

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE WORK PLACE: A Case In Pakistan

Sadaf Ahmad*

This paper attempts to provide an overview of sexual harassment in the work place in the Pakistani context. It will also report results of a case study of an incident of sexual harassment reported by a group of women working in a multi-national organization.

INTRODUCTION

Women face violence and discrimination in many aspects of their lives. Perhaps the most common yet pervasive experience of women is sexual harassment. Studies have established that sexual harassment occurs with alarming frequency and is damaging to the survivor who is typically a woman (Anila 1992; Gelfand, Fitzgerald & Drasgow 1995; Sheffey & Tindale 1992; Tinsley & Stockdale 1993).

The setting where sexual harassment can take place is wide ranging. It can happen at home, on the streets, in the markets, on public transport and the workplace such as the fields, factories or offices.

Sexual harassment has existed for a long time. However, it is only fairly recently that it has been identified and labelled as a specific category of woman abuse. Its recognition as such could be credited to the vigorous efforts of the women's movement

*Feminist from Pakistan.

and the efforts of the United Nations to call on all nation-states to achieve equity for women. The gradual realization that national development is hampered by ignoring and suppressing the emergence of women's potentials has led to the public airing of women's issues (among which is sexual harassment) which feminists have identified for all to see and address accordingly. To date the global efforts to address women's issues has impacted on the state. Positive changes in legislation and the social environment have taken place.

In 1980 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), a federal agency of the United States of America, issued interpretative guidelines on sexual harassment under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Sheffey & Tindale 1992). The EEOC defines sexual harassment as:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature that takes place under any of the following conditions:

1. when submission to the sexual advance is a condition of keeping or getting a job, whether expressed in implicit or explicit terms.
2. when a supervisor or boss makes personnel decisions based on an employee's submission to or rejection of sexual advances.
3. when conduct unreasonably interferes with a person's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment.

These EEOC guidelines on sexual harassment provide the legal definition of the phenomenon.

Sexual Harassment in the Work Place in Pakistan

If we were to look at the history of Pakistan and go back to the time the country was created in 1947, we would find out that the number of women working in offices and agencies was

very limited. Most of the women were working on farms and in the informal sector. The harassment of these working women was a part of the traditional culture. The landlords were widely known to abuse the tenant women or those working in any role in their village. The social hierarchy divided the village in such a manner that the landlord, being the provider of livelihood and owner of family dwellings, was almost the owner of the lives of those who worked for him. The social arrangement was conducive to the commission of the abuse on women and men. In the case of women, they became victims of rape, torture (in case of non-compliance with the master's desires), battery, and sexual harassment. The society at large and the women themselves were aware of this harassment but viewed it as a "misfortune" and considered themselves as helpless in dealing with the situation.

Due to the presence of the same concept of social hierarchy in the household set-up of well-off families, the sexual abuse of women who worked as domestic helpers by the male heads of such households has been a common phenomenon. The person who has provided a maid the opportunity for livelihood is almost like her owner. The word "*malik*", commonly used in Urdu language for the employer, literally means "owner". These owners could take liberties because of their powerful position. The ruling classes of pre-independence India had female servants working for their courts as well as their private quarters. These women also included the entertainers. It was an accepted custom that the King, Raja or the head of a specific household could take any or several of them for short-term or long term relationships whenever he so desired.

Over the years the situation has improved because of the crumbling of the formal feudal systems and relatively less hierarchy in the social classes. However, the distinction between the social classes becomes vividly clear when any expression of a domestic worker regarding her rights is socially construed as dis-

respect and defiance towards her *master*. In Pakistan there is still no forum or platform for the rights of domestic workers.

Earlier in 1994 a special issue of *Newsline*, a credible and progressive monthly magazine, focused on the problem of sexual harassment in the work place. This was a significant step to open up discussions on the issue at a national level. Some of the cases reported included:

... a young artist seeking a job in PTV (Pakistan Television) tried to jump from the 7th floor of the PTV office building. She was saved in the nick of the time, and lived to tell the tale. Her suicide attempt was prompted by a rape attempt made on her by one of PTV's senior producers.

... An airhostess was summoned by a passenger on board the country's national carrier. The passenger took his pants off and said he had to show her. . . .

