

Research article

Attitudes of University Students in Afghanistan Toward Cultural Factors of Gender Inequality

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Abstract: Gender inequality is the product of society and culture that has significant impacts on the status and positions of human, based on their gender. The purpose of this study is to find out the underlying cultural that are responsible for gender inequality in Bamyan society. Data have been collected through the attitude of totally 363 respondents, among 130 female and 233 male university students in Bamyan, Afghanistan. Logistic regression technique through Stata version 14.1, have been used to analyze the likelihood of respondents on cultural factors. Our finding based on socio-demographic information of respondent, shows that male respondents compared to female are 99% more likely believes that cultural factors are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society, Afghanistan and an increase in years of education and age of respondents, decreases the likelihood of attitude that cultural factors are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society, Afghanistan. Also, Respondents who were married compared to unmarried and who were students of natural science and social science faculty compared to education faculty are more likely believes that the above cultural factors are responsible for gender inequality status in Bamyan. finally, the present study suggests that patriarchal ideology, religious beliefs, gender stereotypes and traditional beliefs respectively are behind the status of gender inequality in Bamyan society, Afghanistan.

Keywords: gender inequality; patriarchal ideology; stereotypes; traditional beliefs; religious beliefs.

1. Introduction

Gender is the routine ground of everyday activities that govern our lives in the most profound and pervasive way of our everyday/every night world (Richardson et al., 1997). The concept is socially constructed that a particular society gives meaning to the roles and positions of members of each sex (Landry, 2007) so that the feminine and masculine manner are the product of society and culture (Richardson et al., 1997) as everyone born into a culture and by socialization process (Jarvinen, 1999), learn shared ideas about the nature of reality, standards of right and wrong, and what is good and desirable versus bad and undesirable. These ideas reveal behaviors and artifacts and determine unequal status and position (Ridgeway, 2011). The socialization process effect by family, language, mass media and educational system, and powerful social institutions, then children learn a culture that creates and sustains gender differences (Richardson et al., 1997). Gender differences and inequality meaning that male and female do not have equal status (Landry, 2007) and same access to opportunities and facilities (Bokharaee, 2016), such as access to educational opportunities (Jacobs, 1996), access over resources (Ridgeway, 2011) social participation, decision-making, and in some contexts job opportunities (Saramad & Sultani, 2013).

According to The Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) which annually reports national gender gaps on economic, political, education, and health-based criteria reported that the country offering the most gender-equal conditions was Iceland with a score of 0.91, and conversely, gender parity in Afghanistan and Pakistan are deemed the most challenged with a score of 0.56 and 0.44 respectively in 2022 (Statista Research Department, 2022). Globally, legal prevention of wives from work by their husbands, in 18 countries, no equal inheritance right of son and daughter in 39 countries, the inexistence of laws to protect women from domestic violence in 49 countries, underrepresentation of all levels of political leadership like in national parliaments of the countries women only has 23.7% seats and still 1 in 5 women

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and girls experiencing physical and sexual violence by an intimate partner in the world, and most important that in south Asian countries by 40% of girls are at the risk of childhood marriage decreased, has been reported (United Nations, 2022). An unequal status of men and women based on pervasive discriminatory laws, social norms, patriarchy, religious beliefs, and stereotyped gender has created Various forms of positional inequality is seen in the world, particularly in the 3rd world or poor countries (Akubue, 2001), and the disordered situation of health, nutrition, education, awareness, and employment are among its examples. Women in society face inequalities and are the main victims of physical, mental, and economic violence (United Nations, 2022).

According to (Abbott & Wallace, 2001), third world women have a worse situation than their men in all fields, they have less power and authority, they work more and earn less, and their responsibilities are more. In the context of Afghanistan based on the traditional culture and religious believes women are not equal to men for instance a daughter heir half of a boy from her father's legacy, and a woman is a part of the estate of a man and based on this inequality in several cases the violence against women is the outcome of gender inequality. Also, because of the masculinity shaping of the country (Echavez et al., 2016; Samar et al., 2014) and religious extremism, in case of gender inequality, Afghanistan is the only country where girls are banned from going to high school, the cabinet of de facto authority is without women, political participation of women are banned, there are restrictions on outside working and needs a chaperon while they are traveling (Bahous, 2022).

