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**“Cultural Constraints and Women Education; A Case Study of Women’s
Higher Education in District Mardan”**

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Abstract:

This study aimed to examine the cultural barriers faced by females in higher education in District Mardan, Pakistan. The present study pinpointed the cultural barriers that limit female students from pursuing higher education. The study employed a qualitative research design, and data was collected through semi-structured interviews with male heads of household (parents) of women who have been deprived of higher education in District Mardan. The data will be analyzed through thematic analysis. The significance of the study was that it emphasized how important it is to give all girls access to equal educational opportunities. The literature reviewed on the subject matter points out that cultural restrictions, family obligations, gender discrimination, marriage, financial needs, and social and cultural barriers are major constraints that limit women's higher education. These constraints ultimately impact the development of human capital and the socio-economic sustainability of society. In this study, the cultural constraints were studied to see how it becomes a hindrance for women in pursuing higher education in District Mardan. The thematic analysis highlighted different points in depth for clarity on the matter. This study will be significant for raising awareness of the value of female education among families, communities, and policymakers, improving educational facilities and incentives, and expanding work prospects for women. The results of this study will help to take pragmatic initiatives and policy choices that encourage women's education. The findings which were achieved brought some points to notice highlighting patriarchal differences and the need for improved/equal opportunities for female education.

Keywords: Cultural constraints, higher education, Hurdles in women's education, Pashtunwali

Introduction:

Pakistan is a South Asian nation with a varied population and a rich cultural history. Despite its long history and diverse culture, the nation has long grappled with the problem of gender inequality. The cultural barriers that women must overcome to acquire education are one of Pakistan's most notable examples of gender inequality. In Pakistan, cultural norms and values that direct behavior and attitudes toward women are strongly ingrained in the culture. These restrictions have many different origins, such as patriarchal beliefs, cultural and religious customs, and historical practices. In Pakistan, women have traditionally been constrained by gender norms, which have hampered their access to education and possibilities for growth in both the social and economic sectors (Yaqoob, 2012).

The denial of education to women is frequently associated with traditional notions that women's primary function is in the house, although education is believed to be a critical component in attaining gender equality. Patriarchal systems that place a higher priority on women's household responsibilities than their academic endeavors serve to foster this worldview. Socioeconomic issues like poverty, which can make it difficult for females to attend school owing to costs, further exacerbate this idea. These cultural constraints are further complemented by poverty, lack of infrastructure, and transportation that have resulted in enhancing the gender-wise gap in education (Ullah, et al., 2021).

Amid the cultural constraints, Pashtunwali has played a massive role in hampering women's higher education in KPK generally and specifically in Mardan. Pashtunwali is a traditional code of conduct and way of life followed by the Pashtun people in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province of Pakistan and is deeply ingrained in the social fabric of the region. While Pashtunwali has many positive aspects, such as promoting hospitality, bravery, and loyalty, it also imposes certain cultural constraints that put barriers to women's education

in KPK. One of the main cultural constraints imposed by Pashtunwali is the concept of purdah, which means the segregation of women from men. Another cultural constraint imposed by Pashtunwali is the concept of family honor or izzat, which places a significant emphasis on the behavior and conduct of women. Women are expected to uphold the honor of their family and community through their modest behavior and adherence to traditional cultural norms (Amin, et al., 2021).

Early marriages of girls are another barrier to the acquisition of women's enrollment in higher education. Moreover, Pashtunwali also emphasizes the role of women in the home as wives, mothers, and caretakers, which can further discourage families from investing in their daughters' education. Families may view education for girls as a waste of time and resources, as they believe that their daughters' primary responsibility is to care for their families and fulfill their domestic duties. These constraints can limit women's access to education, as families may be hesitant to send their daughters to school, fearing that their education will lead to behavior that is perceived as un-Islamic or inappropriate (Jalal-ud-din & Khan, 2008).

Due to the cultural constraints of Pashtunwali and other variables, the comparative literacy rate of boys and girls is much widened. The general gender-wise literacy rate, according to the Economic Survey of Pakistan 2021-22, the Male literacy rate is 73.4 percent, whereas the literacy rate of Females is 51.9 percent. The situation of gender-wise literacy rate in KPK is worsened as evidenced in the survey. The male literacy rate in KPK is 72.8pc, whereas the female literacy rate in KP is 37.4pc (Pakistan Economic Survey 2021-22). This shows the women in KPK face considerable barriers in terms of acquiring education. According to the district-wise demographics shared by the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the general literacy rate of district Mardan is 36.5%. The Male literacy rate is 53.5%, whereas the female literacy rate in Mardan is 18.38% (Government of KPK, 2023).

According to the Annual Statistics of Education Report (ASER) 2013 report, Literacy rates in Mardan are 70% for males and 35% for women over the age of 10 and above 45 percent of the 371,364 students enrolled in government schools are girls and 55 percent are boys. According to the literacy index, the district is rated 10th overall out of 25 districts. This report covers the details of the higher secondary school in district Mardan, while the report shared by the KPK government covers the general gender-wise literacy rate in Mardan district (ASER, 2013).

This research is conducted to identify and explore the cultural constraints that hinder women's access to higher education in the district of Mardan and to identify potential interventions that can address these barriers. This research sheds light on the cultural constraints that hamper women's education in District Mardan. The argument that has been carried out in this research is that Pashtunwali traits provide potential barriers to women's enrollment and continuation of higher education in district Mardan. It has been suggested that awareness-raising initiatives be implemented at the local level to encourage a supportive attitude towards girls' education. The study makes several policy recommendations, including expanding the number of female higher education institutions, hiring qualified teachers, constructing facilities in those institutions, involving the community, and encouraging parents to adopt supportive attitudes towards their daughters' higher education.

Research Significance:

This thesis titled, "Culture Constraints and Women's Education; A Case Study of Women's Higher Education in District Mardan" is significant for several reasons. The purpose of the study was to investigate the cultural barriers that prevent women from obtaining higher education in the Pakistani province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's Mardan region. The fact that gender inequality is a major problem in Pakistan, especially in rural areas, emphasizes the importance of this study. Women are often excluded from educational opportunities and

compelled to stay inside their homes. This hinders their ability to advance personally and professionally and has an impact on the economic and social development of the nation. The study is significant because it sheds light on the societal barriers that restrict women from seeking higher education. The findings of this research are anticipated to inform policy decisions in the field of education, notably in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The report will also be a helpful resource for NGOs, educational institutions, and other stakeholders working to advance women's empowerment and gender equality.

