



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice Pakistan

Pakistan – PAK37665 – Punjab – Love marriages – Family violence – Protection orders – State protection – Political violence

17 November 2010

1. What is the current position in Pakistan where a family opposes a love marriage?

In Pakistan it is not culturally acceptable to enter into a love marriage without family approval, according to multiple sources. In Jack Hong's 2009 article *Love marriages, women and rule of law in Pakistan*, published on the Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) website, he writes that 'The idea of women choosing their own marriage partners is considered outrageous and unacceptable behavior.'¹ The article documents several examples of families that were even moved to use violence in opposing love marriages. Some families have taken to kidnapping their daughters, attacking the relatives of the males in a relationship and eliciting help from police to track down partners who marry without family approval.

On 2 December 2009, the Country Advice Service conducted an interview by telephone with Dr Shakira Hussein. Dr Hussein is a fellow at the Australian National University,² has appeared on several panels as a commentator on issues relating to Muslim women³; and has undertaken field work in both Pakistan and Afghanistan as part of a doctoral dissertation.⁴ The text below has been authorised by Dr Hussein as a record of the advice which she provided in her 2 December 2009 telephone conversation with the Country Advice Service.⁵ She confirms that arranged marriages are the norm and love marriages, which transgress family expectations, can result in extreme family pressures, including violence. Dr Shakira Hussein advised as follows:

¹ Hong, J. 2009 'Love marriages, women and rule of law in Pakistan' 5 October *Asian Human Rights Commission* – Ethics in Action website <http://www.ethicsinaction.asia/archive/2009-ethics-in-action/vol.-3-no.-5-october-2009/love-marriages-women-and-rule-of-law-in-pakistan> - Accessed 22 November 2010 – Attachment 1.

² 'Speakers: Shakira Hussein' (undated), *Adelaide Festival of Ideas, 9–12 July 2009* http://www.adelaidefestivalofideas.com.au/speaker_20.htm – Accessed 9 December 2009 – Attachment 2; 'Experts List: Hussein, Dr Shakira' (undated), Australian National University website http://info.anu.edu.au/ovc/media/experts_list/searchresults.asp – Accessed 9 December 2009 – Attachment 3.

³ For examples, see: 'The politics of the hijab' 2009, *Unleashed, ABC News*, 21 April <http://www.abc.net.au/unleashed/stories/s2548643.htm> – Accessed 9 December 2009 – Attachment 4; 'Should We Ban the Burka?'; 2009, Australian National University website, 15 July http://www.anu.edu.au/discoveranu/content/podcasts/should_we_ban_the_burka/ – Accessed 9 December 2009 – Attachment 5.

⁴ For further background on Dr Hussein's research work and views, see: Cambourne, K. 2008, 'Fly into your fieldwork', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 April <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/fly-into-your-fieldwork/2008/04/11/1207856832463.html> – Accessed 9 December 2009 – Attachment 6; Hussein, S. 2009, 'Face-veiling: a "conversation" between Islam and the West', Australian National University website, 24 July <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/blogs/southasiamasala/2009/07/24/face-veiling-a-conversation-between-islam-and-the-west/> – Accessed 6 November 2009 – Attachment 7.

⁵ Hussein, S. 2009, Email to RRT: 'PAK3584 Record of Conversation', 7 December – Attachment 8.

Arranged marriages within a person's own ethnic community tend to be the norm. This is very much the case across Pakistan as a whole. Western observers are often surprised to discover that affluent urban Pakistani families (who may otherwise seem outwardly no different to a Western family in their dress and behaviours) will nonetheless still expect their children to meet the expectation of entering into an arranged marriage with a partner from their own ethnic community... **Moreover, love marriages which transgress family expectations can result in considerable family pressure being brought to bear. Again, violence could be a part of such pressure.** In instances where the male partner to the marriage was from an ill-regarded community or caste then he, as much as the female partner to the marriage, could likely find himself the subject of a violent reprisal.

