respect to human killing, injuries or loss of property, and overall incidence of terrorism. Over four thousands persons lost life only in the city of Karachi only. The impact of the conflict going on in Afghanistan has inevitably been along since 1979. Inside the country, women victimisation has been direct as well as indirect. It has also been associated with terrorist activities going on within the boundaries of Pakistan. Besides, the peace-time killing of women has been going on steadily. The ‘war on terror’ has brought losses and severe insecurity for a large number of families; needless to say that the resultant sufferings are also gendered in nature. In short the painted picture is not only complex but at present shows little chance of improvement.

The response of the civil society has been dwindling in the recent years, not in its magnitude, but in its proportion to the growing volume of challenge caused by human victimization. Recently the media activism and judicial activism seem to be overshadowing the civil society activism. The gender issues, traditionally largely projected by the civil society, are now seen losing ground. This paper analyzes the scenario of 2012 which has seen landmark events, such as attack on children’s rights activist, Malala Yousufzai, the Baldia Town fire, sectarian killings particularly of Hazara tribe, killing of polio-vaccinators, and *jirga* edicts. Keeping such events in sight, the paper looks into the nature, reasons and implications of gendered victimization in particular.

* Dr. Anwar Shaheen, Assistant Professor, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi.

Pakistan: a background

Pakistan, officially an Islamic republic, demographically the sixth largest nation of the world, is a federation of four provinces—Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Balochistan, apart from Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), and Islamabad Capital territory. It claims itself to be an ideological state, professing an ideology based on Islam, but the state system does not comply completely with the Islamic ideals as professed by the various religious organizations and sectarian groups. Historically, it has been a part of the Indian subcontinent, which was decolonized formally in mid-August 1947. The present constitution, approved in 1973, grants wide-ranging civil liberties and freedoms. It embodies a general modernist outlook, guaranteeing no discrimination on the basis of sex, and full protection to family, motherhood and children.¹

In terms of economic development, Pakistan is ranked 145th by the UNDP. One third Pakistanis live in cities. Adult literacy rate is 58 per cent (male 69 %, female 46 %); life expectancy is 65.4 years (66.1 years for females); The Total Fertility Rate at 3.4 children per woman and population growth rate at 2.03 per cent count the highest in South Asia, whereas contraceptive prevalence is 27 per cent. Maternal mortality is very high (260 per 100,000 live births). Pakistan is ranked as 115 on Gender Inequality Index. Different regions of the country have not developed equally.

Nature of crises in 2012

Among various crises in Pakistan, the political crisis is the foremost. Economic crisis is evident in economic instability, budget deficit, inflation, devaluation, energy crisis, shrinking foreign investment, and poverty. Tax-evasion and corruption scandals dominated the year 2012.² Archaic tribal and feudal customs still operate and are challenged by the trends of modernization and globalization, generating a perpetual cultural conflict. A crisis of survival has emerged due to terrorism, crimes and social polarization. Amidst these crises, victimization of a person of any gender is embedded in the socio-political conditions affecting his/her life. The following sections explain significant incidents of 2012 affecting well-being of citizens.

¹ Article 25 and 27, *1973 Constitution of Pakistan*.

² Anjum S.A. Rana, '2012 Moashi Hawalay say Mulk par Bhari Raha', *Nai Baat, Sunday Magazine*, 30 December 2012-5 January 2013, p.15.

Case studies

1. ***Sectarian killing and genocide of Hazara (Shia) community:*** The attacks on Shia community are nothing new. Throughout the year 2012 news of targeted killing of professionals and common people of Shia community kept pouring in, from Quetta and Karachi in particular. In one such incident (15 January), a blast killed 21 mourners of Shia procession in southern Punjab. Eight bombs exploded in the first ten days of Moharram in Karachi. At least 800 Hazara³ Shias have been killed since 1998 in an organized manner, but very few culprits have been caught or punished. Since money from abroad was pumping such genocide, the detained convicts fled from jail and no one took effective action.⁴ There are about 500,000 Hazaras in Quetta only.⁵ On 10 January and 16 February 2013, two big blasts, 39 days apart, killed at least 87 and 90 people mostly of the Hazara community in Quetta. In both cases, the relatives kept protesting for days along with dead bodies. Finally the federal government had to act. Yet, the government failure to stop the killing of Hazara community despite having beforehand intelligence reports of the plot was highly condemned.⁶

The year 2012 ended with a note of concern about expansion in *jihad* (holy war) of the Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) against the Shia community,⁷ whom the TTP wants to declare 'infidels'. Hence deadly attacks were launched against Shias. The merger between Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and Lashkar-e-Jhangavi (LJ), two militant sectarian outfits,⁸ is thought to have served as a catalyst in this direction.

