



RESEARCH PAPER

Aurat March and Women Empowerment: Perceptions and Perspectives of Women in Pakistan

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PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Received: October 11, 2021</p> <p>Accepted: December 29, 2021</p> <p>Online: December 31, 2021</p> <p>Keywords: Aurat March, Feminism, Pakistan, Women Empowerment,</p> <p>*Corresponding Author: sarwarr69@gmail.com</p>	<p>Aurat March initiated a diverse form of activism in Pakistan that started a conflictive debate within the country between those with different ideologies. This paper seeks to analyze the different perceptions and perspectives of women and answer the questions that why Aurat March has become contentious and controversial, and attempt to understand women's empowerment, what it was initiated for, and its accomplishment. Therefore, this is a qualitative theoretical study that uses the methodology of discourse analysis and implies a theoretical framework of feminism theories which argues that Aurat March is a visible display of women empowerment in Pakistan but the narratives and notions are radically paradoxical in nature, impacted negatively on women's lives, and put the feminist movements into controversial rhetoric with no positive results. This study finds the need to raise a constructive and effective model of feminism that supports Pakistani women, a model that is indigenous in nature, comprises diverse voices and also includes lived experiences and religious values.</p>

Introduction

Aurat March is a praxis of modern women's movements in Pakistan and presents different kinds of ideas and activism. New trends and reactions occurred in the fourth wave of feminism as a result of postmodern feminist thoughts. Women's movements have played a vital role in the transformation of feminism narratives and perceptions. New Praxis and activities of women's movements have altered the traditional behavior and helped women negotiate for their social, political, and legal rights in male-dominated societies. With the rise of new trends in feminist movements, a wave of contention has become visible, resulting in rhetoric regarding feminism in the religious society of Pakistan, among diverse groups of feminists. Therefore, this paper is an attempt to evaluate the diverse narratives among different groups of women within Pakistani society. This paper argues that Aurat March is a visible display of women empowerment in Pakistan but the narratives and notions are radically paradoxical in nature, impacted negatively on women's lives, and put the feminist movements into controversial rhetoric with no positive results. This paper seeks to analyze the different perceptions and perspectives of women and answer the questions that why Aurat March has become contentious and controversial. What are the narratives that women of Pakistan seek to endorse? and on what notions Pakistani society rejects the Radical form of feminism in Pakistan. This paper aims to present a workable and effective model of feminism to promote feminism within the context of Pakistani society by understanding the local and ground realities. This paper hopefully covers the literature gap in women's studies and provides theoretical coherent insights that will mitigate and

remove the conflictive voices over the subject of 'feminism'. This paper is a qualitative theoretical study that uses the methodology of discourse analysis and implies the theoretical framework of discourse interpretation. Therefore, this paper is interpreted in nature and deduced in a way that other people can easily understand, has four sections, Historical background, Literature Review, Theoretical study, critical analysis, and discussions.

The Historical Transformation of Feminism in Pakistan

Pakistan's women's struggle has a long history before its independence. Women like Ran'na Liaqat Ali Khan, Fatima Jinnah, and Begum Shah Nawaz participated in the independence struggle. Soon after the Independence, Ran'na Liaqat Ali Khan established *Women's Voluntary Service (WVS)* in 1948, which aimed to first aid, health problems and support women financially. WVS was the first setup where women participated and expressed their views which resulted in the creation of *All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA)* with aimed to empower women and the welfare of women, headed by Begum Ran'na Liaqat Ali (Serez, 2017). APWA focused on women's education, improving women's economic participation, and creating social and cultural consciousness. In the same year, Begum Ran'na Liaqat Ali Khan established a "*craftsman colony*" aimed at women empowerment to provide skills to poor women to make them economically independent (Saigol, 2016; Batool et al., 2018; Ali, 2006). Fatima Jinnah was prominent in the struggle against poverty elimination and women's health as well as the first woman to be nominated as a '*President*' candidate and a mentor for women's participation in politics. Women were united and raised their voices against discrimination and the patriarchal structure of society. Women struggle to achieve Muslim Family Law Ordinance (MFL), which protects women's marital rights. Later, Z A Bhutto reserved 10% of women's seats in National and 5% seats in Provincial Assemblies (Batool et al., 2018). Whereas, the Constitution of Pakistan assured gender equality, no discrimination against sexes, and women's safety rights. Moreover, Zia era was not favorable for women. He introduced conservatism in the name of Islamization in Pakistan, targeted women's liberation restricted them within four walls of home, and imposed Hudood Ordinance. Against the Zia regime, women united together and voiced against inequality and demanded equal status for women. A movement named "*Women Action Forum (WAF)*" or *Khawateen Mahaz-e-ammal* started against Zia's discriminatory laws (Ali, 2006).

