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# The Other Side of Gender Inequality: Men and Masculinities in Afghanistan

Chona R. Echavez  
SayedMahdi Mosawi  
Leah Wilfreda RE Pilongo



Swedish Committee  
for Afghanistan



**Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit and  
Swedish Committee for Afghanistan  
Issues Paper**

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## About the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit

The Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU) is an independent research institute based in Kabul. AREU's mission is to inform and influence policy and practice by conducting high-quality, policy-relevant research and actively disseminating the results, and by promoting a culture of research and learning. To achieve its mission, AREU engages with policymakers, civil society, researchers and students to promote their use of AREU's research and its library, to strengthen their research capacity, and to create opportunities for analysis, reflection, and debate.

AREU was established in 2002 by the assistance community in Afghanistan and has a Board of Directors comprised of representatives of donor organisations, the United Nations and other multilateral agencies, and non-governmental organisations. AREU currently receives core funds from the Embassy of Finland, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).

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Leah Wilfreda RE Pilonzo

January 2016





## Foreword

My warm congratulations to the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit for its new publication “The Other Side of Gender Inequality: Men and Masculinities in Afghanistan.” This aspect of gender inequality, so often ignored, is an urgent and vital topic, and one that has huge implications for national policy and social change in Afghanistan.



Rula Ghani, first lady of Afghanistan

The paper treads into the less charted territory of gender from the male perspective. By explaining how men’s attitudes, perceptions, and actions are influenced by socio-culturally constructed ideas

of manhood, the paper shows how these factors affect the interaction between men and women in Afghan communities. It is refreshing to note a study that addresses masculinity as “the other side” of gender, a term that, for most Afghans, is connected solely with women.

I would like to note the various change levels addressed in the recommendations for institutions (government and schools), informal and formal structures, communities, and mass media, as well as parenting/socialisation change.

I highly recommend the paper to everyone who wants to gain a deeper understanding of men’s issues and concerns and include them in programmes and policies to better address gender inequality in our country.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Rula Ghani".

Rula Ghani

First Lady of Afghanistan

January 2016

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## Glossary

<b>Baad</b>	A traditional “practice of settling a dispute by marrying a girl from the perpetrator’s family to a man in the victim’s family to prevent conflict between the families.” <sup>1</sup> Here the bride is considered as blood price. Sometimes, it is also practiced and considered socially acceptable when a young girl elopes with a boy who cannot marry because of the restrictions. In this situation, the boys’ family should give away a young female member as a form of settlement to the girls’ family. “ <i>Baad</i> is practiced among communities throughout the country although it is illegal under Afghan law <sup>2</sup> .
<b>Badal</b>	Exchange; “a form of marriage where families exchange daughters in marriage, often to avoid paying bride-price.” <sup>3</sup>
<b>Elayee</b>	A man who is tagged as an unproductive, unfruitful and worthless person because he could not fulfil his masculine responsibilities.
<b>Ghairat</b>	Honour; it means pride, esteem, virtue, and dignity. “It encompasses not only a person’s self-worth but the affirmation of the whole community of that claim through recognition of their right to respect.” <sup>4</sup>  <i>Ba ghairat</i> means honourable; a man who is labelled as proud, esteemed, dignified or virtuous because he fulfilled and performed his masculine responsibilities and roles.  <i>Be ghairat</i> means dishonourable; a man who could not fulfil and perform his masculine responsibilities and roles.
<b>Halal</b>	Means permissible based on Islamic <i>shari’ah</i> ; it is the opposite of <i>haram</i> which means forbidden according to the <i>shari’ah</i> .
<b>Jahīz</b>	The property given by the bride’s parents to her because of her marriage. It can include different items like furniture, clothes, jewellery and house materials.
<b>Jirga</b>	Refers to an assembly, meeting, or get-together; It is a council of male tribal elders (or leaders) who are appointed by a consensus of a tribal community. A vital decision-making body under <i>Pashtunwali</i> where individual and collective disputes are settled.
<b>Mahr</b>	The amount of money or gifts that groom must give to the bride; the amount or gift has been determined in nikāh/matrimony time. Otherwise, “the marriage is not valid.” <sup>5</sup>
<b>Malik</b>	The community head, especially in rural areas.

1 Diya Nijhowne and Lauryn Oates, “Living with Violence: A National Report on Domestic Abuse in Afghanistan,” (Washington, DC: Global Rights: Partners for Justice, 2008), 31. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/xbl4MD> (Accessed 21 September 2015).

2 Georgette Gagnon, “‘I Was Sold Twice’: Harmful Traditional Practices in Afghanistan,” in *The Unfinished Revolution: Voices from the Global Fight for Women’s Rights*, ed. Minky Worden (Bristol: Policy Press, 2012), 143.

3 Jennifer L. Solotaroff and Rohini Prabha Pande, *Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia* (Washington DC: World Bank Group, 2014), 32.

4 Aisha K. Gill, “Introduction: ‘Honour’ and ‘Honor’-Based Violence: Challenging Common Assumptions,” in *Honour’ Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice*, ed. Aisha K. Gill, Carolyn Strange, and Karl Roberts (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2.

5 Judith E. Tucker, *Women, Family, and Gender in Islamic Law* (Cambridge, UK; Cambridge University Press, 2008), 228.

<b>Masjid</b>	A place of prayer; mosque.
<b>Nafaqah</b>	A man, as the husband and the head of a family, is obliged to provide his family's maintenance and upkeep. Based on Islam, <i>nafaqah</i> is "a woman's right and a man's duty" <sup>6</sup> and includes all needs of the wife and the children of a man, notably food, clothing, housing, medical care and education, which are provided through his earnings.
<b>Namus</b>	Refers to the female members of the family as mother, wives, sisters, daughters, and the responsibility of a man to defend them against danger at any cost. "In the narrower sense <i>namus</i> refers to the integrity, modesty and respectability of women and to the absolute duty of men to protect them." <sup>7</sup>
<b>Nan Avar</b>	A man as the ultimate breadwinner.
<b>Nang</b>	A sense of honour, bravery and shame. It is a man's social capital that motivates him to protect his <i>namus</i> , clan, ethnic or nation. It has a close connection with <i>ghairat</i> and <i>namus</i> concepts.
<b>Naqis-ul-Aql</b>	The term <i>naqis-ul-aql</i> refers to the traditional belief in the inferiority of women's intellect. Based on some controversial <i>hadiths</i> it is said that, "women are deficient in intellect and religion" <sup>8</sup> and it is interpreted to mean that men are intellectual, whereas women are emotional.
<b>Nashiza</b>	Disobedient or rebellious wife; i.e., if a wife refuses to fulfil her husband's wishes, she can be considered as disobedient.
<b>Nikāh</b>	Marriage. <sup>9</sup>
<b>Pashtunwali</b>	The unwritten, unofficial Pashtun tribal code; "Pashtun culture is dictated by a common law, a set of values, code and a manner of living termed <i>Pashtunwali</i> ." <sup>10</sup>
<b>Peran Tonban</b>	Male traditional dress in Afghanistan.
<b>Zancho/Narkhazai /Narshazi</b>	<i>Zancho</i> means a man who is behaving in a way that is considered as suitable/typical for a woman. [In Afghanistan's context] It also implies that a man who helps with household chores is not a real man; it lessens his manhood.
<b>Shari'ah</b>	Generally means "path" and refers to the Islamic law. It is a religious code for living that includes different aspects such as politics, economics, family, social issues and gender norms and relations. More specifically, it mentions, "the sum of Islamic laws that were revealed to the Prophet Muhammad and which are recorded in the <i>Qur'an</i> , as well as deducible from <i>sunnah</i> , or the Prophet's divinely guided lifestyle." <sup>11</sup>
<b>Shura</b>	Council

6 Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Islam and Gender Justice," in *Voices of Islam: Voices of Change*, ed. Vincent J. Cornell (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007), 90.

7 Bernt Glatzer, "Being Pashtun - Being Muslim: Concepts of Person and War in Afghanistan," in *Essays on South Asian Society: Culture and Politics II*, ed. Bernt Glatzer (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch 1998), 87.

8 Marion Holmes Katz, *Women in the Mosque: A History of Legal Thought and Social Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 359.

9 Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Shari'ah Law: An Introduction, Foundations of Islam* (Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 2008), 326.

10 Jonathan Hawkins, "The Pashtun Cultural Code: Pashtunwali," *Australian Defence Force Journal* 180 (2009): 16.

11 Anne Sofie Roald, *Women in Islam: The Western Experience* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 102.



<b>SiyaSar</b>	A folkloristic term used by Afghan men to describe women; sometimes it refers to the significant female kin like mother, wife, sister or daughter to avoid mentioning their names. Men consider it as part of their <i>ghairat</i> /honour that even their women's names should only belong to them. Furthermore, sometimes it also implies an affectionate tendency they show toward women.
<b>Wakil-e Guzar</b>	A person who can be a liaison between the community and the municipality handpicked by the community and approved by the government.

## Acronyms

<b>AMSA</b>	American Men’s Studies Association
<b>AREU</b>	Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit
<b>BAAG</b>	British & Irish Agencies Afghanistan Group
<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
<b>CQ</b>	Community Questionnaire
<b>CSO</b>	Central Statistics Organization
<b>DACAAR</b>	Danish Committee for Aid to Afghan Refugees
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>GBV</b>	Gender-Based Violence
<b>ICPD</b>	International Conference on Population and Development
<b>IDI</b>	In-depth Interview
<b>KII</b>	Key Informant Interview
<b>MDG</b>	Millennium Development Goal
<b>MoCIT</b>	Ministry of Communication and Information Technology
<b>MoE</b>	Ministry of Education
<b>MoHE</b>	Ministry of Higher Education
<b>MoHRA</b>	Ministry of Hajj and Religious Affairs
<b>MoIC</b>	Ministry of Information and Culture
<b>MoWA</b>	Ministry of Women’s Affairs
<b>OHCHR</b>	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
<b>SANAM</b>	South Asian Network to Address Masculinities
<b>SCA</b>	Swedish Committee for Afghanistan
<b>SRHR</b>	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
<b>UNAMA</b>	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UNFPA</b>	United Nations Population Fund
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for International Development
<b>USIP</b>	United States Institute of Peace

## Executive Summary

“Masculinities” refers to how people perceive the characteristics associated with being male. The overall purpose of the research is to achieve an in-depth understanding of different notions of being a man in Afghanistan and how they contribute to gender inequality. This report is the result of a collaborative research project by the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan (SCA) and the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU) that is designed to inform both policy and practice in how to address gender inequalities vis-à-vis notions of masculinities in Afghanistan.

## Methodology

A multi-method approach employed both quantitative and qualitative techniques to assess four different regions that manifested degrees of both conservatism and openness regarding gender issues and were satisfactorily secure; namely, Nangarhar, Takhar, Bamyan, and Kabul (rural/urban). The quantitative data were generated through survey questionnaires administered to both young and mature male and female respondents. The data were subsequently analysed with appropriate statistical techniques and coding applied to classify thematic issues and create matrices in the qualitative analysis phase. The qualitative data were obtained from in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Another tool, a semi-structured community questionnaire, obtained both quantitative and qualitative data.

## Findings

Mature and young study participants, both male and female, showed similar views of masculinity vis-à-vis normative principles. The quantitative results revealed that men are considered “*nan avar*,” or the ultimate breadwinner. The greatest degree of consensus came from the conservative province, Nangarhar; then Takhar, Kabul and the less conservative Bamyan followed. The mature group exhibited a greater propensity for cohesion than the younger respondents. Although not significant, results confirmed that Bamyan and Takhar show the moderating effect of education, while Kabul and Nangarhar, which manifest higher educational attainment, exhibit a higher inclination to the idea of men as breadwinner. As to ethnicity, there is significant variation that can be observed in Takhar irrespective of sex, with Tajik respondents showing a greater propensity toward believing that males should be the breadwinners of the family and the aggregated group showing the least inclination. Pashtuns exhibit a higher inclination to concede that men should be the breadwinners of the family while Hazaras exhibit the least.

An extensive explanation emerged in the qualitative outcomes delineating the perspective of men as “*nafaqah* provider,” which means domestic figureheads whose responsibilities encompass the overall well-being of the family members. A man has the responsibility to procreate, support, and protect the family and country. Afghan men are perceived to possess the qualities of being brave and, at the same time, honourable. However, a common theme in answers generated in various provinces is the loss of the sense of integrity and worth in their inability to live up to the expectations that society sets upon them. This caused them great dishonour/*be-ghairat-i* and shame.

Regarding the roles of women, the participants and informants in all provinces stated that women’s responsibility is to manage their homes. Mature respondents are more inclined to accept the norm compared to their younger counterparts. Moreover, data show that female respondents with higher educational attainment had a lower inclination to agree with the norm that women should take care of domestic tasks, while such has little effect on Afghan men.

Findings also showed that the majority of the respondents agree on the various masculine normative principles as they pertain to equality, control and power. When it comes to leadership quality and level of education, a belief in men as superior to women within and outside the home is comprehensively apparent. There is no significant variation between young and mature respondents. There is also a general acceptance that women are not capable of making decisions regarding marriage, with mature respondents showing a higher inclination to believe this notion, particularly

in Nangahar. Significant variation is evident in the data that show that mature respondents are more inclined to agree that “power goes hand in hand with being a man.” Acceptance is highest in Nangarhar, followed by Kabul, Takhar, and least in Bamyan. However, the likelihood of agreement decreases as the level of educational attainment increases. Results also show that ethnic groups vary significantly regarding their views on power and being a man. This can be observed in Takhar, but not in Kabul. A variety of views by ethnic groups are observable in the overall data of both male and female groups. Pashtun respondents exhibit a higher propensity of strongly agreeing that men should always be more powerful than women.

Such findings are validated in the qualitative part, where the majority of the respondents agreed that gender-based violence, although not right, is justifiable when women resist men’s decisions. Most of the male religious key informants believed that Islamic rules permit beating a wife in case she is a “*nashiza*.” As documented in the focus group discussions, this term means “rebellious/disobedient woman.” In this circumstance, culture becomes a facilitator, and, at the same time, a barrier to change. The qualitative analysis also showed that religion has a distinct role in the sexual division of labour, and contradictions were found between culture and Islam. Some cultural and traditional codes, norms and practices were considered as barriers to gender equality, particularly in conservative areas, such as Nangarhar. While in Islam, women have the right to education and work, some codes and norms, as well as religious interpretations, say that women are not allowed to work or pursue further education because their honour will be tainted. Furthermore, tribal codes and norms are also against the inheritance rights of women, who must sever ties with their relatives if they claim such. Moreover, a distinct cultural norm is that when a man helps a woman with housework, he may be labelled as “*zanchu*” in Dari and “*narkhazai*” or “*narshazai*” in Pashto by the community; both men and women took it as a personal affront when men assumed “women’s tasks.”

## Recommendations

1. Disseminating the results of the study to guide policymakers in addressing issues of gender inequality and violence against women and nonconforming men that emanate from the rigid construct of masculinity.
2. Enhancing existing information, education and communication campaigns regarding masculinities that properly promote gender equality. This campaign will be anchored by the Ministry of Information and Culture (MoIC) and should raise community awareness of the perils of gender inequality.
3. Designing programmes that deconstruct the notion of masculinities as it pertains to gender inequality and violence against women and children. This is in coordination with civil society and government organisations, specifically the Ministry of Women’s Affairs (MoWA), and MoIC. These programmes and life-skills-based education (or comprehensive sexuality education) should involve both men and women as partners to address the notions of masculinity where men feel inadequate for not meeting gendered societal expectations. These responses often lead to violence against women and children. Thus, there is a need to strengthen efforts in addressing the unacceptability of the multiple forms of domestic violence since it was found that, while awareness is raised, implementation remains a challenge.
4. Creating programmes on responsible and shared parenting at the community level with the possibility of partnering with schools (MoE and Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE)) and parent-teacher-community associations. These programmes should address patterns of raising girls and boys that perpetuate gender roles, norms and values and notions of masculinities that promote gender inequalities and domestic violence.
5. Introducing innovative gender mainstreaming programmes in the curriculum of the schools, colleges and universities (MoE and Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE)) that redefine the roles of men and women, including women as leaders, and the rights of boys and girls, such that traditional views that promote gender inequality and violence are disrupted. The curriculum needs to include a gender-sensitive framework for teachers, parents and students to comprehend the meaning of gender equality.

6. Tapping the power of mass media and social networking to inform young people regarding notions of masculinity that can promote gender equality. Advisory messages should be circulated as a public service by mobile phone companies to be managed by MoIC and Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (MoCIT) and partnered with private organisations and civil society.
7. Involving local key actors in the process of changing values and male gender norms in the traditional structure of Afghan communities. These actors include the village *malik*, *wakil-e guzar*, elders, religious leaders and teachers and community and youth councils that are considered decision makers or role models. Engaging these people is fundamental to just gender relations in communities. In implementing these programmes and projects, men should be involved as partners in gender equality. Clergymen, mosque imams and scholars who could be considered powerful facilitators to change gender attitudes should be recruited by the Ministry of Hajj and Religious Affairs (MoHRA). It is very powerful when men call on other men to make a change and say why it benefits them.
8. Civil society and NGO (local, national and international) networks will help provide opportunities for men and women to talk about how Afghan masculinities are affecting men's well-being and health, as consequences of social pressure.
9. Generally, three recommendations for further research have emerged during this study:
  - Expanding the definition of gender-based violence. The present paper provides some insights on the reasons men and women give for domestic violence, but future research may be necessary for the different types of gender-based violence (GBV) and their triggering factors. Applying gender-sensitive and participatory research methods may be helpful.
  - There should be an in-depth study on the impact of Western military involvement on Afghan gender policies and also men's reactions toward the issues mentioned above.
  - Afghan masculinities, along with sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) need to be studied from both male and female perspectives, i.e., what are the needs, issues, felt problems, and barriers to accessing health services, and what are men's roles and contributions to family planning? Peer research among young people is another approach for future work to be addressed in safe spaces by those with personal interest, particularly regarding SRHR issues and the related GBV and sexual violence.

# 1. Introduction

*Our talks and discussions about women's rights are all as slogans but nothing in action. Why? It is because our masculine honour and bravery are more than their rights. The life in the village is different from the city. Here, if a stranger bothers my wife or sister as he stares at them on their way home, I cannot tolerate that; I would have to kill him, or else I am not called a man in my community..*

*(Baf, Mature Man, Kabul Rural - Focus Group Discussion Participant)*

During the last century, Afghanistan might be considered as the only country that still struggles with the matter of women's status among its kings and politicians. It is also part of the "belt of classic patriarchy,"<sup>12</sup> in which men are greatly supported by a set of social structures to be dominant over women. While there are some efforts toward a more equitable sharing of power, classic patriarchy still retains all the elements of the totalitarian authority of senior male figures (father, grandfather, uncle/s, elder male cousins and brothers). Ethnicity and kinship norms, along with religion, forge collective male identities in Afghanistan.<sup>13</sup>

Studies about boys and men are on the rise globally. Parallel to such studies is the influx of social movements focusing on the reformation and restoration of masculinity; for example, the "mythopoetic" movement, the Million Man March and Promise Keepers.<sup>14</sup> In the academy, discussions refer to boys' "failure," and considerations are made for special programmes to cater to boys' issues.<sup>15,16</sup> In the health area, debates surge around men's health.<sup>17,18</sup> These occurrences are interesting because men are still the primary holders of economic and political power. Men are the vast majority of corporate executives, hold top managerial posts and are professionals and public office holders. Globally, men assume cabinet posts and high-level executive/managerial positions in international agencies.<sup>19</sup> At this point, men continue to dominate most technology and weaponry. With a very few exceptions, men still staff and control the organisation of force via the armies, police and judicial systems.

Afghanistan's context is permeated by a cultural definition of masculinities and femininities that has been passed on from generation to generation. The present threats to Afghan women and men are shaped by detrimental traditional practices. Such practices suppress women and make them vulnerable to violence.

Despite Afghan development policies' focus on mainstream gender concerns, inequalities persist in practice, including unequal access to education, healthcare and employment. Policies still fail to accommodate the emerging research that points toward the advantages of including men and boys in programmes to promote gender equality and prevent gender-based violence.

The study aims at an in-depth understanding of various notions of being an Afghan man (masculinities) and their contribution to gender inequality in four provinces of Afghanistan. The goal is to explain how men's attitudes, perceptions and actions are influenced by these socio-culturally constructed ideas of manhood, and how these factors further affect the interaction between men and women in Afghan communities. However, even though masculinity is a significant

12 The "patriarchal belt" refers to the geographical zone stretching from North Africa across the Middle East and into South Asia and parts of rural China: John C Caldwell, *Theory of Fertility Decline, Population and Social Structure* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1982).

13 Robert L. Canfield, "Efficacy and Hierarchy: Practices in Afghanistan as an Example," in *Ethnicity, Authority, and Power in Central Asia New Games Great and Small*, ed. Robert L. Canfield and Gabriele Rasuly-Palczyk (New York: Routledge, 2011).

14 Michael A. Messner, *Politics of Masculinities: Men in Movements*, Gender Lens Series in Sociology (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997).

15 R. W. Connell, "Teaching the Boys: New Research on Masculinity, and Gender Strategies for Schools," *The Teachers College Record* 98, no. 2 (1996). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/Ta0on9>. (Accessed 26 September 2015).

16 Rob Gilbert and Pam Gilbert, *Masculinity Goes to School* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1998).

17 Donald F. Sabo and David Gordon, *Men's Health and Illness: Gender, Power, and the Body*, Research on Men and Masculinities Series, 8 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995).

18 Toni Schofield et al., "Understanding Men's Health and Illness: A Gender-Relations Approach to Policy, Research, and Practice," *Journal of American College Health* 48, no. 6 (2000).

19 Dorota Gierycz, "Women in Decision-Making: Can We Change the Status Quo?," in *Towards a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace*, ed. Ingeborg Breines, Dorota Gierycz, and Betty A. Reardon (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1999).

gender studies issue, the term “gender” for Afghans is connected almost exclusively with women,<sup>20</sup> with only very limited research incorporating male and female perspectives. Men’s resistance to messages about what may be interpreted as “women’s issues” makes more sense if the collective failure to adequately analyse and address their experiences and identities is considered. Thus, the study seeks to explore the meaning of Afghan manhood both quantitatively and qualitatively. Without a concrete strategy to move beyond static generalisations and work both with and from personal experience, men will continue to be marginalised in relation to discussions of gender and remain “the problem,”<sup>21</sup> and men will continue to dominate women’s lives.

