Barriers to the Women's Participation in Politics: A Comparative Study of Districts Kech and Khuzdar, Balochistan

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Abstract

The study is from a feminist perspective, with a qualitative case study approach, explores several barriers that limit women's participation in politics in Districts Kech and Khuzdar, Balochistan. An in-depth qualitative research approach was used with thematic analysis to identify women's obstacles in said districts. Primary data was collected from 30 respondents, 15 from each district, using semi-structured interviews. The study emphasizes the importance of identifying and removing these barriers to promote gender equality and increase women's political participation. The research article also guides decision-makers, women's organizations and activists working to improve women's political participation in Districts Kech and Khuzdar.

Keywords: Women, Politics, Participation, Barriers, Kech, Khuzdar.

Introduction

Balochistan is a region with a patriarchal social arrangement that places women in secondary roles and positions. Women are underrepresented in Baluchistan's political institutions, with only a few women holding Provincial and National political positions. Men lead Baluchistan's political parties with few women participating in decision-making. It is also the case for women belong to District Kech and District Khuzdar. In both districts, women represent a lower status than men do. Their participation in the public sphere is minimal, including politics.

District Kech has long been a significant site due to its geographic location. It was and still is the geographical, social, and political hub of the Makran region. District Kech has a total population of 909,116, up from 413,204 in 1998; in 2017, there were 54.39% more men than women (45.61%) in the district. The ratio of men to women is 119.24, and the annual rate of population growth is 4.23%. (Kakar, 2017). Kech has a distinct history when it comes to the treatment of women. A woman in Kech has power over the property she received as dowry from her husband, and because of the observance of Islamic law regarding inheritance, she might get some of her parents' wealth as well as be eligible to receive a piece of her husband's wealth when he predeceases her. Sometimes, having property ownership prevents a woman from getting a divorce since, in such a case, her husband would have to surrender the asset he had committed to her during the marriage contract as Haq Mehr. Additionally, it should be noted that historically, it has been accepted to credit a son or daughter's traits to their mother rather than their father (Sarfraz, 2015).

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District Khuzdar is situated in the middle of Balochistan province, 64 km (2,852 meters) above sea level. Contrary to the Kech District, Khuzdar comprises a slightly lower population than Kech. The total population of district Khuzdar is 802, 207. This is up from 417,466 in 1998; in 2017, men made up 52.51% of the population while women made up 47.49%. The male-to-female ratio is 110.59, with a 3.49 percent annual population growth rate. It is a tribal society. The primary tribes present in the region are Zehri, Mengal, Sumalani and Kalandrani. Most locals speak Sindhi, Brahvi and Balochi (Kakar, 2017). The people of this district are politically engaged and conscious. There are many political organizations and the politicians belonging to this region are very active at National, Provincial and at Local Government levels. The individuals belonging to this district are eager to engage politically (Paterson, 2004).

Literature Review

From Margin to the Mainstream Politics: Women's Political Journey in Balochistan

The exclusion of women in politics is not a new problem; it has persisted throughout history in almost every society for several reasons. Politics first began in the Greek city-state of Athens in the fifth century B.C. In Greek political affairs, women were not allowed to participate and make decisions. Greek women were denied the fundamental democratic right to vote as well as the right to citizenship in the city-state. Women in European states were also deprived of their constitutional and political rights to influence decision-making and engage in public affairs until the turn of the 20th century.

Under the British colonization and Khan Rule era in Balochistan (Khan of Kalat), women denied their legal rights. Following the partition of British India, Balochistan incorporated into the newly established state of Pakistan after its formation. Balochistan was included in one unit from 1955 to 1970 (Sattar & Alizai, 2019). Women's representation in Pakistan's first National Assembly was only 1.2 percent of the total lawmakers but there were no women from Balochistan in the first National Assembly of the country. The 1956 Constitution Article 44(2) (1) set out ten reserved seats for women again with no women representation from Balochistan (Pildat, 2004). Their representation in Pakistan's parliament remained at 3.2 percent. With the inclusion of six designated seats for women in the 1962 constitution, women in Pakistan gained 3.8 percent representation in Pakistan's parliament (Mushtaq, 2019). However, women in Balochistan were out of representative politics and legislative bodies until 1970 (Sattar & Alizai, 2019).

