



FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

(A CHARTERED UNIVERSITY)

**Identifying the various factors that influence a family's decision to educate
their daughters in South Waziristan**

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Preface

In the serene atmosphere of Ex-FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas, which were later merged into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2018), politics did not play such a significant role in everyday life. The voices of the older generation, now in their 70s and 80s, always refer to a time they describe as free, fair, and simple. However, the 1980s witnessed the invasion of Afghanistan by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' Red Army and the region experienced the chaos inflicted by the Soviet Red Army, as well as religious insurgency. Although the Federally Administered Tribal Areas belonged to Pakistan, the subsequent events pulled them into the Afghan conflict. Suddenly for the locals, modern weapons and vehicles produced people with a new identity. People emerged as Mujahideen (Holy Warriors). The generation underwent a metamorphosis, fusing radical Islam with the Pashtunwali (A traditional lifestyle of Pashtuns).

Before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the social landscape of the tribal societies of Ex-FATA differed notably from contemporary society. Oral accounts from older individuals, such as my grandmother, tell a different story. Before the worst decade (the 1980s), communal spaces lacked gender segregation, allowing shared activities like dining, dancing, and working together. According to my grandmother, there was nothing like "Parda". She said, "We don't know from where this shuttlecock (Burqa) came, as we have never worn it and we were wearing only Gahr-Khat (a traditional Pashtun women's dress)." The burqa became widely worn as a result of the socio-political changes during the 1980s when the superpowers (USSR, US, and Allies) waged a war not directly through armies but through changing cultures and identities. These changes led to the creation of a new generation that lost its traditional culture and identity. When the war ended, this newly created generation sought validation and recognition, but what resulted was the formation of an extremist, religious, and patriarchal society.

From 1979 until the departure of the Soviets in 1989 and following the first fall of Kabul, the CIA and Pakistan government trained Mujahideen. They supplied them with vehicles and stingers to fight the Red Army in Afghanistan and convinced them that they were engaging in Jihad (Holy War). These outsiders exerted significant influence on tribal societies, mixing Pashtunwali, known for its strict unjust /just conduct, with radical Islam, which led to the formation of extremist ideology. The consequences were deeply felt by the tribal societies of FATA.

This evolution in socio-political dynamics not only altered the fabric of interpersonal interactions but also impacted the status and role of women within the societal framework. The imposition of more conservative practices, including the adoption of the Parda system, marked a departure from the previously observed openness in gender relations. The amalgamation of external influences with local traditions resulted in a complex interplay between religion, tribal norms, and geopolitical interests. These events profoundly shaped the trajectory of the Afghan people and those of FATA, Pakistan, in the wake of the Soviet invasion and the War on Terror. My research project is based on interviews conducted with people who come from this cultural-historical background.

Abstract

South Waziristan, Tribal District (Ex-FATA), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is a region characterized by socio-political complexity and historical strife; this study looks into the factors impacting families' perception of girls' education in the said area. Family dynamics, economic considerations, and societal standards are examined in this study using qualitative methodology through the use of semi-structured interviews. Despite security concerns, the study finds both facilitators and inhibitors, including economic limitations and low media exposure, as well as urban proximity and positive role models. In areas where females' education is not prioritized, the findings help to better understand the particular situation of South Waziristan and advise plans and policies to enhance it. Policy formulation for equal access is guided by research questions that explore the influence of religion, societal norms, media, and economic position on family decisions.

Introduction

In the context of development, education has become the central issue of many developing countries, including Pakistan (Memon, 2007). Education plays a key role in socio-economic development though it is not always measured by market productivity for all yet educating women has benefits on social well-being not always measured by market (Hill et al, 1995). South Waziristan has the lowest rate of girls' enrollment among Pashtun populations in the erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). The existing data from the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey shows that only 37% of girls were attending school at the primary level and 5% of girls at the secondary level, compared to 49% of boys at the primary level and 17% of boys at the secondary level and according to the annual census of 2017 the "literacy rate was 34.46% - the male literacy rate was 50.43% while the female literacy rate was 16.59%" (Census,2017). This disparity is a cause for concern, as education is a fundamental right that is crucial for the economic and social development of any society. In this investigation, the term "education" refers to formal schooling, including primary, secondary, and higher education. South Waziristan, a district in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province will serve as the unit of research.

The central thesis of the paper is to produce a broad understanding of the factors that influence a family's decision to educate their daughters in South Waziristan, both positively and negatively, and to contribute to the larger discourse on the importance of girls' education for socio-economic development—primarily in the Pashtun tribal settings, with a specific focus on the context of South Waziristan. By identifying factors that influence family decisions, the paper aims to develop a better understanding of the challenges that girls face in accessing education in the region and to explore strategies for improving education for girls in families where education

is not primarily prioritized. The objective of the paper is to identify factors that negatively and positively influence a family's decision to educate their daughters in South Waziristan.

Identifying strategies for improving access to education for girls in families where education is not currently prioritized.

The study employs a qualitative approach, of semi-structured interviews, which will foster an in-depth exploration of the topic (Eppich, 2019). The collection of background data includes the education level of daughters, gender equality within the targeted family and society, the economic status of the family, career opportunities available to daughters, and family dynamics and relationships. The study hypothesizes that families living closer to urban areas are more likely to send their daughters to school due to better access to available educational resources and increased awareness of gender opportunities for females. It also hypothesizes that a family's exposure to an educational environment and positive female role models on TV, personal institutional experience, and cultural expectations of a daughter's marriage will impact a family's decision to educate their daughters.

Besides the conservative cultural, societal, and religious norms and decades of war in South Waziristan, the more common dictate is that women should stay at home and take care of the household, but policies that eased the war have deeply influenced the family's attitude toward education. To date, though there has been little agreement on educating girls in South Waziristan, people continue debating the topic. Some people argue that educating girls goes against cultural and religious values and could lead to a breakdown of social structures. In contrast, increasingly people believe that education is a fundamental human right and is necessary for the development of all individuals. Accordingly, the present study addresses the changing practice of educating girls, which has been under-studied.

The paper begins by providing a theoretical understanding of the cultural, religious, and societal norms that impact girls' education in South Waziristan. It then discusses the economic factors that limit families' ability and decisions to send their daughters to school, including poverty and lack of practical/local resources. The paper also explores the security concerns that impact girls' education, including the threat of terrorism. Moreover, the paper examines the controversy over the role of women in society and its impact on girls' education. Finally, this paper also highlights initiatives and programs that could be successful in promoting girls' education in South Waziristan.