Civil society organizations launched their protest on the streets, lighted candles, and demanded protection of Shia citizens by the state as

³ The Hazara community living in Quetta is much ahead of other communities there as the Hazara girls go to school in large number mostly wearing shawl, but no *burqa*, a sign of submission to the conservative concept of *purdah* (*hijab*), upheld by religious extremists. They have their separate graveyard, too.

⁴ HRCP, *Jehd-e Haq*, 20:2 (February 2013), p.35.

⁵ *Ummat* (daily), 22 February 2013, p.6.

⁶ Hakim Baloch, an ex-commissioner of Quetta and bureaucrat of Balochistan, laments that the recent actions of the government are no way serious to tackle the problem. 'Dil ki Sada', *Jahan Pakistan*, 23 February 2013, p.11.

⁷ Shia is a large sect of Islam, among many others. SSP and LJ are manned by followers of Sunni sect, found in majority in Pakistan.

⁸ For detail on the events and background see, Mohammad Shehzad, 'Karbala Continues', *Newsline*, January 2013, pp.28-34, available at: www.newsline magazine.com

its foremost responsibility.⁹ The half-hearted official action forced Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), to declare the government a partner in terrorism if not totally responsible for attacks on the Hazaras and other Shias. HRCP called for crack down of networks like TTP who readily claim responsibility of such attacks. It was asserted that any soft attitude towards the terrorists cannot be ignored.¹⁰ The international community and the UN also expressed solidarity with the aggrieved families.

The Hazaras have also started to migrate due to prolonged genocide. The women of course shared the mourning, trouble and aftermaths of the mishaps and displacement. Among the immigrants to Australia, one can see them at the Karachi airport with their families, thus leading to unknown land out of sheer risks at their homeland.¹¹ The Shia community in Karachi has also been concerned about its security as targeted killing kept rising in recent years.

2. Firing at the polio workers: Women have been working in large number as workers and volunteers in the polio vaccine drives going on in the country for about four decades. It was at the behest of the religious fanatics, and the Taliban, who propagated that the polio vaccine was a plot to make the future generation of Muslims infertile.¹² So there was resistance germinating in the recent years. On 19 December 2012, in the second round of multiple attacks on the polio teams in the three cities of KP and Karachi, one woman and three health workers were killed. Total number of those killed was then eleven. The state as usual condemned it. The National Assembly passed a resolution to ensure the security of polio teams. It was in fact interior minister's job to do this before it happened, as it was not an untoward incident but threats were there in KP and Sindh. The interior minister was also condemned for being autocrat and not working in the right direction. The president ordered crack-down against those attacking polio teams. The UN and US also condemned the attack and called for providing security to the teams.

⁹ HRCP, *Jehd-e Haq*, op.cit., p.35.

¹⁰ Editorial, *ibid*.

¹¹ Personal observation.

¹² Shortly before the death of Bin Laden in Abbottabad, Dr Shakeel Afridi, the then man-in charge of polio-eradication campaign, was later arrested on charge of spying for Taliban, so the extremists got the chance to project that the polio teams were used for espionage, too. The previous year campaign was also disrupted. Editorial, *Nawa-e Waqt*, 20 December 2012.

Three countries which are now watched closely by the whole world to end polio from the face of earth include Pakistan. If terrorists continue to stop polio vaccination, it would spread again at global level, refuting the hard earned polio-free condition of rest of the world. Involvement of the world charities and concerned circles¹³ to ensure success of this drive depends on how efficiently the workers and the government ensure this. As a result of attacks, the WHO and UNICEF suspended the campaign¹⁴ resulting in deprivation of some 300,000 children from this protection. The government feels itself at back foot in the face of militants and terrorists.

Interestingly, the FIR was launched in a police station but not under the law of anti-terrorism, as this is the way the Pakistani police operates, to ease its burden of investigation. However, the police chief promised strict security arrangement in the future. Compensations were announced in routine. The Commissioner Karachi held special meeting and paid tribute to the victim women. Announcing a micro-plan for security, he mentioned that out of the total of 50 union councils, 178 were high-risk zones in Karachi. In the Punjab where police was deployed in threatened areas all went well. One can compare that in one province the protection worked; in the other no protection meant havoc.

