



Recognized by: Higher Education Commission (HEC), Government of Pakistan

Justice on Trial: Investigative Strengths, Systemic Weaknesses, and Gendered Implications in the Noor Mukadam Case

Saima Manzoor *

Lecturer (Criminology), Department of Sociology and Criminology, University of Sargodha

saima.manzoor@uos.edu.pk

Abiha Munir

BS Criminology (Scholar), Department of Sociology and Criminology, University of Sargodha

abihmunir1327@gmail.com

Eman Fatima

BS Criminology (Scholar), Department of Sociology and Criminology, University of Sargodha

emanfatimamalik101@gmail.com

Alishba Zia

BS Criminology (Scholar), Department of Sociology and Criminology, University of Sargodha

ziaalishba16@gmail.com

*Corresponding Author

ABSTRACT

Gender-based violence in Pakistan continues to test the resilience of its legal and judicial institutions, with high-profile cases serving as litmus tests for systemic accountability. In this research the main two research questions will be: What were the main strengths and weaknesses in the police investigation and trial proceedings in making justice possible, and what broader implications does the Noor Mukadam case reveal about gender-based violence, women's safety, and the need for legal reforms in Pakistan? Existing literature on gendered violence has documented prevalence and social consequences, yet a research gap persists regarding doctrinal analysis of judicial decisions and their evidentiary reasoning in gender-based homicide trials. To address this, the study adopts a criminological socio-legal

approach, employing doctrinal legal analysis of judicial judgments as the primary method. The research methodology, analyzing Additional Session court Islamabad, and Supreme Court judgments, alongside secondary legal commentaries and human rights reports, to evaluate investigative practices and judicial reasoning. The results show that the investigation had some strong points, like using forensic DNA, CCTV footage, and digital call data that were all supported by the "silent witness" doctrine. Even though there were no eyewitnesses, this was sufficient to support the verdict. However, there were structural issues, including fingerprint evidence that failed to provide a definitive answer, errors in the handling of the crime scene, and popular skepticism due to elite influence. As part of strengthening forensic infrastructure, improving evidence management training, and ensuring the legal system is free of social or political influence, the report suggests reforms in the institutions. It ultimately brought to fruition the experience of the courts in Pakistan that they are actually strong, though as the case of Noor Mukadam got, gender justice cannot be established over a long-term basis without a number of cases like this one.

Keywords: Noor Mukadam Case; Gender-Based Violence; Doctrinal Legal Analysis; Forensic Evidence; Criminal Justice Reform

INTRODUCTION

In Pakistan these are special problems as women will likely press a complaint as abuse of gender. To support their argument, Batool, Shaheen, Akbar, and Rana (2024) state that the lack of family support, fear of being punished, and social stigma could make the woman remain silent about the crime. This is quite troublesome especially in cases of sexual assault and domestic abuse, which has also lacked reporting.

Overall, it is evident that in the previous year's legislation and measures of their application were severely criticized due to the presence of violence against women. Among the most eminent instances of the Pakistani legal history is the murder of Noor Mukadam who was a 27-year-old daughter of former ambassador.

The Noor Mukadam case, not only transcended the courtroom, it transcended it as it went to the outside as well. The media had a highly significant part in the process since the very day when it became possible to transform a personal tragedy into a national one. People could not ignore the news as it featured everywhere on the talk shows, digital and also in the headlines.

Another courtroom developed particularly through social media. The hashtag became popular several weeks later and placed even more individuals, who favored justice and accountability, at an enhanced advantage. Noor became a viral story because it infuriated people regardless of their profession—students, activists, journalist and even of ordinary people. This is different from many past cases that faded into silence. It showed how the digital age has given people a way to not only see but also change the course of justice.

The Noor Mukadam case holds multidimensional significance for Pakistan's justice system and society Civil society activism and strong media attention

maintained pressure on authorities, ensuring swift trial proceedings, though at times coverage risked sensationalism and victim-blaming (The Guardian, 2021; Think Global Health, 2022). Institutionally, the case highlighted systemic flaws such as weak forensic support and poor victim protection, prompting calls for reforms in policing, training, and gender-sensitive procedures (CPDI-Pakistan, 2021). However, limitations remain, as critics argue Noor's privileged background ensured visibility, while many marginalized women continue to face violence without justice, showing that broader legal and cultural reforms remain incomplete (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan [HRCP], 2022).