I worked in South Waziristan's socio-political context, which is part of Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Due to the area's historical link with militancy, the War on Terror, and its distinctive socio-political dynamics, this was a particularly difficult and sensitive research situation. The decision to conduct the study in this location was motivated by a desire to investigate the complex elements influencing girls' education, particularly in a place rife with conflict and social instability.

Getting access to community people for my research was one of the biggest obstacles I encountered. Although my study focused on how communities' proximity to cities and internet availability affected females' educational perceptions, there were substantial restrictions because of the area's unstable security environment. Security worries hindered my freedom of movement and interactions with the local people, as they were inquisitive about my work I would convince them that it was only for academic purposes and I would ensure that I would not harm or involve them in an unfavorable situation because the area has been a focal point for many militant groups, TTP (Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan). It became necessary for me to find a middle ground between pursuing my academic goals and making sure my family and I were safe.

In this particular setting, investigating the subject of educating girls was delicate on several levels. In South Waziristan, several factors influenced the family's perception of families on girls' education, including cultural norms, religious beliefs, affordability, parental education, and trust in the government. Making decisions about schooling that differ from those of your family and neighbors might also have negative social effects. It was essential to manage these intricacies delicately.

Despite these obstacles, I was able to establish a few meaningful contacts in the community. As a resident, I used my personal connections and familial ties. These relationships helped me further my studies. They made it easier for me to understand the particular difficulties South Waziristan families confront when it comes to the education of girls.

Capturing the complication of an area that is frequently unavailable to outsiders was key to the research's success. Because of its past independence, unique cultures, and the influence of militancy, FATA, especially South Waziristan, had been quite different from many other regions of Pakistan. I have a chance to highlight the unique characteristics of this area, its people, and the obstacles they have in providing education, especially for females, by sharing these observations. This opportunity presents itself to further enhance the overall comprehension of Pakistan's heterogeneous socio-political terrains.

Research objectives

1. To identify factors that negatively influence a family's decision to educate their daughters in south Waziristan (barriers)
2. To identify factors that positively influence a family's decision to educate their daughters in south Waziristan (enablers)

3. To identify strategies for improving girls' education and families' perceptions where education is not currently prioritized.

Significance of the Study

The study is significant due to its potential to contribute to the understanding of intersectionality that influences a family's decision to educate their daughters in South Waziristan, it is inaccessible for an outsider to look into the sociopolitical dynamics. By identifying the barriers and enablers to education, the study can help to develop strategies and initiatives that aim to improve female education and families' perception in this region. The study can relate the relationship among individuals, interpersonal, community, and strategy-level factors in shaping families' perceptions and educational outcomes for girls in South Waziristan. The findings of the study can be used for context-specific interventions and implement guidelines for shaping families' perceptions and improving girls' education in the region.

Research Questions

1. How does exposure to media, such as television viewing, and the internet, impact a family's decision to educate their daughters?
2. How does economic status affect a family's decision to educate their daughters in South Waziristan?
3. How do societal norms and religion impact families' attitudes toward educating their daughters?
4. How can policies be formulated to promote girls' education and overcome barriers to access and equal participation?

Literature Review

The status of women remains critical in low-income countries (Verick, 2014). Women's role is an important determinant of progress because they not only contribute to half of the human resources but also, they burn daily struggle for survival in low-income countries.

Women's role is intricately linked to socio-economic progress in contemporary work scenarios.

Education plays a key role in filling the gender gap and it has a profound impact on women's empowerment. Literature shows that educated women are more likely to participate in the market forces, have greater socio-economic independence, and have better decision-making power in their families. UNESCO, 2021 reports show that " girls' education is one of the most effective ways to reduce poverty, promote economic growth, and improve the health and well-being of entire communities."

However, gender disparities persist in third-world countries, and millions of girls are out of school. According to the World Bank report 129 million estimated girls are out of school and the gender gap getting higher in low-income countries where girls are 2.5 percent more likely to be out of school and the range goes higher in secondary school where 90 percent of girls are out of schools compared to high-income countries (World Bank, 2021).

Suleman's study found that several factors influence family decisions to educate their daughters in low-income countries which include the low financial status of the families, cultural norms and religious practices, early marriage, and childbearing, lack of access to education, and gender-based violence. Insecurity is considered one of the most common barriers to girls' education. Poverty is one of the most significant barriers to girls' education, as families often prioritize boys' education due to limited resources.

Cultural norms and practices, such as early marriage, also play a significant role in confining girls' access to education, as girls are often married off at a young age and expected to fulfill traditional gender roles and support the family (Kabeer, 2011). Gender-based violence and honor, including sexual harassment and assault, restrict girls from attending school, as parents may fear for their daughters' safety and the honor of the family (UNICEF, 2021).

Studies have shown that several factors have contributed to positively influencing families' decisions to educate their daughters globally and specifically in low-income countries. In developing countries, financial incentives enhance educational outcomes and have a positive impact on families' decisions to educate their daughters (Slavin, 2010). Government policies and programs, which play a significant role in making education accessible to every citizen's perspective of gender, class, religion, and cost, have shown improvement in literacy rates and families' perceptions (Klein, 1987).

Community involvement, in engaging with parents and community leaders, has led to a change in societal attitudes toward girls' education. The study suggests that networking, parent-teacher engagement, positive advocacy of education, and meaningful interactions between the community and stakeholders may contribute to improving learning conditions (Ndiaye, 2015). Barriers: school choices, employment opportunities, and social status also remained among the barriers that significantly influence family perception (Ahmed et al, 2014). Parallel to many other enablers, feasible transportation and proximity to school have a positive influence on educational outcomes and families' perceptions (Huisman et al, 2009).

Girls' education improvement and changing Families' Perceptions is a multiplayer issue that has been addressed through various interventions and strategies. Many organizations have been serving globally to ease female access to education such as UNICEF and Malala Fund in

low-income countries, specifically in Pakistan. This includes building new schools, providing transportation, improving existing ones, and offering scholarships and financial assistance to low-income females to send their daughters to schools: (UNICEF, 2021).

To change families' perceptions and provide additional facilities, the Malala Fund has been working across the world specifically in developing countries where it has invested in holding campaigns and making education possible for every girl (Malala Fund). Providing mentorship and having a successful role model can inspire a girl and family to educate their daughters. This can be achieved through community events and mentorship programs to highlight the accomplishments of a successful woman (The Dream Foundation).

Providing teacher training and support plays a critical role in girls' education. Teachers' training programs can help teachers understand the needs of girls in classrooms and create a supportive learning environment. This includes an inclusive learning space, gender-sensitive teaching methods for staff, and highlighting gender-based violence in the school environment through advancing gender equality in education programs. (UNESCO, 2019)

Theoretical Framework

Studies have shown that girls face many challenges in the region, including health, poverty, cultural and social norms, gender stereotypes, and conflict (Khan et al, 2022; Khan & Sarfraz, 2009). However, there is a need for a comprehensive investigation of the different factors that influence a family's decision to educate their daughters, taking into consideration the socio-ecological context of the region.

Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction provides a useful framework for understanding the various factors that shape educational decisions in this context. According to Bourdieu, social reproduction refers to the process through which social inequalities and hierarchies are

perpetuated across generations through the transmission of cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1977). In the context of South Waziristan, where traditional gender norms and values are deeply entrenched, social and cultural capital plays a significant role in shaping the decision to educate daughters.

One key factor that influences educational decisions in South Waziristan is the social and cultural capital of the family. Bourdieu defines cultural capital as the knowledge, skills, and cultural practices that are valued in a particular society (Bourdieu, 1986). In South Waziristan, where education is not highly valued for girls, families with greater cultural capital may be more likely to prioritize their daughters' education. Similarly, families with social capital, or networks of social relationships, may be better positioned to navigate the challenges and barriers to girls' education in the area.

Another factor that influences educational decisions in South Waziristan is economic capital. Bourdieu defines economic capital as financial resources and assets (Bourdieu, 1986). Families with greater economic capital may be better able to afford the costs of sending their daughters to school, such as school fees, uniforms, and transportation. Additionally, families with greater economic capital may be more likely to value education as a means of upward social mobility and invest in their daughters' education for future economic gain.

Furthermore, the decision to educate daughters in South Waziristan is influenced by the habits of the family or the internalized dispositions, values, and attitudes that are shaped by socialization and cultural experiences (Bourdieu, 1977). In South Waziristan, where traditional patriarchal roles are deeply ingrained, families with a habitus that values gender equality may be more likely to prioritize their daughters' education.

Methodology

In this paper, a qualitative approach was chosen as the research method. Qualitative exploratory research allows the researcher to explore the respondent's experiences and interpretations through their own words and narratives (Bryne, 2004). This leads to the greater involvement of the participants in the research process, and it will be conducted in the targeted area, District South Waziristan, ex-FATA. The technique of induction, which is used in qualitative research, involves gathering data on a particular topic of study from which the researcher develops various conceptions and theories. Comparing a qualitative approach to a quantitative approach—which is more structured, larger in scope, and more numerically based—was thought to be more appropriate for this research because the former allowed for a greater capacity to gain more depth and meaning based on an individual's experiences of female education along with their beliefs and feelings.

Interview

For this research project, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the interviewing method. As a result of the participant's ability to elaborate, gave a way to more flexibility, range, and the ability to gather more information from participants. Semi-structured interviews provide participants more freedom to respond to questions on their terms than standardized interviews do, but they nevertheless offer a more comparable framework than focused interviews. The study involves in-depth interviews with selected participants to explore the factors that influence parents' decision to educate their daughters, adult males, or the head of the family because in most cases females are not allowed to give information to strange people in the research area to assess socioeconomic status, geographic location, excess to, media, and educational background.

The interviews will be conducted in the local language (Pashto) and recorded for transcription and analysis.

Sampling and Selection

A total of six family heads took part in the study. The selection of the participants was based on their position of educating daughters. The population for this small-scale study was adult Pashtun, Wazir, and permanent residents of the South Waziristan tribal district. The participants were selected from two villages of South Waziristan, one village from each sub-district: one close to cities (Mughal Khel Village); and the other remote (Raghzai Village).

| Participant | Gender | Age | Education | No. of Children | Job Title | Village | Perception About Girls' Education |
|--------------------|---------------|------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|----------------|--|
| 1 | Male | 34 | Intermediate | 1 | Business | Raghzai | Decided |
| 2 | Male | 37 | Not Formally Educated | 3 | Daily Wager | Raghzai | Against |
| 3 | Male | 35 | Not Formally Educated | 2 | Shoppe Keeper | Raghzai | Undecided |
| 4 | Male | 34 | Intermediate | 3 | Business | Mughal Khel | Decided |
| 5 | Male | 50 | Not Formally Educated | 3 | Unemployed | Mughal Khel | Against |
| 6 | Male | 40 | Not Formally Educated | 2 | Employed | Mughal Khel | Undecided |

Participants were sought through personal contacts and friends.

Data Collection

Data collection took place in August 2023. A Dictaphone was used to record the interviews and all interviews were fully transcribed. All interviews were conducted in person. All participants chose to have the interviews conducted in their homes, where they felt more at ease in their surroundings and thus allowed them to speak more freely and openly on the research topic. The interviews were conducted in Pashto. The interview guide consisted of open-ended questions that allowed for an in-depth exploration of the research questions.

The interview schedule was structured into the following three sections;

1. Participant's demographics.
2. Personal beliefs.
 - i. One family that is educating daughters.
 - ii. One family that is not educating them.
 - iii. One that is undecided.
3. Each participant met the following criteria to participate in the study:
 - i. The participants are Pashtun and Wazir by caste.
 - ii. The participant is a permanent resident of the research area.
 - iii. The participants should be guardians of a female child(girl) above the age of five years.

Data Analysis

Once the data was transcribed, it was then analyzed, interpreted, and verified. The process of transcribing the interviews can help the researcher gain more understanding of the subject by repeatedly listening to and reading the transcribed interviews. The data was then

analyzed, categorized, and organized into themes and further sub-themes that emerged through the coding process. The themes that emerged were assigned a specific code accordingly. The next stage involved interpreting the data by identifying any recurring themes throughout and highlighting any similarities and differences in the data. The final stage involves data verification, this process involves a process of checking the validity of understanding by rechecking the transcripts and codes, thus allowing the researcher to verify or modify hypotheses already arrived at previously. The thematic analysis involves identifying patterns and themes in the data (Joffe, 2011). I used Clarke & Braun's (2013) reflexive thematic analysis which is a six-step process:

1. Familiarization
2. Coding
3. Generating themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Writing up

Ethical Considerations

Privacy infringement and data protection are two core tenets of ethical research. It also covers the privacy of the information provided by the interviewees; all information has been kept private by the interviewers because disclosing it to third parties might make the respondent feel uncomfortable. Assuring confidentiality and anonymity, getting participants' informed

agreement, and honoring the cultural norms and values of the communities under study are all part of this. I was truthful throughout the entire data collection procedure as a result.

Limitations of the Study

The researcher experienced various restrictions when conducting this study. The small number of participants, in particular, meant that generalizing from the results had to be done with caution. When performing any type of research, it is better to research on a larger and more in-depth scale to allow for a more comprehensive examination of the study. However, the use of semi-structured interviews was highly effective in obtaining detailed and meaningful data from the participants. While interviewing is a time-consuming process, it has proven to be an extremely efficient means of extracting information from individuals openly and honestly, allowing the researcher to gain invaluable insight into the participants' personal beliefs and experiences regarding girls' education.