A senior official in the government service rapes his 21-year old maid. She becomes pregnant and had to have an abortion.

A female journalist is forced to resign from her job in one of the country's largest Urdu newspaper establishments because the press baron who owns the publication had, by his persistent sexual innuendos and gestures, made her working life a living hell.

During a previous regime's tenure, the Sindh secretariat invited applications for the post of primary teachers. A special assistant to the chief minister summoned the female applicants and told them that if they want the job, they would have to go to his residence for private interviews.

A survey conducted by *Newsline* (Zaidi 1998) on a cross section of women from all walks of life found out that 42% of the women interviewed did not know what the term sexual harassment meant, yet 73% admitted to having felt insecure by gestures and remarks of men at work. Twenty three percent felt that this was a man's world and things could not change.

Another survey of 50 women working in an international

organisation conducted by Qureshi, (Zaidi 1994) reported that 88% of women learnt how to deal with the situation, 12% found it impossible to work out a solution and 16% wanted to change their jobs. Three types of harassing behaviour were pointed out: (a) Sixty seven percent of the women mentioned annoying remarks about physical appearance; (b) Sixty percent mentioned that they were being asked out for dates; and (c) Fifty three percent mentioned physical contact while working.

A survey of 200 working women undertaken by the Working Women's Support Centre (Brohi 1998) shows that 10% of the women categorized their harassment as sexual harassment according to the definition provided for by the study. However, 90% felt threatened and constantly insecure. Twenty percent were clinically depressed and 5% had tried suicide. The study also confirmed that the women chose silence to be their only option and accepted the abuse in the belief that there was nothing they could do about it. It was noted that women were hesitant to openly admit that they were experiencing sexual harassment. Travel to and from work came out as a major issue for most of them.

Women have repeatedly mentioned that the harassment they experience on their way to work is also a part of this phenomenon. According to a situation analysis (Naz 1998) a great deal of sexual harassment goes on in buses, a common public transport for women. The report describes some views of both men and women regarding the inappropriate and crude behavior of drivers and conductors with the women travellers. These are:

- They force three women, instead of two in the front seats of wagons, next to the driver so that he can touch them;
- They play obscene songs on the cassette players of their vehicle;
- The drivers change audio cassettes too frequently only to touch

women's bodies; and

- Drivers and conductors use obscene language.

In general, staring at parts of women's bodies, sexual invitations or remarks, catcalls, threats or physical assaults are some aspects of sexual harassment that women may experience on their way to work.

Despite the alarming frequency of sexual harassment in the work place, there is hardly any positive action in the institutional level to address it. The private sector continues to have no specific policy on sexual harassment. The Government rules have remained totally ineffective because of the overpowering social bias to blame women themselves for the problem.

In the efforts to have some gender balance among civil servants, the Government of Pakistan declared a target of 5% of all Government offices to be occupied by women. The instructions were to encourage hiring of women to meet this target. After several years of effort, the Government has still not been able to achieve this target. Interestingly not much has been done to study the working conditions of the women who are presently working in the Government. The Ministry of Women's Development did do a survey to assess the day care needs of the women government employees, but nothing has been done to study or address the widely known sexual harassment of women in the offices.

The laws in Pakistan provide protection from discrimination and harassment in a general manner. There are no laws that specifically define and take into account sexual harassment in the work place. Thus, the implementation of these laws remain extremely limited and heavily dependent upon the social attitudes and interpretations of the law enforcing agencies. The following sections of the Pakistan Criminal Penal Code (PPC) are relevant for cases of sexual harassment charges against a harasser (Brohi 1998).

Section 509: Whoever, intending to insult the modesty of any woman, utters any word, makes any sound or gesture, or exhibits any object intending that such a word or sound shall be heard or that such gesture, or exhibits any object shall be seen by such a woman, or intrudes upon the privacy of such a woman, shall be punished with a simple imprisonment which may extend up to one year with fine, or with both.

Section 294: Whoever does any obscene act in any public place or sings, recites or utters any obscene songs, which cause annoyance can be punished with three months imprisonment and fine.

Section 350: Whoever intentionally uses force with any person without that person's consent, in order to the committing of any offence, or intending by the use of such force to cause or knowing to be likely that by use of such force he will cause injury, fear or annoyance to the person to whom the force is used, is said to use criminal force to other.