The thesis will also add to the body of knowledge on cultural restrictions and women's education in developing nations, particularly Pakistan. Along with bridging the gap between theory and practice, the study will add to the body of knowledge regarding feminist theory and cultural studies. The study is important since it focuses on a particular area and district in Pakistan, Mardan, where there has been little research on women's higher education. Based on the cultural, societal, and economic aspects that affect the access of women to education, policymakers will be able to make well-informed decisions according to the research's findings. It would also be beneficial to comprehend how cultural practices and conventions might be modified to advance women's education and gender equality. Overall, the study is significant as it will contribute to improving the educational opportunities for women in Pakistan. It is hoped that the research will lead to increased awareness and understanding of the cultural barriers that exist in the region and will ultimately result in policy changes that promote gender equality and women's empowerment.

Research Objectives:

This study's major goal is to examine the cultural barriers that prevent women in District Mardan from pursuing higher education. In particular, the study intends to pinpoint the social and cultural barriers that women face in obtaining higher education. The research will examine the impact of education on gender relations and social change, as well as the

influence of traditional gender roles and expectations on Women's educational opportunities, as well as the impact of education on gender relations and social change.

Research Question(s):

Following are some of the research questions that have been incorporated into this research.

- 1) What are the major cultural constraints faced by women in pursuing higher education in District Mardan?
- 2) How do cultural constraints and stereotypes create barriers against women's participation in higher education in District Mardan?

Literature Review:

Women's education has been recognized as a critical component of human development, and an essential tool for achieving gender equality and economic development. However, cultural constraints have often served as a barrier to women's education, particularly in developing countries like Pakistan. The purpose of this literature review is to provide an overview of the existing research on culture constraints and women's education, with a specific focus on the case of women's higher education in District Mardan, Pakistan.

This study investigated the impact of Afghan women's attainment of education, participation in the labor market, and reproductive outcomes in their study under the Taliban regime. The Taliban regime banned girls' education during their rule from 1996 to 2001. The data from the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment surveyed by the researchers examine the influence of the Taliban regime on the education, labor market, and fertility outcomes. According to the study, a woman's likelihood of completing basic education is reduced by about two percentage points for every additional year she is exposed to the Taliban occupation while in school, particularly in rural and Pashtun districts (Noury & Speciale, 2016). They concluded that Afghan women's educational, labor market, and fertility outcomes suffered because of the Taliban's restriction on girls' education.

Mahmood, argues about the cultural constraints and gender-wise education in Pakistan, women empowerment is a crucial but unfulfilled goal that is not possible to be achieved without having a high-quality education. Despite comprising more than half of the total population, women's education has been neglected, leading to increased dependency, and hindering economic growth. The education policies implemented by various governments had potential, but they have failed to deliver due to social and cultural challenges that hinder gender equality. He focused on the cultural, social, and economic challenges that women have faced in Pakistan.

He concluded that cultural values, particularly in rural areas of Pakistan, are the main obstacles to women's education (Mahmood, 2012).

Ahmad focused on Pakistani society's barriers to co-education, specifically the socio-cultural and political factors that hinder women's education (Ahmad et al., 2014). The study found that the male dominance, patriarchal system, rigid customs, and traditions, stereotyped social codes, acute and chronic poverty, and conservatism, are the major barriers to the coeducation system. The study further finds that the male insularity towards women's roles, complex social structure, Pardah (veil) system, gender disparities, female segregation, domestic affairs, and lack of women's political empowerment were hurdles to co-education. Religious misperceptions and illiterate Mullah (clergymen) also contributed to the difficulties of coeducation in Pakistani society. They concluded that removing these barriers could lead to the promotion of girl's education.

Mehmood highlights the issue of the neglect of female higher education in developing countries, specifically in Pakistan. Despite an increase in enrollment, the gender equality gap still exists. The study used primary data obtained from 601 individuals across the country to examine the socio-economic and cultural barriers that Pakistani female students face while pursuing their higher education (Mehmood et al., 2018).

Maqsood explored the challenges that girls face when trying to obtain higher education, with a focus on cultural barriers and coping strategies. The findings suggested that cultural barriers were rooted in gender stereotypes reflecting the values of male-dominated societies, and girls had to overcome family opposition to obtain university admission (Maqsood et al., 2012). However, the struggles of female students to overcome these cultural barriers have had positive implications for other girls in their families, encouraging them to pursue higher education. The growing number of universities in major cities by the HEC has also played a key role in providing opportunities for girls to attend universities near their homes. Despite

these changes, girls still face a long struggle to obtain higher education.

Shaukat examined the challenges that females face when pursuing higher education and entering professions. The findings suggest that females who manage to obtain higher education face a male-dominated culture in the workplace, which reinforces socio-cultural norms and causes a contradiction between cultural and professional requirements, leading to de-motivation. Four types of females were identified based on their response to these socio-cultural norms. System successes, who have family support, have survived discrimination inherent in wider society. System fighters, lacking support, perceive discrimination strongly but have intrinsic motivation. Motivated realists have adopted socio-cultural practices and plan to beat the system to become successful, while neutral acceptors accept the external socio-cultural world with minimal challenge (Shaukat & Pell, 2017).

Jalal-ud-din analyzed the cultural and socio-economic barriers faced by women in Mardan in the research area. The results showed that women had lower socio-economic status due to factors such as low literacy rates, lack of education and skills, poor economic conditions, and a society that did not provide a secure environment for working women (Jalal-ud-din & Khan, 2008). Women were bound to take care of their children and remain within the boundaries of their homes. They recommended providing a quality education to women and creating employment opportunities for them through the establishment of cottage and agro-based industries.

Sameer analyzes the cultural constraints faced by Pashtun females in the Malakand division in accessing higher education. The results indicated that the low ratio of female higher education was significantly associated with various sub-dimensions of Pashtun culture, including early puberty, conservatism, Pardah, male dominance, lack of freedom of expression, early/child marriage, non-involvement of females in decision-making, and non-acceptance of co-education (Sameer & Jan 2018). They recommended that the government

should focus on creating awareness and providing better educational facilities and incentives for women, as well as creating more employment opportunities to enhance female higher education.