The era of the first elected female Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was a sigh of relief for women. First women's Bank was established, Ministry of women's development (MOWD) and women's study centers were established in cities (Saigol, 2016). After that, Nawaz Sharif era was a backlash against women and the government followed the footsteps of Zia's Islamization. Boost occurred during the Musharraf regime. This era was very progressive towards women's rights. Multiple steps were taken to empower women like the women protection bill, the sexual harassment act, and Musharraf introduced local government to increase women's seats and encouraged women to participate in government (Ali, 2006). Therefore, legal protection of women paved the way for women's empowerment which are visible in the present scenario. Presently, women feel free to participate in public affairs and reject oppression bluntly. This transformation of Pakistani feminism is a result of the chaotic and mixed cultural, traditional, and patriarchal structure of society as well as religion also played in this transformation. In nutshell, Pakistani feminism can be defined into three phases or waves: the first wave was about the transformation of society in which women were considered 'human beings' and 'developed' their places. This was the actual foundation of women's struggle in Pakistan and women from these eras constructed the path to women empowerment. This was progressive and beneficial until Zia's occupied the presidency which was the start of the second wave, an orthodox and powerful narrative of religion where women were considered inferior and restricted at home. This was a non-progressive era and women became subjects of

oppression. The third wave began with the government of Benazir Bhutto, women's rights were promoted, empowered NGOs, and developed spaces in public sectors. Women were allowed to learn, develop and implement their choices which led them to the present, modern or fourth wave, of feminism in Pakistan. Women empowerment can be seen in the present activities of feminists, most dominantly, Aurat March. Aurat March is celebrated on Women's Day and Pakistani women from each group participate. It is a critical and radical juncture, rejecting the stereotypical norms, oppressing oppression, and demanding sexual autonomy (Saigol R. a., 2020).

Presently, feminism praxis has become a debate among different groups of feminism. There has been a conflict due to ideological differences. These ideologies played a vital role in the evolution of present-day feminism in Pakistan. Most women's thoughts were grounded within Islamic ideology, contrary to secular or modern feminism but somehow, they managed to work for common goals like equality, justice, and empowerment. But, most importantly, ideological differences led the society to the 'origin of class and divided women into groups, secular upper-class women and moderate lower-class women.

Theoretical Study

This paper focuses on women's empowerment and feminism narratives in an attempt to reveal the ambiguities and diverse perceptions in order to elaborate the true meaning and positions of feminists in Pakistan. The term 'Women Empowerment' can be defined in two broad perspectives, general and specific. The specific perspective of women empowerment refers to the revolutionized position of the women in the power structure of the society, whereas, the general perspective of women empowerment refers to women gaining self-determination with the provision of opportunities and access to freedom to choose anything. Naila Kabeer defines empowerment as the ability to make strategic life choices and challenge the status quo to deal with resistance (Kabeer, 1999). It is a process of developing agents for social change (Tandon, 2016). According to Gita Sen empowerment is altering social relations of power that constrain women's position and adversely affect them (Sen, 2014). A. Chattopadhyay defines empowerment as the expansion of freedom of choices and action in Political, social, cultural, and economic spheres to shape one's life as it is multi-dimensional (Chattopadhyay, 2005). It is control over resources and decisions. A precise and well-organized definition is provided by S. Batliwala that women's empowerment goals are to enable poor women to gain access and control to material and informational resources, to transform the structure that reinforces and perpetuates gender discrimination, and to challenge patriarchal ideology (Batliwala, 2007). In nutshell, women empowerment gives power to women to make choices that empower them to control their decisions and it provides them a way to participate in all political, economic, and social spheres. It paves the way to educational empowerment, economic empowerment, and political and legal empowerment. Now, this paper defines the theoretical concept of feminism.