Being a local, I have a few natural constraints that should be considered. Firstly, being in the research area gives me a distinct edge regarding access and data gathering. I was able to establish a degree of comfort and confidence that an outside investigator might not have been able to do quickly. Second, the research area's tribal culture has a unique retributive structure that has, in this case, helped to provide my presence some security and validity. However, outsider researchers might not enjoy the same protection and prestige because they are unfamiliar with and might not respect these cultural norms, which could lead to security risks.

Moreover, the prevalent characteristic of tribal culture is hospitality. Participants in the interview who knew who I was as a community member greeted me with open arms. Interviewees may have been more accommodative and forthcoming because of previous ties, which could have introduced bias. The pre-existing rapport between me and the participants may

therefore have an impact on the research's replies and conclusions. In contrast, foreign researchers could not benefit from the same degree of familiarity and acceptance in their experiences. The limitation is related to researcher bias, which is always a danger in any sort of research project, particularly when collecting data is less systematic. I have made an effort to be aware of and diligent about researcher bias. Although eliminating study bias is impossible, I am certain that I have obtained valid findings that can be applied to wider groups.

Findings

This chapter will focus on the primary themes identified during the thematic analysis of findings obtained during the interview process and data analysis. Primarily, each of the participants is profiled briefly. These primary themes developed as a result of demographic data analysis, family – education, network access, logistical access, exposure, socio-economic background, beliefs & and experience, influences, community perception – observation and experience, and impact on the family's decision to educate their daughters. All of the themes are interrelated; data analysis revealed that barriers and enablers influence all aspects of a family's decision about girls' education.

Participants

1. The participant decided about girls' education and belonged to South Waziristan, Raghzai (A remote village away from the main city). He has completed intermediate education and is 34 years old. He has no regular job but does his own Chalghoza (Pine Nuts) business which has a 2-month duration in a year. He has one daughter who is 6 years old.
2. He is a resident of Raghzai, South Waziristan, and he is 37 years old. He is not educated formally but can read Urdu text up to some extent. He was a daily wager most of the time

he was working in the Border (Pak-Afghan Border Angorada). He has three daughters but is not sure about their ages; the elder one is around 15 years old. The two elder daughters were going to Dine Madrassa.

3. He was against girls' education and was 35 years old. He was running his general Store. He studied in a Madrasa which has no formal grades, and had two daughters, the elder one is 10 years old and the younger one is 8 years old. None of them were going to school or Madrassa.
4. The participant was from Mughal Village (near the city). He was 34 years of age. He did FSc (intermediate) and was running his own pharmaceutical business and managing home-related work. He has three kids; his daughter was the youngest one; she was 6 years old. There were public schools for girls, but he admitted his daughter to a private school.
5. The participants were not decided and were above 50 years of age. He was unemployed, but his sons were working. He had one daughter, she was 12 years old, and he was not educated. He believed that financially he was not able to send his daughters to school.
6. The participant was not educating his daughters and he was 40 years old. He was not formally educated and was working at the reception office of a private girls' school. He had two daughters, 15 and 12 years old.

Factors that interfere with girls' education

Community resources:

The lack of schools and infrastructure was a recurring theme, highlighting the shortage of teachers and functional education in the region.

Participants from a remote village in Raghazai) spoke about the Lack of schools and infrastructure. Most of the people in the research area are facing school shortages, and some schools are not functional because of no proper check and balance system from the responsible sake holder side.

“There are two schools that are also too far away from us and were not functional, but we have requested the Khamrang Army Commander to please make it functional where I have admitted my daughter in class 1st but again, I have to arrange a taxi for which I pay Rs 3000 monthly.” Participant-1

All three Participants in a remote village spoke about the lack of schools and infrastructure although some schools were not functional, and no availability of teaching, management, and security staff. Available schools are primer level no higher and higher secondary schools.

“We have a primary government girls’ school but it's not functional and a private school where girls can study till 5th grade.” Participant-3

Distance:

Participants from a remote village (Raghazai) spoke about the distance from schools although there is one main road that links the village to the main city, they lack roads that link homes to the main road. The Participants build a bridge on their own for their daughter to cross the river.

"We are lacking road facilities but somehow we managed to build a bridge that links my home to the main road although it is dangerous, I have no other option but to facilitate my daughter so that she can go to school on time." Participant-1

Another participant from the same remote village raised the issue of accessibility of locals to the main Bazar (Market).

“The main road leading to the city is normally paved but, in our village, mountainous region it is difficult to reach the main road, and public transportation is too expensive for a working-class family.” Participant-3

Participants from the nearer village added that roads, streets, and accessibility to schools and workplaces are comparatively better than other villages in the district.

“Roads and streets are comparatively better than other remote areas of South Waziristan.” Participant-4

Gender:

Traditional gender roles are one of the main barriers most of the participants spoke about. Tribal societies are mostly male-dominated. Here there are more schools for males as compared to girls' schools.

"We have Madrassas, primary secondary, and higher secondary schools for boys but for girls, there are government primary schools which are not functioning properly, like there are no female staff. And the same goes for nearby villages." Participant-3

A crucial aspect of gender dynamics within the setting of the research field is highlighted by the participant's description of control over women as a basic feature of patriarchy. Men have historically held positions of authority and control in patriarchal countries, and this domination frequently permeates all facets of women's lives. The term "control over women" refers to a

variety of actions and attitudes that subordinate, constrain, or otherwise affect women's agency and autonomy.

“I am not against female education but rather the way we are educating our daughters we have no control over them.” Participant-6

Cultural and religious norms:

In traditional societies cultural, and religious norms and taboos are considered as main barriers that discourage people from educating their daughters. Participants shared about norms and customs that discourage them to not educating their daughters.

Different viewpoints on girls' education are held by participants, which reflects the complex relationship between religious and cultural factors. In the first statement, the participant highlights the general belief in the village that girls' education is a breach of honor and Pashtun traditional standards. By portraying female education as a matter of honor, this point of view highlights the deeply ingrained cultural beliefs that impose limitations on it.

“Villagers would tell me that it is against our honor and Pashtun culture.” Participant-1

The participant uses Islamic precepts to support education for people of all genders, emphasizing that learning is a religious obligation for all Muslims, regardless of gender. This claim emphasizes the presence of many religious perspectives within the society, where females' education is accelerated by religion, which balances the dominant cultural norms.

