

<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.20008556>

Between Tradition and Participation: Gender Roles and Socio-Cultural Barriers to Women's Political Participation in Peshawar, Pakistan



Syed Muhammad Uzair Shah

Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Sociology, University of Peshawar.
uzairshah2011@yahoo.com

Dr. Saiful Islam

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Buner.
Email: Saifuop@yahoo.com

Muzafar Khan
(Corresponding Author)

Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Sociology, University of Peshawar & Lecturer in Sociology, University of Buner, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan,
E-mail: muzaffarkhan0346@gmail.com

Yaqoob Khan

Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Sociology, University of Peshawar, Email: yaqoobkhan7613@gmail.com

Abstract: *Women's political participation is a key determinant of empowerment, equity, and inclusive governance. However, in patriarchal societies such as Pakistan, deeply rooted gender roles and socio-cultural norms continue to restrict women's engagement in political processes. This study examines the influence of gender roles and socio-cultural barriers on women's political participation in Peshawar, Pakistan. A qualitative thematic design was employed, with primary data collected through structured topic guides from a sample of respondents selected using purposive sampling method. Data were analyzed using the thematic analysis approach. The findings indicated that entrenched gender roles, patriarchal norms, and socio-cultural expectations significantly limit women's participation in active politics. Women are often confined to domestic roles and face restrictions on voting behavior, political engagement, and contesting elections. Misinterpretations of social and cultural values further reinforce these constraints, reducing women's visibility and agency in political spaces. The study concludes that enhancing women's political participation requires addressing socio-cultural barriers through awareness, community engagement, and institutional support. Promoting inclusive narratives around gender roles and strengthening women's involvement in social and community structures can facilitate greater participation in politics. These efforts are essential for advancing gender equity and achieving more representative and responsive governance.*

Keywords: Women Empowerment, Social Values, Cultural Values, Women in Politics.

Introduction

Women's political participation is widely recognized as a fundamental pillar of democratic governance, social equity, and sustainable development. It not only enhances representation and inclusivity in decision-

making processes but also contributes to more responsive and equitable policy outcomes. Despite global commitments toward gender equality, women continue to be underrepresented in political institutions and governance structures, particularly in

developing societies. This underrepresentation reflects not merely a lack of opportunity but the persistence of structural, socio-cultural, and institutional barriers that limit women's access to political power and participation. In the Pakistani context, women's position in society remains constrained by deeply rooted socio-cultural norms and traditional value systems. Although women constitute nearly half of the population, their participation in political, economic, and social domains is disproportionately low. Historically, women have faced limited access to education, employment, and public decision-making spaces, which has hindered their ability to actively contribute to national development. Rather than being recognized as agents of change, women are often positioned within restrictive social roles, where their contributions are undervalued or confined to the private sphere (Brand, 1998; Naz, 2011). As Coleman (2004) highlights, women represent one of the most marginalized segments of society, with restricted mobility and limited engagement in productive and developmental activities. A key factor underpinning this marginalization is the process of gendered socialization, through which societal expectations and norms assign distinct roles to men and women. In many parts of South Asia, including Pakistan, these norms promote male dominance in public and leadership roles while confining women to domestic responsibilities. Such divisions are not merely cultural practices but are institutionalized through family structures, community expectations, and broader social systems. As a result, women's access to political participation is systematically limited, reinforcing gender disparities across multiple domains, including education, employment, and governance (Tisdell, 2002; Sadie, 1995; Hirway & Mahadevia, 1996). The implications of these socio-cultural constraints are particularly evident in the political sphere. Women's participation in politics in Pakistan remains significantly lower than that of men, despite gradual improvements over time. Patriarchal structures continue to dominate political systems, limiting women's access to leadership positions and decision-making processes.