Research Questions of the Study

1. What were the key strengths and weaknesses of the police investigation and trial proceedings in ensuring justice?
2. What broader implications does the Noor Mukadam case reveal about gender-based violence, women's safety, and the need for legal reforms in Pakistan?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The police investigation procedure begins with the filing of a formal complaint. Police officers are permitted to carry out investigations following the filing of the FIR (Zakir, Iqbal, Khan, & Ahmad, 2023). They try to solve the case by gathering evidence and speaking with witnesses. Whether the matter should go to trial will depend on the investigation's conclusions. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the FIR in the inquiry. Police can use it as a starting point to find leads and evidence because it gives them a thorough record of the alleged incident. Police can create a timeline, find possible suspects, and make sure that evidence is kept safe and undisturbed with the aid of a formal complaint. It is challenging to move on with the case without the FIR since the inquiry lacks a formal basis (Zaman et al, 2024).

Problems with the FIR System Notwithstanding its significance, Pakistan's FIR system has a number of serious problems. Delays in filing a formal complaint are among the most prevalent problems. Particularly in cases involving influential people or political figures, police may postpone or decline to file a formal complaint. Shaukat and Ahmad (2016) say that this is a common problem, especially when there is pressure from society or politics. Another problem is that people use FIRs incorrectly. People would sometimes do bad things or file fake FIRs to get back at someone. Haque (2022) says that false FIRs can hurt the reputations of innocent people and lead to unfair prosecutions.

Ali and Bustamante-Gavino (2008) employ a framework-based methodology, correlating gender-based violence (GBV) with structural disparities, including police corruption and insufficient legislation. Their strength is in finding barriers that are made up of many layers, but the study is more descriptive than analytical and doesn't give much information about how common or different violence is across social classes.

Media and Society Discuss High-Profile Criminal Cases

Pakistani gender-based violence (GBV) studies show that cultural, societal, and institutional frameworks contribute to systemic inadequacies in preventing and prosecuting crimes against women (Sharma, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2020). Although legislation and policy have changes, inefficient execution, patriarchal traditions, and institutional biases often obstruct justice. High-profile examples of violence against women show systemic failings and how media and public discourse shape crime, justice, and morality.

Mukhtaran Mai Case

Mukhtaran Mai's 2002 GBV case is famous in Pakistan. A local council ordered her gang rape as "honor punishment," which garnered attention in the US and UK (Jalal, 2013). Mukhtaran Mai was portrayed as a figure of resistance by the media because she spoke out against society's expectations. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court reversed her assailants' 2011 convictions were overturned because there wasn't enough proof (Human Rights Watch, 2011). This incident shows that Pakistan's legal promises to protect women's rights don't always match up with societal traditions that shield terrible people.

Dr. Shazia Khalid Case

The case of Dr. Shazia Khalid shows how medical professionals tend to neutralise and suppress cases of sexual violence in the workplace, and how the victim was blamed when the issue concerns the morality of the victims, instead of the responsibility of the professional within the institution. Deceit was used to derail her efforts to pursue justice, ostracise and even make her be quiet. Even being a professional, she was faced with the priority list of the structural obstacles affecting most women, which proves that the aspect of social status does not prevent the injustice since the gender factor matters (Sarhadi, 2005).

The Shabnam Case

The attack on actress Shabnam and her husband Robin Ghosh in 1979 showed that GBV may happen to famous people. The case, which was carried out by a group with political ties, showed how political power can get in the way of the legal process (Basak2020). The media often made Shabnam's case sound more exciting than it really was by focusing on her fame and moral character instead of the crime itself. This shows how women in the arts are stigmatized, where being a victim is less important than being morally right. The case exemplifies the elusiveness of justice when offenders possess social and political safeguards.