2. Is there evidence of violence against the parties to the marriage in these circumstances?

Multiple sources indicate that parties to love marriages have been subjected to significant pressures, threats, and violence from their families. The most extreme example of harm against parties entering into a love marriage is the act of honour killing. An honour killing is the culturally acceptable murder of a woman who marries without consent or who refuses to marry a chosen partner.⁶

The 2010 US Department of State *Country Report on Human Rights Practices – Pakistan* reports that 'Parliament outlawed forced marriages in 2007, but implementation of the law remained a problem' due to deeply rooted cultural traditions. The report cites a particularly brutal example of the violence visited on a couple who entered in a love marriage, stating:

On June 28, according to *Dawn*, armed men, some in police uniform, attacked the home of a newlywed couple in Charsadda, killing five persons. According to the husband's relatives, some of the armed men pretended to be policemen, knocked on the door, and shot him. The bride's relatives then scaled a wall, entered the house, and began firing, killing the bride as well as her husband's father, mother, and sister. The bride's family allegedly was upset because the couple had wed against their wishes. The police made no arrests in the case.⁷

In August 2009, an extensive study of the situation in Pakistan with regard to marriage and its regulation by laws, authorities and customs was published by Karin Yafet, a doctoral candidate at Yale Law School in the *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*⁸. With regard to the role of police in such matters the study reports that:

"Despite the judicial vindication of womens' right to marry, traditional perceptions of honor still severely limit some of the most basic rights of women.

...

"In fact, honor killings in general, and in response to love marriages in particular, are so prevalent that government statistics report that not a day goes by without at least one woman being killed in the name of distorted notions of honor".

⁶ Yafet, K.C. 2009, 'What's the constitution got to do with it? Regulating marriage in Pakistan', *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*, vol.16, August, p. 359 – Attachment 9.

⁷ US Department of State 2010, *Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2009 – Pakistan* 11 March - Attachment 10.

⁸ Yafet, K.C. 2009, 'What's the constitution got to do with it? Regulating marriage in Pakistan', *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*, vol.16, August, p. 361 – Attachment 9.

Precise numbers of honour killings are difficult to locate and estimates vary widely. It is also likely that many murders are not categorised as honour killings and go unsolved. Reporting on violence against love-marriages in Pakistan in March 2009, a *Dawn* news report noted that: ‘An annual report published by the Aurat Foundation puts cases of honour killings reported from across the country at 472 and of them an overwhelming majority of 220 were reported in Sindh, 127 in Balochistan, 91 in Punjab, 32 in the Northwest Frontier Province, and two in Islamabad’.⁹

A January 2009 report from *The News* states that 141 cases of honour killing cases resulted in 179 people being murdered in 2008. The article specifically notes that a surprising number of these cases took place in urban areas, including Lahore in Punjab Province.¹⁰

A 2007 article by *Pakistan Press International* citing UNISEF and Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid stated that 1,567 honour killings occurred in 2006. Murder victims included men, women, and children. The report notes that 428 murders were linked specifically to love marriages and that Punjab was the second highest reporting province for these types of murders. A 2001 study by the Shirkat Gah organisation confirms that such killings occur throughout Pakistan, and with some notable regularity in the Punjab, where honour killings involving illicit relationships are referred to as ‘kala kali’ (kala being man and Kali being woman).¹¹

3. Do the relevant authorities provide protection to parties in these circumstances?

Authorities in Pakistan frequently do not provide adequate protection to love marriage partners. While some examples were located indicating that police did take protective measures in some instances, there were many examples of police aiding and abetting families seeking to punish or harm love marriage partners. Other examples were located indicating that the justice system also sometimes failed to protect love marriage partners from disapproving families.