On March 30, 1970, a presidential order dissolving one unit and establishing Balochistan as a distinct province led to the creation of the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Balochistan. On December 17, 1970, when Balochistan was given the status of a separate province and Baluchistan's Provincial Assembly was established. It conducted its first general election, electing 21 members—20 from the general electorate and one woman from a reserved seat. However, in 1972, in the history of Baluchistan, Baluchistan's first female minister, Ms. Fazila Alyani, was elected to the Balochistan Assembly on a reserved seat, breaking down boundaries in a maledominated society (Dana, 2023). In addition, Jennifer Musa became a Member of Parliament for Baluchistan in 1970, where she actively battled for the rights of the region's marginalized Baluch ethnic people. Her activism soured her relationship with then-Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (Kerry & Kemp, 2007). Zia ul-Haq's military rule, women's reserved seats were increased but these legislative measures did not change the political fate of women in Balochistan.

Theoretical Framework

Feminism Theory

Feminism is a theory that investigates both gender inequality and the formation of gender. Encyclopedia Britannica defines, "feminism as the belief in the social, economic, and political equality of the sexes" (Mohajan, 2022). This theory discusses worldwide female oppression in the corridor of power to promote women's rights and investigates the dilemma of gender inequality. This theory also examines women's roles in societies including their rights, privileges, interests and considerations. To understand how women's subordination has grown, the way it interacts with other types of discrimination. Feminism is fundamentally devoted to changing repressive institutions and lifting women out of their submissive positions.

Furthermore, feminism's beliefs are based on the idea of acknowledging women as an integral part of the social and political structure. In this regard, political participation is crucial to women not simply for political reasons but also for the mobilization of collective interests, awareness raising and participation in the policymaking process.

Results and Discussion

Patriarchal Family Structure Curtail Women's Decision-Making Power

The first main theme that emerged from the interviewee's opinion is that the patriarchal family structure is one of the main barriers to women's political participation. This theme identifies that in District Kech and District Khuzdar patriarchal family units, women are dependent on the decisions and preferences of their male family members that limiting their political participation.

Findings from District Kech

For every matter, decision-making authority lies in the hands of men in District Kech. Women are bound to follow the decisions of their male family members such as fathers, brothers, spouses and other relatives for all indoor and outdoor activities including politics. Family males play a greater role in deciding their political fate and limiting their political activities. A female respondent from District Kech provided her views in a phone interview, during our conversation, she expressed:

Lack of family support is the main reason that women in our society are out of the political field. Without the permission of family men, we are not allowed to go to market; deciding about political engagement is unimaginable (personal communication with Shahnaz Baloch, on August 25th, 2023).

This point of view emphasizes the importance of family approval and support for women to participate in politics in District Kech. Women need the consent of male family members to take part in political activities. This restriction is a result of the general societal dislike of women being in the public eyes. A woman social activist from District Kech shared her opinions via a WhatsApp interview, stated "we live in a patriarchal society in which male family members are the sole decision-makers. When it comes to even minor decision making, men sit and debate and women sit and watch." (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Fazila Dashti, on March 24th, 2023).

Findings from District Khuzdar

Women in Khuzdar lack decision-making authority in all aspects of their lives. They are allowed to cast their vote with the instructions provided by their fathers or husbands. A respondent from District Khuzdar highlighted this dependency with the following words:

In our society, women obey the decisions of their male family members in all matters of life. They react to the directions and preferences of the male figures in

the families. Male members of the family may have a substantial impact on women's political engagement along with how they vote as well as whether they seek political office or not. (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Meher Nisa, on February 26th, 2023).

According to this viewpoint, women are expected by society to follow the decisions of their male family members, such as fathers, brothers and husbands. This submission to male figures in family is viewed as a reflection of society and politics' larger patriarchal character. Another respondent gives a matching opinion "if you want to engage in political activities, this decision lies in the hands of your male family members whether they allow you to engage or not, you have to respect their preferences and choices" (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Anosha on February 20th, 2023).

