Master’s Thesis

Factors that contribute to the violence against women: a study from Karachi, Pakistan

M.A Peace and Development Studies
(4FU42E)

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Abstract

Violence against women is an international issue that is affecting the lives of women globally. Sustainable Development Goals also emphasizes gender equality and women’s empowerment for peace around the world and each country is responsible to check within a country accordingly. In Pakistan women are vulnerable to violence because of the patriarchal society in the country; the resulting male dominance results in extensive violence against women. The purpose of this study is to discover the factors that are responsible for violence against women in Karachi city. Several studies are already reported in the literature about violence against women in Pakistan, but this study focuses on the city of Karachi in particular where women from three different social classes were interviewed. A total of 22 participants were interviewed from lower, middle and upper classes. A comparative analysis made in order to find out the differences in the level of intensity of violence against women between three different classes. The focus on both gender and class motivated the use of an intersectionality framework to analyse the multiple interlocking categories of violence in women’s life in Karachi. The research showed that all those factors reported in the previous literature are still present in the society and still need to be addressed to make progress towards the 2030 agenda of Sustainable Development Goals.
Acknowledgement

Firstly I want to thank Almighty Allah who gave me the courage to complete my studies. Then I want to thank my sons Muhammad Mustafa and Muhammad Mahad who suffered a lot because of my engagements with my studies. Furthermore, the support and prayers from my family were my strength in whole time. Guidance from my supervisor is highly appreciated as without his guidance it was not possible for me to complete my studies. Finally, I would like to thanks my field work assistant, fellows for their help and all participants from Karachi who trusted and shared their personal life with me and made this study possible.
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List of Abbreviations

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women

gad: Gender and Development

KPK: Khyber Pakhtun Khwa

OHCHR: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

SDG: Sustainable Development Goals

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF: United Nations Children’s Fund

VAW: Violence Against Women

WHO: World Health Organisation

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1. Introduction

“Violence against women is perhaps the most shameful human rights violation, and it is perhaps the most pervasive. It knows no boundaries of geography, culture or wealth. As long as it continues, we cannot claim to be making real progress towards equality, development and peace.” (Kofi Annan)

VAW is a trauma that is adversely affecting the women, their children and their family across the globe and motivated by social, cultural and psychological factors. Despite the declarations made for guaranteeing human rights for all women, for instance, UDHDR and CEDAW, the VAWG is endured. In fact, it is sprouting with modish factors (awid, 2013).

This research paper is focussing the general factors contributing to VAW at once.

1.1 Problem Statement

The research attempts to investigate the factors responsible for VAW in Karachi, Pakistan. Gender equality is considered as a fundamental human right and economic necessity for development and social justice and is an important goal to achieve (UNESCO, 2017).

Worldwide the most pervasive violation of human rights continues and affecting the lives of millions of women and girls is VAWG (picum, 2017). 2030 Agenda by the UN has 17 goals and goal number 5 is to achieve gender equality and empowering all women and girls (UN, 2015). These unique goals are for all countries for the promotion of prosperity and it is the responsibility of every country to follow-up the progress (UN, 2017a).

Girls and women both should have freedom of violence and for that swift and decisive actions are required for women’s economic empowerment for achieving 2030 agenda and its global goals. (UNwomen, 2016). Effective implementation of gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls were also promoted by UN-Women for the implementation of 2030 agenda (UN women, 2017).

According to the report of UN-Women in Pakistan, there is a gap in laws and policies on the integration of gender equality for sustainable development (women, 2016). 38 countries did not constitute gender equality and continued to maintain those discriminatory practices which are in the favour of men and Pakistan is among those countries (ibid).
1.2 Research objective and relevance

The aim of the study is to find out the main factors which are responsible for the VAW in Karachi. The study will not focus a single class but incorporates women belong to different classes to find out the differences between them. Empirical findings will be analysed and discussed to find out if there is any escalation in the factors of violence or they are the same as canvass by scholarship. Intersectional theory of black feminist is applied to the context. VAW is an obstacle in achieving equality, development and peace in the world and that must be addressed (Nosheen, 2011, pp. 292-293). In Pakistan VAW is a crucial issue and around 70-90% women are subjected to domestic violence on a daily basis and their activities are controlled by men (ibid). Reported cases of VAW in Pakistan in 2009 within four provinces and capital are;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of province and capital city of Pakistan</th>
<th>Number reported cases of violence against women in Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>5722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>1762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPK</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Reported cases of VAW in 2009 (Nosheen, 2011, pp. 292-293)

Many researches are providing details about VAW in Pakistan. The above table indicates cases of violence those are reported in each province. The research will focus the biggest city of Karachi which is in the province of Sindh and a mixture of lower, middle and upper class. The relevance of this research will be to focus different classes of women living in Karachi to find if there are the same factors responsible for VAW and the disparity and intensity of violence in different classes in an appropriate way.
1.3 Research questions

The main research questions to answer the research objective are;

- What are the circumstances that lead to violence against women in Karachi city?
- What are the intrinsic and extrinsic factors of violence against women? Is there any disparity in circumstances and intensity of violence from class to class in the same city?

1.4 Methodological framework

The research is a qualitative case study with semi-structured interviews as a method. Questions of these interviews are comprised of open and closed questions. Some follow-up question also asked depending on the information shared by participants. Purposive and snowball sampling was used to select participants. Few participants filled the questionnaire. Total 22 participants were interviewed in which two of them provided written information which is not relevant. Participants belonged to different classes of Karachi. Thematic analysis was used for coding data and making categories.

1.5 Theoretical framework

The theory used to analyse the findings is the intersectional theory because the discrimination in Pakistani society against women is not because of single oppression. Women face discrimination from more than one factor and intersectionality is useful to study gender, race, class and sexuality simultaneously. It also recognises VAW and helps to analyse different interlocking oppressions. The multi systemic approach can be used under this theory as an oppression of one may be a privilege to another and thus intersectionality deals with questions of power relationships in groups (Samuels & Sherif, 2008 and Shields, 2008). Davis (2007) explains that women’s experiences are the result of the intersection between multiple social categories and culture.

1.6 Limitation and delimitations

In terms of limitations and delimitations, the distance was one of the major limitation. The interviews were conducted from Sweden by using Skype or other messenger services and that
accounted for by having access to a field work assistant. Another limitation was reaching participants. Research is based on a sensitive issue about women and fieldwork assistant was male. This was accounted for accessing women with the help of assistant’s personal contacts with female friends who have access to participants and also with the help of social media. The third limitation was creating distant goodwill with participants to make them comfortable in providing information. That was accounted for a detailed verbal explanation by me between sending information sheet and signing or/and accepting consent form. No limits were made in age, class and status of women participants.

**1.7 Dispositions**

Contents of chapter one composed of an introduction that contains the problem statement, research objectives and relevance, research questions, methodological framework, theoretical framework, limitation and delimitation. Chapter two is the literature review, which includes background with literature. Chapter three is a theoretical framework followed by chapter four with the methodology. Chapter five has empirical findings and within case analysis. Chapter six contains cross-case analysis. Chapter seven has an overall conclusion of the research.
2. Literature review

*This section contain background and literature review*

2.1 Background

Since ancient times women are considered as a property of men and this authority of men allow them to use VAW. In different parts of the world different factors are responsible for the variable status of women (Pakeeza, 2015, pp. 17-18). Recent statistics by WHO showed that one in every three women is vulnerable to physical and sexual violence and UN added that only 40% cases of violence seek for any sort of help (Qaisarani et al., 2016). According to UN, VAW may start prior their birth as aborted for being the female sex (ibid). The childhood of females is also full of discrimination and violation of human rights as they may be ignored in health and education aspects as compared to a male child and that followed by physical, psychological and sexual abuse by intimate partner when women enter in her marital life and continued in the old age as homicide and forced-suicide (ibid).

Muslim society in Indo-Pak Subcontinent was affected by the patriarchal customs and tradition against women, those prevailing in the society at that time and resulted in gender discrimination and inequalities against women (Pakeeza, 2015, pp. 17-18). Pakistani society is a patriarchal society where culture, tradition, norms and social sector are deep rooted in the society and are responsible for VAW (Babar, 2007, pp. 10-21). Patriarchy was adopted from the traditions those were embedded in the era of Indo-Pak continent. Pakistani women faced unfair treatment on a regular basis due to various cultural and social norms embedded deeply in Pakistani society and the frequency of suppression against women, affecting the development of the community especially in rural areas (Pakeeza, 2015, pp. 17-18).

Qizilbash (2013) explained that the three societal classes in Pakistan i.e. lower; middle and upper have variance because of their life style. The people of the upper class have lavish and luxurious life style inherited from the west and live in bungalows (ibid). The middle class of the country is actually the working class who is struggling for job opportunities, better education and living standards to reach to the upper-class category (ibid). The class which is surviving hand to mouth is the lower class of Pakistan which has no access to the basic necessities of life like proper food, clothing and shelter, they mostly eat wasted food and used clothes already wore by others and live in tents (ibid).
Middle class sees working class as an animal in the zoo (Brah and Phoenix, 2004). More than 50% of Pakistan’s population is not educated (Babur, 2007, p. 29). Feudal lord of Sindh province in Pakistan is against women’s education as they believe that if women get literate, they will forget their culture (Babur, 2007, p. 29).

Laws of Pakistan are according to the principles of Islam, but culture is not predominately Islamic and is influenced by other religions and culture. For instance honour killings, wani, watta-satta towards women in tribal-culture are pre-Islamic culture (Pakeeza, 2015, pp. 17-18). Violence is a direct violence when women are killed because of suspicion or some other reason by a relative and if this act of violence is followed by many other men then it is structural violence and when it becomes a societal setup with no attention by the community then it becomes a cultural VAW and Pakistani society is behaving that is reflecting a cultural VAW (Babar, 2007, p. 31).

One more form of VAW in Pakistan is dowry system that also is a reason for another humiliated form i.e. bride burning Babur (2007, p, 39). Many brides who cannot tolerate the violence, commit suicide or be burnt alive by in-laws (ibid, p. 39). In Pakistan dowry is not only common in rural areas, but also in the urban community and the reason behind more demand of dowry by the groom’s family is their typical mindset. Groom’s family thinks that they have invested so much on their son so they justified themselves to earn against their son and they think that they justified in their demand. Another trend which is quite common nowadays in Pakistan is that families of all classes try to impress their family and community by having more dowry (ibid, pp. 41-42). In Islam dowry is the right of women and it is the responsibility of the groom who may give the amount of dower as a gift to his bride (ibid, p. 40).

The common perception of domestic violence in Pakistan is by the husband on his wife, but the women (mother-in-laws) are also the enforcer of violence domestically and the war on domestic violence is actually not only between male and female but also between the females due to inferiority inside the family (Niaz, 2003, p.180). Women in Pakistan have controlled by men of the society and she should follow decision made by male sector i.e. family, tribe, community and society (Babur, 2007, p. 21). A myth prevailing in the society of Pakistan and according to which women are a considered as a burden at many places in Pakistan because they are economically and emotionally dependent on men, whether they are mothers, wives, sisters or daughters (Babur, 2007, p. 41). In rural areas of Pakistan, women are also traded to settle conflicts and sometimes not even considered as a human being and education is not
considered important to them by their fathers (ibid, pp. 21-22). UNESCO reported that only 40,000 out of 163,000 schools in Pakistan are for girls (Babur, 2007, p. 28).

Working women in Pakistan are not considered good character because they are not dependent on men (Babur, 2007, pp. 22-23). Major problems of working women are abusive behaviour with the lack of transport, work and health facilities and less income for more work and most of them are harassed by their male colleagues at their workplace (Babur, 2007, p. 23). The economy of Pakistan is also facing setback because rather than cultural issues for women not to work, most of the women themselves believe that why should they work and earning is the responsibility of men and in this way half of the population works and the other half is just dependent on the first (Babur, 2007, pp. 22-23). Babur (2007, p. 23) also added that when women are at home and men fed them and provide them with the basic necessities of life, then they are bound to obey them and fulfill their orders whether they are husband, father or brother.