The 2010 US Department of State (USDOS) *Country Report on Human Rights Practices – Pakistan*, reports authorities do not always protect parties to love marriages and sometimes even conspire with families against the parties. USDOS also criticizes authorities for not prosecuting families that harm love marriage partners, indicating a significant lack of protection. The report states: ‘Although the government generally did not interfere with the right to marry, local officials on occasion assisted influential families to prevent marriages the families opposed. The government also failed to prosecute vigorously cases in which families punished members (generally women) for marrying or seeking a divorce against the wishes of other family members.’¹²

Some examples of positive police action were located and include an 11 June 2009 *Dawn* report on a couple who had eloped in Sindh. According to the report: ‘Police sought a protection order for Saira and Ismail, and were ordered to take them to Karachi, a teeming

⁹ Khan, M.H. 2009, ‘No relief in sight for karo-kari couple’, *Dawn*, 9 March <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/sindh/no-relief-in-sight-for-karo-kari-couple-international-women-s-day-hs> – Accessed 10 November 2009 – Attachment 11.

¹⁰ Pasha, F.K. 2009, ‘2008 saw 179 honour killings’, *The News*, 1 January http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=154963 – Accessed 10 November 2009 – Attachment 12

¹¹ ‘1567 fall prey to honour killings in 2006: Report’ 2007, *Pakistan Press International*, 12 April. (FACTIVA)

¹² US Department of State 2010, *Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2009 – Pakistan* 11 March Attachment 10.

city of 14 million, for their safety'.¹³ A December 2006 *Agence France Press* reported on the situation of a couple from the Pashtun north who were being 'sheltered at the private Edhi Centre in Karachi' while awaiting a court hearing. However, the majority of reporting on love marriages indicates that protection is seriously lacking.¹⁴

The Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) regularly expresses concerns about the lack of protection and complicity of police in harming partners in love marriages. For example, on 14 May 2009 the AHRC reported that police had allegedly assisted in the apprehension and killing of an individual in this regard in the Sindh's Shikarpur district. On 20 May 2009 it was reported that police had engaged in the torture of a number of individuals belonging to the offending husband's family in incidents occurring in the Punjab cities of Rawalpindi and Jhang. In July 2009 complicity of this kind allegedly resulted in the abduction of the female partner to a marriage and the wrongful imprisonment of her husband in Muzaffarabad. Another report from October 2009 describes how a brother-in-law gunned down the male partner of a love couple, in front of his wife and child, after the family disapproved of the marriage.¹⁵

In the 2009 paper 'Love marriages, women and rule of law in Pakistan' on the Asian Human Rights Commission website, a particular 2008 case is documented illustrating the lack of protection in Punjab. The paper states that after a civil service was conducted for a love marriage couple, the family of the bride threatened the couple. The bride filed a restraining order in court; however, members of her husband's family were abducted reportedly with the assistance of a police inspector. The paper reports that: 'It is common for legal authorities, particularly the police to mishandle cases involving love marriages or other 'family issues''.¹⁶ The same paper documents several other instances in Punjab where police helped families find and harm couples who entered love marriages, or where authorities, including courts, ignored injuries, threats, and harm to couples.

Dr Shakira Hussein (expert whose background was described in question one) advised that love marriage partners may be pressured or pursued by police acting on behalf of disapproving family members. She also advised that the legal system did not offer much recourse or restitution. She stated:

¹³ 'Couple married for love, hiding in fear of tribal justice' 2009, *Dawn*, 11 June

<http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/provinces/04-couple-married-for-love-hiding-in-fear-of-tribal-justice-qs-01> – Accessed 10 November 2009 – Attachment 14.

¹⁴ 'Pashtun woman hiding after love marriage' 2006, *Daily Times*, source: *Agence France Press*, 20 December http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006%5C12%5C20%5Cstory_20-12-2006_pg1_6 – Accessed 16 November 2009 – Attachment 15.