In sum, the results of the study will contribute to the greater understanding of Afghan masculinities and how they influence gender inequality in Afghan communities.

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20 Sippi Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, “Manly Honor and the Gendered Male in Afghanistan,” in *Viewpoints Special Edition. Afghanistan 1979-2009: In the Grip of Conflict* (Washington, DC: The Middle East Institute, 2009), 184. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/EdAq3T> (Accessed 19 June 2014).

21 Andrea Cornwall, “Men, Masculinity and ‘Gender in Development’,” *Gender & Development* 5, no. 2 (1997).

## 2. Masculinities: Views and concepts

The developmental theory can explain the sex-role value transformation that transpired in the post-industrial societies. Lifestyles of women and men alike and cultural attitudes have been modified as an after-effect of modernisation of societies. This theory is anchored on the assumption that traditional societies sharply differentiate gender roles. Almost all pre-industrial societies stressed that the main functions of women in life are exclusively childbearing and child rearing, as well as food production and preparation in the home. The interdisciplinary perspectives that constitute masculinity studies question diverse historical masculinity constructs in communities worldwide. They also look into distorted perceptions of masculine realities across time and place. The “ideal man” concept falls short when the characteristics of men who stay in the house and do not engage in heavy physical activities are considered subordinate masculinities. The usual hegemonic masculinities value those who are predominantly providers, have power and enjoy social approval.<sup>22</sup>

A paradigm shift toward gender equality is occurring in wealthy countries.<sup>23</sup> Industrialisation included women in the workforce, thus providing them with a venue to venture into literacy and educational opportunities, participation in government, and reduced fertility and early marriage.<sup>24,25,26</sup> However, societies with persistent development challenges still vary in the roles and attitudes toward equality of gender, often due to cultural legacies and religious traditions.

As mentioned by Flood, discussions regarding men and masculinities have proliferated internationally for the past four decades.<sup>27</sup> Noteworthy occasions were the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo and the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

Flood further noted that males are afforded more agency than their female counterparts, with their decisions and behaviours being shaped by rigid, masculinity-related social and cultural expectations.

More literature that clearly associates men and boys with gender is an imperative part of any reform agenda. The ever-present pattern of gender inequality that reinforces men’s status can be transformed as men (often, specific groups of men) have the means to govern almost all forms of capital (social, economic, cultural, etc.) that are requirements for the advocacy and implementation of women’s claim for justice. More essential sources were the feminist theories of patriarchy, and some other related theories that dealt with the roles of men in transforming it.<sup>28</sup>

Even prior to the women’s liberation movement, literature about the “male sex role” had already foreseen the social nature of masculinity and the possibilities for changing men’s conduct.<sup>29</sup> The breakthrough writings of the 1970s strongly opposed role norms as the bottom line of men’s oppressive behavioural tendencies.<sup>30</sup> Critical role theory provided the main conceptual basis for the early anti-sexist men’s movement. However, the weaknesses of the sex role theory, which included the haziness of behaviour and norm, the homogenising effect of the role concept, and its struggles in accounting for power, were increasingly recognised.<sup>31</sup>

22 Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women’s and Men’s Voting Behavior in Global Perspective,” *International Political Science Review* 21, no. 4 (2000). Retrieved from <http://googl/X1LQUQ> (Accessed 12 July 2015).

23 *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

24 Karen Oppenheim Mason and An-Magritt Jensen, *Gender and Family Change in Industrialized Countries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

25 Bron B. Ingoldsby and Suzanna D. Smith, *Families in Multicultural Perspective* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995).

26 Stevan Harrell, *Human Families* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).

27 Michael Flood, “Men and Gender Equality,” in *Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality*, ed. Michael Flood and Richard Howson (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2015), 3.

28 William J. Goode, “Why Men Resist,” in *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions*, ed. Barrie Thorne and Marilyn Yalom (New York: Longman, 1982).

29 Helen Mayer Hacker, “The New Burdens of Masculinity,” *Marriage & Family Living* 19, no. 3 (1957).

30 Robert Brannon, “The Male Sex Role: Our Culture’s Blueprint of Manhood and What It’s Done for Us Lately,” in *The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role*, ed. D. S. David and R. Brannon (Reading, MA: Addison Welsey, 1976).

31 Michael S. Kimmel, “Rethinking Masculinity: New Directions in Research,” in *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*, ed. Michael S. Kimmel (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1987).



In the decades since Beijing, men's roles in establishing gender equality and preventing GBV have been included in the public agenda, and are found in programming, policy, public advocacy, and popular debate;<sup>32,33</sup> however, these are primarily in the developed countries. As Hearn and Kimmel<sup>34</sup> wrote, there is far more research in this field "in the United States than in any other country."<sup>35,36</sup> Furthermore, there are some studies on masculinity and gender equality in Australia.<sup>37,38,39,40,41,42,43,44</sup> Also in the last decade, men, masculinities and gender equality have become subjects of studies and gender policies in the European Union.<sup>45</sup>

In the South Asian context, even though Osella and Osella (2007) noted that the study of masculinities is an emerging regional field,<sup>46</sup> the India International Centre in New Delhi superseded this by organising a workshop on 18 March 2000 for scholars and professionals from various paradigms entitled "Male Reproduction and Sexuality in South Asia."<sup>47</sup> One of the initiatives in this workshop was a documentary presentation by Rahul Roy<sup>48</sup> that showed four young Indian men having a discussion about their manhood, including families, lives, attitudes to women, girls, and sex. Later in 2001, he made the contention that an effective medium encouraging young men to reflect on their relationships with women would challenge the existing dominant paradigms of "male behaviour."<sup>49</sup>

After six years, Chopra, in her analysis of South Asian masculinities using the historical approach, stressed the "particular formation of chivalry and male honour that distinguishes a whole swathe of territory stretching from western India toward Pakistan and Afghanistan."<sup>50</sup> However, recent studies on masculinity in South Asia<sup>51,52,53</sup> and other Islamic countries<sup>54</sup> have drawn the attention of researchers, women's rights activists and civil societies such as the South Asian Network to

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- 32 Michael Flood, "Men's Antiviolence Activism and the Construction of Gender-Equitable Masculinities," in *Alternative Masculinities for a Changing World*, ed. Àngels Carabí and Josep M. Armengol, Global Masculinities Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- 33 "Men and Gender Equality," in *Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality*, ed. Michael Flood and Richard Howson (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2015).
- 34 Jeff Hearn and Michael S. Kimmel, "Changing Studies on Men and Masculinities," in *Handbook of Gender and Women's Studies*, ed. Kathy Davis, Mary Evans, and Judith Lorber (California & New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd, 2006), 63.
- 35 See: Bret E. Carroll, *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003).
- 36 Michael S. Kimmel and Amy Aronson, *Men and Masculinities a Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004).
- 37 R. W. Connell, "The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History," *Theory and Society* 22, no. 5 (1993).
- 38 "Masculinities and Globalization," *Men and Masculinities* 1, no. 1 (1998).
- 39 "The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality," in *The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, Expert Group Meeting* (Brasilia, Brazil: DAW in collaboration with ILO and UNAIDS, 2003). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/QFM759> (Accessed 5 May 2014).
- 40 "Understanding Men: Gender Sociology and the New International Research on Masculinities," in *The Sage Handbook of Gender and Education*, ed. Christine Skelton, Becky Francis, and Lisa Smulyan (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2009).
- 41 Raewyn Connell, "Introduction Master Builders: Research on Men and Masculinities and Directions for Australian Theory and Practice," *Australian Feminist Studies* 28, no. 75 (2013).
- 42 Michael Flood, "Men, Gender and Development," *Development Bulletin* 64 (2004).
- 43 Michael Flood et al., *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007).
- 44 Michael Flood, "Involving Men in Efforts to End Violence against Women," *Men and Masculinities* 14, no. 3 (2011).
- 45 Elli Scambor et al., "Men and Gender Equality: European Insights," *ibid.* 17, no. 5 (2014).
- 46 Caroline Osella and Filippo Osella, "South Asian Masculinities," in *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, ed. Michael Flood, et al. (London & New York: Routledge, 2007), 577.
- 47 Radhika Chopra, Chaitali Dasgupta, and Mandeep K. Janeja, "Understanding Masculinity," *Economic and Political Weekly* 35, no. 19 (2000): 1067.
- 48 Rahul Roy, "When Four Friends Meet," (New Delhi, India: Rahul Roy, 2000).
- 49 "The Eyes Are Silent... The Heart Desires to Speak: Exploring Masculinities in South Asia," *Development* 44, no. 3 (2001).
- 50 Radhika Chopra, "History, South Asia," in *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, ed. Michael Flood, et al. (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 300.
- 51 For example, for Pakistan, please see, Joyce Wu, "From Benevolent Patriarchy to Gender Transformation: A Case Study of Pakistan's "We Can End Violence against Women" Program," in *Men and Masculinities around the World Transforming Men's Practices* ed. Elisabetta Ruspini, et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- 52 For example, for Nepal, please see, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Nepal, "Nepalese Masculinities and Gender Based Violence," (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Nepal 2014). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/DOI0rc> (Accessed 12 July 2015).
- 53 For example, for India, please see, Rohit K Dasgupta and K Moti Gokulsing, *Masculinity and Its Challenges in India: Essays on Changing Perceptions* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2014).
- 54 As an example, please see, Anne Angarola, Steven E. Steiner, and Shannon Zimmerman, "Engaging Men in Women's Rights and Empowerment in South Asia and the Middle East," (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace USIP), 2013). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/lg48pc> (Accessed 12 January 2014).

Address Masculinities (SANAM),<sup>55</sup> international organisations like MenCare: A Global Fatherhood Campaign,<sup>56</sup> filmmakers,<sup>57</sup> and also policymakers to involve men in the process of gender equality more than ever before.

When it comes to Afghan studies of masculinities and manhood, research is very scanty. The premise mentioned above validated why such studies are new in the Afghan context. However, there are a few previous studies, such as that of Monsutti,<sup>58</sup> that, taken collectively, could have been used to amplify the gender discussion in Afghanistan.<sup>59</sup> Another contributor studied the concept of honour/*ghairat* and gender-based violence.<sup>60, 61</sup> However, an analysis of the different studies showed there were different methodological bases underpinning the studies that made it hard to find a common perspective. As an outcome, unorthodox methodology undermined the studies' validity and reliability. Notable is the lack of research design in these two works.<sup>62, 63</sup> The international community initiatives to advance gender equality in Afghanistan had an adverse effect and provoked even educated Afghan men to take a more defensive and conservative stance against equal rights. Their reasoning was that gender norms have long been imported into Afghanistan by imperialist powers, creating a particular geopolitics of gender.<sup>64</sup> This idea is also confirmed by Mosawi and Echavez<sup>65</sup> and has been ignored by the Afghanistan Human Rights and Democracy Organization (AHRDO).<sup>66</sup>

At present, there is an unacceptable silence surrounding the widely known problem of discrimination and violence against girls and women. An excerpt of the UNAMA and OHCHR report claimed the following:

*To be silent is to support those who are intent on maintaining their power and authority by confining women to household chores and a lower status in life. To be silent is to uphold discriminatory policies and systems that condone violence against women. To be silent is to abandon women who are conscientiously taking risks to play an active role in their communities and in Afghan society to advance the rights of women.*<sup>67</sup>

- 55 "is a network of NGOs (national and regional), academics and activists who believe that the toxicity of masculinities needs to be challenged if we are to dream of a violence free world. ...SANAM provides a platform for South Asians to work together in developing a culture of resistance to gender based violence." Information retrieved from <http://sanam.asia/> (Accessed 18 July 2015).
- 56 MenCare is a global fatherhood campaign active in more than 35 countries on five continents. Our mission is to promote men's involvement as equitable, nonviolent fathers and caregivers in order to achieve family well-being, gender equality, and better health for mothers, fathers, and children. We aim for men to be allies in supporting women's social and economic equality, in part by taking on more responsibility for childcare and domestic work. We believe that true equality will only be reached when men are taking on 50 percent of the child care and domestic work around the world. Information retrieved from <http://men-care.org/> (Accessed 18 July 2015).
- 57 In one of the recent projects named "Let's Talk MEN: The South Asia Masculinities Film Project" funded by Save the Children (UK) Office for South and Central Asia Region (OSCAR) & UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia (ROSA), well-known documentary filmmakers from Pakistan, India, Nepal and Bangladesh have made four films on masculinity. Information Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/rGTF5O> (Accessed 24 September 2015).
- 58 Alessandro Monsutti, "Migration as a Rite of Passage: Young Afghans Building Masculinity and Adulthood in Iran," *Iranian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2007).
- 59 Sippi Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, "A Study of Gender Equity through the National Solidarity Programme's Community Development Councils," (Kabul: Danish Committee for Aid to Afghan Refugees (DACAAR), 2010). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/eGKzED> (Accessed 10 January 2014).
- 60 "Manly Honor and the Gendered Male in Afghanistan."
- 61 Anna Costanza Baldry, Stefano Pagliaro, and Cesare Porcaro, "The Rule of Law at Time of Masculine Honor: Afghan Police Attitudes and Intimate Partner Violence," *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 16, no. 3 (2013).
- 62 Checchi and Company Consulting, "Engaging Men in Women's Empowerment and Rights Achievement: An Explorative Study," (Kabul: USAID, Mission to Afghanistan, 2014). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/1kqIYT> (Accessed 10 June 2014).
- 63 Afghanistan Human Rights & Democracy Organization (AHRDO), "Women in the Eyes of Men: Tackling the Structural Roots of Women's Problems in Afghanistan," (Kabul: Afghanistan Human Rights & Democracy Organization (AHRDO), 2015). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/hGK2LL> (Accessed 14 March 2015).
- 64 Javed Bahri, "Western Gender Policies in Afghanistan: Failing Women and Provoking Men," *Gender, Technology and Development* 18, no. 2 (2014).
- 65 SayedMahdi Mosawi and Chona R. Echavez, "Challenges of Engaging Afghan Men in Gender Equality (a Case Study in Kabul, Afghanistan)," in *American Men's Studies Association (AMSA) XXIII / International Conference on Masculinities Engaging Men and Boys for Gender Equality* (New York 2015).
- 66 Afghanistan Human Rights & Democracy Organization (AHRDO), "Women in the Eyes of Men: Tackling the Structural Roots of Women's Problems in Afghanistan."
- 67 UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), "Silence Is Violence End the Abuse of Women in Afghanistan," (UNAMA: 2009). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/yPUwMA> (Accessed 22 September 2015).

A closer look at masculinity is needed for the Afghanistan context.<sup>68</sup> Masculinity defines men rather than the reverse, making it imperative that they be included in talks on its impact on them, and its consequences for women's lives. The responsibility is on men to create a paradigm shift, and to question and challenge each other to break the collectively socialised acceptance of "traditional masculinity." Without this debate, silence is a form of consent and complicity; men are part of the problem, and they are also the solution. The debate has started in the region, but must now gain momentum, become mainstreamed and widespread, and be backed by government policy.<sup>69</sup>

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- 68 British & Irish Agencies Afghanistan Group (BAAG), "Getting It Right: Examining Gender Programming in Afghanistan," (London: British & Irish Agencies Afghanistan Group (BAAG), 2014). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/BocyZB> (Accessed 29 July 2015).
- 69 Natalie Gyte, "'Masculinity Defines Men, Rather Than the Reverse' - Why the 'Masculinity' Debate Is So Important," *Huffington Post* (2013), <http://goo.gl/q787Fj>. (Accessed 12 July 2015).

### 3. Research Methodology

#### 3.1 Field data collection methods

The study employed a non-experimental design combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative approach employed a survey while the qualitative approach made use of focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews (IDIs), and key informant interviews (KIIs). The community questionnaire (CQ), an expanded survey that covered socio-economic, demographic and historical aspects, as well as gender relations, used semi-structured interview guides that generated both quantitative and qualitative data.

#### 3.2 The study sites

The study focused on a total of five communities,<sup>70</sup> three rural and two urban, in four provinces:

- Kabul (Fakhir Ābad as urban and Bahar Darra as rural);
- Nangarhar (Mishir Qala as rural);
- Takhar (Bagh Rud as rural);
- Bamyan (Kinarak as urban).

One selection criterion for the four provinces was the degree of conservativeness. Nangarhar was identified as conservative, while Bamyan was less conservative. Takhar was identified as between Nangarhar and Bamyan; Kabul, as the capital of Afghanistan, is a melting pot of characteristics in terms of political persuasion. Kabul includes both an urban and rural community as study sites.

##### Kabul Province:

According to the latest available Central Statistics Organization (CSO) statistics, Kabul province had an estimated population of about 4,086,500 during 2013-14, with 52 percent male and 48 percent female.<sup>71</sup> A recent survey showed Kabul City, the provincial capital, having the largest population that comprised 77.2 percent of the total population; it is followed by Bagrami district which comprises 5.2 percent.<sup>72</sup>

##### Kabul - urban: Fakhir Ābad community

Fakhir Ābad community is located in Chihil Sutun, the seventh district of Kabul with an estimated population of 374,685, with 52 percent male and 48 percent female.<sup>73</sup> The number of households is approximately 62,378. Drawing on this, as well as *wakil-e guzar* and the elders of this area as an informal reference, the population of Fakhir Ābad is estimated at 15,000, including 70 percent Pashtun, 25 percent Tajik and 5 percent other ethnicities, including Hazaras.

Research team members noted that:

*Although this area is in Kabul, the majority of the population are migrants; they came from the neighbouring provinces, Logar and Panjshir in particular. It is a lower-middle-class community, with a huge youth unemployment rate that caused social instability. Diverse ethnicity is observed with how the people dressed up in the locality. It ranges from native and traditional*

<sup>70</sup> Pseudonyms are used as names of the study communities.

<sup>71</sup> Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO), "Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook 2013-14," (Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO), 2014), 5. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/n7RC0J> (Accessed 15 January 2015).

<sup>72</sup> "Province Socio-Demographic and Economic Survey: Highlights," (Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO), 2015), 5. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/Nc74yg> (Accessed 18 September 2015).

<sup>73</sup> "Estimated Population of Kabul City by District and Sex 2015-16," (Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO), 2015). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/WKZZpz> (Accessed 18 September 2015).

*peran tonban with Kandahari hats and turbans to a combination of jeans and t-shirts among the males, while their female counterparts are donning anything from the traditional blue burqa and black niqab to fashionable shirts and skinny jeans.*

*(Observation of research team members in Fakhir Ābad community, Kabul, urban, 28, January 2015)*

#### **Kabul-rural: Bahar Darra community**

Bahar Darra community is one of the most populated villages of the Bagrami district, which is located to the east of Kabul city. However, there are no accurate statistics on the population of this village; according to the claims of *maliks* and other elders of the village, it has an estimated population of 13,000 people. In terms of ethnicity, this village is populated by Tajiks. *Maliks* and elders also reported that the village has 50 percent farmers, 10 percent government employees, 10 percent self-employed and 30 percent unemployed.

#### **Nangarhar Province: Mishir Qala community**

Nangarhar province is situated on the eastern side of Afghanistan, bordering Kunar and Laghman provinces to the north, Kabul, Logar and Paktya in the west, and an international border with Pakistan in the east and south. The community of Mishir Qala is a part of Kama district. Based on the estimates of the CSO in 2012-13, Nangarhar Province has about 1,436,000 people, and the population of Kama district has a total of 74,700, with 51 percent male, and 49 percent female.<sup>74</sup> However, the community *malik* gave this latest population estimate:

*The community has around 600 families. Each family has approximately ten members; therefore, an estimated total of around 6,000 people in Mishir Qala. The people are living below the poverty line; some have shops and the majority are farmers. Residents in this village are all Pashtun.*

#### **Takhar Province: Bagh Rud community**

Takhar Province is located east of Kunduz Province and surrounded by Baghlan, Panjshir, and Badakhshan provinces. The north of the province has a border with Tajikistan. Bagh Rud is located in the third district of Taluqan, the provincial capital of Takhar. According to CSO, the population of Takhar centre (Taluqan) in 2012-13 is about 219,000, with 51 percent male and 49 percent female.<sup>75</sup> According to informal estimates of the heads of the village *shura*, the population of Bagh Rud is about 1,200 with 65 percent Tajik, 25 percent Uzbek, and 10 percent Pashtun. Here, almost all men are farmers, and a few of them are self-employed.

#### **Bamyan Province: Kinarak community**

Bamyan Province lies in the central highlands of Afghanistan and is located to the south of the Hindu Kush and north of the Baba Mountains. According to CSO, the population of Bamyan centre (Bamyan) in 2012-13 was about 80,900, split equally between men and women.<sup>76</sup> Kinarak is a town of Bamyan centre with a population of 30,000, according to informal estimates. Based on the local subdivisions, it includes three *shuras*. Its residents are all Hazara, and are farmers or are employed by the government.

74 "Estimated Population of Afghanistan 2012-13-Settled Population of Nangarhar Province by Civil Division, Urban, Rural and Sex-2012-13," (Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO), 2013), 9. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/DiuT1N> (Accessed 15 January 2015).

75 "Estimated Population of Afghanistan 2012-13-Settled Population of Takhar Province by Civil Division, Urban, Rural and Sex-2012-13," (Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO), 2013), 23. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/Tcj10c> (Accessed 15 January 2015).

76 "Estimated Population of Afghanistan 2012-13-Settled Population of Bamyan Province by Civil Division, Urban, Rural and Sex-2012-13," (Kabul: Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Central Statistics Organization (CSO), 2013), 14. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/w0UkSZ> (Accessed 15 January 2015).

Figure 3.2.1 Map of Afghanistan highlighting the study areas.



### 3.3 Site selection criteria

As shown in Table 3.1, site selection combined four basic factors: presumed cultural level (conservative/traditional, moderate, or less conservative/ traditional), and ethnic variety (uni-ethnic or multi-ethnic), whether the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan (SCA) operates in the province (SCA operates in Takhar and Nangarhar but not in Bamyan or Kabul - rural) and finally, the security or risk level of the chosen areas was taken into consideration during the fieldwork period. The study areas aimed to reflect ethnic and cultural diversity, thereby to showcase the nuances of Afghan masculinities.

Table 3.1. Criteria for site selection.

