

From Liberal to Radical Feminist Resistance in Pakistan: A Comparative Analysis of Women's Action Forum (1981) and Aurat March (2018)

Humaira Riaz¹

ABSTRACT

Women's struggle for emancipation has significantly influenced the political history of Pakistan since its founding. The development of feminist movements in Pakistan, across social, religious, and political spheres, offers a foundation for this study. Qualitative in approach, this research examines feminist resistance from the 1980s to the emergence of Aurat March in 2018. It particularly focuses on the Women's Action Forum (WAF) and Aurat March (AM) as key movements driving a shift from a liberal to a more radical feminist perspective. Using a narrative review method, the study compares the two feminist movements to provide a qualitative interpretation of existing scholarship on the subject. It highlights issues and sub-issues to compare and contrast their strategies, rhetoric, and challenges. The study also refutes the idea that Aurat March is simply a continuation of the Women's Action Forum. It demonstrates that, although Aurat March follows the legacy of WAF, it broadens its agenda to encompass a wider range of gender issues and tactics aimed at achieving solutions. It contributes to enhancing the scholarly understanding and feminist discourse in Pakistan by responding to the unique local challenges. Overall, the study reflects a shift in perspective across political, technological, and cultural domains.

Keywords: *Emancipation, Women Action Forum, Aurat March, Feminism, Activism*

INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this study is to provide the reader with a comprehensive background of feminist movements in Pakistan, with a particular focus on the Women's Action Forum (WAF) and Aurat March (AM)², for a deeper understanding of their contemporary status.

Women's struggle for emancipation has marked the history of Pakistan since its creation. Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, Fatima Jinnah, Mrs. Suherwardi, and many other women activists in their illuminating roles continued the struggle for the rights of Pakistani women.

¹ Assistant Professor of English, Institute of Management Sciences (IMSCINCES), Peshawar.
Corresponding Author's Email: humaira.riaz@imsciences.edu.pk

² The study uses WAF and AM as abbreviations for Women Action Forum & Aurat March.

In 1977-1988, Zia's Islamist regime targeted women in particular by banning their participation in sports and various other fields. The Women's Division of the Government conducted a survey to identify the role of Muslim women, and the Hudood Ordinance was endorsed in 1979, introducing Islamic penal codes into the country's criminal justice system. The purpose was to synchronise Sharia principles with the legal system; however, the Hudood Act of Zina had the most adverse impact on women, banning the testimony of women for Had (Saigol, 2021).

General Zia's Islamization and gender discriminatory policies stimulated the first feminist organisation of Pakistan in 1981 called Khawateen Mahaz-e-Amal or Women's Action Forum (WAF). It challenged the state-sponsored system, which emerged as a secular, democratic, and gender-oriented organisation. These ideological commitments distinguished it from other groups. The WAF framed women's rights by strategically using media and legal systems. The objective was to develop a public discourse to recognise fundamental human rights of women and influence the policy-making processes. Many women's organisations and groups have been actively working to support women's rights; however, after WAF, Aurat March (2018) emerged as a radical feminist organisation inspired by Western feminism, particularly the Women's March in the United States. Influenced by the global # MeToo Movement, its approach was intersectional and decentralised, addressing particularly the issues of women and gender minorities. This movement represents a 'generational' shift in the feminist history of Pakistan. Its manifesto challenged patriarchy not only in state and institutional spheres but also in class structure and society. Critics such as Afiya Shehribano and Nida Kirmani called the Aurat March movement a 'generational shift in feminism' and 'Youth-driven feminist wave' (Kirmani, 2022).

Significance and Objectives

The history of Pakistan depicts feminist activism against patriarchal state policies and the Islamisation of law. Women's Action Forum responded meticulously to the regressive legislation of Zia. The legislation aimed to institutionalise gender discrimination. WAF significantly opposed it through public discourse, campaigns, media advocacy and protests. Consequently, it created a feminist consciousness, highlighting and connecting women's rights to the wider global struggle of women. WAF maintained that a structural political platform was crucial to address and achieve gender justice. The platform served as a training catalyst for the next generations. It symbolised an intersectional advocacy of gender equality in a conservative and hostile socio-political context of Pakistan. Likewise, Aurat March Movement, though much radical in its disposition, focuses on women and the marginalised genders. Its struggle is for their visibility and the reclamation of public space.