Section 354: Assault or use of criminal force with a woman with intent to outrage her modesty. If a woman is forcibly stripped and exposed to public view, the person responsible can be sentenced to death or given life imprisonment with fine or both.

Recently there have been two cases in Pakistan that got media coverage at the national level. In these cases, charges of sexual harassment were actually filed against the alleged harasser. These are considered landmark cases which will lead the way for more women to speak out in the open. The first case was filed in Karachi by a woman working for an international private company. She lost the case and faced counter harassment by the management. The second case was filed by a group of women working for an international development organization. This case has not been decided yet and is used as a case study for this paper.

The media coverage of these cases has encouraged other women to speak up. It has also instigated other initiatives. In early 1998 a comprehensive plan of setting up a Working

Women's Support Centre (WWSC) was developed in Karachi. In April, 1998, a national workshop was held which specifically focused on harassment of women in the work place. During the whole year several articles were written by academicians and activists in newspapers on the issue. Sabeeha Hafiz, a well respected feminist, stated (1998) that "social activists may organise a strong network exclusively focusing on harassment of women at work places. They may unfold the experiential meanings of harassment, formulate public opinion condemning it and urge the employers to include measures against harassment in their personnel policies." Two of the most commonly read Urdu language newspapers conducted a special forum on the issue.

Bedari, an organisation working on violence against women, conducted a seminar on sexual harassment in the work place in September, 1998. Another organisation, Islamabad Working Women's Association was established to take into account issues of working women. In December 1998 a broad based forum was organised on the issue by Working Women's Association and Bedari on the issue, where other NGOs were called upon to join a national level struggle to deal with sexual harassment in the work place. They declared 22 December to mark the day for the struggle on this issue and have requested other NGOs to join them in recognising the day every year. It is quite clear that the struggle for this issue is catching momentum.

The international attention that has been given to this issue in 1998 has also helped Pakistani women to gather courage and name the behaviour which they have been calling their "misfortune", and which their families and many more in the society have been calling "*the consequences of getting out of the house.*"

THE CASE STUDY

This case study focuses on a sexual harassment complaint filed by a group of women working in an international organisation in Pakistan. As the case has not been decided yet, the reporting of the results of the study takes the sensitivity of the situation into account. Though this case has been extensively covered by print media in the country, the confidentiality of the alleged harasser and the survivors has been maintained. All the news coverage on the case was analysed and group discussions with most of the complainants were held. About 56% of them agreed to fill out a set of questionnaires. Responses were tabulated and analysed later. Even though the number of the complainants who filled out the questionnaires was small, studying the internal dynamics of the case was significant. Until now there have been a few surveys conducted of working women but limited data is available on the dynamics of what happens when women do raise the issue and complain against the harasser. The information will be useful to the working women and employers in Pakistan as well as in other developing countries where the social stigma attached to speaking up against harassment is still high.

The summary of data collected by all three sources will be presented here. First the data from the group sessions and the newspapers will be summarised while keeping the confidentiality of the organisation and survivors. Then results of a modest survey conducted with some of the survivors will be reported.

Description of the incident

Eleven women registered a joint sexual harassment complaint against a senior management person. The complaint was not filed through the legal system of the country but was submitted to the senior managers of the organisation itself. The organisation had a policy against sexual harassment and the women heavily

relied on that. The Personnel Section of the headquarters (outside Pakistan) took up the complaint. In the history of this global organisation there had never been a case where even two women had complained about the same person. In this case, there were eleven women complaining about the same man. Thus, it was taken seriously by the larger organisation (*The News*, 25 March 1998, *Dawn*, 17 April 1998).

The position of the women in the group ranges from senior program professionals to administrative staff. Eight of them are Pakistani and three are expatriate. Their age ranges from 29-45 years, and the majority of them are married. Their education level ranges from graduate to post-graduate such as Ph.D. and their job experience ranges from 5.5 - 13 years.

The management of the organisation is comprised of men. In the administrative side all the heads of sections are men. This is also the case with the program side, except for a few women. Senior program managers are men.