Women often face multiple barriers, including restricted mobility, lack of financial resources, limited political networks, and societal resistance to female leadership. These challenges are further compounded in traditional and rural settings, where social norms exert stronger control over women's behavior and participation. Cultural expectations and social norms continue to regulate women's visibility and mobility in public spaces. In many communities, women's engagement in political activities is influenced by perceptions related to modesty, family honor, and social acceptability. These expectations often discourage women from participating in political campaigns, attending public meetings, or contesting elections. As a result, even when formal opportunities for participation exist, informal social constraints act as powerful deterrents, limiting women's ability to fully utilize these opportunities (Naz, 2012). Furthermore, the social construction of gender roles plays a critical role in shaping perceptions of leadership and political competence. Women are frequently socialized to prioritize caregiving and domestic responsibilities, while leadership and authority are associated with masculine traits. This creates a structural disadvantage for women seeking to enter political spaces, as they are often perceived as less capable or less suitable for leadership roles. Mukhopadhyay (1999) emphasizes that women are socialized into roles that reinforce dependence and subordination, which in turn limits their confidence and willingness to engage in public and political life. Despite these challenges, women's political participation remains a critical pathway for empowerment and social transformation. Participation in political processes enhances women's awareness of their rights, strengthens their agency, and enables them to influence policies that affect their lives. Mahmood (2010) argues that political engagement empowers women by providing them with the opportunity to address their issues, advocate for their interests, and contribute to societal development. In this sense, political participation and empowerment are mutually reinforcing, with each contributing to the advancement of the other. In the context of Pakistan, and particularly within Pakhtun

society, these dynamics are further intensified by strong socio-cultural traditions and patriarchal norms. Women's participation in politics is often discouraged, and their roles are confined within narrowly defined boundaries. While there have been signs of progress, including increased representation in local governance, the overall level of participation remains limited. This highlights the need for a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural factors that shape women's political engagement and the barriers that hinder their participation. Against this backdrop, the present study seeks to examine the interplay between gender roles and socio-cultural barriers in shaping women's political participation in Peshawar, Pakistan. By focusing on these interconnected factors, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the challenges faced by women in accessing political spaces and contributing to governance processes. Furthermore, it seeks to identify potential pathways for enhancing women's participation through policy interventions, social transformation, and institutional support. In conclusion, while significant efforts have been made to promote women's political participation in Pakistan, persistent socio-cultural norms, gender roles, and structural inequalities continue to limit their full inclusion. Addressing these challenges requires a multidimensional approach that goes beyond legislative reforms to include changes in societal attitudes, empowerment initiatives, and the creation of enabling environments for women's participation in political life.

Theoretical Framework

1. Patriarchy Theory

Patriarchy Theory describes a social system in which men hold dominant power within the family, community, and political institutions (Walby, 1990). In patriarchal societies such as Pakistan, men generally exercise authority over household decisions, mobility, financial resources, and public affairs, while women are largely expected to fulfill domestic responsibilities. This imbalance of power restricts women's ability to participate freely in politics, including voting independently, attending political meetings, contesting

elections, and taking leadership roles. In Peshawar, patriarchal traditions often discourage women's presence in public spaces and increase their dependence on male family members for political involvement.

2. Gender Role Theory

Gender Role Theory explains how societies create and assign specific expectations and responsibilities to men and women through socialization processes (Eagly, 1987). Women are typically associated with caregiving, obedience, and household duties, whereas men are viewed as decision-makers, leaders, and public actors. These socially constructed roles shape perceptions about women's suitability for politics and may lead women themselves to view political participation as a male-oriented sphere. In Peshawar, traditional gender norms can reduce women's self-confidence, limit their available time, restrict their movement, and hinder their access to political opportunities.