¹⁵ Asian Human Rights Commission 2009, 'Pakistan: Police complicity and judicial inaction lead to the murder of a girl on the pretext of an honour killing' 14 May

<http://www.ahrchk.net/statements/mainfile.php/2009statements/2026/> – Accessed 9 November 2009 –

Attachment 16; Asian Human Rights Commission 2009, 'Pakistan: Love marriage greeted by the torture of a family; one girl is abducted by a Punjab MP', 20 May <http://www.ahrchk.net/ua/mainfile.php/2009/3159/> –

Accessed 9 November 2009 – Attachment 17; Asian Human Rights Commission 2009, 'Pakistan/Kashmir: Two women are abducted and three others are arrested as a result of a love marriage', 9 July

<http://www.ahrchk.net/ua/mainfile.php/2009/3203/> – Accessed 9 November 2009 – Attachment 18 & 'Man killed for free will marriage' 2009, *The News*, 15 October http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=203221 –

Accessed 13 November 2009 – Attachment 19.

¹⁶ Hong, J. 2009 'Love marriages, women and rule of law in Pakistan' 5 October *Asian Human Rights*

Commission – Ethics in Action website <http://www.ethicsinaction.asia/archive/2009-ethics-in-action/vol.-3-no.-5-october-2009/love-marriages-women-and-rule-of-law-in-pakistan> - Accessed 22 November 2010 – Attachment

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...above it could not be guaranteed that police would assist a couple who were being threatened by family members in such instances. It is just as likely that local police would assist the family in asserting pressure on the transgressing couple rather than offering effective protection to them.

There have been some cases where higher courts have ruled in favour of couples in such predicaments in recent years but it should be noted that the progression of such a case to higher courts can take years and, in most cases, the offending couple will not have the opportunity or the means to argue their case in this way. The statistics associated with honour killing indicate the extent to which numerous individuals are never able to survive family reprisals. Moreover, in the lower courts...such killings may be forgiven, or subject to little punishment or a financial settlement, if such is the choice of the murdered victim's family.¹⁷

In 'What's the constitution got to do with it? Regulating marriage in Pakistan', in the *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*, K. C. Yafeet writes that courts sometimes protect couples in love marriages, but not always, and while a woman's constitutional right to choose her partner is recognized, in practice there are many deficiencies. He reports that persons who conduct honour killings in response to love marriages '...are not perceived as criminals, but rather as persons rendering punishment to a wrongdoer, they may even be applauded and respected by their peers, and may not face criminal prosecution. Even when they do, lower courts have tended to be lenient and forgiving, either drastically reducing the killers' sentences or acquitting them of murder altogether'.¹⁸ This law enforcement problem and sense of impunity is echoed in the 2007 report '1567 fall prey to honour killings in 2006: Report' in the *Pakistan Press International* which states 'Culprits were not arrested in many cases'.¹⁹

4. What is the status of protection orders or petitions?

Sources were located indicating that it is possible to apply for, and obtain, protection orders from authorities in Pakistan. The utility of the orders and the amount of protection provided actually is likely to vary according to circumstances.

A 22 July 2010 report by *ANI* states that a 13-year old girl filed a petition in the Lahore High Court, in Punjab, seeking protection from her own father who had sold her into marriage with a 55-year old man for 70,000 rupees. A human rights organisation called Judicial Activism Panel (JAP) came to the aid of the girl when she ran away from her father and was pursued by police acting at the direction of the father and other relatives. JAP officials petitioned the court on her behalf, after police sided with the family, and asked the court to order '...police officers [to] stop harassing her and instead provide protection and take action against her father and other relatives...'²⁰

A recent example of a successful application of a protection order was located in Lahore, Punjab as reported in the *Daily Times* of 9 October 2010. In this instance, a woman in an abusive relationship obtained a legally sanctioned divorce. When she remarried, her ex-

¹⁷ RRT Country Advice Service 2009, *Record of Conversation with Dr Shakira Hussein of the Australian National University on 2 December*, 2 December – Attachment 20.

