



In this Issue

Recommendations for developing a coherent, robust and effective human rights policy are included.

By Asad Jamal

Reimagining Human Rights in Pakistan

In search of a human rights policy

A rising graph of extremism in Pakistan has triggered alarm on the plummeting standards of human rights protections and entitlements across the country. The recent burning of a Christian couple by a 1,500 strong mob on the outskirts of Lahore underscores the gravity of rights abuses facing vulnerable communities in Pakistan. The growing sense of insecurity and injustice is amplified by the absence of convictions against perpetrators of inhuman rights abuses including the Gojra and Joseph colony riots, the murder of activists such as Rashid Rehman and the targeted killing of Shia, Ahmedi and Sikh community members.

Similarly, the promulgation of recent anti-terror laws infringing personal and civil liberties provide fresh challenges as the state tries to balance security needs with compliance of codes that safeguard human rights. As the state adopts an increasingly security driven posture, it is falling behind in curbing enforced disappearances, harassment of rape victims by police and security threats faced by journalists.

This policy brief, attempts to contextualize the need for Pakistan to forge a more coordinated approach and commitment toward human rights; salient recommendations and reminders for developing a coherent, robust and effective human rights policy are included.

Today, human rights discourse figures prominently in international and national politics. States, signatories to international conventions and declarations, are required to fulfill their obligations under international law. Nationally, these states are answerable to citizens whose rights they are expected to protect and promote. The pull of international obligations, coupled with the push for greater rights and freedoms by citizens are increasingly being leveraged to question a state's policies with regards to human rights. This has meant greater scrutiny by external actors and an increasing possibility for domestic players to engage internationally for protection of human rights within their countries.

Pakistan has earned a less than admirable record for poor compliance to human rights laws. Its poor performance has been criticized by local and international observers in equal measure as worrying.¹ Lately, a significant number of events in Pakistan substantiate the assertion that the Pakistani state does not have a clear policy as regards its domestic and international human rights obligations. For example, the current federal government which assumed power as a result of elections held on May

18, 2013, was reported to have decided to end the moratorium placed by the previous government on death penalty.² Later on, the decision was apparently reversed for unclear considerations.³ In the case of the ratification of United Nations Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (UNCAT) and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Pakistan made sweeping reservations to eight of the ICCPR's 27 substantive articles, and to seven of the UNCAT's 16 substantive articles. Many of those reservations were incompatible with the object and purpose of the treaties because of their scope, generality and the restrictions they imposed on key rights, including non-derogable rights such as the right to life; freedom from torture and freedom from gender discrimination. Those reservations were later withdrawn but only partially and just as much as necessary and unavoidable.⁴ The partial withdrawal was seen as a response to the European Union's policy of offering trade related incentives to states which ratify these conventions without making reservations regarding substantive parts of the conventions.

Within the domestic sphere, the government of Pakistan has been roundly berated for willful neglect of the rights of its citizens under challenge by institutions within the state's security establishment. The case of enforced disappearances is one such example. Pakistan's security establishment has recently been repeatedly referred to in enforced disappearing cases pending before the apex court of the country.⁵

Simultaneously, the government's decision to abolish the federal human rights ministry earlier this year, was seen as a move which could have adverse impact on fulfillment of Pakistani state's obligations under international law as well as on its obligations towards its citizens. It has been noted with concern that the abolition of the ministry would likely retard efforts aimed at promoting and protecting human rights and might result in "human rights concerns being side-lined in government decision-making".

Further, the policy decision to merge the Ministry of Human Rights with the Ministry of Law has resulted in a serious conflict of interest so far as the latter "represents the state in court cases where the state is accused of rights violations, whereas the mandate of the Ministry of Human Rights requires it to seek redress for victims of human rights abuses".⁶

What needs to be done?

The concept of human rights essentially plays the role of a moral touchstone, a standard of assessment for legislation, policy and administrative measures. Additionally, as embodiments of basic principles of freedom, equality and human dignity, human rights must take precedence above political, economic and strategic considerations.

