

The Impact of Socio-Demographic Factors on the Gender Norms about Women outside Working in Afghanistan

Afganistan'da Dışarıda Çalışan Kadınlara İlişkin Sosyo-Demografik Faktörlerin Cinsiyet Normlarına Etkisi

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Abstract

Women's economic power is affected by the norms prevailing among society members on what women should be allowed to do. In Afghanistan, women are expected to work in a separate place from men or they should take the approval of men and as per our calculation most of the people show their agreement with their outside working. By deploying logistic regressions for a survey data taken from Asia Foundation; we found that education, urbanization and TV watching have positive impact on the norms supporting women's working outside. The best strategy is to invest in education of the people from both sexes and increase the activity of media to campaign for women empowerment.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Socio-Demographic factors, Afghanistan, Female, Gender norms, Logit regression.

Öz

Kadınların ekonomik gücü, kadınların ne yapmasına izin verilmesi gerektiği konusunda toplum üyeleri arasında hakim olan normlardan etkilenmektedir. Afganistan'da kadınların erkeklerden ayrı bir yerde çalışmaları bekleniyor ya da erkeklerin onayını almaları gerekmektedir ve bizim hesaplamalarımıza göre insanların çoğu dışarıdaki çalışmalarıyla hemfikir olduklarını göstermektedir. Asia Foundation'dan alınan anket verileri için lojistik regresyonlar uygulayarak; eğitim, şehirleşme ve TV izlemenin kadınların dışarıda çalışmasını destekleyen normlar üzerinde olumlu etkisi olduğu bulunmuştur. En iyi strateji, her iki cinsiyetten insanların eğitimine yatırım yapmak ve kadınların güçlenmesi için kampanyaya medyanın faaliyetlerini artırmaktır.

Keywords: Sosyo-Demografik faktörler, Afganistan, Kadın, Cinsiyet normları, Logit regresyonu.

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Introduction

The workforce is one of the key components of nations' economic resources, which is a crucial factor in stimulating economic development by forming human capital. Especially in developing countries, ensuring the participation of women in the labor force will contribute not only to the efficient use of limited resources but also to combating poverty and eliminating gender and income inequalities. Economic empowerment of the women generates benefits to not only themselves but also their households and nations. According to a survey by the World Bank Group (2015) if women participate in economic activities like men they will help the world GDP about 28 trillion dollars by 2025. Women play many important roles in their families and societies. In the past, women were mostly giving birth to the future generation but with the course of time, their role in the society and the economy has been changed (Tan ve Yazdanifard, 2013). According to Toossi (2002), the female participation rate in the labor force of the U.S economy increased from 29 percent to more than 46 percent between 1950 and 2000. One of the reasons that they are more hired for jobs is female managers in an organization. Another reason regarding the increasing female participation rate in the labor force is the kind of jobs (therapist, dietician, and health technician) in which the salary of the female is higher than male (Guadreau, 2013).

Nevertheless, women's participation in the workforce is still limited, especially in developing countries. Some factors have a negative impact on the female participation rate in the workforce. One of the factors is the education level, which has a positive impact on their participation in the workforce (Bossler vd., 2016). According to the ILO (2016), the education achievements of women have not been translated into a comparable improvement in the workforce, and relative to men, they are more likely to be unemployed during the last two decades. Anecdotal suggestion shows that in some societies social norms have been constraint against women outside working, they are expected to work in places, which is separated from men, furthermore, they are expected to get the approval of men for outside working especially in societies like Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, in the case of Jordan, factors that had a negative impact on female participation rate are child care, discrimination wages, safety, women's belief about discouragement from her husband, mix workplace, family-friendly policies, and many more (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2018). According to Benham (1980), besides education, many demographical factors could have an impact on their participation in the labor force.

The political atmosphere and social norms regarding gender roles are other important factors in the division of labor between women and men and in women's participation in social and economic life. Afghanistan presents one of the striking examples of this fact. Afghanistan is a country that has a population of more than 37 million including 14.450.224 labor forces in which the percentage of female labor is more than 35% (The World Bank, 2019). If we glance over women's life in Afghanistan since 1919, it will help us that how they were behaved in the different regimes and governments. According to the (Amnesty International UK, 2014), Afghan women got right for the first time in 1919 one year before the UK, in 1950 purdah was abolished, in 1960 new constitution was brought for the equality than after during the Russian invasion, Mujahidin and Talibanism regime women lost their right increasingly. Especially during the Taliban regime, they were not allowed to go out of the home without her legal relative but after the invasion of US coalition forces, schools for women were opened, a new constitution was made for women's right to eliminate the inequality between men and women.