‘it's their due right to educate them because Islam teaches us that seeking knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim both men and women’ Participant – 1

The participant argues that the community they live in has a culture that is quite different from other communities and that rejects sending daughters to remote schools. The strong influence of cultural practices on attitudes and decisions about girls' education is highlighted by these remarks.

“We have our own culture, and we have no such trends to send our daughters to remote areas for education.” Participant-2

Participants from the remote village added that girls should not be allowed to English education. They consider it as an externally reinforced discipline from the West (By West they broadly mean non-Muslim countries). The narrative of Islamization that was propagated in the late 20th century had a strong influence on the family perception of the Westernized English education system.

"I believe that girls should not be allowed to get English education, people should restrict their daughters and sisters to religious and Islamic education and that to a level where girls can spend their 24 hours according to the teaching of Islam. Look It is in our culture and tradition that females should stay in their homes and not go outside without any elders or any male member of the family. For education, they will have to go outside to schools that are not following our traditions and Islam. This firm belief in my religion and culture made me decide not to educate my daughter." Participant-3

Limited Resources:

One of the main themes that the participants frequently expressed concerned the significant financial obstacles they faced. This economic strain is largely due to the research area's distinct economic composition, which is characterized by its heavy reliance on agriculture,

the production and trade of pine nuts, and its historical function as a buffer zone in the lengthy conflicts that lasted for more than 40 years, particularly the wars against the Soviet Union and the War on Terror that followed. These prolonged battles have taken a significant toll on the region's economic resources, making the financial pressures faced by the local populace even more severe.

“You know that everything is deeply dependent on the economy so economically I am not strong enough to send my daughter to school or Madrassa.” Participant-5

South Waziristan's economy has been struggling for decades due to geopolitical instability. The lifestyle of the Wazir tribe evolved from a nomadic to a settled and agriculture-based economy. People living nearer to the city have no agricultural lands; mostly their income is service-oriented.

"I am the only earning member of my family where I am doing a private job that has no security, and it is difficult to manage all expenses in today's inhalation." Participant-6

Limited Access to Network:

Under the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) mechanism the inhabitants were excluded from some basic facilities including a network that led to generating a gap and disconnecting the inhabitants from the rest of the world. Following the data most inhabitants have no access to the network. Some of them have access but they are not using it effectively because they are not used to it.

"No, as I said we don't have a TV or Mobile phone in my home, so we don't watch TV or use the Internet to watch movies or dramas." Participant-3

South Waziristan, Ex-FATA was merged into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province on May 24, 2018. Before the merger, FATA was regulated under FCR governed from the center, Islamabad. "The mechanism developed by imperial administrators to manage the frontier inhabitants was the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), first promulgated in 1872." (HOPKINS, 2015). The first participant spoke about the lack of internet facilities.

“We have no internet facilities, but we do watch TV.” Participant-1

Factors that contribute to girls’ education

The key themes that emerged following data analysis as a result of network access, logistical access, exposure, socio-economic background, beliefs, influences, community perception – observation, and experience, are the impact on the family's decision to educate their daughters. Enablers included religion, exposure, Madrassahs, and community effort. The community worked together to provide basic transportation and logistical facilities.

Religion:

As mentioned in the barrier religion is used both as an enabler and a barrier. Religion (Islam) has been used as a tool to oppress/control women and at the same time has been working as an enabler to encourage families to allow their daughters to education. Interestingly, religion was an enabler as well as a barrier, as quoted by

“it's their due right to educate them because Islam teaches us that seeking knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim, both men and women.” Participant-1

Participants highlighted equal rights that are given in Islam, in Tribal societies like Waziristan two dominant orations, Religion and Pashtunwali (Pashtun traditional codes) can be seen through which they broadly justified their views. Before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan,

the tribal societies of FATA heavily functioned by Pashtunwali but during the Cold War religion was introduced in the most radical way in the said regions through Zia's Islamization policies. The amalgam of Pashtunwali with radical Islam leads the people of FATA to think and act in the most extreme way toward every conduct of life and specifically to their behavior toward the female gender.

“Of course, girls have the right to get proper formal education as an equal right given in Islam.” Participant-2

Exposure to Experiences with Professional Women:

Exposure and experience have been a motivation to some of the participants. In addition to highlighting the value of female teachers and doctors, the participant explains why they sent their daughter to education. The participant's choice to give their daughter's education top priority appears to have been impacted by their prioritization of collaborating with educated women in a variety of industries. This person most likely acknowledges the need for more female participation in key positions like teaching and medicine and values the contributions made by women in a variety of professions.

“Some of the reasons are that we need female doctors and teachers, so I decided to send my daughter to school because of my own experience collaborating with educated females in different sectors.” Participant-4

focus on the participant's personal experience of seeing a female doctor. The conviction that female doctors can offer their community compassionate and efficient healthcare services is probably the reason behind their desire to have a female doctor in their village, given this positive experience.

“As per my experience once I went to a doctor in Jhelum (a city in Punjab). I found her too soft and kind, so I wish we could have a female doctor in our village.” Participant-2

Drawing on individual experiences working in hospitals and other settings where women are employed, the participant expresses admiration for the work that women do. The participant's perspective has undoubtedly been altered and positively impacted by these events. The women in these roles may be admired for their abilities, commitment, or professionalism.

"I do have some experience of going to hospitals and places where women work. Regarding those women I completely admire their work." Participant-3

Positive Social Strategies:

Spreading words and awareness about girls' education can mobilize the community to ask the government to provide all necessary facilities to improve girls' education and perception.

“Well, asking the government to provide all necessary facilities, female staff, and a safe environment to the girls will be the active support of the community towards the respective families.” Participant-3

Numerous obstacles have been experienced by girls' education around the world, such as inadequate access to high-quality education, cultural prejudices, and economic inequality. These barriers have impeded girls' and women's empowerment and development, hence perpetuating gender inequity. Working together is vital to address these problems and provide girls with a better future. While charitable organizations can fill vital gaps by addressing the needs of underprivileged girls and communities, government efforts can offer crucial assistance and resources to improve access to education. When combined, these initiatives can open the door to a society that is more educated and progressive.

“As a community, if we want to improve girls’ education, we can ask the government to take positive measures and we can set up nonprofit organizations to uplift the needy ones.”

Participant-5

Discussion

Ex-FATA's practices of Pashtunwali and its cultural history before the 1980s are in stark contrast to later events involving Russian and American military struggles in Afghanistan which spilled over into FATA, Pakistan. The topic of educating daughters is not a neutral issue. It follows on the heels of Islamic radicalization, which for many has not ended. These events are contextually relevant to the options and policies that can be advanced. Through emphasizing the overlapping relationships of cultural, economic, and societal variables, the findings draw attention to the many opportunities and obstacles associated with advancing girls' education in the South Waziristan area. The statement highlights the obstacles that impede education, such as restricted technological access, challenging financial circumstances, and deeply embedded cultural values. In addition, the findings support the position that certain factors may help girls succeed in school, including religion, social interaction with educated women, and community service. Bourdieu's concept of social reproduction—which highlights how diverse kinds of capital and habits impact families' decisions regarding their daughters' education—is one of the main sources of inspiration for this discussion, which aims to shed light on these processes. Given the circumstances; this thorough analysis offers a basis for strategies meant to get beyond the challenges.

