



SAMPLE A

Diploma Programme subject in which this extended essay is registered: HUMAN RIGHTS

(For an extended essay in the area of languages, state the language and whether it is group 1 or group 2.)

Title of the extended essay: TO WHAT EXTENT DID GENERAL ZIA UL-HAQ
DISRUPT THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN
PAKISTAN?

Candidate's declaration

If this declaration is not signed by the candidate the extended essay will not be assessed.

The extended essay I am submitting is my own work (apart from guidance allowed by the International Baccalaureate).

I have acknowledged each use of the words, graphics or ideas of another person, whether written, oral or visual.

I am aware that the word limit for all extended essays is 4000 words and that examiners are not required to read beyond this limit.

This is the final version of my extended essay.

Candidate's signature: _____

Date: 2-20-09

IB Cardiff use only:

A: 46389 B:

Supervisor's report

The supervisor must complete the report below and then give the final version of the extended essay, with this cover attached, to the Diploma Programme coordinator. The supervisor must sign this report; otherwise the extended essay will not be assessed and may be returned to the school.

Name of supervisor (CAPITAL letters) _____

Comments

Please comment, as appropriate, on the candidate's performance, the context in which the candidate undertook the research for the extended essay, any difficulties encountered and how these were overcome (see page 13 of the extended essay guide). The concluding interview (viva voce) may provide useful information. These comments can help the examiner award a level for criterion K (holistic judgment). Do not comment on any adverse personal circumstances that may have affected the candidate. If the amount of time spent with the candidate was zero, you must explain this, in particular how it was then possible to authenticate the essay as the candidate's own work. You may attach an additional sheet if there is insufficient space here.

I have read the final version of the extended essay that will be submitted to the examiner.

To the best of my knowledge, the extended essay is the authentic work of the candidate.

I spent

3

 hours with the candidate discussing the progress of the extended essay.

Supervisor's signature: _____ Date: 2/25/09

To what extent did General Zia ul-Haq disrupt the progress of women's rights in Pakistan?

ONLY THE STATE CAN
VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS

The essay lacks a theoretical approach

Abstract

This essay is focused on the issue of Islamic Fundamentalism and its effects on women particularly in the country of Pakistan during the rule of General Zia -al Huq. For decades after its separation from India, various rulers in Pakistan tried to establish this Muslim homeland as a solid state. It swung from rule by Martial law to efforts towards a democratic government with the progress of women's right moving forward. Then in 1977, a humbly acting General took over control and declared not only martial law but also the Islamization of Pakistan. In order to give legitimacy to his regime, Zia used an extremely rigid interpretation of Islamic rule to control the country. The focus of his rigidity was on women. My research questioned, "To what extent Zia impacted the women's movement in Pakistan?" He passed harsh laws that subordinated and abused women. On the other hand, his extreme effort to control was received with so much anger, that it resulted in the formation of a strong Women's Action Forum. In researching this topic I found articles and books in stores, libraries and online. I even ordered books from other countries. One book was mailed to me from India. My research gave me a clear understanding of the connection between women's rights and the threat of the Fundamentalist Islamic movement. If women were allowed to be further subordinated, the success of the Extremist movement is more than possible. Although Zia set back the progress of women's rights in Pakistan, he also impacted the mobilization of women in greater strength.

Word Count: 260

RQ /
Law /
concl /

2/2

RQ /

Law /

Introduction

The impact of the Islamic movement has become a global issue. The threat of its influence on political policy, religious freedom, and human rights is in question throughout the world. The ultimate goal is complete control of daily life and the focus of that control is targeted at women. Successes in the Muslim countries like Sudan, Iran, and Afghanistan are examples of the teachings of Plato and Machiavelli that "religion can be used to legitimize power" (Goodwin, 8). Pakistan has swayed back and forth between Martial Law and attempts at Democracy. With the overthrow of the government in 1977, General Zia-al-haq came into power and completely ignored the position of the founding father, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, that Pakistan should remain a secular state. Previous to his rule, Pakistan had been making strides particularly with women's rights under more democratic rule, but with the coup d'etat, Zia used Islamization as a means of gaining control and making dramatic changes in the lives of women. To what extent did General Zia ul-Haq disrupt the progress of women's rights in Pakistan? The backsliding of progress for women was most directly tied to the actions taken by Zia in his effort to add to the Islamic movement and the response to those actions were a clear effort to contain it. This response came through the formation of the WAF or Women's Action Forum, a group that worked to improve the status of women. RQ