However, researches based in the context of Afghanistan shows that there is unequal access of male and female in school and higher education in Afghanistan by 38% of female students in school and 32% of female teacher in 2013 (Shayan, 2015). The percentage is decreasing when the girls are getting young and try to continue their studies at higher education in Afghanistan. Radical religious beliefs, misogynistic traditions, and the very patriarchal structure of society are the main obstacles to women and girls regarding their access to education in Afghanistan. Also, there are unequal job opportunities among women and men in Afghanistan. A study (Shayagan, 2012) shows that men and women have a high level of gender stereotype which women are weak, dependent, emotional and unable and, mental structure of patriarchy harms job opportunities of educated women. Furthermore, gender differentials in mortality, morbidity and accessing and utilizing health services in Afghanistan has been reported (Samar et al., 2014), harmful cultural practices such as forced marriage, social norms and inequalities in decision making process are the factors due to the limitation of accessing and utilizing of women to health services. Moreover, based on the masculinity shaped of Afghanistan society, men are considering as decision maker, leader both in house and society, and controlling the power while women role is considering as domestic tasks and being the house wife (Echavez et al., 2016). Finally, Regional studies shows that in economic and cultural dimensions, gender inequality is in favor of men (Bokharaee, 2016; Niaz, 2003) which is learned through socialization process so that automatically increases the likelihood of justification of domestic violence against women in the south Asian countries especially in Afghanistan (Akbari et al., 2022). Statistics show that the gender-based violence in Afghanistan during the 10 months of 2020 increased to 3477 cases and 95.1% of cases happened inside the houses which means the house is the most insecure place for women in Afghanistan (Jafari, 2020). Also, the existence of unsavory customs and traditions, the continuation of the culture of impunity, Women's limited access to justice, illiteracy and low level of public awareness, poverty and unemployment, are the main factors of unequal status and as a result violence against women in Afghanistan (AIHRC, 2016; Sultani, 2019). Official documents in Bamyan province, based on 189 registered cases in 2019, shows that violence against women has increased by 60% than the year 2018 (Women Affairs Directorate in Bamyan, 2020). The report shows that almost 80% cases of beatings are based on cultural factors. For example, one of the reasons women are beaten for giving birth to a girl child. These are the only cases officially registered in the authority's organization due to the traditional beliefs and culture and, in most scenarios, women are trying to endure violence and restriction on their rights and it is because of saving the name of their family and support their children (AIHRC, 2013, 2016, 2017). Sub-Sahara studies also verified that there is an association between gender inequality and intimate partner violence in Sub Saharan Africa (Horn et al., 2014; McCloskey et al., 2005).

Gender inequality and its consequences, had negative effect to different parts of Afghan life's and almost 70% loss in development is due to the limited participation of women in education, workforce and poor health (Samar et al., 2014). Gender inequality in Afghanistan and its consequences have been associated with the cultural structure of the society.

Afghanistan and the local community of Bamyan have a culture based on traditional structures (Ali, 2018b; Drumbl, 2004) with the most challenged gender parity in the world 0.44 (Statista Research Department, 2022), and the high score of violence against women and girls (Jafari, 2020; Women Affairs Directorate in Bamyan, 2020) so that made us find out the underlying cultural factors responsible for the status of gender inequality in Bamyan city through the attitudes of male and female university students. It is also aimed to explore the effect of some demographic variables such as age, gender, marital status and faculties among university students concerning study constructs.

2. Materials and Methods

Although there are many methods for choosing the sample size, in this research, Cochran's sample size determination formula was used (Khan et al., 2018). From the statistical population of 6714 total students of Bamyan University, 130 females equal to 35.8%, and 233 males equal to 64.2% with a confidence level of 95% and considering a 5% degree of error, the statistical sample size is equal to 363 students of Bamyan University. The Data was collected during the October – December 2021 among Bamyan university's student. Figure 1 shows the sample size by faculty.