¹⁸ 'Pakistan: Supreme Court legalises "free-will" marriages' 2003, *IRIN News*, 30 December <http://www.irinnews.org/PrintReport.aspx?ReportId=21457> – Accessed 13 November 2009 – Attachment 21; see pp.347-348 in: Yafeet, K.C. 2009, 'What's the constitution got to do with it? Regulating marriage in Pakistan', *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*, vol.16, August – Attachment 9.

¹⁹ '1567 fall prey to honour killings in 2006: Report' 2007, *Pakistan Press International*, 12 April. (FACTIVA)

²⁰ 'Pak father sells 13-year old daughter to marry 55 year old for 70,000 rupees' 2010, *Thaindian News* website 22 July http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/south-asia/pak-father-sells-13-year-old-daughter-to-marry-55-year-old-for-70000-rupees_100399934.html - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 22.

husband was able to engage police assistance to harass the new couple and bring false (not further explained) charges against them. A Lahore High Court Justice issued a directive to police dismissing the false charge, ordering police not to harass the couple. Illustrative of societal pressures against effective protection measures, the article further reports that in a defiant rebuttal, the police attempted to demand 50,000 rupees to dismiss the charges.²¹

The *Nation* reported on 30 October 2008 that Sindh High Court received a petition for protection from a couple in a love marriage. The couple told the court that they had married against the wishes of the bride's parents and relatives. They also told the court that tribal chiefs had backed up family intentions to murder them with a traditional court ('jirga') directive to kill the couple. The court issued notices for the chiefs to appear before the court and directed authorities to provide food and shelter for the threatened couple.²²

Protection orders, while they are available, may not always offer adequate or timely protection. In the 2009 *Asian Human Rights* article 'Love marriages, women and rule of law in Pakistan' several serious instances of police and families disregarding protective orders are documented. The article states:

It is common for legal authorities, particularly the police to mishandle cases involving love marriages or other 'family issues'. For this reason, violence against women in Pakistan (including violence against women in love marriages) remains very high. Furthermore, the country's social infrastructure and institutions are largely operated and staffed by men, most of whom carry various cultural and gender biases. Cases involving women—whether at police stations or in the court system—are inevitably prejudiced, prone to violence, and illegal. A pregnant woman in Punjab province for instance, was severely beaten by the police in August 2007 for secretly marrying and living with a man despite her parents having already chosen her bridegroom. Her husband was falsely charged with her abduction, while she was 'punished' by being raped by her intended bridegroom.²³

The same article reports on a 2008 love marriage case in which protection petition was filed with the Shekhupura civil court in Punjab, but two days before it was to be decided on by a judge, a police officer was implicated in assisting family members in carrying out a kidnapping of the male partner's relatives. The article also strongly criticises the justice system for ignoring claims of abuse and torture at the hands of families and it accuses judges of regularly ignoring evidence of torture presented in court. The guarantee of protection for a couple in love marriages could be considered tenuous at best.

5. What is the recent history of political parties in Pakistan in particular as it relates to impact on violence between supporters of the opposing parties?

Violence associated with political parties does occur in Pakistan. Sectarian strife, ethnic divisions, and militant religious groups all contribute to the political violence. No reports

²¹ 'LHC orders Jhan police to quash case against married couple' 2010, *Daily Times*, 9 October http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2010%5C10%5C09%5Cstory_9-10-2010_pg13_5 - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 23.

²² 'Murtaza Case: Hearing Put Off' 2008, *The Nation* 30 October <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Regional/Karachi/30-Oct-2008/Murtaza-case-Hearing-put-off> - Accessed 26 November 2010 – Attachment 24.