Feminism is an effort to change and challenge the gender relations that subordinate women to men. J.A. Raina defined feminism is a struggle of women for economic, political and personal equality. It is a wide range of ideologies, narratives and political movements. Feminism seeks to achieve women's equality and justice in every sphere of life (Raina, 2017). Feminism epistemology is women-centered. George Ritzer extended this definition that feminism is not only concerned with understanding the women's situation and their unequal gender positions but identifying efficient strategies to improve the social world for women (Ritzer, 2012). Bell Hooks precisely defined feminism as a movement to end oppression, sexism, and sexist exploitation (Hooks, 2000). Feminism is a modern movement expressing protest against male domination. Feminism is an evolving subject focused on understanding women's oppression (Rana, 2018). In nutshell, feminism is a

movement of women, for women, by women. Now, the coming section explains the theories and waves of feminism.

One is not born, but rather becomes a woman. (De Beauvoir, 2010)

Feminism history is defined in three waves. The first wave (1850-1950) started in late nineteenth century in the form of a movement. Women started to talk about the undemocratic practices and protested against the inequalities. In the USA, National Women's Party made a strike outside White House (Ghorfati, 2015), In Europe, 'A Vindication of the Rights of women', work by Mary Wollstonecraft's boosted the women's struggle and demanded the right to education for women (Rampton, 2015). More, Virginia Wolf work "A Room of one's own" shaped the road for a woman to change her life (Harrison, 2003). 1st wave feminism's key concerns were women's suffrage, marriage rights, the right to education, and better working conditions (Rampton, 2015). J.S. Mill supported those rights in his famous work *Subjugation of Women*'. The praxis of this wave is referred as *liberal feminism*. The most dominant name of that wave was Alice Paul, Virginia Wolf, and Simone De Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*.

Second wave (1960-1980) was about the struggle against patriarchy, inequalities and sexual liberation of women. Women voiced against the sexual oppression and gender inequalities; practices referred as *Radical feminism* (Ghorfati, 2015). Women of that wave were not only concerned about equal rights but they wanted to be free and independent in their choices (Harrison, 2003). 2nd wave radical and abstract nature divided the feminists among choices and demands. Western women were eager to obtain equal rights as men, sexual freedom and raised the slogan of personal is political. Therefore, African and lower-class women opposed the narrative and were demanded the basic rights by legislation. In Europe, a great deal of legislation was introduced to advance the women rights like, equal pay act, abortion law, sex discrimination act and Land reforms (Harrison, 2003). Famous works of that wave are '*the dialectic of sex*' by Shulamith Firesotne, '*the Subjugation of women*' by Juliet Mitchell, '*Sexual Politics*' by Kate Millet and '*The Feminine Mystique*' by Betty Friedan.

Third Wave (1980-2000) was concerned about the sexual identities, intersectionality and focused on the recognition of the diversity of women (Ghorfati, 2015). This wave considers the most powerful and effective group of women who focused on the structural changes and reconstruction of perceptions (Rampton, 2015). This group attempted to modernize the discipline through education and theory building (Johnson, 2017). In USA and Britain, third wave is known as girl feminism and new feminism respectively. This wave tried to redefine the gender identities and gender politics (Ghorfati, 2015). More importantly, this wave of feminism reshaped the definitions and practices of women's struggles and revealed the lenses to utilize and empower women, paving the way to postmodern feminism. Important works are '*Gender Trouble*' by Judith Butler, '*the new feminism*' by Natasha Walter. Most precisely, third wave is also known as *Reactionary feminism*, challenged the epistemological views of feminism, opposed the abstraction in feminism and included the silent voices in the struggle of global feminism. This wave extended the views and domains of feminism and gave rise to post-feminism and postmodern feminism school of thoughts in the discipline. The best work which paved the way to the broadness of the women was Bell Hooks "*Feminism is for everybody*" a critical discourse rejected the *universal* view of feminism attempted to deconstruct the established norms of feminism, gave importance to the inclusion of poor or third world women groups (Hooks, 2000). On the other hand, Judith Butler also criticized the abstractness of sex and gender by adopting postmodern framework and attempted to redefine the women's positions (Butler, 2002).