In these cases, there are some commonalities that help us understand the Noor's Case:

1. **Discourse that blames the victim:** Women are often judged morally, whether they are rural survivors (Mukhtaran Mai), professionals (Dr. Shazia Khalid), or entertainers (Shabnam).
2. **Inconsistent courts:** Courts often don't make sure justice is done because of gaps in the evidence, cultural pressure, or political interference (HRCP, 2022).
3. **Media sensationalism:** The media often makes cases seem like morality tales instead of systemic failures, which reinforces patriarchal narratives (Zia, 2019).

4. **Resistance and visibility:** High-profile survivors, particularly Mukhtaran Mai, have utilized visibility to confront patriarchal systems; however, societal unease regarding women pursuing justice persists profoundly.

These cases collectively illustrate how high-profile crimes against women in Pakistan transform into contested arenas where media, culture, and law converge. They show not only how the legal system fails women, but also how the way people talk about women being victims is shaped by patriarchal norms. It is important to understand these dynamics in order to judge the problems and opportunities for gender justice in Pakistan.

Research Gap

Numerous reports from civil society and international organizations document the extent of gender-based violence in Pakistan, emphasizing low conviction rates, widespread domestic and sexual violence, and societal obstacles to reporting. However, there is a notable lack of comprehensive doctrinal case studies that examine judicial reasoning and evidentiary practices in high-profile cases (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan [HRCP], 2025; UNFPA, 2022).

HRCP's recent findings show that despite registration of over 60,000 FIRs in Punjab alone for violence against women and children, only 924 suspects were convicted, pointing to serious deficiencies in investigatory and prosecutorial quality (HRCP, 2025). Similarly, UNFPA reports indicate that about 32% of women in Pakistan have experienced violence, yet most do not seek help due to socio-cultural and systemic barriers (UNFPA, 2022). These empirical insights expose a gap between knowledge of GBV prevalence and understanding of how legal institutions handle evidence — especially digital, forensic, and circumstantial proof — in actual courtroom practice. The Noor Mukadam case (FIR No. 380/21) provides a rare opportunity to fill this gap by conducting a legal-doctrinal, criminological, and socio-legal analysis of investigative strengths, trial weaknesses, and gendered implications, thereby contributing to both scholarly literature and policy reform.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research utilizes a qualitative criminological socio-legal framework, primarily employing doctrinal legal analysis of judicial rulings to investigate the Noor Mukadam case within the context of Pakistan's Criminal Justice System. The emphasis on investigative strengths, systemic weaknesses, and gendered implications necessitated a methodology capable of encompassing both legal reasoning and broader criminological perspectives. We chose a qualitative design so that we could interpret judicial reasoning, statutory provisions, and public discourse (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Sources of Data

The research is based on secondary data. The Pakistan Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860), the Qanun-e-Shahadat Order (1984), the verdict of Sessions Judge Special Court GBV, East/West-Islamabad (Case No 92/2021, Trial No. 340/GBV/201), and

the Supreme Court’s verdict in CrI. P. No. 467/2023 are all important legal documents. Secondary sources encompass peer-reviewed criminology and law journals, academic texts, and reputable news articles from Dawn, The News International, Pakistan Today, and The Guardian. These materials were chosen because they are real, useful, and can be used to compare legal, criminological, and socio-legal ideas.

Analytical Framework

Three connected points of view were used to look at the case:

1. **Legal-Doctrinal Analysis** – to ascertain judicial reasoning, evidentiary standards, and the implementation of the “silent witness theory” in digital and forensic evidence (Hutchinson & Duncan, 2012).
2. **Criminological Analysis** – to evaluate the investigative process and trial proceedings regarding their strengths, weaknesses, and ramifications for gender-based violence, utilizing criminological theories of actus reus, mens rea, and systemic bias.
3. **Socio-Legal Analysis** – to investigate extensive societal reactions, media discourses, and discussions regarding gender justice, privilege, and accountability in Pakistan.