²³ Hong, J. 2009 'Love marriages, women and rule of law in Pakistan' 5 October *Asian Human Rights Commission* – Ethics in Action website <http://www.ethicsinaction.asia/archive/2009-ethics-in-action/vol.-3-no.-5-october-2009/love-marriages-women-and-rule-of-law-in-pakistan> - Accessed 22 November 2010 – Attachment 1.

were located indicating that widespread violence between ordinary supporters of opposing parties have recently occurred in Punjab. Some sources also indicate that political violence incidents in Punjab often involve targeted killings of political leaders, rather than violent acts between party supporters. For example, on 30 May 2009, the Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz District President of Vehari and another former parliamentarian were shot and killed.²⁴ No information was located indicating that this assassination proceeded to cause any outbreaks of further violence or clashes among opposing political parties.

The political violence situation in Punjab contrasts sharply with events this year in Karachi, where a targeted killing can precipitate significant violence among supporters. In January 2010, sources blame political party rivalries for a shooting spree and retaliatory violence, which erupted across Karachi on 30 January, resulting in eight people killed. Political party clashes involving the Awami National Party and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and other unidentified political parties were thought to be behind the violence.²⁵ When an incumbent MQM politician was assassinated in Karachi in August 2010, while attending a funeral, MQM and Awami party supporters clashed in widespread violence which spread throughout the city. Forty-five people were reported killed overnight, 80 people suffered gunshot wounds, and vehicles and shops were burned. An *MSNBC* news article commented that independent analysts assess that ‘... followers of all political parties in Karachi are heavily involved in criminal activities, such as protection rackets and illegal land dealings.’²⁶ A *Christian Science Monitor* article on the August 2010 violence in Karachi assesses that authorities are quick to blame clashes on fringe sectarian groups and that police often fail to arrest and prosecute the actual perpetrators of violence. When elections were held in October 2010 to replace the MQM politician murdered in August 2010, violence again erupted in Karachi. A 17 October Associated Press story reported that 25 people were gunned down in clashes in a 24-hour period around the time of the election.²⁷

A report on Pakistan by Global Security states that political parties in Pakistan often form coalitions, but they are easily dissolved when factions within them begin to form. Parties often do not have standing constitutions, membership lists or documented funding sources. Electoral support is rarely nationwide and is many times based on elements of religious, ethnic, and regional compositions. It also reports that many parties have separate wings for women and youths and many have been accused of maintaining militias to collect funds and threaten opponents.²⁸

The following information about two political parties is provided for background purposes.

²⁴ Bansal A. & Singh T. K. 2009, *Violence in Pakistan: Trend Analysis May 2009*, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis

http://www.idsa.in/strategiccomments/ViolenceinPakistanTrendAnalysisMay2009_ABansalTKSingh_020909 - Accessed 26 November 2010 – Attachment 25.

²⁵ ‘Eight Killed as Violence Flares up in Karachi’ 2010, *Dawn*, 31 January

<http://news.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/18-six-killed-in-political-clash-in-karachi-am-01> - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 26.

²⁶ ‘Pakistan’s Largest City Descends into Deadly Chaos after Assassination’ 2010, *MSNBC*, 3 August

http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/38533068/ns/world_news-south_and_central_asia# - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 27.

²⁷ ‘Suspected Political Violence Kills 25 in Pakistan’ 2010, *AP*, 17 October, MSNBC.com website

http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/39710426/ns/world_news-south_and_central_asia - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 28.

²⁸ ‘Pakistan Political Parties’ 2010, Global Security website

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/political-parties.htm> - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 29.

PML-Q

The Quaid Azam Muslim League-Musharraf group (PML-Q) is a centrist conservative party acting in opposition to the current government. This party was formed under the guidance of Pervez Musharraf in 2001 with splinter elements of the PML-N. The PML-Q led an alliance to form a coalition government in 2002.²⁹ In the 2008 elections it lost seats in the government due to the unpopularity of President Musharraf. One source comments that this party is 'strong in urban areas of the Punjab and Sindh provinces.'³⁰ According to another source, the PML-Q '...remains a motley crew of local notables and strongmen.'³¹