These critical discourses played a vital role in consciousness rising, re-politicizing the youth and paved the way to the rise of the fourth wave of feminism. Feminists of the

fourth wave have become prominent and too radical can be seen in Media and discourses. They mainly emphasize on 'identity politics' and 'individual self'. Therefore, Third and fourth wave of feminism have been criticized for focusing too much on self and identity politics. They focused on personal empowerment, choices and seek to enforce 'me, me, me- whatever I think is good' (Budgeon, 2011). Critical theorists blame them that they lack the interest in collective struggle of feminism and focus on personal development and self. Radical activism ignores the voices, choices and experiences of poor and middle-class women of the world (Day, 2018). In Pakistan, Aurat March is also influenced by the fourth wave of feminism. Some labeled it radical activism of feminism and some view it as a western import agenda, whereas, many see it as a form of women empowerment (Iqbal, 2020). Now, the coming section highlights the theories of feminism to understand the activism and praxis of feminism. These theories can be categorized as lens to see the picture and scrutinize the perceptions and perspectives of feminism.

Feminism is a combination of ideologies, intellectual commitments and political movements that seek the end of sexism in all forms and justice for women. Diverse interdisciplinary intellectual nature of feminism makes it difficult to analyze and criticize. This paper going to discuss theories can be referred as ideologies of feminism with certain principles and conditions for giving woman her rights. First, **Liberal Feminism** practiced and dominated in the first wave of feminism focuses on 'individual', an individual woman should be able to determine her social role with as freedom as men do (Ghorfati, 2015). Liberal feminism seeks to alter the societal structure by legislation and works within the structure of society to integrate women into it (Harrison, 2003). Liberals emphasize on equal rights for women in education, politics and participation (Goodwin, 2016). The main thrust of liberal feminism is bringing equality among women and men in existing social system framework and focuses on the full extension of civil and legal rights to women by legislation without questioning the underlying basis of women's subordination. In Pakistan, women activism can be view in three categories, Liberals, Radicals and Conservative or Muslim feminists. Liberal's feminists are upper class, empowered, privileged and have easily access to financial activity. Pakistani Liberal women, somehow, acknowledge the issues of poor and lower-class women and also highlight their issues. Liberal women of Pakistan are moderate in Praxis and seek to transform the society by legislation and participation.

Second, **Radical Feminism** a most important ideology dominated in second wave of feminism, a reaction to the liberal feminism. Radicals reject the liberal claim that lack of civil and political rights cause women's oppression and argue that Patriarchy and male-domination is the main cause of women oppression, challenge and overthrow the patriarchy (Harrison, 2003). Radicals argue that the roots of women oppression are biological that physical subordination of women by men is primary oppression (Goodwin, 2016). They emphasize that male supremacy on all the resources social, cultural, political and cultural leaves women in the position of subordinate. Male control on all the spheres leads them to the exploitation of women that is a result of defined roles of gender in society. Radicals attempt to deconstruct the gender roles, redefine the structure by legislation at any means. Radical feminism, some critics condemn it as elitist, ethnocentric, racist and even sexist. Alice Walker and Andrea Dworkin are radical feminists. In Pakistan, Secular women can be described as Radical feminists based and influenced by the western ideologies, culture and narratives, attempt to westernize the local structure of Pakistan. Radical feminists, Muslim feminism view it as, follow the radical activism create a sense of conflict among other groups and impose western or alien ideas in Pakistani society. Therefore, Aurat March in Pakistan also relates to the Radical activism of feminist groups in Pakistan.