The present study explores the evolution of feminist resistance in Pakistan from the 1980s onwards, with a specific focus on the Women's Action Forum (WAF, 1981) and Aurat March (2018) as the foremost movements in bringing the shift from a liberal to a more radical feminist framework.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study reviews various works published on the feminist movements, the Women's Action Forum and Aurat March in Pakistan. It defines the type of sources used to identify relevant data. The four main types of sources are outlined in Table 1 (Cronin et. al., 2008, p. 41).

Types of Sources for Data Identification: Table 1

Source	Definition
Primary Source	Reports by the original researchers and founders of both the feminist movements
Secondary Source	Synthesis or summary of relevant studies on the topic
Conceptual/Theoretical	Manifestos of both the movements and research papers relevant to the account and analysis of theories or concepts linked with the topic.
Anecdotal/Opinion	Views or opinions about the subject, not theoretical. Blogs/interviews.

The study identifies issues and sub-issues to compare and contrast the strategies, rhetoric, and challenges of both feminist movements. The study adopted the method of narrative review to have 'a qualitative interpretation of the prior knowledge' (Sylvester et al., 2013). It helped in gathering relevant scholarship available on the subject and synthesising it without strict limitations on exclusion and inclusion criteria. Its thematic structure of organising data made it compatible because the study aimed to inform the readers about existing knowledge on feminist movements and activism in Pakistan. A step-wise structure was followed by discussing the socio-political context of the selected feminist movements, identifying themes. Drawing from previously published literature, manifestos, blogs, and media reports, a comparative analysis interpreted the shift in feminist ideologies. The method also provided a comprehensive background and future research gaps in the specific area (Cronin et al., 2018). The method was used in the medical field to help nurses conduct a literature review. The present study reworked it for a comprehensive understanding of the feminist movement and activism in Pakistan.

Women's Action Forum under Dictatorship

Critics such as Robina Saigol have identified five elements, which caused a shift in feminist ideology, i.e. from liberal to radical: colonialism, nationalism, dictatorship, democracy and 'war on terror' (Saigol, 2021). From the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan (1958-69) to the democratic reign of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1973-77), women's activism faced restrictions; however, it gained voice as well. Bhutto's regime is marked for mobilising women's participation in every social and political strata of life. After the regime change, the political struggle of women emerged in its most radical form, challenging anti-women state policies. A sustained and most visible resistance by women's movements manifests this era, countering authoritarianism and religious patriarchy.

General Zia's Islamization and gender-discriminatory policies inspired the first feminist organisation of Pakistan in 1981, called Khawateen Mahaz-e-Amal or Women's Action Forum

(WAF), by a group of 15 women in Karachi. Fahmida Allah Bux was an impetus for the establishment of the forum. The couple eloped and when recovered, despite being married, they went through severe sentence alleged for Zina (fornication). WAF challenged the state-sponsored oppressive system and emerged as a secular, democratic, and gender-oriented organisation. As a consciousness-raising organisation, WAF aimed to empower Pakistani women to fight for their rights at that time, as the regressive Islamization policies of the General Zia-ul-Haq regime had adverse impacts on Pakistani women. It exposed Zia's regime for abusing religion for self-glorification. Enforcement of Hudood Law was badly criticised for its partiality and patriarchal interpretation. Hudood Ordinance incorporated the Pakistan Penal Code into Islamic Jurisprudence. The ordinance was mainly criticised for its ambiguities in announcing punishments for fornication (Lau, 2007). Kennedy (1988) illuminated the 'peripheral impact of the Act on the criminal and judiciary system. Croffie (2016) called it 'the most defenceless violence of sexual and domestic nature in Pakistan'. WAF criticised Zia's policies as the 'harshest religio-military dictatorship'. During that era, feminists and activists resisted more in public spheres rather than academia. 'Men, Money, Mullahs and the Military' was a common slogan coined by WAF, which identified the obstacles barring women from their rights. It boldly protested against the discriminatory laws and demanded their elimination. Not only WAF, the ordinance was criticised for its implementation strategies by renowned Muslim scholars, Javed Ghamdi and Dr. Israr Ahmad.