Understanding the findings concerning the research questions

Based on the data, it appears that a large number of families in the area lack access to television and the Internet. Media and information exposure may be restricted by a lack of technology and network access. Because they are unfamiliar with it, some families are not making the most of the media that is accessible to them. A potential obstacle to spreading awareness of the value of girls' education is this lack of media exposure.

One major obstacle to girls' education is their economic background. The region's economy, which is mostly dependent on border trade and agriculture, places a heavy financial burden on many families. Some households cannot afford to send their daughters to school or Madrassa due to financial difficulties like transportation costs and school fees.

Attitudes regarding girls' education are greatly influenced by cultural conventions and societal ideas. Certain participants expressed those customs, especially in tribal societies where men predominate, restricting girls from pursuing higher education. Some delegates emphasized the significance of girls' education in light of Islamic teachings, pointing out that cultural and religious taboos and conventions prevent girls from accessing education. Because of the intricate interactions between these variables, religion is employed as a facilitator as well as a barrier.

The information indicates that encouraging girls' education in the area requires several crucial actions, including expanding awareness of girls' education, tackling financial obstacles, enhancing access to infrastructure and schools, and questioning conventional wisdom. Participants mention the necessity for government action to give schools the facilities, female staff, and secure surroundings that girls require. Furthermore, there is a chance for the community to collaborate, form nonprofits, and organize around girls' education. In South Waziristan, government education policies can tackle these obstacles and encourage inclusive and equal education for girls.

The results demonstrate that the region, especially in rural regions, has considerable obstacles to females' education. The Frontier Crimes Regulation (abolished in 2018) restricts network access, which is one of these hurdles, along with other factors like traditional gender roles, economic background, cultural and religious standards, distance from schools, and limited community resources. When all of these obstacles are present, it becomes difficult for families to educate their girls.

A crucial barrier is created by the lack of teachers, environmental facilities, and schools. Girls' education is at risk because of the lack of access to schools and, in the sociopolitical context that they are. A further worry for families is the cost of making the necessary arrangements for transportation to faraway schools. The difficulty families face in getting to schools is emphasized by the lack of adequate road infrastructure and the need for local services. Girls find it challenging to regularly attend school because of this safety concern. There are fewer educational chances for girls in tribal societies because male dominance is common. One major problem is the unequal number of schools for males and girls. In addition, a few participants voiced worries about losing control over their daughters if they pursued further education, which is indicative of strongly embedded patriarchal standards.

Girls' education is discouraged by taboos and cultural and religious standards, which are frequently interpreted as being against Pashtun tradition and honor. There are differing opinions, though, as some participants emphasize the complex connection between culture, religion, and education by citing Islamic teachings as a support for females' education. Families in the region have financial difficulties due to the region's historical conflict, which worsens the economic reliance on agriculture and the scarcity of opportunities for a stable life. This makes it difficult for them to pay for their daughters' education. The absence of access to contemporary tools and

access to information and educational resources is restricted in communities that are isolated from the outside world by communication tools like mobile phones and the internet.

There were some facilitators found despite these strong obstacles. Several interviewees cited religious beliefs that uphold girls' right to education, highlighting Islam in particular as a possible catalyst for positive change. A few individuals were inspired to give their daughters' education a priority after being exposed to educated women in a variety of professions, such as teachers and doctors. These families were motivated by the positive interactions they had with urban-dwelling women professionals.

Strategies: The following are some possible strategies that might be used to address these obstacles and girls' education in the area: The community should be made more aware of the value of girls' education through seminars and public gatherings. Emphasizing how education benefits women's lives and the community can be a potent source of inspiration. Together, community members may push government representatives to grant girls' education the facilities, female staff, and secure surroundings that they require. This could aid in closing the institutional gap. To promote girls' education, particularly for those from economically challenged homes, the community can establish charitable organizations. Scholarships, mentorship, and other forms of support are offered by these organizations. Interacting with institutions and religious leaders in the community to advance girls' education through Islamic teachings can contribute to a good change in societal and religious values.

The research findings support and expand on the existing literature

As the study makes clear, there are insufficient schools and infrastructure, which supports Verick's (2014) claim that low-income nations frequently struggle with access to educational resources. The World Bank analysis reveals that millions of females miss school, with distance

being a key problem. This is consistent with the challenges experienced by participants from distant locations owing to inadequate roads and infrastructure (World Bank, 2021). As discussed in Kabeer (2011) and UNICEF (2021), the research findings validate the continuation of conventional gender roles and male domination in tribal societies, which results in gender gaps in education. Participants' descriptions of the impact of religious and cultural norms as obstacles to girls' education are consistent with the research, which highlights the role of cultural practices such as early marriage and gender-based violence as barriers to girls' education (Kabeer, 2011; UNICEF, 2021). The participants' statement of financial constraints, especially in an agrarian economy, is consistent with the literature that emphasizes poverty as a major impediment to girls' education, with families frequently choosing to prioritize the education of their boys above that of girls due to low resources (Suleman study, Verick, 2014). The difficulties outlined in the context of South Waziristan and its merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are similar to those faced when access to the internet and contemporary communication tools is restricted by antiquated rules (HOPKINS, 2015).

The study's conclusions and participant quotes highlight how religion can be both a facilitator (citing Islamic teachings) and a barrier because of cultural norms and interpretations. This is in line with UNESCO's claim that girls' education is backed by religion and can help end poverty (UNESCO, 2021). The study supports the body of literature that suggests exposure to and interactions with educated women in a variety of professions, including female doctors, can inspire families to place a high priority on their daughters' education (Slavin, 2010).

According to the research, attitudes in society regarding girls' education may shift as a result of community involvement. This is consistent with the notion that networking and community involvement can enhance educational environments (Ndiaye, 2015). According to

Klein (1987), the research mentions the role of government policies in ensuring that citizens, regardless of gender, have access to education. Government programs that attempt to raise literacy rates and alter the attitudes of families are recognized. According to Slavin (2010), financial incentives improve educational achievements, and the research shows that these incentives might have a favorable influence on families' decisions to send their daughters to school. According to the research findings, families' perspectives and educational outcomes are positively impacted by convenient transportation options and proximity to schools, as mentioned by Huisman (2009).