Third, **Conservative Feminism** attempts to construct a theory of female liberation based on beliefs in equal but different roles. Conservatists accept the natural division of social life and attempts to be equal on men terms. Feminists of this ideology emphasize the

cultural and traditional manifestation of roles and view that women should have sovereignty within their own sphere of life (Stacey, 1983). Conservativists give value to the culture their practices too be family centered and adopted the established norms. Mostly Muslim and Poor African countries women give value to this ideology. Fourth, **Muslim Feminism** based upon Islamic Principles of life, advocates of equality without any distinction, follows the teachings of Quran also known as Islamic feminism (Ghorfati, 2015). Muslim feminists challenged the patriarchy on the basis of Quranic Principles of gender equality and social justice (Samiuddin, 2002). Amina Wadud, a prominent advocate of Muslim feminism speaks about the Muslim women rights as mother, sister, wife and emphasizes on women education in Muslim societies (Wadud, 2009). In nutshell, Muslim Feminism is the most powerful movement of feminism have almost same goals of the western countries but with differences. Islamic feminism narratives are religion centered and seeks to achieve already defined Islamic rights of women through practices of Islamic values. In Pakistan, a Muslim society, Muslim women are in large numbers than liberal and secular groups, therefore, follow the teachings of Islam, attempt to implement the principles of Islam in Pakistani Society. Muslim Feminists reject the other two groups on basis of Alien model and strongly demand the Quranic Rights of Women. Muslim women struggle for their religious rights that are given to them by Allah Almighty and oppose the discrimination of men, challenge the patriarchy, oppression and voice against the exploitation of women rights.

This research paper reveals essential themes of Pakistani women's perceptions and perspectives about women empowerment and Aurat March. It is based on the ground of 'subjective knowledge', focuses on the experiences of the women because every woman perceives, understands and interprets her own experiences regarding feminism and women empowerment. The ontological perspective of this paper is that reality and truth regarding feminism is constructed by women themselves. But the epistemological standpoint of this research is gained through discourse interpretation and analysis about knowledge generation regarding women feminists' praxis such as Aurat March and different perspectives of the women in Pakistan and their role in women empowerment.

Literature Review

This paper examines the contemporary Pakistani feminist's perceptions and perspectives, is an attempt to analyzes the reasons of the strong opposition faced by Aurat March women and weaving the narratives through conversation of secular and religious women of Pakistan. Aurat March has been deemed the new wave of feminism in Pakistan generated a strong backlash and attracted unprecedented criticism. Therefore, this paper is an attempt to understand the views of its proponents and opponents, give insights to encourage women empowerment. Feminism movements remain controversial in Pakistan and malign publicly as a foreign import and a lobby elitist woman who wish to intimate western culture while rejecting their own traditions and religions (Batoool, 2021). Aurat March activism created a rhetoric and opponents claim that movement is western conspiracy determined to corrupt and destroy social, cultural and Islamic values of religious society. Opponents of feminism argue that this movement does not represent all women. Feminism benefits limited to urban, educated and elite women. Therefore, feminist's movements in Pakistan, diverse in nature, still face a severe opposition, perceptions surrounding around feminist attitudes and actions are quite extreme in Pakistan and society in general perceives that movement is about hating men. In nutshell, opponents argue that this is not an indigenous phenomenon and hence does not have any political and ethical base. Dr. Rubina Saigol explains that women's right consciousness and feminist movements has been a result of national and international reshaping of power in Pakistan which includes colonialism, nationalism, dictatorship and the global war of terror (Saigol R. , 2016). Farzana Bari also argues that feudal, capitalist and social forms played a role in impacting women's lives and these norms make women voiceless and impose

patriarchy (Bari, 2000). Tuba Iqbal explains in detail that in Pakistan, two main threads of feminism: Islamic and secular. Secular feminists believe in elimination of oppression, oppose patriarchy and Islamic feminism encourages women's participation through Islamic principles (Iqbal, 2020). Saira Asher believes that Aurat March is the movement of secular group and initiated to raise awareness among the masses and to change the attitudes and mindsets of people (Asher, 2020). Sariya Contractor defines the Islamist feminist paradigm as Muslim societies are diverse and male dominated where culture and traditions have stronger roots than Islam. Islamic feminists seek to improve women's political, social and legal status of the Muslim women; therefore, Islamic feminists challenged the patriarchy, encourages the Quran and Sunnah teachings and fundamental rights distribution among the genders (Cheruvallil-Contractor, 2012).