Jamshaid conducted a study in Dera Ghazi Khan, Punjab, Pakistan to explore the issues that restrict females from pursuing higher education. The study collected data from 400 females using a structured questionnaire and adopted a quantitative research method. The findings revealed that females face many challenges in pursuing higher education, such as limited access due to distance, lack of awareness, domestic responsibilities, early marriage, and security concerns. He emphasized the need to address these issues to increase female access to higher education in rural areas, where patriarchal and tribal norms restrict women's opportunities (Jamshaid, 2020).

The study explores the constraints faced by female students in Pakistan regarding higher education. They used a qualitative research design and collected data through semi-structured interviews with students from girls' colleges in district Mardan. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the data, and key constraints identified included cultural restrictions, family obligations, gender discrimination, marriage as a barrier, lack of universities, financial needs, and social and cultural barriers. The study emphasized the importance of providing access to higher education for all girls to establish a sustainable society and recommends addressing these constraints to promote gender equality in higher education in Pakistan (Ullah et al., 2021).

From the above-cited relevant literature, it is evident that patriarchal norms, poverty, and other socio-economic and cultural barriers are creating multiple hindrances against female education in general and more specifically in female higher education. In this research, the researcher also has assumed that in the Mardan district females are facing more or less the same socio-economic and cultural hindrances for their high-level education. It is safe to assume that

the phenomena of patriarchal control on female education practices are general in different societies. Research should be conducted in the Mardan district for the confirmation of different variables that are creating hurdles for female education. In this study, the researcher has designed the research question i.e., how cultural constraints and stereotypes create barriers against women's participation in higher education in District Mardan to be tested by applying relevant research processes.

Theoretical Framework:

The theoretical framework for the thesis titled "Culture Constraints and Women's Education; A Case Study of Women's Higher Education in District Mardan" can be seen through the lens of feminist theory. However, the feminist theory is more relevant as it covers the topic in much broader aspects. The feminist perspective places a strong emphasis on how women are marginalized in society and how gender influences social connections, including education (Hill, 2001). This idea emphasizes how cultural norms and beliefs affect gender roles and how women are treated differently throughout a variety of fields, including education (Hill, 2001). It contends that education for women is crucial for their empowerment and for ending the cycle of subordination and gender injustice. Feminist theory, for instance, may be used to examine how societal norms on gender roles and responsibilities disproportionately force women to prioritize taking care of the home above going to school.

Feminist theory also examines how patriarchal cultural norms support the idea that women are less valuable than males and, thus, are not as deserving of educational opportunities. This thesis can contribute to a greater understanding of gender inequality and the significance of overcoming gender-based barriers to education by utilizing feminist theory to analyze the cultural restrictions on women's education in District Mardan.

The researcher focuses on liberal feminism as the framework that is expounded by the works of Mary Wollstonecraft (*The Vindication of the Rights of Women*) and John Stuart Mill (*The*

Subjection of Women) in the first wave of feminism (Malinowska, 2020). However, Malinowska (2020) argues that the first wave coined the idea of a new woman, which was an ideal of femininity that challenged the limits established by the male-centered society. The first wave encompasses social campaigns that showed dissatisfaction with women's restricted rights for work, education, property, reproduction, marital status, and social agency (Malinowska, 2020). However, the researcher will focus on the educational rights of females, and the challenges that they face while pursuing it (Malinowska, 2020).

This thesis can offer insight into the ways that cultural limitations affect women's lives by looking at how women in District Mardan are socialized to accept their subordinate status and constrained options for education. A feminist perspective on gender-wise education barriers in District Mardan would recognize that there are structural and cultural factors that have created unequal access to education for girls and women in the region. These barriers can be attributed to patriarchal norms, poverty, insecurity, and traditional gender roles that limit girls' and women's mobility and participation in education.

Methodology

Data Collection

Primary data were gathered for this study using a qualitative approach to data collection. Because qualitative methods are meant to help you understand something in more depth and quantitative methods are meant to help you understand something in a wider sense, qualitative methods were chosen over quantitative methods to study this phenomenon (Palinkas, 2015). Similarly, rather than examining the extent to which cultural barriers impede women's access to higher education institutions in Pakistan specifically in District Mardan, this study examined the nature and affectivity of these barriers. Interviews for a qualitative study were done to find out how the guardians of respondent girls saw and dealt with the cultural barriers that affected their decision for higher education. The semi-structured interviewing method was used to get the data. In qualitative research, interviews are a crucial tool for data collection (Kabir, 2016). Semi-structured interviews were carried out with consideration for the fact that generally speaking, a case number of approximately 14 is frequently indicated and appropriate for gathering primary data. Semi-structured interviews were selected because they made it possible to gather more information on the themes that had been determined using prior theories and literature. The study also sought to investigate new issues and find research gaps in the literature. Semi-structured interviews were therefore carried out since they produced new themes. Semi-structured interviews are a useful tool for gathering open-ended, qualitative data (Adams, 2015). The study's objectives were to investigate the respondent's ideas, opinions, sentiments, and experiences; in a given situation, semi-structured interviews work well. According to Vaughn (2018), the objective of semi-structured interviews is to obtain information from informants who have firsthand knowledge of the subject matter through their attitudes, perspectives, and beliefs. Despite the time constraints, the interviews enabled a broad

range of replies to be obtained, which were deemed adequate to conclude the study. Although not enough responses were received to meet saturation, the same pattern was seen in each response.

Instruments for Gathering Data

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with fourteen (14) male household heads from various rural areas of Mardan District. With the intricate cultural phenomena under investigation, it was crucial to interview the guardians of girls who lived in rural areas specifically in district Mardan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province but were unable to attend Higher education institutions to obtain a meaningful analysis and conclusion. The respondents are from Pakistan's Mardan district, precisely from the rural area. Every inquiry posed was comprehensive and open-ended. The interview questions were created with the interviewees in mind (parents, brothers of girls, and guardians).

Interviews were conducted to learn more about their perspectives and experiences with the cultural influences and challenges presented by higher education. All pertinent questions regarding the cultural barriers that women face or have faced when attempting to pursue higher education were included in the interview questions for women and their parents' Higher education and the effectiveness of policies and interventions in combating this issue. The study covered rural regions in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, going beyond Mardan. This wider geographic focus enables a deeper comprehension of regional differences and the possible impact of location on educational choices and access.

