

Women's Rights Movement in the US: Inspirational Frame of Empowerment for Tribal Women in the Newly Merged Tribal Districts (Former FATA)

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Abstract

The first, second, third, and fourth waves of feminism that paved the way for women's social, political, and economic rights in the developed world, have also made significant impact in the developing world, including urban Pakistan. Although "feminism" and women's rights continue to be contentious issues in a country like Pakistan, Pakistani feminists, nevertheless, have three decades of political activism and academic contribution to their credit. Ironically, however, in the debates on women's empowerment especially in the 1980s and 1990s and the political activism that followed, tribal women remained absent. This lack of engagement by Pakistani feminists contributed to the neglect of tribal women's rights in Pakistan. However, in the post-2001 scenario, the conflict and chaos forced many educated tribal women to take part in human rights movements. These women also took inspiration from other women's movements around the world over the past few decades. This paper attempts to revisit Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States that sought equal rights, opportunities, and greater personal freedom for women. Recognized as part of the second wave of feminism, Women's Liberation Movement, this paper argues, has parallels with the challenges that women face in the Newly Merged Tribal Districts (former FATA) today and can serve as a framework to draw upon in the conception of women's rights and empowerment in the tribal region.

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Introduction

Understanding U.S. Women's Rights Movements—The Second Wave of Feminism

In the post-World War II era, debates and discussions on women's rights started in Europe. However, women's suffrage debate in the United States was initiated as early as 1848, which went on to influence other women's rights movements as well. Indeed, when Europe started debates and discussions on women's rights in the aftermath of World War II, the latter were influenced by the preceding movements. Likewise, women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s in the U.S. also drew inspiration from the women's suffrage movement that started in 1848 and last up until 1920. Initially, the reform endeavors by women in 1848 covered a wide range of goals before settling on securing the right to vote for women. The leaders of women's suffrage movement disagreed vis-à-vis their approach and strategies; nevertheless, their joint efforts went on to provide a political platform to women activists and early pioneers in the Congressⁱ. It is observed that in the 1960s and 1970s, women's liberation movement encompassed big aims such as equal access to education and employment, equality within marriage, criminalizing violence against women, women's right to property and wages, custody over children, and control over their bodies. The interesting feature of the women's movement was public protest and strike. Hence, after fifty years of the most important achievement of the Women's Suffrage Movement, which granted women the right to vote with the passage of the 19th Amendment, women in the United States were protesting for their social, political, and economic rightsⁱⁱ. Thus, although these were two different movements in different times, they later merged into one with the primary goal of protecting women socially, politically, and economically.

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In the 1960s and 1970s, this new feminist movement led by the National Organization for Women evolved out of a system in which every state institution, such as industry, unions, the military, academia, and even the organizations of the New Left, were male dominated. The very concept of women's liberation was declared contentious and controversial. This eventually led to the protest that resulted in Women's Strike on August 26, 1970; on the 50th anniversary of the 19th Amendment, "50,000 feminists paraded down New York City's Fifth Avenue with linked arms, blocking the major thoroughfare during rush hour". In that demonstration, women protestors were holding signs with slogans like "Don't Iron While the Strike is Hot" and "Don't Cook Dinner—Starve a Rat Today". In this movement, the older, liberal feminists united with a younger, more radical contingent of women.ⁱⁱⁱ However, it was not accepted well within the society. These women activists' efforts were maligned in the media by common people (including men and women) and by the powerful. Two demands by the women activists stirred massive debates and controversy in the U.S.: one was the Equal Rights Amendments (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution that was to ensure equality of rights, regardless of sex, and the other was access to contraception and abortion. It is interesting to note that the women activists and leaders of the movement were abandoned by the left (labor rights activists) and by other men's groups who were using these women for different protests.^{iv}