Amina Jamal argues that secular feminists in Pakistan advocate separation of religion and state as well as equal rights between men and women. Secular feminists are fighting to overcome Islam. On contrary, Islamic feminists take different approach and advocate the proper treatment of women within Muslim society as laid out in Quran (Jamal, 2005). Islamic feminists do not blame Islam as seculars do for the discrimination women face but they blame men and their patriarchal legal traditions. In sum, Islamic feminists make clear that they are not fighting for what Western women have gained but for what the Quran can give them. Cheema elaborates those Islamic feminists reject the western ideals and accept the Islamic principles. Islamic feminism in Pakistan is a conservative theology appeals to people who value the teachings of Quran than that of elite, leftist and secular feminists (Cheema, 2012). Nasreen Akhtar also differentiate Pakistani women into three groups: Elite, Middle-class and lower-class (Akhtar, 2013). Elite women live privileged lifestyle due to social and economic standings. Elite women mostly follow western ideologies and ideals influence on other groups for their privileges gain. Middle-class and Lower-class women have low economic and social standings and have no little influence within their social lives. This group gravitate towards Islamic feminism due to their familiarity with religion. Annie Serez argues that Islamic and secular feminists have been successful in Pakistan about legislative changes. But their differences are the reason of conflict and lack of unity has hindered social changes in Pakistan. Secular feminists discredit the Islamic feminists and vice versa. Serez emphasizes that both groups need to acknowledge each other and work together towards what unites them rather than what divides them (Serez, 2017). They need to put aside their differences and work to secure rights for all the women of Pakistan. There is a need to mitigate conflict among women groups by introducing their native model of feminism instead of western based model.

Lois. L Al-Faruqi differentiates that feminism goals as conceived in western society are not necessarily exportable across cultural boundaries. Lois further elaborates that in Muslim societies women seek to adopt Quran and Sunnah teachings instead of western approaches that have nothing to do with Muslim cultures (Lamya'al Faruqi, 1998). People of Pakistan are highly concerned about their traditions and cultural values where Aurat March has become a contesting debate. Pakistani Society is based on Islamic principles and majority of women view Aurat March is a radical approach of feminism that is contradictory to the traditions, cultures and religious values. Therefore, Aurat March remained unsuccessful and become worthless in the sight of public and turned into a meaningless condemned event. Khushbakht views it as non-sensical source and absurd demands by the participants and a distraction from the actual matters (Khushbakht, 2020). On contrary, Rubina Saigol views it as a mode of women empowerment in which women revolutionize their issues and demands (Saigol R. a., 2020). Khushbakht further explains that promotion of women rights and their empowerment needs a logical and constructive solution in Pakistan (Khushbakht, 2020). There is a need to determine the real issues, barriers and evils in women empowerment and Aurat March slogans do not representing the reflection of collective life issues. In nutshell, debate among Islamic and Radical feminists is not new in Pakistan but the Aurat March event aggravated it and created a sense of tension in

Pakistani society. The agenda of Aurat March is visibly contradictory to the native culture and some religious scholars and feminists view it a western import seeks to destroy the Pakistani culture. On the other hands, secular and liberal feminist's groups view it positively and argue that it is a modern form of resistance, a way of putting forward the issues and demands and a portrayal of women empowerment and unity.

Discussion and analysis

This paper, seeks to explore the direct exposure and experience, is generated from the philosophical and historical perspectives of the author gained over a period of time seeks to explore the direct exposure and experience that informed the insights on feminism research in Pakistan, entails the analysis of power relations through which feminists operate in clearly differentiated hegemonic power positionings of diverse groups. Therefore, it explores feminism as an ideological movement whose theoretical and philosophical tasks are sensitive to women and are also deliberately designed to capture data emanating from women's perceptions and perspectives. Thus, methodology of discourse analysis that supports analytical, critical and existential considerations becomes relevant in focusing on experience of a given occurrence and making it consistent with the analysis of the phenomena of different perspectives of feminism in Pakistan. Therefore, the analytical approach of this paper aims at the analysis of the use of language/texts to deduce contextual meanings akin to Pakistani discourse analysis and interpretation approach potentially brings feminism research into direct contact with the meanings attached to feminist's existence and captured directly through discourses and women's narratives by Pakistani feminists.