Conclusion

This theoretical framework offers a sociological perspective for understanding the relationship between tradition and women's political participation in Peshawar. It emphasizes that women's limited representation in politics is not simply a matter of personal choice, but a consequence of broader cultural norms and structural inequalities. Therefore, enhancing women's political participation requires meaningful changes in gender attitudes, improved institutional opportunities, and more equal power relations within society.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Women's Political Participation: Global and Conceptual Perspectives

Women's political participation is widely recognized as a cornerstone of democratic governance, gender equality, and inclusive development. It extends beyond electoral participation to encompass engagement in political decision-making, leadership positions, policy formulation, civic activism, and representation within formal and informal institutions (Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). The inclusion of women in political processes

strengthens democratic legitimacy by ensuring that governance structures reflect the diversity of societal interests and experiences. Studies have further demonstrated that increased female representation contributes positively to policy outcomes, particularly in areas such as education, healthcare, child welfare, and social protection (Phillips, 1995; Norris & Inglehart, 2003).

Despite growing international commitments to gender equality, women continue to remain underrepresented in political institutions across both developed and developing countries. Global reports indicate persistent disparities in political empowerment, with women occupying a minority of parliamentary seats, ministerial positions, and executive leadership roles (World Economic Forum, 2020). These inequalities are not solely attributable to individual preferences or capabilities; rather, they are deeply embedded in structural barriers, socio-cultural norms, and institutional practices that systematically constrain women's access to political power (Krook, 2010). Consequently, women's political participation remains both a democratic concern and a developmental challenge worldwide.

2.2 Socio-Cultural Norms and Gender Roles

Socio-cultural norms play a decisive role in shaping gender identities, defining acceptable social behavior, and influencing women's access to public life. These norms are embedded in institutions such as the family, educational systems, religious practices, and community networks, where expectations regarding masculinity and femininity are reproduced across generations (Scott, 1995). In many traditional societies, particularly in South Asia, men are associated with authority, leadership, and public decision-making, whereas women are primarily assigned domestic and caregiving responsibilities. Within Pakistan, these socio-cultural norms remain deeply entrenched and are reinforced through patriarchal family systems. Women's identities are frequently constructed around household responsibilities, caregiving roles, and obedience to male authority, thereby limiting their participation in economic, social, and political domains (Naz, 2012). Empirical evidence suggests that Pakistani women face

multiple restrictions relating to mobility, independent decision-making, access to education, and employment opportunities, all of which indirectly reduce their political participation (Khan & Shah, 2020). Furthermore, cultural expectations linked to modesty, family honor, and social reputation impose additional constraints on women's public engagement. These pressures are particularly intense in rural and conservative communities, where deviation from traditional gender norms may result in social criticism or exclusion. Thus, even when formal democratic rights are available, informal socio-cultural barriers continue to restrict women's effective political participation.

2.3 Patriarchy and Structural Inequalities

Patriarchy, commonly understood as a system of social organization in which men hold dominant authority in political, economic, and familial spheres, remains a key explanatory framework for understanding women's marginalization in politics. Patriarchal relations operate simultaneously at household, community, and institutional levels, shaping access to resources, decision-making authority, and opportunities for leadership (Walby, 1990). Through these mechanisms, men are privileged as primary actors in governance while women are relegated to subordinate roles. In political contexts, patriarchy manifests through male domination of political parties, legislative bodies, bureaucratic institutions, and electoral networks. Women frequently encounter exclusion from informal political alliances, campaign financing systems, and patronage networks that are essential for political advancement (Bari, 2005). In many developing countries, elite capture and clientelist politics further intensify these disadvantages, as women often lack the financial capital and social connections necessary to compete effectively. Studies conducted in Pakistan confirm the pervasive influence of patriarchy on women's political participation. Khan and Shah (2020) found that a significant proportion of respondents identified patriarchal attitudes as a primary obstacle to women's engagement in politics. Similarly, Naz (2012) argues that male-dominated social structures

continue to restrict women's access to political opportunities, leadership positions, and independent decision-making processes.

2.4 Barriers to Women's Political Participation

The literature identifies multiple and interconnected barriers that constrain women's political participation. These barriers may be broadly categorized into socio-cultural, economic, and institutional dimensions.