Design of Research

The design is exploratory and interpretive, organized around the article’s central concept of justice on trial. The three levels of analysis (doctrinal, criminological, and socio-legal) were combined to examine how investigative techniques, trial proceedings, and societal discourse intersect. This research plan ensured that the good and bad components of the criminal justice response were always associated with the continued impacts that the case had on the overall welfare of women and revisions to the law in Pakistan.

Findings of the Case

The following main information from the Noor Muqaddam trial judgments, presented below concisely and to the point:

Table No1: Findings from the Judgments in the Noor Mukadam Case

Category	Details
Case Background	Murder of Noor Muqaddam on 20 July 2021 at residence of Zahir Zakir Jaffar, Islamabad. Crime involved kidnapping, wrongful confinement, sexual assault, and murder.
Primary Accused	Zahir Zakir Jaffar – Charged with murder (Sec. 302 PPC), rape, kidnapping, wrongful confinement.
Co-Accused	Muhammad Iftikhar (Chowkidar) : Abetment & wrongful confinement. Muhammad Jan (Cook) : Abetment & wrongful confinement. Zakir Jaffar & Asmat Adamjee (Parents) : Abetment.

	<i>Therapy Works Employees:</i> Alleged post-incident assistance.
Evidence Relied Upon	<p><i>CCTV Footage:</i> Captured movements of Noor and accused.</p> <p><i>Digital Records:</i> Call logs, mobile phone data.</p> <p><i>Forensic Evidence:</i> DNA, medical examination confirming assault.</p> <p><i>Witness Statements:</i> Police officials, medical experts, and circumstantial evidence.</p>
Absence of Eyewitnesses	Judgment based primarily on technological, forensic, and circumstantial evidence rather than direct testimony.

Legal-Doctrine Analysis

The following table demonstrates the way the courts examined the case of Noor Mukadam and the facts in a doctrinal way. It also emphasizes the strengths in the investigation, institutional failures and the gendered implications at large as it comes into character in the decisions by the trial court and Supreme Court. This systematic method makes it relatively easy to understand how legal institutions weighed the deficiencies of forensic as well as digital evidence against the deficiencies of the procedures, which also makes it relatively easy to discuss what the implications of the case were on gender justice in Pakistan.

Table No. 2: Legal-Doctrinal Analysis of Investigative Strengths, Systemic Weaknesses, and Gendered Implications in the Noor Mukadam Case

Investigative Strengths	Systemic Weaknesses	Gendered Implications
DNA evidence from the crime scene proved sexual assault and linked the suspect to the victim.	There were fingerprints on the murder weapon, but they didn't prove anything.	The case highlighted the vulnerability of women even in elite environments.
CCTV footage verified under the "Silent Witness Theory" and used as primary evidence.	Defense brought up chain-of-custody issues, but courts dismissed them out.	Showed that society doesn't care about women's safety and that the system doesn't work to stop violence.
Call Data Records and phone logs confirmed the timeline and presence.	The staff at the house did not stop Noor from trying to escape or tell anyone about it.	Emphasized the significance of institutional and communal accountability in safeguarding women.
Judicial reliance on the cumulative evidence	Delays and public pressure showed how weak the	The case highlighted the necessity for gender-

doctrine conviction deficiencies.	secured despite	system of delivering justice is.	sensitive reforms and protective measures for survivors.
---	--------------------	-------------------------------------	--

Criminological Analysis

The main points of criminological analysis are the following ones:

- The case reveals the advantages and disadvantages of investigative and procedural processes in Pakistan.
- The case was solid in the sense that it employed the science of forensics (DNA), digital police surveillance (CCTV), and the testimony of witness accounts in order to develop a guilt narrative.
- Weaknesses were also the fingerprints that failed to give a decisive ruling, there was the fear of this chain of custody and the accused attempts to thwart justice in telling the police that she had mental illness. These issues proved that researches were not conducted in a professional manner.
- Procedural evidence, i.e. the accused hailing out his parents and not the police was regarded as an indication that Zahir was well aware he was culpable. This aligns with criminological theories on *mens rea* and offender psychology, where post-crime conduct can serve as circumstantial indicators of culpability.
- The case also illuminated issues of bystander complicity, household staff failed to prevent Noor's detention, raising questions about social hierarchies, obedience to authority, and passive participation in criminal acts.