"The Islamic fundamentalist movement becomes unstoppable after passing a certain limit and that isn't yet fully comprehended in the West." said scholar Hisham Sharabi, founder of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University. "If it is not contained ... then it will be difficult to control. We have not seen anything like this before. Fundamentalism is the first political mass movement that the Islamic

world has seen in centuries, it is also a movement that can be hell for women”(Goodwin, 27). ✓

Role of Women in Islamic Movement ✓

The role women play in the Islamic world makes them a critical part of the success of the movement. According to Barnett Rubin, director of studies of the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, “Women have become symbols of men’s Islamic commitment.” Since they are the symbol of the purity of the society and of the men’s Islamic commitment, men feel as if they need to create a certain image of their women and have complete control, even to the extent of violating their human rights. ✓

To enforce the power that men have over Muslim women, there are various measures of control. Because women must be virgins at the time of marriage, honor killings are common even at the hands of their own brothers. Fear of these honor killings results in women’s submission. The surgical procedure of hymen restoration is a measure taken to avoid death. Family pressure to marry the chosen husband is so great because it causes such dishonor to the family name if a woman disagrees. After marriage, women must answer to their husbands for every detail of their lives. Where or when she works or bears children, who her friends are, where she goes and what she does must be allowed by her husband. In controlling the women of their society, Muslim men feel as though they are controlling it’s moral purity. *felonias*

Although this control sounds like a noble gesture, it clearly translates to a life of subordination and restrictions for women. Muslim women face discrimination from birth. The birth of a boy is met with celebration, while the birth of a girl is considered sad and mournful. A boy is breast fed for two years, while girls are weaned much sooner. In

most families mothers and girls eat only after the men have been fed. As a result the malnutrition rate among women and girls is higher than that of men and boys. Even in more well off families, males are more likely to be given milk, eggs, meat and fruit. A high 97.4 percent of women are anemic in Pakistan (Goodwin, 43-44). ✓

Polygyny

As a punishment for disobedience or for not bearing a male child, polygyny is an ever present punishment. Although this practice of polygyny is a distortion of the writings of the Koran, it is said that a husband can have up to four wives. In theory the man must get permission from his first wife and treat all wives equally, but in reality this does not occur. If the first wife does not give permission, many men marry anyway. It is also natural for the latter wives to receive better treatment.

The real intention of the Prophet Mohammed when he introduced the idea of polygyny was to provide protection for widows and orphans after losing so many men in war. In the days when it was introduced, so many families would be left destitute without the support of the men who survived. In the pre-Islamic period, known as the Era of Ignorance, both men and women were allowed to have more than one spouse. The Koran permitted polygyny only for war widows, but as time went on, the wealthy monarchs decided to disregard the precondition of widowhood and began to take young, unmarried women as their wives. Many people are focused on whether or not polygyny treats women fairly, but with regard to religion and the Koran, it is really only designated for the welfare for war widows and not for any other purpose.

Early Women's Movement

There are many who believe that Muslim women have chosen to obey a set of religious rules established centuries ago without any attempt to change them. However this is far from the truth. In various Muslim countries, the progress of women's rights has been even more successful than in the United States. Muslim women in countries like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, and many other Arab states have achieved academic status, political power, equal pay and employment benefits which are the same or better than those of the Western Society (Goodwin, 32) → so far?

→ As far back as the Khilafat Movement (1919-1924), women showed strength in their support unifying all Muslims and joining forces criticizing Great Britain. One of the first women to stand out among others was Bi Amma, the mother of the Ali brothers who led this movement. At a speaking event, she lifted her veil for the first time in public and spoke to all in the audience as if they were her sons and brothers.

→ During the Pakistan Movement (1857-1947), in which both men and women fought together for a separate homeland, women were accepted and encouraged to be seen and heard in public for a national cause. Very few women had ever left the confines of their own homes to take to the streets in a show of force. After the success of that campaign, the birth of Pakistan and the resettlement of seven million refugees, the women who had joined earlier efforts put all their energy into organizing providing health services, relief work and emotional support.

With this momentum of involvement, Ra'ana Liaquat Ali recognized that women should not end their service and return to confinement in their homes, so she called for a conference in Karachi in February of 1949. Ra'ana Liaquat Ali was the wife of Liaquat Ali Khan, the first prime minister of Pakistan. She laid the groundwork for the first organized voluntary, non-political association of women that gave attention to the welfare

of women was formed. Its goal included creating educational opportunities and raising social and emotional consciousness. The All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) attracted middle and upper class urban women, reaching out to low-income families. Since the prime minister's wife created this organization, it had the co-operation and approval of the government. In each province, the wife of the civil administrator led the group and acted as a liaison to move programs through the bureaucratic process.