As far as a major institution of executive police, they are not providing protection and security with respect to gender, race, ethnicity and religion and their credibility are affecting negatively as VAW is happening under the jurisdiction of police (Asif, 2010). Electronic media are also exaggerating VAW with their own views and limiting capabilities of women by portraying stereotypical advertisement with women only by relating certain acts and products only for women (ibid). Television channels and print media in Pakistan are also enhancing male chauvinism with their stereotypical products (ibid).

2.2 Violence against women

The issue of VAW was recognized globally in 1991 by the CEDAW committee as a result of global grassroots pressure from women’s groups. In 1993 the UN passed the United Nations Declaration on Elimination of Violence against Women (Azhar et al., 2012, p. 1618). It is a global issue which usually occurred in a society where women are considered as a property and dominance is given to a male member of the society (Babur, 2007, p. 21). It is the worst form of human rights violation and is present in every country, culture, class, ethnicity and age (Azhar et al., 2012, p. 1617) and the deadliest form of VAW occurred when combined with race, class and different types of other oppressions (Bunch, 1990, p. 489). These violent situations occurred in workplace, streets and prison as well (ibid).
WHO (2013, p.16) also exposed the prevalence of physical and/or sexual intimate partner VAW in different parts of the world and revealed that the violence is highest in Africa, Eastern Mediterranean and South East-Asian countries. Next highest is in the regions of America. WHO (2013, p.16) also reported that prevalence is lower in the Europe and Western Pacific regions and also in regions where income is high.

2.2.1 Definition of Violence against women

VAW is described by a UN as:

“Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life”.

There is no universally accepted definition of VAW. It can be defined as a crucial mechanism for women to force them to the subordinate position as compared to men and also includes discrimination of women in terms of nutrition, education and access to health care (UNICEF, 2000). Ohchr (2017) define it as unequal power relations of men and women as a result of cultural manifestation. WHO also used a word power for defining VAW with factors of discrimination as: “The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, poor development or deprivation” (Azhar et al., 2012 p. 1622). Ogbonna (2014, p. 865) added that domestic violence is a harmful behaviour and the most common VAW, which according to UNICEF(2000) a kind of violence by intimate partners and other family members, and manifested with physical, psychological, economic and sexual abuse.

2.2.2 Effects of violence against women

Babur described harmful effects of VAW as:

“VAW narrows women's options in almost every sphere of life, public and private at home, in school, in the workplace and in more community spaces. It limits their choices directly by destroying their health, disrupting their lives and constricting the scope of their activity and indirectly by eroding their self-esteem and self-confidence. In all of these ways, violence hinders women's full participation in society, including participation in the full spectrum of development (Babur, 2007, p. 24).” WHO also reported that women and girls who
experienced violence are at risk of poor health. The stress of woman may weaken their immune system and result in high blood pressure and gastrointestinal problems (Packota, 2000).

Besides all these, this is not only the women who suffer from the violence that jeopardizes their basic human rights, but also their children and families and that barricade in achieving equitable and sustainable development goals (Kabeer, 2014, p.2). Another research by WHO(1997) revealed one more effect of violence on children that girls who witnessed violence from their male members in the home are more likely to accept the same violence as a normal part of marriage in future and boys who witnessed domestic violence adopt the same behaviour to be violent male adult as husbands and fathers. UN also declared that VAW is harmful to families and also responsible for the outburst of other forms of inequalities in the societies by humiliating communities (Azhar et al., 2012, p. 1618).

### 2.2.3 Different forms of violence prevailing in the society against women

Power imbalance is a main underlying cause behind every kind of abuse (Packota, 2000) and VAW is the most systematic abuse against basic rights of women that create discrimination and is a result of power imbalances and inequality in structural relationships between women and men (Azhar et al., 2012, p. 1618). These imbalances of power are created physically as an aggressive act of kicking; slapping and beating and may result in serious injuries or death of women; sexually as forced sex, sexual abuse, harassment and rape and psychologically as restrictions imposed on women and this form of violence may vary from cultures and countries around the world (Krantz and Moreno, 2005, p. 811 & Kabeer, 2014, pp.5-6). These acts of violence could be self-directed, interpersonal or collective and their combination can become a complex pattern of behaviour against women (ibid). Violence is called direct when it is done in person, social and world spaces and is set by a person individually or in a group (Babur, 2007, pp. 10-13). Structural violence can also be done in person, social and world spaces but are unintended and can kill very slowly by depriving women of their basic necessities and rights of life and this form of violence cannot be rejected or accepted (ibid).

The most common type of violence declared by Krantz and Moreno (2005, p. 820) exists globally among rich and poor is VAW by her intimate male partner. WHO (2013a) also described different types of violence against women and among them; intimate partner violence is the most common form. This type of violence may have one form or combination of forms like physical, sexual and psychological.
A woman is beaten in every nine seconds in the United States of America and in export processing zone of Mexico and Central America has the highest rate of sexual violence (Gad network, 2011). In South Africa, a woman is raped every 26 seconds (ibid). In England, killing of women by a violent partner or ex-partner is two women a week (Gad network, 2011).

Population based study done in 1999 within 35 countries have a percentage of women who faced intimate partner violence that is 10 to 52 percent and 10 to 30 percent for sexual intimate partner violence (Kabeer, 2014, p.5). 39% of all women in Turkey faced violence by their partner in a lifetime (Gad network, 2011). In France, the ratio of domestic violence against women is 1 in 10 and in the peaceful country of Ghana it is 1 in 3 just because of their gender (ibid). The International Violence Against Women Study also finds the percentage of violence with respect to the age of women and revealed that 35 percent of women from the age of 16 experienced physical and sexual violence (Kabeer, 2014, p.5). A study in the United Kingdom disclosed that 33% of young girls whose age ranges from 13 to 17 years face sexual violence by their partners (Gad network, 2011). In Peru women of age 15 to 24 are exposed to physical violence (ibid).

It has been reported that psychological abuse has not given proper attention (UNESCO, 2015, p. 1). Packota (2000) also explained that psychological abuse is also called emotional abuse and verbal abuse is one of its prominent features and it is a strategy used to overwhelm women that can damage women’s self-sense and integrity in a long run. In Australia, a telephonic survey revealed 47.1% to 88% verbal abuse (ibid). According to Packota (2000) harassment, restrictions and threats to leave are also used in psychological abuse and there is a conjunction of emotional abuse to physical violence around 59% to 88% women experience a combination of these two forms of violence (ibid). Restrictions on social contacts to isolate women and monopolising women by expecting that women should spend all of her time and energy to fulfil his (abuser) needs and they also want that their vulnerable partner should believe or do the same thing they believe or want to do (ibid). Men mostly believe that money is an extension of their power to overcome women and they deliberately make women feel that so she will not think to leave her due to the threat of poverty (ibid). Abuser can show his abusive attitude in various ways; they can embarrass women in a public place, they have strict check on women’s activities, by showing ignorance, say or show disrespect to the family of their vulnerable woman, give threats about children to take them away and escalate their abuse if women give any response (Packota, 2000). Pence and Paymar in 1993 explained that
male control can use to control partner and indulge his inner needs of exercising control and he represented it graphically (Johnason, 1995, p. 288).

Figure 1: “Power and control wheel, Pence and Paymar (1993)” (Johnason, 1995, p. 288).

It has been reported by the International Labour Organisation in 1999 that gender-based violence is a tool to prevent women to work publicly as many women face sexual harassment and find it unsafe to work outside the home (Terry, 2004, p. 473). Workplace stress comes out as a sexual harassment or some more generalized form of harassment (Rospenda, et al., 2005, p. 95). The interpersonal relationship at a workplace characterised with harassment may be more stressing for victims and can make the working environment offensive and also affect the terms and condition of employment (ibid., 2005, pp. 96-99).
2.3 Extrinsic and intrinsic factors of violence against women

2.3.1 Extrinsic factor
Extrinsic factors are explained by Azam and Irma (2008, pp. 200-201) as a context in which violence against women occurred. Male dominance and control and power hierarchies are some extrinsic factors of VAW. The masculine dominance; male power and control are taken as an honour in cultures and if a woman is getting stronger than male either in education or employment, he wanted to control her to stop or limit her growth and progress by using several forms of violent acts to maintain his supremacy (Niaz, 2003, p.180). VAWis a common issue where males are subjected to toughness or dominance and their role is based on rigidity (Deyessa et al., 2010, pp. 6-7). Mostly men are the initiators of the violence in relationships and according to some feminist theorists violence in patriarchal society has a motive to make control over partner and for that multiple tactics are used for instance aggression is the weapon of male to show off his strength to female to exploit weakness of women (Niaz, 2003, p.180 & Johnason, 1995, p. 287).

Using domestic VAW to regain masculinity is the men’s stereotypical idea (Marium, 2014, p. 42). In recent times, as well many educated people believe that women are made for house chores and are abusive towards women and hence gender inequality is difficult to handle (Shastri, 2014, pp. 27-28). Men are the bread earner and women being inferior are supposed to be at home to look after the household and children (Shastri, 2014, pp. 27-28) and if women receive higher education and have a better opportunity to contribute to family income, then they have fewer chances of being violated by men (Marium, 2014, p. 42). If the only man works or both man and woman work then there are lower chances of violence, but if a woman is working and man does not work or both of them don’t work then there are high chances of violence by an intimate partner (Abramsky.T et al., 2011, p.13).

2.3.2 Intrinsic factor
Azam and Irma (2008, pp. 200-201) explained intrinsic factors in VAW as personal characteristics like age, education, income, the influence of personality and acceptance of violence. Azam and Irma (2008, pp. 200-201) also added some effects as intrinsic factors like witnessing marital violence as a child, being abused as a child etc.

The women of young age are more vulnerable to intimate partner violence (Abramsky.T et al., 2011, p.13). Age group between 15-19 years are more vulnerable, the prevalence of violence
is lower in women aged 50 years because the level of confidence also enhanced in women from this age and the reason in low and middle-income countries, women aged 50 years and older have less levels of violence (WHO, 2013, p.16). Poverty on another hand can possibly enhance women’s vulnerability to violent situations and also stopped their ability to get rid of abusive situations and plays a vital role in creating, maintaining and enhancing violence against women but is not only poor women who face violence (Terry, 2004, pp. 470-471). Lack of economic self-sufficiency is also one of the root causes of violence and women should be given enhanced provision of education, health benefits and decently paid jobs to overcome poverty and violence (Ogrodnik and Borzutzky, 2011, p. 64) because inequality of educational level of husband or wife may also result in violence. (Abramsky, T et al., 2011, p.13). Deyessa et al. (2010, p. 3-7) indicate that if a woman is educated then it can provide a shield to her against intimate partner violence because education enhances women empowerment and women with higher education are subject to a lower level of violence.

Domestic violence is more in rural women than urban women and that is because of low literacy rate in rural areas (Ogbonna, 2014, pp. 870). Women of rural areas have no or less awareness about violence and they are having with a view that violence with them is justified, but women in urban area is more aware as they are literate and that is why may have fewer chances of physical violence (Deyessa et al., 2010, pp. 5-6). Marium (2014, p.42) on other hand considered male education as a good indicator as educated male is more tolerant and cooperative and in the case of rural women if men are educated more than secondary level, then they are protected against domestic violence because they can stand against strong rural traditional norms against women.