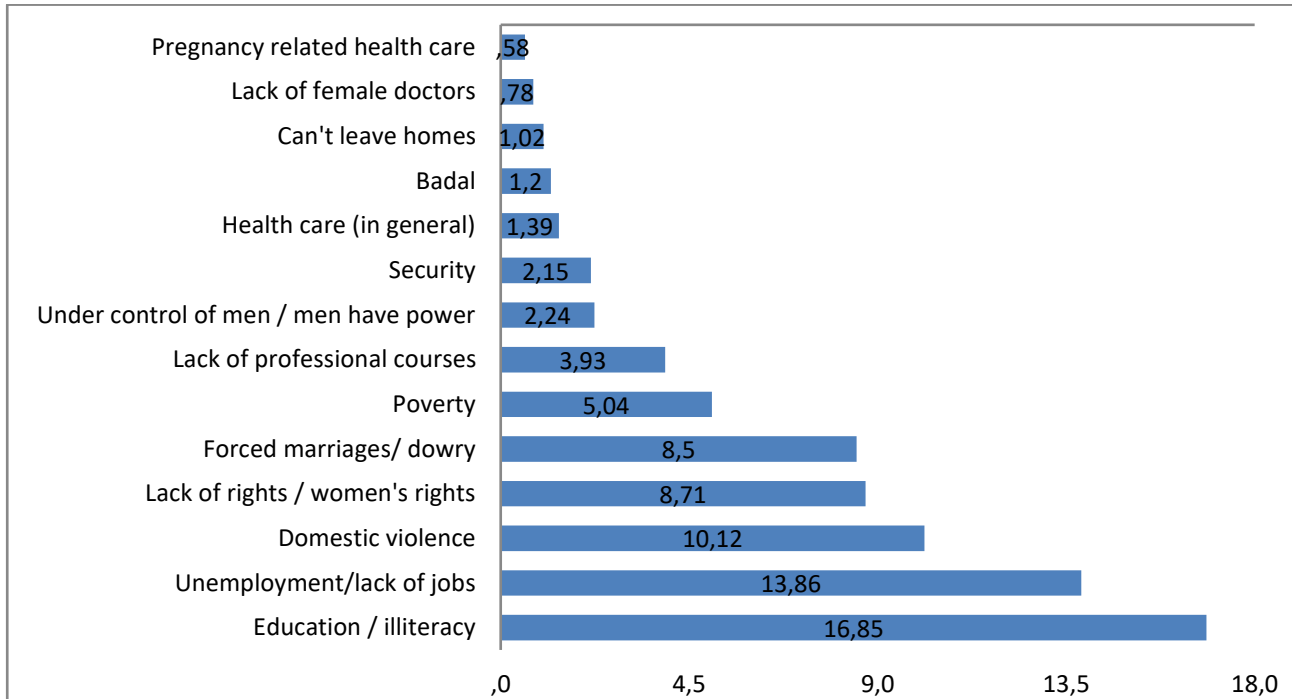
Pluralistic ignorance is a concept introduced by Stuart (1931), which is observed in conservative societies. According to the concept of pluralistic ignorance, the majority of people reject a gender norm individually whereas they think it is accepted by society. In the case of Afghanistan, as it looks a conservative society, it mostly has been underestimated the gender norm about women outside working. In the case of gender norms (as appropriate behavior accepted by a group of people in a society) towards the women outside-working, survey shows for the period 2006 and 2016 that more than 70% of Afghans agree with women working outside of their homes and less than 30% are against it. Those who are against their outside home employment, say that conditions are uncertain, and feel of its being against Islam religion (The Asia Foundation, 2018). Concerning gender norms in the participation of education, more than 80% of people show their agreement with girls' education (The Asia Foundation, 2018). As we mentioned earlier that participation of females in the economic activities has welfare for the societies, and Afghanistan is one of the countries where this participation rate is not fair so, it is necessary to find out those factors, which support the norms about women outside the home or paid working in Afghanistan. In this context, our study intends to contribute to finding out those factors, which are an obstacle for women paid work, which will open the way for further studies.

In this study, we investigate the impact of socio-demographic factors on the gender norm about women's working outside-home, for the mentioned purpose we used the data collected by the Asia Foundation. Our sample consists of both men and women of Afghanistan and the age of interviewees is more than 18 years because this is the accepted age for the adultery stage where one can think more rationally relative to those people who are under age. To evaluate the factors determining the norms on women's outside working, we estimate a logistic regression.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section, we discuss problems faced by Afghan women with getting paid-work. Section three introduces the data and empirical methodology. In section four, we present empirical results. Finally, section five concludes.

1. The Problems Faced by Women in Afghanistan and Gender Norms about Their Paid Work: An Overview

Under the Taliban regime, women’s social and economic position in Afghanistan has worsened in many ways. They were not permitted to go outside without her family members, they were not allowed to get the education and their political participation was almost zero. After the invasion of the US-led international coalition, international and domestic communities put their effort to empower women but still, women have facing many problems in political, economic, and social life. Graph 1 presents the main problems Afghan women complaints with data from A Survey of Afghan People by Asia Foundation (2019). Since this data is our main source for further analysis, we would like to look it closer.