Khan (2011) criticised WAF for not achieving its aim. The objectives of WAF were not limited to women's consciousness raising but also to promote and defend their rights. The activists, however, influenced their action plans, methods and outreach policies. Its major weakness was its vast representation of women of the elite class. Young and middle-class women were excluded. Although WAF changed its strategies to a considerable extent, however, its mobilising tactics were radically transformed after 1983. Moreover, debates arose over whether to adopt a secular or Islamic framework (Khan, 2011). This created a divide in WAF (Yuval & Werbner, 1992). Its Lahore chapter took a 'reverential' attitude to Islam (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 2024), whereas its Karachi chapter adopted a secular stance. The divide may also reflect the geographic differences. To the Karachi Chapter, ethnic identity was more important than faith (Khan, 2011). The divide was mainly triggered when the Lahore Chapter invited clerics to open a debate on Evidence Law and its interpretation.

Apart from all its sincere efforts to promote and defend women's rights in Pakistan, WAF has been labelled as an alien and Western-influenced ideological organisation. As a resistance to the dictatorial Islamisation of Zia, it might not have reversed the state policies; however, its role is significant in illuminating issues of women and their civil and political rights.

Transition Period

Connectivity with NGOs affected the professional advocacy role of WAF. Gender discourse dominated its agenda to attract international donors and funding agencies. This move triggered a deterioration of the rudimentary political edge WAF enjoyed. Likewise, its focus shifted from public protests to legal advocacy. The rise of digital media in 2010 produced a generational disconnect between WAF and its young activists, which affected its visibility and

strategy. The post-WAF, i.e. post-2010 epoch, is marked in Pakistani feminist history as ‘digital evolution of feminist resistance’, introducing new terminologies such as cyberfeminism, intersectional digital communities and online discourse. WAF asserted that civil disobedience by Pakistani women posed a challenge to the ‘militarised religious’ rules. Rather than using words such as ‘protection’ and ‘charity’, it emphasised justice and equality in common vocabulary. The old school of thought was reluctant to welcome LGBTQ issues and the use of digital tools. The popularity of institutional feminism aroused disillusionment among the young activists and the founders of feminist movements in Pakistan. Feminist organisations became more project-oriented and dependent on international funding, thereby reshaping feminist priorities as per the donors’ agenda. Short-term, technocratic and quantifiable projects suspended a systematic change. There was a disconnect with the issues of rural women, as most NGOs were rooted in cities. Feminism in this era was limited to ‘within the office’, more focused on women’s career building, project cycles and donor reporting. The General Musharraf era ensured equal opportunities to women, adding to their larger interests, specifically by creating positions for women in the cabinet. The quota for women in the national and provincial legislature was increased to 17% and 30% (Bano, 2009). Harassment Law (2010), revision of Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW) 2012, were a few landmarks which widened the scope of women’s struggle (Weiss, 2010).

The social fabric of Pakistani society remained unfavourable for women. Young activists faced death threats while exercising their constitutional rights (Aamir, 2024). This era records particularly the activism leading to awareness of women’s own subjugation and...desire for personal and political emancipation’ (Saigol, 2016).

Aurat March

Aurat March (2018) was the foremost movement that brought a shift from a liberal to a more radical feminist framework in Pakistan. Batool and Malik (2020) defined Aurat March as a ‘regeneration of feminism’. This movement faced the harshest criticism for its radical and outrageous protest style. Its main slogans revolved around ‘issues of sexuality and body politics’. It voiced ‘body autonomy, sexuality, LGBTQ issues, private patriarchy and division of labour’ which could not expand before 2010. Commonly understood as ‘the third-generation feminism’, it invited criticism from almost all the social and political spheres. Feminism in Pakistan is generally perceived as ‘a foreign import’ (Batool & Malik, 2021), threatening the social, cultural and religious conventional practices for centuries in this region. Though viewed as a women’s empowerment platform, the supporters of WAF, such as Robina Saigol, and later Aurat March activists such as Farzana Bari criticized the movement as ‘funded activism’(Saigol, 2016,2019, 2021) although the movement refused its affiliation with any non-profit or political organisation.