Province	Reasons for selection				Location Main Ethnic Group
	Cultural Level	Ethnic Diversity	SCA-operating areas	Security Risk Level in research time	
Nangarhar	Presumed as conservative/ traditional	Single ethnic	Yes	High	Pashtun
Takhar	Presumed as moderate	Multi-ethnic	Yes	Medium	Tajik, Uzbek, Pashtun
Bamyan	Presumed as less conservative/ traditional	Single ethnic	No	Low	Hazara
Kabul - urban	Comparison group as the country's capital - urban	Multi-ethnic	Yes	Low	Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Arab, Pashayi
Kabul - rural	Comparison group as the country's capital - rural	Single ethnic	No	Medium	Tajik

### 3.4 Pre-fieldwork preparation

Prior to fieldwork, a roundtable discussion with relevant stakeholders (e.g., government agencies, INGOs, NGOs, civil society working on gender equality) was held to 1) identify and engage gender policy makers at the beginning of the process, and throughout the research cycle; 2) gather inputs regarding what has been done and which initiatives/structures are in place; and 3) validate the study area selection and methodology employed, and ensure policy relevance. Following the roundtable discussion and completion of the literature review, the research instruments were crafted, pre-tested and revised.

Both male and female team members were recruited for the study, as only females can interview female respondents and facilitate discussions among the women. Ethnicity was also considered in the composition of the team members.

### 3.5 Respondent selection

#### 3.5.1 Qualitative part

This study categorised participants based on sex and age as young (16-24) and mature (25 and older) women and men. Information about the community was gathered in each of the four provinces using a CQ. KIIs were also undertaken with key community actors, such as local authorities, elders, teachers and religious leaders. FGDs were conducted with young and mature, male and female members of the community to explore general perceptions of the Afghan masculinities concept. The minimum duration of the FGDs was two hours and a maximum of six hours. Some FGDs were conducted in two sessions, especially for the young males and females as some of the attendees were students.

As a result of the FGDs, the team conducted IDIs to understand gender differences and nuances in perceiving masculinity and the process of decision-making. KIIs and IDIs ranged from two to six hours to complete, and some of these interviews were conducted in a series of sessions, with a maximum of three. The numbers of KIIs, IDIs and FGDs were pegged considering time and money and, above all, the saturation point regarding the length of the interviews and discussions. For efficiency and effectiveness, sessions were scheduled at two different times.

##### 3.5.1.1 Processing and analysis of qualitative data

Descriptive information was summarised. Trends, themes and sub-themes and events were culled from the qualitative data. Anecdotes and quotes were also used to encapsulate interviewees' views during the IDIs and those of participants in the FGDs.

Further analysis was employed as data were collected through efficient sorting and coding (or indexing category). Data were systematically reorganised as they were converted into concepts, and from concepts into relationships and behaviour.

Table 3.2. Community questionnaires and key informant interviews completed.

Areas	Activities				
	CQ - Community questionnaire	KII - Key informant interview			
		Male		Female	
	Community stakeholders	Religious informants	Community stakeholders	Religious informants	
Kabul - rural	1	3	2	4	-
Kabul - urban	1 (5 Participants)	3	2	3	1
Nangarhar	1	4	2	2	-
Takhar	1 (5 Participants)	4	2	4	2
Bamyan	1 (2 Participants)	4	2	3	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>5 (14)</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>

Table 3.3. Focus group discussions completed.

Areas	Activities					
	FGD - Focus group discussions: 20 (168)				IDI - In-depth interviews: 38	
	Male FGD - Young (16-24)	Male FGD - Mature (25 and Upper)	Female FGD - Young (16-24)	Female FGD - Mature (25 and Upper)	Male	Female
Kabul - rural	1 (10 Participants)	1 (8 Participants)	1 (10 Participants)	1 (10 Participants)	4	4
Kabul - urban	1 (10 Participants)	1 (7 Participants)	1 (7 Participants)	1 (7 Participants)	4	4
Nangarhar	1 (7 Participants)	1 (7 Participants)	1 (5 Participants)	1 (5 Participants)	4	2
Takhar	1 (12 Participants)	1 (12 Participants)	1 (6 Participants)	1 (8 Participants)	4	4
Bamyan	1 (9 Participants)	1 (6 Participants)	1 (11 Participants)	1 (11 Participants)	4	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>5 (48)</b>	<b>5 (40)</b>	<b>5 (39)</b>	<b>5 (41)</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>18</b>

### 3.5.2 Quantitative part

For the quantitative approach, the survey was conducted in the same communities where qualitative field work occurred. As there were no official population estimates, 80 young and mature men and women were randomly selected from a mapping of each study community (Table 3). The respondents were selected by identifying clusters, and the households were thus mapped. A structured survey questionnaire was used for data collection.



Table 3.4. Number of respondents included in the study

Area	N=400				Total
	Young Male	Mature Male	Young Female	Mature Female	
	(16-24)	(25 and upper)	(16-24)	(25 and upper)	
Kabul-Rural	20	20	20	20	80
Kabul-Urban	20	20	20	20	80
Nangarhar	20	20	20	20	80
Takhar	20	20	20	20	80
Bamyan	20	20	20	20	80
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>400</b>

To capture answers not found in the categories provided, the survey tool employed open-ended questions, and a checklist in which the respondents could check their responses from a set of alternatives or specify them according to the following scales:

Table 3.5. Scaling of scores

Description	Meaning	Weight Equivalent
Strongly Agree	Firmly accede to the statement	1
Agree	Accede to the statement	2
Disagree	Dissent to the statement	3
Strongly Disagree	Strongly dissent from the statement	4

Since the number of samples was 400, the data was subjected to normality test utilising Shapiro-Wilks. See Annex Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Since  $p$  is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis of normality is rejected. The data were further processed utilising the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U test to compare means between age and sex categories on young and mature respondents. Kruskal-Wallis was also used to assess significant differences in results among provinces.

### 3.5.3 Triangulation of data gathering techniques

The study triangulated techniques by combining methods and data sources in examining masculinities from various perspectives. Collecting high-quality data using desk review, qualitative, and quantitative approaches required field researchers to make sense of the activities, actions and decisions of the subjects.

To resolve field issues, the principal investigator, if not the senior research officer, called meetings every night. The interviewers were also instructed to explain the study and to entertain questions from the respondents both before and during the interview to clarify doubts.

### 3.6 Research challenges

As Pini and Pease mentioned when men are studying men, “they need to be reflexive about the impact of gender sameness on the construction of interviewee narratives and the analysis and interpretation of interview material.”<sup>77,78</sup> While conducting the interviews, when it came to those questions relevant to gender roles, most of the reactions were the same:

*[Laughter in the background] You are also a man, right? Don't you have a man at your home to see what men do? You are also a man, and you know that your question is self-explanatory, you know the answer to your queries!*

*(Mature Male, Takhar - FGD Participant)*

However, such a challenge is not just related to men's gendered positions: studying GBV and women's issues in an Afghan context has been considered highly sensitive. Therefore, scaled-up flexibility was needed in working on the present subject. In the qualitative part, the different kinds of violence against women were considered in the formulation of interview guides. Due to the subject's sensitivity, the interviewers did not directly ask the participants for their personal accounts, but instead functioned as observers as such instances transpired in their communities. The team established trust with the participants and were able to gather information needed for this study, though for greater depth, longer time is needed.

In the quantitative part, the respondents' low literacy made it impossible for them to answer the questionnaire on their own. Finally, security issues sometimes hampered the research team. While working in both Nangarhar and Kabul provinces, on each occasion with just a matter of a few minutes' interval, the research team narrowly escaped a suicide bomber and a magnetic bomb explosion.

### 3.7 Ethical considerations

Consent was secured from the participants and informants, who were assured of confidentiality; consent was also asked for the taping of interviews and FGD proceedings.

Regarding ethics, interviewers were trained not to force respondents to be a part of the research and to allow participation to be voluntary. “Informed consent” was an important element in the data collection. Confidentiality and anonymity were both emphasised during the research process, specifically at the very start of any interview or discussion. When the study was introduced to the stakeholders of the community, ethical considerations were clearly noted; more so when there were sensitive issues covered in the study for example, on the issue of violence within households and in the community.

77 Barbara Pini and Bob Pease, “Gendering Methodologies in the Study of Men and Masculinities,” in *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, ed. Barbara Pini and Bob Pease (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 8.

78 Michael Flood, “Negotiating Gender in Men's Research among Men,” *ibid.*

## 4. Findings

### Notions of masculinities: Views from the field

#### Who are we looking at: Socio-demographic profiles from quantitative and qualitative data

In the quantitative survey, women and men, as well as young and mature respondents, were equally distributed in all the four provinces (see Annex Table 4-1). In terms of marital status, the data show that 40.8 percent are single, 57.8 percent are married, and 1.5 percent are widows/widowers. Various ethnicities are represented, but the three dominant groups are Tajik (37.3 percent), Pashtun (33.0 percent), and Hazara (19.8 percent). The other ethnic groups represented in the study include Uzbek (7.8 percent), Pashayi (2.0 percent), and Arab (0.3 percent).

In the qualitative part of the study, a total of 268 informants and participants were involved (see Annex Table 4-2). The distribution is as follows: 38 IDIs, 48 KIIs, and 168 FGD participants. Fourteen participants were interviewed to gather information about the community through a community questionnaire (CQ). Slightly more than half (53.3 percent) were males, and more than half (56 percent) belonged to both the 19-and-younger and 20-29 age groups. The remaining age groups constituted 44.1 percent.

A third (33.7 percent) were high school level/graduate while almost a third (29.5 percent) had no education. College level/graduate constituted a fifth (20.7 percent), while a very small portion (0.8 percent) reached graduate/post-graduate level. More than half (56.2 percent) were married, and 39.2 percent were single, with the remaining number spread between widow/widower (1.5 percent) and engaged (3.1 percent). The top three ethnic groups involved in the study were: Tajiks (38.2 percent), Pashtuns (31.2 percent) and Hazaras (22 percent). The smallest percentage of participants belong to others (0.4 percent), who were only included in the KII. The biggest percentage of the participants and informants were housewives (27.6 percent); students constituted almost a fifth (19.9 percent), while nearly another fifth were a mix of other occupations (18.8 percent).

### 4.1 Perceptions of Masculinities

#### 4.1.1 Roles of men

In the patriarchal context of Afghanistan, men are perceived to assume the major responsibilities in their families and communities. Gender roles constitute common expectations about people's behaviour based on their socially identified sex. Since the expectations are shared, the implication is that a norm is set by a society that directs the acceptable behaviour. The study explores the expectations society sets for Afghan men and the corresponding consequences when they are not met. The current research findings connect with Pleck and Brannon's study on the impact on men from the powerful social expectations they face by virtue of their being males.<sup>79</sup>

##### 4.1.1.1 Men as breadwinners

One of the most enduring gender-based normative principles is that of men being the primary provider for the family. This principle is universally accepted by the respondents, with 93.1 percent of the 400 respondents supporting it (see Annex Table 4-3a).

Mature respondents are more inclined to agree strongly that "men should be the breadwinners of the family." More than half (57.5 percent) of the mature respondents strongly supported the normative principle while 50.0 percent of the young respondents replied similarly (Annex Table 4-3a). The difference is, however, not statistically significant.

<sup>79</sup> Joseph H. Pleck and Robert Brannon, "Male Roles and the Male Experience: Introduction," *Journal of Social Issues* 34, no. 1 (1978).

Among the male respondents vis-à-vis the accepted norm, 61.5 percent strongly agreed, 33.0 percent agreed, 5.0 percent disagreed, and 0.5 percent strongly disagreed. Annex Table 4-3a data show that mature male respondents are more inclined to believe that men should be the breadwinners of the family (*sig p<0.05*). Female respondents also accept the norm; however, this is not as high as the degree of acceptance by the male respondents.

While education is known for its moderating effect on worldviews, the overall data suggest that tradition and culture exert a much stronger influence. Annex Table 4-3b shows that the perspective of the respondents on men being the breadwinner does not significantly vary across levels of educational attainment. The same can also be seen in each of the four provinces.

Albeit showing no significant variation, the data in Bamyan and Takhar show the moderating effect of education on views regarding the normative principle. Specifically, respondents with higher educational attainment exhibit a lower propensity to agree with it. This, however, is not the case with Kabul and Nangarhar, where respondents with higher educational attainment show a higher inclination to support it.

Further disaggregating the data by sex reveals a significant difference (*sig p<0.10*) among the levels of female respondents' educational attainment (see Annex Table 4-3b). As can be seen, female respondents with higher education are less likely to agree that men should be the breadwinners of the family. This is likewise the case among the male respondents from Takhar where worldviews also vary significantly (*sig p<0.10*) across levels of educational attainment.

Of the four ethnic groups, the Pashtuns exhibit a higher inclination to concede that men should be the breadwinners of the family while the Hazara display the least (Annex Table 4-3c). The data show that 68.9 percent of the Pashtun respondents strongly held this view. On the other hand, 52.5 percent of the aggregate group, 45.6 percent of the Tajik, and 44.3 percent of the Hazara felt similarly.

No significant variation can be observed among the ethnic groups in Kabul, namely, Tajik, Pashtun and the aggregate group. However, when disaggregated by sex, the data show that there is a significant variation (*sig p<0.10*) among the ethnic groups, specifically among the female respondents.

The data show that there is a significant variation among the ethnic groups in Takhar, both on the overall (*sig p<0.10*) and in the disaggregated data (*sig p<0.10 for females and sig p<0.01 for males*). Irrespective of sex, Tajik respondents from Takhar show greater propensity to believe that males should be the breadwinners of the family while the aggregated group show the least inclination. The distribution however, changes when the data are disaggregated by sex. The Tajik male respondents have the highest inclination (92.3 percent) to support the principle. Among the female respondents, on the other hand, the Pashtuns show the greatest propensity of strongly agreeing with the statement (87.5 percent). The overall number of female respondents had a highly significant variation among ethnic groups.

The qualitative data are also peppered with expectations of men to be breadwinners in the family. The term “breadwinner” refers primarily to fulfilling all the expenses of the family:

*A man should work and find food for his family because he is responsible for his family.*

*(Na, Mature Woman, Nangarhar - KII)*

*A man works outside of the house; he brings food for the other female members of the family and children.*

*(Qa, Young Man, Nangarhar - FGD)*

*A man should take care of his family and his children. He should work hard and find money and food for his family.*

*(Gu, Mature Women, Nangarhar - FGD)*

*A man is someone who considered himself as the head of the family, head of the wife and head of his children. Of course, it is a part of his responsibility to provide all the expenses of the family. He should provide, bring money for his wife and children.*

*(P6, Mature Man, Bamyān - FGD)*

*I am a farmer's son, and we have our farm; I would love to continue my education, but my dad always told me that it is fine I go to school, but I should come back as soon as possible because I have to irrigate the farm and support him to prepare the family's expenses.*

*(P6, Young Man, Bamyān - FGD)*

*Being a man means being the head and leader of the family. Being the head of the family means all the family members have an expectation from him. He prepares all the expenses of his family.*

*(Ha, Young Women, Bamyān - FGD)*

*Patriarchy already exists in Afghanistan even in the past. Men were working outside of the house; they said that women should be at home as they are out of the house, men were leaders of the family then. Thank God that lately, women are educated; they are working out of the house as well, and both man and wife can prepare for the family expenses.*

*(Za, Young Women, Bamyān - FGD)*

However, as the qualitative findings reveal, an Afghan man's role is not only limited to being the breadwinner, but encompasses other responsibilities that can be described as “*nafaqah* provider.”

#### **4.1.1.2 Men as *nafaqah* providers**

All the participants stated that a man is not only a breadwinner but a *nafaqah* provider; that is, a man as the husband and father is obliged to provide for all needs of the wife and the children, such as financial subsistence, family's abode, education, and health:

*A man should serve his family and the society. A man should be a manager/supervisor; he should be able to do every task. He should manage his family, should prepare *nafaqah* of his family, he should support his children and wife so he can be called a man.*

*(P6, Mature Man, Bamyān - FGD)*

*The main responsibilities of men as a father are that they should work hard in order to earn something to fulfil the requirements of their families.*

*(N, Mature Man, Nangarhar - KII)*

*He should be the *nafaqah* provider, he brings food, clothes, and other things needed by family members.*

*(Z, Mature Woman, Bamyān - FGD)*

*A man should be the *nafaqah* provider of the family. He should pay attention for the education of his children which is really important.*

*(MZ, Mature Man, Kabul, Rural -FGD)*

*A man handles his family; he is the head in a family and responsible for providing food and other necessities of the family.*

*(F1, Young Woman Takhar - FGD)*

*A man is responsible for heading his family in good ways; he should prepare *nafaqah* to facilitate their education.*

*(G, Young Man Bamyān - FGD)*

### 4.1.1.3 Responsible for family security

Almost all (97.8 percent) of the 400 respondents concur that men should handle the security of their family (Annex Table 4-4a). Less than 3.0 percent disagreed with the normative principle.

At the provincial level, Nangarhar has the most respondents who strongly agreed that men are responsible for family security (81.3 percent), followed by Takhar (80.0 percent), Bamyán (61.3 percent), and Kabul (47.5 percent). This finding followed the classification of provinces from most conservative (Nangarhar) to less (Bamyán). Securing the safety of the family is a man's job. Informants and participants included security in the whole pack of "services" men should provide as part of their domestic roles. These expectations are especially looked up to as the "head" of the family (Annex 4-4a).

Annex Table 4-4b shows that, irrespective of educational attainment, the respondents accede that men should be responsible for the security of their family. This means that the acceptance permeates all levels in the four provinces in the study. This observation holds even if the data is further disaggregated by sex.

Moreover, the overall data in Annex Table 4-4c show that the ethnic groups significantly vary in terms of their support of the view that men should be responsible for the safety of his family. Pashtun respondents show greater inclination to strongly agree with the view (73.5 percent) followed by the aggregate group (72.5 percent), Hazara (60.8 percent), and Tajik (53.7 percent).

However, the data show no significant variation among the ethnic groups at the provincial level, particularly Kabul and Takhar. A significant variation ( $sig\ p<0.01$ ) among ethnic groups can be observed in the overall, but not in the provincial level data for the male respondents. The data in Annex Table 4-4c suggest that male Pashtun respondents are more inclined than the other ethnic groups to ensure the security of their family. On the other hand, only 53.7 percent of the male Tajik respondents strongly supported this viewpoint.

The data in Annex Table 4-4c show that female respondents, irrespective of their ethnic affiliation, are inclined to concede that the security of the family is a primary concern of men. This suggests that the belief of women that men should be responsible for the security as well as safety of his family transcends ethnic affiliation.

*A man is responsible to protect and care for his family in all aspects, just as health, education, and other matters about family's welfare.*

*(Mature Man 4, Bamyán - KII)*

*A man earns money to pay for his children and family's food, security and education. He persuades his children to attend school.*

*(MRO, Mature Man, Nangarhar - FGD)*

*In as much as we protect our families, should defend our people and country, then that will be the time we can be known as man. If a man cannot fulfil his responsibilities at home, and he cannot defend his nang or namus, and if he cannot defend his country, then he will not be known as a man because these are his responsibilities.*

*(H, Mature Man, Takhar - FGD)*

The qualitative data from FGDs show that, beyond security, women expected more of their men:

*The obligation of a man is that he brings halal food, good education to his children and does halal work, too.*

*(P6, Mature Women, Kabul, Urban - FGD)*

*A man has good manners, respect the elders and works for his family. When a man has these things, he is a complete man.*

*(F1, Young Woman, Nangarhar-FGD)*

*A man must take his wife and children responsibilities and to help them address their problems.*

*(F, Young Woman, Kabul, Rural - FGD)*

*A man is the leader of his family, the one who financially, economically, physically and spiritually supports his family in a different situation.*

*(MH, Young Woman, Bamyán - FGD)*

#### 4.1.1.4 Respect and authority in the family

As men in many societies are perceived as the head of the family, they hold authority on domestic matters. Annex Table 4-5a shows that the respondents acquiesce to the social dictum that “men should have respect and authority in the family.” Over 95.0 percent of the respondents accept this normative principle. The data further show that mature respondents are more inclined than their younger counterparts to accept it (*sig p<0.10*).

The quantitative findings are validated in the FGD results in all provinces:

*Everybody in the family will love and have much respect for the man as the head of the family.*

*(Ar, Mature Man, Nangarhar - FGD)*

*A wife should respect the man and consider him as superior to oneself. For example, she should not go somewhere without his permission, or take something from his house without permission.*

*(Aa, Mature Woman, Bamyán - FGD)*

*When a man gets angry, he will hate the women so the women should always respect him.*

*(F3, Young Woman, Kabul, Urban - FGD)*

*Because in our ethnic group the women are respecting the men too much, even if the men do not work according to the women's expectations.*

*(F6, Mature Woman, Takhar - FGD)*

The ability to command respect and exert authority in the family as a masculine trait is universally accepted by both male and female respondents. A very small percentage (5.0 percent) of both male and female respondents do not concede that “men should have respect and authority in the family.”

There is a significant variation in the response pattern between mature and young male respondents in Bamyán (*sig p<0.01*), Kabul (*sig p<0.01*), and Nangarhar (*sig p<0.01*). The data show that mature male respondents exhibit a higher inclination to accept this than do their younger counterparts. By contrast, no significant variation in the response pattern of young and female respondents is observed. This means that the female respondents, irrespective of age, share the same view that men merit domestic respect and authority (Annex Table 4-5a).

*Women cannot do anything without permission because we are women, and we should obey our family; Allah says that women should obey their husband.*

*(M, Mature Woman, Nangarhar - KII)*

*As they said, a woman should respect elders and her husband and try to encourage her children to pray to Allah and respect elders.*

*(F3, Young Woman, Nangarhar - FGD)*

*She should respect her husband and not fight with him, and, vice-versa, a man should respect his woman.*

*(Mature Woman, Kabul, Urban - KII)*

*The good woman should respect the man and treat him well when he comes home after his hard work, like she should bring him a pillow, tea, and smile. She should not complain if there is no food sometimes at home; she should not swear at the man. She should bear with it. She should even borrow from the neighbour and inform the man. Moreover, if the man is a good one, he would be ashamed and should work harder.*

*(Fa, Mature Woman, Bamyan - KII)*

*First of all, a woman should respect her husband; then, her children should respect her as well. When there is mutual respect in a family, everything will run smoothly.*

*(Ha, Young Woman, Bamyan - KII)*

*It is a responsibility of a woman to respect her husband. She should not do anything against her husband's will.*

*(F1, Young Woman, Takhar - FGD)*

Respect for the exercise of authority over other household members by a man is widely accepted by the respondents. The acceptance of this normative principle is socially pervasive. The data in Annex Table 4.5b show high acceptance even among the respondents with high educational attainment. The only exception appears in the overall data of the female respondents, where significant variation (*sig p<0.10*) can be observed when grouped according to educational attainment.