A chance of violence is high if women are living in a community which is bound by some traditional norms and values (ibid, 6-7). Typically for Southern Asian countries as dowry which is a payment or the stuff made to groom’s family by bride’s family (Krantz and Moreno, 2005, p. 820). From past several decades culture of dowry has increased in Bangladesh and India and on other hand dowry is almost disappeared in Europe (Jayachandran, 2014, pp. 12-13). In a past dowry culture was just to improve the financial status of women in Ancient Rome and Western Europe, but now the societies which are following this culture receive dowry as a cost of women from their parents (ibid). Sometime groom’s family demanding more and bride’s family is not in a position to pay and that resulted in harassment to the bride for the lifetime or any serious act of violence against her not only by her husband but also by extended family (Krantz and Moreno, 2005, pp. 820-821).
According to WHO deaths resulted from interpersonal violence are higher for men as compared to women, thus men are at a risk of fatal violence more than women (Kabeer, 2014, p.3). Kabeer (2014, p.4) clarified that forms of violence are different for men and women and argued that street violence and crimes are the most typical forms of violence against men while on the other hand women are vulnerable to the violence with their living premises from family members and intimate partner. Domestic abuse is considered as a normal behaviour and in return, female remains silent (Madhani, 2015, et al, p. 90). In many cultures there is a fear of escalating violence if female speaks up so they feel helpless and hence do not speak about the violence they face or facing and they are not having the perception that violence is justified with them, but they have no other option just to accept and tolerate as this is the societal expectation (ibid). According to positivist approach women in violence become depressed and psychologically weak and in those circumstances, they are willingly living in those abusive relationships and in this way they themselves are responsible for being victimised (Monk, 2011, pp. 37-38). WHO (1997) explained that a woman who is in violence experience enormous mental sufferings and may have severe depression and stress. When women undergo in depression, there will be an escalation of abuse by the abuser to complete the slave paradigm. Most of the women remained silent against violence because they do not want that their neighbours should know about their violence because they want to maintain their social status (Madhani, 2015, et al, p. 91). It is also believed by Babur (2007, pp, 10-11) that violence against women can be escalated by the involvement of many different people, including men and women because these people are involved in pouring poison in husband’s mind resulting in the worse form of VAW (ibid).

Packota (2000) added one more factor behind the silence of women as she tried to hide that negative image of the abusive partner and then eventually she adapt that and lose their self-sense. Thus women are vulnerable to that traumatic bonding because they are at the mental stage where they have no self-sense to separate from that abuser (ibid). A feminist activist, on the other hand, believed that because of the economic reason also to feed themselves and their children, women make themselves stay in such abusive relationship (Monk, 2011, pp. 37-38). Pakistan is an Islamic state and Islam gives respectable values and status to women, but different studies done in Pakistan pointed out towards VAW in the country (Akhter, 2016, pp.113-115). Women have a low literacy rate and poverty with the trait of male dominance are obvious in Pakistani society (ibid). Other intrinsic factors of abusive attitudes are also observed like the restriction to work, harassment at workplace and no respect to divorced woman and for the woman who raises a voice against violence and factors
behind these abuses are male dominance with typical stereotype mindset, low literacy rate and lack of women empowerment (ibid).

2.4 Violence against women and peace studies

Peace requires justice and equality their absence result in disharmony and frustration in society (Babur, 2007, p. 10). The new agenda with “win win” cooperation and global development with 17 Sustainable Development goals along with 169 targets were introduced by the United Nations in 2015 and were applicable on January 1st, 2016 (UN, 2017). These goals are the result of over 2 years of public consultation that includes civil societies and stakeholders globally to address the most vulnerable (ibid). These goals and targets have a vision of ambition and transformation of all countries around the globe (ibid). The goals and targets of Sustainable Development Agenda are applicable and integrated globally and for all nationalities to create the world with equality by serving the most vulnerable like woman and girl have gender equality (ibid). Gender equality cannot be pursued in a patriarchal society where the issues of male dominance and VAW cannot be eliminated (Babur, 2007, pp.10-13).

A statement in a report says; “We are determined to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence. There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development” (icm, 2016, p.6). In Sustainable Development Agenda 2030 goal number 5 is addressing gender equality (ibid, 2016, p.3). Inside the framework of new SDG, all goals are interconnected with each other (ibid, 2016, p.3). This goal is addressing empowerment and equality of women with other targets like poverty, inequality and peaceful society (ibid, 2016, p.3).
3. Theoretical and Analytical Framework

This chapter possessed theoretical and analytical framework. The theory used to analyse this research is the intersectional theory.

3.1 Intersectional theory

Kimberle Crenshaw, African-American legal theorist used intersectionality for the first time while discussing the unique position of black women in anti discrimination law and arguing that the experiences of black women have both race and class and in this way challenged the universal gendered experience (Monk, 2011, p. 88 and Edna, 2012, p. 2100). Intersectionality is a method, rooted in black feminism and critical race theory and an analytical tool that can move according to time, disciplines, issues and boundaries of gender and economic justice (Devon, et al, 2013, p.303; Samuels and Sheriff, 2008).

Crenshaw believed that the basic concern of intersectionality is to investigate that how women of colour are subjected to gender discrimination and race discrimination at the same time, traditionally these forms of discrimination were viewed as separate (Monk, 2011, p. 89). Edna (2012, p. 2100) also mentioned that intersectionality theorizes that inequality is a mutual constitution of different systems of oppressions i.e. gender, race and class and if focus to analyse these will be on one single oppression, then that will be inadequate and the reason behind this insufficiency is that these social problems simultaneously experienced. This theory is compatible with this research because for many years in Pakistan women are said to be disadvantaged and vulnerable to economic, social, civil and political discrimination and mostly one form of discrimination is entangled with another form (Amnesty, 2002, p.1).

3.2 Intersectionality and violence against women

Monk (2011, pp. 113-114) observed that intersectionality has an ambiguity and somewhat confusing, but it offers comprehensive tools for VAW. VAW can specifically be analysed with intersectionality in the same context, it actually executed (Monk, 2011, p. 106). In Pakistan degree of violence against women is different and depends on classes and rural/urban areas because rural areas have strong patriarchal structures than urban areas and women of upper and middle class has more control over their lives because of their efforts in education and employment and thus have a lower percentage of violence (Ballantine, et al., 2017, pp. 2-5). For Pakistan, this approach is relevant as intersectionality provides scholars with a comprehensive analysis of gender and feminism and also recognizes feminist efforts and
racism efforts that are woven together against discrimination, violence and social justice (Samuels and Sheriff, 2008, p.5).

Crenshaw incorporates two particular components of VAW, namely battering and rape in Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color (1991). These two components of VAW are relevant to many South Asian countries, including Pakistan, as an estimate is given in a report that 99% of housewives and 77% of working women in Pakistan are battered by their husbands and report also added that parents, in-laws and sons are also involved in battering women in the country (Marcus, 1993). Rape cases also resulted in an escalation of domestic VAW in the country as most of the cases of rape are not reported because of the sentiments of disgrace and if reported then they might turn into an impression of *zina that is unlawful sexual relations between men and women who are not married*, (wiki, 2016) and that is how men are more confident in their violent act against women (Marcus, 1993).

The framework of intersectionality was further elaborated in 1991 as intersecting vulnerabilities of women in the socially disadvantaged economy in: “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color” (Devon, et al., 2013, pp.303-304). This feature is applicable to Pakistan as Bhattacharya, (2014, p.186) accounted the legal system, religious extremism and its abuse for the dilemma of women in Pakistan and the way they discriminate in different ways. The intersectional theory is encompassed to international level and a wide range of experiences and power structures of different genders, ethnicities and sexual orientations that have an ability to analyze conflicting trajectories of equality (Devon, et al., 2013, pp.305-306). Critics of intersectionality believe that there is no particular position of intersectionality and ability to illustrate larger picture (Devon, et al., 2013, pp.305-306). On contrary, the researchers have found that when intersectionality theory is applied to social building and political change, it emphasize commonalities and create solidarity among different political groups and that helps in the mutual acknowledgement of oppressive structures and the struggles linked to those oppressions (ibid, 2013, pp.305-306). This can be an analytical tool for analysing the society of Pakistan as women in Pakistan are exposing to radical social evils under the snag of religion and culture (Bhattacharya, 2014, p. 188). Bhattacharya (2014, p.198) added that modernisation has been imposed on Pakistan and that resulted in imbalances and inequality in the status of women as the country is juggling between repressive culture and adopted
modernisation, result in a partial change of society from within thus continued brawl of two negatively affecting the female population of the country.

Researchers also added that study through the lens of intersectionality helps in creating connections around different experiences of discrimination, marginalization and privilege by revealing the issues between different groups and also the perspective of both victims and privileged because individual can be identified with different social groups and at the same time are vulnerable to both discrimination and privilege and thus intersectionality facilitate cross-study (Devon, et al., 2013, pp.305-306; Hankivsky, et al. 2009, pp. 6-7). This feature of intersectionality will help to analyse the woman of Pakistan in a sense if they are also facing discrimination in one social group and being privileged in another as women in Pakistan face multiple layers of discrimination and it was explored during interviews.

Monk (2011, p. 88) also identified that intersectional theory also recognised that woman may experience gender and race discrimination simultaneously but Monk (2011, p. 88) argued that they both together will not be equal to the real intersectional experience and it is important to determinate the interaction of social divisions responsible for such intersection. Leslie McCall’s understanding about intersectionality begins when she acknowledged the complexity of intersectionality for heuristic attempts to grasp inequality in social groups from within and across (Carastathis, 2014, p. 307 and Zárate, (2005, pp. 3-5). She acknowledged and distinguishes three approaches to manage complexity among various groups:

**Anticategorial** complexity rejected social categories and it considered social life is very complicated to make fixed categories but it simplifies social fiction (Zárate, 2005, pp. 3-5).

**Intracategorial** complexity examines single group at the intersection where many categories are intersecting and investigate only one dimension and in this way restricting itself to one social group only (Zárate, 2005, pp. 3-5). According to Zárate, (2005, pp.3-5), this approach is normally used in a qualitative case study of a single group with several categories with one dimension. **Intercategorial** examines social groups that already have an inequality which is changing with time and this approach works to develop relationships with the help of categories. This category is different from the intracategorial approach in a sense that it deals among and across multiple groups with comparative method (Zárate, 2005, pp. 3-5).

Intercatgorial lens is suitable for the research as it analyses of social group belong to the same class (within case analysis) as well as social groups belong to multiple class (cross-case analysis) by comparing three classes of women interviewed and in this way help to analyse women belong to different dimensions i.e. lower, middle and upper class.
The aim of introducing intersectionality was not only to understand the power of social relationship but also to explore the hidden dynamics (Devon, et al., 2013, p. 311). Thus the theory is helpful in finding hidden circumstances of oppression against women in Karachi. Intersectionality has a perspective that social categories are not static and historically grounded which is constantly constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed (Hankivsky, et al., 2009, p.5). In this way, it can be said that intersectionality is a work in progress and one can endeavour with those issues which were not explored before and in social science research it can make development (Devon et al., 2013, pp.305-307).

The Robinson in “The Properties of Citizens: A Caribbean Grammar of Conjugal Categories,” exclaimed that intersectionality is a productive approach in researching the race, class and heteropatriarchy by researching family reforms and national culture and showed their intersection in the structure of the alliance (ibid, pp. 307-308). Ontario (2001, pp. 3-5) reported that applying intersectionality on certain forms of discrimination has many advantages and it also acknowledges and remedied discrimination for women facing racial minority discrimination as well as for the women who are facing religious discrimination. Domestic violence is a form of gender discrimination in Pakistan (Iqbal, et al., 2012, p. 17) and hence can be analysed with intersectionality. Religious or caste based discrimination is also included in this research as Pakistan has Sunnis in an overwhelming majority and Shia Muslims in the minority (Malik, 2002, p.13). Marriage between Shia and Sunni is also a part of Pakistani society and sometimes results in some kind of gender based discrimination and intersectionality can also be applied to it. Hankivsky, et al., (2009, p.2) believed that more accurate and useful information can produce with intersectionality, and those are not harmful and can be a source of empowerment of individual or community.