Doing semi-structured interviews with a wide range of people in rural Mardan with different levels of education is a good way to investigate how different cultural factors affect women's ability to go to college. The collected data will probably shed light on the dynamics at the nexus of culture, education, and gender and offer insightful information for our study and conclusions.

Respondent Selection

A purposive sample technique was used to identify the parents and guardians of girls who were not enrolled in higher secondary education or who had dropped out of universities. The purpose of the study was to identify the factors that led to women leaving higher education early. Selection bias results from the use of purposive sampling (Baltar, 2012). However, since the objective of this study is not to extrapolate findings from a sample of interviews to the entire population, as is the case with surveys, selection bias is not an important issue in qualitative interviews. The selection of the rural area was done via non-probability purposive sampling. Purposeful selection of qualitative inquiry samples is carried out to produce instances that are "rich in information," hence optimizing the utilization of scarce resources (Suri, 2011). To do this, people or groups of people who are particularly knowledgeable or experienced with a topic of interest must be identified and chosen. Additionally, as the rural areas were chosen by the Objectives of the study and the characteristics of the local people, they can be classified as purposive samples. The rural areas of Mardan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, were chosen based on convenience. It is believed that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is a comparatively impoverished, smaller, and less developed province in Pakistan. Educational institutions, including universities run by the military, commercial industry, and the governmental sector. There are public, private, and military-run universities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

For the objective of a thorough analysis and conclusion, it was crucial to interview the parents of girls not enrolled in higher secondary schools, or universities, and those who dropped out of Pakistan's higher education institutions due to the study's complex cultural phenomena. One distinct scenario was studied: women who had dropped out of higher education. The study must examine women's experiences, narratives, and perceptions regarding the cultural barriers they encounter daily and how this impacts their ability to pursue higher education. A sample

of female university dropouts was taken to determine why they had left school and what obstacles they had encountered.

To sum up, the purposive sample technique was customized to the intricate cultural background of the research, along with the selection of rural areas of Mardan District. It made it possible for me to compile comprehensive, situation-specific data from people who might offer insightful commentary on the cultural elements affecting women's access to higher education in the area. The study was qualitative, so it acknowledged the possibility of bias but gave more weight to complexity and subtlety than statistical generalizability.

Methodology for Gathering Data

The method used to gather the data was Open-ended, flexible questions were asked during in-person interviews to facilitate thorough, in-depth responses from the respondents. The respondents' preferences for the communication medium were taken into consideration when choosing it. As a result, a flexible timetable that took into account the availability, schedule, and comfort of each respondent was created for the in-person data collection. In addition, the interview subjects had the option to refuse or omit the question. The questions were written in an understandable manner and order, with wording that was acceptable and straightforward.

The thesis supervisor pre-tested and approved the interview questions to make sure they would not offend any group or ethnicity and to make sure they would provide the necessary insights. To ensure that the interview questions were in line with the themes, the researcher approved the protocol after consulting with my thesis supervisor. The research's academic objective was explicitly mentioned in the disclaimer, which also guaranteed that it wouldn't be used to further or hinder any objective. Each interviewee was given a number, and interview identities were kept secret following ethical guidelines. Throughout the interviews, written notes on the participants' responses were kept.

Analyzing Data

The theme-coding analysis helped to make sense of the qualitative information the researcher had gathered. The first stage in analyzing the responses was coding the notes I took during and after the interview. Themed coding was selected to make coding simpler because "one already knows what one is looking for" (St.Pierre, 2014). The analysis is abductive since certain categories were selected from interviews while others were drawn from earlier studies. A hybrid strategy comprising both deductive and inductive methodologies was used to analyze the data. First, based on the primary categories identified by earlier data collection, the data was usually coded. With the use of a literature review and prior research, categories are developed using the inductive approach. The literature review revealed the following themes: early marriages, the cost of higher education, patriarchy, conservative attitudes, and a lack of facilities. To analyze the data following the interviews, new categories were also made using the deductive technique. The categories have been improved and made clearer considering the facts. Ultimately, codes were interpreted and linked to the literature and the responses that were received. This comprehensive analysis allowed for a deeper understanding of the factors contributing to the challenges faced by young women in accessing education. By integrating the findings from both the literature review and interviews, a holistic perspective was achieved, shedding light on the complex interplay between societal norms, financial constraints, and limited resources. These insights provided valuable guidance for developing targeted interventions and policies to address these barriers and promote educational opportunities for young women.

Thematic Analysis

Socio-cultural barriers regarding female higher education

The following subthemes based on responses obtained from participants describe the major barriers against female higher education in Mardan District.

Early Marriages

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) region is widely recognized for its high incidence of early marriages. The prevailing societal belief posits that women should enter matrimony as soon as possible. Based on the response of respondent 11, *living in a Pashtun family everyone tries to perform early marriages of their daughters/sisters.*

Consequently, this phenomenon results in a further exacerbation of the gender disparity in literacy rates, as women encounter significant obstacles in their pursuit of higher educational opportunities. One of the notable findings in this study pertains to the alleged expression of envy, which subsequently leads to a sense of competition within the framework of cousin relationships. This not only undermines the educational attainment of an individual woman but also has implications for the broader female population within the household. The prevailing approach of women towards this issue can be understood through the testimony of a participant, who claims that *“within Pashtoon households, there is a presence of competition among cousins during wedding ceremonies.*

Consequently, this tension and reaction often prompt the early marriage of females. The deprivation of higher education among females is consistently observed”. (Respondent 14) In societies that exhibit patriarchal structures, wherein male dominance presents obstacles for women, the significance of education assumes utmost importance. Nevertheless, in situations where access to education is restricted for individuals of all genders, the resulting disparity between males and females becomes notably accentuated. *“The majority population is*

illiterate, and they look at female higher education in a very negative way.

Early marriages and poverty also are the barriers to female higher education.” (Respondent

6) The barriers imposed by society are further addressed

Below but early marriages are one that needs a deeper uproot from the society structure in KPK.

Respondent 3 has identified *“Early marriages and Co-education on higher level education are the major barriers”* The concept of co-education is frequently perceived as conflicting with the

conventional Pashtun culture, which typically views the interaction between men and women as inequitable and discouraged. As a result, this factor effectively precludes the option of pursuing higher education in a coeducational institution.