Compared to the other groups of respondents, more women who obtained at least a college-level education are adverse to the idea. This could mean that education may have a moderating effect on women, but not among men who may have greater social pressure to conform to traditional notions of masculinity.

Annex Table 4-5c shows that only 4.8 percent of the 400 respondents are adverse to the view that “men should have respect and authority in the family.” However, the data also show significant variation (*sig p<0.01*) among ethnic groups. Among the four ethnic groups in the study, the Pashtuns have the highest percentage who strongly agreed with the principle.

A significant variation among ethnic groups can also be observed in Takhar (*sig p<0.01*). Of the three local ethnic groups, more Tajik respondents espoused the view that men should have the authority and should be respected by other household members (Annex Table 4-5c).

Variation among ethnic groups regarding respect for and the authority of the male family members cuts across the boundary of sex. The overall data for both male and female respondents exhibit significant differences among ethnic groups. Among the male respondents, Pashtuns show greater propensity for supporting the aforesaid view. This is likewise the case among the female respondents, where 58.7 percent find the view highly agreeable.

Among the female respondents, no significant variation among the ethnic groups is observed in Kabul and Takhar. On the other hand, significant variation among ethnic groups can be observed among the male respondents in Takhar (*sig p<0.01*).

One can see that there are expectations of being a man that are not a function of whether a place is more or less conservative. Furthermore, women hold on to some of these outlooks or perceptions more strongly than men.



#### 4.1.1.5 Fulfilling family needs at any cost

The belief that “men should fulfil his family’s needs at any cost” is widely accepted by the respondents (Annex Table 4-6a).

In the qualitative data, fulfilling needs constitutes taking care of all the needs of the family as captured in the quote below:

*Man is a nafaqah provider and responsible for the total well-being of the family. He provides for and protects them physically and socially, and he stays with them through difficult and happy times.*

*(Fa, Mature Woman, Bamyan - FGD)*

No significant difference is found between the mature and young female respondents. This is also the case for the provincial-level data, where the degree of acceptance of this norm by mature respondents does not significantly vary from their younger counterparts. This could mean that females, irrespective of age, share the same beliefs that a man should fulfil his family’s needs at any cost.

The overall data in Annex Table 4-6b are explicit that there is no significant variation among the respondents on the notion that “men should fulfil his family’s needs at all cost” when grouped according to educational attainment. When the data is disaggregated by sex, a significant variation in educational attainment can be observed in the female data in Kabul (*sig p<0.10*) and in the overall male data (*sig p<0.10*). The overall result implies that education does not necessarily change perceptions of gender normative principles.

The data in Annex Table 4-6c show that 45.0 percent of the 400 respondents strongly agree that it should be at any cost. A significant variation (*sig p<0.05*) among ethnic groups can be observed in the overall data, however. Of the four ethnic groups, Pashtuns exhibit a higher inclination of being receptive to this view.

At the provincial level, significant variation among ethnic groups can be observed in Takhar (*sig p<0.05*), but not in Kabul. The data show that the aggregate group has the highest percentage of respondents strongly supporting the norm, with 37.9 percent support among Tajiks, while only 23.8 percent of the Pashtuns hold a similar sentiment.

The significant variations among ethnic groups transcend the sex divide. Significant variation among ethnic groups can be observed in both male (*sig p<0.10*) and female (*sig p<0.05*) respondents. Among the male respondents, the aggregate group has the highest inclination to strongly agree with the viewpoint. On the other hand, among the female respondents, the Pashtuns show greater agreeability with this view (Annex Table 4-5c).

#### 4.1.1.6 Can be relied upon by the wife

Annex Table 4-7a shows wide acceptance of the normative principle “a man is someone a wife can rely on in all situations.” The data reveal that over half of all the respondents subscribe to this norm, and, further, that very few do not.

The provincial-level data show that 92.5 percent of the male respondents from Nangarhar, 55.0 percent from Takhar, 52.5 percent in Kabul, and 48.7 percent from Bamyan strongly agreed with this norm.

Annex Table 4-7a shows that 65.0 percent of the female respondents from Nangarhar, as well as 43.8 percent from Kabul, 42.5 percent from Bamyan, and 32.5 percent from Takhar, strongly agreed that a man is someone a wife can rely on in all situations. The response pattern indicates that the female respondents, irrespective of age, share the same norm of men as being dependable.

One can discern in a community perceived to be more conservative, like Nangarhar, that women underpin the role of men in the family or community, as shown by their high percentage of agreement compared to other settings.

Education seems to have no bearing on the view that “a man should be someone a wife can rely on in all situations.” The data in Annex Table 4-7b show that this view remains widely accepted by respondents across all levels of educational attainment. In the case of Kabul, higher educational attainment even heightened the propensity of the respondents to conform to this view. The data show that 67.7 percent of the respondents in Kabul strongly agreed with the view, compared to 41.9 percent of the respondents with no education, 39.1 percent primary/primary-level education, and 47.7 percent secondary/secondary-level education.

Disaggregating the data by sex yields no significant variation when the respondents are grouped by their educational attainment. This means that the acceptance of the normative principle cuts across various levels of Afghan society. The view that men are the family breadwinners typified them as being dependable and reliable in all situations. Indeed, the results affirm this notion. Only 8.8 percent (2.0 percent strongly disagree + 6.8 percent disagree) of the 400 respondents hold adverse opinions about the view that “a man should be someone a wife can rely on in all situations.” The remaining 91.2 percent find this view agreeable (Annex Table 4-7b).

The data in Annex Table 4-7c reveal that the views of the respondents significantly vary (*sig p*<0.01) when they are grouped according to ethnicity. However, no significant variation exists when the data are further grouped by province.

The data further show that significant variations among ethnic groups are only observable among the male respondents in Takhar and not in Kabul, where many ethnic groups are also represented in the study (Annex Table 4-7c).

### **Roles of men: A closer look at the qualitative findings**

A closer look at the concept of being a man in an Afghan community was vouchsafed in the qualitative interviews. Results affirmed that being a man refers to social roles, behaviours, and meanings prescribed in a specific context.<sup>80</sup> This perception is clearly shown in the shared opinion among all groups in the FGDs, for mature and young women and men, and KII in all provinces, that men should be considered the head of the household. A man has the responsibility to procreate, support and protect the family and country. Afghan men are perceived to possess the qualities of being brave at the same time as they are honourable.

The following accounts reflect the views of the FGD and interview participants in four provinces:

*As a tradition of the village that we are residing, the oldest men of the family is considered the head of the family. The head of the family handles and controls all the family members.*

*(ANZ, Mature Man, Nangarhar - KII)*

*A real man is the man who tries to earn money to provide a good life for his family.*

*(F1, Young Woman, Nangarhar - FGD)*

*A man is someone who is the head of the household, protects his family, protects his namus and tells the truth always... that, I call a man. They should always protect his namus, we should teach our children good manners, Islamic manners, and to lead them towards the right path...that is what I think. My only hope is to go away from this world with pure faith.*

*(FR, Mature Man, Takhar-FGD)*

*Man is the head of the family, he furthers the life of family, he is like the father of the house.*

*(F8, Mature Woman, Takhar-FGD)*

<sup>80</sup> Michael Kimmel, “Masculinities,” in *Men and Masculinities A Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004).

*Man is the head of the family; all the family members are expecting so much from him. He prepares all the expenses of his family members.*

(Ha, Young Woman, Bamyan - FGD)

In sum, Afghan communities set high expectations for men. Additional discussion is presented by Corey and Corey with their explanation of the ways men impoverish certain areas of themselves to match an external self-image and the resulting consequences of this. The loss of a sense of self is the primary cost of being bound to the gender roles that may lead to unrealistic pressures to succeed. Other adverse effects are untimely death, sickness, excessive cravings for alcohol, maladaptive tendencies to take obsessive risks, depression and being workaholic.<sup>81</sup>

Above all, Afghan men have a major responsibility to build the character of their children. These claims are apparent in all four provinces across the young and mature FGD participants and informants:

*A man should always go to masjid to pray and participate in jirgas to discuss the village problems and try to solve it.*

(BA, Young Woman, Nangarhar -KII)

*A man who lives in a family is responsible for the family. When he gets older, his responsibilities extend beyond his family to include his neighbours and others within his community. Our living is social, and we live in the community so men should feel responsible for other too. He must obey the rights of children, women and elders.*

(Man, Religious, Kabul, Urban - KII)

The common theme among the various provinces is men losing a sense of integrity and worth when they cannot live up to the expectations set upon them. They believed that such men were putting themselves in great dishonour/*be-ghairat-i* and shame:

*If a man does not fulfil these expectations at home, then he loses his value to family members. For example, a wife expects good food from her husband, she expects to have guests and all, but when her expectations are not met as her husband did not bring food at home...*

*His brothers who were the closest people to him used to say that he is useless, and his wife used to complain too and these are the type of situations that men have to bear when they cannot live up to those expectations.*

(N, Young Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)

*Someone who cannot take these responsibilities, they call him elayee. He is a man, but he is someone who cannot manage himself. He forgets about his family and children. In other families they say things like, you cannot do anything, you do not have ghairat, you are be-ghairat. Another example is because I am unable to fulfil my responsibilities due to some current problems, and if I do not manage this properly, and then I am heading towards that way. When you have a job and a salary, you can put your children in a good private school, you can get them a laptop, you can give them access to the internet, but if you do not have an income then you cannot do any of those, and that is considered a failure.*

(AW, Young Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)

Adult and younger men FGD participants from Bamyan and Kabul expressed that the expectations are heavier for a man to shoulder:

*Yes, it is pressure on men when a stranger comes and tells you that your son has broken our glass or did something bad, yes, it is pressure because we are responsible for our children and house, and everyone complained about my children.*

(P5, Mature Man, Bamyan - FGD)

<sup>81</sup> Gerald Corey and Marianne Schneider Corey, *I Never Knew I Had a Choice: Explorations in Personal Growth*, 10th ed. (Belmont: Brooks/Cole, Cengage Learning, 2014), 241.

*The majority of men couldn't fulfil these expectations, only about 20 percent of them could while the remaining 80 percent couldn't. Most of the men in Bamyan could not cope with these expectations. There are some men who could not prepare the nafaqah of their wife and children; there are some other families where both man and woman could work together. In general, patriarchy exists, and most of the men could not cope with all these expectations.*

*(SK, Young Woman, Bamyan -FGD)*

*Due to lots of pressure, some men do commit suicide. In our village, a man reportedly committed suicide for that reason.*

*(Ga, Young Man, Kabul, Rural-FGD)\*

#### 4.1.2 Roles of women and domestic tasks

Gender disparity is most evident in the domestic chore gap between men and women. Notwithstanding developments in gender equality over the last decade, women still do a disproportionate amount of domestic chores. Further, this is the case with the 400 respondents of the study.

Annex Table 4-8a provides a picture of over 85.0 percent of the 400 respondents who believe that “women should take care of the domestic tasks.” A statistically significant (*sig p<0.01*) variation is evident between the young and mature respondents in terms of their degree of acceptance of this norm. The data show that mature respondents are more inclined to accept it compared to their younger counterparts. This is likewise the case with the mature respondents from Bamyan (*sig p<0.01*) and Kabul (*sig p<0.05*). Unlike the aforementioned provinces, younger respondents from Takhar are more amenable to the normative principle (*sig p<0.10*) than their mature counterparts. The data from Nangarhar, by contrast, show no significant differences between the views of mature and young respondents.

Although the difference is statistically insignificant, more mature than young female respondents accept the normative principle that domestic chores should be taken care of by women. There is no significant difference between mature and young female respondents in three of the four provinces. This suggests that the female respondents take similar stands on this norm (Annex Table 4-8a).

Female respondents in Annex Table 4-8b, however, show significant variation (*sig p<0.01*) when grouped according to educational attainment. The data show that female respondents with higher educational attainment are less inclined to agree with the norm. On the other hand, no significant variation can be observed when male respondents are grouped according to educational attainment. This means that while education may change a woman's perspective about the sharing of domestic chores, it has little effect upon Afghan men, if at all.

The belief that domestic chores should be taken care of by women is widely accepted by the respondents. The overall data show that there is a significant variation (*sig p<0.01*) when respondents are grouped according to ethnicity. The data in Annex Table 4-8c show that, of the four ethnic groups in the study, the Pashtuns exhibit higher support for this belief.

Significant variations among ethnic groups are observable in both Kabul (*sig p<0.05*) and Takhar (*sig p<0.05*). In the case of Kabul, where three ethnic groups are represented, the aggregate group exhibits a higher propensity of strongly agreeing with the statement. On the other hand, the Tajiks have the highest percentage of those who strongly agree with it. Significant ethnic variation is observable among the male respondents (*sig p<0.01*) as well among females (*sig p<0.10*).

In the case of the male respondents, significant ethnic variation can be observed in Takhar (*sig p<0.01*), but not in Kabul. However, significant ethnic variations exist among the female respondents from Kabul (*sig p<0.05*), but not in Takhar.

As to the roles of women, the majority of the participants and informants in all provinces stated in qualitative part of the research that their responsibility is to manage their homes:

*As is always the case, the males who are the heads of the family are always not at home. Women, in charge of the house management, will handle the household chores, rearing and caring for the children. The ideal women are those who readily take on those household responsibilities. They control the behaviour of their children, those who are in school and those who are not. Women will be considered ideal by the community members as well when they fulfil those tasks expected of them. We have women who do not control their children, and their children are always walking in the streets and bothering young girls and other people in the locality.*

(Mature Man, Kabul-Urban - KII)

*A woman should take care of the house and the wealth of her husband, and teach the children how to behave well while for the entire day, the father of the family is not present, so all responsibilities are on women in the house.*

(MS, Mature Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)

*Training the children is mostly a mother's task. She should send them to school and should take care of them, shouldn't let them to go outside [the home], and should wash her children so finally training of children is up to the mother. This is so because men are working outside [the home], they do not attend to their children so a mother should pay attention to these things.*

(P4, Mature Man, Bamyan - FGD)

*We do the tasks in our home, such as bake bread, cook the food for our family. We also wash clothes and other tasks like dairy, and others.*

(Mature Woman, Nangarhar - KII)

*I take his coat, and his room is already clean before his coming. I put his tea when he arrives, his heater is warm, if it is summer, so his fan is ready, and I followed all of his orders.*

(F4, Mature Woman, Takhar-FGD)

*Women have roles in their husband's house; they should have the management and leadership of the house, and they should handle disciplining their children.*

(M1, Young Woman, Bamyan - FGD)

Responsibilities of women outside the home were reiterated by the female participants and informants. However, one FGD participant from Bamyan opened up about the predicament of women who do hard labour in their household:

*In my opinion, it is a problem because the women are cooking, washing the clothes. Men were looked up highly by the community, and they think that women are their slaves or captives, so why should they help their wives? Women are doing hard/heavy work outside the home, like I have seen that they forced their women to plant potatoes and force them to do lots of heavy work and, regretfully, I saw them suffer from their husbands' treatment.*

(P4, Young Man, Bamyan -FGD)

The disparity of the privilege between men and women was raised when one of the FGD participants in Kabul-urban shared her personal wishes to have male perquisites. She says:

*We wished to be men and free, we wished to learn, we wished to be educated, we are illiterate so how can we enjoy the status of men in our society? When I see men that can freely go outside and have a freedom of choice, I wish to be like them so that I also have freedom of choice just like men. I can freely go outside like them.*

(F4, Young Woman, Kabul -FGD)

### 4.1.3 The roles of religion and culture in the sexual division of labour

The roles of both men and women are anchored in Afghan religiosity, with the following quote from the interviews testifying to this perspective on the part of the devout:

*When the daughter of our Prophet Mohammad married with Hazrat-e Ali, the next day the Prophet went to her house and said, my daughter peace be with you. The tasks and responsibilities of male and female among you and your husband are specified and distributed. The task and responsibility of your husband are providing nafaqah or bringing food, providing clothes and providing your needs, but your responsibilities are doing the housework, like cooking, cleaning the house, washing the clothes, keep caring for the house and training the children as well as respect for your husband. Moreover, any task and action that serves the husband is considered a separate reward or oblation towards the Almighty.*

*(Mature Man, Religious, Nangarhar - KII)*

An FGD respondent from Nangarhar stressed a point pertaining to some codes that underpin Pashtun gender norms to the same degree as Islam. The interviewee talked about the contradictions between that person's culture and Islam. Some tribal codes and norms were considered barriers to gender equality in that particular conservative area:

*For example, in Islam, women have the right to education and work, but in some codes and norms women are not allowed to work; even most of them do not let their daughters go for education because their honour will be questioned. Some tribal codes and norms are also against the inheritance right of women. If a woman asks for her inheritance right from her brother/father, she has to accept to break all the relationships with her relatives. Girls do not have the right to choose when and whom to marry; it is the parents who decide when and to whom their daughters have to get married.*

*(Mature Man, Religious, Nangarhar - KII)*

Based on the majority of the interviewees, young and mature men believe women are supposed to do household chores more than anyone else; in cases where a man helps the female in doing household work, he may be labelled as “zancho” by the community.

*Someone may call you zancho just because you help your mother or wife in his or her housework, just like if you help raise a child.*

*(Young Man, Kabul, Urban - KII)*

*Men in our communities do not help their women because they think it is a very big shame if other men know that they help their wives in their house chores.*

*(Mature Man, Nangarhar-KII)*

As the above narratives show, men performing women's tasks such as household chores are perceived as unmanly. It is considered a personal affront to men and women whenever men take on tasks supposedly done by women.

## 4.2 Equality, power, and control

### 4.2.1 Leadership equality and gender

Prevalent among all provinces is the concept that men are given the authority and power to be leaders within and outside their homes. This finding runs parallel with Conway-Long's study “Gender, Power and Social Change in Morocco,” which proposes that “man's power was seen centering in work, in his word or his intellect, in his personal control over decision-making, and in political power and leadership.”<sup>82</sup> The traditional practice persists to such extent that

<sup>82</sup> Don Conway-Long, “Gender, Power and Social Change in Morocco,” in *Islamic Masculinities*, ed. Lahoucine Ouzgane (London: Zed Books, 2006).

families consciously or unconsciously pass on the differences between sons and daughters even from childhood. These traditional practices are also present in modern times.<sup>83</sup> Boys are honed to take on responsibilities, be strong and lead both domestically and socially. Furthermore, the findings affirm Eagly's study that showed differences between men and women on how easily they can be influenced and how influential they are. Women are seen as more easily influenced while men are viewed as more influential.<sup>84</sup> As pointed out in Bhatti's analysis, this practice is also common in South Asian countries. Socialisation of girls in Asian countries is differentiated, and they are taught to look highly upon their fathers, brothers (be they older or younger), as well as their husbands after marriage.<sup>85</sup> The differences are ascribed hugely from the formal inequalities where men are afforded high-status roles in society.<sup>86</sup>

Such studies are confirmed by the results relating to gender and leadership. A little over 80.0 percent of the 400 respondents are receptive to the principle that "*men are better leaders than women*," as shown in Annex Table 4-9a. The overall data show no significant variation between young and mature respondents.

At the provincial level (Annex Table 4-9a), the normative principle is widely accepted in Nangarhar (93.8 percent) followed by the respondents from Kabul (85.6 percent), Bamyan (72.6 percent), and Takhar (65 percent). The data from Nangarhar indicates that the norm of men being better leaders than women is almost universally accepted by the male respondents.

The female respondents from Nangarhar (90.0 percent) lead in terms of their inclination to believe that men are better leaders. The data also show that, except in Kabul (*sig p*<0.10), there is no significant difference between the young and mature female respondents in terms of their view of leadership and gender.

Worth mentioning are the explanations provided by a few FGD respondents from the conservative province of Nangarhar, and less conservative group views in Bamyan:

*As I told you, we do not have an educated woman in Kama that has the potential to become a community leader; from the beginning, I told you that women are not allowed to go to school; that is why they are not selected to lead. No famous woman surfaced in our place; mostly men are famous. When a man allows his daughter, son or his wife attend school, then they can do something in the society. As I told you before, women are not educated so they do not know that they can get their rights and can go out. Men decide who should go out and who should not.*

(Nar, Mature Female, Nangarhar - KII)

*We cannot deny the fact that a woman can be a good manager because we have had great examples in Afghanistan; we have ministers, members of parliament, and other politicians. It is not right that we take out girls from schools and deprive them of higher education. I am sure that after ten years in this developing country with a population of 30 million, a person who is illiterate won't have a place to live whether a man or a woman. ...Afghanistan cannot go on like this forever. The problem has been within us; we are ignorant in that we do not allow our girls to go to school or allow them to attend universities.*

(N, Young Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)

In the less conservative provinces, a few young FGD participants shared their ideas that women can be equally considered leaders in the home and community, albeit they were not given ample opportunity to hone their potential because of discrimination. Below are views coming from less conservative study areas that address why men are seen there as better managers than women and what factors influence that view. The quotes show the changing views of those exposed to rights issues:

83 Carrie F. Paechter, *Being Boys, Being Girls: Learning Masculinities and Femininities* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2007), 48.

84 Alice H. Eagly, "Gender and Social Influence: A Social Psychological Analysis," *American Psychologist* 38, no. 9 (1983).

85 Zarina Bhatti, "Gender Socialisation South Asia," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures: Family, Law and Politics*, ed. Suad Joseph and Afsaneh Najmabadi (Leiden ; Boston, Mass.: Brill, 2005), 203.