Another respondent considered patriarchy the main cause of women's lack of decision-making ability, said:

Norms of patriarchy are so ingrained in our society. A mentality exists that women are inferior, they are not able enough to make wise decisions. Every door is closed for women in our society. Women even cannot voice against these defects due to the patriarchal nature of society. This leads women to be passive, dependent and powerless in all aspects of life (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Meher Baloch, on February 26th, 2023).

The respondent portrays a grim image in which women are forced to compromise their desires, autonomy and power because of patriarchal standards. On the other hand, the viewpoint presented by the Provincial Women Secretary of the National Party offers a distinct perspective with following words:

Family imposes several obstacles for women who desire to work in politics. In my case, I am lucky that I have the full support of my family on my side. Family support is very rare for women in our society to join politics. Dealing with unsupportive families and negative social attitudes is very difficult for women who want to join politics (Personal communication on WhatsApp with MPA Kulsoom Niaz, on February 28th, 2023).

Analysis

Women rarely make independent decisions in matters of social, economic and political importance in patriarchal societies (Ara, 2017). This remains true for the majority of women in District Kech and District Khuzdar. In kinship patriarchal families, women intentionally or forcibly respond to the preferences and commands of one or more male family members. Respondents confirmed that women are supposed to respect the decisions of their male relatives, such as fathers, brothers and husbands in all spheres of life including politics. They mentioned that families play a dual role in the political participation of women. Women who succeed in entering politics often come from wealthy or influential families. The importance of belonging to influential and political families is highlighted as an essential aspect for women to reach out in Assemblies. Common women without powerful familial links find it extremely challenging to obtain major political positions. This emphasizes the dual role of families in influencing women's political engagement whether as a major barrier or encouraging supporter (Begum, 2015).

Limited Access to Education Limits Women's Presence in Politics

Due to lack of education women are uninformed of their fundamental human and political rights (Sharma, 2019). Interviewees from Districts Kech and Khuzdar provide insight into the link between women's education, political engagement and empowerment.

Findings from District Kech

Cross-national research suggests a link between higher education and the representation of women in politics. Data from developing nations demonstrates that the prevalence of education is one of the aspect of women's political involvement. Literacy caused a noticeable shift in the degree of women's involvement in civil and political life (Goetz, 2003). A politician from the Local Government of Kech District pointed "in my opinion, lack of educational exposure for women is the main barrier that prevents them from joining politics. Education is very crucial for an individual to become a politician (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Balak Sher Qazi, on February 10th, 2023)."

This statement highlights the lack of exposure to education as a major obstacle to women politics. Another female politician expresses her opinion with the following words:

An educated woman politician can make conscious decisions and have a voice for better policies. However, In Balochistan, women's education is not considered necessary. It is very fortunate that compared to many other districts in Balochistan, women in District Kech are leading in the education sector but their involvement in mainstream politics is still low (Personal communication on WhatsApp with MPA Meena Majeed Baloch, on March 23rd, 2023).

The above extract emphasizes the importance of education in politics. Because it empowers women to advocate for sound legislation and policies. Despite the women's progress in education in Kech District, it did not result in women's political empowerment. However, a well-known female Federal Minister expresses positive remarks by saying "Makran is an area of Balochistan where political literacy and awareness have always been high and we have never had any feudal systems to oppress our people. So is an independent candidate all have supported me" (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Zubida Jalal, on May 14th, 2023).

Findings from District Khuzdar

Greater personal autonomy is achievable when women have choices in education and labor force participation. Especially young women can make educational and job decisions that will enhance their potential to be financially independent throughout their lives (Shafiq & Rafiq, 2018). The two most essential factors influencing women's status and position in every society are education and economic empowerment. Likewise, a female respondent from Khuzdar said:

In this advanced era, women all over the world are proving their capability in all fields of life. Unfortunately, in Khuzdar the duties of women still revolve around cooking and feeding the family. In our tribal patriarchal society, educational concerns for girls is almost zero as compared to boys. This causes a lack of awareness about political rights. Because education opens the door for entry into other domains including politics (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Huma Raisani, on February 25th, 2023).

The existing literatures supports the presence of a positive association between women's educational level and political involvement, stating that women with greater educational attainment have more curiosity regarding politics and political participation (Khelghat-doost &

Sibly, 2020). A respondent claimed "education provides women with the knowledge and skills needed to engage in political processes and decision-making. Education also helps them to fight gender stereotypes. Unfortunately, women in our district are far beyond in the education field which in turn became the cause of their disappearance in politics" (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Meher Baloch, on February 26th, 2023).