Poverty

Most of the population exhibits a lack of financial stability. A significant portion of families face financial constraints that prevent them from covering the costs associated with transit, accommodation, and university fees. The costs associated with education are surpassing established thresholds, but the income of an individual with an average salary remains unchanged. Upon careful consideration of these various alternatives, it is deemed financially justifiable to refrain from sending women to universities. Two participants provided further clarification regarding the inherent tension between pursuing education and ensuring financial stability. *The biggest hurdle in district Mardan women’s higher education is poverty.*

(Respondent 10) Another is, *“There are some of the biggest challenges which include transport, cultural constraints, lack of universities, and poverty. Poverty is the biggest challenge in this regard”.* (Respondent 8) This phenomenon can be comprehended through the

lens of patriarchal theory, which focuses on the societal disparities encountered by women. As a result, this consequently interferes with their ability to avail themselves of various educational opportunities and impedes their overall practical functioning in society. As stated in my thesis too, Jalal-ud-din analyzed the cultural and socio-economic barriers faced by women in Mardan

in the research area. The results showed that women had lower socio-economic status due to factors such as low literacy rates, lack of education and skills, poor economic conditions, and a society that did not provide a secure environment for working women (Jalal-ud-din & Khan, 2008).

Social Stigma

The Pathan community exhibits a predominantly patriarchal social structure, wherein males hold primary authority and women possess limited influence in matters extending beyond their domestic sphere. The perception of education's determination is commonly associated with a predominant influence from males. As underscored by numerous participants, i.e. *"In Pashtoon community relatives stigmatizes female against higher education. They are mocking the family whose girls pursuing higher education"*. (Respondent 8) It has been observed that the male head of the family, whether it be the elder brother or father, expresses a positive attitude towards the education of women inside the household. Therefore, if individuals are subjected to social stigmatization, it is unlikely that they will facilitate the unhindered progression of conventional schooling for their female offspring or siblings. The origin of this stigma can be traced back to the belief that women should be limited to home responsibilities. The patriarchal influence within the family structure typically shapes the educational pursuits of women, with elder male family members assuming a prominent role in determining whether women should engage in formal learning. This underscores the prevailing dominance of male decision-making within the household.

Lack of institutes

The Pakistani government actively engages in the promotion and allocation of diverse financial resources to various sectors of education. However, there exists a deficiency in ensuring efficient utilization due to insufficient oversight. This phenomenon results in a notable delay in the effective allocation of resources intended to support the progress of education. The

existence of patriarchal inequalities is also apparent in this particular context. As per the assertion made by respondent 8, there exists an inequality in the distribution of educational institutions between males and females in the KPK region. *“There was no university in Mardan, the only university was in Peshawar (University of Peshawar) and there were very limited seats available”*. The disparity in the educational method adopted by a certain government significantly hinders the aspirations of women residing in small towns. According to respondent 9, *“There were no nearby educational institutes. The Higher secondary school provides education up to inter-level and was 4-5 Km away from our home. And for higher education, there was no university in ourvillage, and it was considered against the Pashtun traditions to let your daughter go outside the village alone”* “The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province encompasses expansive areas characterized by challenging elevation, which imposes notable limitations on the convenience of transportation and mobility. In the specified regions, women face additional constraints that not only greatly restrict their opportunities, but also completely preclude the pursuit of higher education due to the lack of feasible options for accessing high-quality educational opportunities. The family's decision is affected by two main factors: the lack of universities in the region and the perceived risk associated with the distance required to travel for classes.

Socio-cultural constraints

The pursuit of higher education for women is hindered by socio-cultural limitations that are shaped by religious convictions and the concept of "Haya" or modesty. Patriarchal ideology perpetuates the belief that women's education should conform to cultural and religious norms, thereby imposing further restrictions on their access to education. The correlation between modesty and the Pathan culture is evident within this context. *“Pashtun culture and our society, which have the "Haya" (modesty) factor, and we consider this our priority. Because of this, modern-day education is co-education, so the religious people do not send their daughters to*

such institutions". (Respondent 12) secondly as said here, *"Religious beliefs and culture is a restriction to women's higher education"*. (Respondent 4) Education for women is hurdled because of the above reasons even if the reasons are identified still the action is delayed. Allowing women on a larger basis will seemingly undermine the longstanding socio-cultural beliefs. It will require time and effort for a positive change to be brought about.

Lack of Transportation

Transportation issues exacerbate the obstacles that are encountered by women in their pursuit of higher education. The patriarchal paradigm often prioritizes addressing these challenges to a lesser extent due to the belief that women's mobility is of lesser significance in comparison to that of men. *"Lack of Transport facilities Pashtun indigenous traditions, lack of universities, poverty acts, and early marriages are the main obstacles"*. (Respondent 2). In Pashtun culture, there exists a prevailing belief that women ought to be protected and ensured safety in all situations. This observation underscores the assumption that the responsibility for travel and mobility within the family lies predominantly with men. Men are deeply concerned about the notion that transportation should prioritize safety. If that alternative is also not feasible, then the pursuit of higher education is abandoned.

Barriers Regarding Cultural Constraints

Financial Hindrance

As stated by respondent 13, *"The cost of higher education, including tuition fees and related expenses, can be a financial burden on families, potentially leading to financial strain"*. The Financial saving view has been incorporated deeply into the mindset of those in KPK. The masses imposing a conservative view is of fault here because ultimately higher education is of advantage to women then only, they will be better wives and mothers. The clergy has imposed its views in financial matters too which do not only misinterpret the Islamic history, but it then

promotes this negative prerogative too. *“The reason for that is our financial crisis. It’s fine if she becomes a magistrate or works in any department but Islam stresses getting women married at an early age. The preaching of Islam says: “Be eager in 3 things: prayer. funeral prayer. And the marriage of females, when she reaches puberty lets her marry.” So, because of higher education, if the girl doesn’t care about cultural and religious beliefs, she does the “court marriage” and our culture does not allow such things”.* (Respondent 13) The larger populations who don’t have the opportunity to study Islamic culture in detail then go for this opinion. This further adds to the patriarchal difference being imposed on women. Families in KPK also assume that if the women in a household are allowed to receive higher education, then they can become a burden on them because of the expenses that higher education requires.

Consequences for getting higher education.