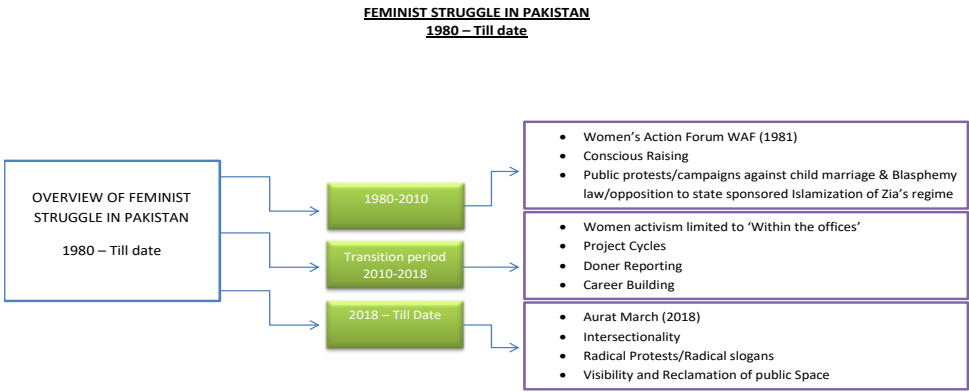
The Aurat March manifesto clearly stated its support for sexual minorities, which created havoc in the Muslim society of Pakistan. The major proponent of its manifesto asked for an immediate end to domestic violence and a policing mechanism. Demand for sexual and reproductive rights was challenged by the opponents of the movement, who deemed the street protest amenable to the idea of gender equality. The movement was criticised as ‘marching along strange slogans and ridiculous placards’ (Khushbakht & Sultana, 2020). Such a situation demanded a framework necessary to differentiate women’s rights and emancipation in the Islamic

context, as religious beliefs and cultures could not be ‘translated’ within the Western framework (Khushbakht & Sultana, 2020). Awais and Ali found the role of print media shaping feminist discourse and perpetuating ‘negative stereotypes’ (2025). ‘Eliciting polarised emotions’, Aurat March moved amidst negative and positive sentiments (Chandra et al., 2024). Critics called Aurat March influenced by the third wave of Western feminism. (Chandra et al., 2024). The movement’s radical activists came out to the streets with radical slogans and chants. They completely ignored the local context during their aggressive strategies and marches.

The success of any movement depends on the objectives aligned with the demographics of the region. The Aurat March is criticised as a representative movement of the secular and elite section of Pakistan society. Many cases in Pakistan, such as the Mai Mukhtaran case and Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy’s documentary, *Saving Face* (2011), were used as illuminating examples by the Aurat March activists in rallies to resist violence against women (Khan, 2020). The protests are a regular feature on Women’s Day in Pakistan. Considered as ‘an elitist intervention’, the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) Pakistan emphasised a thorough and critical review of the slogans within the Islamic framework (Batool & Malik, 2021).

Women’s Action Forum vs Aurat March: A Comparative Analysis

The following table presents a quick overview of feminists’ struggle in Pakistan from 1980 till date.



The main objective of this study is to analyse the principal characteristics of both movements, highlighting issues and sub-issues to compare and contrast the strategies, rhetoric, and challenges. The greatest achievement of WAF was the political consciousness-raising of Pakistani women. It boldly recommended changes to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the World Human Rights Conference at Vienna in 1993. It opposed the sexist language used in the Declaration and proposed changes. All thirty articles of the document demanded the same autonomy, equality and justice for women in Pakistan as men were promised, thereby placing Pakistani women on the national agenda. Table 2 presents a comparative analysis based on the synthesis of strategies, rhetorics and challenges.

Aspect	WAF (1980-)	Aurat March (2018-)
Motivatio n	Resistance to dictatorial laws	Intersectionality and body autonomy
Strategy	Street protests/Symbolic sit-ins/Print media	Social media/Marches/Art
Ideology	Liberal/secular/women's human rights	Inclusivity/secular/diversity/pluralit y
Oppositio n	State/Military/Religious bodies	State/Military/Religious bodies/Digital backlash/Society
Model of the Organisation	Elitist/Formal	Formal/Youth-driven/horizontal
Aspect	WAF (1980-)	Aurat March (2018-)
Motivatio n	Resistance to dictatorial laws	Intersectionality and body autonomy
Strategy	Street protests/Symbolic sit-ins/Print media	Social media/Marches/Art
Ideology	Liberal/secular/women's human rights	Inclusivity/secular/diversity/pluralit y
Oppositio n	State/Military/Religious bodies	State/Military/Religious bodies/Digital backlash/Society
Model of the Organisation	Elite-le/Formal	Formal/Youth-driven/horizontal