Graph 1. Major Problems Faced Afghan Women (2019)

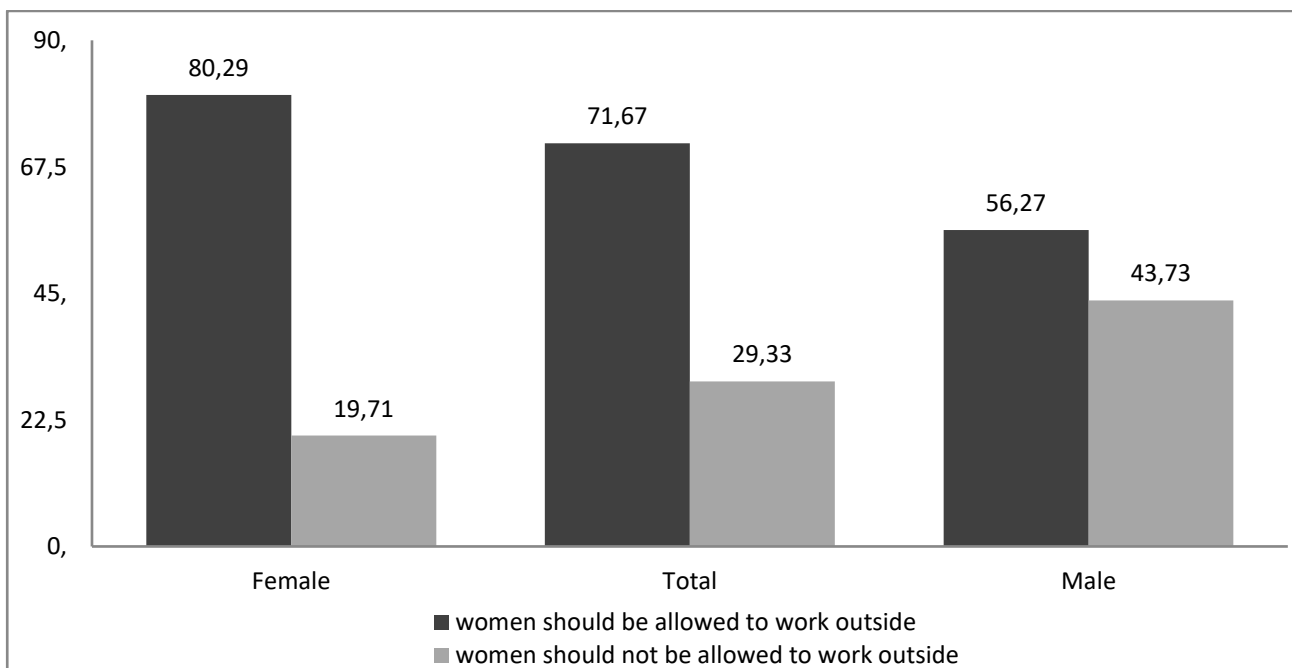
Source: Authors' calculation from (The Asian Foundation, 2019)

According to the data as appearing in Table-1, the major problems that Afghan women were complaining about during the 2019 survey are respectively inadequate education and illiteracy, domestic violence (violence by family members), lack of right (like right in heritages), forced marriages, poverty, lack of professional courses for capacity building, can't leave home without the permission of their head family member, security problem, no access to clinics, pregnancy-related health care, and other problems which have a small share (less than 1%) in total. While more than 16.85% of women are complaining of illiteracy, unemployment appears to be the second-worst problem faced by Afghan women with more than 13.5%. Domestic violence and lack of rights are those problems that took a share of more than ten and eight percent of the total problems. As 8.5 % of women are complaining of forced marriage and dowry, more than 5.04% compliance is expressed due to poverty. About more than 3.9% of respondents expressed that no access to professional courses is one of the biggest problems faced by them. 2.73% of women in the survey are saying that they cannot leave home without the permission of their head of the house. More than 1% of women are complaining of security, no access to health, and Badal and Baad. Baad is an illegal under Afghan law but a common practice which is a kind of forced marriage in which a girl is married at the expense of murder, done by one of her family members.

As can be seen, unemployment is one of the major problems that women are complaining about. On the other hand, other problems can be seen in relation to women's role in employment. Societies with greater gender equality not only offer better socio-economic opportunities for women but also tend to grow faster and more equitably, which in term leads to poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, consumer choice, creativity, and decision-making on a broader range of issues (Abney and Laya, 2018). But women’s economic empowerment faces barrier in the low-income countries, which could be observed in the studies like sexual harassment, gender law, technology and social norms about gender, gender

norms that may derive from religious beliefs, tribal rule, or cultural history and experienced by women in the societies. Gender norms are social norms (a common practice done by a group of people in a society) that are specifically related to gender differences. Through gender norms, society behaves to a particular sex. Afghanistan is one of the developing countries where traditional ideas are dominating women's power, especially in their outside paid-working (Peters, Adelstien and Abare, 2016). Thus, the norms on outside paid working of women could be considered as a relevant indicator of how the power is distributed among sexes and the level of women's empowerment in society. According to the study done by Echavez vd. Leah (2016) men in Afghan society are mostly considered as breadwinners, and women are considered to work domestically but the results change by the level of education and from tribe to tribe. The study done by Bunch (1990) shows that more than 87% of women have been violated through violence like domestic violence, sexual harassment, forced marriage, and child marriage. Not only do Afghan women face violence on a daily basis but they also have no agency and control over their own lives (Sabri, 2018). Nearly 41% of Afghan people wanted to leave Afghanistan whereas 47% of women wanted to leave Afghanistan, and most of them wanted to live in Germany, Turkey and the U.S.A.