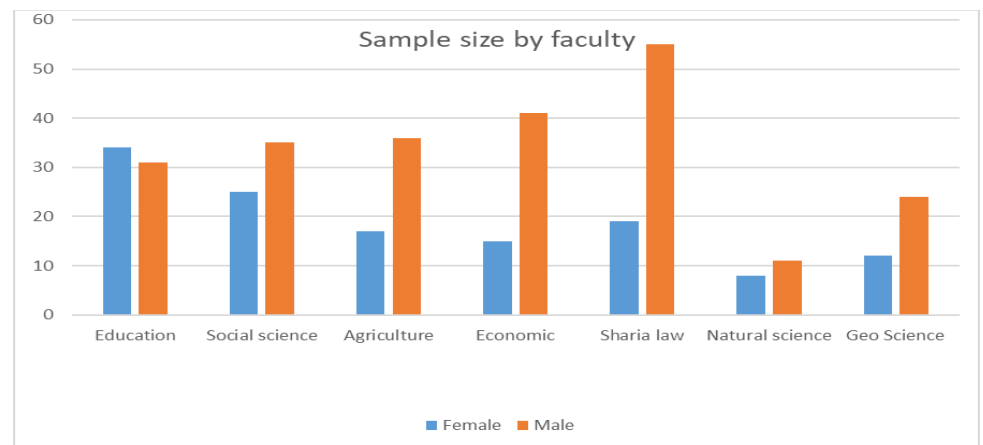


Figure 1. Sample size by faculty

The method of conducting this research is a survey design, the data of which was collected using the well-structured questionnaire technique, and sampled by simple random method within 7 faculties of Bamyan university which each faculty used as a class. The reliability of this questionnaire was measured based on Cronbach's alpha coefficient in our analyses which was 0.83. This value indicates that these 22 items have good internal consistency and can measure the hidden variable of gender inequality.

Dependent Variables: the dependent variables of interest were dichotomous measuring attitude of students of Bamyan university toward factors behind gender inequality. All respondents were asked which factors are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society the question categorized in to four group such as (a) patriarchal ideology contained 6 items, (b) gender stereotypes contained 4 items, (c) dominant traditions in society contained 6 items and, (d) religious beliefs contained 6 items. the Cronbach's Alpha for 22 items in our analysis was 0.87. The similar studies were reported a Cronbach's alpha of (0.83). respondents who were agree with affecting of any 22 items were coded 1 to indicate the effect of variables on gender inequality, respondents who was not agree with affecting of any of 22 items were coded 0, indicating that the items do not affect gender inequality in Bamyan society.

The selection of the socio-demographic variables was based on the literature which studied in this study and the questionnaire of (Khan et al., 2018; Tiwari et al., 2018). these included variables such as Age, Gender, Grade, Faculty, marital status, family type, and some other determinant of gender inequality in Bamyan society. Age, presented the age of respondents during the interview and categorized in four groups: 18-23 years, 24-29 years, 30-35 years, 36 years and above. Gender, described the six of respondent which divided in to two six (males vs females). Grade, describe the years and grade of respondents were coded Freshmen 1, Sophomore 2, Junior 3, Fourth Grade 4. Family type, presented the family structure of the respondents (Nuclear vs Extended). Marital status, described the



respondent's marital status whether got married or still are single (Single vs married). Faculty, presented the respondents faculty that are belongs to, the categorization included Education, social science, natural science, geoscience, sharia law, economic and agriculture (seven categories).

The survey sampling design was taken into account using STATA version 14.1. We conducted a chi-square test to show the bivariate association between the dependent and the independent variables. The Chi-square test is used to test the correlation between variables (McCloskey et al., 2005). To elude multi-collinearity, we conducted a diagnostic cheque among the socio-cultural variables, all VIFs were below 10, with an average VIF of 1.42.

3. Results

3.1. Bivariate Analysis

Table 1 shows the Sample Characteristics by Gender inequality. Variables that usually show a bivariate relationship with patriarchal ideology were Gender, grade and faculty ($P < 0.05$), men are naturally stronger than women, women are more emotional, woman should respect a man's order ($P < 0.01$) and girls do not have the right to choose their husbands independently and men have the right to punish a woman ($P < 0.05$). A few variables showed an association with gender stereotype were, women are weaker than men in social activities, women are emotional in judging, domestic work should be done by women and women cannot assume important political jobs due to their gender ($P < 0.01$). However, variables that commonly showed a bivariate association with traditional believes were, grade, girls remember from childhood that they were born to become housewives and get married, a male child is better than a female child, woman should to do household chores such as child care, cooking, and laundry, a woman's working outside the home is considered a shame and dishonor for her husband, families pay more attention to the education of boys than girls and a woman is considered the guardian of family values ($P < 0.05$). Furthermore, the observation shows that the variables showed association with religious believes were gender, and woman are obliged to obey her husband ($P < 0.05$), faculty, women are not capable of managerial and leadership tasks, women should not travel without a mahram (man), men are the providers of the maintenance, there is no need for women to work outside the home and women do not have equal rights with men ($P < 0.01$).