Taking a cue from the comments of the implementing organs of the ICCPR and ICESCR at the United Nations, we urge policy-makers to conceptualize state obligations vis-a-vis human rights in a multi-layered fashion. These include the obligations to respect, protect and promote. While the former may require nothing more than non-interference on the part of the state, the latter two call for legislative, policy and administrative measures as well as creating changes in public consciousness through education, court decisions and judicial pronouncements, public campaigns and information dissemination. Consequently, the framework of duties corresponds not only to the executive but legislature and judiciary as well.

In addition to specific measures in different sectors that are listed, it is clear that Pakistan only stands to gain by putting in place an overarching human rights policy. The policy could delineate strategies and actions for fostering a culture of human rights in the country; specify human rights benchmarks and standards for all social sector departments; and synergize sector-specific policies, such as Education Policy, Environment Policy, Social Protection Policy, and so on.

Admittedly, translating human rights commitments into concrete realities requires transformation in the broader social context. However, the chicken-and-egg argument is self defeating. As the

experience of many modern democracies in the West suggests, removal of poverty and other social and economic deprivations is a task that is best accomplished within a human rights framework for lasting and equitable change.

Constitutional democracy provides the best system for the protection and promotion of the entire range of human rights, and not just civil liberties and political freedoms. A robust regime for human rights protection in turn would help create a stronger sense of citizenship among the people of Pakistan and inspire them to stand firmly behind the government in its courageous fight against religious obscurantism, militancy and poverty.

The following selected broad recommendations cover five human rights areas namely; civil and political rights, social and economic rights, child rights, reproductive rights and environmental rights.

A. Civil and Political Rights

(i) Religious intolerance

Religious discrimination in Pakistan is accelerating and takes two primary forms: Sectarian violence and abuse of the blasphemy law. Sunni militant groups operate with virtual impunity across Pakistan, as law enforcement officials either turn a blind eye or appear helpless to prevent attacks. In 2013, over 400 members of the Shia Muslim population were killed in targeted attacks that took place across Pakistan.⁷ Abuses are rife under the country's blasphemy law, which is increasingly used against religious minorities and Muslims, often to settle personal disputes. Dozens of people were charged with the offense in 2013. At least 16 people remained on death row for blasphemy, while another 20 were serving life sentences at time of writing.⁸ In order to curb religious discrimination in the country it is imperative that the following measures be adopted:

- Ideally, Section 295B and 295C of the Pakistan Penal Code should be repealed. However, challenges remain. A reform bill submitted by legislator Sherry Rehman resulted in death threats and criminal investigations aimed at dissuading any future attempts to reform these sections of the penal code.
- The correct and only long term solution remains the disbanding of all private militias, including those organized for sectarian and jihadi causes, in furtherance of Article 256 of the constitution. While security operations against some groups have begun in earnest, others remain at large.
- Develop a comprehensive policy for interfaith harmony and religious tolerance, specifying measures for the protection and integration of religious minorities at all levels of the society. This is not only achievable, but within reach, if the government demonstrates political will and interest.
- Effective Implementation of the laws against hate speech and incidence of communal violence; leaders responsible for verbal or written edicts of apostasy.

(ii) Women's Rights

Gender Based Violence, including honour-based killings, sexual violence, acid-burning, dowry related violence, and forced marriages continue to be on the rise in Pakistan. These crimes have low conviction rates and perpetrators face impunity as a result of discriminatory laws and judicial practices that allow acquittals/settlements in exchange for monetary compensation. In 2012, 7515 cases of violence against women were reported in the media, including 1607 cases of abduction and a staggeringly high number of 432 cases of honour killing⁹. The incidence of such abuses of human rights is perpetuated by harmful customary and traditional stereotypes, beliefs and authority structures, particularly informal court or jirgas that hand out degrading punishments. In order to protect the rights of women, a human rights policy for Pakistan should incorporate the following measures:

- Bi-partisan commission to prepare a roadmap and plan of action to phase out parallel justice bodies i.e. *jirgas* and *panchayats*.
- The reform of Qisas and Diyat laws that allow the next of kin to “compound” the offence of murder in exchange for monetary compensation.
- Raise awareness and ensure effective implementation of the Protection of Women Act 2006, the Protection against Harassment at the workplace Act 2010, and The Prevention of Anti Women Practices Act, 2011.
- Increase the number of female police officers and female judges.