2.4.1 Socio-Cultural Barriers

Socio-cultural barriers include traditional gender stereotypes, discriminatory social norms, and community expectations that discourage women from entering public life. Women are often perceived as less competent leaders, while political authority is associated with masculine traits such as assertiveness and dominance (Eagly & Carli, 2002). These perceptions are reproduced through family socialization, media narratives, and cultural traditions, thereby normalizing male political leadership.

2.4.2 Economic Barriers

Economic inequality constitutes another major impediment to women's political participation. Electoral politics often requires substantial financial resources for campaigning, transportation, publicity, and mobilization. Many women, particularly in developing societies, have limited access to income, land ownership, and productive assets, reducing their ability to contest elections or participate independently in political activities. Economic dependency on male relatives further weakens women's autonomy in political decision-making (Kabeer, 1999).

2.4.3 Institutional Barriers

Institutional barriers arise from exclusionary practices within political systems and organizations. Women often face discrimination in securing party nominations, limited representation in party leadership structures, and marginalization from policy discussions. Weak implementation of gender quotas, absence of supportive legislation, and limited access to political mentoring networks also constrain

women's advancement (Krook, 2010). Hence, formal democratic systems may continue to reproduce gender inequalities unless institutional reforms are effectively implemented.

2.5 Women's Political Participation in Pakistan

Women's political participation in Pakistan has evolved through constitutional reforms, quota systems, and broader socio-political transformations. Reserved seats for women in national and provincial legislatures have significantly increased descriptive representation. However, increased numerical presence does not necessarily translate into substantive influence over policymaking or governance outcomes. At the local level, decentralization reforms introduced in the early 2000s created new opportunities for women's engagement in grassroots governance. Through local councils and community institutions, many women entered public decision-making spaces for the first time (Naz, 2012). Nevertheless, these opportunities were often constrained by limited authority, inadequate financial resources, and resistance from male political actors. Existing studies indicate that women in Pakistan continue to face barriers in voting independently, attending political meetings, campaigning publicly, and contesting elections. Political participation is also shaped by class and status inequalities, with urban and elite women generally enjoying greater access to political opportunities than women from lower-income or rural backgrounds (Khan & Shah, 2020). Thus, while progress has been made, substantive gender equality in politics remains elusive.

2.6 Empowerment and Political Participation

Political participation is closely linked to women's empowerment because it expands women's agency, voice, and capacity to influence collective decisions. Empowerment involves the ability to make strategic life choices, access resources, and participate meaningfully in economic, social, and political spheres (Kabeer, 1999). Political engagement enhances women's awareness of rights, strengthens leadership skills, and enables

advocacy for gender-responsive policies. Scholars argue that empowerment and participation are mutually reinforcing processes. Women who are socially and economically empowered are more likely to engage in politics, while political participation itself can generate further empowerment by increasing confidence, visibility, and decision-making power (Mahmood, 2010). This reciprocal relationship suggests that enhancing women's participation requires both institutional opportunities and broader socio-economic transformation.

However, empowerment cannot be reduced solely to formal representation. Sustainable progress requires shifts in patriarchal norms, redistribution of resources, and transformation of unequal power relations. Without addressing these structural conditions, policies designed to increase women's participation may produce symbolic rather than substantive outcomes.

3. Methodology

This study employed a qualitative and interpretive research design to explore the socio-cultural and gender-related factors influencing women's political participation in Peshawar, Pakistan. Peshawar was selected due to its traditional social structure and diverse urban and peri-urban population, which provides a relevant context for examining gender norms and political engagement. A purposive sampling technique was used to select participants with relevant knowledge and experience of political processes. The study conducted four Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), each comprising 5–8 participants, including women councilors, political representatives, women voters, political activists, and community members. Participant selection continued until data saturation was achieved, where no new themes emerged (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Data were collected through semi-structured FGDs lasting 60–90 minutes, allowing participants to discuss experiences, barriers, family expectations, and perceptions of women's leadership in politics. With informed consent, discussions were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and supplemented with field notes. Data were analyzed using thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke (2006), involving coding,

theme development, review, and interpretation in relation to existing literature and theory. Ethical principles were strictly observed, including voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity, and secure handling of all research data.