Regardless of all such issues, the women's rights movement achieved much in a short period of time. With the eventual backing of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1965), women gained entrance to jobs in every sector of the U.S. economy. With such efforts and persistent calling for women's rights, divorce laws were relaxed; employers were warned and stopped from firing pregnant women from work; women's studies programs were created in colleges and universities, among other initiatives. Consequently, a considerable number of women ran for and started winning political offices. In 1971, Congress passed the Comprehensive Child Development Act bill to set up local daycare

centers for children on a sliding scale based on family income. Unfortunately, it was vetoed by the then-sitting President, Richard Nixon. Indeed, even more recently, President Obama mentioned making affordable childcare available; however, no plans were formed to offer government-funded, round-the-clock care as feminists had initially envisioned. It is pertinent to mention that the landmark achievement of the women's movement was the passing of Title IX of the Higher Education Act by Congress in 1972. This act disallowed bias based on sex in any educational plan receiving federal support and thereby compelled all-male schools to unlock their doors to women. It also compelled athletic programs to fund and finance women's sports teams.^v In 1973, with the notorious ruling on *Roe v. Wade*, the United States Supreme Court made abortion legal. But its approval by the Supreme Court became a rallying call for the counterattack against feminism.^{vi} However, despite all these challenges, this feminist struggle in the 1980s resulted in making workplaces less hostile for women through punitive actions and policies from the Equal Opportunity Commission against sexual harassment.^{vii}

Research Question

How can feminists from former Tribal Areas draw inspiration from Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s in the U.S.?

Justification of Study

As a tribal woman activist and academic, it was pertinent for me to understand the trajectory of different women's movements for their rights around the world that challenged the patriarchal states, cultures, and systems. While the nature of women's issues and problems might be different in different parts of the world, they also have parallels that can be a source of inspiration and solidarity. In this regard, the struggles and successes of the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s inspired me, and I chose this movement as a frame of motivation for tribal

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women to gain awareness and empower themselves. The movement has inspiration, incentives, and lessons in the form of different hardships faced by American women in convincing state and society about their rights and gaining success after a long struggle.

Status of Tribal Women in Pakistan

Women from the urban parts of Pakistan have three decades of activism and academic work to their credit; however, unfortunately, tribal women have been absent from this discourse and politics. This resulted in little to no attention given to the rights and the condition of women from former FATA. There are several reasons for this deliberate and undeliberate neglect. One of them is the code of honor, *Pakhtunwali*, a set of cultural customs in which women are projected as socially respected, protected, and honored in their status as mothers, sisters, wives, and daughter, however, they are nevertheless deprived of fundamental rights as humans. Cultural practices such as honor killing deprives a woman of her right to life if she crosses certain lines. Veiling and segregation limit these women's access to education. Under tribal customs, a woman cannot inherit property, thus denying her economic rights. In this closed and regressive system, a woman has no right to choose a life partner. Similarly, owing to the honor debate, she is not allowed to choose any occupation without the permission of her male family members. Above all, she has no access to justice mechanisms such as the council of elders or any courts against injustice to her.^{viii} These practices of subjugation have created the wrong impression that tribal women are content with their fate. In fact, at times, this tribal regressive culture has been eulogized by some urban women living in the settled parts of Pakistan.

Besides insensitive customary and cultural practices, the former FATA's old administrative and governance arrangement was also gender biased. The militarization policies of the state in the tribal belt were made possible with the assistance of colonial oppressive

governance structures.^{ix} Indeed, even after the merger and mainstreaming of the tribal areas owing to the twenty-fifth Amendment to the Constitution, women's rights and issues continue to be at the bottom of the government's priority. Instead, the government has introduced Alternate Dispute Resolution that, in effect, seeks to revive the old system of patriarchal *Jirga* (council of tribal elders) to settle civil and family cases, which have adverse effects on women. It is disheartening to report that even with the extension of judiciary and police to these areas, oppressive customary practices such as honor killing, bride money,^x exchange for murder,^{xi} and other issues persist as these tribal elders have no understanding of women's and human rights.^{xii} Another significant motive regarding the neglect of women's rights in the tribal areas is the latter's geo-political position; as this peripheral region has been a militarized space, it was kept away from any interventions of media, judiciary, and non-governmental organizations. This, in turn, sidelined it vis-à-vis mainstream development. Starting in the British era, special programs that furthered military and national interests were imposed on these areas, which had a negative impact on the rights of women over several hundred years.^{xiii}

Owing to patriarchal cultural practices, disregard on the part of Pakistani women activists and the state's militarization projects subjected tribal women to a gendered citizenship^{xiv}. This limited citizenship in the militarized tribal areas can be observed and analyzed through the lens of both misogynistic state and customary practices. A customary law states that only men will inherit land because men have earned it. However, a woman is, like a trophy, a man's honor and property much like land and precious metal. Ironically, a man's honor lies with her, and he defends his honor by killing her if she crosses any line defined for her in the customary law. The irony is that he can kill her with impunity to defend his honor. Using the practice of bride money, a tribal man can purchase her like a commodity, and in some instances, she is exchanged as a bride to get a wife for her father or brother.