A Survey of Afghan People (The Asia Foundation 2019) includes an item to consider the norm on women's outside working in Afghanistan. In the survey, for the last 13 years, respondents were asked "Should women be allowed to work outside the home or not?" Graph 2 presents the percentage distribution of responses to this question. the figures that we have in the following graph is the average of the years from 2011 to 2019.

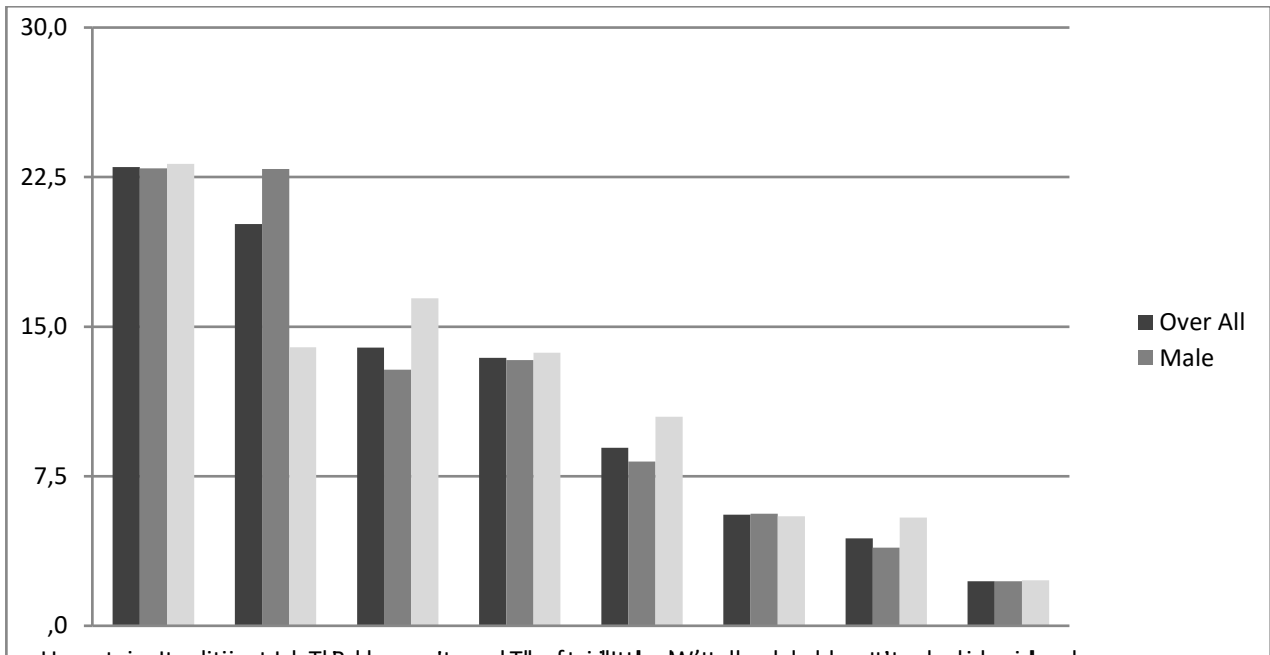


Graph 2. Gender Norms about Women's Outside Work

Source: Authors' calculation from (The Asian Foundation, 2019)

As can be seen in Graph 2, overall more people in Afghanistan show their agreement with women outside working but the percentage of females is more relative to the males, due to having been deprived of primary necessities of life.

As averagely for the period 2012 and 2018, less than 33% of people show their disagreement with women outside working. In the survey, respondents who against women working outside were also asked "why do you say that women shouldn't be allowed to work outside the home?". The responses to this question are presented in Graph 3.



Graph 3. Reasons for Women Shouldn't be allowed to Work Outside of Home (Average Percentage of the Period (2016-2019))

Source: Authors' calculation from (The Asian Foundation, 2019)

Why should women not to work outside? We have an answer for this question in the above graphs, which was answered in the period 2016-2019. The uncertain conditions are seen as the most important reason against women's working outside. This is followed by the belief that it is against Islamic law, they do not need to work outside, bad security, moral corruption, and considered as shame in society. When we compare males and females, the particular differences appear. In the case of conservatism, males look more conservative than females, as the percentage of males greater than females to support the norm that says women should not be allowed to work outside the home. Females weight security-related reasons than males, while males reason religious ideas. In the case of unskilled women in Afghanistan those families, who do not allow women to work outside of the home because of the stigma attaches to families if women work male family members will get under social pressure. Moreover, groups view them as the unable persons who cannot provide care for their wives and families and educated women could not be allowed due to male existence of male colleagues in the working environment (Benton vd. 2012). Another reason that is against women outside working is as "they are not needed to work outside" means that female are responsible for domestic activities, the family obligation of female prevent her to join the profiting activities outside the home (Farah, 2014). Furthermore, according to Schein and Mueller (1992), there are some cultural obstacles, which prevent women from outside activities; women are considered as a good wife, a good mother, and a passive of the societies.