Analysis

Education is a fundamental right mentioned in the constitution of Pakistan. In the province of Balochistan, literacy rates among females is very low. According to the statistics of the 2017 census, the literacy rate of Balochistan province stands at 43.58%, which is significantly lower than the national average of 58.92%. Yet, the male literacy rate in the province is 54.15% higher than the female literacy rate which is 31.89% and the transgender literacy rate is 34.23% (Census, 2017). Less than 2% of rural women are educated. According to Education Department data, in the province, 70% of females are school dropouts. Balochistan ranks last with a literacy level of 44% within the country.

However, District Kech ranks first among all districts of Balochistan in terms of educational attainment. According to the 2017 census, Kech District has the highest percentage of literacy (62.66%) in the province of Balochistan, followed by Panjgur and Quetta. Kech is the eighth-highest district in terms of literacy rate within Pakistan. The female literacy ratio in Kech stands at 56.17 percent (Census, 2017). Literacy rates have increased dramatically in the Kech District, owing to a variety of circumstances. One of them is the absenteeism of tribal and feudal structures in the region. While the others include the expansion of women's education and the quick creation of educational institutions that improve and encourage the young generation to pursue higher education.

Lack of Party Support and Elite Dominance

One of the main theme that emerges from the interviewee's perspectives and opinions is lack of party support and elite dominance in the political representation of women in District Kech and District Khuzdar. However, the introduction of reserved seat quotas for women ensures the minimum entry of women into law-making bodies. However, respondents argued that these seats are filled from women who belongs to prominent political families to preserve their influence in politics.

Findings from District Kech

Politics is observed as a man's sphere. Men have full control and decision-making authority in political parties, resulting in male control in formal legislative bodies and organizational frameworks of political parties as well as in Local, Provincial and National political institutions. In addition, women face many challenges in ensuring their presence in political institutions. In this regard, a female Federal Minister from District Kech expressed her view in these words "as a woman, I have faced a lot of challenges all through by strong political parties and from strong opponents but because of my work on the ground in Makran Division, people from my constituency came out to vote for me" (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Zubida Jalal, on May 14th, 2023).

This extract highlights the unsupportive behavior of political parties towards women politicians. This view further emphasizes that working on the ground for the well-being of people is important to gather voter support. However, for women other factors also act as barriers to gaining people's support to be a political figure. A female respondent remarked:

A perception exists in our society that politics is a men's game. The political setup is male-dominated and unsupportive for women. Political parties are only concerned with fulfilling the requirement of reserved seats in Assemblies but have no interest in including women in the decision-making process. They do not favor women for party tickets, as they believe women wouldn't secure as much vote as men do (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Zoya Baloch, on February 14th, 2023).

In such conditions, women do not connect themselves with the political process. The unsupportive behavior of political parties further increases the sense of alienation among women. A woman active politician expressed dissatisfaction over the reserved seat and considered it a barrier to women's actual representation in Assemblies. She said:

In the beginning, reserve seats may have been a necessity but today they are a hindrance to the active role of women in the political process. Women must be allowed to directly participate in the general elections. As much time and energy political parties spend on male candidates, if half of that time and energy is spent on women members, they would be more effective political leaders (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Meena Majeed Baloch, on March 23rd, 2023).

Findings from District Khuzdar

Respondents from District Khuzdar express concern about political parties' lack of support for women's political engagement. Most of the interviewees said that political parties are not supportive for women to enter in politics. Due to this, women in the District Khuzdar are underrepresented in politics and face gender-based discrimination. An interviewee remarked:

In Balochistan, political parties are led by men making it challenging for women to find support for their issues. One of the reasons for women's underrepresentation is the lack of support from political parties. Women do not receive more than symbolic support. Due to this, they lack representation in Local, Provincial and National politics (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Mumtaz Sajidi, on May 14th, 2023).

In Balochistan, men lead the Political parties, reflecting the patriarchal norms in the region. This dominance creates a difficult environment for women where they struggle to find support and backing for their political activities. A respondent said:

I haven't seen any political parties or their support for women's involvement in politics. Be it past or present, women's representation in politics has been low. However, in some cases women's involvement in politics has been reduced to symbolic roles and this practice discourages the importance of women's voices and contributions to the political process (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Anosha on February 20th, 2023).