Table1. Sample characteristics by gender inequality

	Gender Inequality		P-value
	No (0)	Yes (1)	
	N=363		
	Frequency		
Gender			<0.05
Female	56	74	
Male	77	156	
Age			0.16
18-23 years	92	146	
24-29 years	37	80	
30-35 years	2	4	
Over 36 years	2	0	
Marital status			0.39
Single	108	178	
Married	25	52	
Family type			0.32
Nuclear	74	140	
Extended	59	90	
Grade			<0.05
Freshman	9	32	

Sophomore	32	48	
Junior	37	50	
Fourth Grade	54	100	
Faculty			<0.05
Education	33	65	
Social Science	25	35	
Geosciences	18	35	
Economic	21	35	
Agriculture	23	51	
Sharia Science	5	14	
Natural Science	9	27	
Men are naturally stronger than women	133	230	<0.01
Girls do not have the right to choose their husbands independently	183	180	<0.05
The special nature of women has made them more emotional than men	190	173	<0.01
Woman should respect a man's order	183	180	<0.01
Men have the right to divorce	170	193	0.159
Men have the right to punish a woman	160	203	<0.05
Women are weaker than men in social activities	200	163	<0.01
Women are emotional in judging	150	213	<0.01
Domestic work should be done by women	200	163	<0.01
Women cannot assume important political jobs due to their gender	200	163	<0.01
Girls remember from childhood that they were born to become housewives and get married	186	177	<0.05
A male child is better than a female child	204	159	<0.05
Woman should do household chores such as child care, cooking, and laundry	213	150	<0.05
A woman's working outside the home is considered a shame and dishonor for her husband	172	191	<0.05
Families pay more attention to education of boys than girls	187	176	<0.05
A woman is considered the guardian of family values	168	195	<0.05
Women are not capable of managerial and leadership tasks	230	133	<0.01
Women should not travel without a mahram (man)	148	215	<0.01
Woman are obliged to obey her husband	162	201	<0.05
Woman has no right to leave the house	154	209	0.352
Men are the providers of the maintenance	171	192	<0.01
Women do not have equal rights with men	194	169	<0.01

*P-values are chi-square

3.2. Logistic regression analysis

Table 2 presents a logistic regression model which associates between gender inequality and some socio-demographic variables which analyses the attitude of students of Bamyan University regarding the factors behind gender inequality in Bamyan society. Male respondents were 99% (OR = 1.99; CI = 1.04-3.77; $p < 0.05$) more likely beliefs that gender inequality is existent in Bamyan society compared to reference group female. Respondents between the ages 24-29 years were 92% (OR = 1.92; CI = 0.96-3.87; $p < 0.05$) more likely, and those who were between 30-35 years were 20% (OR = 0.20; CI = 0.02-1.72; $p < 0.05$) less likely justified that gender inequality affected by religious, patriarchy ideology, gender

stereotype and traditional beliefs, compared to reference group who were between ages 18-23 years. Student who are sophomore were 2% (OR = 0.02, CI = 0.06 - 0.82; P<0.05) less likely and those who are junior were 3% (OR = 0.03, CI = 0.06 - 0.79; P<0.05) less likely and those who are fourth grade were 9% (OR = 0.09; CI = 0.08 - 1.06; p<0.05) less likely justified that the gender inequality is affected by religious beliefs, patriarchy ideology, gender stereotype and traditional beliefs, compared to reference group who are freshman.

Table 2. Logistic regression analysis of socio-cultural factors behind gender inequality

Variables	Gender inequality Odds	Confidence interval
Gender (Ref= Female)		
Male	1.99**	(1.04 - 3.77)
Age (Ref=18-23 years)		
24-29 years	1.92**	(0.96 - 3.87)
30-35 years	0.20**	(0.02 - 1.72)
36 years and over	0.26	(0.00 - 5.85)
Grade (Ref=Freshmen)		
Sophomore	0.02**	(0.06 - 0.82)
Junior	0.03**	(0.06 - 0.79)
Furth Grade	0.009**	(0.08 - 1.06)
Faculty (Ref=Education)		
Social science	1.07***	(0.40 - 2.83)
Geo science	1.30	(0.48 - 3.55)
Economic	0.89	(0.34 - 2.37)
Agriculture	1.08	(0.45 - 2.60)
Sharia science	1.93	(0.41 - 9.15)
Natural science	2.99**	(0.88 - 10.20)
Marital status (Ref=Singal)		
Married	1.25***	(0.59 - 2.65)
Men are naturally stronger than women. (Ref = No)		
Yes	3.33***	(1.79 - 6.19)
The special nature of women has made them more emotional than men (Ref = No)		
Yes	1.17**	(0.63 - 2.15)
Men have the right to punish a woman (Ref = No)		
Yes	1.20**	(0.61 - 2.37)
Women are weaker than men in social activities (Ref = No)		
Yes	2.24***	(2.00 - 9.01)
Domestic work should be done by women (Ref = No)		
Yes	1.30***	(0.68 - 2.49)
Girls remember from childhood that they were born to become housewives and get married (Ref = No)		
Yes	3.00***	(1.47 - 6.12)
Woman should to do household chores such as child care, cooking, and laundry (Ref = No)		
Yes	1.07**	(0.57 - 2.02)
Families pay more attention to the education of boys than girls (Ref = No)		
Yes	1.42**	(0.21 - 0.84)
Women are not capable of managerial and leadership tasks (Ref = No)		
Yes	1.16***	(0.52 - 2.58)
Woman has no right to leave the house without her husband's permission (Ref = No)		
Yes	1.85**	(0.98 - 3.49)