2. Data, Variables and Methodology

The study's main objective is to examine the determinants of gender norms toward women's paid-working outside of the home. For this aim, we use the data collected under A Survey of Afghan People by the Asia Foundation, which was collected each year from 2006 until 2018. The survey offers a longitudinal portrait of evolving public perceptions of the national mood, security, the economy, service provision, accountability, participation in politics, such as elections and peace and reconciliation with the Taliban, media access, the role of women, and migration. The survey was implemented in 34 provinces of Afghanistan for the period from 2006 to 2018. The total number of respondents is 109.581. However, due to missing responses and other shortcomings, the observation number in the statistical estimations was slightly more than 27,073.

The attitude toward women's working outside can be seen as a function of personal, demographic, economic, and social factors as presented in the following equation.

$$Y = f(\text{Personal factors}, \text{Demographic factors}, \text{Economic factors}, \text{Social factors}) \quad (1)$$

Our dependent variable WSAW (women should be allowed to work outside the home) takes value 1 if a person agrees with women outside working and zero otherwise. We estimate the probability of being a supporter of women's working outside through logistic regressions.

As personal factors, we consider gender, age, and education. The variable gender has two categorical variables, which are male and female, it is expected that women are more likely to work outside relative to male because it has a positive impact on their lives and their children's life. Due to poverty, females are more impoverished than males (Yücel, 2017). It is assumed that in the earlier stages of working life women are more supported to work. However, after 25 years, the norm is not supported, because, in that stages, individuals especially in a country like Afghanistan get married, and in traditional societies, women are considered to handle domestic activities as mentioned by (Farrah, 2014). Education was considered as two separate variables as formal education and Islamic madrasa education. Education is a crucial factor in supporting such norms. An increase in the education of women tends to participate in the labor force as mentioned above. Education for a long time has been being supported to avoid and prevent negative traditional behavior in the case of gender equality (Kane, 1995). Madrasa (religious education) has been a cornerstone of the education system, especially during the cold world. During those education systems, people were taught and trained to follow and implement traditional law and radical politics which in term have a negative impact the gender equality (Zeiny vd., 2014). The variable is expected to have a negative impact.

We include marital status, family size in estimation. Those people who are married are less likely to support the norm because males in a traditional society like Afghanistan want to be breadwinner as earlier mentioned by Chona vd. (2016) Traditional structure suggest that females do not want to work due to domestic responsibilities. A study done by Aly and Quisi (1996) concluded that female education rate and the wage rate is positively related to their participation in the labor market. It is assumed that family size has a negative impact on the norms. According to the neoclassical models about women's labor supply, the female labor participation rate is affected by the family size if the marginal benefit of the job is lesser than child care or giving time to children (Joesch, 1994).

We also include ethnicity, administrative regions, and rural-urban background. These variables are expected to reflect the shared cultural norms among particular areas or societal groups. In Afghanistan, there are 14 ethnicity groups but the dominant ethnicities are Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, Hazara. Pashtun people mostly live in the central, eastern, western, and southern provinces of Afghanistan and 42% of Afghanistan population. Most of the traditional rules and cultures are dominating in this tribe, such as taking money by girls' father, keeping females in the entailing women wearing named chaderi or burqa, which helps the inequality of gender (Nasimi, 2016). The second most populated group is the Tajiks, which live in the northern provinces of Afghanistan, and they speak the Persian language. Tajiks comprise 27% population of Afghanistan. Tajiks in Afghanistan are also male-dominated tribe but women are less prohibited in the public place to work relative to others especially Pashtun and Uzbek. It means that women's right is more granted by this tribe relative to Uzbek and Pashtun. Tajik, Uzbek, and Pashtun are majorities and most population of these groups are sunny muslims. Uzbeks in Afghanistan make up 9% population speaks Uzbek and Persian language, they are known as main Turkic people of Afghanistan and they are Sunni Muslims. They are also conservative communities and most of the economic and political decisions are mostly made by males in this group by depending on urban or rural settlements. Hazaras in Afghanistan comprise 9% population of the country that are situated in central and northeastern provinces of Afghanistan. In the case of women right, they are known to be more progressive relative to any other ethnicity group (Minority Rights Group International, 2020). From the point of view of religion, the majority of them are Shi'a Muslims and Ismailia.

Regions may also share some common cultural characteristics regardless of ethnic background. The variable region has 8 categories as Central/ Kabul, eastern provinces, southeast, southwest, northeast, northwest, west, and central highlands. According to Minority Rights Group International (2020), the majority of Pashtun are concentrated mainly in the south and southeast but all through the state can be seen as well. Tajiks live mostly in the north and northeast and Kabul, Hazaras live in the center and Kabul. Uzbeks live in the north and Aimaq in the west. Turkmen in the north, Baluchis in the west and southwest, and Nuristanis in the east live. Balochis and Nurstanis speak their own language but speak the Pashto language as well, most of them are bilinguals, and in culture, they are more integrated with Pashtuns (Siddique, 2012).