This statement stresses the historical absence of support from political parties for women in the region. Women experience gender discrimination and are confined to symbolic roles in political institutions. This practice not only impedes women's active engagement in politics but also diminishes the value of their contributions to the political process. A female social activist also highlights a key issue in the political scene regarding women's representation. She said:

As long as political parties are headed by a bunch of narrow-minded male politicians, support for women in political parties is almost impossible. In political parties, men occupy leadership positions. Darling ladies from influential families, with less educational skills and political awareness, wearing a burkha (veil) is the best option for political parties to fill the reserved seat requirement. Reserve seats for women are just political parties or their leadership property (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Huma Raisani, on February 25th, 2023).

The claim that women have less influence in decision-making underscores institutional barriers to women's political participation. Respondents emphasize that simply increasing the number of women in political parties or reserving seats does not indicate women's genuine involvement in decision-making positions.

Analysis

Women in District Kech and District Khuzdar confront comparable barriers while entering the political field. Political institutions are considered men's spaces while political parties are known as gateways for entering into representative politics. Political parties often control who is nominated for office, who wins and which subject matter becomes important on a national level. The majority of contestants rely on the parties they represent to secure the nomination. Their primary source of political backing, aid to run-up to the election, financial backing and ongoing support after winning the election are political parties. While some people compete for elections outside of political parties or groups. It can be significantly tougher to succeed in an election without the support of a political party (Swers, 2014).

However, respondents from District Kech and District Khuzdar equally emphasized that women lack support from political parties. They highlighted that political parties frequently view women as nothing more than electors during elections and have little interest in pushing them to positions of leadership. Seats reserved for women are used by major parties to benefit influential political families or the privileged class. The allocation of seats in legislative bodies for women is viewed as a two-edged sword. At first, it was designed to increase women's participation. On the other side, political parties nominate women for reserved seats instead of general seats to conform to legislative criteria. It has now evolved into a tool for major parties to facilitate influential political families. As a result, women in these designated positions also face discrimination.

Threat, Violence, Insecurity and Harassment

The prospect of violence, insecurity and harassment continues to be a serious barrier to women's political participation in District Kech and District Khuzdar. In these two Districts of Balochistan, political instability and safety concerns intensify the difficulties experienced by women in politics. By evaluating the interviewees' opinions, researchers shed light on the common themes that emerge from the participants narratives, emphasizing the continuing difficulties that women face while engaging in politics.

Findings from District Kech

Women have come a long way towards entering politics. Still, the existence of violence, insecurity, harassment and fear factor are major barriers for women to participate in the politics. In this regard, a respondent from District Kech stated:

I believe that there is a fear factor barrier that prevents women from seeking political careers. They are concerned about threats, violence and possible reactions if they take part in political activities. This reason cause them underrepresented in

political leadership and results in policies that do not fully address their needs and concerns (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Chaker Hyder, on February 26th, 2023).

This excerpt emphasizes the reality of threat and violence. This statement stresses the real and visible risks women face while participating in politics. Another respondent explained "women in politics receiving threats and being physically harmed because of their political views and actions. It's not only about online abuse, standing up has actual consequences (face-to face interview with Mahnaz Hashim, on March 24th, 2023)."

Another respondent shared similar thoughts with these words:

Those women, who speak out about questionable topics on political issues, are criticized, threatened or even harmed. It's scary to think that your views may make you a target or become a cause of any harm to you and your loved ones in your family (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Shanaz Baloch, on January 18th, 2023).

These views highlight the physical danger women may experience because of their political beliefs. Respondents raised concerns about the impact of political involvement on mental health and well-being also while highlighting the challenges of working in politics.

Findings from District Khuzdar

The discussions with respondents from Khuzdar reveal that fear, violence, harassment, political instability and mistrust in the political system are major barriers to the women's political participation. They highlighted that the challenging and unsafe situation limits women's political engagement. A respondent said "women in politics are harassed, threatened and even physically harmed because of their beliefs and opinions. They are even facing actual threats from opposing political forces. With such terrifying conditions, how can other women think of doing politics?" (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Raseeda Baloch, on February 27th, 2023).

