

**REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN SELECTED
TELEVISION DRAMAS ACROSS DIFFERENT
POLITICAL REGIMES IN PAKISTAN**

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
FM	Frequency Modulation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MFLO	Muslim family laws Ordinance
NGO	Non-Government Organizations
PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PTV	Pakistan Television Corporation
SARC	Sexual Assault Resource Centre
TRP	Top Rating Program
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nation's Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

REPRESENTASI WANITA DALAM DRAMA TELEVISYEN TERPILIH MERENTASI REJIM POLITIK YANG BERBEZA DI PAKISTAN

ABSTRAK

Media memainkan peranan penting dalam memberikan representasi berkaitan perbezaan kumpulan, kelas dan gender dalam sesebuah masyarakat. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk meneliti representasi wanita dalam drama televisyen merentasi empat rejim politik yang berbeza di Pakistan. Hubungan kait di antara polisi dan program dalam politik kerajaan yang memerintah serta ideologi patriaki juga dikaji dari segi representasi berkaitan wanita dan isu pencabulan hak wanita dalam drama televisyen. Berdasarkan perspektif teori feminisme Marxist, hubungan antara kuasa hegemoni kelas pemerintah dan ideologi patriaki sehinggalah kepada eksploitasi kelas subordinat wanita juga turut dianalisis. Jurang kajian yang diisi adalah dengan menganalisis representasi berkaitan dengan wanita dan isu pencabulan hak wanita merentasi rejim berbeza di Pakistan yang mana ianya tidak diberikan perhatian oleh pengkaji-pengkaji lepas. Kerangka kaedah kajian direkabentuk berasaskan pendekatan analisis kandungan untuk menganalisis representasi wanita dan isu pencabulan hak wanita dalam drama-drama terpilih. Dapatan kajian ini mendedahkan bahawa representasi wanita dalam drama televisyen tidak semestinya merupakan refleksi kepada polisi dan program rejim pemerintah mahupun gambaran sebenar wanita dalam masyarakat. Tambahan lagi isu-isu berkaitan pencabulan hak wanita tidak langsung diketengahkan dalam kesemua drama yang dianalisis. Sebaliknya, imej-imej wanita dalam drama merentasi rejim politik yang berbeza sebenarnya dikonstruksi di bawah ideologi patriaki untuk menggambar wanita sebagai lemah dan juga sebagai kelas subordinat dalam masyarakat Pakistan.

**REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN SELECTED TELEVISION DRAMAS
ACROSS DIFFERENT POLITICAL REGIMES IN PAKISTAN**

ABSTRACT

Media has a prominent and important role in the representation of different groups, classes and genders in a society. This study aims to examine the representation of women in the television dramas across four different political ruling regimes in Pakistan. The relationship of policies and programs of political ruling governments with the ideology of patriarchy is observed from the representation of women and issues of violation of women's rights in the television drama. From the Marxist feminist theoretical perspective, the relationship between the hegemony of powerful ruling class and the ideology of patriarchy to the exploitation of a subordinate class of women is examined. The research gap is filled by analysing the representation of women and issues of violation of women's rights in television dramas across different political regimes in Pakistan which was not explored by previous researchers. The methodological framework is designed using content analysis to examine the representation of women and issues of violation of women's rights in selected television dramas. The findings of the study revealed that representation of women is neither the reflection of ruling programmes and policies for women nor the real image of women in society. Moreover, the issues of violation of women's rights are not highlighted through all dramas analysed. However, images of women in television dramas across different political regimes are constructed under the ideology of patriarchy to represent women as a weak and subordinate class in Pakistani society.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Media has a prominent and vital role in the representation of different groups, classes, and genders in society. Studies have found that the representation of gender, particularly of women, in media such as drama and film tends to confirm a narrow range of gender stereotypes. Women in media are consistently sexualised for the male gaze and often depicted in traditional roles (domestic, relationship partner, and sexual gatekeeper) in which they are subordinate to men (Das, 2011; Gilpatric, 2010; Oliver, Banjo, & Kim, 2003). This stereotypical representation of women exists in television (Greenberg et al., 2003), movies (Oliver et al., 2003), music videos (Sherman & Dominick, 1986), and advertisements (Stern & Mastro, 2004). In addition to this narrow range of gender stereotypes, a critical cultural evaluation of women in media suggests that narrative structure depends on the depiction of the passive role of women and the active role of men.