Socio-legal Analysis

1. Noor Mukadam Case: Justice, Society, and Its Impact on People

The murder of Noor Mukadam on 20 July 2021 in Islamabad shocked the entire nation. It was not only a brutal crime but also a case that highlighted serious questions about women's safety, justice, privilege, and how society reacts to violence. The courts, government, media, and ordinary people all became part of the story. This case is important because it changed the way many Pakistanis think about justice and gender violence (Dawn, 2025; Foreign Policy, 2021).

2. The Court's Role

After Noor's murder, the main accused, Zahir Jaffer, was arrested immediately. The case went through the trial court, where he was sentenced to death in February 2022, and later the Supreme Court confirmed this decision. Many people saw this as a rare moment when the powerful were held accountable, because the accused came from an influential family (Dawn, 2025).

3. How the Government and Police Acted

The government and police were under huge pressure because of the media and public reaction. On the one hand, the authorities acted quickly to arrest the accused and start the trial, which gave people some hope that justice could be done. On the other hand, there were criticisms too: people raised questions about how evidence was handled and whether the accused's family tried to use influence. These doubts

showed the weaknesses of Pakistan's justice system (The Friday Times, 2021).

4. The Media and Social Media

Social media played a massive role in this case. Hashtags like #JusticeForNoor kept the story alive for months. Celebrities, activists, and ordinary people shared their anger online. This created public pressure on the courts and government to take the case seriously (Foreign Policy, 2021).

But there was also a negative side. Many TV channels and social media accounts spread unverified details, sometimes sensationalizing the case. This not only risked hurting the trial process but also retraumatized Noor's family (The Friday Times, 2021). The Noor Mukadam case left a deep mark on people's minds:

1. **Awareness of Women's Safety:** People became more aware of gender-based violence. For many, it was a wake-up call about how unsafe women can be, even in elite circles (Express Tribune, 2021).
2. **Privilege and Power:** The case made people ask whether the rich and powerful can get away with crimes. When the courts finally gave a strict punishment, many saw it as proof that privilege should not mean immunity (Express Tribune, 2021).
3. **Trust in the System:** At first, people doubted whether the justice system would really work. Later, the court's final decision restored some confidence, though many still believe this happened only because of the huge media spotlight (Dawn, 2025).

5. The Impact on People's Minds

Psychologically, this case created a mix of emotions across Pakistan.

- Many felt grief and outrage, as if Noor's murder was personal to every family (Foreign Policy, 2021).
- Others experienced fear and anxiety, especially women, who began questioning their own safety in everyday life (OnShow, 2025).
- Social media activism gave people a sense of unity and power, but some of it was only symbolic—hashtags without long-term action (OnShow, 2025).

The Noor Mukadam case shows that:

- Police and courts need to be more professional, with better forensics (Pakistan Today, 2021) and transparent procedures (Bashir, 2022).
- Media should report responsibly, without sensationalizing tragedy (The Friday Times, 2021).
- Public outrage on social media can bring attention, but real change needs proper laws, policies, and victim support services (Foreign Policy, 2021).

6. Synthesis

The Noor Mukadam case illustrates the power of converging evidence — scientific, digital, testimonial, and behavioral — in eliminating reasonable doubt, despite procedural weaknesses. At the same time, it exposed systemic vulnerabilities in Pakistan's investigative and judicial processes. Crucially, the case transcended the courtroom, becoming a social turning point in conversations about gender violence,

privilege, and justice. It demonstrates how law, criminology, and society intersect in shaping both legal outcomes and public trust in justice.

Noor Mukadam's case is more than just a crime story. It became a turning point for Pakistan, forcing society to face uncomfortable truths about violence, power, and justice. For many people, it was a painful reminder of women's vulnerability. At the same time, it showed that when citizens raise their voices, even powerful people can be held accountable (Dawn, 2025; Foreign Policy, 2021).