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Marriage is solemnized through Islamic *Nikah*^{xv}; however, money, instead of being paid to her, is given to her father or grandfather. Through this deal, a cheap labor and production machine for male heirs is purchased and brought home. However, if she fails to provide a male heir, then in the tribal society, her identity and security are at stake, too. Unfortunately, a woman without a male has no status or security in such a tribal setting. Moreover, a tribal woman can be used for the settlement of tribal feuds. In case of conflict among tribesmen, she is offered to resolve a dispute. These women are sacrificed for their fathers', brothers', uncles', or cousin's sins and misdeeds.^{xvi} Hence, for tribal women there is a long road ahead of perpetual struggle in order for them to be treated the same way as the urban women of Pakistan.

Post-2001 Conflict, Displacement, and the Tribal Women

In Pakistan, there are two categories of tribal people, the economic migrants and the residents of the tribal districts. The economic migrants have moved out of their areas and settled in the urban areas of the country. With facilities available in these areas, they are educating their children. These tribesmen are less rigid in terms of practicing customs and culture, which is why they accepted urban life that allowed their daughters and sisters the options of education and employment. However, they are still connected to their tribe and village through visits on special occasions. The second group of tribal people had been living in the tribal districts straddled across borderland and regulating their lives under customary practices. This group was relatively rigid with no exposure to urban life. However, the post-2001 conflict transformed the lives of these tribesmen living in former FATA in several ways. The War on Terror resulted in military operations in the tribal districts that forced the tribal people to leave their areas and relocate as internally displaced persons to the developed parts of Pakistan. This conflict-induced displacement played havoc with the lives of tribal people, but it also had positive outcomes. After displacement from tribal areas amid conflict, many displaced

families started living with their relatives in the settled parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The lifestyle of urban relatives exposed the Internally Displaced People to those who were from amongst them and practiced similar values but had adapted themselves to urban settings. These relatives of theirs were sending their daughters to schools, colleges, and universities. Their womenfolk had access to markets and hospitals and had less restriction on their mobility. The debate of honor was not tied to violence and restriction but with empowering women and girls. This exposure of internally displaced men to urban life and their tribesmen's more accommodating behavior also changed the stance of the displaced men. Hence, it has been noticed that they softened their attitude towards girls' education and access of womenfolk to health facilities and markets. It was also observed that domestic violence become less frequent and came to be considered shameful^{xvii}.

During this period, both the urban and the rural tribals suffered; hence, many tribal student organizations and tribal elders and intellectuals started lobbying and advocating for a merger of former FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa—an extension of the 1973 Constitution to safeguard their fundamental rights. In this struggle, many educated tribal women living in the urban areas joined these organizations and networks with the understanding that the extension of the 1973 Constitution would eventually save them from inhuman cultural practices. For the first time in the history of the tribal areas, women and men were striving together for a change of the status of the former FATA and demanding the abolishment of old colonial oppressive structures and the extension of political and legal structures to these areas.^{xviii}

However, after the merger, several challenges are looming; most dangerous for women is the Alternate Dispute Resolution (ADR) that would revive the old patriarchal *Jirga* structures.^{xix} The tribesmen used to a speedy justice mechanism are demanding the revival of the old traditional judicial structures. However, as internally displaced people in the settled areas, they also abided by

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the rules and regulations of the mainstream judicial and criminal justice system. Some even experienced the litigation system of courts and respected them. Hence, introducing ADR along with a regular judiciary will harm the legal system. In addition, for facilities and development, the tribesmen will have to accept the new economic structures in the form of direct taxations, which previously they were paying to the state indirectly. They must change their old structures for women's rights if they want to compete with the rest of Pakistan. Old tribal systems will neither help them nor allow them to improve the quality of their lives like tribesmen living in the urban areas. For women's rights, activists and civil society can follow the trajectory of Women's Liberation Movement to bring positive change.