4. Findings

The analysis of focus group discussions (FGDs) revealed several interrelated themes that explain how socio-cultural norms and gender roles shape women's political participation in Peshawar. These themes highlight both structural barriers and the ways women perceive, negotiate, and respond to these challenges.

4.1 Patriarchy as a Structural Barrier to Political Participation

A dominant theme across all FGDs was the pervasive influence of patriarchal structures in shaping women's access to political spaces. Participants consistently described how male dominance within family and community systems restricts women's autonomy and decision-making capacity.

Many participants emphasized that political participation is often controlled by male family members, who influence or directly determine whether women can engage in political activities.

“In our society, decisions are not ours to make. Even if a woman wants to participate in politics, she must first get permission from her father, husband, or brother.” (FGD 2, Participant 3)

Participants also highlighted that men are generally perceived as natural leaders, while women are viewed as secondary actors in political processes. “Leadership is still seen as a man's role. When a woman speaks in political meetings, people don't take her seriously.” (FGD 1, Participant 5)

This structural imbalance reinforces women's marginalization and limits their ability to actively engage in political decision-making.

4.2 Restricted Mobility and Social Control

Another significant theme that emerged was the restriction on women's mobility, which directly

affects their participation in political activities such as attending meetings, campaigning, and voting independently. Participants explained that social expectations around modesty and family honor often limit women's movement outside the home, particularly in public or male-dominated spaces. "It is not easy for women to go out and attend political gatherings. People talk, and families become concerned about their reputation." (FGD 3, Participant 2). In many cases, these restrictions are not formally imposed but are internalized through social norms, leading women to self-regulate their participation. "Even if no one stops us directly, we know what is expected from us, so we avoid situations where we might be judged." (FGD 4, Participant 6). These findings indicate that mobility restrictions operate both externally (through family control) and internally (through self-censorship).

4.3 Gendered Perceptions of Leadership and Competence

Participants frequently discussed how societal perceptions of gender roles influence attitudes toward women's leadership. Women in politics are often judged against traditional expectations of femininity, creating a conflict between leadership and socially acceptable behavior. "If a woman is confident and speaks strongly, people say she is too bold. But if she stays quiet, they say she is not capable." (FGD 2, Participant 1). This reflects a "double bind," where women are criticized regardless of how they perform in leadership roles. Participants also reported that women's abilities are often underestimated, and their contributions are overlooked in political discussions.

"Sometimes we are present in meetings, but our opinions are ignored or not given importance." (FGD 1, Participant 4). Such perceptions discourage women from actively participating and limit their confidence in engaging with political processes.

4.4 Family Influence and Permission Structures

Family emerged as a central institution influencing women's political participation. Participants highlighted that family support or

lack thereof plays a decisive role in determining whether women can engage in political activities. "Without family support, it is almost impossible for a woman to continue in politics. You cannot go against your family." (FGD 3, Participant 5). In many cases, women's participation was conditional upon fulfilling domestic responsibilities and maintaining family approval. "We can participate, but only after managing all household duties. Politics is seen as secondary." (FGD 4, Participant 3). This conditional participation limits women's ability to fully engage in political roles and reduces their effectiveness.

4.5 Socio-Cultural Norms as Invisible Barriers

Participants described socio-cultural norms as "invisible barriers" that subtly but powerfully shape behavior and participation. These norms define acceptable roles for women and discourage deviation from traditional expectations. "No one says directly that women should not join politics, but the environment makes it clear that it is not encouraged." (FGD 2, Participant 6). These norms are reinforced through community expectations, social pressure, and fear of criticism. "People start questioning your character if you are too active in public life." (FGD 5, Participant 2). Such pressures create a restrictive environment where women must constantly balance social expectations with personal aspirations.