3.3 Forms of Intersectionality

Monk (2011, p. 95) explain three forms of intersectionality represented by Cashew: First is Political Intersectionality focuses social problems faced by women such as VAW and also outlines and investigates feminist movements and antiracist politics (Monk, 2011, p. 96), this form can also be relevant but not a reasonable choice as it has broader scope including agendas and policies for women belong to different ethnicities as Vardeman, et al., (2013, p. 392) also explained that political intersectionality has policies and procedures by organizations and their implementation and also analyse the rights of groups because of their mix ethnicities., and this research is about the women of one city. Political intersectionality is
an effective approach to investigate that race and culture contribute to VAW (Monk, 2011, p. 96). This form of intersectionality is conflicting political agendas which are not formulated with a perspective of the needs or political vision of women and thus ends up with a denial of subordination of women (Carastathis, 2014, pp. 306-307), and the same situation of the different identity case is with representational intersectionality. Second, *Representational Intersectionality* analyses cultural issues of ethnicized women who are suppressed and ignore by the leadership. It analyses different forms of intersection like race, class, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality etc. (Monk, 2011, p. 96). Carastathis (2014, p. 307) added that representational intersectionality deals with women of colour and the production of their images drawn on gender and race concepts and also the marginalisation of women of colour made by critics.

Vardeman, et al., (2013, p. 392) also explain that representational intersectionality analyses texts of disempowered groups belong to multiple identities and also the changing pattern of these texts and added to the marginalisation of these groups. Vardeman, et al., (2013, p. 392) added that this form of intersectionality guides individuals to learn about their intersection through data collection and also influence decision making in designing any new policy.

In the third form i.e. *Structural Intersectionality* women are socially divided and the position of intersection is affected by this social division. Structural intersectionality intimates the specific location of the particular position of women at the intersection and it also elaborates qualitative effects of intersecting patterns on women’s experience and how they affect in different ways (Monk, 2011, p. 95). Crenshaw examinedbattery from a structural perspective and identified that physical violence is the first thing with other forms of violence responsible for oppression against women (Monk, 2011, pp.105-106). This form of intersectionality is relevant to this case study of violence against women as Carastathis (2014, p. 306) also added that structural intersectionality refers to the location of women of colour at an intersection that is the actual experience of battering and also the different qualitative remedial reform as compare to white women, so different factors of violence can be qualitatively analysed with this form of intersectionality.
4. Methodology

4.1 Research designs

This research is a qualitative case study to find the circumstances those are responsible for the VAW in Karachi as Bryman (2016, p. 61) believed that case study and qualitative method are conducive for detailed examination of any case, here in this research I will explore the factors that trigger VAW in Karachi and for that detailed study of factors is needed along with current situation and abductive reasoning will be followed by the analysis. Abductive reasoning is an effective approach to develop a useful explanation with efficiency (Richardson and Kramer, 2006, p. 499). Urdari (2014, p.87) also added that abductive strategy is more concerned with in depth interpretation and experience of the social world. Abductive reasoning was proposed to overcome the limitations of inductive and deductive approaches and now gain much popularity in many disciplines of social sciences research (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 27). The abductive reasoning helps the researchers to interpret in a best possible way and adding valuable facts (ibid).

The research is using semi-structured interviews to gather most recent factors responsible for VAW in Karachi. Case study is a tool that closely examines the data to understand complex issues and analyse conditions and their relationship and also an excellent opportunity that helps to illuminate the issue (Zainal , 2007, pp. 1-2; Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 556), so it is an effective approach to explore the issues responsible for VAW belong to different classes of Karachi and its effects by analysing the relations between victim and offender and also helps to analyse the scholarship data and interview findings to give in depth knowledge about the issue. The research design is a multiple case study or comparative design. Information from women will be divided into three cases based on their class. The focus of the research is to find out if there are issues or factors that are unique in a sense as not discussed before (Bryman & Bell, 2015). The samples from three different dimensions i.e. lower; middle and upper class are available in the study to find out different categories generally intersecting in women’s lives of each dimension.

Baxter & Jack (2008, p. 555) indicated that brief reporting of findings of the case study could be difficult for the researcher but it is the responsibility of researcher to present findings in such a way that reader feels itself as an active participant in the research and can easily interpret the given information and this can be done by contrasting and comparing the findings of research with the already existing scholarship. Many researchers had explored the
circumstances responsible for the VAW, which can be found in the literature and can be compared to analyse the findings of this research. A comparison can be made between the findings and literature to acknowledge those factors which are not the part of existing scholarship.

4.2 Sampling

The research was planned to be done with the help of a field work assistant. The reason was the distant field work as it was hard for me to travel to Pakistan. Semi-structured interviews from a distance were planned to do with Skype or other means of social media to have good communication as Iacono et al (2016) explained that Skype is an effective qualitative research tool and affordable way to contact participants worldwide and is helpful in sampling as it connects many participants without restriction of geographical location. The interviews were conducted online by using internet as well as by direct dialling on mobile phone. Face to face and online both interviews are an interaction of interviewer with the interviewees that basically help the interviewer while transcribing interviews to relate the data with the emotions of the interviewees (Iacono. et al., 2016).

There was a contingency that women who are willing to participate may not discuss many things which could be fruitful for this research, but I tried to find the factor behind their bitter experience that is the main thing about this research. As Pakistan is my home country, I myself know that up to what extent women can speak in most of the cases so I tried my best to develop a sense of trust that helped me to get more than expected while conducting few interviews. While analyzing the data I will try to be unbiased in answering the research questions.

The role of field work assistant became limited and he connected me with some of his female contacts who introduced some women who had been through some experiences of violence and inclined to share those. Initially, it was planned that field work assistant would be helpful in providing interview guide and consent form to the participants and also helps in recording of the interviews but the very first woman participated was comfortable to provide everything to me by email rather than by the assistant and also wanted to be recorded directly by me and not by the male assistant. Later other women also showed the same preferences so I managed myself all those tasks which were planned to be done by the field work assistant.

Purposive sampling, which is a form of non-probability sampling (Bryman, 2016, p. 408), is used in this research. Purposive sampling can give detailed and in depth information about the
problem. Purposive sampling helps to sample in a manner that provides the best to the
research questions (Bryman, 2016, p. 408) and it can be said that the samples chosen for this
researched can be analysed by contrasting to find the factors, their differences and similarities
from class to class and measuring disparity in intensity of violence. Snowball sampling was
also used to approach women belong to different classes needed to answer the research
questions.
Here a question of ethics arose that if snowball sampling is used then may be women become
more reluctant to share their experience. For that one of my personal contact shared a prompt
message on her social media wall with little information and my email address that if any
woman is interested to share her experience can contact me. That helped me to get more
samples and when women contacted me and showed their interest I fulfilled the basic ethics
by providing them with the information sheet and if they were still interested after reading it,
then they were interviewed and later I asked them if they can share this message in their
friend’s circle. In this way I got 22 participants. 2 of them came to me on their own wish to
share with the questionnaire, but later they did not share anything relevant to this study.
Using Skype helped to widen the range of sample (Iacono et al., 2016) because I was able to
contact people without wasting time in travelling hassle. Some people had an issue of Skype
as they have no Skype or the internet and they were hesitant to talk in front of the male field
work assistant if I wanted to take his help so I called those participants directly on their cell
phone number or used WhatsApp call in that case.

4.3 Interviews and questionnaire filled up

This research incorporated semi-structured interviews with 22 women from lower, middle and
upper classes of Karachi, the age of women ranges from 27-60, 24-57 and 20-42 respectively
and over all age ranges from 20-60 years. Baxter & Jack (2008, pp. 556, 545) asserted that
case study helps the researcher to have a close collaboration with the participants to gather
data and participants can tell their stories and researcher is in a position to better understand
the circumstances of participants. Interviews in this research intensified the data to analyse as
a qualitative case study. Questionnaire of the interview is adhered (see appendix 5).
Interviews were conducted with a view that women from the different class, background and
status (married, single, divorced) can bestow. Compositions of open and closed ended
questions were interrogated and probing and follow up questions were added build upon the
feedback of basic questions imposed in the interviews (Bryman, 2016, p. 473).
The issues related to women and especially VAW is a sensitive topic and mostly avoided to be discussed by women all around the globe so for better understanding of this research a detailed information sheet (see appendix 3) was first provided to the participants belong to different classes, those from lower class and a few women from other classes were explained about the information sheet verbally. Participants who were agreed to participate were provided with the consent forms which they read and signed (see appendix 4), again the participants who were illiterate were explained with the consent form and they gave permission that I can sign on their behalf. Few literate women also asked me to sign instead of them as they have no printer facility and it is hard for them due to their busy schedule to go outside just to print this form.

Total 22 interviews were conducted (see appendix 6) and among them, 5 women were more interested in filling the questionnaire rather be interviewed (see appendix 6). With written format, the connection of data with emotions is lost but still, it is an effective way of getting information (Iacono. et al., 2016). I raised some more questions after reading their filled questionnaire, then they were asked again to reply if they are comfortable with those enquired questions as Bryman (2016, p. 467) indicated that in qualitative research interviewee can be interviewed more than once and follow up questions can be added by changing the order and wordings of the questions mentioned in the basic question guide. Three of them replied to my queries. It was mentioned in the information sheet that interviews will be audio recorded as Bryman (2016, p. 479) described that qualitative researchers are more interested to analyse the way the people are giving interviews rather than what they are saying and that approach help the researchers for a complete examination of interviews. Out of 17 participants 5 of them were audio recorded and 12 of them were interviewed without recording according to the wish of those participants and then those all were translated into English (interviews were conducted in the mother language of Pakistan i.e. Urdu) and transcribed by me. I asked those 12 participants to give me some more time to interview them as they are not happy to be recorded so I need some extra time to note their answers simultaneously. Might be some words were missed while I transcribed the interviews, but the main points that could be the theme/s to be analysed was/were noted and transcribed. Bryman (2016, p. 480) added that if participants are not agreed to be audio record their interview the best approach is to continue with the verbal interview only as the information given by that person might be useful for our research, so I took written notes alongside which were downright later on. Besides that, there is a slight time difference between Pakistan and Sweden then interviews were conducted according to the availability and comfort of the respondents.
4.4 Data analysis

The most common approach used for the analysis of qualitative data is thematic analysis and that can be an iterative process to develop categories by coding and constant comparison between and within different cases (Bryman, 2016, pp. 584-585). It also helps to find similarities and differences between the discussions of interviews (ibid, p. 586). In this way stories and experiences of different women can be compared within and with the literature to find out if the factors of violence are same as discussed in scholarly or there is some accession in the society. Transcripts of interviews are coded after careful reading to develop higher order code or themes and each of them is labelled with the name then they are compared to justify themes and to develop connections with different concepts to narrate data (Bryman, 2016, p. 588).

Under the lens of structural intersectionality, different levels of intersections of women facing inequalities which are responsible for violence within social society will be analysed. Data were first analysed class wise (lower, middle, upper). Cases in each class i.e. lower, middle and upper were 5, 9 and 6 respectively. The findings were separated according to their class first and comparative analysis of cases within the same class was done. Then cross analysis of factors from different classes was done. In this way, there are three cases i.e. women from the lower class, middle class and upper class. This approach helped to find factors for each class to answer the research questions. Ayres. et al. (2003, p. 875) indicated that;

“This strategy of moving between across- and within-case comparisons facilitated the process of intuiting. Intuiting is the critical reflection on and identification of themes as they are found in the accounts of the multiple respondents”. Strategies for within and cross-case analyses were made with a sense that these will account each individual (ibid, p. 883).

4.3 Data collection

Data were collected from primary and secondary sources to be compared to answer the research objectives.
4.3.1 Primary data

Primary data in this research are collected through semi-structured interview with the women of Karachi those belong to different classes. Qualitative interviewing is a flexible process and conducting it as a way of semi-structured interviews in Karachi includes a list of questions that can cover the research questions and it also gives space to the interviewee to answer the questions (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p.481). Almost all questions were asked with similar wordings with all interviewees (ibid). Some follow-up questions were also asked to get concrete primary data.