Stigmatization

The occurrence of adverse social stigma towards women who choose to pursue higher education is similarly evident within the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). These discussions are deeply rooted in the essence of the subject matter. A clarification of this point of view is, *“She will face stigmatization from society, relatives, and neighbors. People will be imposing different kinds of accusations. Her every act for education will be questioned”.* (Respondent 1) He emphasized the need to address these issues to increase female access to higher education in rural areas, where patriarchal and tribal norms restrict women's opportunities (Jamshaid, 2020). In essence, the character of a woman is questioned when she starts to receive higher education, and this leads the family to choose between respect and education which ultimately gives rise to a stigma. To remain safe from all such talks, the larger part of guardians choose not to allow their daughters to receive higher education.

Migration

People usually put some obstacles and impose on those families whose females get higher education. Every father has a dream to educate their children but their neighbors and residents of that place comment on him badly. After that the householder has only one choice which is migration and for the continuation of their daughter, they leave their homes, and property and migrate to other cities. As stated by respondent 4, *“The family will face resistance; neighbors and relatives. Family must migrate to other places, especially near educational facilities. Migration compels that family to leave its current place”*. Aspiring females with a supporting family then must change their places of living and migrate to different areas to pursue higher education. This migration is solely on the premise that their hometowns are not welcoming them.

Symbolic Power and Moral Authority

According to respondent 10 *“In certain instances, the pursuit of higher education may be perceived as incongruous with cultural or religious principles, hence creating discord within family or community contexts”* The mentioned regions include the tribal districts, specifically Waziristan, Mohmand, and extensive rural areas around cities. In these regions, the clergy holds an essential viewpoint on the education of women. *Mocking will be faced by female’s family from some religious personalities.* (Respondent 6) Their viewpoint aligns with the notion that the clergy's critical perspective is often seen as religious by a significant portion of those living in KPK, mostly due to the prevalence of strong religious sentiments. As a result, these comments lack logical justification from the larger community and are commonly accepted, hence creating challenges for women in pursuing further higher education.

Positive Interpretation of Pashtunwali

The cognitive processes of individuals are significantly influenced by their ability to speak and comprehension of specific terminologies. An instance of such terminology is Pashtunwali, a moral construct that appreciates widespread respect and positive regard owing to its emphasis on principles such as loyalty, humanity, and equitable treatment for all individuals within the given region. However, women who are encountering the misinterpretation of this concept have underscored that *“We misinterpret the word Pashtunwali, but poverty is considered as restriction and hurdle”* (Respondent 10). There are two sides; some Pashtuns firmly believe that the education of women faces no hurdle from Pashtunwali because they do not take an extremist stance on limiting the mobility of women. They strongly believe that to work towards a strong and better future, their endeavor of education is necessary and urgently needed for a developing country such as Pakistan. *“Pashtunwali plays an important role in women's higher education, 90% of the families facilitate their females with higher education within the limits set by the Pashtunwali, the remaining 10% don't know and aren't fully aware of the culture and customs regarding the very specific issue in our district Mardan”*. (Respondent 12) A minor change from the larger segment of the Pashtun society is evident, which is positive at hand. The efforts of such families make it possible for other families to see the positive side of higher education. An encouraging environment makes it possible for females who have dreams of achieving higher education to pursue it.

Misinterpretation of the Word Pashtunwali

The second segment of the society then believes as the following response states, *“It is a bitter fact that women in our society are deprived of their basic rights it includes their right in heredity, disgust and detest from female education. So, we misinterpreted the word Pashtunwali, I think Pashtunwali is not a barrier in women's higher education in District*

Mardan, but we misunderstand the word Pashtunwali". (Respondent 14)

Under the umbrella of the word Pashtun Wali, it is silently agreed upon by the society in KPK that the job of women is merely to perform domestic duties. The instances where this negative perception is strongly enforced is when Women reach the age of puberty and are about to go into higher education. That is when such stances are taken as the response states, *"Preference is given to Pashtunwali although we want to move/progress with the world. Yes, it acts as a barrier to women's education in District Mardan"*. (Respondent 1) They are constrained from having a social life outside because men in the household believe that it will tarnish their image of modesty. Looking at the feminist theory we can identify that the notion of women is not being voiced enough, and this has led to an alarming situation in the education sector. One of the respondents stated, *"According to my perspective we misunderstand the word Pashtunwali that it does not mean the women's regretting higher education. Yes, it acts as a barrier to women education in District Mardan"* (Respondent 7).

Furthermore, it will be safe to state that the premises of education in KPK are expanding but as far as the growth is concerned, that can be diligently increased with efforts from both within and outside the community. Inside the community seminars can be conducted by Pashtun students themselves who can highlight the prospects of receiving higher education. Suppose this initiative is from the women students themselves. It is highly appealing. The Government can play a pivotal role from the outside by providing the necessary resources for wider outreach to the countryside of KPK. Much hidden potential can be brought to light by this collective effort.

Improved Pashtunwali perception regarding female higher education

Efforts to remove social barriers, as suggested by some respondents, face resistance from conservative and patriarchal elements within society. These elements attempt to maintain traditional gender roles, which include the negative view of the word Pashtunwali which further limits women's access to education. *“I think Pashtunwali deprived women from getting higher education in the past due to misinterpretation of this word. But now the situation is improving in favor of female higher education”*. (Respondent 4) *“10-15 years ago, Pashtunwali was supposed to be a great barrier against female higher education but recently things have changed. It is still a barrier but not that much bigger. Pashtunwali itself is not a bad ideology but some narrow-minded people interpret it in a wrong way”*. (Respondent 8). The history of KPK has been negatively interlinked with the war on terror. The occupation of the northern areas by Islamists inculcated a negative image of education. As that influence still stays but its effect has been drawn out to a higher extent.

Society pressures someone to allow their female for higher education.

At the most fundamental level in Mardan, it is possible to observe the noticeable influence of the surrounding environment. In the realm of education, peer pressure is commonly perceived to exert primarily adverse effects, as highlighted below. *“In District Mardan (societal/peer pressure, and taunting) do not exist on a large scale but such things exist in other Pashtun traditions. People mocking those who let their female go for higher education”* (Respondent 9) This has then been further related to the notion of it with the larger society, *“Women and their families may face social stigma and Discrimination for deviating from traditional gender roles, which can result in isolation”* (Respondent 7) *“A father has rights, authority and power to decide for the bright future of his children so it may not be an issue as far as I am concerned. But he will face harsh words from society and some bad comments”*. (Respondent 3) The concept of independent women faces substantial societal resistance. Under specific conditions,

a daughter may face constraints that hinder her capacity on their own make choices, thereby obstructing her career progression. The earlier response also underscores the individual's academic trajectory. The male members of a Pashtun family hold a significant position in the lives of women.