4.6 Negotiation, Resistance, and Emerging Agency

Despite the challenges, an important theme that emerged was women's agency and their efforts to negotiate and resist socio-cultural constraints. Many participants shared strategies they use to navigate barriers and create space for participation. "We try to involve our families in our work so they understand and support us. Slowly, things start changing." (FGD 1, Participant 2). Others highlighted the importance of education and awareness in challenging traditional norms. "When women are educated and aware, they become more confident to participate and speak for themselves." (FGD 4, Participant 1).

Participants also noted gradual shifts in attitudes, particularly among younger generations and urban communities. “Things are not the same as before. Now, more women are coming forward, and society is slowly accepting it.” (FGD 5, Participant 4). These findings indicate that while socio-cultural barriers remain strong, there are emerging pathways for change and increased participation.

4.7 Interplay of Barriers and Opportunities

Overall, the findings suggest that women’s political participation is shaped by a complex interplay of constraints and opportunities. While structural and socio-cultural barriers continue to limit participation, women are actively negotiating these challenges and finding ways to engage in political processes. The themes highlight that barriers are not only external but also internalized, influencing women’s perceptions of their own roles and capabilities. At the same time, the presence of agency and resistance indicates potential for transformation, particularly with supportive policies and changing social attitudes.

Discussion:

The findings of this study demonstrate that women’s political participation in Peshawar is shaped by deeply embedded socio-cultural norms and gender roles rather than individual limitations alone. Patriarchal structures emerged as a central barrier, restricting women’s autonomy and access to decision-making spaces. This aligns with Walby’s (1990) framework, which explains how male dominance operates across social institutions to marginalize women. Consistent with prior research (Naz, 2012; Khan & Shah, 2020), the study shows that these structures function both directly, through control, and indirectly, through internalized expectations. Restricted mobility further limits women’s engagement in political activities, reflecting Kabeer’s (1999) emphasis on mobility as a key dimension of empowerment. The findings also highlight how gendered perceptions of leadership create a “double bind,” where women are judged negatively regardless of their behavior, reinforcing their marginalization in political

spaces (Eagly & Carli, 2002). Family influence plays a dual role, acting both as a constraint and, in some cases, as an enabler of participation. This underscores the importance of the household as a key site where gender norms are negotiated (Scott, 1995). Additionally, socio-cultural norms operate as “invisible barriers,” shaping behavior through internalization and social pressure, consistent with Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of habitus. Despite these constraints, the findings reveal that women exercise agency by negotiating and gradually challenging existing norms. Emerging shifts in attitudes, particularly in urban contexts, suggest the potential for change, although progress remains uneven (Norris & Inglehart, 2003). Overall, the study highlights that enhancing women’s political participation requires addressing both structural inequalities and socio-cultural norms. Policy efforts must therefore move beyond formal reforms to focus on transforming the social environment that shapes women’s opportunities and choices.

6. Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

This study explored the influence of gender roles and socio-cultural norms on women’s political participation in Peshawar, Pakistan. The findings reveal that women’s engagement in political processes is shaped by deeply embedded patriarchal structures, restricted mobility, gendered perceptions of leadership, and strong family and community influences. These factors collectively act as both visible and invisible barriers, limiting women’s access to political spaces and decision-making roles. At the same time, the study highlights that women are not passive actors; rather, they actively negotiate these constraints through adaptive strategies and gradual resistance. Emerging shifts in societal attitudes, particularly in urban settings, indicate potential for increased inclusion. However, without addressing the underlying socio-cultural dynamics, progress is likely to remain limited.