4.3.2 Secondary data

A secondary source is the literature which was published as journals, articles, books etc. which was read in depth to find out already known facts about the research problem and it also helps to structure theoretical framework. Combining and contrasting primary data and secondary data will help to conduct a comparative case study.

4.4 Ethical consideration

The information sheet that includes the details about the research was provided to the participants.
Verbal information was also provided to both illiterate and literate participants. Verbal information was provided to create goodwill and to build-up confidence level by ensuring ethical considerations. Participants were made ensured about the confidentiality and anonymity of the information they provided. Immense priority was given that guaranteed the participants that there will be no harm to them. Moreover, it was also explained to all participants that they can withdraw any time from the research without any prior notice. No audio recording was done where participants were not willing. If the participant was not comfortable to any question, then she was not forced to answer that.
5. Empirical Findings and within case analysis

The key empirical findings with their in case analysis are presented in this section.

5.1 Lower class

Findings from 5 participants belong to the lower class are presented here.

5.1.1 Lack of education

All participants from lower class were uneducated and they had never been to school in their life. One participant who was a maid in the house mentioned that her sons are going to school and daughters worked with her in homes for cleaning and cooking.

*I never went to school. My sons go to school.*

*My daughter works with me now in homes for house chores like cleaning, washing and sometimes cooking too.* [2]

She added that her employers help her to fulfil the expenses of her sons’ schooling and she was hopeful that if sons get the education then circumstance should be changed in a positive way.

One respondent out of 5 mentioned that she is able to read Qur’an (the holy book of Muslims);

*I can only read the Quran and never been to school.* [4]

Another participant mentioned that she never goes to school and neither her children are attending, but she is sending her all kids, including girl to Madressah where kids are learning how to read Qur’an. One participant who had girls and boys both mentioned that she herself is not educated, but she wants to send her children to school as she thinks that this will change her children’ life in the future but it’s not affordable for her;

*I want that my children will go to school but I cannot afford. I think that if they go to school they might have a good life in future or at least they will not work like me.* [3]

She also mentioned the viewpoint of her culture;
In our culture, people want to spend mostly on boys not on girls, but I think that girls should also go to school. [3]

5.1.2 Poverty

Poverty was obvious in almost all interviews conducted with the women belong to the lower class. This is one of the reasons behind the lack of education in the class. Few working participants worked in more than one house, but still, they are not able to send all of their children to school, participant number 1 mentioned that her son is not feeling well and needs proper treatment but because of poverty they cannot afford it and need extra financial support from their employer.

I am worried about my child, especially elder one who is not well. His operation is must and I am not able to arrange money. [1]

5.1.3 Women is the bread earner

In all, five interviews with women belong to lower class 4 of them were working in houses as maids and trying to fulfil the need of their house and children. One participant mentioned that her husband has an intermediate qualification, but he is not working to support his family and that is why she has to work in houses to fulfil the basic needs. She also added that while being unemployed his husband used to control her economically;

My husband has completed 12 years of education. If I want to buy something he never agreed and wants money only as he himself doesn’t work but want money from me. I take care of the house and all expenses. He never gives house rent and expenses. These are also the reasons for differences between us. I worked hard and take care of kids and try to give them education as well but is it my responsibility only? [2]

Other working participants clarified that they are working just to support their husbands in fulfilling the need of the house and children. One woman who had no kids was also working in order to support her husband financially;

My husband does not earn enough so I want to support my husband. [5]
5.1.4 Women’s inferiority

The participants mentioned their young age at the time of their marriage and specified that they were not asked by their family about their likes and dislikes regarding their marriage and the decision about their marriage was taken according to the wish of their family members;

Yes, it was arranged by my parents. In our families’ marriage are not made of girl’s choices. [2]

It was an arranged marriage. In our family marriages are arranged they don’t ask women if we are ready or happy. [3]

Two of the participants said that their husbands are their relatives and still they were not asked for their marriage consent;

Yes, my husband is my relative and in our culture, no one asks their daughter that if you want to marry here or not. Where ever parents say we happily marry there. [1]

Women during their interviews mentioned about their hard work which they are doing to support their family and husband, but still. they experienced restrictions and these restrictions are not imposed by husbands only but also the extended family is the perpetrator. Only one participant specified that her activities are not fully restricted;

My activities are restricted by my husband. [3]

I was not allowed to do anything without the permission of my family. [4]

Not fully but up to some extent, they are restricted because men want to show their power by restricting us. [5]

These restrictions are imposed on them on minor issues of visiting parents, children or in-laws.
Yes, he restricted me if I want to go somewhere like my parent’s house or my daughters’ house who are married. My kids are getting older now, but he is same never listens to others and do whatever he wants. He wants that whatever he is saying it should be done.

Her husband tried to impose his will on her without having any concern of her will. This according to the literature is an open sign of an abuser. One participant was also restricted by his husband to visit her step mother-in-law on an issue in which the woman is not at all involved and the participant vigorously handled it;

_Previously when my husband listened to the people he asked me not to meet them as his relations are not good with them but I convinced him that after some days you all will be together and when I don’t meet them now my relation will be affected then._ [1]

A question asked to a participant that what is/was her reaction when her husband wants/wanted to impose restriction and she replied the following by counter questioning;

_Why should I oppose because I know that it will be a problem for me and where can I go after opposing him?_ [3]

This reply shows the helplessness of the participant that she wants to oppose but she is not competent for this daring act because she has no backup.

5.1.5 Interference

Interference of outsiders and family members, including in-laws was also intimated by interviewees. The women explained that due to the interference of people they have to face several issues including verbal and physical violence. A participant specifically mentioned about her in-laws and family members’ interference that resulted in a violent attitude of her husband with her;

_When they all are together they back bite me in front of my husband and then he got angrier with me._
One more participant mentioned that her husband used to listen his friends a lot who misrepresented him and for that her husband abused her;

In past, he used to listen to his friends who misguided him and he then asked me for money and for that he used bad language. [1]

It was obvious from the interviews that interference in the lower class is mostly negative and biased and executed against women. Filling particles of and bias support of the husband was also present in interviews.

5.1.6 Male dominance

A 60 years old participant revealed that she was living in a joint family and her marriage was arranged and she experienced extreme violence from her in-laws and husband both.

I spent a long era of my married life in that abuse both from husband and in-laws. They give me emotional stress. First mother in-law and father-in-law both used to beat me on small issues and then my husband also did the same and that continued until my children grew up.

I never understood the reason for their extreme behaviour, but what I think is that they wanted to show their power and tried to enforce me every time. They felt the pride by doing violence on me. [4]

A participant indicated the use of alcohol by her husband in their poverty and for that he used the insane approach of stealing things from home or abducting money earned by her by showing his power. Once her husband stole the things of the landlord for his alcohol addiction and she had to pay the compensation otherwise she had to leave the place.

He sold out things from home just for his alcohol addiction. In front of children beat me. But he was not violent every time. [1]

Male dominance as a result of exchange marriage was also observed during an interview where participant disclosed that she had exchanged marriage and she experienced violence for that reason and her husband tried to dominate just to show his father who married the sister of
her husband. She also added that men want to show their power by imposing restrictions in various ways;

*My marriage was an exchanged marriage. My husband’s sister is my father’s second wife. Whenever my step mother has some problem in my father’s house, my husband also tortures me as revenge. Not fully but up to some extent, they are restricted because men want to show their power by restricting us.* [5]

Hiding bad habits like extra marital affair was also disclosed during an interview. The woman mentioned that her husband is interested in women outside and whenever she asked him about those he used violence against me just to show his power and dominance;

*He used to fight with me from the start of our marriage. He can do it on any issue. If something happens with in-laws or kids he started fighting with me. If I make any minor mistake he starts fighting or if he wants to do something wrong and I tried to stop him then he fights too. He is interested in woman outside and if I want to stop him, he starts fighting or even beat me. He is involved in woman outside and just because of hiding that he uses this attitude. With any other little issue, he fights with me just to divert my attention from his affairs. He argues with and beat me so I could not ask any question about his faults.* [2]

A form of male dominance by showing his power is specified by another participant. She informed that her husband abuse her just to pour out his frustration, which he had at his workplace;

*At home, my husband beats me almost every week just to pour his frustration and that becomes his hobby now. As I said my husband pour his frustration as I am the only one who is under his control.* [3]

Women are the weakest group in lower class and their vulnerability makes them the target to shift the burden of frustration and need. They accept the notion that they are the one who has to face all odds from their husbands and the thought strongly capture their mind and make them helpless.
5.1.7 Women’s patience towards abuse

Almost all participants of this case informed that they tried to maintain patience in all the circumstances they have been through. The reason behind that were the children which they have from their husband. They all are of the view that they should stay with their offender as separation could be a problem for their kids and also give a bad name to them in society;

*I thought many times and sometimes tried to live in some house where I am working so that my mind will be at peace. But I made myself stop with this decision and gave him a chance again and again as I am afraid of people. Many times I went to my parent’s house too. My kids also interfere when he beats me. But my husband beat them also.* [2]

*I had no other option than to tolerate. This is our culture that parents ask their daughter to tolerate as this is their destiny and they cannot face society in case of any mishap happened to their daughter. Parents feel that people will laugh if they support their daughter so it is better for their goodwill in the society that their daughter should show patience whatever good or bad happened to her after marriage.* [4]

A women informed that as she is the actual bread earner of her house, then many times she asked her husband to leave the house because of his behaviour but his family members intervened and requested her not to do and she always showed patience to him and forgave him but once she was counseled by her employer to be rigid as her husband stolen something to fulfil his alcohol addiction. On that occasion, she listened to her employer and openly showed her anger to her husband and that affected her husband in a positive way. He regrets what he did in the past and also tried to support her in the best way he can. She added that she was not afraid of being alone at that time when she did not allow her husband to enter the house;

*My employer said that I should show my anger and don’t give him chance again as my husband take me for granted. I did the same. I did not allow him to enter the house. Then he came again after 2 to 3 months when he heard about our son’s health issue and at that time I also needed support so I allowed him to be in the house and he was very much ashamed and sorry for his acts. He did not do any work before. But after this incident when he came himself after 2 to 3 months regretting his acts he started part time work.* [1]
One of the participants had no children and she was also experiencing violence because of exchange marriage. She thought that as she has no children, then it is her weakness and her family members and friends also make her realize that she has to tolerate every kind of behaviour from her husband as he is accepting her with her weakness;

*Another reason is that I do not have kids and that is my weakness. People made me realized that if my husband is with me with this weakness, then I have to be thankful to him and tolerate any kind of bad behaviour.* [5]

She pointed out another dilemma that people will not help those women who are alone and for the reason that she is tolerating restrictions. She experienced it when she survived alone for few years;

*My husband was a security guard and by mistake, he killed a person for that he had been in jail for 7 years. That was the toughest time for me as no one supported me. Now also I am working to support my husband. This is also a reason behind my patience that whatever good or bad woman has her husband is a strong support for her. No other relation can protect you or support you.* [5]

Victims also showed patience to domestic violence against them because if they speak up, then they have to handle more violence;

*At home, I used to keep quiet as giving response worsen the situation.* [3]

### 5.1.8 Workplace harassment

As far as the workplace is concerned four of the participants were working as maids in houses. Few of them share their experience of verbal abuse and sexual harassment;

*My employers helped me in many ways like they bought me books for my son’s school but I can’t work more as my health is not good. Some times it is very hard, but we have to fulfil our expense as I can’t do more. Sometimes people get harsh for some small negligence and show
their anger with words, but we cannot reply in the same manner as the work is important for us. [2]

One participant complained about verbal abuse and sexual harassment at work place which she experienced herself and she is not in a position to complain or leave that job;

At workplace, some people use very abusive behaviour because I belong to lower class and work in their homes. Sometimes there is sexual harassment. [3]

About workplace, I can’t complain as I am a woman and no one believes us because I am poor and working in their house so they blame us instead of listening. What I could do only is to avoid those areas and moments when my female employer was not present. I also tried to cover myself properly while working. Almost all men are same they want a woman and that does not matter that woman belongs to which class. They want to fulfil their needs. [3]

Within case analysis of the lower class women living in Karachi

Different factors are responsible for the VAW in the lower class which may seem aforesaid as reported in scholarship and these factors are interconnected or entangled with each other. All of the women from lower class were married as marriages in the lower class manifested at a very young age and the minimum age observed in an interview at the time of marriage was 12 years. Age was observed as a factor of violence in a lower class because girls do not mature enough to take responsibility for marital life; they are dragged into marriage at a very young age and then flown into the responsibility of children. Girls are not even asked to give consent in marriage. In a young age, they face abuse from in-laws and husband and these young age marriages have bad effects on the health of women too. Another factor that is also entangled with women’s age is illiteracy. All of the participants from lower class were illiterate.