The impact of ethnic and regional characteristics could be restricted due to the rural or urban lifestyle of culture. Thus, we consider the urban-rural variable in estimation. People who live in rural areas are considered to be more conservative and religious, which causes them to follow the traditional rules (Majda, 2007). The variable has four geographical categories as villages, towns, cities, and Metro Kabul. It is expected that other areas support the norm more than villages.

Economic factors are naturally expected to have an impact on women's employment preferences in the family. In several studies, it is concluded that the predicted income of women has a positive relationship with their participation in the labor market (Aly and Quisi 1996). An increase in the spouse wages causes to decrease in the working hours of female labor

(Kahn & Blau, 2007). Besides, female member contribution to household income was considered as our second economic factor. As per the added worker effects model, when their spouses become unemployed, the additional worker effect applies to a rise in the labor pool of married women. that the unemployment of one spouse increases the labor supply of another spouse (Ashenfelter, 1980).

Results of a study done by Jacqueline and Davis (2013) conclude that increasing TV consumption is correlated with an equal view towards the working mother. The content analysis conducted on television shows has consistently shown that television programming continues to reflect more conventional gendered roles and that the industry is continually transmitting this message throughout its success (Collins, 2011). In estimation, we add a variable that represents the duration of watching TV and it is expected that those people who watch TV more will support the norms (women should work outside the home).

Finally, the survey year has included in the equation to control changes in attitudes over time. As concluded by WHO (2020), in the last decade gender equality progressed, it is expected that time would have a positive impact on the norms.

Thus, our empirical strategy could be expressed with the following form:

$$WSAW = f(\text{gender, age, marital status, formal education, madrasa education, household size, number of children, income, female contribution in family income, ethnicity, region, urban, watching TV, year}) \quad (2)$$

Gender and marital status are categorical variables. While gender has two categories as male and female, the marital status has three categories as the single, the married, and the widow. Education variables are the formal education as years and the madrasa education as spent time in. Age is a categorical variable of five categories.

The variable income is measured in national currency, while the female contribution is a binary variable as 'yes' if females contribute to household income or 'no' otherwise.

Ethnicity is a variable of five categories while the region consists of eight categories as mentioned earlier. The urban is a binary variable that indicates whether the respondent lives in an urban or rural settlement. Watching TV is measured as the time spent watching TV daily. The last variable is the year that presents the survey implementation year.

Since our dependent variable is binary, we prefer the logit model to explain the impact of socio-demographic factors on the gender norms about women should be allowed to work outside of the home. The logit model states the probability density function:

$$p = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-\beta x_i}} \quad (3)$$

Where p is the probability that a person would agree with women in outside work, 'e' is the exponential 1 value. β is the parameter row vector, and x_i is the variables column vector. As p is not directly observable as the likelihood of people agreed with women's participation, a dichotomous (0, 1) function is built, taking the value of '1' for the person agreed with women outside working and '0' otherwise.

As the empirical strategy, we estimate the equation by three samples as the whole sample, male respondents sample, and female respondents sample. Thus, we would like to see gender differences in determinants.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Descriptive Analysis

The descriptive statistics of variables and the sample characteristics are shown in Table 1. 51% of the whole sample is females and the rest are males in our sample. Age on the average takes the value of 2.63, while it consists of five categories as 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, and 55 and more. Regarding the marital status, more than 0.85 of respondents are married and those people who are widows are on average 0.02. On average, the household size is more than 9 persons. On average, every married person has approximately four children. The average income of respondents in our sample is more than 11000 Afghani, which is equal to almost 141 U.S dollars. Averagely more than 0.20 people say their female family member contributes to household income.

Table 1. Sample Characteristics and Summary Statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Gender (reference category: male)				
Female	0.50	0.50	0	1
Age	2.63	1.17	1	5
Marital status (reference category: single)				
Married	0.86	0.001		
Widow	0.025	0.16	0	1
Formal Education	2.10	1.30	1	5
Madrassa Education	1.50	2.231	0	18
Household Size	9.60	4.12	1	51
Number of children	3.89	5.03	0	98
Income	11260.66	14623.81	0	800000
Female contribution in family income				
yes	0.21	0.41	0	1
Ethnicity (reference category: Pashtun)				
Tajik	0.31	0.49	0	1
Uzbek	0.08	0.27	0	1
Hazara	0.12	0.33	0	1
Other	0.07	0.26	0	1
Region (reference category: Central/Kabul)				
East	0.08	0.27	0	1
South East	0.08	0.27	0	1
South West	0.08	0.27	0	1
West	0.12	0.33	0	1
North East	0.19	0.39	0	1
Central/Highland	0.05	0.23	0	1
North	0.18	0.39	0	1
Urban (reference category: rural)				
Urban	0.27	0.44	0	1
Watching TV	102.89	0.92	101	104
year	2017.70	1.13	2016	2019
<i>Number of observation: 27,073</i>				

4.2. Results

The estimation results from the logistic regressions are presented in Table-2. The coefficients in the table indicate the estimated odd ratios of logit regression and asymptotic Z statistics. Column (1) shows the results for the whole sample,

while the marginal effects for the whole sample are presented in column (2). The column (3) and (4) presents the results for the male-sample and female-sample, respectively.