(iii) Torture

Torture in custody of law enforcement agencies is widely accepted in Pakistan. It is employed as the most common means to obtain confession statements. While the Constitution of Pakistan under Article 14 (2) expressly prohibits the use of torture for extracting evidence, the state has failed to pass any legislation making torture a crime. Lack of such legislation provides impunity to the perpetrators who are mostly either policemen or members of the armed forces. Furthermore, no law exists for the protection of witnesses. This discourages victims from making complaints. In light of the foregoing the following measures need to be adopted:

- Pass legislation to provide effective implementation of the UN Convention Against Torture (UNCAT). Legislation should incorporate the definition of torture under Article 2 of the Convention and contain measures to hold accountable perpetrators and provide means of redressal for victims of torture.
- Provide Human Rights training to police force and install cameras in police stations as deterrance against torture and harassment.

(iv) Enforced Disappearances

Enforced disappearances are defined as the arrest, detention, [abduction](#) or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which place such a person outside the protection of the law.¹⁰ As a result of Pakistan’s involvement in the “war on terror” and its attempts to quell insurgent elements in Balochistan hundreds and thousands of people, including civilians, human rights activists, journalists and alleged members of terrorist and insurgent groups, have been forcibly disappeared. In Balochistan alone the figures are as high as 14000¹¹ according to some estimates. Such enforced disappearances abide to a pattern, they are often committed by police agencies and frontier corps in conjunction with intelligence agencies. Enforced disappearances amount to a violation of the rights to life, liberty, security, due process and protection against arbitrary arrest and detention under international law and the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973. People who have been forcibly disappeared are also at a higher risk of facing torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. There is, however, impunity for state agencies and personnel responsible for such disappearance as not a single person has so far been prosecuted.¹² The State needs to:

- Sign and Ratify the United Nations International Convention on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance
- Create a new and autonomous crime of enforced disappearances, following the definition given in the UN Convention and all the legal consequences flowing from such a qualification.

- Dismiss from service and prosecute all officials, regardless of rank, found responsible for committing or ordering disappearances or related abuses. Additionally the state needs to hold superior officers, whether civilian or military, criminally accountable if they knew, or should have known, that forces under their command had committed or were about to commit criminal acts, and they did not take reasonable steps to prevent such acts or punish those responsible.
- Measures should be taken to ensure that, in case of human rights violations, suspected perpetrators, including army personnel, are suspended from any official duties during the investigation and are tried only by competent courts, and not by other special tribunal, in particular military courts.
- Amend laws that allow arrest and detention on vaguely defined charges and grant sweeping immunity to security forces. These laws include Protection of Pakistan Ordinance, Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance (1960), the Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997, the "Sedition Law" Section 124-A of the Pakistan Penal Code, and the Security of Pakistan Act, 1952.

(v) Frontier Crimes Regulation

- Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) that currently governs Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) permits the use of anachronistic methods of governance such as collective punishment, guilt by association, and disproportionate attacks and punishments, and effectively legalizes human rights violations. Attempts to reform the FCR include the extension of the Political Parties Act to FATA under the previous government and a recent resolution passed by the Senate calling for the extension of the superior court's jurisdiction to the tribal areas. Despite positive developments, repeal of the FCR in its entirety must constitute the foundation of extending full citizenship rights and human rights to the tribal areas.

B. Social and Economic Rights

(i) Education

Rapid Population growth and low enrolment rate have led to a steady increase in out of school children and illiteracy in Pakistan. It is estimated that at present about 55 million Pakistani above the age of 10 cannot read and about 7 million children between the ages of 5-9 are not enrolled in school.¹³ This is despite the fact that Article 25A of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 guarantees free and compulsory education from the ages of 5 to 16 years. Additionally, a right to free and compulsory primary education is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. It is imperative that the following measures be instituted:

- All Provincial Assemblies should pass legislation giving effect to Article 25A. After the passage of such laws, rules should be framed by the respective Departments of Education detailing norms and detailed procedures for the provision of free and compulsory education in their respective areas.
- The provincial budgets will have to make sufficient provisions for realizing the constitutional right to education guaranteed under Article 25A through the 18th Amendment. The quantum of public spending on education should see a substantial increase from the current level of 1.82 percent of the GDP. In equal measure, governance needs to be improved to bridge the gap between teachers and schools on paper and ground reality deficits.