Reacting to the event the Islamist party Jamaat-e Islami condemned the attack.¹⁵ The editorials of newspapers called for sure actions to save the children, the society and the prestige of the nation. Some alleged criminals were reportedly arrested and one killed in Karachi, even his letter to the gang chief was shown claiming success in the task. The health workers and vaccinators protested and boycotted their duty in Sindh. They staged sit-ins. NGOs expressed solidarity and protested on a large scale.

¹³ For instance Bill Gates expressed his concern, especially referred to attack on vaccinators in Pakistan, which is now a country under threat. The Foundation has plans to devote a large sum to this cause. For details see his lecture telecasted on the BBC-1, on 29 January 2013. Text of the lecture is available at: <http://www.warwickrotary.org.uk/bill-gates-lecture-on-polio-eradication/>. Rotary has plans to raise about 5.5 billion dollars in six years. Every year the Rotary Foundation will provide \$175 million and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation \$350 million for 'polio eradication and endgame strategic plan'. This significance of this drive and the impending threat to the women/men workers shows how extremism has throttled the prospects for a bright future for the whole world.

¹⁴ News report, *Nawa-e Waqt*, 20 December 2012.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.1.

3. *Attack on children's rights worker—Malala Yousafzai:* On 10 October 2012, a 14 years old girl of Swat (KP) was severely injured by bullets, proudly claimed by TTP, a militant organization, gaining prominence around 2009, and actively engaged in terrorist activities in different parts of Pakistan ever since its creation. Malala's had protested against closure, burning and demolishing of schools in her area; about 700 schools were destroyed and the assault has not yet stopped. She has been reporting to the world through the BBC Blog the plight of education and the students. The community in Swat faced heinous acts of terrorism which continued in Swat for years and was controlled after three military operations. The links between TTP and the Afghan war can be traced back to 1979 development in Afghanistan. After the withdrawal of Soviet forces, the militants, a big section of whom was recruited and trained in Pakistan, came back to Pakistan. They started anti-state activities and tried to control the areas of Swat and the tribal belt which lies at the border of Afghanistan-Pakistan and where crossing the border in war and peace is a norm. The fall-out of Afghan war was so costly for people of Pakistan that even a small girl asserting her right to education was shot at point blank range. When she survived miraculously, the Taliban announced: 'they would target her again because she was a "secular-minded" person who was spreading discord.... The Taliban also quoted chapter and verse from the Quran to try and justify their barbarity, but mercifully, many religious scholars disagreed with their interpretation'.¹⁶

One can see that the incidence of attack on Malala was instrumental in drawing a clear line between, 'Pakistan's past and its future, between orthodoxy and modernity, between obscurantism and enlightenment'.¹⁷ The divide was documented in and sharpened through the debates in media and public for and against Malala. The debate still continues. Malala has recovered to a large extent, thanks to very generous support of the Government of Pakistan, and the marvelous treatment offered by the Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, Birmingham, UK. Malala has survived injuries and so it is hoped that liberal, secular and forward-looking ideology would survive in Pakistan. The applause received by Malala has no match in recent history and she rightly deserves to be called a 'valiant survivor' of the violence. Malala has inspired millions of people and won worldwide support. She has now become a symbol of courage, and a forceful voice of women's and

¹⁶ Editorial, *The Friday Times*, XXIV: 35, 12-18 October 2012, p.1.

¹⁷ Views of Syed Jaffar Ahmed, a political analyst, *Herald*, January 2013, p.48.

children's rights. The civil society in and outside Pakistan has responded unexpectedly greatly, in protests, prayers, messages, and awards, in short she has become the first ever internationally celebrated girl child of Pakistan, who moved the whole world and has great plans to spread the light of education. The attackers, who represent the forces of darkness, are condemned in the same proportion.

This incident shows that religious extremist and militants have no respect for women or children and their claim to uphold Islam is totally baseless, rather they are presenting a distorted image of Islam to the world. They have brutalized the society which has refused to follow their dictates. A small portion of population is behind them. It is this minority that promotes the dubious nature of state ideology which promotes orthodoxy mixed with cynicism, obscurantism and conservatism of the barbaric ages.