We used the Z-statistics to determine the approval or disapproval and to verify the robustness of the point calculations. To this end, we used a level of significance of 1%, 5%, and 10%. The constant level is significant, which means women's outside working is valued. The Pseudo R² is 9% for the whole sample and for males is 7.1% and for females is 4.6%. Our model is significant due to being less than one percent of Chi-square.

Following Table 2, gender is statistically a significant variable. Females are likely more than three-time than males to support the females' working outside. The marginal effect is 0.1672 which means one unit increase in this variable will increase the support of norms about 16%. One of the reasons that they more likely to have such an idea is poverty and women suffer from poverty double than men in the world (Moghadam, 2005). That is why they want to find an income resource for themselves. Another reason they want to work, they want to be independent and decrease the violence against them according to the study done by (Aizer, 2011) the less the income of women the higher the income against them.

Age is a statistically significant explanatory variable for the whole sample and the male-only sample. Although the marginal effect of age is a positive sign, the impact is too small, as one unit increase in age will cause to increase the support of the norm about 0.4 %. There is no remarkable difference between males' and females' odds ratios.

Compared to singles married people are slightly more likely with 0.08% to support the women's working outside. However, the odds ratios are not statistically significant. The odds ratio for widows is significant and they are less likely to support the female's working than singles. Despite the marginal effect and the odds ratio of the whole sample is too small, the results are against the results of by Chona, Mosawi, and Pilongo (2016). One reason may be being the big share of educated people in the married people in our sample as by Aly and Quisi (1996) mentioned above there is a strong correlation between education and working force participation. However, if we compare married males and females, the females' working is more supported by married women relative to males. It is due to being a male-dominated society where males are more likely to be a breadwinner as per the results of Echavez, Mosawi, and Leah (2016), and our results show females' odd ratio is considerably more than males' odd ratio in the first explanatory variable as well.

Formal education has a positive odds ratio in all three cases and its marginal effect is about 2%. And the odds ratio of both male and female are more than one. Education, for a long time, has been being supported to avoid and prevent negative traditional behavior in the case of gender equality (Kane, 1995). And for the case of the females as explained by the Aly and Quisi (1996) that female education rate and the wage rate is positively related to their participation in the labor market.

Madrassa education (religious education) is negatively associated with the idea of women working outside. Madrasas provide commonly religious and traditional education on values bases despite their wide range of institutional nature (Borchgrevink, 2010). We may expect madrasa education would transfer traditional values and ideas to the next generations, including negative values such as intolerance. As in Bangladesh, it was concluded that those students who studied in the unrecognized madrasas, their attitude to their peers are unfavorable (Niaz vd., 2018). According to our sample, madrasa-educated persons both males and females are fewer support women working outside. The politicization of religion during the Afghan jihad is clearly reflected in the growth and development of madrasas expressing a range of different ideological and political ties (Borchgrevink, 2010). Especially these types schools played important role in the emergence and growth of groups like Talibans (Borchgrevink, 2010).

The effect of the size of the household is negative as proposed by the neoclassical labor supply model of women that the female labor participation rate is affected by the family size if the marginal benefit of the job is lesser than child care or giving time to children (Joesch, 1994). In our estimation, a one-unite increase in the family size will decrease the probability of supporting women's working by about 0.2%.

We could not find an obvious effect of income in all samples despite significant coefficients. As the odd ratios in all three cases is equal to one significantly, contrary to the findings by Aly and Quisi (1996). However, their study was on female participation in the labor market.

Female member contribution to household income has positively correlated with sporting women's working. Since those people who say that there is a female member who does not contribute their household income are in the reference category, those who say there is no female contributor are more likely to support the women's working. According to (Ashenfelter, 1980), males are more likely to support the women's working as per the results of added worker effects models explains that unemployment of one spouse increases the labor supply of another spouse.