Merging FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Alternate Dispute Resolution

Ironically, even today, former FATA is treated as a strategic space where people have been denied their political rights for more than seventy years. Deprived of basic education and healthcare, women have suffered the most from this neglect. Under cultural practices and council of elders (*Jirga*), dowry is legal, property is denied to women when it involves shared lands, and a woman is considered her family's honor—to be bought, sold, bartered, and killed. It is very unfortunate that under Alternate Dispute Resolution, the state is empowering the old patriarchal and inhuman structures in the Newly Merged Tribal Districts. In theory, women in the tribal areas have benefited from the merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa due to the extension of the mainstream judicial and criminal justice system; however, in practice, no major gains have been made. With ADR, this backsliding will not only adversely affect women but will also deprive tribal areas of women's contribution to politics, economics, and the peace-building processes of these conflict-ridden and underdeveloped districts.

The former member of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Commission on Status of Women and former head of humanitarian organization Open Society and Pakistani feminist, Dr. Saba Gul Khattak, expressed her views on the merger and introduction of a parallel judicial system in the form of ADR with Tribal Sister Network: “patriarchy is evident in our states’ structure; they did not even involve a single woman while deciding all the laws as though they (women) did not exist”.^{xx} Terming ADR violence against tribal women, she expressed her disapproval of the incapacity of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa’s Provincial Assembly: “KP Provincial Assembly has passed an act for domestic violence after two decades, however, it introduced a regulation in tribal areas for women, leaving them at the mercy of tribal elders in such set-up, thus making rights a distant dream for tribal women”. Likewise, Mona Naseer Aurangzeb, an activist and political analyst from erstwhile FATA called ADR a source of reviving old oppressive structures: “traditions in Pashtun society hamper women's growth, mobility and progress, whether it’s a strict segregation of sexes through *pardah* (chastity) or debate of *ghairat* (honor). All have been used against her. The segregation of sexes and chastity debate has been used to stop her education, her earning capacity to be in public life, and gaining her financial independence. These norms under the garb of so-called tested and static traditions have only harmed and kept her a prisoner in a vicious circle of poverty”. Thus, it is pertinent to condemn such Acts and Ordinances for tribal areas that not only hamper the mainstreaming of former FATA but restrict the rights of women in these tribal districts. It is a huge challenge for the tribal civil society and tribal women because the fight for women's rights becomes extremely tough when such tyrannical measures are legalized by the state. In such a situation, it becomes imperative to seek inspiration from other feminists, allies, and activists to face such challenges.

Women’s Liberation Movement: Insights for Tribal Women

The women’s liberation movement was focused on three explicit goals, which embodied, on the whole, the spirit of the second-wave

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feminism. These targets were acquiring the right to free abortion on demand; creation of equal opportunities in employment and education; and establishment of affordable 24/7 childcare centers for working women. It is interesting to observe that women activists in the movement used numerous modus operandi to create subtle pressure on the state and society. Women activists used public demonstration as a tool of protest to attract attention among the concerned quarters. In addition to public protests, they also lobbied for different congressmen and women to turn their aspirations into realities.

As a result of their efforts, women's activists and their liberation movement were most successful in moving forward for gender equality in workplaces and educational institutions. Today, in the U.S., we see women's participation in educational institutions and their higher literacy rate means that women are given more or less equal opportunities. It is also noted that despite a gender wage gap, the number of women has increased in different professions in the U.S. over the past several decades. The successes of women's liberation movement over a period of fifty years are not only inspiring but also provide useful insights for tribal women. The most important inspiration and lesson that can be learned from women's liberation movement by the tribal women is to lobby for girls' education in tribal districts. Education will bring awareness among tribal women about their constitutional rights, which are the social, political, and economic rights prescribed in the 1973 Constitution's Fundamental Rights. Presently, the literacy rate of female population in the tribal districts stands at 7%.^{xxi} Tribes displaced and relocated are facing many problems; however, the most important challenge is the rehabilitation of girls' schools. In addition, there is a demand for girls' education by the parents in these tribal areas; thus, it would be easier to push the government and international donors to increase support for girls' education as well as start training programs for teachers in these districts.