(ii) Internal Displacement

As a result of military operations in the tribal areas, natural disasters and development projects, the government has continually displaced families and often entire communities. Presently, an

estimated 3 million people in Pakistan are internally displaced, with nearly 1 million displaced in 2014 due to operation Zarb-e-Azb in North Waziristan. Similarly, significant migratory practices continue to increase the burden on Pakistan's bulging urban cities, particularly Karachi. The Land Acquisition Act, 1890 is in place in all four provinces and allows the state to displace people if any land is required for any public purpose. Often the displaced are deprived of their houses and sole means of livelihood and do not receive adequate, if any compensation for the purposes of rehabilitation. In light of the above it is recommended that:

- The Land Acquisition Act 1890 be amended in order to prioritise the socio-economic rights over state objectives of development. Policy guidelines should be made to rehabilitate and provide adequate compensation to those displaced.
- Pakistan needs a comprehensive Migration Policy to cover both internal and external migration, including a framework for existing patterns and potential routes of population movement in years to come.

(iii) Other recommendations

- Article 29 (3) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan calls upon the President and the Governors of the four provinces to have a report prepared on the observance and implementation of the Principles of Policy and presented before each house of the Parliament and the Provincial Assemblies. Fulfilling the constitutional requirement every year may provide an impetus to better policy-making and improved administrative measures around many socio-economic rights.

C. Child Rights

Pakistan has the sixth largest population of children in the world. Whilst the country has ratified the Conventions on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and ILO Conventions 132 and 182 and is a signatory to the Millennium Development Goals it has failed to fulfil its obligations under these international instruments, specifically those related to eradicating child poverty, achieving universal primary education, reducing mortality rates and improving maternal health. Funding allocated for child welfare is less than 0.5 percent of GDP and generally less than 2 percent of the national budget.¹⁴ About 7 million children are not attending primary school in Pakistan; approximately 60 percent of these are girls. Accordingly, more than 50 million Pakistanis above 10 years of age are illiterate. The National Nutrition Survey revealed that 15.1 percent of under 5 children are wasted, 43.6 percent are stunted and 31.5 percent are under weight. Child anemia is prevalent at 62.5 percent and maternal anemia at 51 percent.¹⁵ Additionally Pakistan remains one of the three countries in the world where polio remains an epidemic.

Child Labour remains prevalent in Pakistan. In 2004, the ILO estimated that more than 264,000 children were working as child domestic workers in Pakistan in hazardous and deplorable conditions.¹⁶ In view of the foregoing the following measures need to be adopted without delay:

- Ensure compliance of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and ILO Convention 182 and 132 by amending and introducing new legislation to comply with the provisions of the Conventions.¹⁷
- Ratify the Optional Protocol to the UNCRC on the involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (2000) and develop and implement strategies to address the recruitment of children by the Pakistan Army and non-state actors.
- Pass The Criminal Laws (Child Protection) Amendment Bill 2009, which would provide for preventive and protective measures against the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.

- Take appropriate measures to develop and implement comprehensive food security and malnutrition prevention and response programmes.
- Legislation should be adopted at the federal and provincial levels to make immunizations compulsory.
- Prioritize policies and programmes on nutrition, vaccination and health workers to reduce mother, newborn and child mortality.
- The Government should ratify ILO Convention 189, declaring child domestic labour as a worst form of child labour and ban it under the Employment of Children Act (ECA) by 2013.
- Review the implementation status of Child Marriages Restraint Act 1929. The law is inadequate in every respect. Under the Act the minimum age of marriage for a male is 18 years whereas the minimum age of marriage for a female is 16 years. In much of rural Pakistan, girls are married off at a younger age. Evidence suggests that such unions are not rendered invalid and offenders are not prosecuted.