Aurat March has been organizing since March 2018 in Pakistan resulted in rhetoric among feminist's groups and divided society into different intellectual classes. The Aurat March is a peaceful campaign of women organized by numerous NGOs to record protest with catchy posters and slogans against patriarchy and male oppression but the mainstream feminists view and perceive it differently. As Rubina Saigol explained that Fourth wave praxis of Aurat March in Pakistan touched the new horizons and term as a critical moment for feminists struggles around sexual autonomy and bodily rights (Saigol R. a., 2020) and launched a new phase of activism that seeks to radically transform the social, economic and legal milieu in which patriarchy is practiced. As mentioned above, since first activity Aurat March has faced severe criticism and ridiculed by the majority which gave rise to the conflicting rhetoric in society. This paper is also an attempt to reveal the basis notions and perceptions which pave the way to mitigate the conflict and deeper understandings of the subject. Conservatives and Islamic feminists labelled it 'women gone crazy by the west ideal' and attempted to malign the native norms. This fact already explained by Farida Shaheed that Pakistani society preoccupied perception about those women who engage in women's movements that these women are westernized and alien to their own societies ought to be robustly contested (Shaheed, 2010). Islamic feminists label this campaign is 'too liberal' and 'influenced by western' ideals trying to propagate 'anti-men' settings in Pakistan. Most of the moderate women do not want to be associated with this campaign due to its aggressive, anti-men and non-sensical posters.

Moderate- traditionally bound group- school of thought rejected most of the notions and argue that they are happy and do not need any more rights. Whereas, Islamic feminists are also almost on the same page but they expand their views as Islam has already empowered the women and given equal rights as men. They emphasize on the re-reading of Quranic and Sunnah interpretations about women rights and demand to implement Islamic rights of women within Islamic society of Pakistan. Therefore, Aurat March portrays contradictory notions that are irrelevant and most importantly against religious values, not representing all the women of Pakistan. They believe that this group is already empowered with luxury lifestyles and attempting to enforce "self-choices" instead the needs of common women. Some view it a hegemon group who have all the privileged and seek to empower

themselves by maintaining their hegemony on unprivileged groups. On contrary, Men also criticize it that it is an attempt to destroy social structure and a threat to Pakistani culture. The legitimacy of this protest in Pakistan is questionable because it is devoid of the voices of the middle-class and poor women. Men claim that the women of this campaign are unfamiliar to the issues of the women from rural and village areas. The seculars or organizers of this protest and their supporters view it positively an activity to show the woman "power". A portrayal of woman ability and empowerment to oppose any sort of oppression.

Conclusion

Aurat March inaugurated a new phase in feminism qualitatively different from previous women rights movements, marks a tectonic shift from the previous articulations of feminism as one of the most exciting events in recent years in Pakistan. Aurat March laid the foundation for the radical shift of feminist politics from a focus on public to private sphere. Aurat March manifests a revolutionary impulse unabashedly asserts that personal is political and the gender division and roles are constructed falsely. Aurat march certainly manages to hit patriarchy where it hurts and the backlash has been swift, fierce and expected. The conflict emerged among feminist's groups because a large number of feminists reclaim feminism within a religious cosmos of multiple meanings. Islam is the principal reality within which most Pakistani women live their lives. Therefore, women perceive their rights within Islamic frameworks and oppose any other non-Islamic agenda and rights.

The dilemma of fourth wave activism in Pakistan subverting the existing norms, dissolved the boundaries of personal and public spheres by challenging the core values of the system and rose in revolt by rejecting the established social and moral order. Aurat March introduced a 'critical juncture' where women in large numbers holding catchy placards that mocked real life situation asserted openly and unapologetically. The slogan caused heated controversies across the country became most contentious was 'mera jism meri mrzi' (my body, my right). The blatant assertion of slogans challenged the status quo and patriarchal authority threshold to doubt and the edifice of patriarchy beginning to shake and crumble. Feminism has largely been considered an alien concept in the non-west, contrary to indigenous traditions and norms. Western feminism's colonial intrusion is easily discredited as an attack on the cultural authenticity of non-west societies and a corrupting influence. It is a need of hour to frame women's concerns in the context of their situation rather than with reference to the standard set by western feminism.

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