The above table clearly illustrates how both movements struggled to fight for women's rights. However, WAF was more focused on the basic human rights of women in Pakistan, their exploitation by the military regime of General Zia in the wake of the Hudood Ordinance and interpretation of laws by the patriarchal-driven structures of the state. Comparatively, the Aurat March was initiated in 2018, a democratic era, by the increased violence, censorship and deprivation of women. Triggered by the global # MeToo feminist movement, the Aurat March proclaimed sexual autonomy. It demanded visibility for the sexual rights of women. The charter of the WAF asserted legal reforms, constitutional rights of women and civil disobedience by women. AM was rooted in intersectional feminism supporting inclusivity of queers and inclusive activism (Kirmani, 2020). WAF's target of resistance was Zia's regime and the military-religious alliance, whereas AM extended its protests to the state and society. It has a radical approach to resist moral policing, misogyny, capitalism and household patriarchy. The mode of resistance of WAF was filing legal petitions, public statements and symbolic white dupatta peaceful protests. AM protests were highly influenced by digital media, placards, visual art, songs, highly charged slogans and hashtag campaigns. WAF use legal language to demand rights, citizenship and safety under the constitution. It demanded constitutional recognition and aimed to set legal precedents. AM was focused on demanding dignity, respect, care & safety at workplaces, and the personal space. It demanded sexual autonomy, reproductive rights and decolonisation of gender norms.

As far, inclusivity, WAF was led by urban middle-class women with limited engagement with its rural female population or minority women. AM instead, actively included working women, transgenders, queers, ethnic and religious minorities. This initiated an opposition as Islam has a clear stance on queer liberation. These radical declarations exasperated all the segments of society. Slogan such as 'mera jism meri marzi' also invited hot debates. It created a louder and

diverse feminism in Pakistani politics, claiming to rewrite gender discourse. These agenda were either absent or avoided by WAF. ‘We are not inheriting WAF framework, we are rewriting it’ (Kirmani, 2020).

Limited to Karachi and Lahore chapters, these movements could not mobilise the struggle in the other regions of the country to a mass level.

CONCLUSION

The discussion above may conclude that born out of an emergency, WAF can rightly be called a reactive movement with legal strategies posed at the so-called dictatorial regime. AM embodies frustration opposing systematic gender oppression and institutional feminism. It is more assertive, inclusive and radical than the former. Its utmost demand is personal space for women. Women's rights were defended in courts by WAF, whereas AM did that on the streets. Moreover, many men supported AM in the recent decades, which indicates a blow to patriarchal conventions in Pakistan. Seemingly, both the platform and, rejected NGO feminist approach. However, decades after 2010 reflect activism more informed by NGOs and international donors. AM still claims to be horizontal with activism based in volunteerism and reflexivity. If the struggle for constitutional rights is the success of WAF, the shift from political to personal is the culmination point of AM. Radical deviation from religious norms, rebellion and reimagining of bodies are still controversial topics of debate. Pakistan has a mostly conservative mind-set and needs time to absorb and conclude these issues.

The discussion concludes that both movements reflect ideological and strategic differences. The main difference is the generational politics, which marks the Aurat March as a rupture rather than a continuation of the Women Action Forum. Despite different approaches and contexts, these movements stick to challenging patriarchy, injustice and silencing. Future studies can examine these movements as policy influencers as well as the demographic reasons of the limitation of the movements to all the regions of Pakistan. A study can also be conduct to preserve and archive oral history of feminism in Pakistan. The study challenged all the linear narratives of feminism and its evolution in Pakistan by providing a nuanced and context driven interpretation.

REFERENCES

- Aamir, A. (Feb 09, 2024). Feminist Movements in Pakistan: Challenges and Struggles.<https://capiremov.org/en/analysis/feminist-movements-in-pakistan-challenges-and-struggles/>.
- Anjum, G. (2020) “Women’s Activism in Pakistan: Role of Religious Nationalism and Feminist Ideology Among Self-Identified Conservatives and Liberals,” *Open Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1: 36–49, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1515/culture-2020-0004>. 39.
- Ali, N. (2018). On being an activist: Silence, technology and feminist solidarity in South Asia. *Studies in Social Justice*, 12(2), 406-412.