This group was influential in the drafting of the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 as well as promoting representation of women in government. The ordinance was the first effort by the state to provide women with some kind of protection regarding marriage, divorce and polygyny. The minimum age for girls to be married was raised from 14 to 16 and all marriages must be registered. It prescribed that in order to take on another wife, a man must gain consent from his first wife as well as bring his case to a council with some kind of justification. Replacing the custom of simply pronouncing the word "talaq" three times, a man must give written notice to Local Council as well as his wife. This ordinance would be the first one to recognize the need for change in social and cultural issues pertaining to women, but it would not be totally accepted throughout history. Again and again it would be brought back to the forefront of disagreement.

Slowly making progress, women's right activists were successful particularly during the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto era. In 1973 under Article 25 of the Fundamental Rights, the constitution guaranteed that all citizens were equal under the law and that discrimination on the basis of sex was prohibited. Under Article 27, discrimination for government employment on the basis of race, religion, and caste was prohibited. Included in the progress of social issues in 1975, Pakistan was one of the cosponsoring nations of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination Against Women. As the United Nations began its Decade for Women in 1975, Pakistan was raising the status of women at home. Ra'ana Liaquat Ali served as Governor of Sind. Ashraf Abbasi was elected Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and Kaniz Fatima was appointed vice-chancellor of a university (Mumtaz and Shaheed,63). Women were allowed to enter Foreign Service and become district managers of Civil Service and, most importantly, they were no longer barred from being qualified to serve in public offices such as prime minister, governor, or cabinet minister.

X Zia's Takeover X

Previous to 1977, the progress of women's rights in the Middle East was heading in a positive direction. This all changed when Zia ul-Haq came to power.

On July 5, 1977, General Zia ul-Haq, Bhutto's Chief of Staff of the Pakistan Army, carried out a bloodless take over of the Pakistan government. He sent Bhutto off to prison and eventually had him tried and hanged. No one knows for sure why Bhutto chose Zia as his highest-ranking general, but it may have been because he was close to the main Muslim fundamentalist organization, the Jamaat-i-Islami. There is no doubt that Zia strongly believed in bringing Islamic law back into the daily life of Pakistan. A devout Muslim, he prayed five times a day with the mark of "Gutta" protecting his forehead as it touched the ground (Hyman, Muhammed, and Kausik, 22). Zia held ideas of a traditionalist when it came to women's rights. He believed in "chador and chardiwari-the veil and four walls." He believed "that a woman should go out only three times in her life: when she born, when she is married and taken to her husband's home, and when she dies and is taken to be buried" (Goodwin, 55).

Muhammad Zia ul-Haq was the Prime Minister of Pakistan from August 12, 1977, until his death. He came to power with a goal of Islamization. Islamization was a plan to implement an Islamic system and stray from the Anglo Saxon Law that was predominant. Previous to the rule of Zia, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the ruler of Pakistan who found high importance in secularism or the separation of church and state. Zia criticized Bhutto's rule as un-Islamic and used this condemnation to build support for a coup d'etat. Hence, as an unelected authoritarian when he came to power, Zia used a platform for his government, based entirely on Islamic principles.

Return to Moral Purity

Zia's main intention was the return of Pakistani society to the "moral purity of early Islam." In order to attain this moral purity, Zia was intent on placing restrictions on women. This is because women are the "perpetuators of the ideals of a society."

"They symbolize honor—of family, community and nation—and must be controlled as well as protected so as to maintain moral purity. By imposing strict restraints directly on women, the society's, most sensitive component symbolizing male honor, authorities convey their intent to subordinate personal autonomy and thereby strengthen the impression that they are capable of exercising control over all aspects of social behavior, male and female" (Lewis, 2).

While the United Nations was focused on the Decade for Women beginning in 1975, the product of the 20th century is far from how, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan envisioned it to be.

"It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of their homes like prisoners," he says. "Let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideals and standards. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live." (Goodwin, 54)

Despite these views of a need for an increase in progressivism, Zia reversed the direction of progress for women's rights. He promised to put women back in the chardivari or the four walls of the home. The government defined the issue of obscenity, corruption and immorality "as synonymous with women"(Mumtaz, 82). Turning the focus of blame on women, the acts of rape and murder were justified as the response to women's actions, words or mere presence. He eliminated all rights in the Constitution that had been created in 1973. Of these laws included an elimination of gender discrimination. Moreover, Zia created laws that established women as subordinate to men. These included Hudood Ordinances, the Law of Evidence Order, and Qisas and Diyat. Zia also used his policy of Islamization to give the state power over the liberties and freedoms of the people. As a result, women had to face an unjust legal system that failed to protect their rights and forced them into subordination.