Collins (2011) underscores the need to examine the nature of representation of women in different genres of media, in addition to the frequency of depiction. Mulvey (1975) asserts that from a feminist perspective, women are on display as erotic objects for the male characters within the narrative and for the male gaze of the audience. Moreover, the male protagonist controls events that propel the story forward and is depicted as the representative of power within this traditional narrative. This power is partly derived from the possession of the erotic male gaze that is directed at the female figure (Mulvey, 1975).

Additionally, women are increasingly depicted as engaging in oppression or violence (Bleakley et al., 2012). This oppression is more likely to be verbal than physical (Coyne & Archer, 2004), although physical oppression is becoming increasingly common (Bleakley et al., 2012). Even more often, women are shown participating in sexual behaviour and presented as objects of attraction for male viewers. In an examination of the role of women in media, Haskell (1987) describes the depiction of female characters as overtly sexual, innately weak, or both; women in films and dramas exist primarily as props for developing the storyline or enhancing the value of male characters. Thus, Haskell (1987) calls for representation of more detailed female characters with lives that exist outside of the supporting roles they play for men.

Representation is the process through which some meanings or ideologies are constructed (Hall, 1997). Struckman (2009) argues that media presents us with individual images to guide us in perceiving, respecting, and behaving toward other genders. The representation of women on television contributes to beliefs about what women are like in real life (Holly, 2005). Hall's (1997) critical approach considers representation in media as a construction of images rather than a reflection of reality, an act of ideological re-creation that advances the interests of the dominant class.

The dominant ideology such as patriarchy upheld by a male-dominated society aims to control a submissive class of society (women) by using different strategies of representation in media (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). Patriarchy is the dominance of a man over a woman that is established through real or symbolic power relations that are constructed through differences in physical ability (Leon, 2011). Diamond and Queenby (1988) elaborate that there is an association between the ideology of patriarchy and oppression of women in a society. The two main features of a

patriarchal system are a belief in the hegemony of one group over another and faith in the superiority and dominance of men over women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Hall (1982) emphasizes that women are constantly targeted by male domination through social, political and economic discrimination, as the patriarchy gives hegemony to men.

Due to the supremacy of patriarchal ideology, media objectify women or construct images of them in traditional gender roles in popular, regular programs such as drama serials (Bustch, 1992). Many critics of the film (Greenwood & Lippman, 2010) and television (Coyne & Archer, 2004) believe that the male domination of media, particularly at a higher level is a motive that drives representation of women in stereotypical roles for the male gaze. In many countries, the power of patriarchy is supported by the elite ruling class, because the male-dominated ruling class enhances the power of patriarchy through different policies and ruling programs. The dominant ruling class uses cultural and social institutions to achieve hegemonic control of submissive groups in society (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Women's rights are related to both class differences and the ideology of patriarchy.

The ruling economic and political elite wield power over weak and subordinate classes to promote their personal interests (Brinson, 1992). As a powerful dominant institution, the ruling state is intertwined with the exploitation and oppression of one gender in the cultural context of a dominant ideology (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). An ideology is a body of ideas of a social group or class (Van Dijk, 1998), a representation of aspects of the world that contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination, and exploitation (Eagleton, 1991). To understand the relationship between the hegemony of the ruling class with the

ownership of media, it is essential to examine class stratification and gender oppression.

The ideology of patriarchy and the sexual objectification or exploitation of women in media are inter-related (Mackinnon, 1987). Representation of women as sexual objects places them in society as objects of the male gaze, a position that is used to the physical and psychological advantage of their male counterparts, thus giving rise to the patriarchy. Although all human beings have equal rights, men constitute a sturdy and independent class of society that tries to control and victimise women as a subordinate class.

International human rights laws and religions around the world, including Islam and constitutions such as the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, give equal rights to men and women as human beings (Suleman, 1990). Similarly, men and women have the fundamental right of equal representation in every field of life. However, in practice, women are rarely equal to their male counterparts. Additionally, Hall (1982) notes that women are targeted through social, political, and economic discrimination by the powerful, hegemonic class, which adopts the ideology of patriarchy.

1.2 Ruling Regimes, Patriarchy, and Women in Pakistan

Representation is a crucial concept in feminist research studies that concerns how television genres and films are closely linked to cultural aspects of power differences (Puertas, 2005). To some extent, the ideology of patriarchy results from the hegemony of the dominant political ruling group. The patriarchy is also the result of socioeconomic and cultural norms of a society in which men control the finances. The ideology of patriarchy may be explicit or implicit and difficult to identify due to

the accepted cultural norms of some society (Hall, 1997). This study analyses how the ideology of patriarchy influenced the representation of women in constructed images under the male domination in selected television dramas during different political ruling regimes in Pakistan.

Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi (2013) emphasise that television provides viewers with entertainment, relaxation, and escape and therefore plays an important social role. As television is an active medium that can propagate hegemony through dominant ideologies, it can do so in its representation of women. Moreover, Malaolu (2012) stresses that it is time to revisit the gripping effect of television as a medium that captures both sight and sound. Television is an influential and active medium because the images it shows often become incorporated into social norms and practices.

Television is a primary, vital source of information and entertainment in many developed and developing countries (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 2013). Moreover, Bignell (2012) insists that although internet and print media have their significant place in providing information, television has a dominant role among media. Due to its effectiveness, it is also used as a tool of propaganda. As an active medium, television plays a significant role in representing gender and in shaping attitudes and behaviours. Additionally, television drama is a significant genre for the representation of women as main characters (Amanda, 2010).

The representation of women in television dramas is helpful in developing definitions of how women are believed to be in real life (Holly, 2005). It is presumed that women are represented in television dramas as they are in the real world, in their proper societal roles. However, it is also believed that images of women in the media are constructed under the hegemony of the ideology of patriarchy (Hall, 1997). Only

images that align with male domination are composed, while the real images of women as constructive members of society are intentionally neglected. Kim (2008) emphasises that the feministic thought revolution in the 20th century identified and criticised hegemony and patriarchy as the driving forces of the discriminatory representation of women as a submissive class.

Although a significant number of female employees, journalists, producers, writers, and directors currently work in different media organisations, representation of women in Pakistani media is not entirely assertive yet. Women are still represented predominantly as beauty objects for the male gaze or in stereotypical roles in television dramas, films and advertising (Malik & Almas, 2012). As a result of the supremacy of patriarchal ideology, the media objectifies or typecasts women in traditional gender roles in most popular and regular programs such as drama serials (Bustch, 1992; Amanda, 2010). Modern drama on television encourages two extremes of a women's character: a shy, obedient, quiet sufferer or an evil conspirator (Amanda, 2010). However, as women have proven themselves capable in every field of work, they should be represented as they are in real life. Thus, the idea of a woman being an object of entertainment should be dispelled and exchanged for an image that highlights the creativity and industriousness of women. In most television programs (drama or non-drama), women are depicted as either beautiful models with perfect looks, dress, and hairstyles or as victimised members of a male-dominated society.

Pakistan is a country where the domination and superiority of men and the ideology of patriarchy are accepted social norms (Suleman, 1990; Shaeed, 2009). The ideology of patriarchy is implemented through laws and policies that justify the violation of women's rights in a legal manner. Additionally, violation of rights and violence are recognised tools for controlling women and their sexuality and for

exercising gendered power relations (Tarar & Pulla, 2014). Through laws and policies against women, most of Pakistan's ruling governments have supported the violation of women's rights in the country.

In the past half-century, Pakistan's governments have been very unstable due to corruption charges that prevented them from completing their elected ruling tenure. Many democratic and nondemocratic governments have ruled the country according to their interests and policies. The political ruling governments were named as hegemonic states to some extent, as one strong and dominant class ruled the weaker and subordinate ones (Shaheed, 2009). The dominant political ruling class claimed that they wanted to benefit the auxiliary class, but the reality was that interests and benefits always served the dominant ruling class. For example, the governments of Pakistan used the socially-accepted, dominant ideology of patriarchy to stabilize their rule and justify their authority over other classes or groups of society (Shaheed, 1991).

Different political regimes have used women's rights and laws regarding women to stabilize their governments (Saigol, 1994; Zia, 1994). Democratic and non-democratic governments have targeted women through different policies and through their representation in the media. The primary form of media was television, as television operated under the ideology of patriarchy and supported the hegemony of the male elite class.

The prejudice also accompanies this ideology through the regular expression of male domination in leading institutions such as schools, religion, and media organisation such as television (Currier, 2011). Because of the hegemony of patriarchy, the political ruling governments represent women in certain ways in media and in society. Suleman (1990) claims that in such a rigid and biased political and

social scenario, it is difficult to find a positive representation of women on national television in Pakistan.