4. *Fire in Baldia Town factory:* A garment factory in Karachi caught fire after explosion. Due to blocked gates and grilled windows, the inmates were killed as the huge fire erupted all of sudden. Estimated deaths were 259, exact male-female proportion remained unknown due to unrecognizable bodies. Majority of the victims included women workers on duty and others who had come to collect their pay. The investigation revolves around doubts of terrorism, negligence, and a deliberate act. Compensation was announced by the state authorities. The flaws pointed out were lack of safety measure, close work area, thick glass windows, basement and additional wooden floor as work floor, no emergency exit, no boundary wall, delay in arrival of fire-brigade. All 18 government departments responsible for safety and management of factories failed. The MNCs that purchase those garments were also found guilty, as all international commitments and labor legislations were not fulfilled. Such corruption, negligence and inefficiency prevail in many factories. The disempowerment of labor community is caused by their system of hiring and wage structures. Therefore, majority fail to receive social security and old age benefits. Among 23 million factory workers only 7 million are registered.¹⁸ The fire was not an unusual event; this was, however, the deadliest. The civil society, media and factory workers unions in all parts of Pakistan protested. An NGO, Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research, has initiated many programs for awareness and implementation of safety rules for the future.

¹⁸ Nudrat Kamal, 'Burning Question', *Newsline*, October 2012, pp.39-45.

5. Traditional courts: *Jirgas* implement the customary laws and traditional practices. Their decisions usually support the powerful and victimize women in far greater number than men. The cases of honour killing are typical of settling scores with, or extracting money from, a man who is blamed for sexual affair and some woman is killed to support the allegation. In case of love marriages, typical *jirga* decision is to declare them *karo* and *kari* (black man and black woman respectively) thus liable to be killed for endangering the honour of their families. *Wani* is also applied as compensation in which more than one minor girl is exchanged for an adult woman in dispute. During 25 October and 21 November 2012, 41 persons were killed under *karo-kari*, including 29 women and 12 men.¹⁹ In the year 2012, at least 913 girls and women were killed, including 99 minor girls. Of these 604 are known to lose life for having illicit relations with men, which is largely an alleged offense with no proof. There were 191 victims, including seven Hindus and six Christian women, who married out of their own free choice rejecting the choice of their family and they had to face death. Five girls were killed under *jirga* orders in Kohistan, northern part of Pakistan, for participating in a marriage celebration. A boy was also killed for dancing in that party.²⁰

Victimisation of women: an analysis

Victimization of women has been going on in the past years, but the recent years have seen additional reasons such as desperation in unemployment, poverty or disputes. The traditional forms of crimes as honour killing, acid throwing, harassment, public humiliation, abduction, torture and murder prevailed. A rise in crimes against women was seen in the year 2012 as compared with the previous year. During January-October (11 months) cases of heinous violence against 4585 women were reported. These included 432 women killed by near relatives, 110 raped, 197 murdered after being raped, and 89 gang-raped.²¹ There were reported 332 cases of abduction, 533 of violence, and 104 of *karo-kari*.

¹⁹ For details on areas, causes, sources and particulars of victims, see HRCP, *Jehd-e-Haq*, 19:12, pp.34-6.

²⁰ HRCP, *Status of Human Rights in 2012* (Lahore: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 2013), pp.171-72.

²¹ *Ibid.* The report presents details on some individual incidents. It also mentions that the victims of *karo-kari* (local name for honour-killing in Sindhi) are buried without proper funeral rites and prayer and no follow-up visits by the families to the graves are made. There is one such site, named, 'Karanjo Qubrustan' in Kandhkot, District Jacobabad.

Couples demanding security from the state after love marriage became common occurrence. In October 2012, 258 men, 7 women and 78 children were killed in Karachi only.²² Reasons behind killing women included: litigation, property/business dispute, suspected disloyalty, love marriage, extramarital affairs, denial to forced marriage, and by the dacoits, among others. Killers include relatives, husbands, non-relatives and unknown. One woman polling staff was beaten by an election candidate woman. Gas cylinders and boilers' accidents were also seen. Non-Muslim women have been targeted; of these two senior NGO workers were killed, and a minor Christian girl Rimsha was charged of blasphemy for desecrating Holy Quran. Women social workers and human rights defenders, such as Farida Afridi, have been killed under the dictates of religious extremist elements.²³ Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA region leads in this respect. In the district of Kohistan, clerics warned women NGO workers from entering the area; the violators were threatened to forcibly marry local men.²⁴ The cases of harassment were reported in the institutions of higher education, police, health and education; the last two being the major employers in the formal sector for women. The federal ombudswoman responsible for checking harassment against women reported that nearly 60 per cent women have been facing harassment in Pakistan.²⁵

Among the total 913 reported honour killing cases in 2012, 99 were minor girls. There were 604 such women killed under the charge of illicit relations, and 191 for marrying someone against the approval of the family. Seven Hindu and six Christian women also faced the similar fate. The killers were mostly their close relatives. Rape and gang-rape was reported in 13 and 16 cases respectively before murder.