ciEform in parentheses

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

ref= Reference Group

Student who are from social science were 7% (OR = 1.07, CI = 0.40 - 2.83; $P < 0.01$) more likely and those who are from natural science were about two time (OR = 2.99, CI = 0.88 - 10.20; $P < 0.05$) more likely justified that cultural factors are responsible for existence of gender inequality in Bamyan society, compared to reference group who are from education faculty. and married respondents were 25% (OR = 1.25, CI = 0.59 - 2.65; $P < 0.01$) more likely justified that cultural factors are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society, compared to reference group single respondents. There are some variables of cultural factors like men are naturally stronger than women more than twice (OR = 3.33, CI = 1.79 - 6.19; $P < 0.01$) as likely, and the special nature of women has made them more emotional than men were 17% (OR = 1.17, CI = 0.63 - 2.15; $P < 0.05$) more likely, and Men have the right to punish a woman were 20% (OR = 1.20, CI = 0.61 - 2.37; $P < 0.05$) more likely, and women are weaker than men in social activities more than one time (OR = 2.24, CI = 2.00 - 9.01; $P < 0.01$) as likely, and domestic work should be done by women were 30% (OR = 1.30, CI = 0.68 - 2.49; $P < 0.01$) more likely, and Girls remember from childhood that they were born to become housewives and get married about two time (OR = 3.00, CI = 1.47 - 6.12; $P < 0.01$) as likely, and woman should to do household chores such as child care, cooking, and laundry were 7% (OR = 1.07, CI = 0.57 - 2.02; $P < 0.05$) more likely, and families pay more attention to the education of boys than girls were 42% (OR = 1.42, CI = 0.21 - 0.84; $P < 0.05$) more likely, and women are not capable of managerial and leadership tasks were 16% (OR = 1.16, CI = 0.52 - 2.58; $P < 0.01$) more likely, and woman has no right to leave the house without her husband's permission 85% (OR = 1.85, CI = 0.98 - 3.49; $P < 0.05$) more likely, affected on gender inequality in Bamyan society among the attitude of male and female university students.

4. Discussion

This study is relevant to the body literature of studies that present evidence on what sociocultural factors are commonly responsible for gender inequality in Afghanistan, Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Firstly, this study has found that an increase in education, decreases the likelihood of attitude that cultural factors are responsible for gender inequality in Bamyan city, is relevant to the study of Orfan (2021) that instructional materials in Afghanistan institutionalize and promote gender inequality by underrepresentation of women and overrepresentation of men. Also, the findings can verify through the age of respondents who were above 30 years old, are not justifying that culture are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society compared to those who were below 30 years of age. Furthermore, the study is opposite to (Akbari et al., 2022) increase in years of education reduces the likelihood of attitude justifying domestic violence for both genders in Afghanistan, (Samar et al., 2014) low education has to lead the society in undeveloped position and more gender inequality. The findings on education is also partly relevant to (Shayan, 2015) unequal access of male and female students to school and the very patriarchy structure of society, tremendous religious beliefs, and other factors in its behind as barriers caused gender inequality in education in Afghanistan, (McCloskey et al., 2005) no more than a primary education has an association with increasing of intimate partner violence within sexual unions in Moshi, Tanzania and (Okenwa-Emegwa et al., 2016) low illiteracy associated with physical intimate partner violence on women by men in Nigeria.