86 Eagly, "Gender and Social Influence: A Social Psychological Analysis."

*... I disagree with it, if we look at the modern history of Afghanistan women have always helped us. When we are talking about this area, then I acknowledge that we have a culture where women are kept in the house and man is head of the household. Men do their work outside and women do their work inside the house.*

*(HU, Young Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)*

*Men have better ideas than a woman. Mostly men are exposed outside of the house, so they know of issues that women are not aware of them. Recently women have started to come out of their house, they are aware of the society and their rights so in the future they can be comparable to men, but for now, in Afghanistan, women are trying to improve their status. In the past, the women were not aware of their rights and they were accepting whatever their men imposed on them. The man is like a strong supporter of a family.*

*(SK, Young Woman, Bamyan - FGD)*

Results of the gender and leadership study show a different angle when looking at this issue in the context of educational attainment, as shown in Annex Table 4-9b. The respondents' opinions on the norm vary significantly when grouped according to educational attainment. Significant variation is explicit in the overall data (*sig p<0.05*), male data (*sig p<0.05*), and female data (*sig p<0.05*). The general trend of the data is that agreeability regarding the better leadership quality of men decreases with increased educational attainment; this is also the case when the data are further disaggregated by province, although no significant variation can be observed. The observation suggests that respondents who are highly educated are able to go beyond the traditional view and see that good leadership is not inherent in being a male.

The overall data in Annex Table 4-9c show significant variations (*sig p<0.05*) among the ethnic groups. They further revealed that the Pashtuns have the highest percentage (58.3 percent) that affirmed the aforesaid view.

At the provincial level, significant ethnic variations are observable in both Kabul (*sig p<0.10*) and Takhar (*sig p<0.01*). In the case of Kabul, the Pashtuns exhibit higher propensity to strongly support this norm. On the other hand, in Takhar, the Tajiks show a higher degree of agreeability with the statement (Annex Table 4-9c).

Significant variations among ethnic groups in terms of their views about leadership are observable among the female respondents (*sig p<0.10*), but not among the males. However, when the data are further disaggregated by provinces, variations can be observed among the male respondents from Takhar (*sig p<0.01*) and among the female respondents from Kabul (*sig p<0.10*).

## 4.2.2 Level of education and gender

Education as a human capital is considered a positive influence on economic development. In particular, educating girls escalates human capital and growth.<sup>87</sup> Traditional societies tend to emphasize educating boys rather than girls as a result of the normative principle that men are the economic providers; hence, they need to have good schooling. The current study shows that there is a plurality of opinions about the view that "men should be more educated than women," as detailed in Annex Table 4-10a. Half of the respondents are receptive to this, while the other half are not. Further, no significant difference is noted in the response pattern of mature and young respondents.

At the provincial level, resistance, or the sum of the respondents who both disagree and strongly disagree with the view that men should be more educated than women, is highest in Bamyan (56.3 percent), followed by Kabul (53.1 percent), and Takhar (52.6 percent); the respondents from Nangarhar presented the least resistance (35.0 percent).

87 T. Paul Schultz, *Human Capital Investment in Women and Men: Micro and Macro Evidence of Economic Returns*, Occasional Papers - International Center for Economic Growth, Nr 44 (San Francisco: An International Center for Economic Growth Publication, 1994).



Among the male respondents, 43.5 percent do not accept the view that men should be more educated than women. Resistance against the normative principle by the male respondents is highest in Bamyan (57.5 percent), followed by Takhar (47.5 percent), Kabul (41.3 percent) and Nangarhar (30.0 percent). Significant variation between young and mature respondents is evident in Bamyan (*sig p*<0.05) and Kabul (*sig p*<0.10). In the case of Bamyan, the data show the greater inclination among the young respondents to resist the norm. The opposite can be observed in Kabul, where the percentage of mature respondents (55.0 percent) who resisted the norm is twice that (27.5 percent) of young respondents.

Resistance is likewise strong among female respondents. The data show that 56.5 percent of women respondents do not accept that they should not be more educated than men. Resistance is highest in Kabul where 65.0 percent of the respondents do not accept the norm, followed by Takhar (57.5 percent), and Bamyan (55.0 percent), with the least in Nangarhar (40.0 percent). This means that both the male and female respondents put a premium on equal access to education by boys and girls.

The data, however, show that conformity to the view that men should be more educated than women is affected by educational attainment, as shown in Annex Table 4-10b. Significant variation is observed in the overall data (*sig p*<0.05), male data (*sig p*<0.01), female data (*sig p*<0.05), female data in Takhar (*sig p*<0.10), and overall provincial data in Takhar (*sig p*<0.05).

The data in the aforementioned instances show decreased support for putting more importance on educating boys. The overall data, for example, show that 29.8 percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the normative principle whereas only 13.8 percent of the respondents with at least a college-level education had a similar opinion. A similar observation can be drawn from the overall male and female data, province-level Takhar data, and female data in Takhar (Annex Table 4-10b).

The variation among the ethnic groups in terms of their views on the education of men and women is not supported by the overall data in Annex Table 4-10c. This means that the respondents, irrespective of their ethnicity, share the same views about the education of men and women. Interestingly, when the data is disaggregated by province, significant ethnic variations are observable in both Kabul (*sig p*<0.01) and Takhar (*sig p*<0.01).

In the case of Takhar, the Tajiks show greater support for the norm. On the other hand, the aggregate group from Kabul shows higher degree of agreeing with this view.

When the data is disaggregated by sex, significant variations among ethnic groups are observable among the female respondents from both Kabul (*sig p*<0.05) and Takhar (*sig p*<0.01). Further, the overall data of the female respondents show significant variations (*sig p*<0.10) among ethnic groups, but this cannot be said of the overall data of the male respondents.

The findings in the quantitative part are explained further in the interviews conducted in all provinces. In the conservative provinces, such as Nangarhar, women disclosed their lack of opportunities for education compared to their male counterparts. Young women both in Bamyan and Kabul are vehement in asserting equal rights to education:

*As I told you, most of the people do not like that their daughters should go to school; they think that if they go to school they will dismiss their culture and they will forget the traditions that we have here. They are not allowed to continue to university, some of them only attend until they are ten or 12 years old, but not more than that because it is not usual that a girl goes out of the community.*

*(Nar, Mature Woman, Nangarhar - KII)*

*Some families do not allow their female members to continue after grade 7 or 8 while there are some families that allow their daughters to complete their school until grade 12.*

*(Man 3, Religious, Nangarhar - KII)*

*Girls can go to school up to 12th grade. When they graduate from school they are not allowed to go to universities because those schools are far, and problems may arise as they go there; for example, there are no separate classes for boys and girls. Like for instance, my daughter is at grade 12 and once she graduates, she will stay at home, she is not allowed to enrol at a university..*

*(AB, Nangarhar, Religious Man - KII)*

*Men can pursue their education to any level, but women cannot because their family and elders would not let them continue their education since they are women and only men have right to study.*

*(N1, Young Woman, Kabul, Rural - FGd)*

*Families bolster the self-esteem of the boys that they are strong and better than girls. Girls are treated as weak since childhood. Parents prevent their daughters when they want to do something; they are told that they just can't because they are weak. Girls were able to accept that they are inferior, and this idea has been passed on from one generation to the next. People state that girls are not permanent members of the family, one day they will leave the house and will belong to the husband's family, but boys will stay with them until the end of life. It means the boys are their property. That made them give more focus on the boys.*

*(ZH, Young Woman, Bamyan - FGD)*

One of the considerations being raised is the cultural heritage and structural context of a given society. Further, the FGD in Nangarhar revealed that some of the Pashtun men subject to *Pashtunwali* believed that Islam lets women pursue education, even though their culture does not allow girls and women to be educated beyond the eighth grade.

### 4.2.3 Women and marriage: Decisions and harmful practices

Marriage in many traditional societies means the union not only of two individuals, but also of two families. In many cases, marriage in traditional societies is decided upon by the family rather than by the individuals who are about to be married. As Jain pointed out, the couple who have no choice in mate selection will only have the option of how they work out the marriage to attain happiness.<sup>88</sup> According to Pasupathi, the inequality is based on the issue of power differentials between children and parents.<sup>89</sup>

Results run parallel with the above-mentioned literature as shown in Annex Table 4-11a, which reveals that there is a general acceptance by the respondents that women cannot decide when or whom to marry. While both young and mature respondents accept this norm, mature respondents are shown to have higher inclination (*sig p<0.05*) to do so. Acceptance of the norm is highest in Nangarhar (72.6 percent). Significant variation between mature and young respondents can be observed in Bamyan (*sig p<0.01*) and Kabul (*sig p<0.01*). The data show that the mature respondents in these provinces show greater support for the norm.

Among the male respondents, acceptance is highest in Nangarhar (82.5 percent) and lowest in Bamyan (60.0 percent).

Although both mature and young female respondents accept the norm, the data show that mature respondents are more inclined to do so (*sig p<0.05*). At the provincial level, mature female respondents in Bamyan (*sig p<0.10*), Kabul (*sig p<0.10*), and Takhar (*sig p<0.10*) are also more inclined to agree with it.

88 Supra, Jain. Note 8. *Traditional Japanese mate selection mirrors this South Asian practice*. Quoted in Prashina J. Gagoomal, "A "Margin of Appreciation" for "Marriages of Appreciation": Reconciling South Asian Adult Arranged Marriages with the Matrimonial Consent Requirement in International Human Rights Law," *The Georgetown Law Journal* 97 (2009): 592. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/7mJT30> (Accessed 8 June 2015).

89 Gender inequity is more at issue in the case of forced marriage, with women (mostly young girls) literally being sold to willing, often older men: Monisha Pasupathi, "Arranged Marriages What's Love Got to Do with It?," in *Inside the American Couple: New Thinking/New Challenges*, ed. Marilyn Yalom and Laura L. Carstensen (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002).

Respondents did not vary significantly regarding the view that “women should not decide who and when to marry” when the overall data are grouped according to educational attainment. The data in Annex Table 4-11b, however, show a significant variation in the case of the overall data of female respondents as well as the data of females in Kabul. Contrary to expectations, increased educational attainment heightened the approval of the view that the decision to marry shouldn't be made by women.

It should be pointed out that there is a plurality of views concerning whether or not women should decide who and when to marry. This means that while a good percentage of the respondents approved of the normative principle, many also disagreed with it (Annex Table 4-11b).

The data in Annex Table 4-11b show a plurality of views concerning marriage decision making. While the majority of the respondents think that women should not decide who and when to marry, 32.1 percent of the respondents think otherwise.

As observed in Annex Table 4-11c, significant ethnic variations in terms of views on marriage decision making is observable overall (*sig p*<0.10), as well as in Kabul (*sig p*<0.10) and Takhar (*sig p*<0.05).

Significant ethnic variations remain observable even if the data are disaggregated by sex, including among male respondents from Kabul (*sig p*<0.05) and Takhar (*sig p*<0.10) and among female respondents also from Kabul (*sig p*<0.10) and Takhar (*sig p*<0.05). Significant variations among ethnic groups can also be seen among the female respondents (Annex Table 4-11c).

Arranged marriages are broadly defined as unions that transpire when people other than the couple, such as parents or other members of the family, decide who marries whom.<sup>90</sup> This was the norm in all four provinces being studied. The majority of the interviewees agree that women have no right to choose whom they will marry; indeed, only one participant asserted that women should not entrust the decision of who their future husband will be to their parents.

The following accounts were shared by the participants in the interviews and FGDs:

*Yes, it is right, why the women cannot decide whom to marry? It is because the women are naqis-ul-aql and they are inferior. When a girl sees a fashionable young boy without consideration of his education, wealth and how she will be treated in the future, the girl chooses him, but his parents consider all these issues when they select a boy for their girl.*

(HDM, Mature Man, Kabul, Urban -FGD)

*They will say that you are free to do anything and to go anywhere, if you want to marry, you can go, we do not accept you as our family member and don't call us father or mother.*

(F2, Mature Woman, Takhar -FGD)

*I was 18 years old when I got married to an old man, but I never wanted to marry him; I told them that I would commit suicide if they forced me. My father told me, if you do not want to marry, okay, get lost with your mom, I will divorce her too; so my mother told me to marry. I got married then.*

(F3, Mature Woman, Takhar-FGD)

*They made decisions for their women which are very painful, like sometimes they force the girls to get married, and say that I am your father and I am authorised to decide for you.*

(ZA, Young Woman, Bamyān - FGD)

*Yes, I told you about my life that I was just seven or eight years old when I got married, in our place most of our girls marry at the age of 14 or 15; if they get married later, people will talk behind their back and may come up with stories that they are sick or may have problems at home.*

(Nar, Mature Woman, Nangarhar - KII)

90 Marilyn Yalom and Laura L Carstensen, *Inside the American Couple: New Thinking/New Challenges* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 211.

Some of the interviewees in all provinces shared their ideas on the practice of *baad* and *badal*. They vehemently opposed the tradition/custom of lessening their expenses by paying off a crime with women in the family, as such a custom destroyed the lives of the people involved.

*If a boy and girl escaped to another place to get married which is against their parents' decisions, their nikāh is not valid. Islam does not allow this kind of marriage. Most of the time, when a boy and girl escape, the family of the boy should give a young girl as baad to the family of the girl because it is a big shame on the part of the girl's family. If the family of the boy does not agree to give a girl in baad, then the family of the girl has the right according to our traditions to murder anyone they caught from the family of the boy.*

(MRO, Mature Man, Nangarhar - FGD)

*It is a very bad practice. It was happening in the past; nowadays, people should not do it anymore. The practice of baad and badal ruin both families. In badal, if the husband will hurt his wife, the other family will also hurt the wife who is closely related to the husband mentioned earlier as a form of revenge.*

(F1, Young Woman, Takhar - FGD)

*Decisions are always made by the head of the families according to the Islamic law, culture and traditions. Approximately 90 percent of the families give the right to their daughters about getting married; they ask their daughters if she is willing to get married; if the girls are not willing, then the parents cancel the marriage plans. In the past years, some of the girls were married in baad, but now this tradition is totally banned in our community. I know lots of parents have lost their daughters in gambling, daughters did not have the right to ask why they are forced to get married in exchange for the losses incurred in gambling, but now, fortunately, it is no longer practiced. It will never happen that a boy of 16 will get married to a woman of 60, but a girl of 14 is married to a man of 45 or above in lots of areas in the country. It should not be allowed that a man of 60 get married with a young girl for money, gold or land. Our tradition is like this, that if it happens in our family, we have the right to fight against it while we do not have the right to fight with such kind of cases if it happens in our community...*

(Baf, Mature Man, Kabul -rural)

*Islam has a condition for it to be allowable, otherwise, it is prohibited. When two families set to exchange their women for marriage, mahrs have to be set. Nowadays, such practice is just like badal that is considered unlawful. Contradictions between law and culture happen. A family might say, "you need to give your daughter to us, and we will give you our daughter as well." Without setting a mahr. In this situation, the girl can set the mahr. At this point, she makes the decision to get married because it is her right. In that condition, badal is acceptable. When the girl is getting married, her father should go to her and tell her "how much do you want to set your mahr?" and the other father does the same thing and if mahr is not set then, badal is prohibited.*

(N, Young Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)

*Badal has a negative impact in Bagrami district. Baad is not a good thing in our tradition, and it is against the Islamic law.*

(Ng, Young Man, Kabul, Rural-FGD)

*One of the reasons that families resort to such a thing can be poverty. Like a family has an elder son and an elder daughter but the father of the family cannot arrange a marriage for his son so he will do badal with his daughter for his daughter in law because the expenses will be lessened. When the families cannot prepare jahīz, then they will do badal on their daughters. The wrong traditions can be the cause of compulsory nikāh. ...Our neighbours were poor, they wanted to marry off their son, but they did not have enough money, so they had to do badal on their daughter, but their son was not happy with his wife and finally they got divorced, then their son-in-law divorced their daughter. After which, their son got married to his cousin. They fixed their daughter's marriage with someone else while he already had a wife. The main reason was poverty.*

(G, Young Woman, Bamyan - FGD)

#### 4.2.4 Power goes with being a man

The respondents accepted the view that “power goes hand in hand with being a man.” The data in Annex Table 4-12a show that 66.5 percent of the respondents acceded to this statement. Significant (*sig p<0.01*) variation between the mature and young respondents is evident in the data that show that the former are more inclined to agree with the norm.

Acceptance is highest in Nangarhar (83.8 percent) followed by Kabul (71.9 percent), Takhar (53.8 percent) and least in Bamyan (51.3 percent). Significant variation between mature and young respondents can be observed in Kabul (*sig p<0.05*) and Bamyan (*sig p<0.10*). The mature male respondents in these provinces are more inclined to accept this view (Annex Table 4-12a).

The results show that the norm is widely accepted by the male respondents (72.0 percent). All male respondents in Nangarhar, 76.3 percent in Kabul, 60.0 percent in Takhar and 47.5 percent in Bamyan accepted it. Mature and young male respondents in Kabul (*sig p<0.05*) significantly differ in their views, with mature respondents showing a higher inclination to agree with it (Annex Table 4-12a).

Women respondents also accept the normative principle, most prominently in Kabul (67.6 percent) with the least acceptance in Takhar (47.5 percent). The overall result shows that there is a significant difference (*sig p<0.05*) between mature and young respondents. However, this is not supported by the provincial-level data (Annex Table 4-12a).

The majority of the participants and informants agree that it is the practice of Afghan families that men are superior to women and that wives should be subservient. In all the study areas, there is an agreement that deliberate inequality is very apparent between men and women. Such difference in treatment is very clear in childhood. Women hope for equality in their homes and communities (Annex Table 4-12a).

The likelihood of supporting that “power goes hand in hand with being a man” decreases as the level of educational attainment increases (Annex Table 4-12b). This is the case with the overall data (*sig p<0.05*), overall male data (*sig p<0.05*), Kabul male data (*sig p<0.05*), overall female data (*sig p<0.05*), province-level Takhar data (*sig p<0.10*), and Takhar female data (*sig p<0.10*).

The overall data show that 36.8 percent and 36.3 percent of the respondents without educational attainment strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, that “power goes hand in hand with being a man.” On the other hand, 23.1 percent and 32.3 percent of the respondents with at least a college-level education strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, with the normative principle. While the degree of agreeability decreases with increased educational attainment, the degree of aversion increases with increased education. This means more educated respondents show a higher likelihood of disagreeing/strongly disagreeing with the norm (Annex Table 4-12b).

The data in Annex Table 4-12c show that ethnic groups vary significantly (*sig p<0.01*) regarding their views about power and being a man. While a plurality of views is apparent, the table shows that Pashtuns have the highest percentage of respondents who strongly agreed that “power goes hand in hand with being a man.”

At the provincial level, the significant variation of views on power and sex can only be observed in Takhar (*sig p<0.01*), but not in Kabul. It is interesting to note that the percentage of respondents who do not support the view is significantly higher among the Pashtuns in Takhar compared to the other provincial ethnic groups (Annex Table 4-12c).

Additionally, the data in Annex Table 4-12c also show that significant variations of views by ethnic groups are observable in the overall data of both male (*sig p<0.01*) and female (*sig p<0.01*) respondents.

Qualitative results give a deeper understanding of informants' and participants' perspective on gender and power in their acceptance of men being more powerful than women:

*One of the advantages of a man is his being [more] powerful than the women. The other advantage of the man is that the women are at his beck and call, and they serve the men.*

*(Hdm, Mature Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)*

*Allah gave men more power than women that is why in this community people also do not give much opportunity to women."*

*(Mature Woman 2, Nangarhar - FGD)*

*...because of their financial status and capacity to give guidance, men can lead a family better, siyasar is naqis-ul-aql, no matter what she does she cannot be a man.*

*(FR, Mature Man, Takhar - FGD)*

*They do these treatments against their family members to show how much their power stands in their home.*

*(B, Young Woman, Kabul, Rural - FGD)*

The qualitative part affirmed the hopes and aspirations of women to have equal treatment with men both domestically and socially:

*The behaviour should be equal with boys and girls since childhood like the families appreciate the sons more than their daughters. They need to behave equally, like if they enrol their sons in a good and equipped school, so they should enrol their daughters in the same school enjoyed by their sons as well. Fathers should take their both sons and daughters to the bazaar, and they should not feel shameful while they are with their daughters.*

*(G, Young Woman, Bamyān - FGD)*

*I accepted that women participated in education more than ten years ago, and the positive effects education brought into their lives. At this moment, 95 percent of girls are attending school. Islam is not against women working like a man, but our culture and traditions do not allow them to do so. In foreign countries, women have rights to education and work. They can decide on their own. If a girl from foreign countries has a boyfriend, it does not matter because it is not against their traditions and culture but here it is not like that. Internet, media, social media and cell phones are turning young girls to become perverted, and they act against their traditions and culture here. Prophet Mohammad never said that women are naqis-ul-aql while it is always said by people in the community that women are naqis-ul-aql. It is the government's responsibility to make chances for women to have jobs but should be according to Islamic law.*

*(Baf, Mature Man, Kabul, Rural - FGD)*

One respondent elaborated in his accounts the importance of following the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad, particularly in practicing the equality between sexes. Another young male FGD participant in Kabul shared the same view of the need to have an equal treatment for both men and women. He emphasised the contrast in the traditional treatment of women:

*...Secondly, that we call ourselves Muslims and accept Prophet Mohammad, we should act like our prophet. He worked for human rights (women's rights and children's rights). We should think about our rights. We must be open and having good relation with our community; it is called the real identity of a man who knows everyone's rights. When we know each other's rights, then we neither have any problem nor are going to face any problem in our lives. Anyone who wants to live in the family and in the community without any problem should live the way Islam told us. If we do not let girls attend school because of our ghairat, it is against the human rights and the rights that Islam showed us.*

*(ES, Mature Man, Kabul, Rural-FGD)*

## 4.2.5 On men being more powerful

The respondents believed that men should always be more powerful than women as shown in Annex Table 4-13a, where 71.8 percent agreed with this concept. Mature and young respondents differed significantly ( $sig p < 0.01$ ) in their views. The data show that, compared to the young respondents, their mature counterparts are more inclined to accept the normative principle.

Acceptance of this is highest in Nangarhar (90.1 percent) and lowest in Takhar (51.3 percent). Annex Table 4-13a shows that mature and young respondents in Bamyan ( $sig p < 0.01$ ) and Kabul ( $sig p < 0.01$ ) exhibit significantly different views. The data show that the mature respondents in provinces above are more likely to accept the norm than their younger counterparts.

Both male and female respondents accept the norm. Of the male respondents, 73 percent find it valid. Of the four provinces, acceptance is highest in Nangarhar and lowest in Takhar. The intergenerational difference of views, however, is significant ( $sig p < 0.01$ ). Mature male respondents are more likely to believe that men should always be more powerful than women. Intergenerational differences are also evident in Bamyan ( $sig p < 0.01$ ) and Nangarhar ( $sig p < 0.10$ ). The data suggest that the mature respondents from these provinces are more inclined to support the norm (Annex Table 4-13).