PML-N

The Nawaz League (PML-N) party is the largest faction of the PML parties and is currently the dominant party in Punjab. The PML is led by Nawaz Sharif, who returned to Pakistan in 2007 after being ousted by Musharraf in 1999 and sent into exile in Saudi Arabia. This party is also considered a centre-conservative party.³² One source comments that the PML-N is a strong force in Punjab and counts among its constituents traders and businessmen and members of the middle and upper class.³³

Attachments

1. Hong, J. 2009 'Love marriages, women and rule of law in Pakistan' 5 October *Asian Human Rights Commission – Ethics in Action* website
<http://www.ethicsinaction.asia/archive/2009-ethics-in-action/vol.-3-no.-5-october-2009/love-marriages-women-and-rule-of-law-in-pakistan> - Accessed 22 November 2010.
2. 'Speakers: Shakira Hussein' (undated), *Adelaide Festival of Ideas, 9–12 July 2009*
http://www.adelaidefestivalofideas.com.au/speaker_20.htm – Accessed 9 December 2009.
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http://info.anu.edu.au/ovc/media/experts_list/_searchresults.asp – Accessed 9 December 2009.
4. 'The politics of the hijab' 2009, *Unleashed, ABC News*, 21 April
<http://www.abc.net.au/unleashed/stories/s2548643.htm> – Accessed 9 December 2009.

²⁹Chaudhry, M. 2010, 'Pakistan's political parties explained', CNN, 15 February http://articles.cnn.com/2008-02-15/world/pakistan.parties_1_pml-q-zulfiqar-ali-bhutto-bhutto-family?_s=PM:WORLD - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 30.

³⁰ 'Political Parties of Pakistan' 2010, Views to News website, 30 October
<http://viewstonews.com/index.php/political-parties-of-pakistan-2/pakistan> - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 3.

³¹Gazdar, H. 2008, 'Pakistan's Precious Parties', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9 February
http://www.researchcollective.org/Documents/Pakistans_Precious_Parties.pdf - Accessed 29 November 2010 - Attachment 32.

³²Chaudhry, M. 2010, 'Pakistan's political parties explained', CNN, 15 February http://articles.cnn.com/2008-02-15/world/pakistan.parties_1_pml-q-zulfiqar-ali-bhutto-bhutto-family?_s=PM:WORLD - Accessed 29 November 2010 – Attachment 30.

³³ Gazdar, H. 2008, 'Pakistan's Precious Parties', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9 February
http://www.researchcollective.org/Documents/Pakistans_Precious_Parties.pdf - Accessed 29 November 2010 - Attachment 32.

5. 'Should We Ban the Burka?'; 2009, Australian National University website, 15 July http://www.anu.edu.au/discoveranu/content/podcasts/should_we_ban_the_burka/ – Accessed 9 December 2009.
6. Cambourne, K. 2008, 'Fly into your fieldwork', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 April <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/fly-into-your-fieldwork/2008/04/11/1207856832463.html> – Accessed 9 December 2009.
7. 'Face-veiling: a "conversation" between Islam and the West', Australian National University website, 24 July <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/blogs/southasiamasala/2009/07/24/face-veiling-a-conversation-between-islam-and-the-west/> – Accessed 6 November 2009.
8. Hussein, S. 2009, Email to RRT: 'PAK3584 Record of Conversation', 7 December.
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12. Pasha, F.K. 2009, '2008 saw 179 honour killings', *The News*, 1 January http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=154963 – Accessed 10 November 2009.
13. '1567 fall prey to honour killings in 2006: Report' 2007, *Pakistan Press International*, 12 April.
14. 'Couple married for love, hiding in fear of tribal justice' 2009, *Dawn*, 11 June <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/provinces/04-couple-married-for-love-hiding-in-fear-of-tribal-justice-qs-01> – Accessed 10 November 2009.
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18. Asian Human Rights Commission 2009, 'Pakistan/Kashmir: Two women are abducted and three others are arrested as a result of a love marriage', 9 July
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