The government-owned television network in Pakistan was established in 1964, but in 2000, many private broadcasting companies (Jang Group and ARY Group) began broadcasting from Dubai. Additionally, General Pervaiz Musharraf issued the 2002 Ordinance of Freedom of Expression, which made many media organisations eligible to start their television channels in the country and resulted in the quick progress of private media. With the launch of several private, national, and international television channels in the media market and the progress in media development, the participation of women in media has improved since 2000 (Rehman, 2012). However, although a greater number of women are involved, the ownership of the media has remained under the control of the dominant class of men.

Additionally, issues concerning the violation of women's rights should be highlighted in the plots of television dramas. Raising awareness of issues that cause a violation of women's rights and violence against women in Pakistan should be a goal of representation of women in television dramas. Women's struggles and their place in society should be represented. Malik and Almas (2012) emphasise that constant projection of a positive image of women and highlighting issues of concern regarding women on television can help shape ideas about the role of women in a positive way and increases awareness of women's issues.

Media and particularly television dramas can encourage the audience to develop mindsets of different classes. The continuous projection of issues concerning women and issues of violation of women's rights can have the psychological impact of subconsciously promoting acceptance in society (Malik & Almas, 2012). The principal objectives of this study are to analyse the representation of women and to

examine the representation of issues of violation of women's rights in television dramas across different political ruling regimes in Pakistan.

1.3 Importance of the Representation of Women in Television Dramas

The status and representation of women in media are constantly debated issues around the world (Pillay, 2008). For decades, it has been considered crucial for women to be represented in different media genres. Films, advertising, and television represent women in certain traditional social roles (Zia, 2007). Although television is considered the primary storyteller of media forms, it may not reflect society (Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001). The stereotypical representation of women, as in Pakistan, weakens their role and position in the political and social fields of society (Zia, 2007; Shaheed, 2009; Rehman, 2012). The representation of women as stereotypically weak maintains their status as a submissive class in society.

During the different political ruling regimes in Pakistan, discriminatory legislation exploited the fundamental rights of women in society (Saigol, 1994). Although the laws and policies concerning women have improved in Pakistan, there are still cultural, social, and traditional values that are responsible for perpetuating discriminatory attitudes toward women (Zia, 2009). Those discriminatory attitudes are derived from and designed by dominant ideologies (Amanda, 2010). Because of the continued domination of the powerful class of men, the ideology of patriarchy is an accepted reality.

The influential and compelling nature of television dramas can help improve women's position in society through their active representation in media. Drama is a popular and active genre in the representation of women (Amanda, 2010). The common perception is that television dramas are commercial entertainment that aims

to earn money and are thus controlled by media conglomerates (Zia, 2007). This study examined how women are represented in the most famous television dramas on different networks across different political ruling regimes from 1978 to 2012 in Pakistan. These political ruling regimes used the ideology of patriarchy to guide the representation of women in television dramas and never highlighted issues concerning women's rights violations in society.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

In the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, women have proven themselves to be competent and skilled through their active participation in fields such as the army, media, science, and technology. Some have earned international awards for their significant contributions to the positive portrayal of Pakistani women. Nevertheless, the dominant male ruling class has targeted women as a subordinate class through different means and policies during various ruling political regimes. Ruling political governments in Pakistan have been unstable due to corruption charges against the rulers. To stabilise their governments, the political ruling classes exert hegemony and control over other classes through different policies, programs, or dominant ideologies. The ideology of patriarchy, which defines women's position in society as subordinate to that of men, has been historically supported and reinforced by not only legal, political, and economic structures, but also the religious system (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Weiss, 1985; Eagleton, 1991; Shaheed, 1991; Saigol, 1994; Shah, 1997; Shah, 2012). Hall's (1997) critical approach considers the representation of women in media as the construction of images instead of a reflection of reality, an act of ideological recreation that controls the media to advance the interests of the dominant class. For their active role in and contributions to society, women should be represented positively in

media. However, in television dramas, which are considered the most popular genre of media in Pakistan as well as in Asia (Suleman, 1990), the images constructed of them in society and fields of life are not positive. Studies exploring the representation of women (Suleman, 1990; Shaheed, 1991; Kothari, 1997; Zia, 2007; Mugal, 2011) have demonstrated that due to the patriarchy and a biased political and social environment, it is challenging to find an adequate representation of women in television dramas in Pakistan.