DISCUSSION

The legal standards of authentication and investigational reliability articulated by the Court. It was held that the admissibility of digital evidence requires proof of its origin, chain of custody, and validation that it has not been altered or tampered with, usually through forensic or technical verification (Bashir, 2022). These requirements ensure the integrity of digital evidence, aligning Pakistan's standards more closely with global evidentiary practices. Moreover, the Court noted that the accused's failure to provide an alternative explanation for the presence of the victim and the incriminating circumstances surrounding the crime significantly weakened his defense. This inability to counter the evidentiary chain was seen as undermining the principle of reasonable doubt (The News International, 2025).

The case has deep social and legal effects. The verdict shows that Pakistani courts are ready to use digital and technological tools as important parts of criminal prosecution (Geo News, 2025). This will change the way evidence law works, making it more reliant on surveillance and forensic science (Dawn, 2025). The case also got a lot of attention from the public and the media, which led to discussions about women's safety, the integrity of the courts, and how privilege protects people who commit violence. Butt et al. (2024) and The Guardian (2021) claim that the Noor Mukadam case inspired action and increased calls for more responsibility for the elite and better safety for women in Pakistan.

The decision is significant because it establishes a precedent for future cases of sexual violence and other crimes that do not include direct witnesses. Recognizing digital data as primary proof has improved courts' ability to adjudicate actions that were previously unpunished due to insufficient testimony, particularly in gendered environments marked by silence and pressure. This combination of doctrinal and socio-legal considerations transforms the verdict into not only a significant advance in evidence law, but also a symbolic step toward restoring public trust in the court system (Bashir, 2022).

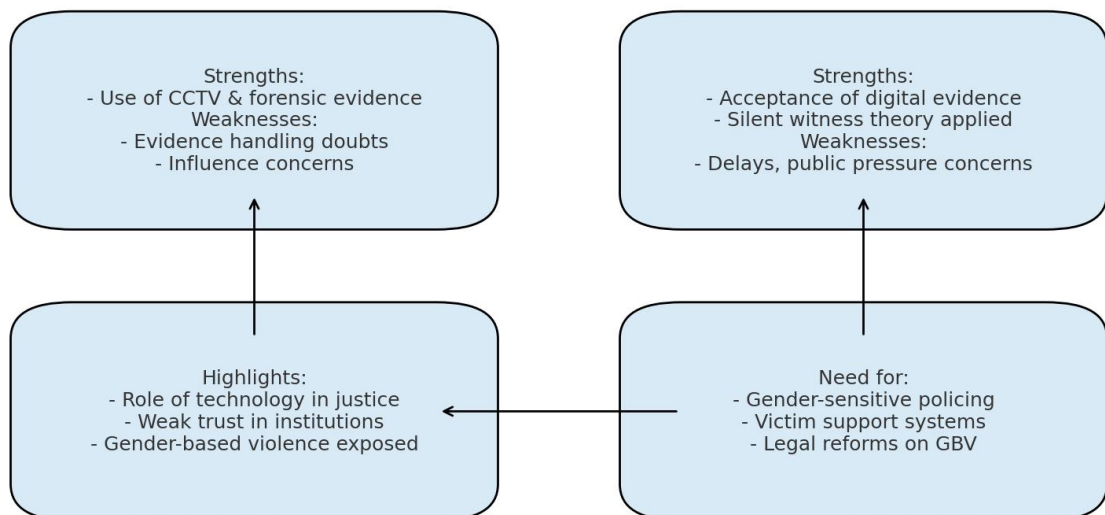
From a criminological standpoint, the Noor Mukadam case highlights the strengths and weaknesses of Pakistan's justice system. The excellent use of forensic science, CCTV surveillance, and circumstantial reasoning improved investigative capacities and highlighted how technology can help with prosecution in the absence of eyewitnesses. Conversely, the doubts regarding initial evidence handling and concerns with the role of elite were also system wide issues that undermined trust

with the police. The case illustrates the entrenched nature of patriarchal norms in gender-based violence, jeopardizing women's safety even in affluent environments. It shows how important it is to change the law, help victims, and make policing more gender-sensitive so that justice becomes the norm in institutions instead of just something that happens when people are angry.