The Nature of Sexual Harassment

The nature of the harassment faced by these women included patronising behaviour of the man, overstepping his administrative authority to get his way, phone calls at home after 11 o'clock at night in a drunken state, vulgar jokes, invitation to have dinners and going out together on official visits, discussing vulgar details of his turbulent marital life and complaining about his wife's sexual inabilities to female colleagues in the office environment, discussing his dissatisfied sex life, sexual conversations, and demanding sexual favours. (*The News*, 29 March 1998).

In one case he denied a young intern at the agency office a small stipend of Rs. 3000 because she refused to "go out with him." Interestingly, his own daughter was paid Rs. 6000 for the same position. He called one complainant "at her home number

in her bedroom three times after 11 p.m. He pressed her for sexual favours because he claimed he had worked very hard to get her a transfer" (Haroon 1998).

The abusive behaviour of the alleged harasser was a systematic pattern over the years. The joint complaint statement reports incidents over a period of three years. The abuser would try to befriend a woman. He would pretend as if he was sharing some intimate information about his wife or girlfriend only because he considered that female colleague a special colleague or friend. Even though the female colleague would feel very uncomfortable listening to it, she would not be able to react because of his overpowering authority and the friendly pretext he would create. As one complainant, voicing the view of many, said, *"it is easier to react to a man who teases us on a bus stop or in a market, but it is very difficult to react to a man who is a senior officer and would talk in such a friendly manner."* At the same time they were very clear that it was harassment.

The Response of the Women to the Sexual Harassment

The response of the women to the problem varied. While some of the women reacted in an assertive manner at times and told him that his behaviour was offensive to them, others chose to be indirect about their reactions. Those who were more direct experienced that direct assertive behaviour works only when the other person does not know what effect his behaviour is having on the woman. In this case, as his harassment was intentional, and as he was very sure of his power position, he chose to trivialise their attempts and reacted by stalling their work processes. Those who chose to ignore him or who became very reserved with him also felt that it did not help them. They considered his harassment conscious and planned and not unconscious.

Factors Hindering the Reporting of the Abuse

The main reason for them not to report this person's behaviour was the repercussions that they could experience in their jobs. As this person was very senior in rank, they feared that they would lose their jobs or face serious troubles in the office. Most of the complainants were on project posts or on an annual contract, thus, they were vulnerable. A few women thought that he would react and make it impossible for them to work there. Some felt he would intrigue with others and churn out misinformation and rumours about them. There was a great deal of fear associated with reporting such a behaviour. The alleged harasser was already showing them his power through creating problems with their contract extensions, giving negative feedback to their supervisors about their behaviour, withholding or delaying payments.

Another strong concern that most of the complainants felt was that they were doubtful if reporting his behaviour would be taken seriously. They felt that the office may side with him and not believe them. They were also concerned about this person denying all the charges, which would lead to the difficulty of proving it. There was a possibility that reporting the case would turn it into a mess, with people creating true and untrue stories, and a series of allegations and counter allegations.

For many, the internalised fear of social disapproval was very strong. In Pakistan, in general, if there is an instance of violence or abuse it is the woman who is blamed for it. The common reaction is that the woman must have done something wrong, in terms of giving wrong signals or leading him to behave that way. Thus, all of them were afraid of the social repercussions. Some of them were more concerned about their husbands, and some about their in-laws. Others felt relatively strong in facing societal reaction.

There was also a genuine fear of physical abuse from this man. He was known to be a violent person. He had a police report lodged against him for attempted murder, by the lawyer of his wife. His wife had filed for divorce supposedly because of his abusive behaviour and numerous affairs. The lawyer of his wife alleged that the man threatened him to drop the case and later shot at him twice. There were numerous witnesses to this incident. Thus, most of the women were very afraid of him and for years tried to focus on the fact that they had to survive in a male dominated world and put up with this man's behaviour, if they want to continue with their jobs.

Role of the Management in Facilitating Sexual Harassment

Given below are some points which illustrate how the environment created by the management aided the harassing attitude to flourish:

- The accused made his second line managers very disempowered and used his position to intimidate them. He would thus take decisions that should have been taken by the Personnel Officer, Finance Officer etc., who were all managers and heads of their own sections. He was putting his friends on the interview panel and getting the decisions he wanted. (He gave the impression that the others, including his managers, are not good enough so he has to do their work as well). (*The News* on Sunday, 5 April 1998).
- The head of the Pakistan office gave the accused too much authority. He was given a license to hire, fire, and arbitrarily take decisions about the terms of employment, such as salary, duration of contract and positions held, although these do not constitute his official duties (Haroon 1998).
- There were enough indicators that some women were tense about working with the alleged harasser, but the management never showed any interest to explore the cause. Instead, it sent the women back to the same person to resolve the problem. Even when two of the cases of sexual harassment were explained in detail to a senior expatriate

officer in the organisation, he chose not to do anything about it.