Due to the influential and active role of media, constructed images of women in television dramas can cultivate a negative impression of women in a society, thereby weakening their role and position (Amanda, 2010). Additionally, issues concerning the widespread exploitation of women by the hegemony of the patriarchy have been neglected in media. However, through the proper representation of issues of violation of women's rights, the violence against women can be controlled.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1. To study the representation of women in selected television dramas across different political ruling regimes in Pakistan.
2. To examine the representation of issues of violation of women's rights in selected television dramas across different ruling regimes in Pakistan.

1.6 Research Questions

1. How are women represented in selected television dramas across different political ruling regimes in Pakistan?
2. How and to what extent are issues of violation of women's rights highlighted in the selected television dramas across different political ruling regimes in Pakistan?

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN, MEDIA, AND POLITICAL REGIMES IN PAKISTAN: HISTORICAL AND CURRENT PERSPECTIVE

This chapter discusses the political background and current situation of political ruling regimes in Pakistan. The historical and present situation of media, television, and drama is also included. The position of women, their achievements, policies for women, and issues of violation of women's rights are also discussed.

2.1 Background of Pakistan and its Political Regimes

Pakistan is established in 1947 as *the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*, a Muslim state with a population of 168.8 million. It is the sixth largest country in the world, and the second largest among Muslim countries, with Muslims comprising 96% of its population (Pak Yearbook, 2014). After the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States of America, Pakistan has become the most prominent and active ally of America in the war against terror. Pakistan is an active member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and other leading organisations of Asia. Due to geographic reasons, Pakistan has many social and cultural norms and values like those of other Muslim and non-Muslim countries of Asia.

From the time of its establishment, Pakistan has a colourful history of different political governments which ruled the country. From 1947 to now, Pakistan has many democratic and nondemocratic governments which have introduced various policies and legislation to get their control and hegemony over ordinary people. Right after its independence from the British rule in 1947, it has the government of Muslim League

which ended by a martial law imposed by General Ayub Khan in 1958. This martial law lasted for ten years with strict rules and legislation.

In 1971, the east part of the country was separated on specific political issues and established as Bangladesh on the world map. In the general elections of 1973, Pakistan Peoples' Party got the majority and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. During this era of the political regime, Zulfikar Bhutto implemented many policies which gave freedom and equality to both genders in the country. Zulfikar Bhutto's policies were about the modernization and westernisation of the culture of Pakistan.

Bhutto's government was later replaced by the second martial law of the country in 1978, imposed by President Zia-ul-Haq who replaced all the previously implemented policies and legislation with the Islamic laws and legislation (Shaheed, 1991). This strict regime of President Zia was later replaced by Ms Benazir Bhutto after the success of her political party (Pakistan Peoples' Party) in general elections by the majority in 1988, after the death of General Zia-ul-Haq in a plane crash. Ms Benazir Bhutto from Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) was elected as the first female prime minister of Pakistan. Benazir was the first woman prime minister of any Muslim country in the world.

Ms Bhutto's political ruling government initiated the improvement in the equality of women's rights with her feminist supportive policies and programmes in the country (Saigol, 1994). Likewise, being the first female prime minister of the country, Ms Benazir Bhutto supported women empowerment during her ruling regimes from 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996. Through different political policies, her government promised for the equal rights for both genders and all social groups. Afterwards, the government of Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim

League (PML) replaced each other's ruling regimes in 1990, 1993 and 1996, without completing their full elected five years, due to accused corruption cases on both governments.

In 1999, the country faced another martial law which was imposed by General Pervez Musharraf as the President of Pakistan. In contrast to Islamization programme of President Zia-ul-Haq, the government of President Pervez Musharraf introduced the policies of modernization and liberalism. The government of President Musharraf replaced all the critical laws against women by the modern laws for the empowerment of women. The "Ordinance of Freedom of Information and Expression 2002" for media was introduced and implemented by his government. Due to the freedom ordinance, different private broadcasting networks launched their television channels, and media flourished rapidly in the country.

After an extended political period of President Pervez Musharraf, the political party of Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) won the election, and Yousaf Raza Gillani was elected as the 16th Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2008, and he ruled the country till 2012. Similarly, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani followed the policies of President Musharraf during his regime. Raja Pervez Ashraf (from PPP), assumed the post as 17th prime minister of Pakistan after Yousaf Raza Gillani was disqualified due to court charges. During this regime, the policies were the same as were during the regime of President Pervez Musharraf and this government followed the policies of enlightened moderation and modernisation. The media policies were also the same as regarding representation of women in different genres in Pakistan.