The lower class still not centralizes the importance of education for women which is an immense source of awareness and its lacking is an important factor of violence against them. They are not aware of their rights because of lack of education and the violence against them is a normal part of their married life as mentioned in the literature that girls seen violence in their childhood may not recognize it as violence. Women of the lower class in the biggest city of Pakistan are having with an interpretation that if her sons get education things will be changed. They engaged their daughters in working as maids with them in the houses. A
woman mentioned that people in their class do not want to spend on their daughter because they will get married and boys will earn for them in future. So if they want to invest they do it on males. In this way, they themselves are discriminated and they are doing the same thing with their daughters. In another word this factor is explaining the same thing as mentioned in scholarship that girls are considered a burden and thus discriminated.

Poverty is another factor that is interlinked with lack of education in a woman of lower class and also a factor of violence. Men mostly are not earning and if do then the money they earn is not much for household expenses and beside that sometimes they have racism at their workplace for being poor and in both situations they abuse their wives to pour out their frustration. Women themselves are harassed and abused in their workplace because of their poverty.

Abuse from husband escalated due to the interference of outsiders or family members. Men found to believe everything one hears and they react accordingly inside the home because of the misrepresentation. Men involved in alcohol and in extramarital relationships or adultery are more abusive to their wives and the intention is to get money from them because women are the real bread earner in a lower class and for that, they use another important factor of violence that is male dominance. Men want to control power inside the house or to hide his weaknesses as well. In reply, if women speak up the abuse escalated to the same level and remains silent increase the level of dominance. The silence of the women gave a reasonable chance for men to show their dominance by using their powers to oppress women. The patience of women makes these offenders more reluctant to continue their abusive attitude. This factor of patience in women is also because of a typical mindset of the society which believes that women living alone are not respectable. Male dominance is continued, the fact that men know that women cannot leave them because of cultural pressure and societal norms.

The tradition of exchange marriages is present in lower class and responsible of direct VAW in case if one couple has some domestic issues then the woman in another couple also suffer the same intensity of abuse. Indirectly it is linked with lack of education and awareness. A myth about women being infertile is also supporting abuse against her. People in the lower class are not aware that infertility is not only for women, but they believe their structural thoughts which are now their culture. In this way infertility makes men believe that they are superior and infertile women can be abused.

Factors responsible for VAW in the lower class are interconnected according to intersectionality. Intersectionality summarizes the effects of multiple oppressive categories, those are interwoven with each other (Winker & Degele, 2011, p. 51). Applying structural
intersectionality with the lens of intercategorial approach factors related to class, race and gender are responsible for the violence. These categories already exist in the social group and their intensity change with time according to the circumstances. These three categories are intersecting in the life of women interviewed and resulting in power relationships where men are the dominant feature. Thus the intersection of categories results according to structural intersectionality in inequalities in the society where one group (men) are the privileged one and another group (women) are depreciated.

5.2 Middle class

Findings from 9 participants belong to the middle class are presented here.

5.2.1 Religious caste difference

A married woman shared her experience based on the religious caste difference and was responsible for psychological abuse against her. Pakistan has a Sunni majority estimated 75-95% and Shia minority with an estimated 5-20% (wiki, 2017). Husband of one participant was Shia and she herself was a Sunni. She told that her experience that there was a hindrance by her own family at the time of marriage. Her family was not agreed on that Shia-Sunni marriage, but at last they agreed. The same reluctance was faced by her husband also from his family and that reluctance was faced in a form of abuse by her for a short period after marriage;

My marriage was my choice but later my parents were also agreed. The main issue in my marriage was a religious issue from both sides. Our religious beliefs are different. I am Sunni and my husband is Shia. In the start of my marriage, my in-laws tried that I should convert to Shia cast but I did not want to convert. That was not continued for long as I had a support of my husband and soon people left to impose their beliefs on me. [12]

5.2.2 Love Marriage

Among nine participants six of them revealed that their marriage is their own choice which was arranged by their parents. Consequences of these love marriages resulted in most of the marriages as discriminated behaviour of in-laws with their daughter-in-law or/and verbal and
psychological abuse. Relations were more interwoven with more than one factor of violence if the marriage was the result of the self-consent relationship and also have any religious issue:

My relationship with my in-laws was really difficult in the early days of my marriage. There were problems in understanding due to different religious beliefs and also because of love marriage which is mostly not easily acceptable in many families. [12]

We had a love marriage and that is also a problem of being not liked by in laws. The difference and priority given to one daughter-in-law are very hurting for me. As she was beautiful and my mother in laws own choice she was given every freedom. [17]

Discrimination on the basis of looks of women was also there as mentioned by participant number 17.

5.2.3 Interference

Interference and sometimes extraordinary interference was also reported by women;

My relation with my husband affected negatively many times because of my in-law’s interference and extra pampering to my husband. Problems in our relationships are not even settled completely now, but many issues are resolved now. [12]

A woman said during an interview that her mother-in-law was in under control of her married daughters who always smudged her mother-in-law against her and then she used abusive language against her and her family as well;

My mother in-law was in the influence of her daughters who aroused her to say such things that could result in relationship breakage. Actually, she was mostly good, but when ever she got in the influence of her daughters, then she had an abusive attitude. [14]

A woman who had a love marriage was asked about her relationship with her husband now she said;
It’s good. It was way better before marriage as he was very caring and concerned, but after marriage interference of his mother and sister grew a lot as they wanted to go wherever we did and comparison between the brothers grew a lot as he doesn’t earn a lot. [17]

Insecurity of mother-in-law was also the reason of interference between husband and wife relation that ultimately result in violence against women;

My husband is the dearest child of my mother-in-law and as he did marriage with me with his own choice then my mother-in-law was insecure. She agreed for his son’s wish, but later she felt that his son’s attention is diverted and she could not tolerate that and then her own daughter made her feel that I am abducting her son from her and she is losing her control. [19]

Working women were also forced to stop working and for that, she experienced interference and abuse;

I used to work before, but it was difficult to manage job and house together so I left the job. At that time when I was working, I had interference of my in-laws because of house responsibilities. [20]

5.2.4 Dowry and the dower issue

Issue of dowry and dower was also discussed during one interview and the woman revealed that her mother-in-law tried everything that can repudiate her marriage;

My mother-in-law tried her best to dismiss the marriage. She wanted to marry her to the girl of her own choice. That is why our relationship was not good and there were many reasons behind that. First, it was a love marriage, which was hardly accepted by my mother-in-law. Then dowry was demanded by my mother-in-law. Third, the dower was also the reason. She wanted to fix it very low and my family asked more. [14]

The woman added that after marriage my mother-in-law abused verbally by degrading the things which were given as dowry to me and also said that these all are not sufficient.
5.2.5 Male dominance

Male dominance is obvious during some interviews;

_I have experienced verbal abuse many times with my husband. He needs me in his life, but I should follow what he is saying is a must thing for him._ [12]

Women who lived in a calm environment avoid arguments and that is why obeying dominancy by their husband;

_As I mentioned that I spent my life in a calm environment so to maintain that I obey him because he is very supportive to in many cases._ [15]

A 57-year-old woman shared her experience of male dominance with following words;

_My married life from its start till now is full of problems, abuse, torture and violence. These all are because of my husband’s inferiority complex and he never trusts me. He is a kind of person who thinks that wife is a slave. Being educated people do have this attitude towards their wife like my husband._ [18]

Being in long relationship with her husband, she was not sure why she was abused by her husband;

_I don’t know exactly, but what I know is that he thought that women are third grade human and especially wife should be treated like this. He knew that I am under his control and he can use his power on me._ [18]

5.2.6 Harassment

Different forms of harassment outside the home were found during interviews with women. Like sexual harassment, verbal harassment and harassment because of unlikeness;
I faced verbal abuse and that was a harassing moment of life and horrible thing for me at that time. It was a male member of my workplace who did verbal abuse with me. I was disturbed psychologically and emotionally because I never faced such abusive language before. There was not a big issue that the kind of language used against me just because of personal unlikelihood. [16]

A woman discussed an incident of sexual harassment which she had in her childhood;

*I think I faced such situation before. That was sexual harassment.* [15]

*I faced once verbal abuse and harassment so I left that place and people. This is male dominating society and there is the lack of education lack of awareness about rights of women. The man considers her wife and daughter and sister, his property or servants.* [20]

**Within case analysis of the middle-class women living in Karachi**

Women from the middle class who participated in the interviews were all literate almost all of them were well qualified. They are aware of their rights but facing violence domestically and at the workplace. Societal and cultural norms are responsible for the violence against them. Most of the participants were married and their marriage was a self-consent marriage and in almost all cases that was the main factor of violence against them. In patriarchal culture of Pakistan love marriage is quite common nowadays as also obvious from interviews, but still not liked by in-laws and especially mother-in-law and thus become a factor responsible for abuse from in-laws. This factor leads to certain other factors to be responsible for women’s abuse. Influences of mother-in-laws arise when they are insecure of the love marriage of their son. Their interference in the marital life of women has created frustration in husband and wife both. The insecurity of mother-in-laws mostly enhanced if they are traduced by someone. Interference of sister-in-laws also results in the escalation of domestic abuse against women in Karachi and is also a responsible factor.

Men mostly try to use his powers to dominate by the influence of family members. Thus the interference gives rise to male dominance which is also found as a factor of violence in middle class. Men who are very dear to their family and extra pampered showed more dominance. Cultural issues of dowry and dower are also found responsible for abuse. Women have to face verbal abuse because of sub graded dowry and at the time of marriage amount of
dower created arguments between parents of men and women that afterwards become a factor for which women have to face verbal abuse from in-laws.

Violence from in-laws is also found in the middle class due to marriages of different religious caste. Shia-Sunni marriages are also responsible for creating an oppressive environment against women. A comparison made by in-laws between daughter-in-laws is also responsible for psychological and verbal abuse when mother-in-law does not like one daughter-in-law who is the choice of her son and compares her with another daughter-in-law who is her own choice and belongs to her own family.

A woman reported sexual harassment in her childhood as a result of lack of awareness to her by her family. A working woman of the middle class reported verbal abuse and harassment at her workplace and the reason behind that as suggested by the woman was racism and male dominance where men believe that women in the home or outside are their slave and deserve abusing attitude. Another working woman reported verbal abuse at her workplace because of personal unlikeliness and also because of her young age. In that way, a woman in Karachi faces abuse at the work place because of the netting of factors based on race, age and gender.

A woman who was very much satisfied with her marital life believed that if her in-laws are angry with something then it could be her own carelessness and she tried to adjust herself for that, but she believes that male dominance and lack of education and awareness are responsible for abuse against women.

During interviews, I met a woman from the middle class (who connected me to some participants) revealed one more factor of VAW that is black magic. She told that her cousin got divorced because her mother-in-law was not happy with her and she had a black magic on his son and daughter-in-law both to create distances between them and his son under influence of that black magic divorced her. Black magic also affected the health of that girl who got divorced. No participant of any class mentioned this factor so I did not include in empirical findings, but discussing this factor here because I found some literature about it. Mohyuddin & Rehman (2015, pp. 32-37) defines black magic as a mischievous act in which negative energies are used to attain reasonable or unreasonable wishes and in Pakistan, 90% of non-Muslim community in Pakistan are involved in it and women are the victims. It is mostly done due to family conflicts or for the sake of jealousy and some people do on their daughter-in-law so that she suffers from it (ibid).