The Hudood Ordinances were enacted in 1979 and for the first time in Pakistan history, fornication was defined as a crime. This set of laws was designed to enforce punishments in the Koran for *zina*, theft, and the use of alcohol. *Zina* is a term used to describe extramarital sex, either an act of adultery or one of fornication. Ironically, this law, which should protect women, actually lessened respect for women, because when they were victims of rape, they were wrongfully accused of *zina*. This idea of *zina* also worsened the double standard that exists between men and women. Because of it, men have been able to rape women and get away with it. According to the laws passed during the Zia era, the Pakistan government refused to accept the concept of rape. Government officials such as Khalid Ranjha actually deny that rape exists. A prosecutor in the D.A's office of Lahor told an American Human Rights Watch investigator, "I don't believe in rape. Women's consent is always there. Our society does not allow rape." Another

prosecutor echoed his comments. "Virtually all rape cases are fabricated. After all, if a man tries to rape a woman, she can slap him" (Goodwin, 51).

In addition to the Hudood Ordinances, Zia also passed the Law of Evidence, which stated, "the testimony of two women is equal to that of one man's." And that in compensation cases, the value of a woman's life is to be only half that of a man's" (Goodwin,). Any progress that women had made in the legal system was turned around.

Their rights of education and of holding an occupation were eliminated. Women were obliged to be completely covered in a *burqa* veil. Although these leaders claimed to be Islamic fundamentalists, "fourteen hundred years earlier, when Islam began, the Prophet Mohammad insisted both sexes be educated and encouraged women to be politically active, to work and mix with men. Face veiling did not exist" (Goodwin, 9)

Despite the claims Zia made about his main focus being Islamization, there is nothing in the Koran that states that women should be confined. The decisions he made and the laws he passed that stripped women of their rights, have no basis in the teachings of Islam. "There is no Koran injunction for women to be confined or veiled. Even in Saudi Arabia, the covering of women from head to toe is recent, it was not required before the discovery of oil" (Goodwin, 30).

Reaction to Zia

Although Zia did much to turn back the progress of women's rights, in doing so, he inadvertently helped the cause. By creating laws that were so sexist and abusive, Zia actually caused the launch of the Woman's Action Forum. Groups of women were brought together based on their disgust for the various measures taken by the Zia administration with regards to Islamization such as the Hudood Ordinances, the Law of

Evidence and the Qisas and Diyat laws. These changes in policy affected women of all ages and social class from 1978 to 1981. The campaign for Islamic morality was focused intensely on women's way of dressing, their presence in public and their status in society. Slowly women were being judged in public to the point where in one case, a woman of social stature was slapped in the face for walking into a bakery without the proper covering of her head. The change was a drastic one because only a year before a woman would not have received this reaction while wearing jeans or a short sleeved dress (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 71). With step-by-step changes, Zia's ordinances were taking from women all the rights they had worked for and turning the issue into a moral judgment against all women.

A landmark that drew women's anger and attention was the Fehmida and Allah Bux case in which a man was sentenced to death and a woman to 100 lashes because they married outside of their social class and failed to register their marriage. The case was turned into one about rape and adultery and became a national issue in the press. It became "the catalyst that galvanized women into forming a pressure group to counter the anti-women moves" (Mumtaz and Shaded, 73). Prior to this period, most women's groups were from the upper middle classes and were more like social welfare organizations. As the years passed and more women in every social and economic level were being subjected to the growing pressure of Islamization, the fear took over that each and every woman's personal liberties were at risk. As a result leaders from many women's groups as well as individuals who had various professional credentials, decided to meet and form the Women's Action Forum. The emphasis was on action and they began with a five points signature campaign that reached out to over 10,000 people. To show the solidarity of the group, the first signature on the petition was that of Ra'ana

Liaquat Ali, the founder and president of the All Pakistan Women's Association (AWPA) (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 74). The five goals or points were to protect and strengthen the Family Laws Ordinance, to gain protection for women in police custody, to lift the ban on women participating in sports, to finance a literacy for women and to lift the ban on cultural activities in educational institutions.