In 2013, Mian Nawaz Sharif from Pakistan Muslim League (PML) was elected for the third time as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, as the 18th Prime Minister of the country. In July 2017, the Supreme Court of Pakistan disqualified Mian Nawaz Sharif

on charges of corruption. Shahid Khakan Abbasi, a member politician of Pakistan Muslim League (PML), became the 19th prime minister of the country in August 2017. Although Mian Nawaz Sharif and his political party Pakistan Muslim League (PML) were followers of the programme of Islamization of President Zia-ul-Haq, during this regime, Sharif allowed the previously prevailing policies of modernisation and liberalism.

It is interesting that all the political ruling regimes have targeted only the women as a subordinate class either in the case of rights or the matter of representation in media (Weiss, 1985; Zia, 1991). All these political governments as a strong dominant group tried to achieve hegemony for building secure and sound grounds for their complete control on all subordinate classes of the country.

2.2 Different Political Ruling Regimes and Position of Women

From 1978-2012, four political ruling regimes were selected for this study which adopted programmes and policies that concerned the situation of women's rights and representation of women in media in Pakistan. All the selected ruling regimes were renowned for their unique laws and policies for women's rights and position and were helpful to study the representation of women and issues of violation of women's rights in television dramas in Pakistan.

2.2.1 Political Ruling Regime of President Zia-ul Haq and Islamization (1977-1988)

President Zia-ul-Haq was the first Pakistani ruler who persistently adopted concrete steps for the programme and policies of Islamization in Pakistan (Shah, 2012). As president and an army chief from 1977-1988, Zia-ul-Haq became the most authoritative and dominant leader. For unquestioned acceptance of his dictatorship,

President Zia introduced the programme of Islamization in the country. Zia's Islamization had a political, social and economic agenda (Shah, 2012). For supporting the political, social and economic agenda, the ruling governments used to adopt the dominant ideology.

The ideologies play their part in the promotion of powerful and dominant class in the process of hegemony and domination (Van Dijk, 1998). In this respect, in the presence of the ideology of patriarchy and through the program of Islamization, the government of President Zia achieved power and hegemony as a dominant class over all other subordinate classes of the country. The political leaders of the dominant class gained the control and hegemony through the support of a group of people to avoid the rebelling reaction of the ordinary public against their leadership. Most probably they achieved the support of an ethnic group or social class which became helpful to them to get the support of the entire subordinate classes (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1991). The reason was that subordinate class was under an invisible control of the religious or ethnic group.

Shaheed (1991) indicates that customs were confused with religion and religion itself was interpreted with the intention to maintain the hegemony of patriarchy. The programme of Islamization facilitated the hegemony of patriarchy and helped the government of Zia-ul-Haq to gain the control of the subordinate class of women.

Due to the hegemony of the prevailing religious ideology of patriarchy the targeted subordinate class of women community was exploited through different legislations and policies implemented by the government of President Zia. Inversely, customs that contradicted Islam, but ensured the supremacy of men were accepted and continued to operate in the society (Weiss, 1985). Although Islam has given a very

respectable place and guaranteed equal rights to women towards men, the religion was misused as a powerful instrument to control and legitimate the violation of rights of women (Tara & Pulla, 2014). In this regard, the real nature of Islam was manipulated just for the sake of some personal political interests of the ruling government.

In contrary to the women's rights in Islam, the situation was entirely different and painful too for the women in the country. The Islamic values and women's rights were taken away in the name of Islam. Whenever the history of women in Pakistan would be analysed, Zia-ul-Haq's regime would be recognised as the most oppressive and backward for women's rights (Weiss, 1985; Mughal, 2011, Naz, 2013). The strict military ruling regime of President Zia-ul-Haq has been renowned for the exploitation of women's rights in the country (Shaheed, 2009). Zia used the sword of Islamization only to cut down the women's rights, as a subordinate and weak class towards the dominant class of men (Jafar, 2005). His Islamization programme characterised as victimisation of women's rights through the male domination which later became the part of state policy.

Zia's programme of Islamization created legal changes in state policy which discriminated against women; therefore, religion became one of many factors that affected the lives of women in Pakistan (Shaheed, 2009). Through the legal reforms in *Qisas* and *Diyat* Ordinance (1980) and cultural construction under the hegemony of Islamic concept of the ideology of patriarchy, the ruling regime of President Zia-ul-Haq demonstrated that women are the legal property of men (Naz, 2013). According to *Qisas* and *Diyat* ordinance (1980), the *Wali* (Legal Male Guardian) of a woman was entitled to claim *Qisas* (Retaliation) and to give *Diyat* (Blood money payable to the heirs of a murder victim); therefore, men achieved the legal authority to gain the benefit from women's lives as their *Wali*.