In the case of the female respondents, acceptance is highest in Nangarhar (85.0 percent), Kabul (78.8 percent), and Bamyan and Takhar (both 60.0 percent). The data further show that the mature female respondents in Bamyan ( $sig p < 0.10$ ) and Kabul ( $sig p < 0.05$ ) are more amenable to the normative principle than their younger counterparts (Annex Table 4-13a).

Annex Table 4-13b shows that opinions on the view that “men should always be more powerful than women” vary significantly when the respondents are grouped according to educational attainment. More particularly, significant variation can be observed in the overall data ( $sig p < 0.01$ ), overall male data ( $sig p < 0.01$ ), male data in Kabul ( $sig p < 0.10$ ), overall female data ( $sig p < 0.05$ ), and provincial data for Takhar ( $sig p < 0.10$ ).

The data show reduced likelihood of support as the educational attainment increases. This suggests that education may have a moderating effect on the perception of power (Annex Table 4-13b).

Ethnic groups significantly differ ( $sig p < 0.01$ ) in views about whether men should always be more powerful than women. Of the four ethnic groups, the Pashtuns exhibit higher support for this viewpoint (Annex Table 4-13c).

Significant differences of views by ethnic groups on this idea remain even when the data are disaggregated by sex. Significant variation of views by ethnicity is observable in Takhar for both male ( $sig p < 0.01$ ) and female respondents ( $sig p < 0.01$ ) (Annex Table 4-13c).

The qualitative results yielded the same contention that men are more powerful than women. This idea is shared among the four provinces:

*No, they are not equal, it is clear to all that the ability of the women is lesser than the men. Physically the men are powerful than women. In intelligence, the men are better than women.*

*(Mature Man 2, Nangarhar KII)*

*In our house, my husband makes every decision by himself.*

*(Mature Woman, Kabul, Urban - FGD)*

Young and mature women in all the study areas have notions that power can be held by both men and women and that men have no monopoly on power. Women’s powerlessness is caused by lack of education and opportunities provided to them:

*A woman can have power if she is educated; in Kama the problem is that women are not educated, and men also do not give them their rights.*

*(F5, Mature Woman, Nangarhar - FGD)*

*Women also can have power. There are many women in parliament, they have power, and they can express their ideas there. In our village, we do not have any powerful woman because here, women had no opportunity to study. Only men had the opportunity to study here.*

*(F1, Young Women, Takhar - FGD)*

*...Within a family "between wife and husband," we cannot say which one of them is more powerful. Power means guiding others on what is right and proper. It means one can act as manager, leader or head of a family.*

*(MH, Young Woman, Bamyán -FGD)*

*...I disagree, if we look at the modern history of Afghanistan, women have always helped us. In our locality, I acknowledge that we have a culture where women are kept in the house and men are heads of the households. Men do their work, and so with women.*

*(HaU, Young Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)*

#### 4.2.6 Men having the last word

Annex Table 4-14a shows that 77.5 percent of all male respondents agree with the statement that "men should always have the last word." Over half of the mature male respondents agree; by contrast, only 38.0 percent of their younger counterparts do. The response pattern between mature and young male respondents indicates that mature respondents are inclined (*sig p<0.05*) to agree with this statement.

All male respondents from Nangarhar think that men should always have the last word. In Kabul and Takhar, 77.6 percent and 70.0 percent, respectively, affirm the statement.

The difference in the response pattern between young and mature respondents is significantly pronounced in Bamyán (*sig p<0.01*) and Nangarhar (*sig p<0.05*). In these areas, mature male respondents show a higher inclination to agree with the statement. The opposite can be observed in Takhar, where the higher likelihood of younger male respondents supporting the statement are statistically insignificant (Annex 4-14a).

The female respondents from Nangarhar, like their male counterparts, also believed that men should always have the last word. The data in Annex Table 4-14a show that 85.0 percent of the female respondents are receptive to the idea matter. In Kabul, 71.3 percent of the female respondents affirmatively received the statement, while in Bamyán and Takhar, 57.5 percent and 45.0 percent, respectively, responded similarly.

Except for the overall male data (*sig p<0.10*), the data in Annex Table 4-14b show that opinions on the view do not vary significantly when grouped according to educational attainment. The data further show that there is a plurality of views about whether men should have the last word.

In the case of the male respondents, the data show that the likelihood of agreeing with the norm decreases with increased educational attainment. For example, 52.5 percent of the respondents without education/formal schooling strongly agreed with aforesaid principle while 41.9 percent of the respondents with at least a college level education have a similar view.

Annex Table 4-14c shows that there is a significant variation (*sig p<0.01*) of views on decision-making when the respondents are grouped by their ethnicity. The data show that the Pashtuns are more inclined to support the norm. At the provincial level, a significant variation by ethnicity can be observed in Kabul (*sig p<0.05*), but not in Takhar.



When further disaggregated by sex, the variation of views by ethnic groups remains significant for both male (*sig p*<0.10) and female respondents (*sig p*<0.05). The data show that both male and female Pashtuns show greater inclination of being highly agreeable to the view (Annex Table 4-14c).

The qualitative results affirmed the findings of the quantitative part of this study. Power is considered as the basic fabric of society and is possessed in various degrees by social actors in diverse categories. The general trend is that, among the conservative and not so conservative provinces, respondents and interviewees believe that men are more powerful than women:

*Men's control is constant in our village; we do whatever they said.*

*(P9, Mature Woman, Kabul, Rural - FGD)*

*Men are given authority and power than women. These are manifested through the responsibilities to find work and take on the family expenses. He need not mind the affairs of the house such as preparation of food, and other duties are delegated to women. The second reason is that families are creating discrimination among their children (boy and girl); from their childhood, they make the boys feel strong and better than girls and that girls are weak, from their childhood they prevent their daughters from doing anything and tell them that they can't because they are weak, so, for this reason, girls have felt themselves weak, and this idea has improved ahead of each coming generation; this idea has caused the weakness in women.*

*(ZH, Young Woman, Bamyan - FGD)*

### 4.3 Masculinity and violence against women

The combination of Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism and Islamic traditions in South Asian countries shaped the social status of men and women there. Unyielding cultures and patriarchal ways undervalue women, leading to violence. Men being considered as the unquestionable ruler of the house, under whose purview events in the household are seen as private matters, contributes to domestic violence. This typically refers to traditional wife battery; other than that, women are also vulnerable to dowry crimes such as bride burning, kidnapping for prostitution, and honour killings.<sup>91</sup>

#### 4.3.1 Wife beating

The results revealed a plurality of views concerning wife battery. Annex Table 4-15a shows that more than half (59.6 percent) of the 400 respondents find wife beating acceptable; 40.5 percent disagreed. The data show no significant variation between the response of young and mature respondents.

Acceptance of wife beating is highest among the respondents from Nangarhar (80.1 percent) and lowest in Bamyan (50.1 percent). The province-level data show that, compared with their younger counterparts, the mature respondents from Bamyan are more inclined to accept wife beating (*sig p*<0.05). While a good percentage (38.0 percent) of the male respondents reject wife beating, the majority (62.0 percent) find it acceptable. Acceptance of wife beating is highest in Nangarhar (70.0 percent) and lowest in Bamyan (60.0 percent). However, significant variation between the young and mature respondents in Bamyan is evident where mature respondents are more inclined to accept the practice (Annex Table 4-15a).

Like their male counterparts, the majority (57.3 percent) of the female respondents find wife beating acceptable. Acceptance is highest among the female respondents from Nangarhar (90.0 percent) and lowest in Bamyan. A marked difference in the response between mature and young respondents is evident in Bamyan. The data in Table 4-15 show that, compared to their younger counterparts, mature female respondents are more inclined to accept wife beating (Annex Table 4-15a).

<sup>91</sup> Unaiza Niaz, "Violence against Women in South Asian Countries," *Archives of Women's Mental Health* 6, no. 3 (2003). Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/1vP7pZ> (Accessed 25 September 2015).

The overall data in Annex Table 4-15b show significant variation (*sig p<0.01*) in the opinions of the respondents on wife battery when they are grouped according to educational attainment. Opinion on this normative principle is also significant in the provincial data of Takhar (*sig p<0.05*), female data in Takhar (*sig p<0.05*), and overall female data (*sig p<0.01*).

The data in the aforementioned instances show that increased educational attainment is associated with decreased likelihood of agreeing to the principle that “it is acceptable for a man to raise his hands on his wife” in Annex Table 4-15b.

Significant variation of views by ethnic group is, however, observable at the provincial level. In the case of Takhar (*sig p<0.01*), the data show that the Tajiks exhibit a higher propensity of agreeing that it is acceptable for a husband to raise his hands on his wife. On the other hand, the aggregate group in Kabul find wife battery acceptable (Annex Table 4-15c).

Among the male respondents, significant variation in the perspective of ethnic groups on the issue of wife battery is observable in both Kabul (*sig p<0.05*) and Takhar (*sig p<0.01*), but not in the overall male data (Annex Table 4-15c). In the case of the female respondents, significant variation can be observed at the provincial level, specifically in Kabul (*sig p<0.10*) and Takhar (*sig p<0.01*), as well as in the overall female data (*sig p<0.01*).

### 4.3.2 Displaying aggressive behaviour at home

While the majority of the respondents accept wife beating, the majority also rejected the display of aggressive behaviour at home; Annex Table 4-16a shows that only 34.8 percent of the respondents accept this. Compared with their younger counterparts, mature respondents show greater inclination to accept the display of aggressive behaviour at home (*sig p<0.01*).

Both male and female respondents reject this behaviour. In the case of the male respondents, rejection is highest in Takhar, where 95.0 percent (45.0 percent strongly disagree + 50.0 percent disagree) do not find it acceptable. Except in Bamyan (*sig p<0.05*), no significant variation between young and mature male respondents is evident in the provinces (Annex Table 4-16a).

Rejection of the display of aggressive behaviour is highest among the female respondents from Bamyan and lowest in Nangarhar. The data show that the young female respondents from Bamyan (*sig p<0.10*) show greater inclination to reject it (Annex 4-16a).

Respondents who are well-educated do not accept the expression of toughness and display of aggressive behavior at home by a man. Annex Table 4-16b shows a highly significant variation (*sig p<0.01*) in opinions when the respondents are grouped according to educational attainment. Further, the overall data show that the inclination to agree with the view decreases as educational attainment increases.

Annex Table 4-16b supports similar observations in its male data (*sig p<0.01*), female data (*sig p<0.01*), male data in Kabul (*sig p<0.05*), female data in Kabul (*sig p<0.01*), and province-level data in Kabul (*sig p<0.01*).

The data in these instances indicate the moderating effect of education on how people perceive domestic violence. No significant variation can be observed in any data levels in Bamyan, Nangarhar, and Takhar (Annex Table 4-16b).

The data in Annex Table 4-16c shows that the respondents do not accept the display of aggressive behavior at home by a man; their views, however, significantly vary (*sig p<0.01*) when ethnicity is taken into account. Of the four ethnic groups in the study, the Pashtuns exhibit greater inclination to approve of this behaviour.

Significant variation among ethnic groups exists in the overall male (*sig p*<0.05) and female data (*sig p*<0.01). Views on the display of aggressive behavior at home by a man significantly differ among ethnic groups in both male (*sig p*<0.01) and female respondents (*sig p*<0.05). No significant variation in the views of ethnic groups can be observed in Kabul for both male and female respondents (Annex Table 4-16c).

As the early research stemmed from a feminist perspective, battered and abused women constitute a part of the greater picture of male dominance.<sup>92</sup> Moving forward from the 1980s and 1990s, research went further to the theoretical perspectives of men's violence against women with added emphasis on women's resistance to male control.<sup>93</sup> This current study has provided another perspective of looking at the dynamics of men and masculinities. The participants and informants in all provinces echoed Afghan culture and society's immense expectations of men concerning their domestic and community responsibilities.

Regarding gender-based violence, most of the male religious key informants believed that Islamic rules permit beating a wife in case she is a “*nashiza*,” i.e., a rebellious/disobedient woman. In this circumstance, culture becomes a facilitator of, and, at the same time, a barrier to change. The women further added that violent tendencies would be expressed when there is resistance from women family members to the directions men imposed upon them. It was explained during the male FGDs that the woman who disobeys or does not carry out the wishes of the husband is “*nashiza*.” Participants believed, based on Islamic teaching, that such circumstances give a husband the right to beat his wife.

Furthermore, most of the male interviewees affirmed these instances in their communities. Violence is more likely to happen when frustrations piled up as after-effects of the inability to fulfil the expected role of being a *nafaqah* provider and the inability to control their spouses and other members of the family:

*To be honest, most of the men in our community do raise their hands to their wives, sisters and children. It is something normal here.*

(Man 1, Nangarhar - KII)

*If women disobey their husbands' wishes for sure, they will push them to act violently. ... Men worked hard the whole day to fend for their families, and after work when they are at home, they are so tired and they see their wives disobeying their wishes. How would they feel? For sure after two or three times they would start beating their wives.*

(ANZ, Mature Man, Nangarhar - KII)

*As we told you, if I do not act on his wishes he will beat me.*

(Young Woman, Nangarhar - KII)

*Let me tell you about my experience: she was saying things, so I told her to shut up, and then I tried to talk seriously, but that did not work either, so I stood up and beat her up. I saw that she was trying to exert her influence on me... she said she wants to go to her father's house, which is in Kunduz, and I said very good, you can go. When her father arrived, he said that he wants to take her to his house for few days, and my wife asked me if she is allowed? So I replied yeah, you should go and stay there until you accept your mistakes.*

(FR, Mature Man, Takhar - FGD)

*Because in our village, the men do not let us go out of the house. Like one time, a woman went somewhere without seeking the permission of her husband; upon finding out, he hit her for two days and two nights.*

(F2, Mature Woman, Takhar-FGD)

92 Ellen Pence et al., *Education Groups for Men Who Batter: The Duluth Model* (New York: Springer Pub. Co., 1993).

93 Lee H. Bowker, *Beating Wife-Beating* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1983).

*I can share with you the experience on one of my neighbours who had a daughter. She fell in love with a police officer. One day she eloped with that guy. However, after a few days the officer came back to the police department alone. The police brought her back to her family. Her brothers and her father killed this girl, and no one knew about it until now. The police never asked them about her again.*

*(F7, Young Woman, Kabul, Urban-FGD)*

*As I have experienced, when men made up their mind they do not consult with their women and if the women resist their decisions, then they will ask, who is the man of the house? They will say that we know everything because we are men, and you do not know anything because you are just a woman. For example, my sister and her husband wanted to arrange the marriage of their daughter, but the daughter did not want to get married, and then her father beat her and broke her leg and hand.*

*(G, Young Woman, Bamyán - FGD)*

Over three decades, research uncovered a wealth of information on battered women utilising psychological, socio-cultural, historical, political perspectives.<sup>94</sup> The current study attempted to explore the construct of masculinity to delve further into issues of gender-based violence. The accounts mentioned clearly expressed frustrations of men in their inability to fulfil societal expectations, and maintain their power/control over family members as the husband and father. Where women resist their wishes, their power will be questioned. Various forms of violence, whether verbal, physical and emotional, are inflicted:

*Our men are cruel to poor people like us. One time I made a soup and went to the neighbour's house, when we took lunch I wanted to clean the napkin and our neighbour was preparing the fruits so I sent my small daughter to our house, and her dad beat her with a piece of stick until my daughter escaped to the garden. When I went home, he hit my hand and my waist. The reason that he hit our daughter was because she played with a boy who was also of the same age as our daughter. I was pregnant at the time it happened. Finally, my father-in-law came and took the stick from his hand and called him to calm down and hit him before he went out of our house. The next day, my sister came to take me to the town, but I was not able to walk and raise my leg, and my sister asked me what happened, I did not say a word on what transpired because I do not want her to be sad. When she persisted, I finally confessed. When she confronted my husband about it, he told her that he is a man and for a man there are lots of choices to get married and he wanted to take another wife, and I had to tolerate because I had children.*

*(F5, Mature Woman, Takhar-FGD)*

*Here women are not educated, and they have to obey their husbands. Otherwise, they should accept violence at home.*

*(Young Woman, Nangarhar - KII)*

*First, he [the husband] should try to make her [the wife] understand by explaining to her, he should advise her that if she doesn't listen to her husband's words then he can behave a bit violently; finally, he can divorce her because he knows that they can't live with each other, so it is better to get divorced.*

*(P4, Mature Man, Bamyán - FGD)*

*When the woman goes out, do something or make a plan without permission of men who are head of the family, this causes men to be angry and beating incidents happen. When the family members do not obey them, then the men beat them.*

*(HWM, Mature Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)*

<sup>94</sup> Catherine Kirkwood, *Leaving Abusive Partners: From the Scars of Survival to the Wisdom for Change* (London; Newbury Park, CA: SAGE, 1993).

When participants of the study sites were asked whether gender-based domestic violence was acceptable, the answers varied. In conservative areas like Nangarhar and Takhar, although they asserted that violence is not right, they claimed that those acts are justifiable when women oppose the words of the head of the family; the less conservative areas are strong in their claims that such acts are not acceptable. The less conservative sites of Bamyan and Kabul have a higher level of awareness in terms of gender rights compared to the participants in the conservative areas as Nangarhar and Takhar.

*A man should be very tolerant of female members of the family, but whenever they do not obey the men, it is permissible for the men to be aggressive with the female member of the family.*

(Young Man, Nangarhar - FGD)

*If she is not sick, and she does not hear my orders, so I will hit her a bit, or I will bash her.*

(M, Young Man, Takhar - FGD)

*He has the right to beat you when women do not want to give in for sexual relationship, or women do not sleep with their husbands, just like if they are busy with their child, lack of sexual relationship gave husbands the right to hit women.*

(F8, Mature Woman, Takhar - FGD)

*No, it is not right, we have a proverb that says the people will face problems if they do not use their mind. When a person becomes angry, he beats his wife or other members of the family. However, lately, conditions have changed; husbands cannot beat their wives. If a husband wants to beat his wife, it might end up that he may be beaten by his wife instead.*

(HFR, Mature Man, Kabul, Urban - FGD)

*A man has no right to impose his ideas and decisions on his wife through violence, but some men forced their family and wife to accept their decisions and ideas, they used physical violence and abusive words as well, but basically they have no right to impose their decision on others through violence.*

(G, Young Woman, Bamyan - FGD)

However, there is still a discordance in their levels of awareness and actual practice. Everyone in the FGD groups agreed that violence is justifiable on the following conditions, even in the less conservative study sites.

*In Islamic law, it is clearly mentioned that if women engage in prostitution [contact with other men in relation, phone contacts or socially] they have to be beaten and if she remained unrepentant after being beaten, if still she does then they have to be divorced. I think yes it is acceptable sometimes to raise your hand to a woman, to make them scared.*

(MZ, Young Man, Kabul, Rural- FGD)

*When the woman goes out, do something or make a plan without permission of men or head of the family, this causes a man to become angry and beat them up. When the family members do not obey them, then the men beat them.*

(HWM, Mature Man, Kabul, Urban -FGD)

## 5. Summary and Recommendations

### Summary of Findings

#### 5.1 Perceptions of masculinities

##### 5.1.1 Roles of men

Mature and male respondents are more inclined to agree strongly that “men should be the breadwinners of the family,” which is universally accepted by the respondents. Moreover, the overall data suggest that tradition and culture exert much stronger influence on men as breadwinners of the family, a perspective that does not significantly vary across levels of educational attainment in each of the four study sites. Although not significant, Bamyan and Takhar show the moderating effect of education. Kabul and Nangarhar manifest higher educational attainment and exhibit higher inclination to such ideas of men as breadwinners. Pertaining to ethnicity, there is significant variation among ethnic groups that can be observed in Takhar; irrespective of sex, Tajik respondents show greater propensity to believe that males should be the breadwinners of the family while the aggregated group show the least inclination. Pashtuns exhibit a higher inclination to concede that men should be the breadwinners of the family while Hazaras exhibit the least.

Almost all respondents concur that men should handle the security of their family. Nangarhar has the most respondents who strongly agreed with this. Regardless of educational attainment, the respondents accede that men should be responsible for the security of their family. Ethnic groups significantly vary in terms of their degree of agreement with the norm. Pashtun respondents show greater inclination to strongly agree with the view, followed by the aggregate group, Hazaras, and Tajiks.

There is no significant variation in the opinion on “men should fulfil his family’s needs at all cost” when grouped according to young and mature respondents, and according to male and female respondents, even at the provincial levels. The findings hold true even across educational attainment levels. The overall result implies that education does not necessarily change worldview and perception on gender normative principles. Pertaining to ethnicity, there is significant variation among ethnic groups that can be observed in Takhar. The aggregate group that has the highest percentage of respondents who strongly agreed are the Tajiks, followed by the Pashtuns, who exhibit higher inclination of being receptive to this view.

Results show acceptance of the normative principle “a man is someone a wife can rely on in all situations” in the four study provinces. The response pattern indicates that the female respondents, irrespective of age, share the same norm of men as being dependable. In a community perceived to be more conservative like Nangarhar, women underpin the role of men in the family or community as shown by their high percentage of agreement compared to other study areas. Education seems to have no bearing on this particular view. In the case of Kabul, higher educational attainment even heightened the propensity of the respondents to accede that a woman should be able to rely on her husband in all situations. The data further show that significant variations among ethnic groups are only observable among the male respondents in Takhar and not in Kabul.

The qualitative results affirmed the quantitative findings, but at the same time expanded beyond the strict “breadwinner” approach of providing financial support to the family. Men being the *nafaqah* providers have to meet the overall needs of the family of which financial needs are only one part. Moreover, Afghan communities set high expectations for men. Men in all four provinces, across young and mature FGD participants and informants, can feel the familial and societal pressure of living up to the three traditional roles of being providers, protectors, and procreators. They also report the loss of a sense of integrity and worth when they cannot meet these expectations. It caused them a great dishonour/*be-ghairat-i* and shame. The intense pressure even led to manifestations of suicidal tendencies, as professed by an FGD participant.