A visual framework can help us make sense of the criminological study of the Noor Mukadam case. The following chart indicates the relationships between the merits and demerits of police investigations and trials with larger issues of crimes. It demonstrates how institutions have an uphill task to deal with, especially without the means of forensic and digital evidence, which makes the issue of gender-based violence, civic trust, and the necessity of the legislative changes in the system in Pakistan even more complex.

Diagram No. 01: Criminological Link: Noor Mukadam Case

Criminological Link: Noor Mukadam Case



Source: Researcher's Vision

Recommendation

The findings of this paper indicate that criminal justice system can be enhanced in Pakistan that is the murder of Noor Mukadam through numerous ways. Firstly, police investigations have to be modernized to employ conventional forensics. This refers to ensuring that evidence is gathered, stored, and managed properly to ensure there exist no discrepancies about it. Secondly, the courts must ensure that the digital evidence is usable and reliable. They should also provide technical trainings to the judges and investigators how to handle such evidence.

Third, the individuals should have a mechanism through which they can be held to book to ensure that mighty families do not interfere with or alter the law. Fourth, it must have transparent reporting policies that ensure safety of privacy of the victims including transparency in public and media inquiries. Finally, there is need to curb the violence against women by way of more law and legislation change. Such change must contain legislations to safeguard the victims, mental health, and actions intended to sensitize more people on cultural practices perpetrating violence against the women.

CONCLUSION

These high-profile cases show a troubling trend: women's bodies and lives are still hotly debated in Pakistan's courts. Mukhtaran Mai had enough power to oppose feudal rule, Dr. Shazia Khalid was unable to resist the social persecution, Shabnam had really a miserable experience at a patriarchal system of courts and Noor Mukadam was sawed. The case of Noor is noteworthy as it was at that time that digital forensics, current evidence standards, and an increased detention of privilege began to be realized in court. These difficulties teach us the lesson: females should not rely on any indignation of the media or various same situations to get what they want. It must be done by the law, the law enforcement and the courts daily. These grievous tragedies can only result in lasting change at that time.

REFERENCES

- Ali, T. S., & Bustamante-Gavino, I. (2008). Violence against women in Pakistan: A framework for analysis. *Journal of Pakistan Medical Association*, 58(4):198-203.
- Basak, J. (2020, June 2). *When actor Shabnam left Pakistan after being gang-raped by influentials and denied justice. The Friday Times.* <https://www.thefridaytimes.com/02-Jun-2020/when-actor-shabnam-left-pakistan-after-being-gang-raped-by-influentials-and-denied-justice>
- Bashir, S. (2022, January 27). *Judge displeased over police clarification in Noor case.* The Express Tribune. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2340646/judge-displeased-over-police-clarification-in-noor-case>
- Batool, T., Shaheen, M. B., Akbar, M. S., & Rafique Rana, M. Z. (2024). *The right to register an FIR: Foundation for fair trials in Pakistan.* *International Journal of Social Science Archives*, 7(2), 396–402.
- Butt, S. S., Khan, M. A., & Khalid, S. (2024). *Violence and gender: A critical analysis of print media reporting's of Noor Mukadam's case.* *Global Sociological Review*, 9(2), 24–33. [https://doi.org/10.31703/gsr.2024\(IX-II\).03](https://doi.org/10.31703/gsr.2024(IX-II).03).
- Centre for Peace Development Initiatives Pakistan (CPDI-Pakistan), (2021). *"First Information Report (FIR)"*, available at: <https://www.cpdipakistan.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/What-is-an-FIR.pdf>, retrieved on September, 2025.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative Inquiry And Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