The research findings support and expand on the insights provided by Bourdieu's theoretical framework.

In the particular setting of South Waziristan, Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction offers a useful framework for comprehending the many variables that influence educational decisions. The decision to educate daughters is heavily influenced by established conventional gender norms and beliefs in this region. These dynamics are shaped by a variety of capital and habitus forms, as described below:

Cultural and social capital plays a significant role in influencing the decisions made by families in South Waziristan on the education of their daughters. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital consists of the information, abilities, and customs that are highly esteemed within a community. Families with higher cultural capital may be more likely to value education and pursue it for their daughters in a society where girls' education is not given high priority. This could involve being aware of the advantages of education, being conscious of opportunities that go beyond gender norms, and appreciating the importance of education. In the same way, families can overcome the various barriers to girls' education with the aid of social capital, which

is defined by networks of social interactions. Strong social networks allow families to obtain resources and receive support from their community.

Economic capital, which includes assets and financial resources, is essential for allowing families to send their daughters to school. For many families, the expenses of schooling—including uniforms, school fees, and transportation—can be unaffordable. Richer people are more likely to be able to pay for these costs and to use their daughters' education as a vehicle for upward social and economic mobility in the future. The choice to educate girls considers both the short- and long-term advantages of education for the family's social standing and financial security.

A key element affecting educational choices in South Waziristan is habitus or the internalized traits, values, and attitudes formed through socialization and cultural experiences. A family's customs can either support or contradict the patriarchal roles that are so strongly embedded in society. Prioritizing their daughters' education is more common among families who cherish gender equality and acknowledge the benefits of education. Families use habit as a prism through which to understand and respond to the outside forces impacting their choices. Habitus may also be a potent force for change by upending the established social order.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper provides an in-depth study of a region that underwent major disruption that started in the 1980s. Until that time, girls and women enjoyed a great deal of freedom and the prospects and obstacles related to improving girls' education in the South Waziristan region. This study emphasizes the complicated links that exist between cultural, economic, and societal elements, which highlights the challenges that lay ahead in the goal of educational equality. The results show several important themes that highlight the barriers and enablers to girls' education in a given setting.

One major obstacle is the lack of information and technological access, which prevents many families in the area from taking full advantage of the media options accessible to them. Another significant obstacle is the region's economic situation, which is mostly determined by its strong agricultural base and the effects of previous wars. Attitudes regarding females' education are still greatly influenced by cultural and religious traditions, especially in tribal values.

Although these challenges, encouraging signs of agents capable of promoting constructive transformation are emerging. Depending on how it is understood and used, religion—especially Islamic teachings—can function as a barrier or a stimulus. It can encourage families to place a higher priority on their daughters' education when they see educated women in a variety of occupations, such as doctors, and teachers. Networking and community involvement are particularly useful strategies for improving learning settings and facilitating the flow of information and assistance.

A useful framework for comprehending South Waziristan families' decision-making processes is provided by Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction. These decisions are greatly influenced by social, cultural, and financial capital. Habitus, as an internalized set of values and attitudes, shapes how families make decisions and react to outside factors, either upholding or changing traditional gender roles.

The study emphasizes the necessity of focused approaches to address the intricate problems preventing girls' education in South Waziristan in light of these findings. These plans should include activities that seek to dismantle ingrained cultural values, remove financial obstacles, improve access to educational facilities, and raise awareness of the importance of girls' education. The study also emphasizes how important it is for the government to act to give schools the resources they need and to create a safe space where girls can study. Nonprofits and community-based groups can also play a significant role in supporting girls' education by offering funding, mentoring, and other forms of assistance.

Recommendations

South Waziristan has seen a period of volatile history starting with the Russian invasion(1980s) in which the Tribal areas were pulled in as a buffer zone by the Western Alliance (NATO) against the Soviets which was characterized by radical Islamization, rebellion, warfare, and widespread surveillance. People in the region can be changed by the turbulent and violent past of their homeland. Resilient citizens of South Waziristan may tread the route towards repair and rebuilding as the town works to overcome the shadows of its past through education and political understanding. This path heals the community's resilience in the face of extremist ideologies, patriarchy, warfare, widespread surveillance, and insurgency through education. The human spirit's capacity to persevere and rise beyond hardship is demonstrated despite the wounds of the past. Based on the existing literature and findings of the study, policies to promote girls' education and overcome barriers to access and equal participation in the South Waziristan region could be formulated as follows:

1. **Technology and Information Access:** Address the lack of information and technological access by implementing policies that provide greater access to technology and information resources. This can include allowing telecommunication companies to set up telecom towers providing internet access, and TV cables since it has been banned for years by security agencies.
2. **Economic Support:** Develop policies that target the region's economic situation by providing access to the locals' cross-border business and services. Encourage economic diversification beyond agriculture and provide economic opportunities for families, especially for women

through home-based special centers for women where they can work and improve their financial stability. Scholarships and financial incentives for girls' education can also be part of these policies.

3. Cultural and Religious Sensitivity: Acknowledge the influence of cultural and religious traditions on attitudes towards girls' education. Develop policies that engage with local religious scholars and community leaders (Malik) to promote the value of girls' education within the framework of Islamic teachings. Highlight successful women from various professions to serve as role models.

4. Community Engagement: Promote community involvement and networking by establishing community-driven initiatives and partnerships. Encourage local organizations and NGOs to collaborate with communities to improve educational settings, create support networks, and facilitate the flow of information and assistance through local gatherings, villages, and district-based seminars.

5. Bourdieu's Theory of Social Reproduction: Using insights from Bourdieu's theory to design policies that address the role of social, cultural, and financial capital in decision-making for improving girls' education. Formulate interventions that challenge and change traditional gender roles and promote a culture of gender equality.

6. Government Action: Ensure government involvement, and investment in education, and maintain check and balance. Allocate resources to schools and educational facilities, with a focus on creating a safe and conducive environment for girls' education. This may include building more schools, providing trained staff, ensuring adequate infrastructure, and providing security measures.

7. Nonprofits and Community-Based Support: Collaborate with nonprofits and community-based bodies to enhance their role in supporting girls' education. These organizations can provide funding, convince families to allow girls to school, provide mentorship programs, and other forms of assistance to girls and their families.

8. Awareness Campaigns: Launch public awareness campaigns to emphasize the importance of girls' education, engaging religious scholars, local leaders (Malik), and other stakeholders targeting both parents and the broader community. These campaigns can highlight the long-term benefits of educating girls, both for individual families and society as a whole.

9. Legal Framework: Strengthen the legal framework to protect and promote girls' education rights. Ensure that laws and regulations are in place to prevent discrimination and promote equal opportunities in education.