Table 2. Estimation Results from Logistic Regressions

Variable	Whole sample (*)	Marginal Effects for the Whole Sample (2)	Male (*)	Female (*) (4)
Gender (=female)	3.01***	0.17		
	(-30.14)			
Age	1.032**	0.005	1.03**	1.02
	(-2.18)		(-1.97)	(-0.72)
Marital Status (reference category: single)				
Married	1.08	0.012	0.93	1.67
	(0.26)		(-0.19)	(0.87)
Widow	0.82*	-0.026	0.91	0.82
	(-1.86)		(-0.40)	(-1.61)
Formal Education	1.14***	.0196	1.13***	1.22***
	(-9.34)		(-7.31)	(-6.98)
Madrasa Education	0.98***	-.004	0.98**	0.96**
	(-3.50)		(-2.46)	(-2.52)
Household Size	0.98***	-.003	0.99***	0.97***
	(-4.83)		(-2.74)	(-4.46)
Number of Children	1.00	.0005	1.002	1.01
	(-1.02)		(-0.46)	(-1.14)
Income	1.00***	0	1.000***	1.00*
	(-3.16)		(-2.7)	(-1.66)
Female Contribution to Family Income (=yes)	1.28***	0.033	1.41***	1.00
	(-5.74)		(-6.42)	(-0.05)
Ethnicity (reference category: Pashtun)				
Tajik	1.76***	.092	1.77***	1.73***
	(-13.57)		(-10.84)	(-7.9)
Uzbek	1.83***	.097	1.71***	2.12***
	(-7.99)		(-5.58)	(-6.07)
Hazara	2.73***	0.146	3.33***	1.93***
	(-14)		(-12.86)	(-5.92)
Other	1.82***	0.10	1.83***	1.80***
	(-8.35)		(-6.55)	(-5.12)
Region (reference category: Central/Kabul)				
East	2.12***	0.12	2.44***	1.70***
	(-10.91)		(-9.97)	(-4.94)
South East	1.64***	0.08	1.44***	2.03***
	(-7.26)		(-4.23)	(-6.2)
South West	1.44***	0.06	1.354***	1.58***
	(-5.68)		(-3.66)	(-4.33)

West	1.575***	0.08	1.56***	1.60***
	(-7.97)		(-6.06)	(-5.05)
North East	1.37***	0.06	1.42***	1.27***
	(-6.39)		(-5.54)	(-2.91)
Central/Hazarjat	3.84***	0.06	3.40***	4.65***
	(-11.36)		(-8.56)	(-7.14)
North West	2.37***	0.0761	2.93***	1.58***
	(-14.25)		(-13.74)	(-4.82)
Urban (urban=1)	1.76***	0.078	1.77***	1.71***
	-14.15		-11.46	-8.03
Watching TV	1.21***	0.029	1.18***	1.25***
	-11.12		-7.5	-8.08
year	1.05***	0.01	1.05***	1.05**
	-3.63		-2.68	-2.23
c	8.97e-62***		3.93e-62 ***	5.53e-57***
	(-5.57)		(-4.49)	(-3.05)
N	27073		13223	13850
R ²	9.5%		7.1%	4.6%

(*)The numbers show the odds ratios. Z statistics in parentheses, $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Ethnicity appears as one of the significant factors that shape the norm on women working. According to results, compared to the reference category Pashtun, all other ethnic group supports more the women's working outside. According to Echavez vd. (2016), Pashtuns in Afghanistan is one of the more conservative tribes in terms of opposite norms to gender equality such as the idea of males are considered as breadwinner. Among ethnic groups, Hazaras seem to be the most supporter of women working higher odds ratio and marginal effect, as suggested by anecdotal evidence e.g. Minority Rights Group International (2000).

Relative to rural areas, Afghan people living in the urban areas are more likely to agree with women's working outside the home as the odds ratio and marginal effect is positive and significant. The results support the finding by Majda (2007) as people who live in rural areas are more conservative and religious, which causes them to follow the traditional rules (Majda, 2007). In A Survey of Afghan People (2019) which is our main data source, people living in rural areas watch less TV (those who declared that they do not watch TV is 58% in rural areas and 18% in urban areas) and attend mostly informal school comparing the urbanities.

Television has played important role in cultural change, transforming cultural identities and contemporary or popular ideas. The time spent on watching television has played a positive role in spreading egalitarian ideas around various identities including women's rights. The findings by Jacqueline and Davis (2013) revealed that increasing TV consumption is correlated with an equal view of the working mother. Our findings similarly reveal that those who spend more time on tend to support women's working more. Moreover, this applies to both sexes.

Conclusion

Women's participation in paid jobs can not only help themselves and their families their nations well. Over time, the participation rate of females in the labor force has been increasing. However, in developing and traditional societies such as Afghanistan, some factors prevent women's empowerment. Women's economic power can be affected by the norms prevailing among society members on what women should be allowed to do or what not allowed. affecting the norm of women should be allowed to work outside. In conservative societies, women are expected to work in a separate place from men or they should take the approval of men, etc. Afghanistan is a country where the female participation rate in paid jobs is considerably low, whereas, our survey shows the majority of Afghan people agree with women outside working.

In order to determine which factors affect the “women should be allowed outside working”, we investigated the impact of socio-demographic and economic factors through logistic regressions. According to the results, the factors which have positive impact on the norms supporting women’s working outside are education, urbanization, TV watching. We also found that ethnicity and region are highly significant factors as proxies of cultural identities. Besides, families that have already female contributor household economy tend to support women working outside the home.

The results suggest that traditional societies such as Afghanistan, the best strategy is to invest the education of the people from both sexes and increase the activity of media to campaign for women empowerment. Once the women are provided to work outside, economic benefits to the whole family would help to increase the support of women’s working and to change traditional norms.

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