Lack of women universities

Improving Literacy rate

The government's limited understanding shows itself in its failure to acknowledge that within a community like KPK, the establishment of gender-segregated universities would be highly appreciated. The implementation of such a measure would not only have the potential to enhance the overall literacy rate, but it would also play a role in reducing the prevailing disparity in literacy levels. The participants in our study shared an identical viewpoint. *“If separate universities are made for women, I think the majority of the female be able to get higher education”*. (Respondent 3) *“Currently lack of women universities is a big barrier for female higher education because people don't want to send their daughtersto hostels in other cities”*. Respondent 2) this leaves women at a disadvantage to men because men are allowed to go into other areas to pursue higher education. *“If a separate University is made in Mardan, the transport and financial issues will be resolved, and it can be a positive sign for female higher literacy rate in Mardan”*. (Respondent 7) The matter of limiting women's access to higher education in certain areas due to apprehensions regarding insufficient security in their living arrangements underscores a trust deficit.

Prospects to remove social barriers.

Society action

A feminist perspective on the gender-based educational challenges in District Mardan would recognize the existence of institutional and cultural factors that have contributed to the unequal educational opportunities faced by girls and women in the region. The public also

demonstrates a sense of unease towards change, as indicated by their reaction. *“People want to live with adherence to socio-culture norms of society and it is a great difficulty to avoid such socio-culture restrictions”*. (Respondent 5) The effect of the clergy too is monotonous as stated by respondent 7, *“If the socio-culture practices can be relaxed in favor of female education, then the society will agree and allow their women to get higher education”*. The significance of the clergy's role in societal affairs cannot be overstated. The presence of limited obstacles is noted, while the dominant perspective of the clergy holds considerable influence. Although there has been a discernible decrease in the prevalence of these narratives, it remains evident that the viewpoints promoted by Mullahs continue to garner substantial support within significant Segments of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) region. Amid the present day, which is characterized by swift transformations, it is crucial to recognize the potential for favorable consequences, particularly the increasing availability of educational opportunities. Most of the respondents are still hopeful, even though they have suffered on the premise of this unfair treatment, but they do see that the general approach towards education is changing.

Responses of Society People

Another Feminist idea that is thoroughly discussed in the feminist theory is, "how patriarchal cultural norms support the idea that women are less valuable than males and, thus, are not as deserving of educational opportunities. *“Response of people will so harshen if the socio-cultural barriers to women education dismantle from the society”*. (Respondent 1) *“If steps are taken to contain these main issues, religious scholars and conservative mindset will try to create multiple hurdles society with religious and nationalist sentiments”*. (Respondent 2) The efforts to remove the barriers posed by society undermine the struggle for positive change. In return, they are backlashed and questioned for their work which slows the process for change and difference. The process of change is slow in the region because of the limitations of an attached mindset to cultural beliefs. *“Belonging to Pashtun family we always follow*

Pashtun culture, so if the socio-culture barrier is removed from society. Society will comment badly that they have forgotten their prudence and norms". (Respondent 11) This signifies how a general narrative that Women's Education too is treated in different prospects which has ultimately led to large gaps between their literacy rates and the number of Universities for Women.

Future of female higher education in family

Positive Perception

According to respondent 1 *"After marriage she has splendid future, she raises her children with good brought up".* Another respondent says *"If a female gets higher education, it benefits the whole family. When an educated female gets married, she becomes a teacher for her children. Furthermore, such females can ease the financial challenges of the family".* (Respondent 8) Education does not merely affect the individual on the receiving end of all the information, but it truly builds the person. Women have a higher emotional quotient than men and can better understand the psyche of children. Thus, the basic education that a child gets from 3-7 can be thoroughly learned from the mother if she is educated.

Importance of Female Education

The statements made by the respondents, *"If you educate a man, you educate an individual; if you educate a woman, you educate the whole family,"* (Respondent 4) and *"an educated woman can bring peace and tranquility in the society which is necessary for progression"* (Respondent 2) highlight the transformative power of educating women and challenge traditional gender roles. These statements are significant in the context of women's education and gender equality.

Findings and Discussion

The thesis was mainly focused on the cultural implications that hindered the pursuit of women for higher education in District Mardan. Mardan lies in the center of KPK, which is the second-largest city in the province, with a population mainly composed of families from different parts of KPK. Women's education in the province is mainly dependent on the pursuits of NGOs and governments to provide equal education opportunities to women; however, hindrance is offered to them by the clergy and misinterpretation of the word Pashtunwali. (Sidra & Hammad, 2012) As emphasized in the main thesis, there is a need to address these issues to increase female access to higher education in rural areas, where patriarchal and tribal norms restrict women's opportunities (Jamshaid, 2020). These patriarchal and tribal norms often discourage families from sending their daughters to school, as they prioritize traditional gender roles and marriage over education. Additionally, the lack of infrastructure and resources in rural areas further hinders women's access to higher education, making it crucial for the government and NGOs to invest in improving these conditions. Generally, in Third World countries particularly Pakistan; women have been discriminated socially, economically, and politically in many spheres of empowerment. Although there is a slow and gradual increase in women's socio-political and economic participation, it is insignificant to meet the demands of fifty percent of the population (Naz, 2010).

The general view of women's education varies drastically across the region, where rural areas are most impacted. What can be seen is that due to the cultural implications, patriarchal dominance still stands strong, whereas due to the unavailability or lack of a desire for higher education, women are not aware of their rights to equal standing, as the feminist theory says. This lack of awareness and limited access to education further perpetuate gender inequality in these areas. Additionally, the absence of women's education hinders their ability to actively contribute to the economic development of their communities,

leading to a missed opportunity for overall progress and growth.