- Aurat March Manifestos- (2018–2024). <https://auratmarchkarachi.com/index.php/manifesto/>
- Awais, M. & Ali, F. (2025). The annual struggle for equality: Analysis of Aurat March coverage in Pakistan's English print media (2018–2024). *Women's Studies International Forum*. Volume 110. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2025.103088>
- Bhatti, S., Slaman, M., Tariq, M. (2022). Enforcement of Haddood Laws in Pakistan: A Historical Overview. *International Research on Economics and Commerce*. 3 (1). PP. 22-28 ISSN: 2413-4074.
- Bukhari, A. (May 7, 2021). The media and Aurat March: Friends or foes? Paradigm Shift. <https://www.paradigmshift.com.pk/media-and-aurat-march/>.
- Chandra, R., Zhu, B., Fang, Q., Shinjikashvili, E. (2024). Large language models for sentiment analysis of newspaper articles during covid-19: The guardian. *Applied Soft Computing*. Volume 171. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.asoc.2025.112743>
- Cheema, M. H. (2006). Cases and controversies: pregnancy as proof of guilt under Pakistan's Hudood Laws. *Brook. J. Int'l L.*, 32, 121.
- Croffie, S. (2016). Duty or Faith: The Evolution of Pakistani Rape Laws and Possibility for Non-Domestic Redress for Victims. *Emory Int'l L. Rev.*, 30, 565.
- Cronin P., Ryan F., Coughlan M. (2008). Undertaking a literature review: a step-by-step approach. *British Journal of Nursing*. 17(1):38–43. [PubMed]
- Davis Y., Nira., & Werbner, P. (eds.), *Women, Citizenship and Difference*, (London, 1992), pp. 4-5, 18-19.
- Dawn, 10.7.86.
- Hudood Ordinance and Stoning to Death - Part 1. https://javedahmedghamidi.org/?fb_comment_id=4485500678158843_4488130727895838#!/video/5aabdc68b951cb6c099eafb7
- hooks, b. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. Pluto Press
- Kennedy, C. H. (1988). Islamization in Pakistan: Implementation of the Hudood ordinances. *Asian Survey*, 28(3), 307-316.
- Khan, E. (2020). Violence Against Women in Pakistan: Through the Lens of Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy. *Reel Pakistan: A Screen Studies Forums* Vol. 1. https://reelpakistan.lums.edu.pk/sites/default/files/user376/reel_pakistan_vol_1_2020-14_e_khan.pdf.

- Khan, S., Saigol, R., & Zia, A. (1994). *Locating the Self: Women and Accountability in South Asia*. Lahore, Pakistan: ASR Publications.
- Khan, S. (2011). Challenges And Prospects for Women's Movements in Pakistan: A Case Study of Women Action Forum Author(S). *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*. Vol. 72, PART-II (2011), pp. 1074-1081. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44145719>.
- Khushbakht, S., & Sultana, M. (2020). The Women Activism in Pakistan: An Analysis of 'Aurat March'. *Al-Milal Journal of Religion and Thought* 2(2):50-69. DOI:10.46600/almilal.v2i2.144
- Lau, M. (2007). Twenty-Five Years of Hudood Ordinances-A Review. *Wash. & Lee L. Rev.*, 64, 1291.
- Mumtaz, K. & Shaheed, F. (2024). *Women of Pakistan*: Peace Publication.
- Saigol, R. (2016). *Feminism and the Women's Movement in Pakistan*. Singapore: FriedrichEbert-Stiftung.
- Saigol, R. (2019, July 15). <https://herald.dawn.com/news/1398878>. Retrieved from Herald, Dawn: <https://herald.dawn.com/news/1398878>
- Saigol, Rubina. (2021). The Women's Action Forum, Pakistan. In book: *Re-Interrogating Civil Society in South Asia* (pp.179-204). 10.4324/9781003162490-12.
- Saigol, Rubina (2016). *Feminism and the Women's Movement in Pakistan: Actors, Debates and Strategies*. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/12453.pdf>.
- Sarwar, G., & Zille Huma (2021). Aurat March and Women Empowerment: Perceptions and Perspectives of Women in Pakistan. *Journal of Development & Social Sciences*. 2(4).
- Saira, B. (2009). Women in Pakistan: Problems and Potential Solutions, *Women Studies Journal*. vol.23. No: 1, pp.19-31
- Sylvester A., Tate M., Johnstone D. Beyond synthesis: re-presenting heterogeneous research literature. *Behaviour & Information Technology*. 2013;32(12):1199–1215.
- Weiss, Anita M. (2010). "Women's Rights in Pakistan", in *Islamization in Pakistan, 1979-2009*. Washington, DC: The Middle East Institute. [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/103356/No 16 Pa kistanTo201979-2009.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/103356/No%2016%20PakistanTo201979-2009.pdf)
- Women's Action Forum Pakistan Position on The Universal Declaration of Human Rights for the World Human Rights Conference Vienna, June 1993. <https://waflahore.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/womens-rights-as-human-rights.pdf>

Zia, A. (March 7, 2022). Where is the Aurat March heading?
<https://www.dawn.com/news/1678623>.