Applying structure intersectionality many different factors are overlapping and creating an environment of violence for women. Women face racism because of culture, religion and gender, but the position of women in middle class lies between two groups in most of the
cases where she is privileged as being supported by her husband and victim being oppressed by husband and in-laws both because of culture, religion and power relation structure. All of these factors are interdependent according to the theory on and cannot be studied in isolation and are responsible for creating multiple systems of oppression in women’s lives of middle class living in Karachi.

5.3 Upper class
Findings from 6 participants belong to the upper class are presented here.

5.3.1 Interference

Influence of in-laws in marital life of women belongs to the upper class in Karachi was mentioned by some women. This influence created issues between husband and wife and resulted in domestic abuse against women:

*It is very much affected by my in-laws. My husband also has a big part in this influence. He is a mama type boy and he wants to do each and every task of his life with his parent’s permission. Even he can dismiss my rights for their rights. He preferred more to his parents. He wants to cherish that he must have good relationship with his parents rather than his marital life. He cannot handle both relations properly.* [7]

Men’s biased behaviour towards his parents escalated domestic violence against women. Married and unmarried, both women mentioned that they experienced abuse by the intervention of in-laws or family members. A young educated and working girl who was not married mentioned that her mother and siblings experienced verbal abuse from her father that ultimately affected her psychologically. Her mother being victimised made an effort to make her children well educated and was the mentor for her. She expressed that what she is right now is just because of her mother;

*My father is in the influence of his family which he timely poured on his wife and children. She is the only person that kept our sanity and family intact. She could be the major drive behind the reason that we grow up with confidence and courage, despite the entire emotional trauma we had to go through. She continues to support us financially, even though when I am a bit capable of doing that for myself now.* [9]
Another married woman talked about her experience regarding the auxiliary interference of her mother-in-law that resulted in a separation from her husband. She is now a single mother who is taking care of her son;

*My father in law and brother in law were considerate and treated me with respect. They considered me as a part of their family, but my mother in law and sister in law never accepted me from day 1, they behaviour was horrible. They used to treat me worse than a servant. Initially, my husband was very good with me, he used to understand situations and guided me where I was wrong and supported me where I was right, but there was an extra influence on him of his mother and sister, which increased gradually day by day, and then became worst.* [10]

Interference by in-laws also made to control the understanding of their son with their wife as mentioned by one of the women during an interview;

*Sometimes I felt that they do not want me to spend more time with my husband and they also forced my husband to ask me for all house chores.* [11]

### 5.3.2 Religious caste difference

A woman having love-marriage and belong to the different religious caste also oppressed by her in-laws to convert her beliefs. It’s been years of her marriage, but still, she has discrimination from her in-laws just because of her different religious beliefs;

*It started before marriage, my father in law used to ask me questions about what I'll do after marriage regarding my caste as I belong to a Shia sector and my husband is from a Sunni sector. My mother in-law gave me some books related to the Sunni cast and she wanted me to read those. She thought that I should do what ever they want and just follow their cast forcibly. After a marriage that forced behaviour was continued so we got separated to avoid all these. My husband supported me in all ups and downs. My father in law gave us really a hard time when my second child was born, I gave him the name of my choice and he didn’t like it at all, as he thought that this name belongs to Shia cast and that he didn't want, and he stopped talking to us all for about 8 months.* [8]
The factors of influence in one’s personal life are also observed in religious concerns when in-laws forcibly tried to convert the religion.

5.3.3 Dowry

A woman who confronted extreme verbal abuse by her mother-in-law revealed that the factor behind this abuse from the start of her marriage was dowry issue. Her mother-in-law was not happy with the dowry she brought. In start, her husband was not abusive, but slowly and gradually he was traduced by his mother and sister and he also started abusing her;

*The main reason behind everything was money. I didn’t bring the amount of heavy dowry my mother-in-law was expecting. She planted so much hate in my husband’s heart for me, in order to justify herself and her actions; she attacked my moral character as well. She attempted and did everything she could to get rid of me, so that I leave her home myself when I didn’t, she threw me out when I was 9 months pregnant on Eid day just because my parents didn’t send the Eid gifts earlier. And the worst part was when suddenly my husband started to have a blind faith in them; he started to humiliate me in front of my in-laws. He used to take part more aggressive than his mother, whatever she said was the final word for him.*

[10]

5.3.4 Male dominance

Male dominance is the issue with almost all women participated in interviews. As a father or husband, the male tried to impose his will over women’s will. Somewhere this dominance is back up by intervention of family members of men that created a paradigm against women where she was mentally, verbally and physically abused;

*My husband always listens to others. He is fed by his family members and I realised from his attitude and he imposed restrictions. I faced every kind of response from my husband both verbal and physical abuse. He is afraid that I will not get out of his control.* [7]

She also mentioned that her husband was very much concerned about his reputation and never wanted her to share anything about his behaviour with anyone. His parents also meet her very nicely but never asked their son about his behaviour. She tried to control her husband’s
behaviour by keeping patience in the start, but that did not work so she started replying with
the same tone as she was experiencing by her husband and that subjugate her husband to some
extent. Such people discriminate between male and female and that too was experienced by
her. She had two girls so she was not very much strong and valued in in-laws but after the
birth of her son, she felt the positive change in the attitude of her in-laws towards her.
A father of 20-year-old girl was abusive towards his wife and children to dominate and that
according to the girl was a result of the conservative mindset of people. His dominance
created introvert children with a sense of jealousy for those who have a good family life.
Male chauvinism is sometimes a result of the transference of abusive behaviour from father o
their sons. As discussed in literature review boys mostly observe their father and behave the
same in future as adults;

_The same problem was my father in-law he did not like same for my mother in-law but my
mother in-law was fond of excursion so when my father in-law was not at home she just
locked the house and went outside. So my husband thinks that if his mother can do that I can
also go outside without his permission like his mother did. He checks my activities and has a
bird’s eye on all my activities. If I receive calls he does not like that. I can’t talk on the phone
in front of him and even cannot watch TV alone. Only if he is watching TV then I can also
watch with him. I left watching TV. I cannot go in neighbour. He mostly shows indirectly with
his attitude that he doesn’t like it._ [7]

Dominancy trait is also used by men to control females, according to their perception. Their
perceptions are the warehouse where they think what they want to think and sometimes doubt
their partner because they had some past experience related to themselves or their family.

**5.3.5 Extra marital affair**

Men having a wife of their own choice are involved with extra marital affairs just for the
timely excursion. A woman mentioned that she had a love marriage and her husband is
involved in a relationship for a reason that he has been ignored by her. For that her husband
used abusive language and physical abuse too to hide his affairs behind his dominance;

_He got involved with a woman at his workplace. When that relation disclosed to me, I got very
upset and angry and asked him for that and he was not feeling guilty, but justifying himself by_
putting his load on me and blamed me that because of me he is involved somewhere as I am not obeying him not giving him proper time and not respecting him. He abused me verbally thousand times and also physically two to three times. Restrictions were not exactly there, but he tried to control me according to his wishes many times.

This nature of men of having extra marital affairs is also observed in an interview with a woman who was divorced. She shared her workplace harassment by an elder male member who was her boss;

Sometimes my boss showed such kind of attitude that if I am divorced then I am available to anyone. He used to talk insane and nasty. His family was not living in Karachi they were somewhere else. He said like that I want to have a family in Karachi as well and I don’t mind if the woman is divorced or have kids. I asked him that why do you need as you have family already. He said yes, but they are not here and my wife is very religious and she prays every time and she is not of my type.

Discussing one’s own wife by a husband just for the temporary excursion is also observed in the above statement and that also shows that how much such males respect females.

**Within case analysis of the upper-class women living in Karachi**

The 6 participants of the upper class are very well educated and 4 of them were married and 1 was separated from her husband. Women interviewed had experienced overlapping factors of oppressions in their life which according to intersectionality mingled up with each other and caused violence against them. Those multiple layers of oppressions were responsible for verbal, psychological and physical abuse against them.

Despite being educated, women in upper class are subjected to violence because of the patriarchal culture. The intervention of in-laws is the basic factor which was combined with other forms of discrimination. Interference because of religion, dowry and love marriage was observed.

The social inequality which the women of upper-class women contend was a combination of factors based on racism, sexism, religion and culture. Male dominance was obvious in violence. In some cases, women were privileged too, as they had support from their husband,
but simultaneously they are vulnerable to abuse by their partner in the form of enforcement to follow their footsteps, male dominance to control activities of women or to hide his own covert issues like extramarital affair. A woman from an upper class mentioned that misusing of gadgets is also a factor that can create an unsafe environment for women by involving men more in adultery and relationships. Most women from upper class remain silent on verbal abuse, but the factor of patience was taken as her weakness in many cases and result in another type of abuse against her. Age of women is also a factor for which they are abused. If women are young then they are less courageous to speak up as mentioned in the literature, but awareness and their experience intrepid them to speak for their rights. The experience of harassment by working divorced woman was also revealed and the typical societal mindset was responsible for that.
6. Cross-case analysis

Three different classes of women living in Karachi revealed useful information that helps in finding different factors of violence currently prevailing in three classes. All three classes are embedded with issues of VAW. Some factors are common in all three and some are distinct from others. Factors like: interference of in-laws and other family members, male dominance, restrictions and harassment are found common in all three classes. Common factors found from middle and upper classes are difference in religious beliefs, dowry related issues and self-selected marriages. The common factor of lower and upper classes is extramarital relationships of the husband. Besides these, there are some specific factors of VAW reported in each class living in Karachi. Generally, the factors and their determinants which are found from three dimensions are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.no.</th>
<th>Common Factors and determinants</th>
<th>Specific Factors and determinants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In all three classes</td>
<td>Upper &amp; Middle Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Interference</td>
<td>Religious beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male Dominance</td>
<td>Dowry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Harassment</td>
<td>Love marriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Restrictions</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>7</td>
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</table>

Table 2: Factors and determinants of VAW currently prevailing in different classes of Karachi

Looking at the table above it can be seen that women belong to lower class are generally more vulnerable to violence as there are more factors or categories found responsible for violence against them. Education seems like not a primary focus in the lower class, nor any women participated in the interviews was educated while women belong to middle and upper class
were well educated except one woman from the middle class who had 12 years of education. Rest of the women from these two classes were bachelors, master or PhD and are aware of their rights. Lack of education makes the women of the lower class vulnerable to the violence of their intimate partner because they are unaware of their rights and cannot stand against violence and hence can be kept responsible and abused for those issues also which are not in their control for instance: infertility. The factor of poverty added to the disadvantages of lack of awareness in the lower class women. Women participated from the lower class was the earning power of their house but besides that poverty and male dominance increase their vulnerability to being abused. Men abuse them for money domestically and poverty makes them available outside for harassment and abuse by males and females both. Women of the lower class are basically from the rural areas of Pakistan who are working in houses as maids and the trend of exchange marriages is also present which can be disadvantageous for both couples or one and thus exchange marriage is also a factor that initiates VAW in the lower class. Exchange marriage is widely spread in rural Pakistan and in Sindh, its percentage is 30% of all marriages and 20% of women in exchange marriages are victims of domestic violence by their husbands (Soomro et al., 2013, pp. 255-262)

Male dominance found in all three classes and the factor supporting that dominance according to the participants are influencing of family members and extra pampering of the male as a child and adult both is also reported by middle and upper class. Domestic violence on women is found common in all three classes and not only from their husband, but there was an inclusion of mother-in-law and other family members. Their involvement in many cases worsens the situation that results in restriction, separation from in-laws or from husband but in lower class influence increased VAW but no separation is seen and the reason might be the extra patience of women against violence due to their unawareness. The influence of mother-in-law is more obvious in middle and upper class and especially in those cases where marriage is the choice of men and women or if dowry and dower are not according to the wish of mother-in-law.