Women were not seen resorting to suicide as much as men do. There were 155 reported cases (in one month—26 October-25 November 2012), including 43 women, a large proportion committed his act for domestic conflict, a very small number for economic desperation and a

²² *Ibid.*, p.45.

²³ She has been a prominent social worker, head of women's rights NGO, Society for Appraisal and Women Empowerment in Rural Areas (SAWERA), working in FATA. For details see, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/408574/womens-rights-pall-of-uncertainty-over-ngos-work-after-afridi-murder/> and <http://www.asafeworldforwomen.org/partners-in-asia/partners-in-pakistan/sawera.html>.

²⁴ HRCP, *State of Human Rights in 2012*, op.cit., p.171.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.169.

negligible number for denying marriage by choice.²⁶ The overall picture of crimes against women has been criticized by both media and the civil society and their reaction appears in many forms—protests, advocacy, press conferences, or signature campaigns. The result of such efforts has been the passing of a few good laws, yet the victimization is on the rise and the challenge of the civil society is growing likewise.

Response of the state

i. Legislation: In recent years, certain good gestures have revived the hope in the system regarding its concern about women issues. Since women's representation went up to 30 per cent during President Musharraf regime, there has been a widespread thrust in the process of passing women-friendly legislations. From 2006, six laws for protection of women against violence, harassment, allegation, misuse of previous discriminatory laws, acid-throwing, etc., have been passed. In October, a bill was proposed under the name of Punjab Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Bill 2012, which, was not implemented till the end of the year. The anti-harassment policy of the Higher Education Commission was applied only in 98 out of total 138 universities despite it being obligatory.²⁷

In December there was discussion about raising the age of marriage from current 16 to 18 years for both genders; presently it is unequal. Fearing resistance from the religious quarters, they, too, were proposed to get on board along with other stakeholders. Check on forced marriage was also proposed through law.²⁸ Acid Throwing and Burn Crime Bill 2012 was submitted as a private member's bill in the National Assembly, which dealt with the aspects of 'reporting, investigating, collecting medical evidence, compensation for rehabilitation, and protection for the victim and the witness'. The ministries have not sent their comments on it till the end of the year. The civil society also tried to push for submission of similar bills in the provincial assemblies, without much progress.²⁹ Such moves can at least be taken as good gesture for women. The Bill for Compulsory Education of Children till grade ten was passed in February 2013, and this move seems very much reinforced by the reaction world has shown to the right of girls and

²⁶ For details see, HRCP, *Jehd-e-Haq*, 19:12, pp.37-41.

²⁷ HRCP, *Status of Human Right in 2012*, op.cit., p.169.

²⁸ Minister for Women's Development reported this in the provincial assembly of Sindh. News report, *Nawa-e Waqt* (Karachi), 28 November 2012, p.2.

²⁹ HRCP, *Status of Human Right in 2012*, op.cit., p.171.

children for education despite serious threats from the brutal Taliban. A case in point is the UNO declaring 10 November 2012 as ‘Malala Day’ and demanding fulfillment of right to education for every child of the world.³⁰ Malala has become an icon of courage, children’s right to education and women’s rights. In recognition to this, she has been awarded 2012 International Tipperary Peace Award, 2013 International Children’s Peace Prize, and Ambassador of Conscience Award, among many other awards and honours in the following months.³¹

ii. Judiciary: The year was marked with tension due to a number of court cases affecting parliament, military and the civil bureaucracy. In cases of people’s victimization, the judiciary also came forward through *suo moto* cases if the matter was serious but not properly attended. In this connection two cases were important. These related to law and order situation in Balochistan and Karachi. It declared the respective governments as failed in protecting the citizen’s life and property. In few major cases concerning corruption, the decisions showed that the apex court and lower judiciary were alive to their duty.

iii. Protection: The state has utterly failed in its foremost responsibility in providing security to the people. The whole society has been suffering due to worsening law and order situation. It is a common perception that the situation has deteriorated in the last two decades. The safety and inspection rules in the factories have been violated openly since long despite call from the labour movement leaders and litigation for securing rights. Those who are responsible for criminal negligence go about with impunity. The protest leaders have asserted that the profit drive of the investor and lack of implementation of labour laws had resulted in this crisis. The ruling elite and industrialists are least bothered about labour rights.³² Violence against women cannot be checked effectively without

³⁰ The civil society has overwhelmingly welcomed this gesture and had participated in it throughout the country. ‘Malala Day’ was celebrated all over the world. *Jehd-e-Haq*, 19:12, p.1.