However, the answer of respondents showed a strong positive likelihood with items contained that men compared to women in physical nature, emotion, social activities, managerial and leadership tasks, and rights are unequal as men are stronger, women are more emotional, women are weaker, women are not capable and fewer rights than men in Bamyan society compared to those who are with negative beliefs. Also, the respondents highly and positively agree that women were born to be a housewife, and working outside the house is considered a shame and dishonor for their husbands. There are many arguments behalf of the above likelihood. First, based on the feminist theories of the socialization process by Chafetz and Bourdieu and the socialization of gender roles (Bokharaee, 2016; Echavez et al., 2016; Garrett, 1987) is the method of the socialization process in the framework of the rigid culture of patriarchy in Bamyan city and gender-based division of labor, that people from childhood learning it, practice it and get the habit so that unequal gender-based positions produce and continue in the society and it seems natural behavior and attitude over time. Also, the findings are relevant (Hadi, 2017; Niaz, 2003; Tiwari et al., 2018) in the social context

of south Asian studies. Second, because of the continued unequal position and roles of women and men in Afghanistan, the majority of residents have not experienced the leadership role of women, social activities, hardworking on the farms, and so on that as a result they are thinking that men and women are naturally different and masculinities has shaped the culture of society (Echavez et al., 2016).

According to attitude of university students, the four categories of cultural factors such as patriarchal ideology, religious beliefs, gender stereotypes and traditional beliefs determines the gender inequality in Bamyan city and responsible for it especially relevant to the study (Shayan, 2015) patriarchal structure of the society and religious beliefs as origin of people behavior are responsible for inequalities in education for female and male in Afghanistan, (Hadi, 2017) patriarchal values, customary practices and religious beliefs determined the subordinated position of women in Pakistani society, (Drumbl, 2004) the patriarchal elites are responsible for oppressing women in Afghanistan so that rights and crime against women in Afghanistan are judging by patriarchy system, local law of traditions and totally cultural structures of the local society which the results are unequal of whom you are men or women (Niaz, 2003), rigid cultures and patriarchal attitudes devalue the right of women and result widespread violence against women in south Asian countries. Another study by Orfan (2021) shows that gender inequality in Afghanistan promotes by textbooks of high school and has an effect on socialization process of students. However, the finding is opposite to the finding (Bokharaee, 2016) that there is no relationship between patriarchal ideology, gender stereotypes, and gender inequality in Isfahan, Iran. The opposition of likelihood may rely on the different social contexts of Bamyan and Isfahan as Afghanistan is a more traditionally patriarchal country with a low level of awareness among citizens (Drumbl, 2004; Shayan, 2015), Also the level of participation of women in socio-cultural activities in Afghanistan are very weak and can be seen rarely in urban areas (Echavez et al., 2016; Samar et al., 2014).

Our finding shows an unexpected and shocking result between the gender of respondents and gender inequality among the attitude of Bamyan University students that men are 99% (odd ratio=1.99) more likely believes that gender inequality exists in Bamyan Society. The result could explain by the theory of Bourdieu that participants in the existence of partly invisible gender inequality, the society are both the dominant and the dominated which is maintained by a subtle power game (Jarvinen, 1999). Also, this finding could explain by the argument in this topic that women believe that they were born to be housewife and getting married or they are not capable of managerial tasks and they cannot perform social activities better or equal than men.

5. Conclusions

Gender has been an important factor in the formation of a person's position and, accordingly, his/her multiple roles throughout human history. Societies have attributed different roles to women and men according to the different cultures they have had, and in most cases, the role of women has been lower than the role of men (Bokharaee, 2016).

By using a 363-sample size questionnaire dataset, our study examined and compared the underlying cultural factors that are associated with the attitude of Bamyan University male and female students. The attitude toward gender inequality was assessed through responses of Bamyan University students on four cultural indicators of gender inequality, patriarchal ideology, gender stereotypes, and traditional and religious beliefs. We used logistic regression with survey design to explore this association and our result showed that an increase in years of education of Bamyan University students decreases the likelihood of attitude that cultural factors such as patriarchal ideology, religious beliefs, gender stereotypes and traditional beliefs are responsible for gender inequality in the Bamyan society and who are freshmen are more likely believes that cultural factors are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society compared to sophomore, junior and fourth grade. Age was also associated with the cultural indicators of gender inequality that students who were below 30 years old are more likely believes that cultural factors are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society compared to those who were above 30 years old. The attitude of respondents based on their faculties were varied that significant association have seen among the faculties of natural science and social science compared to education faculty that they are more likely believes that cultural factors are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society. There is a significant association among the marital status of respondents that respondents who were married are more likely believes that cultural factors are behind gender inequality in Bamyan society.

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