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Another important inspiration from the Women's Liberation Movement is the demand for equal opportunities in employment by tribal women, which is ignored by both the state and the society. Women's employment can be secured if a quota is created for tribal women in all jobs. It is also vital to give tribal women representation in the decision-making bodies such as provincial and national legislatures (they are absent from National Assembly). In the U.S., the suffrage movement politically empowered women, and later the Women's Liberation Movement opened debates on employment and equal wages. Thus, it is equally important for tribal women to demand representation in decision-making bodies. The tribal women should push for inclusion in developmental plans and policies in the merged districts. Opportunities are needed in small-scale businesses, too. Economic empowerment with education can address many issues and problems of tribal women. In addition, access to justice is also required for tribal women, who are victims of unjust tribal structures and war. Hence, tribal women affected by conflict should push for inclusion in all schemes of repatriation and resettlement. They can also connect and develop linkages with the international community and request them to extend help to the local women committees formed by the state in these tribal districts for women's protection.

We understand that the case studies of tribal women and women of the United States in the liberation movement are different. In the case of the former FATA, women are not in any position to demand control over their reproductive rights because their journey towards rights has to begin with the least divisive demands. Most women living in tribal districts consider honor killing legal; the older generation was conditioned to accept these inhumane practices. Even today, many tribal women do not have identity cards, hence they are legally absent from the state and society, and if something happens to them, there will be no record. Under customary law, they are denied property rights and thus have no economic opportunities. However, tribal women activists can fight

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their case for inheritance rights to empower tribal women economically.

Conclusion

The merger of former FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has not offered much to women in the Newly Merged Tribal Districts. For instance, although the judicial system is in place now with courts available, but women cannot access them. In the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, tribal women are given representation through quota; however, they cannot present a bill for women living in their constituencies. The public (political) spaces by virtue of being 'male-dominated,' strengthen men's control over politics, culture, and economy; therefore, issues of dominance and gender divide are more visible in tribal areas, and it is hard to challenge them. Unfortunately, since the Pakistani state's inception, women from tribal areas have remained voiceless in the state structures. In addition, strong advocates for women's rights are absent. Both the state and the civil society are responsible for this.^{xxii} Therefore, the most crucial step needed in the prevailing circumstances is to organize feminist groups and tribal civil society that can support and educate tribal women on their rights. It is also pertinent for tribal women to learn from other feminist groups about how they strove for their rights. Hence the value of education for these women.

In addition, it is also essential to change tribal women's mindset, especially that of the older generation, towards education and employment for women. They need to be educated that a woman's choice to educate herself and follow a career is not against religious or cultural values; instead, it empowers families and tribes. No woman should be humiliated for her refusal to be restricted by *pardah*; neither should she be killed for marrying a man of her choice. It is pertinent to start a debate that challenges patriarchal thinking: fighting for rights is not a rebellion nor is it against the honour of tribal men. These human rights are given to

women by religion and the law of Pakistan. Some of her fundamental rights under Pakistani laws are the right to life, education, health, and employment, while the right to a marriage of choice, the right to inheritance, and divorce are her religious rights. Moreover, many rights, including the right to life, food, and shelter, are universally recognised and cannot be challenged by any tribe or society. Like women activists in the liberation movement, it is essential for tribal women to sensitize men towards women and their rights. A tribal culture cannot transform with mainstreaming or mergers only; it needs powerful women to transform a tribal social order into a humane and gender-sensitive society. Consequently, a gender-sensitive society will respect women and curtail violence towards them. Hence, it is also important to acknowledge this responsibility that women's rights can be achieved only if both tribal men and women are united in curbing all such norms that are anti-women, regressive, patriarchal, and oppressive.