D. Reproductive Rights

Pakistan is labelled as one of the countries with the highest mortality rate in Asia. The magnitude of maternal mortality in Pakistan amounts to a violation of women's right to life, safe pregnancy, and childbirth. Pakistan MMR is at 319 per 100,000 live births about forty six percent of women do not receive skilled prenatal care or full protection against tetanus. Almost 2 in 3 births occur at home and 48 percent are not assisted by skilled medical attendants.¹⁸ Neglected childbirth involving prolonged labour sometimes results in obstructed fistula. Women who develop fistulas are often abandoned by their husbands. Similarly, contraceptive use has seen a dramatic increase in the incidence of rejection by communities.

Additionally, there is a lack of access to contraceptive methods that results in a high rate of unplanned pregnancies. Contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR) is still low in the country at 35 per cent, meaning that majority of married couples do not use a birth spacing method, this despite the fact that 96 percent of married Pakistani women are aware of at least one modern contraceptive method.¹⁹ Unplanned Pregnancies often result in women resorting to abortion, which owing to restrictive legislation, occur in unsafe environments. An estimated 5000 cases of abortion occur in Pakistan every year, a majority of which result in post-abortion complication and deaths.

In view of the foregoing the following measures should be adopted:

- Audit all reproductive health and family planning programmes and plans with a view to ensuring targeted coverage of high-risk groups, such as street children, adolescent girls and boys, prisoners, commercial sex workers, injecting drug users (IDUs) and truckers.
- Issue notification directing public and private health sector facilities to provide safe abortion services to women in accordance with criteria set out in the amended law on abortion²⁰.
- Adopt a coherent information dissemination policy of the Health and Population Welfare Departments.
- Introduce Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) as a separate subject in school curricula.

E. Environmental Rights

Impact of environmental changes impedes the realisation of other human rights entitlements including the right to life, health and livelihoods. The Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 does not contain a specific right to a clean or safe environment within the chapter on Fundamental rights, however, the superior judiciary in the landmark case of *Shehla Zia v. WAPDA* (PLD 1994 SC 693) ruled that the realisation of a life lead with dignity under Article 9 (Right to Life) and Article 14 (Right to Dignity) demanded that access to “clean atmosphere and an unpolluted environment” be guaranteed. The state, however, failed to prioritise environmental concerns and as a result Pakistan has faced continual environmental degradation. According to a 2007 World Bank assessment, the cost of environmental degradation in Pakistan amounts to Rs. 365 billion annually. The most significant result of such is illness and premature mortality caused by indoor and outdoor air pollution and lead exposure.²¹ Diarrheal diseases and typhoid due to inadequate water supply, sanitation and hygiene are another significant cause of environmental damage amounting to about 30 percent of the cost of environmental damages. Environment related factors are also responsible for roughly one third of all child mortality in Pakistan which is the highest in South Asia.

In view of the foregoing we put forward the following recommendations:

- Prepare federal and provincial climate change policies and action plans based on the Report of the Task Force on Climate Change and with a focus on vulnerable groups and threatened ecosystems, such as the Indus Delta.
- Prepare a strategy and an action plan for the protection and rehabilitation of mangrove forests as recommended in the National Environment Policy 2005.
- Revise Building Codes in all provinces to include mandatory provisions for rainwater harvesting, water recycling and energy conservation.

As Pakistan grapples with ever emerging threats of intolerance, sectarianism, terrorism, rights abuses, denial of access to basic public services and a deteriorating security environment, the need to anchor our state-society relationship on the protection of, and entitlement to, human rights has never been more.

The gap between legislation, policy formulation and its implementation is widening. Faced with a myriad of security and economic challenges, the state has backed away from an ever pressing need to coalesce political and intellectual will around the need to formulate a clear human rights policy.

The government must escape ad-hoc management of human rights abuses – reflected in reactions to specific events – and instead adopt proactive measure across legislative and implementation spheres to institute a protective rights framework. While it is understandable that processes leading towards a more enabled rights environment in Pakistan need to be incremental, they must nevertheless abide by internationally recognized standards.