### 5.1.2 Roles of women

Gender disparity is most evident in the domestic chore gap between men and women. A statistically significant variation is evident between the young and mature respondents regarding their degree of acceptance of the normative principle, with the latter being more inclined to accept it. Moreover, data show that female respondents with higher educational attainment had lower inclination to agree with the norm that women should take care of domestic tasks; such has little effect on Afghan men. Pashtuns exhibit a higher degree of agreement with this concept. Significant variations among ethnic groups are observable in both Kabul and Takhar. In the case of Kabul, where three ethnic groups are represented, the aggregate group exhibits a higher propensity of strongly agreeing with the statement. Tajiks have the highest percentage of those who strongly agree with the statement, and significant ethnic variation is observable among the male and female respondents. In Takhar, among the male respondents, significant ethnic variation can be observed, but not in Kabul. Significant ethnic variations exist among the female respondents from Kabul (*sig p*<0.05), but not in Takhar.

In the qualitative part, some FGD participants from Bamyan, a less conservative province, openly expressed that women should work outside the home and be breadwinners like men. The roles of both men and women are apparently anchored in Afghan religiosity. Gendered division of labour is not flexible in all provinces. Women and men do not interfere with each other's tasks. If a man wants to help his female family members with housework, he may be labelled as “*zanchu*” in Dari and “*narkhazai*” or “*narshazai*” in Pashto by the community.

### 5.1.3 The roles of religion and culture in the sexual division of labour

The roles of both men and women are rooted in Afghan religiosity, which assigns men as a *nafaqah* provider and women as responsible for housework. Moreover, nuances surfaced in the results showing that Pashtun gender norms have stressed some codes and norms to the same degree as Islam. Findings highlighted the contradictions between culture and Islam. Some tribal codes and norms were considered barriers to gender equality.

## 5.2 Equality, power, and control

Inequality is very apparent in domestic tasks with women being overwhelmingly expected to be responsible in this area. Mature respondents are more inclined to subscribe to this norm.

Religion has a distinct role in the sexual division of labour, though contradictions were found between culture and Islam. Harmful cultural and traditional practices were considered a barrier to gender equality in particularly conservative areas, such as Nangarhar.

Prevalent among all provinces is the concept that men are given the authority and power to be leaders within and outside their homes. The overall data show no significant variation between young and mature respondents. However, there is significant variation when the respondents' opinions were grouped according to levels of educational attainment. Pashtuns have the highest percentage to subscribe to this view. Significant variation of ethnic groups in terms of their views about leadership is observable among the female respondents, but not the males.

Results of the current study show that there is a plurality of respondent opinions about the view that “men should be more educated than women.” Furthermore, no significant difference is noted in the response pattern of mature and young respondents. However, there is a decrease in the degree of amenability to the normative principle that puts more importance on educating boys. Similar observations can be drawn from the overall male, overall female, provincial-level Takhar data, and female data in Takhar. Significant ethnic variations on the said view are observable in both Kabul and Takhar. Disaggregated data by sex show significant ethnic variations among the female respondents from both Kabul and Takhar.

There is a general acceptance by the respondents that women cannot decide when or whom to marry. Mature respondents are shown to have a higher inclination to accept the notion. Acceptance of the normative principle is highest in Nangarhar. No significant variation in the opinion of the respondents on this view appears when the overall data is grouped according to educational attainment. Contrary to expectations, increased educational attainment heightened the approval of the view that the decision to marry should not be made by women. Significant ethnic variations remain observable even if the data are disaggregated by sex. It is significant among male respondents from Kabul and Takhar. Significant variations among ethnic groups can be seen among the female respondents.

Significant variation is evident in the data that show that mature respondents are more inclined to agree with the normative principle that “power goes hand in hand with being a man.” Acceptance is highest in Nangarhar, followed by Kabul, Takhar, and least in Bamyan. However, the likelihood of agreeing decreases as the level of educational attainment increases. Results also show that ethnic groups significantly vary regarding their views on power and being a man. The significant variation of views on power and sex can only be observed in Takhar, but not in Kabul. Significant variations of views by ethnic groups are observable in the overall data of both male and female groups. Pashtuns exhibit higher propensity of strongly supporting the norm. Significant variation of views by ethnicity is observable in Takhar for both male and female respondents.

The response pattern between mature and young male respondents indicates that the former are inclined to agree that “men should always have the last word.” The difference in the response pattern between young and mature respondents is pronounced in Bamyan and Nangarhar.

Views that “men should always have the last word” do not significantly vary when grouped according to educational attainment. There is a significant variation of views on decision-making when the respondents are grouped by their ethnicity. The data show that the Pashtuns are more inclined to strongly agree with this.

### 5.3 Violence against women

The data show no significant variation between the responses of young and mature respondents on the acceptance of wife battery. The acceptance of wife beating is highest among the respondents from Nangarhar and lowest in Bamyan.

Increased educational attainment is associated with decreased support of the normative principle that “it is acceptable for a man to raise his hands on his wife.” The data show that in Takhar, the Tajiks exhibit higher propensity of agreeing that this is acceptable. On the other hand, the aggregate group in Kabul finds wife battery acceptable. Significant variation of the perspective of ethnic groups on the issue of wife battery is observable in both Kabul and Takhar, but not on the overall male data.

Respondents who are well-educated do not find acceptable the expression of toughness and display of aggressive behaviour at home by a man. Of the four ethnic groups in the study, the Pashtuns exhibit greater inclination to approve of it.

Results show that acceptance of wife battery/wife-beating tendencies of men is widespread with the highest rate in Nangarhar and the lowest in Bamyan. Respondents subscribe to the traditional views about violence against women and children, finding wife-beating acceptable when women resist the opinion of men.



## Recommendations

1. Disseminating the results of the study to guide policymakers in addressing issues of gender inequality and violence against women and nonconforming men that emanate from the rigid construct of masculinity.
2. Enhancing existing information, education and communication campaigns regarding masculinities that properly promote gender equality. This campaign will be anchored by the Ministry of Information and Culture (MoIC) and should raise community awareness of the perils of gender inequality.
3. Designing programmes that deconstruct the notion of masculinity as it pertains to gender inequality and violence against women and children. This is in coordination with civil society and government organisations, specifically the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA), and MoIC. These programmes and life-skills-based education (or comprehensive sexuality education) should involve both men and women as partners to address the notions of masculinity where men feel inadequate for not meeting gendered societal expectations. These responses often lead to violence against women and children. Thus, there is a need to strengthen efforts in addressing the unacceptability of the multiple forms of domestic violence since it was found that, while awareness is raised, implementation remains a challenge.
4. Creating programmes on responsible and shared parenting at the community level with the possibility of partnering with schools (Ministry of Education (MoE)) and parent-teacher-community associations. These programmes should address patterns of raising girls and boys that perpetuate gender roles, norms and values and notions of masculinities that promote gender inequalities and domestic violence.
5. Introducing innovative gender mainstreaming programmes in the curriculum of the schools, colleges and universities (MoE and Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE)) that redefine the roles of men and women, including women as leaders, and the rights of boys and girls, such that traditional views that promote gender inequality and violence are disrupted. The curriculum needs to include a gender-sensitive framework for teachers, parents and students to comprehend the meaning of gender equality.
6. Tapping the power of mass media and social networking to inform young people regarding notions of masculinity that can promote gender equality. Advisory messages should be circulated as a public service by mobile phone companies to be managed by MoIC and Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (MoCIT) and partnered with private organisations and civil society.
7. Involving local key actors in the process of changing values and male gender norms in the traditional structure of Afghan communities. These actors include village malik, wakil-e guzar, elders, religious leaders and teachers and community and youth councils that are considered decision makers or role models. Engaging these people is fundamental to just gender relations in communities. In implementing these programmes and projects, men should be involved as partners in gender equality. Clergymen, mosque imams and scholars who could be considered powerful facilitators to change gender attitudes should be recruited by the Ministry of Hajj and Religious Affairs (MoHRA). It is very powerful when men call on other men to make a change and say why it benefits them.
8. Civil society and NGO (local, national and international) networks will help provide opportunities for men and women to talk about how Afghan masculinities are affecting men's well-being and health, as consequences of social pressure.
9. Generally, three recommendations for further research have emerged during this study:
  - Expanding the definition of gender-based violence. The present paper provides some insights on the reasons men and women give for domestic violence, but future research may be necessary for the different types of gender-based violence (GBV) and their triggering factors. Applying gender-sensitive and participatory research methods may be helpful.

- There should be an in-depth study on the impact of Western military involvement on Afghan gender policies and also men's reactions toward the issues mentioned above.
- Afghan masculinities, along with sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) need to be studied from both male and female perspectives, i.e., what are the needs, issues, felt problems, and barriers to accessing health services; and what are men's roles and contributions to family planning? Peer research among young people is another approach for future work to be addressed in safe spaces by those with personal interest, particularly vis-à-vis SRHR issues and the related GBV and sexual violence.

## Annexes

Annex Table 3.1. Tests of normality (Shapiro-Wilk statistic)

Items	Tests of normality					
	Kolmogorov-Smirnova	Df	Df	Shapiro-Wilk	Df	Sig
Men should be breadwinners of the family	0.338	391	0	0.73	391	0
Men should be responsible for the security of their family	0.396	391	0	0.657	391	0
Men should have respect and authority in the family	0.339	391	0	0.713	391	0
Men should fulfil his family's needs at any cost even by working abroad	0.271	391	0	0.767	391	0
A man should be someone a wife can rely on in all situations	0.325	391	0	0.734	391	0
The main role of a woman in this world is giving birth and taking care of her children	0.245	391	0	0.81	391	0
Men are more capable of performing better at work than women	0.249	391	0	0.812	391	0
Men are better leaders than women	0.261	391	0	0.806	391	0
Men should be more educated than women	0.233	391	0	0.862	391	0
Women shouldn't decide who and when to marry	0.217	391	0	0.854	391	0
Power goes hand in hand with being a man	0.21	391	0	0.854	391	0
It is acceptable for a man to raise his hands on his wife	0.206	391	0	0.869	391	0
A man should be tough and display aggressive behaviours at home	0.262	391	0	0.861	391	0

Annex Table 3.2. Normality test result (Cronbach's alpha)

Cronbach's alpha		
Items	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach's alpha if item deleted
A man should be someone a wife can rely on in all situations	0.436	0.708
I wish I was born as a man	0.301	0.76
Men should be breadwinners of the family	0.527	0.581
Men should be responsible for the security of their family	0.512	0.6
Men should have respect and authority in the family	0.489	0.599
Men should fulfil his family's needs at any cost	0.436	0.617
<b>Gender equality</b>		
Women should take care of the domestic tasks	0.578	0.809
The main role of a woman in this world is giving birth and taking care of her children	0.478	0.818
Men are more capable of performing better at work than women	0.7	0.795
Men are better leaders than women	0.602	0.805
Men should be more educated than women	0.579	0.807
Only men are entitled to the right to education	0.144	0.846
Men should always be in control	0.581	0.688
Power goes hand in hand with being a man	0.669	0.664
Men should always be powerful than women	0.61	0.678
Women should not decide who and when to marry	0.332	0.746
Men should always have the last word	0.558	0.485
<b>Violence</b>		
It is acceptable for a man to raise his hands on his wife	0.548	0.752
A man should be tough and display aggressive behaviours at home	0.496	0.765
It is acceptable for a man to use harsh words against his wife and children	0.625	0.732

Annex Table 4-1. Socio-demographic profile of qualitative informants by methodology

Profile	IDI	KII	FGD + CQ	Total
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	52.4	60.0	51.5	53.3
Female	47.6	40.0	48.5	46.7
<b>Age group</b>				
24 and below	41.5	8.0	57.7	45.6
25 - 34	9.8	24.0	11.9	13.9
35 - 44	24.4	36.0	13.7	19.7
45 - 54	12.2	14.0	8.3	10.0
55 and older	12.2	18.0	8.3	10.8
Average age (in yrs)	34.00	40.12	29.04	31.97
<b>Educational level</b>				
No education	42.9	20.0	29.0	29.5
Elem/Elem graduate	7.1	2.0	4.1	4.2
High school level/High school graduate	28.6	18.0	39.6	33.7
College Level/College Graduate	11.9	34.0	18.9	20.7
Post-graduate level/Graduate	4.8	-	-	0.8
Islamic education	2.4	24.0	-	5.0
No answer	2.4	2.0	8.3	6.1
<b>Marital status</b>				
Single	35.7	10.0	48.8	39.2
Married	54.8	84.0	48.2	56.2
Widow/Widower	2.4	6.0	-	1.5
Engaged	7.1	-	3.0	3.1
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
Hazara	19.0	22.0	22.8	22.0
Pashayi	2.4	4.0	1.2	1.9
Pashtun	31.0	34.0	31.1	31.7
Tajik	45.2	30.0	38.9	38.2
Uzbek	2.4	8.0	6.0	5.8
Others	-	2.0	-	0.4
<b>Occupation</b>				
Unemployed	9.5	-	10.1	8.0
Housewife	28.6	16.0	30.8	27.6
Farmer & farm related work	7.1	4.0	5.9	5.7
Business and entrepreneurship	4.8	4.0	4.1	4.2
Teacher and related work	4.8	32.0	5.9	10.7
Student	21.4	4.0	24.3	19.9
Skilled work	9.5	4.0	.6	2.7
Others	11.9	34.0	16.0	18.8
No answer	2.4	2.0	2.4	2.3
n of cases (269)	38	48	168	268

Annex Table 4-2. Socio-demographic profile of the quantitative respondents by province

Profile	Bamyan	Kabul	Nangarhar	Takhar	Total
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0
Female	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0
<b>Age group</b>					
24 and below	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0
25 - 34	22.5	21.9	16.3	17.5	20.0
35 - 44	15.0	8.8	17.5	12.5	12.5
45 - 54	7.5	9.4	10.0	11.3	9.5
55 and older	5.0	10.0	6.3	8.8	8.0
Average age (in yrs)	29.95	30.38	29.96	30.55	30.24
<b>Life cycle</b>					
Young men	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
Mature men	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
Young women	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
Mature women	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
<b>Marital status</b>					
Single	37.5	41.3	27.5	56.3	40.8
Married	61.3	58.1	70.0	41.3	57.8
Widow/Widower	1.3	.6	2.5	2.5	1.5
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Arab	0.0	.6	0.0	0.0	0.3
Pashtun	0.0	19.4	100.0	26.3	33.0
Pashayi	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
Tajik	1.3	74.4	0.0	36.3	37.3
Uzbek	0.0	.6	0.0	37.5	7.8
Hazara	98.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.8
n of cases	80	160	80	80	400

Annex Table 4-3a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should be breadwinners of the family" by province, life cycle, and sex

	Bamyan						Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
	<b>Male</b>																	
Strongly Disagree	-	5.0	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	.5
Disagree	5.0	20.0	12.5	5.0	2.5	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	6.0	5.4
Agree	35.0	25.0	30.0	27.5	70.0	48.8	-	10.0	5.0	45.0	20.0	32.5	45.0	20.0	27.0	27.0	39.0	33.0
Strongly Agree	60.0	50.0	55.0	67.5	27.5	47.5	100.0	90.0	95.0	50.0	75.0	62.5	50.0	75.0	69.0	69.0	54.0	61.5
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	4.00	3.50	4.00***	4.00***	3.00***	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	3.50	4.00	4.00***	3.50	4.00	4.00***	4.00**	4.00**	4.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.60	0.95	0.81	0.59	0.49	0.57	0.00	0.31	0.22	0.60	0.57	0.59	0.60	0.57	0.56	0.66	0.66	0.62
<b>n of cases</b>	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	20	20	100	100	100	200
<b>Female</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	5.0	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	.5
Disagree	10.0	25.0	17.5	5.0	10.0	7.5	-	-	-	15.0	-	7.5	15.0	-	7.0	7.0	9.0	8.0
Agree	50.0	40.0	45.0	57.5	57.5	57.5	40.0	25.0	32.5	30.0	40.0	35.0	30.0	40.0	47.0	47.0	44.0	45.5
Strongly Agree	40.0	30.0	35.0	37.5	32.5	35.0	60.0	75.0	67.5	55.0	60.0	57.5	55.0	60.0	46.0	46.0	46.0	46.0
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	3.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.66	0.89	0.79	0.57	0.62	0.59	0.50	0.44	0.47	0.75	0.50	0.64	0.75	0.50	0.62	0.69	0.69	0.65
<b>n of cases</b>	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	20	20	100	100	100	200
<b>Both</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	5.0	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	.5
Disagree	7.5	22.5	15.0	5.0	6.3	5.6	-	-	-	10.0	2.5	6.3	10.0	2.5	5.5	7.5	7.5	6.5
Agree	42.5	32.5	37.5	42.5	63.8	53.1	20.0	17.5	18.8	37.5	30.0	33.8	37.5	30.0	37.0	41.5	41.5	39.3
Strongly Agree	50.0	40.0	45.0	52.5	30.0	41.3	80.0	82.5	81.3	52.5	67.5	60.0	52.5	67.5	57.5	50.0	50.0	53.8
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	3.50	3.00	3.00***	4.00***	3.00***	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.50	3.50	4.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.64	0.92	0.80	0.59	0.56	0.59	0.41	0.38	0.39	0.68	0.53	0.62	0.68	0.53	0.60	0.67	0.67	0.64
<b>n of cases</b>	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	40	80	40	40	200	200	200	400

Notes: a. Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; b. Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< .05; \* Sig< .10

Annex Table 4-3b Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should be breadwinners of the family" by province, educational attainment, and sex

	Bamyan					Kabul					Nangahar					Takhar					All Provinces						
	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.		
<b>Male</b>																											
Strongly Disagree	-	-	6.7	-	2.6	5.3	-	6.3	-	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	0.5	
Disagree	9.1	-	13.3	20.0	12.8	47.4	50.0	56.3	38.1	48.8	-	-	-	-	5.0	50.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	3.4	-	6.4	7.0	5.1		
Agree	18.	33.3	33.3	40.0	30.8	47.4	50.0	37.5	61.9	47.5	-	-	18.2	-	5.4	38.9	-	25.0	50.0	32.5	30.5	31.3	38.5	30.2	33.7		
Strongly Agree	72.7	66.7	46.7	40.0	53.8	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	100.0	81.8	100.0	94.6	61.1	-	70.0	62.5	66.1	66.1	68.8	53.8	62.8	60.		
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.5	3.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0*	4.0*	4.0*	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0		
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.6		
<b>n of cases</b>	11	3	15	10	39	19	8	32	21	80	11	5	11	10	37	18	0	20	2	40	59	16	78	43	196		
<b>Female</b>																											
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	11.1	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.5	0.5	
Disagree	-	100.0	37.5	33.3	17.5	7.0	-	8.3	20.0	7.5	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	16.7	-	-	7.5	4.5	7.1	10.5	22.7	8.0		
Agree	50.0	-	37.5	44.4	45.0	62.8	66.7	33.3	50.0	57.5	37.9	16.7	-	50.0	32.5	33.3	-	53.3	-	35.0	49.1	39.3	39.5	45.5	45.5		
Strongly Agree	50.0	-	25.0	11.1	35.0	30.2	33.3	58.3	30.0	35.0	62.1	83.3	100.0	50.0	67.5	55.6	83.3	46.7	100.0	57.5	46.4	53.6	50.0	27.3	46.0		
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	3.5	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.5	4.0***	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0***	3.0*	4.0*	-	3.0*	3.0		
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.5	-	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7		
<b>n of cases</b>	22	1	8	9	40	43	15	12	10	80	29	6	3	2	40	18	6	15	1	40	112	28	38	22	200		
<b>Both</b>																											
Strongly Disagree	-	-	4.3	5.3	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.9	1.5	0.5
Disagree	3.0	25.0	21.7	26.3	15.2	6.5	-	6.8	6.5	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	5.6	16.7	2.9	33.3	6.3	4.1	4.5	7.8	12.3	6.6		
Agree	39.4	25.0	34.8	42.1	38.0	58.1	60.9	50.0	41.9	53.1	27.5	9.1	14.3	8.3	19.5	36.1	-	37.1	33.3	33.8	42.7	36.4	38.8	35.4	39.6		
Strongly Agree	57.6	50.0	39.1	26.3	44.3	35.5	39.1	43.2	51.6	41.3	72.5	90.9	85.7	91.7	80.5	58.3	83.3	60.0	33.3	60.0	53.2	59.1	52.6	50.8	53.3		
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	4.0	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.6	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.6		
<b>n of cases</b>	33	4	23	19	79	62	23	44	31	160	40	11	14	12	77	36	6	35	3	80	171	44	116	65	396		

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as educational attainment; <sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sig < 0.01; <sup>\*\*</sup> Sig < 0.05; <sup>\*</sup> Sig < 10  
<sup>b</sup> No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison  
<sup>\*</sup> Means no education



Annex Table 4-3c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should be breadwinners of the family" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan <sup>b</sup>			Kabul			Nangarhar <sup>b</sup>			Takhar			All Provinces							
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total	
	Male																			
Strongly Disagree		2.5	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	-	-	.5
Disagree		12.5	12.5	1.7	12.5	-	3.8	-	-	15.4	-	5.0	-	5.0	1.4	5.8	12.5	-	5.0	
Agree		30.0	30.0	52.5	31.3	60.0	48.8	5.0	7.7	53.8	35.7	32.5	44.4	32.5	44.4	20.3	30.0	42.1	33.0	
Strongly Agree		55.0	55.0	45.8	56.3	40.0	47.5	95.0	92.3	30.8	64.3	62.5	54.2	62.5	54.2	73.9	55.0	57.9	61.5	
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00	4.00***	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00***	4.00	4.00***	3.00***	4.00***	4.00***	4.00***	4.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	
Standard dev.	.807	.807	.807	.534	.727	.548	.570	.221	.277	.689	.497	.594	.530	.594	.581	.807	.507	.507	.616	
n of cases	-	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	13	13	14	40	72	40	69	40	19	19	200	
Female																				
Strongly Disagree	-	2.6	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.6	-	-	.5
Disagree	-	17.9	17.5	8.3	6.7	-	7.5	-	-	12.5	12.5	7.5	6.5	7.5	6.5	3.2	17.9	9.5	8.0	
Agree	-	46.2	45.0	61.7	53.3	20.0	57.5	32.5	37.5	-	50.0	35.0	55.8	35.0	33.3	46.2	42.9	45.5	45.5	
Strongly Agree	100.0	33.3	35.0	30.0	40.0	80.0	35.0	67.5	62.5	87.5	37.5	57.5	37.7	57.5	63.5	33.3	47.6	46.0	46.0	
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00*	3.00*	4.00*	3.00***	4.00	4.00*	4.00*	3.00*	4.00***	3.00***	4.00***	3.00***	4.00***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00	
Standard dev.	.788	.788	.791	.585	.617	.447	.595	.474	.474	.707	.683	.641	.591	.641	.555	.788	.669	.669	.652	
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	16	8	16	40	77	40	63	39	21	21	200	
Both																				
Strongly Disagree	-	2.5	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	-	-	.5
Disagree	-	15.2	15.0	5.0	9.7	-	5.6	-	-	14.3	6.7	6.3	4.0	6.3	4.0	4.5	15.2	5.0	6.5	
Agree	-	38.0	37.5	57.1	41.9	40.0	53.1	18.8	24.1	33.3	43.3	33.8	50.3	33.8	26.5	38.0	42.5	39.3	39.3	
Strongly Agree	100.0	44.3	45.0	37.8	48.4	60.0	41.3	81.3	75.9	52.4	50.0	60.0	45.6	60.0	68.9	44.3	52.5	53.8	53.8	
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00***	4.00	4.00*	4.00*	3.50*	4.00***	3.00***	4.00***	4.00***	3.00***	4.00***	4.00***	4.00	
Standard dev.	-	.804	.803	.569	.667	.516	.587	.393	.393	.740	.626	.615	.571	.615	.568	.804	.599	.599	.640	
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	29	21	30	80	149	80	132	79	40	40	400	