6.2 Policy Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following policy recommendations are proposed:

- Promote Community-Level Awareness: Initiate awareness campaigns to challenge restrictive gender norms and encourage acceptance of women's political participation.
- Strengthen Capacity Building: Develop training programs for women in leadership, communication, and political engagement to enhance confidence and effectiveness.
- Engage Families and Communities: Design interventions that involve family members and community leaders to create supportive environments for women's participation.
- Enhance Institutional Support: Ensure that existing policies (e.g., reserved seats) are complemented with practical support mechanisms such as mentorship, networking opportunities, and access to resources.
- Encourage Youth and Education-Based Interventions: Integrate gender equality and civic education into educational curricula to foster long-term cultural change.

References

Aziz, J. (2020). The Participation of Women in Politics in respect of Religion. A Case Study of Charsadda District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, Bannu University Research Journal in Islamic Studies.7(1), 19-26

Bari, F. (2005). Women's political participation: Issues and challenges. United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women.

Batliwala, S. (1995). Defining women's empowerment: A conceptual framework. World Bank.

Begum, S., et al. (2002). Women participation in politics. Journal of Social Studies.

Brand, L. A. (1998). Women, the state, and political liberalization. Columbia University Press.

Chandra, K. (1997). Women's participation and democracy. Political Studies Review.

Coleman, G. (2004). The political agnosticism of free and open source software and the inadvertent politics of contrast. Anthropological Quarterly, 77(3), 507-519.

Coleman, J. (2004). Social capital in gender development. American Journal of Sociology.

Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2002). The female leadership advantage. Leadership Quarterly, 14(6), 807-834.

Eagly, A. H., & Carli, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. Psychological Review, 109(3), 573-598

Goetz, C. G., Poewe, W., Rascol, O., Sampaio, C., Stebbins, G. T., Counsell, C., ... & Yahr, M. D. (2004). Movement Disorder Society Task Force report on the Hoehn and Yahr staging scale: status and recommendations the Movement Disorder Society Task Force on rating scales for Parkinson's disease. Movement disorders, 19(9), 10201028

Haque, Z. U., & Ji, T. (2003). Cheddar whey processing and source: II. Effect on non-fat ice cream and yoghurt 1. International journal of food science & technology, 38(4), 463473.

Hausmann, R., Tyson, L. D., & Zahidi, S. (2009). Global Gender Gap Report. World Economic Forum.

Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements. Development and Change, 30(3), 435-464.

Khan, S., & Shah, M. (2020). Socio-cultural obstacles in women participation in politics. JHSMS.

Krook, M. L. (2010). Women's representation in politics. Oxford University Press.

Mahmood, S. (2010). Women's empowerment through political participation. Gender Studies Journal.

Mukhopadhyay, M. (1999). Gender socialization. Gender & Development, 7(3), 74-79.

Naz, A. (2012). Socio-cultural barriers to women participation. Pakistan Journal of Sociology.

Naz, A., & Ahmad, W. (2012). Socio-cultural Impediments to Women Political Empowerment in Pakhtun Society. Academic Research International, 3(1), 163-164. <http://www.savap.org.pk/journals/ARInt./Vol.3>

Norris, P. (2013). Women's legislative participation in Western Europe. In *Women and Politics in Western* (pp. 98-112). Routledge.

Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change*. Cambridge University Press.

Pateman, C. (1988). *The sexual contract*. Stanford University Press.

Phillips, A. (1995). *The politics of presence*. Oxford University Press.

Rosaldo, M. Z. (1974). Woman, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview. In M. Z. Rosaldo & L. Lamphere (Eds.), *Woman, culture and society* (pp. 17-42). Stanford University

Scott, J. W. (1995). *Gender and the politics of history*. Columbia University Press.

Stromquist, N. (1995). The role of women in development. *International Journal of Educational Development*.

Tisdell, C. (2002). Gender inequality and development. *World Development*, 30(5), 707–721.

Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing patriarchy*. Basil Blackwell.

World Economic Forum. (2020). *Global Gender Gap Report*.