Support Sought by the Survivor

It was quite interesting that almost all the women were facing a similar problem but hardly any woman spoke to each other about it. It was only in the last few months of 1997 that they realised that there were others who were suffering with the same problem. This provided the impetus for reporting the case. As individual complainants they feared that no one would believe them. However, if they banded together they realised they had a better chance of corroborating each other.

As the accused had high - placed contacts, the women were afraid that he might use them to scare and intimidate them. These fears surfaced when the time to make a decision came near. One woman expressed her fear of his ability to harm her children. After lodging the complaint, the woman decided not to stay late in the office alone. All the women made arrangements to take their work home. Husbands of those who were married were informed and prepared in case there was a backlash. They all exchanged telephone numbers and what they called a hot-line connection was established and maintained among them. A few women got cellular phones to keep in touch with each other.

Reaction of the Management

While the head office was supportive of the complaint made, the management in the Pakistan office was not. The complainants felt that they were being blamed for bringing up the problem and thus embarrassing the organisation in public. Little attention was given to the fact that this kind of harassing behaviour continued for years and was finally being addressed. The fact that these women were the victims and not the prob-

lem creators was also totally ignored. There was hardly any empathy with the women regarding the stress they were going through, their fears and the risks that they took in order to bring the issue to light (*The News*, 5 April).

The women felt that the abuser was not only protected but also facilitated and supported by the senior management of the agency. For example, he was assigned a lawyer/advisor right away by the head of the office. The women hardly knew the system and the bureaucracy, and yet they were not offered any help or recommended any advisor. Even upon their repeated request for an advisor, which was their right, they were not assigned one till ten months after the complaint was made. Later, when the alleged harasser was sent on leave, he was able to use the office staff, office phone, fax machine (which was transported to his house), office DHL service, and leave with full pay to prepare his responses. Whereas the complainants were kept very busy by their supervisors all day so that they had to conduct their group meetings in the evening.

The management also opened a procedural inquiry on some of these women. This was initiated by the alleged abuser and fully backed by other senior management personnel. The purpose of this inquiry was described by these women as an attempt to harass the complainants, show them the power of the management to get them into trouble, and to scare them away. (This pattern was seen in the case of sexual harassment registered in Karachi. After the woman lodged the complaint the management harassed her by instigating other procedural inquiries against her. The pattern has to be researched more).

The head office arranged an Investigation Panel to come to Pakistan and conduct the initial investigation. The panel arrived in March and completed their investigation. The report has announced that there is evidence of sexual harassment and further

action on the case should be pursued (*Dawn*, 15 June 1998). Now the head office is in the process of getting the responses of both the parties, before taking it to their Disciplinary Committee. This committee is composed of experienced staff members of the agency and after re-investigation or just hearing both sides, will make their recommendation to the Head of the organisation (*Dawn*, 20 June 1998). The procedure seems long and complex. The investigation has completed its first year. It has been criticized in the press stating that justice delayed is justice not given (*The Frontier Post*, 17 June 1998).

The Survey Results

The information collected by analysing the extensive press coverage and interviews with the complainants was complimented with a quantitative survey. Even though only half of the complainants were willing or available to fill out the three questionnaires developed, and the findings could not really be generalised for the whole group the information was useful to blend into the qualitative data gathered by interviews.

The questionnaires used had three objectives, which are to:

- Assess the types of sexual harassment faced by the survivors;
- See the coping mechanism they adopted to deal with the harassment; and
- See the amount of personal strain they experienced as a result of the harassing behaviour.

Three questionnaires were used for the purpose of gathering information from the complainants (Anila 1992; Kamal & Tariq 1997; Gelfand, Fitzgerald & Drasgow 1995).