The focus of all the policies and laws for the empowerment of Islam was to implement the strict legislation and policies against women (Naz, 2013). After coming into power, President Zia had not just suspended the national constitution but later created amendments to the “Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973” to provide legal support to the discrimination with women in the country. The military regime of President Zia was proved as the period of direct targeting of women in every field of life under the manipulation of Islam (Naz, 2013). At the end of his ruling regime, the Amnesty International charged his government for violation of human rights in the form of torture and imprisonment of many men and women in the country. Many women or feminist groups tried to encounter the hegemony of patriarchy from the state religion. As Shaheed (1991) indicates, customs were confused with religion and religion itself was interpreted with the intent to maintain patriarchy. Some feminists identified the Islamic forms of patriarchy as the primary cause of discrimination against women in Pakistan and many other parts of the Muslim countries (Mahmood, 2005). According to some of the feminist critics (Weiss, 1985; Shaheed, 1991), this regime undid all the struggles, which were made for the achievement of women’s rights before 1978 in Pakistan.

All the rights and opportunities which guaranteed to women for the social development, participation and empowerment were just taken away during this regime. Similarly, women involvement in foreign services and public activities was also banned. Women participation in sports activities and their performance in front of men was strictly banned. Co-education and education for women were also discouraged to some extent. Many co-educational institutions were ordered to be separated for the male and female genders.

(a) Laws and Ordinances

During the military regime of President Zia-ul-Haq, all the laws and legislation for women were changed to assure the violation of women's rights and women empowerment in the country (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1991). The targeted aim of all the implemented laws and ordinances was to create an atmosphere in the country, where all the men became the moderator of the status and modesty of women in the society (Naz, 2013). For the sake of a smooth hegemonic process, the government passed the most criticised *Hudood* Ordinance of 1979, which was about adultery and fornication. The *Hudood* Ordinance was the set of six ordinances which were targeted mainly to Islamize the Criminal Law.

The *Hudood* Ordinance (1979) enacted as a part of General Zia-ul-Haq's programme for the rule of Islamization in the country. It aimed at imposing *Sharia Law* by implementing punishments mentioned in the Quran and *Sunnah* for *Zina* (Extra-marital sex), *qarf* (false accusation of *Zina*), the consumption of alcohol and theft. According to that ordinance, the witness of two well-reputed men was essential for the rape cases. However, in the absence of the witness, if the raped women failed to prove, she could be charged with adultery or fornication. The laws under the *Hudood* Ordinance (1979) confirmed the men, the judge of modesty and status of a woman in society (Kothari, 1997). In the consequence of *Hudood* Ordinance, the accused gained escape, and the victims of violence of rape were punished (Amber, 2012). Due to this law, many victimised women faced punishment for the accusation of adultery.

Moreover, the exploitation of women through the legal laws and legislation had not ended here. Another law called the "Law of *Qisas* and *Diyat*, 1980" was also under the debates of critics (Naz, 2013). The law stated that the punishment for male and female murderer would be to hang them until death unless the family of the victim

agreed to accept blood money in exchange for the murder. The victimisation or discrimination towards women started from the point when the “Ordinance of *Qisas* and *Diyat*, 1980” stated that the amount of blood money would be half for the murder of a woman.

In a country like Pakistan where the ratio of honour killing has been very high, the reason for the assassination of women became more prominent (Satar, 2015). As a result, the killing of women in feudalists families increased rapidly. According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), during the year 1986, a total number of 832 girls were murdered in the name of honour killing, and most of them were from the feudalist families of the rural areas of Pakistan where the male domination and patriarchy were accepted social norms.

For the last two decades, the male domination and patriarchy have been facilitated by the religion to validate and legitimate male dominance over women in Pakistan (Saigol, 1994; Zia, 1994). In the light of Islam, the state proved the working of women outside their homes as an entirely non-Islamic act (Rehman, 2012). As a result of this statement, the educated working-class women were strictly condemned and discouraged in the urban areas. However, in the countryside, the participation of women outside the home was not criticised because, in the context of the culture of Pakistan, those women who used to work in fields should not be included in labour class because they were seen as subordinates, helping men.