³¹ <http://www.nationalist.ie/local-news/heroine-malala-yousafzai-honoured-wiht-tipp-peace-prize-1-5430477>; <http://www.ndtv.com/article/world/malala-yousafzai-awarded-2013-children-s-peace-prize-411066>, dated 28-8-2013; among many more similar websites.

³² This event has triggered reaction of the civil society and a campaign in social media at large scale. For instance see, *Union News*, No. 9, December 2012, newsletter of National Trade Union Federation Pakistan and Mazdoor Tehreek, pp.2-3, 14-16.

strict implementation of existing laws in this regard. State has also failed to protect those women who are under the threat of honour-killing as the victim is abandoned by the family, and in most cases the family is bent upon killing her. The witnesses to such events do not feel confident to appear in the court due to lack of protection thereafter.

Conclusion

The victimization of women is both direct and indirect. When women suffer physical harm and injury or even death, it is direct, and being on the receiving end of a vast spectrum of violence, makes it indirect. For instance, in case of the deaths occurring due to militants' attack usually few women became direct victims for their public appearance is less than men, but the implications of such deaths for women family members keep haunting their lives. The number of children killed in attacks also create immense grief for mothers and relatives. The terrorist attacks have been rampant in Pakistan since the 9/11 incident. Year 2012, was no doubt the bloodiest on all counts.³³ It saw the largest killing in sectarian violence, the second deadliest air crash, and the first ever attack on a child defender of human rights. This year shows gendered victimization of women as well in addition to the discrimination, sufferings and structural violence inherent in a hyper-patriarchal social system, which still has preserved hideous features of tribal and feudal heritage. On the positive side, regarding women, the year was marvelous too. First ever Pakistani, a woman, won Academy Award at the Oscars,³⁴ and the child activist with national peace award was nominated for Nobel Peace Prize.³⁵ Some more international awards were bagged in sports, acting and journalism.

To sum up the incidence and factors behind victimization of women one would find intricate links between the socio-political legacy of tribalism, feudalism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. Such political forces have formed a nexus with the religious and economic forces. The economy of globalization has its share as well. Widespread poverty

³³ Only the city of Karachi suffered over 4000 killings in 2012, whereas it was not even 100 in 1998. Geo TV Report.

³⁴ Another paradox of the news lies in that the award-winning documentary filmed the story of a woman with acid-thrown face, during the process of recovery.

³⁵ Malala Yousafzai was also declared second to US President Barack Obama in the *Time* magazine's 'Person of the Year' for 2012 competition. She was also declared the 'Person of the Year' by a credible monthly magazine of Pakistan, *Herald*. See its issue of January 2013, and 'The Daughter of the Nation' by Abbas Nasir, pp. 52-61 for Malala.

caused by economic and political instability and recent massive historic floods are debilitating people more than ever.

The 'war on terror' initiated elsewhere, is now taking its toll inside Pakistan, less from the culprits and more from the innocent citizens. Women are killed in drone attacks, too. The Pakistani women are being awarded globally, but are being victimized more locally. The civil society has responded with great fervor to condemn the criminalization of society as a result of terrorism and across the border wars. It has been issuing statements, making protests, practically helping in relief of victims, giving legal aid, and doing advocacy for better laws and their implementation. The concerned civil society organizations have been actively networking to enhance impact of their efforts. Media acted independently as well as in league with the civil society for highlighting crimes, mustering support for the victims, and calling for responsible governance from the political and civil authorities. The state is apparently falling short of its duties,³⁶ yet the very critical situation on, and inside, the borders and the international trappings of the 'war on terror' need to be kept in view before putting all the blame on the state. It definitely could have performed better. It must deliver, if it fails to do so people may lose trust in polity, leadership, ideologies and whatever is projected by those in power.

³⁶ The politicians have ostensibly disappointed the people in the year 2012; main reasons being corruption and inefficiency. For an analysis see, Ibn-e-Qadr, '2012: Siyasatdanon nay Awaam ko Mayoos Kia', *Nai Baat, Sunday Magazine*, 30 December 2012-5 January 2013, p.5.