1. *Sexual Harassment Experience Questionnaire (SHEQ)*. It measured the presence of harassing behaviour along three dimensions:

(a) *Gender Harassment*. This type of behaviour includes a range of verbal and non-verbal behaviours conveying insulting, hostile, degrading and sexist attitudes about women. It was found that all the respondents experienced this harassment. The overall intensity varied between individual respondents, however, the mean score on the items listed in the questionnaire for all the respondents collectively show a fairly high rating of the intensity.

(b) *Unwanted Sexual Attention*. It includes both verbal and non-verbal behaviour which ranges from repeated, non-reciprocal request for dates; intrusive letters and phone calls; touching, grabbing, and cornering; and gross sexual imposition or assault. Although frequently experienced as intimidating or coercive, it can be distinguished from the third category by its lack of job related losses or benefits, either explicit or implied. The results show that all the respondents experienced this harassment. The intensity of Gender Harassment was slightly higher than this category.

(c) *Sexual Coercion*. The classic case of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment. Behaviour of this type refers to bribes and threats, whether explicit or subtle, that condition some job related benefit on sexual cooperation. The results show that this type of harassment was experienced by the respondents, however some respondents experienced it more than the others.

2. *Coping With Harassment Questionnaire (CHQ)*. Two types of coping strategies were measured: *Internally focused*, including detachment, denial re-labelling illusionary control and endurance and *Externally focused*, including avoidance, assertion/confrontation, seeking organisational relief, social support and appeasement.

It was found that the group relied on external strategies more than internal strategies. The difference in the scores is quite evident, showing a very high rating for the following three categories in particular: getting organisational relief, confrontation/assertion and getting social support.

Looking at the results on both dimensions, we can assume that as a group, the women were empowered. They not only saw the behaviour they were enduring for what it was, but they were also seeking organisational help to deal with it. (Note: the survey was done after they had reported the case to the organisation).

3. *Personal Strain Questionnaire (PSQ)*. The personal strain questionnaire measures the domain of psychological strain and is comprised of four scales, Vocational Strain, Psychological Strain, Interpersonal Strain and Physical Strain. The results showed that the respondents experienced a high level of interpersonal strain, followed closely by physical strain. The vocational and psychological strain was not as high as the other two.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

- Women experienced fear and stress because of the sexual harassment they experienced.
- Women were aware of the harassment they were experiencing.
- Attempts to deal with sexual harassment directly on their own had serious repercussions from the alleged harasser.
- Having a Sexual Harassment Policy in the organisation was a key factor for the women to file a formal complaint.
- Lack of support from the local management after reporting the harassment, contributed to the women's escalating anxiety. The women felt blamed for bringing up the issue and faced parallel administrative harassment as a result of speaking out.
- Broad based support of the women complainants was re-

flected through the newspaper articles and NGO forum in the country.

- An overview of the results of the survey showed that as a group, the women faced sexual harassment. All forms of harassment, i.e., gender, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion were experienced by the respondents. The intensity of gender harassment was among the highest of the three dimensions assessed.
- Most of the women were aware that they were the survivors and did not fall back on denial or illusory control i.e., that they had somehow caused the behaviour by the way they had dressed, etc. They sought organisational relief by filing a complaint against the harasser.
- All the types of personal strain were experienced by the women, however, their interpersonal relations suffered the most.
- The long process of investigating the case has raised the level of anxiety and half of the complainants have already left the organisation by now.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1. As the case is still in process, the complainants could not talk openly about it. Not all the complainants were willing to talk. Those who did, focused more on their personal experience rather than the abuser or the organisation. The extensive coverage of the case in the media was helpful to get a full description of the case without burdening the complainants.
2. Due to the lack of availability and willingness, it was only possible for six women, (rather than eleven) to respond to the questionnaires. Thus the responses cannot be generalised

for the complainants. It was however a useful method to compliment the data collected through more qualitative methods of inquiry.

3. Individual variations are important and thus, aggregating the responses for the survey only present an overall picture of the respondents.
4. Another limitation was that the time period when the women filled out the questionnaires was after filing the complaint. They could have answered the questions differently if the same questions were asked one year earlier, when they were still going through the harassment. For example, one woman revealed that she suffered harassment for three years before filing a complaint with the other women. Her coping strategies would be different for the three years and for the end of that period when she sought organisational relief.