The researcher analyzed and assessed the obstacles hindering female education in the rural regions of Pakistan, as viewed by the local people residing in the rural area of District Mardan. As the different views of male and female community members about the problems women in rural Pakistan face when trying to get an education were put into perspective, it became clear that the government was not interested. (Asia & Samee,2020)

The objective of this study was to analyze the variations in the attitudes of the local community regarding the obstacles to female education in rural parts of Pakistan. This analysis will be conducted based on the participants' qualifications, agricultural land ownership, and family income. The general parents' lack of awareness and the cost of school, viewed as impediments to female education in rural locations by the local community, came to light too.

Furthermore, the local communities' consideration of the fact that "access to education" and "quality of education" were hurdles to female education in rural areas was not a serious notion. The gender-based discrimination against females was considered a serious issue by householders, and their way to safeguard girls was to make sure they stayed at home, depriving them of higher education. Female education in rural areas, according to the local community's perception, was not enough to meet the competition in other provinces. However, a change of narrative was felt. The extent to which cultural and religious variables serve as impediments to female education in rural areas is as regarded by the local community, and thus the patriarchal narrative stands strong. There is a discernible disparity in the perceptions held by male and female members of the community on the obstacles impeding female education in the rural regions of Pakistan. The influence of men, however, is interpreted as Pashtunwali (a moral code). This moral code dictates that women should prioritize their domestic duties over education, further reinforcing the patriarchal narrative. Additionally, the lack of access to proper infrastructure and resources in rural areas exacerbates the challenges faced by girls

seeking education, perpetuating the existing gender gap.

Research Ethics

Ethical considerations were strictly followed in this research. All participants were informed about the purpose of the study, the data collection process, and how their data was used along with it and they were informed about taping their interviews for the research purpose only. All information collected from the participants was kept confidential. The privacy of participants will be respected during data collection. Participation in the interviews of the study was voluntary and any participant can withdraw their participation at any time during the interview.

Research Limitations

This research also possesses some limitations which may hinder the outcome of this research. The study is based on a limited sample size from only one district of KPK Province, which may not be generalizable to other regions of the province and country. The study relies on self-reported data obtained through interviews, which may be subject to social bias and may not accurately reflect the actual situation. While interviews some participants may feel reluctant to share their opinions and experiences due to cultural norms and restrictions. Since this study was to analyze the cultural constraints in women's higher education due to cultural norms, this study couldn't interview the women directly.

Conclusion & Recommendations

In conclusion, this research strived to identify the cultural barriers to female higher education, and the impact of higher education on social relations in the society. The researcher conducted a qualitative study where data was collected from the 14 heads of households regarding the hindrances to female higher education. However, the study found certain themes that included major barriers to female higher education: early marriages, poverty, social stigma, socio-cultural constraints, and lack of transportation. The second theme was family hindrances against female higher education that involved the subtheme of financial hindrance. Thirdly, the consequences of getting higher education are another theme that includes the subthemes of stigmatization, migration, symbolic power, and moral authority. Fourthly, Pashtunwali perception and females' higher education is a major theme with a positive interpretation of Pashtunwali, misinterpretation of Pashtunwali, improved Pashtunwali perception regarding female higher education, and societal pressure on the people who allow their females to attain higher education are its subthemes. Fifthly, the prospect of removing social barriers is another major theme having subthemes of societal actions and responses from the people in the society. Ultimately, the future of female higher education in the family is also a significant theme that includes the positive perception and importance of female education as its subthemes. In addition, district Mardan is the second largest city in KPK province where educational prospects for the higher education of females are mainly run by non-governmental organizations, however, the cultural barriers mentioned above along with the misinterpretation of religion pose significant challenges to the higher education of females. Therefore, broad-based intervention from the government and its much-needed partnership with non-governmental organizations are crucial to improving the conditions for the higher education of women.

Recommendations

- The researcher has collected the data from male heads of households, whereas data collected directly from females would have been more relevant, future researchers can interact directly with females for the collection of data taking the assistance of a female researcher, as it is against the norms of Pashtoon society that outsiders could interact with females.
- The data set is very limited to comprehending this complex issue in detail. A larger data set will be more effective in drawing plausible conclusions.

Policy Recommendation

- The government and non-governmental organizations should run public awareness programs for female education to impart acceptability to the public.
- Government and non-governmental organizations must pay due attention to the infrastructural needs of schools to attract female students in a safer environment.
- The government must ensure the safety of students by incentivizing them in the shape of transportation for female students across the district particularly in the province generally.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Questionnaire:

Respondent Demography information:

1. Age
2. Education
3. Profession
4. Marital status
5. Family size... Boys..... Girls
6. Household Income
7. Children's education level... boys.... Girls....

Interview Questions:

1. What is the highest degree of education you have completed?
2. Do you believe that female higher education is important? What is your opinion?
3. Do you think female education is important for society?
4. Does your culture allow women to pursue higher education?
5. What is the role of religion in women's education?
6. What are the major barriers creating hindrances against female higher education in District Mardan?
7. Does your daughter/s want to get higher education? Yes or No.
 - If yes, why you did not continue higher education? Reasons
8. If someone in your village wants to continue higher education, then what kind of consequences he/she will be faced?
9. What is the future of female higher education in your family?
10. What is the role of Pashtunwali women in higher education? Does it act as a barrier to women's education in District Mardan?

11. What are the society's perspectives on the co-education system; does the society allow women to get enrolled in co-education institutes?
12. If someone is willing to allow women to higher education, how likely he is to face societal or peer pressure? Will that pressure prevent him from allowing their women to get a higher education?
13. Do you think the lack of separate universities for women restricts them from higher education?
14. If separate educational institutes are established for women, will it increase women's literacy rate in Mardan?
15. What will be the reaction of the society, if efforts are made to remove the socio-cultural barriers to women's education in Mardan?

Appendices 2: IRB Form



FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
(A CHARTERED UNIVERSITY)

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

IRB Ref: IRB-503/6-2023

Date: 22-06-2023

Project Title: Cultural Constraints and Women education: A case study of higher education in District Mardan, Pakistan

Principal Investigator: Saad Saud Jaan

Supervisor: Athar Azeem

The Institutional review board has examined your project in IRB meeting held on 22-06-2023 and has approved the proposed study. If during the conduct of your research any changes occur related to participant risk, study design, confidentiality or consent or any other change then IRB must be notified immediately.

Please be sure to include IRB reference number in all correspondence.

Dr. Sharon Hanook
Convener - IRB
Chairperson, Department of Statistics
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