The WAF set up workshops and conferences throughout the four provinces that were highly publicized by the press. On the 14th of May in 1982, WAF held a jalsa, a large gathering with a central topic presented to women including skits, speeches, songs and poetry in an effort to raise the consciousness of women and reach out to women who had not yet joined the action. One of the issues raised was the religious state-run television program of Dr. Israr Ahmed, one of Zia's chosen advisors. Israr spoke in an interview that "a truly Islamic State, all working women should be retired and pensioned off, and that in any case women should not leave the confines of their homes, except in emergencies" (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 83). The WAF took a loud a public stand on this and as a result (although the government would not admit to the influence of the group), Dr Israr's program was taken off the air. ✓

In another far more serious conflict, the WAF had a significant influence on General Zia's opinion and authority. A horrible incident in Nawabpur involved a carpenter, who had allegedly gotten involved with the daughter of his landlord, was ultimately beaten to death for his actions. The landlord attacked him in his home and then went on to take out his revenge on all the women in the family. This barbaric behavior was not uncommon in Pakistan where men targeted women for their revenge for the misdeeds of a male relative. These women were molested, raped, dragged out and marched into the streets naked to pay for the male's behavior. The terrible incident

sparked a campaign by the WAF to stop the violence against women (Mumtaz and Shaheed ,115). As a result of demonstrations, silent pickets and a Black Day for Women (May 27) the Crime's Ordinance was passed on June 3 1984. It decreed that such actions in public were punishable by death. Although the law did not go far enough by protecting women in the confines of the home, the WAF saw this as a tremendous victory. ✓

In addition, the actions of the WAF were instrumental in changing the original proposal for the political framework for the Islamic System. In December of 1984, Zia responded to the agitation caused by the WAF and chose not to include the recommendations by the Ansari Commission that would have limited a woman from holding office before the age of 50 or without permission from her husband. Again the influence of the women's group was effective because Zia knew, if he were to remain in power, he could not afford to alienate so many of the voters.

Conclusion

Zia's effort to use Islamization to stay in control of Pakistan was most intensely directed at controlling women. He passed Ordinances to further that control by covering women and sending them back to the confines of their homes. Demanding that all government workers, television commentators and professionals in education follow the strict rules of Islam was purely an effort to make the world outside of the home very difficult for women. Efforts to control the qualifications for holding office and separating opportunities for education by gender, made it difficult but not impossible for future female leadership. At first Zia created an atmosphere of fear that kept many women from coming out in the open until he went too far and the scale tipped to the other side. With

too
narrative

his extremist views and relentless efforts to control, he actually motivated an uprising of minds and actions against him. The calmer women's organizations who in the past were passive pawns of the government were mobilized by the take-action focused WAF. The mobilization of this group and its influence on Pakistan politics was a direct result of Zia's attempt to subordinate women. Did Zia set the women's movement back? Yes, he did. Did he influence a mobilization that still has force today? Most assuredly, he did.

Word count: 3913

✓

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HR sources?

Assessment form (for examiner use only)

Candidate session number	
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		Achievement level		
Assessment criteria		First examiner	maximum	Second examiner
A research question	2 ✓	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	
B introduction	2 ✓	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	
C investigation	2 ✓	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	
D knowledge and understanding	2 ✓	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	
E reasoned argument	2 ✓	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	
F analysis and evaluation	1 ✓	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	
G use of subject language	3 ✓	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	
H conclusion	1 ✓	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	
I formal presentation	2 ✓	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	
J abstract	2 ✓	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	
K holistic judgment	1	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Total out of 36		19		

Name of first examiner: _____
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: _____

Name of second examiner: _____
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: _____

Human Rights Sample A: Examiner's comments on the individual criteria :

- C** **1/4** The sources are insufficient (where are the Human Rights sources?), because they only cover the facts; there is nothing on the theory: although this situation isn't clearly catered for in the criteria, the "best fit" mark is 1.
- D** **2/4** Even though the essay lacks a proper theoretical approach, it shows an adequate knowledge of human rights. Obviously it's far from perfect!
- E** **2/4** A large part of the essay is too narrative to be very good, but the last part demonstrates reasoned argument.
- F** **1/4** As the essay is rather basic and superficial, no potential hidden agendas or deconstructed arguments are explored: we have just a glimpse of these.
- G** **3/4** The use of language is correct and accurate.
- H** **1/2** The evidence throughout the essay is not enough to reach the conclusion.
- I** **2/4** The formal presentation is fine; however as the essay has no table of contents the most apt descriptor is 2.
- K** **1/4** The essay is too simple and superficial to demonstrate much intellectual initiative or depth of understanding and insight.