CONCLUSION

It is essential to study real cases of sexual harassment and develop patterns of the power dynamics that go on, the support that is sought by the survivors, and the response of the management as well as the society. This knowledge base will help the survivors to get a perspective of their own situation and see the patterns of abuse more clearly. Similarly, employers with the intention of curbing the problem, for creating a more healthy and efficient work environment for the employees, could use the insight to develop better systems of accountability.

In the above study it is evident that a sexual harassment policy with clear definitions and implementation procedures is crucial for anyone to raise their voice against harassment. Besides, in order to prevent such problems, the checks and balances within the management of organisations are important in reducing the chances of abuse of power.

For the situation in Pakistan, more research is needed to build a body of knowledge. This study was a modest attempt. The methods used for it could be tried on a larger scale. This study took the survivors' point of view with the objective of studying their stress and coping strategies. Further studies can view the employer's perspective in detail also. It is crucial for the employers to take an active part in addressing the issue in collaboration with other sectors of the society.

REFERENCES

- Anila. 1992. "Attribution of Responsibility for Sexual Harassment as Related to Sex Role Attitudes" (M.Phil. Dissertation). NIP, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.
- Brohi, N. 1998. *Harassment of Women in the Work Place. A document of Working Women's Support Center*. Karachi.
- Cleveland, J.N. & Kerst, M.E. 1993. "Sexual Harassment and Perceptions of Power: An Under-Articulated Relationship" in *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* Vol. 42 (1): 49-67.
- Fitzgerald, L.F. & Shullman, S.L. 1993. "Sexual Harassment: A research analysis and agenda for the 1990's" in *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* Vol. 42(1): 5-27.
- Gelfand, M.J., Fitzgerald, L.F. & Drasgow, F. 1995. "The Structure of Sexual Harassment: A Confirmatory Analysis Across Cultures and Settings" in *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* Vol. 47(2).
- Gutek, B.A. & Koss, M.P. 1993. "Changed Women & Changed Organisations: Consequences of and Coping with Sexual Harassment" in *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* Vol. 42: 28-48.
- Hafeez, S. "Workplace Harassment". *The News*. 25 August 1998.
- Haroon, A. "Conduct Unbecoming". *Newsline*. April 1998.
- Hotelling, K. 1991. "Sexual Harassment: A Problem Shielded By Silence" in *Journal of Counselling & Development* Vol. 69: 497-500.

- Kamal, A. & Tariq, N. 1997. "Sexual Harassment Experience Questionnaire for Workplaces of Pakistan: Development and Validation" in *Pakistan Journal of Psychological Research*. Vol. 12, Nos 1-2: 1-20.
- Naz, F. 1997. *Women's Mobility in Lahore City: Situation Analysis Islamabad*. New York: UNDP.
- Pryor, JB, LaVite, CM. & Stoller, L.M. 1993. A Social Psychological Analysis of Sexual Harassment: The Person/ Situation Interaction in *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, Vol. 42, 68-83.
- Security in the Field, Information for staff members of the United Nations System*. 1998. New York: United Nations.
- Sheffey, S. & Tindale, R.S. 1992. "Perception of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace" in *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, Vol. 22: 1502-1520.
- Tinsley, H.E.A. & Stockdale, M.S. 1993. "Sexual Harassment in the Workplace" in *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, Vol. 42: 1-4.
- Zaidi, F. "Sexual Harassment: A working woman's dilemma". *Newsline*. January 1994.
- Zaidi, F. "Vital Statistics". *Newsline*. January 1994.

Newspaper Articles:

- "Government Takes Serious Notice of Allegations". *Dawn*. 2 April 1998.
- "Harassment of UNDP Women Officials". *Dawn*. 15 June 1998.
- "Report on Sexual Harassment Soon: UNDP". *Dawn*. 17 April 1998.
- "UNDP Staff Member to go on leave". *Dawn*. 20 June 1998.
- "No Action on UNDP Workers' Harassment Report". *The Frontier Post*. 17 June 1998.
- "Sexual Harassment, the UN Style". *The News*. 29 March 1998.
- "The Lid Refuses to Close on the UN Pandora's Box". *The News*. 5 April 1998.
- "United Nations, Human Rights and Women." *Jang (Urdu)*. 1 April 1998.