Moreover, women can enjoy basic rights in these newly merged tribal districts if their rights are acknowledged and protected by the state. It is important that the state protect their right to education, health, and property as prescribed in the religion as well as the constitution of Pakistan. Moreover, active lobbying is needed by other Pakistani women parliamentarians to convince the government to protect and empower tribal women. Above all, humane structures and systems will be possible if the older generation of tribal women living in tribal districts is made aware of the misogynistic cultural practices against them. It will be very fruitful if, like the women's liberation movement in the U.S., the older generation of feminists aligned with radical young women activists to achieve their goals. Similarly, if the older generation of tribal women aligned with younger women, it could bring revolutionary changes to the tribal society. It is important to mention that the older generation of tribal women has more control over the household and the menfolk, especially their sons; hence if younger tribal women get their support, it will be easier for them to

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achieve the rights denied to them. It is high time to curb this Stockholm syndrome of romanticising the misogynistic and regressive patriarchal customary practices. These cultural practices, eulogized by men and the older generation of tribal women, will not let the younger generation to survive in this competitive world. Thus, it is essential to do away with medieval systems and practices that deny women's rights. A happy and thinking woman enjoying her fundamental rights can face any challenge effectively.

End Notes

ⁱ See DuBois, Ellen. *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in the U.S., 1848–1869* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978).

ⁱⁱ Cohen, Sascha. The Day Women Went on Strike. *TIME*, 2015.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid

^{iv} Burkett, Elinor. "Women's rights movement". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2020.

^v Federal Register, Nondiscrimination on the Basis of Sex in Education Programs or Activities Receiving Federal Financial Assistance, retrieved from official website of The Daily Journal of United States, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2020/05/19/2020-10512/nondiscrimination-on-the-basis-of-sex-in-education-programs-or-activities-receiving-federal>

^{vi} The main protagonists of NOW were Bella Abzug, Betty Friedan, and Gloria Steinem.

^{vii} Sacha Cohen, The Day Women Went on Strike, *Time* retrieved from <https://time.com/4008060/women-strike-equality-1970/>

^{viii} Husain, S. *Qanoon-i- Riwaj Kurram (Turizuna)*, Kohat, 1947.

^{ix} Naseer, Noreen. FATA woman voiceless/invisible entity: Victim of cultural structure and state system. *Pakistan Journal of Women's Studies: Alam-e-Niswan*, Vol. 22, No.2, 2015, pp.77-89.

^x Bride money is the money paid to the father of a girl by the groom's family at the time of wedding.

^{xi} A girl is given to the aggrieved family to settle disputes between families. It is also known as *swara* in Pashto.

^{xii} Many cases go unreported in tribal districts due to an absence of strong civil society and line departments such as the Human Rights Commission and Social Work Departments. On social media, the honor killing of teenage girls went viral and police took notice, however it was too late. Sirajuddin, two teenage girls in Waziristan village killed for 'honour' over leaked video, *Dawn*, 17 May 2020.

^{xiii} Ibid.

^{xiv} Theorist on citizenship explains that rights are undermined in two ways. One is the absence of a proactive state that could ensure the enforcement of constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizenship, and secondly the absence of social conditions that would enable one to exercise citizenship effectively. The presence of sharp economic disparities and inherited social inequalities such as class, caste, gender, ethnicity and language are major factors that restrict the full enjoyment of citizenship rights. Thus, tribal women are victims of inactive state and prevailing social conditions.

^{xv} Marriage contract prescribed in Islamic Law.

^{xvi} Naseer, N. Tribal Women, Property and Border: An Auto-Ethnographic Critique of the Riway (Tradition) on the Pakistan–Afghanistan Borderland, *Geopolitics*, 24:2, 426-443, 2019 DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2018.1543662

^{xvii} HPG Report, *The impact of displacement on gender roles and relations - The case of IDPs from FATA, Pakistan*, March 2019.

^{xviii} Bureau Report, Government asked to merge Fata with KP without delay, *Dawn*, 25 August 2016.

^{xix} For details see *The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Alternate Dispute Resolution Act, 2020*.

^{xx} Tribal Sister Network (Qabailee Khor) was formed by tribal women in the settled areas of Pakistan in 2012. The details can be accessed on the website <http://khor-pk.org/>

^{xxi} For detail see Government of Pakistan Statistic Division Reports.

^{xxii} Naseer, N. Tribal Women, Property and Border: An Auto-Ethnographic Critique of the Riway (Tradition) on the Pakistan–Afghanistan Borderland, *Geopolitics*, 24:2, 426-443, 2019 DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2018.1543662