- Dawn. (2025, June 11). Supreme Court issues detailed verdict in Noor Mukadam murder case, upholds Zahir Jaffer's death sentence. Dawn News. <https://www.dawn.com>
- Express Tribune. (2021, July 27). Hashtag justice or watershed moment?
- Foreign Policy. (2021, Sept 21). Can Social Media Bring Justice for Women in Pakistan?
- Geo News. (2025, May 20). Supreme Court upholds death sentence of Zahir Jaffer in Noor Mukadam case. Geo.tv. <https://www.geo.tv>
- Haque, Manzoor-ul (2022). Assorted Thoughts: Everyday Struggle (2nd ed.). Raleigh; US: Lulu.com. ISBN: 978-1-6671-3973-9, EBook 978-1-6671-1250-3.
- HRCP. (2025, June 10). *Conviction rate in cases of violence against women and children in Punjab is disappointing*. Pakistan Press Foundation.
- Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2022). State of Human Rights in Pakistan: Annual Reports. Lahore: HRCP.
- Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP). (2025). State of Human Rights in Pakistan 2021. Lahore: HRCP.
- Human Rights Watch. (2011). World Report 2011: Pakistan. New York: HRW. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2011/country-chapters/pakistan>
- Human Rights Watch. (2020). Shall I feed my daughter, or educate her? Barriers to girls' education in Pakistan. HRW. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/13/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan>
- Hutchinson, T., & Duncan, N. (2012). Defining and describing what we do: Doctrinal legal research. *Deakin Law Review*, 17(1), 83–119. <https://doi.org/10.21153/dlr2012vol17no1art70>
- Islamabad Sessions Court. (2022, February 24). State v. Zahir Jaffer: Trial Court Judgment (Noor Mukadam Murder Case). Islamabad Judicial Records.
- Jalal, A. (2013). The Pity of Partition: Manto's Life, Times, and Work across the India-Pakistan Divide. Princeton University Press. ISBN: 9780691153629.
- OnShow. (2025). Disinhibition, Social Concern, and the Online Discourse of the Noor Mukadam Case [Thesis].
- Pakistan Today. (2021). PFSA forensic report reveals details in Noor Mukadam murder case. Pakistan Today. <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk>
- Sarhadi, Z. (2005, April 1). *Rape cases expose Pakistan's brutal feudal injustice*. *Crescent International*. Retrieved from <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/articles/rape-cases-expose-pakistan-s-brutal-feudal-injustice>
- Sharma, B. R. (2018). Violence against women: Where are the solutions? *Indian Journal of Community Medicine*, 57(2):131–139. doi: [10.4103/0019-5545.158133](https://doi.org/10.4103/0019-5545.158133).
- Supreme Court of Pakistan. (2025, June 10). State v. Zahir Jaffer (Criminal Appeal No. 155 of 2022): Detailed Judgment. Supreme Court Law Reports
- The Express Tribune. (2021, July 21). Noor Mukadam murder: A timeline of events. The Express Tribune. <https://tribune.com.pk>

- The Friday Times. (2021, Sept). Sensational Media Coverage Of Noor Mukadam Murder Case May Undermine Due Process.
- The Guardian. (2021, August 2). Pakistan reckons with its 'gender terrorism epidemic' after killing of Noor Mukadam. The Guardian (International Edition). Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/aug/02/pakistan-noor-mukadam-gender-terrorism>
- The News International. (2025, June 13). *Digital evidence now considered primary one: SC. The News International.* <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/1320800-digital-evidence-now-considered-primary-one-sc>
- UNFPA. (2022, November 26). *32% women experience violence in Pakistan: UNFPA* [News release]. The Nation.
- Zakir, M. H, Iqbal, F., Khan, S. H., & Ahmad, A. W, (2023). Police Reforms and Accountability in Pakistan. *PAKISTAN JOURNAL OF LAW, ANALYSIS AND WISDOM*, 2(03), 197-209. <https://pjlw.com.pk/index.php/Journal/article/view/v2i03197209>
- Zaman S., Khan, Aziz Ullah, and Mahmood A., (2024). First Information Report (FIR) as a Distinct Genre of Legalese: A Corpus-based Forensic Analysis. *University of Chitral Journal of Linguistics and Literature*, 8(I), 150-161. <https://doi.org/10.33195/>.
- Zia, A. S. (2019). Faith and Feminism in Pakistan: Religious Agency or Secular Autonomy? *Liverpool University Press.* <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv3029r6v> Sussex Academic Press.