Love marriages are quite common in interviews with middle-class women, but in that case, the more insecurity of in-laws was also seen that resulted in the interference and VAW. In lower class marriages are arranged and done within the family so the factor of insecurity is not found there, but floater and in-laws’ intervention both are incriminated. Living together with in-laws is also creating the height of abuse for few women. Women who are living separately mentioned that they are in a better position, but this solution does not work in case of the lower class women because of poverty.
It is also observed that marriages in middle and upper class having differences in religious belief only oppressing women to change her beliefs whether she is Sunni or Shia. The factor of restriction is also present in all three classes. Infect an interview from an upper-class women have shown intensity. Both husband and wife are educated, but there were extreme restrictions and the reasons were that the man had seen the same scenario between his father and mother. So the factor of genetic transmission of abusing women is also found. Family violence is transmitted across generations and mostly it is spouse abuse that is also affecting children (Markward et al., 2000, pp.239-240). Patterns of abuse are inside the abuser and could be a result of trauma in childhood that appears in adulthood as personality disorders (ibid, pp. 241 &246).

Women of all three classes said one thing in common that because of cultural issues and their children they are compelled to continue the relationship. Most of them complained about their bad health due to continuing stress and physical abuse. One more aspect of VAW was revealed in middle-class women when a woman of 57 years of age mentioned that she faced abuse almost in all years of marital life and then after her son’s marriage she experienced abuse from her daughter-in-law too;

*Another son who is also married is living separately. I had a bad experience with his wife. She wanted to control her husband and for that she used verbal arguments.* [18]

That shows that the age of the woman does matter, but it is not the case in all situations. Women of elder age are also vulnerable to violence. This aspect of age cannot be compared with other dimensions as women participated from upper and lower classes are younger in age.

In the case of working women, all three classes reported same issues related to class, gender and race. Verbal abuse and sexual harassment are experienced by women of all classes, but intensity found is more in the lower class as they are poor and needy and do not afford the loss of a job so people treat them with disgrace as a matter of fact that they deserve this attitude. A girl from an upper class blames the societal mindset of people who expect always from women to compromise;

*When you live in a Pakistani culture you are told to keep quiet and respect your parents or elder.* [9]
A woman who is divorced mentioned that typical thinking of Pakistan culture do not accept a woman who is divorced in a sense that if she is working then every man think that woman is available for him. Harassment as a factor of abuse is present in childhood too due to unawareness of girl child.

Arif and Fatima (2015, pp.36-37) indicated that in Pakistan there is a trend of arranged marriages because they are a symbol of family honour while love marriage is a symbol of disgrace because men and women involved in that marriage are supposed to have relationship prior marriage and hence is a threat to family grace and reputation. These all reasons are responsible that love marriages are not acknowledged by parents, family or even by society (ibid). Most of the women participated from the middle class had a love marriage and afterwards, their love marriage became a reason of abuse and discrimination by the family members of men and on the basis of gender women susceptible its obstacles.

Cultural factors of dowry and dower are reported in educated classes creating abusive ambience for women. One factor which was not found in the literature is the use of mobile is also mentioned by one of the participants from upper class that trigger the factor of an extramarital relationship.

Applying structural intersectionality, a clear social division and discrimination can be seen in three different classes of women; especially the women of the lower class are vulnerable to racism with other forms of oppression. Intersectionality lens reveals the specific location that women of the lower class have multiple intersecting oppressions of gender, race, culture and class, in middle-class women have gender, race, culture and religion and upper-class women have the same gender, race, culture and religion.

According to structural intersectionality and information gathered, most of the women in Karachi experiencing physical abuse along with another form of oppressions irrespective of class. These multiple layers of oppression according to intersectionality are different but interwoven with each other and not a single oppression can be ignored because women in Pakistan are facing these simultaneously, but the intensity found different in different classes and women of lower class are experiencing more categories of multiple oppressions those are simultaneously responsible for violence against them.

Based on general factors found during interviews connections can be made to find intersectionality in different forms of oppression in the life of women in Karachi like how cultural norms of the society are affecting and abusing women because of their gender they are vulnerable to racism by men and sometimes by other women. Marginalization of women belongs to middle and upper class can be seen through intersectionality where women are
privileged and victim simultaneously and hence belong to two different groups at the same time. No case of violence of any class was said to be reported to police or the media so their interference can not be checked with the research.
Role of media in depreciating or escalating certain factors of violence is very important as Mohyuddin and Rehman (2015, p.36) explained that in exposing fake magicians who are playing with the life of people is very well done by few media programs in Pakistan, but on the other hand it is promoting the magician by inviting them in programs to solve the issues of people and by making dramas enhancing the action of negative energies so people get attracted towards it and these practices are followed by Muslim society in Pakistan.
7. Conclusion

The research leads to the conclusion that certain factors are responsible for violence against women in Karachi. There is no such escalation of factors as compared to the literature. The widespread VAW domestically and publicly is because of the patriarchal society still transmitting male dominance in the form of abuse and restriction on women. Other factors like education, poverty, the influence of family etc. are also incorporated.

Comparison of findings shows that women of the lower class have more intensity of all forms of abuse due to lack of awareness about the basic rights. Cultural factors of dowry and dower are responsible for abusive relationships. Extramarital and adultery found with misuse of mobile technology also ruining marital relationships. Currently, the women of Karachi are standing at the same level as described in the background, but women of the middle and upper class are privileged in some categories.

This research will be helpful for future researchers in a sense that it provides a specific location for women living in Karachi and disparities in intensity of abuse among three different classes. Being educated classes’ middle and upper-class women is facing the same factors of violence that an illiterate woman in lower class is facing. It can help researchers to update educational reforms that can also create awareness within society.

As far as some foremost recommendations are concerned poverty level should be controlled by providing more opportunities for employment to people of lower class. Opportunities of education and security at the workplace are also required without any form of discrimination. Awareness among women should be created to empower them against their rights. Men should also make aware. In middle class the privilege of women are observed in the form of husband’s support, if that support is continued then it will be helpful to suppress male dominance in the society. A girl child should also make aware about harassment and that can be done by mothers who themselves should be aware of all these issues. Cultural issues of dowry, dower and restrictions should be controlled. Media in Pakistan can play a crucial role in it by telecasting those programs and advertisement that will not create disorientation against women rather they create women empowerment by portraying women strong. Law enforcement agencies should be made aware about the gender equality and they should enforce that in the society so women are vulnerable to violence can be confident to report and thus factors those are responsible for violence can be controlled in Karachi.
Bibliography


Appendix 1

Map of Islamic Republic of Pakistan
Appendix 2

Sustainable Development Goal 5:

“Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls”

Targets:

5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere

5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation

5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation

5.4 Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate

5.5 Ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life

5.6 Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences

5.A Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws

5.B Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women

5.C Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels
Appendix 3

Factors that contribute to the violence against women: a study from Karachi, Pakistan

Participants Information Sheet

Introducing myself (Researcher)

My name is Eraj Khurram. I am a student of Master in Peace and Development at Linnaeus University, Sweden. (Växjö Campus)

Linnaeus University

It is one of the reputable university in Sweden. It has two campuses which are situated in two cities Kalmar and Växjö. You can explore more about the university at: https://lnu.se/en/

Why researching?

I am doing this research for my thesis. This research will help me to write my thesis about the factors which are responsible for violence against women in Karachi where many women are facing violence in the form of abuse, restrictions etc.

Your Input

After reading this information sheet if you are happy to give an interview then I will ask that you please sign the consent form, which is provided. The consent form is a paper on which you agree that you are giving an interview of your own free will and that you understand your rights. For example if you feel that you can not continue with the interview, then you can withdraw. You just have to inform directly me or the field assistant and you will not be asked to explain any reason of your withdrawing. The interviews are confidential and your contributions will be anonymous. This means that your identity as an interviewee is protected and you will not be named or otherwise identified in the thesis.

Good to know!

I am currently in Sweden and taking help from a field work assistant who is in Pakistan and helping me in contacting people and in conducting interviews. The assistant will provide you with this information sheet and will take signature on consent form in case if you will be willing to participate. The interview will be taken directly by me via Skype and it will be audio recorded. The recording will only be used in preparing research.
Factors that contribute to the violence against women: a study from Karachi, Pakistan

Consent Form

- I have read and understood the information sheet.
- The purpose of research was explained to me and I understood it.
- I am voluntarily participating in this research and there is no obligation for my participation.
- I understood that I can ask questions about my participation in interviews.
- I understood that I can withdraw anytime without giving any reason of my withdrawal.
- I understood that all the information I give during an interview will be used only for the purpose of research and my identity details will be kept anonymous.

Name: _________________________________________________________

Contact telephone: _____________________________________________

Email address: ________________________________________________

Sign: _________________________ Date: ___________________________
Appendix 5

Interview Guide (for married women)

Opening Statement
“Thank you for participating in the interview and sharing your experience and thoughts. The interview will be audio recorded but the conversation will be kept confidential. If you feel not to answer any question you can mention.”

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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| 1 | Can you please tell me about yourself?  
• Your name  
• Age  
• Qualification  
• Family background (class and race) |
| 2 | You are married so how long are you in this relationship? |
| 3 | Are you living in an extended family?  
• (If yes) How many members are there and your relation with them?  
• (If no) Can you please tell the details of your in-laws? Is there any specific reason that you are not living in extended family? |
| 4 | Was your marriage arranged by your parents or it was your own choice? |
| 5 | How is your relation with your husband and can you compare your relation with your husband just after marriage and now? |
| 6 | How is your relation with your in-laws? |
| 7 | (In case of working women) Can you explain the reasons why are you working?  
• Is your family happy/satisfied that you are working?  
• How do you find your workplace?  |
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Is there anything else you want to share with me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do you want to ask anything about this research?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>If I need to ask anything more, is it possible for you that I will contact you again?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Closing Statement**

“Thank you for your time and participation.”

- **Trigger questions will come after question number 7 if interviewee will declare any form of abuse or violence against her. More questions could be added depending on the interviewee’s response.**
**Interview Guide (for unmarried/divorced/separated women)**

**Opening Statement**

“Thank you for participating in the interview and sharing your experience and thoughts. The interview will be audio recorded but the conversation will be kept confidential. If you feel not to answer any question you can mention.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Question</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Can you please tell me about yourself?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Your name</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Qualification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Family background (class and race)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(If a woman is divorced or separated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Are you living with your parents/family?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Was your marriage arranged by your parents or it was your own choice?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How was your relationship with your husband now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>How was your relation with your in-laws?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Can you explain the reasons why your marriage did not work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(In case if working women) Can you explain the reasons why are you working?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Is your family happy/satisfied that you are working?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- How do you find your workplace?</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Is there anything else you want to share with me?</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Do you want to ask anything about this research?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>If I need to ask anything more, is it possible for you that I will contact you again?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Closing Statement

“Thank you for your time and participation in interviews.”

- Trigger questions will come after question number 8 when interviewee declared abuse or violence. More questions could be added depending on the interviewee’s response.

Trigger Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Question</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>What kind of abuse you had or having now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>What was your response of that abuse or violence?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>What do you think what are/were the causes of this abuse/violence on you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Did you ever tell someone about this and /why not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Are/were your social activities and personal life controlled by your husband/family member/in-laws?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>How this violence affect you? (Physically, psychologically, emotionally, socially)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How do you see your future?</td>
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</table>
Appendix 6

Total number of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lower class</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Upper class</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participants’ information

*Key: M= Married, UN= Unmarried, D= Divorced, S=Separated
LC= Lower class, MC= Middle class, UC= Upper class
I= Interview without recording, AU=Interview audio recorded, QU=Questionnaire filled up*