In short, to have a smooth hegemonic process for the programme of Islamization, President Zia took all non-legal as well as legal measures to target women in the country (Jafar, 2005). The most popular slogan of Zia’s regime was *chaddar* (a long veil to cover the female body) and *chardivari* (four walls of the house) (Zia, 2009). The main idea of the slogan was to control the mobility and freedom of

women. The slogan stated that women have to cover their head, and they should keep themselves in the house. This idea was meant to limit the educated working women community inside the homes to control their empowerment.

The concept of *chaddar* and *chardivari* reinforced the emphasis on women's sexuality while the idea of confining women to their domestic spheres implied to confirm their incapability of functioning in the outside world and rendered them subservient to men in the private realm (Hassan, 1995). Of all the educational institutions, it imposed that women should have to cover their heads. Another order was given to all the professional organisations for women to cover their heads as well as to wear national dresses on public occasions. The state orders strictly prohibited the modern westernised dresses for women in public places. Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) refer to the slogan of *chaddar* and *chardivari* as a source to achieve power and control exercised by the ideology of patriarchy during this regime.

(b) Media and Women

Gramsci (1977) reveals and further identifies that the political process establishes hegemony through the political and cultural impact on the central institutions such as schools, religion and media. Moreover, Gramsci (1977) believes that media plays a vital role in moulding the attitudes and practices of ordinary people in support of power group or dominant class. Another critical factor in the process of hegemony is the control of media to use it for the enforcement and acceptance of individual ideologies of the ruling government or dominant class (Verta, Nancy, and Leila (2009). Sometimes media is used by the powerful and dominant class to control the subordinate class in society.

In the military regime of President Zia, another important step was taken by targeting media and representation of women in media. For that purpose, the media was manipulated and managed with strict policies of censorship and restrictions for women working in media (Kothari, 1997). It was also important that the target of Zia's government was not precisely the women of rural areas which were working in labour and agricultural fields. The government policies targeted women who were living in urban areas and specifically those who were working outside homes in offices or media organisations. The reason was that educated working women can achieve empowerment through awareness; therefore, only women living in urban areas and working on media could be a threat to the system of patriarchy.

In media and especially on television, the rules about women were changed into severe forms; women had to wear full covered dresses on their body and head. The image of women in television genres such as dramas was modified in just a few days of government control. The patriarchal approach of the state was confirmed through religious consents that presence of women in television shows assumed as the reason of sexuality and obscenity, which could create chaos and immorality in society (Zia, 2009). For that reason, the government sent the directive to PTV in 1980 to strictly prohibit the participation of women in the advertisements of those products, which had no concern for women. Moreover, it also directed that women could be part of just about 25% of the allotted time of an advertisement on television.

Moreover, in advertising, women could work only in the advertisements of domestic products. The role of a female was limited to home duties to serve the men because she was a part of the religiously accepted society of male domination (Shaheed, 1991). Women were very rarely allowed to participate in programs of glamour or entertainment. During this ruling regime, there was just one television

channel PTV (Pakistan Television) which was under government control and ownership. Due to the hegemony of government, all the drama and non-drama shows were telecasted under the strict censorship and state laws (Suleman, 1990). At the same time, some of the best and most popular television dramas were produced which gained high viewership across the world.

Most of the dramas produced during this decade projected the domestic role of women. However, some opponents of Islamization argue that this was propaganda of President Zia, to stabilise and legitimise his baseless position as a popular democratic leader and ruler (Shaheed, 2009). President Zia used television media for the projection of his policies and for attacking his opponents. Zia's government used women and media to confirm the hegemony of his position and rule.

Shaheed and Mumtaz (1991) identify that drama serials during Zia-ul-Haq's regime represented women as "the cause of all evil." Most of the drama serials focused on the point that women are the primary cause of problems in society (Mughal, 2011; Zia, 2009). There was a justified note on the control of representation of women in media, that women have a respectable place in Muslim society; therefore, they should not be used or exploited by the advertising agencies or media executives (Jafar, 2005). Another standing point in favour of Zia's policies was that the ruling government wanted to ensure the modesty and respectable place for women working in schools, colleges and in civil or government services.

An examination of customary and religious policies and laws practised during the ruling regime of President Zia-ul-Haq revealed that the aspects of Muslim jurisprudence that promoted the predominance of men gained acceptance, while, Islam injunction protecting or advancing the women's rights was systematically rejected (Shaheed, 1991). The study of ruling laws, legislation and media policies identified