References

¹For international comments see United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances on its Mission to Pakistan”, at <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G13/115/42/PDF/G1311542.pdf?OpenElement> ; For domestic comments, see Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, “State of Human Rights in 2012”; Foreign and Commonwealth Office, “Human Rights and Democracy 2012 – Pakistan, at <http://www.hrdreport.fco.gov.uk/human-rights-in-countries-of-concern/pakistan/>

²An interior ministry spokesperson, Mr. Umer Hameed, was reported to have told AFP and other news agencies that the new government had decided to deal with all cases of execution on merit. See Al Jazeera, “Death Penalty back in Pakistan”, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2013/07/2013758546675143.html> ; “Global Post, 5 July, 2013, Faine Greenwood, “Pakistan reinstates the death penalty” <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/asia-pacific/pakistan/130705/pakistan-reinstates-the-death-penalty> ; Later on, this position seems to have changed

³The Independent, “With 8,000 prisoners on death row, Pakistan backs down from reinstating death penalty after Taliban threat” at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/with-8000-prisoners-on-death-row-pakistan-backs-down-from-reinstating-death-penalty-after-taliban-threats-8856093.html>; IBNLive, “EU warns Pakistan against lifting ban on death penalty” at <http://ibnlive.in.com/news/eu-warns-pakistan-against-lifting-ban-on-death-penalty/417911-2.html>; The News, <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-220084-GSP-status-not-linked-to-death-penalty-but-moratorium-continues>

⁴The Nation, 23 June 2011, “Pakistan decides to withdraw most reservations on ICCPR, CAT” <http://www.nation.com.pk/national/23-Jun-2011/Pakistan-decides-to-withdraw-most-of-reservations-on-ICCPR-UNCAT> (Last accessed 10 December, 2013)

⁵http://www.app.com.pk/en/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=255214&Itemid=1 ; “Enforced disappearances: Top court orders CID grilling of 18 FC officials”, Naeem Sahoutra, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/639149/enforced-disappearances-top-court-orders-cid-grilling-of-18-fc-officials/> ;

⁶Human Rights Watch, 10 Steps for Improving Human Rights in Pakistan at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/08/23/10-steps-improving-human-rights-pakistan> ; <http://www.humanrights.asia/news/ahrc-news/AHRC-STM-140-2013> ; Stop merger of ministry of law with ministry of law and justice at <http://www.humanrights.asia/news/urgent-appeals/AHRC-UAG-003-2013>

⁷Human Rights Watch, World Report 2014: Pakistan at <http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/pakistan>

⁸<http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/pakistan>

⁹Annual Data Violence Against Women 2012. Aurat Foundation. <http://www.af.org.pk/vaw-reports.php>

¹⁰United Nations Convention Against Torture (UNCAT), Article 2

¹¹Human Rights Watch, Pakistan: Ratify Treaty on Enforced Disappearance at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/08/28/pakistan-ratify-treaty-enforced-disappearance>

¹²Ibid

¹³Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Policy (PILDAT), Right to Free and Compulsory Education in Pakistan, at <http://www.pildat.org/publications/publication/EFA/RighttoFreeandCompulsoryEducationinPakistanBackgrounder.pdf>

¹⁴The Child Rights Movement Pakistan(CRM), The Universal Periodic Review Pakistan: The State of Children's Rights in Pakistan at http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session14/PK/JS11_UPR_PAK_S14_2012_JointSubmission11_E.pdf

¹⁵Ibid

¹⁶Imran, M. (2011), Complete ban on child domestic labour demanded; The News International, 30 October 2011. Islamabad

¹⁷Ratified in 1990

¹⁸Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 2012-2013

¹⁹Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 2012-2013

²⁰Section 338, 33-A, 338-B PPC

²¹Leadership for Environment and Development (LEAD) Pakistan, Environmental Rights: Towards a Human Rights Approach to Environmental Protection at http://www.lead.org.pk/attachments/policy_briefs/human_rights/04_Environmental_Rights.pdf