10. Monitoring and Evaluation: Establish a system for continuous monitoring and evaluation of the impact of these policies to make necessary adjustments and improvements over time.

These policies should be comprehensive, tailored to the specific challenges and opportunities in South Waziristan, and developed in collaboration with local communities, educational experts, and relevant stakeholders to ensure their effectiveness in promoting girls' education and removing barriers to access and equal participation.

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Appendix A: IRB Certificate



FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
(A CHARTERED UNIVERSITY)

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

IRB Ref: IRB-491/6-2023

Date: 22-06-2023

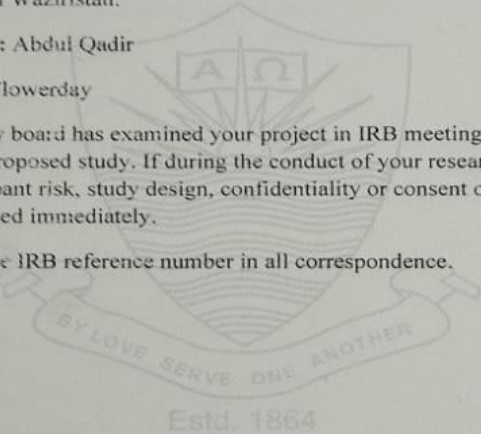
Project Title: Identifying the various factors that influence a family's decision to educate their daughters in South Waziristan.

Principal Investigator: Abdul Qadir

Supervisor: Dr. Julie Flowerday

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.



Estd. 1864

Dr. Sharon Hanook

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Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

This study focuses on understanding the factors that influence a family's decision to educate their daughters in South Waziristan. The study aims to identify both the barriers and enablers to girls' education in the region and explore strategies for improving access to education in families where it is not prioritized.

This interweave is being conducted for research purposes. You are invited to participate in this interweave which will not take more than 20 minutes of your time. Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can choose not to participate in this study, or you can withdraw from this study at any time. You can also choose not to respond to any question(s) that you do not feel comfortable to answer. The data will be collected anonymously, and results will be reported in aggregate. Any information that you provide will remain confidential.

If you have any queries, you can email the researcher at 231522633@formanite.fccollege.edu.pk.

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study.

Appendix C: Interview Questionnaire.

| Semi-Structure Interview Questionnaire: | |
|---|---|
| Interviews with three people(families) for each village (two villages) for the two sub-districts. | |
| Demographic information: | |
| i. | What are you are a) age, b) occupation, and c) level of formal education? |
| ii. | Could you tell me about the age of your daughter(s)? |
| iii. | What types of educational institutions are available in your village? |
| iv. | Do you have access to TV or the internet? |
| v. | How well-developed are the road network and availability of services like buses in your village? |
| vi. | Do you commonly travel outside the village? if yes, is it for work or other reasons, and how often? |
| vii. | Is your travel based on access to commercial/ private transport/other? |
| viii. | What educational institutions are present in your village and nearby villages? |
| Questionnaire i: Family that is educating daughter(s): | |
| Questions related to educating daughter(s) and personal experiences. | |
| i. | What are your beliefs about girls' education? |
| ii. | Do you think there are any benefits to educating girls? |
| iii. | What considerations led you to educate your daughter(s)? |
| iv. | Do you watch TV? If yes, do you think it is appropriate for women to be newscasters and journalists? |
| v. | Do you watch dramas/movies/others? If yes, which ones and why do you like "x"? What character(s) do you like? Is it okay for women and girls to be actresses? |
| vi. | Do they have personal experience of going to hospitals or public places where women work? What are your thoughts about those women? |
| vii. | What challenges did you face from others in educating your daughter(s)? (If yes) how did this affect you? |
| viii. | (If not answered in the above question) how supportive/ or/ obstructive were members of your family, friends, and neighbors? |
| Questions related to community and society: | |
| i. | How does your immediate community, perceive and support girls' education? do you share this position? |
| ii. | Have you faced any opposition or criticism for educating your daughter(s)? |
| iii. | In what ways do you think the community, as you understand it, can actively support families who want to educate their daughters? |
| Questionnaire ii. A family that is not educating daughters: | |
| Follow the same structure as the interview for the family that is educating daughters (Demographic information), but with different questions: | |
| i. | Questions related to educating daughter(s) and personal experiences. |
| ii. | What are your beliefs about girls' education in South Waziristan? |
| iii. | What made you decide not to educate your daughters? |

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| iv. | Have you ever considered educating your daughters? If so, what would be the reasons? |
| v. | Do you watch TV? If yes, do you think it is appropriate for women to be newscasters and journalists? |
| vi. | Do you watch dramas/movies/others? If yes, which ones and why do you like “x”? What character(s) do you like? Is it okay for women and girls to be actresses? |
| vii. | Do you have personal experience of going to hospitals or public places where women work? What are your thoughts about those women? |
| viii. | Have any of your relatives educated their daughter? (If yes, where do they live? Why are they doing this?) Do you approve? |
| ix. | What are some of the challenges that you think you would face if you decided to educate your daughters? |
| Questions related to community and society: | |
| i. | How does your immediate community, including those who influence your beliefs and values, perceive, and support or not support girls' education? |
| ii. | What kind of opposition or criticism you may face for educating your daughter(s)? |
| iii. | In what ways do you think the community, as you understand it, can actively support families who want to educate their daughters? |
| Questionnaire iii: Undecided Family: | |
| Follow the same structure as the interview for the family that is educating daughters (Demographic information), but with different questions: | |
| Questions related to educating daughter(s) and personal experiences: | |
| i. | In general, what factors? considerations might influence your decision to educate or not educate your daughters? |
| ii. | Do you watch TV? If yes, do you think it is appropriate for women to be newscasters and journalists? |
| iii. | Do you watch dramas/movies/others? If yes, which ones and why do they like “x”? What character(s) do they like? Is it okay for women and girls to be actresses? |
| iv. | Do you have personal experience of going to hospitals or public places where women work? What are your thoughts about those women? |
| v. | Have any of your relatives educated their daughter? (If yes, where do they live? Why are they doing this?) Do you approve? |
| vi. | What are the challenges you think you would face if you decided to educate your daughters? |
| vii. | What experiences or knowledge from others would encourage you to educate your daughters? Other considerations? |
| viii. | What would discourage you from educating your daughters? |
| Questions related to community and society: | |
| i. | How does your immediate community, including those who influence your beliefs and values, perceive, and support or not support girls' education? |
| ii. | What kind of opposition or criticism may you face for educating your daughter(s)? |
| iii. | In what ways do you think the community, as you understand it, can actively support families who want to educate their daughters? |