This view emphasizes the unpleasant reality that women in politics suffer harassment, threats and physical assault. It also brings up the fact that women who are politically involved likely experience online abuse, harassment and even threats from political opponents. Another respondent expresses her views with these words, "we are concerned about the impact of political activities. Our district is suffering from political instability. In such unstable conditions, political activities became very tough and uncertain for both men and women" (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Saira Baloch, on May 27th, 2023).

With an almost similar opinion, an interviewee mentioned "in our District Khuzdar, day-by-day politics is becoming more criminalized. Our generation is suffering a lot due to this reason. Even men are suffering more from these circumstances. Political participation is equally challenging for both men and women" (Personal communication on WhatsApp with Anosha, on February 20th, 2023).

This description presents a wider picture of political unrest and lawlessness. Concern for people's safety and the protection of their lives underlines the negative effects of the current political conditions. However, respondents also expressed the bullying condition within the political circle.

Analysis

Respondents from District Kech and District Khuzdar constantly indicate fear of violence, insecurity and harassment for getting involved in political activities. They consider the fear factor to be a major barrier to women seeking political careers or wanting to get involved in political

activities. Interviewees from both districts express concern about the safety and perceived risk factors that prevent women from engaging in politics. Their concern about the scary conditions and possible consequences of pursuing a political career resembles the current environment of fear and uncertainty in their respective districts.

Many respondents express concern about the occurrence of online abuse and harassment directed at women in politics. They highlight how opposing political forces criticize, threaten and harass women who speak out on difficult matters. Gender stereotypes about women in politics frequently include comments about their looks and personal lives, actual threats and ongoing violence because of political instability all act as barriers to women's political participation (Ömeroğlu & Karkış, 2023). Social media has become the most common platform for psychological violence against female legislators, notably in the form of misogynistic and sexist insults, embarrassing photos, harassment and threats (Union, 2018). Because of such an unsafe and fearful environment, women lack motivation and are discouraged to come out and participate in this "dirty game" of politics that they consider extremely tough. Women believe that it is not their domain and that men are more competent players than they are (Jahan, 2007).

Conclusion

This research finding concludes that in District Kech and District Khuzdar, politics is seen as a male domain. All forms of political activity in both districts in the past as well as in the contemporary era, perceived as the exclusive activities of men. The limited political influence that women have in the political sphere is extremely low. In Balochistan, the allocation of reserved seats have been given women the opportunity to enter the law-making bodies. For women, equal participation in politics is still a bigger challenge. In District Kech and District Khuzdar, women face several barriers to make a mark in the political domain.

Participants from both districts cited that women are expected to prioritize their family obligations and respect the decision of the family patriarch in family units within District Kech and District Khuzdar. However, in rare cases, familial backing does exist but only for women who belong to influential, wealthy or political families. Therefore, a cultural transformation in people's views is required to accept women as equal participants in politics.

Recommendations

Recognizing the seriousness of gender-based issues, the following recommendations are forwarded:

- 1. *Encouraging Girls' Education to Shatter Stereotypes:* Promoting girl's education is vital to breaking down societal and cultural barriers that prevent women from entering politics. Governments and civil society organizations should promote education and provide resources to encourage girls to pursue education.
- 2. *Removing Gender-Based Roles in Elementary Education:* Remove gender-based roles and activities from the elementary level of the educational curriculum to promote gender equality.
- 3. *Modifying Patriarchal Views through Gender Studies Curriculum:* The patriarchal view of women should be modified through gender studies inclusion in the curriculum for all educational levels, from primary to higher. Boys and girls deserve to be treated equally in the home from an early age. Females should be similarly motivated to gain knowledge regarding both political and social concerns. These will increase women's desire to participate in politics.

- 4. *Promoting Gender Equality via Socio-Political and Economic Parity:* Gender equality should be promoted through socio-political-economic fairness and justice. This strategy tackles systemic inequalities by guaranteeing equal opportunities and rights for all genders.
- 5. *Provide Daycare Facilities to Working Mothers:* Many women cannot work outside because there are not enough childcare facilities. Changing Patriarchal Practices in Domestic Tasks.

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