Notes: a Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig<.01; \*\* Sig<.05; \* Sig<.10  
b No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-4a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should be responsible for the security of their family" by province, life cycle, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
<b>Male</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Disagree	-	5.0	2.5	2.5	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	5.0	2.5	1.0	2.0	1.5
Agree	10.0	25.0	17.5	32.5	65.0	48.8	-	5.0	2.5	-	10.0	5.0	15.0	34.0	24.5
Strongly Agree	90.0	70.0	80.0	65.0	35.0	50.0	100.0	95.0	97.5	85.0	92.5	84.0	84.0	64.0	74.0
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00**	3.00**	3.50***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00**	4.00***	4.00***	4.00***	4.00***	4.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.31	0.59	0.48	0.54	0.48	0.53	0.00	0.22	0.16	0.52	0.38	0.40	0.40	0.53	0.48
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	40	100	100	100	200
<b>Female</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Disagree	5.0	10.0	7.5	2.5	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	3.0	2.0	2.5
Agree	50.0	50.0	50.0	52.5	55.0	53.8	45.0	25.0	35.0	20.0	35.0	27.5	44.0	44.0	44.0
Strongly Agree	45.0	40.0	42.5	45.0	45.0	45.0	55.0	75.0	65.0	70.0	65.0	67.5	52.0	54.0	53.0
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	3.00	3.00	3.00**	3.00	3.00	3.00**	4.00	4.00	4.00**	4.00	4.00	4.00**	4.00	4.00	4.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.60	0.66	0.62	0.55	0.50	0.52	0.51	0.44	0.48	0.83	0.49	0.67	0.61	0.54	0.58
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	40	100	100	100	200
<b>Both</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Disagree	2.5	7.5	5.0	2.5	-	1.3	-	-	-	2.5	2.5	1.3	2.0	2.0	2.0
Agree	30.0	37.5	33.8	42.5	60.0	51.3	22.5	15.0	18.8	10.0	22.5	16.3	29.5	39.0	34.3
Strongly Agree	67.5	55.0	61.3	55.0	40.0	47.5	77.5	85.0	81.3	85.0	75.0	80.0	68.0	59.0	63.5
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00*	3.00*	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00*	4.00*	4.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.53	0.64	0.59	0.55	0.49	0.52	0.42	0.36	0.39	0.62	0.51	0.56	0.55	0.54	0.54
n of cases	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	40	80	200	200	400

Notes: \* Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>a</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10



Annex Table 4-4c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should be responsible for the security of their family" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces							
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total	
<b>Male</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Disagree	-	2.5	2.5	-	6.3	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	7.1	2.5	-	1.4	2.5	5.3	-	1.5
Agree	-	17.5	17.5	49.2	43.8	60.0	48.8	2.5	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7	-	5.0	41.7	13.0	17.5	15.8	24.5	
Strongly Agree	-	80.0	80.0	50.8	50.0	40.0	50.0	97.5	92.3	92.3	92.3	92.3	92.9	92.5	58.3	85.5	80.0	78.9	74.0	
Median (x̄)	-	4.0	4.0***	4.0	3.5	3.0	3.5***	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0	
Standard dev.	-	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5	
n of cases	=	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	40	40	13	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	200	
<b>Female</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.3	2.5	-	-	-	4.8	.5	
Disagree	-	7.7	7.5	1.7	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	6.3	2.5	1.3	-	7.7	4.8	2.5	
Agree	-	51.3	50.0	56.7	46.7	40.0	53.8	35.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	18.8	27.5	49.4	39.7	51.3	23.8	44.0		
Strongly Agree	100.0	41.0	42.5	41.7	53.3	60.0	45.0	65.0	50.0	50.0	75.0	68.8	67.5	49.4	60.3	41.0	66.7	53.0		
Median (x̄)	4.0	3.0	3.0**	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0**	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	
Standard dev.	-	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.6	
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	40	40	16	8	16	40	77	63	39	21	200	
<b>Both</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.3	1.3	-	-	-	2.5	.3	
Disagree	-	5.1	5.0	.8	3.2	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	6.7	2.5	.7	.8	5.1	5.0	2.0	
Agree	-	34.2	33.8	52.9	45.2	50.0	51.3	18.8	23.8	23.8	17.2	10.0	16.3	45.6	25.8	34.2	20.0	34.3		
Strongly Agree	100.0	60.8	61.3	46.2	51.6	50.0	47.5	81.3	76.2	76.2	82.8	80.0	80.0	80.0	73.5	60.8	72.5	63.5		
Median (x̄)	4.0	4.0	4.0***	3.0	4.0	3.5	3.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0	
Standard dev.	-	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.5	
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	80	80	29	21	30	80	149	132	79	40	400	

Notes: ° Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig < 0.01; \*\* Sig < .05; \* Sig < 10<sup>0</sup>. No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-5a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should have respect and authority in the family" by province, life cycle, and sex

Male	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	.5
Disagree	5.0	20.0	12.5	-	2.5	1.3	-	-	-	5.0	5.0	5.0	2.0	6.0	4.0
Agree	5.0	30.0	17.5	35.0	62.5	48.8	-	10.0	5.0	45.0	35.0	40.0	24.0	40.0	32.0
Strongly Agree	90.0	50.0	70.0	65.0	35.0	50.0	100.0	85.0	92.5	50.0	60.0	55.0	74.0	53.0	63.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00***	3.50***	4.00***	4.00***	3.00***	3.50***	4.00**	4.00**	4.00***	3.50	4.00	4.00***	4.00***	4.00***	4.00
Standard dev.	0.49	0.80	0.71	0.48	0.53	0.53	0.00	0.72	0.52	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.49	0.66	0.60
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
Female															
Strongly Disagree	-	5.0	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.0	1.0	1.0
Disagree	-	10.0	5.0	2.5	-	1.3	5.0	5.0	5.0	15.0	-	7.5	5.0	3.0	4.0
Agree	70.0	55.0	62.5	57.5	70.0	63.8	40.0	25.0	32.5	30.0	35.0	32.5	51.0	51.0	51.0
Strongly Agree	30.0	30.0	30.0	40.0	30.0	35.0	55.0	70.0	62.5	50.0	65.0	57.5	43.0	45.0	44.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00	3.00	3.00**	3.00	3.00	3.00**	4.00	4.00	4.00**	3.50	4.00	4.00**	3.00	3.00	3.00
Standard dev.	0.47	0.79	0.65	0.54	0.46	0.50	0.61	0.59	0.59	0.91	0.49	0.75	0.63	0.60	0.61
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
Both															
Strongly Disagree	-	2.5	1.3	-	-	-	-	2.5	1.3	2.5	-	1.3	.5	1.0	0.8
Disagree	2.5	15.0	8.8	1.3	1.3	1.3	2.5	2.5	2.5	10.0	2.5	6.3	3.5	4.5	4.0
Agree	37.5	42.5	40.0	46.3	66.3	56.3	20.0	17.5	18.8	37.5	35.0	36.3	37.5	45.5	41.5
Strongly Agree	60.0	40.0	50.0	52.5	32.5	42.5	77.5	77.5	77.5	50.0	62.5	56.3	58.5	49.0	53.8
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00**	3.00**	3.50***	4.00**	3.00**	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	3.50	4.00	4.00***	4.00*	3.00*	4.00
Standard dev.	0.55	0.79	0.70	0.53	0.49	0.52	0.49	0.65	0.57	0.77	0.55	0.67	0.59	0.63	0.61
n of cases	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	40	80	200	200	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig<.05; \* Sig<10

Annex Table 4-5b. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should have respect and authority in the family" by province, educational attainment, and sex

	Bamyan <sup>b</sup>					Kabul					Nangarhar <sup>b</sup>					Takhar					All Provinces					
	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	
<b>Male</b>																										
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Disagree	-	-	13.3	30.0	12.8	-	-	3.1	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.0	-	5.0	1.7	-	5.1	7.0	4.1	
Agree	18.2	-	26.7	10.0	17.9	47.4	50.0	53.1	42.9	48.8	-	-	9.1	10.0	5.4	38.9	-	35.0	100.0	40.0	30.5	25.0	37.2	30.2	32.7	
Strongly Agree	81.8	100.0	60.0	60.0	69.2	52.6	50.0	43.8	57.1	50.0	100.0	100.0	81.8	90.0	91.9	55.6	-	60.0	-	55.0	67.8	75.0	56.4	62.8	62.8	
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0 <sup>**</sup>	4.0	3.5	3.0	4.0	3.5 <sup>**</sup>	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0 <sup>**</sup>	4.0	-	4.0	3.0	4.0 <sup>**</sup>	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.6	-	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.6	
<b>n of cases</b>	11	3	15	10	39	19	8	32	21	80	11	5	11	10	37	18	0	20	2	40	59	16	78	43	196	
<b>Female</b>																										
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.7	-	-	1.3	6.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Agree	68.2	-	62.5	55.6	62.5	72.1	60.0	41.7	60.0	63.8	37.9	16.7	-	50.0	32.5	27.8	16.7	46.7	-	32.5	55.4	39.3	44.7	54.5	51.0	
Strongly Agree	31.8	100.0	37.5	11.1	30.0	27.9	33.3	58.3	40.0	35.0	55.2	83.3	100.0	50.0	62.5	50.0	83.3	53.3	100.0	57.5	39.3	57.1	55.3	31.8	44.0	
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0 <sup>**</sup>	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0 <sup>**</sup>	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0 <sup>**</sup>	3.5	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0 <sup>**</sup>	3.0 <sup>*</sup>	4.0 <sup>*</sup>	4.0 <sup>*</sup>	4.0 <sup>*</sup>	3.0	
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.5	-	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.5	-	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.6	
<b>n of cases</b>	22	1	8	9	40	43	15	12	10	80	29	6	3	2	40	18	6	15	1	40	112	28	38	22	200	
<b>Both</b>																										
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disagree	-	-	8.7	26.3	8.9	-	4.3	2.3	-	1.3	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Agree	51.5	-	39.1	31.6	40.5	64.5	56.5	50.0	48.4	56.3	27.5	9.1	7.1	16.7	19.5	33.3	16.7	40.0	66.7	36.3	46.8	34.1	39.7	38.5	41.9	
Strongly Agree	48.5	100.0	52.2	36.8	49.4	35.5	39.1	47.7	51.6	42.5	67.5	90.9	85.7	83.3	76.6	52.8	83.3	57.1	33.3	56.3	49.1	63.6	56.0	52.3	53.3	
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0 <sup>***</sup>	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	
<b>n of cases</b>	33	4	23	19	79	62	23	44	31	160	40	11	14	12	77	36	6	35	3	80	171	44	116	65	396	

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as educational attainment; <sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sig < 0.01; <sup>\*\*</sup> Sig < 0.05; <sup>\*</sup> Sig < 10  
<sup>b</sup> No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-5c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should have respect and authority in the family" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces					
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total
	Male																	
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	1.4	-	-	.5
Disagree	-	12.5	12.5	1.7	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	7.7	7.1	5.0	1.4	1.4	12.5	5.3	4.0
Agree	-	17.5	17.5	49.2	43.8	60.0	48.8	5.0	5.0	-	61.5	57.1	40.0	40.3	24.6	17.5	57.9	32.0
Strongly Agree	-	70.0	70.0	49.2	56.3	40.0	50.0	92.5	92.5	100.0	30.8	35.7	55.0	58.3	72.5	70.0	36.8	63.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	-	4.0	4.0***	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.5***	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0**	3.0**	4.0
Standard dev.	-	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6
n of cases	=	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	40	13	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	200
Female																		
Strongly Disagree		2.6	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.3	2.5	-	-	2.6	4.8	1.0
Disagree		5.1	5.0	-	6.7	-	1.3	5.0	5.0	6.3	-	12.5	7.5	1.3	4.8	5.1	9.5	4.0
Agree		64.1	62.5	68.3	53.3	40.0	63.8	32.5	32.5	31.3	25.0	37.5	32.5	59.7	36.5	64.1	38.1	51.0
Strongly Agree	100.0	28.2	30.0	31.7	40.0	60.0	35.0	62.5	62.5	62.5	75.0	43.8	57.5	39.0	58.7	28.2	47.6	44.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	3.0	3.0**	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0**	4.0	4.0***	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0***	3.0**	4.0***	3.0**	3.0**	3.0
Standard dev.	-	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.6
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	40	16	8	16	40	77	63	39	21	200
Both																		
Strongly Disagree	-	1.3	1.3	-	-	-	-	1.3	1.3	-	-	3.3	1.3	-	.8	1.3	2.5	.8
Disagree	-	8.9	8.8	.8	3.2	-	1.3	2.5	2.5	3.4	4.8	10.0	6.3	1.3	3.0	8.9	7.5	4.0
Agree	-	40.5	40.0	58.8	48.4	50.0	56.3	18.8	18.8	17.2	47.6	46.7	36.3	50.3	30.3	40.5	47.5	41.5
Strongly Agree	100.0	49.4	50.0	40.3	48.4	50.0	42.5	77.5	77.5	79.3	47.6	40.0	56.3	48.3	65.9	49.4	42.5	53.8
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	3.0	3.5***	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0***	4.0
Standard dev.		0.7	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	80	29	21	30	80	149	132	79	40	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup>Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10b No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-6a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should fulfill his family's needs at any cost" by province, life cycle, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
<b>Male</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	2.5	1.3	5.0	-	-	2.5	-	-	1.0	1.0	1.0
Disagree	10.0	30.0	20.0	-	5.0	2.5	20.0	5.0	5.0	12.5	5.0	5.0	7.0	10.0	8.5
Agree	10.0	25.0	17.5	45.0	75.0	60.0	-	15.0	15.0	7.5	35.0	25.0	27.0	41.0	34.0
Strongly Agree	80.0	45.0	62.0	55.0	17.5	36.3	75.0	80.0	80.0	77.5	60.0	70.0	65.0	48.0	56.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00**	3.00**	4.00**	4.00***	3.00***	3.00***	4.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00	4.00***	4.00**	3.00**	4.00
Standard dev.	0.66	0.88	0.81	0.50	0.57	0.59	1.00	0.55	0.60	0.81	0.60	0.58	0.67	0.70	0.69
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	40	20	40	100	100	200
<b>Female</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	5.0	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.0	15.0	3.0	4.0	3.5
Disagree	25.0	25.0	25.0	7.5	12.5	10.0	5.0	-	-	2.5	45.0	30.0	18.0	16.0	17.0
Agree	45.0	35.0	40.0	62.5	67.5	65.0	35.0	30.0	30.0	32.5	20.0	27.5	45.0	47.0	46.0
Strongly Agree	30.0	35.0	32.5	30.0	20.0	25.0	60.0	70.0	70.0	65.0	20.0	20.0	34.0	33.0	33.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00***	2.00	2.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00
Standard dev.	0.76	0.92	0.83	0.58	0.57	0.58	0.60	0.47	0.54	0.54	1.00	0.99	0.80	0.81	0.80
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	40	20	40	100	100	200
<b>Both</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	2.5	1.3	-	1.3	0.6	2.5	-	-	1.3	7.5	7.5	2.0	2.5	2.3
Disagree	17.5	27.5	22.5	3.8	8.8	6.3	12.5	2.5	2.5	7.5	25.0	17.5	12.5	13.0	12.8
Agree	27.5	30.0	28.8	53.8	71.3	62.5	17.5	22.5	22.5	20.0	27.5	25.0	36.0	44.0	40.0
Strongly Agree	55.0	40.0	47.5	42.5	18.8	30.6	67.5	75.0	75.0	71.3	40.0	50.0	49.5	40.5	45.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00***	3.00	3.50	3.00	3.00	3.00
Standard dev.	0.77	0.89	0.84	0.56	0.57	0.59	0.82	0.51	0.68	0.68	0.99	0.98	0.77	0.77	0.77
n of cases	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	80	40	80	200	200	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10





**Annex Table 4-6c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should fulfil his family's needs at any cost" by province, ethnicity, and sex**

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces			Total			
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Tajik	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others				
<b>Male</b>																			
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	1.3	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.4	1.4	-	-	1.0
Disagree	-	20.0	20.0	3.4	-	-	2.5	12.5	-	-	15.4	-	15.4	-	2.8	10.1	20.0	-	8.5
Agree	-	17.5	17.5	61.0	56.3	60.0	60.0	7.5	7.5	15.4	53.8	7.1	53.8	7.1	52.8	27.5	17.5	21.1	34.0
Strongly Agree	-	62.5	62.5	33.9	43.8	40.0	36.3	77.5	43.8	84.6	30.8	92.9	30.8	92.9	43.1	60.9	62.5	78.9	56.5
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	-	4.0	4.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0*	4.0*	4.0*	4.0*	4.0
<b>Standard dev.</b>	-	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.7
<b>n of cases</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>200</b>
<b>Female</b>																			
Strongly Disagree	-	2.6	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	25.0	-	25.0	-	5.2	3.2	2.6	-	3.5
Disagree	-	25.6	25.0	6.7	20.0	20.0	10.0	2.5	2.5	56.3	12.5	31.3	12.5	31.3	16.9	7.9	25.6	28.6	17.0
Agree	-	41.0	40.0	65.0	66.7	60.0	65.0	32.5	32.5	18.8	50.0	25.0	50.0	25.0	54.5	42.9	41.0	33.3	46.0
Strongly Agree	100.0	30.8	32.5	28.3	13.3	20.0	25.0	65.0	65.0	-	12.5	43.8	12.5	43.8	23.4	46.0	30.8	38.1	33.5
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	2.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0**	3.0**	3.0***	3.0**	3.0
<b>Standard dev.</b>	-	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.1	0.9	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8
<b>n of cases</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>200</b>
<b>Both</b>																			
Strongly Disagree	-	1.3	1.3	.8	-	-	.6	1.3	1.3	13.8	9.5	-	9.5	-	3.4	2.3	1.3	-	2.3
Disagree	-	22.8	22.5	5.0	9.7	10.0	6.3	7.5	7.5	31.0	14.3	16.7	14.3	16.7	10.1	9.1	22.8	15.0	12.8
Agree	-	29.1	28.8	63.0	61.3	60.0	62.5	20.0	20.0	17.2	52.4	16.7	52.4	16.7	53.7	34.8	29.1	27.5	40.0
Strongly Agree	100.0	46.8	47.5	31.1	29.0	30.0	30.6	71.3	71.3	37.9	23.8	66.7	23.8	66.7	32.9	53.8	46.8	57.5	45.0
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	3.0**	3.0***	4.0**	3.0***	3.0***	3.0**	4.0**	3.0***	4.0**	3.0
<b>Standard dev.</b>	-	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8
<b>n of cases</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>400</b>

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 10<sup>-2</sup>; No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison





Annex Table 4-7c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "A Man should be someone a wife can rely on in all situations" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan				Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar				All Provinces				
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total
	<b>Male</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	5.1	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.4	7.5	-	-	5.1	15.8	2.5
Disagree	-	15.4	15.4	5.1	-	-	3.8	2.5	2.5	2.5	-	7.7	35.7	15.0	4.2	2.9	15.4	26.3	8.0
Agree	-	30.8	30.8	42.4	43.8	60.0	43.8	5.0	5.0	5.0	15.4	38.5	14.3	22.5	37.5	20.3	30.8	26.3	29.1
Strongly Agree	-	48.7	48.7	52.5	56.3	40.0	52.5	92.5	92.5	92.5	84.6	53.8	28.6	55.0	58.3	76.8	48.7	31.6	60.3
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	-	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0	3.0	4.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	2.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0***	4.0
Standard dev.	-	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.7	1.2	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.8
n of cases	-	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	40	40	13	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	200
<b>Female</b>																			
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.3	-	6.3	5.0	2.6	-	-	4.8	1.5
Disagree	-	2.6	2.5	1.7	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	25.0	50.0	12.5	25.0	5.2	6.3	2.6	9.5	5.5
Agree	-	56.4	55.0	58.3	46.7	40.0	55.0	35.0	35.0	35.0	43.8	25.0	37.5	37.5	54.5	36.5	56.4	38.1	47.5
Strongly Agree	100.0	41.0	42.5	40.0	53.3	60.0	43.8	65.0	65.0	65.0	25.0	25.0	43.8	32.5	37.7	57.1	41.0	47.6	45.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0***	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0***	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Standard dev.	-	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	40	40	16	8	16	40	77	63	39	21	200
<b>Both</b>																			
Strongly Disagree	-	2.6	2.5	.8	-	-	.6	-	-	-	3.4	-	13.3	6.3	1.3	-	2.6	10.0	2.0
Disagree	-	9.0	8.9	2.5	-	-	1.9	1.3	1.3	1.3	13.8	23.8	23.3	20.0	4.7	4.5	9.0	17.5	6.8
Agree	-	43.6	43.0	50.4	45.2	50.0	49.4	20.0	20.0	20.0	31.0	33.3	26.7	30.0	46.3	28.0	43.6	32.5	38.3
Strongly Agree	100.0	44.9	45.6	46.2	54.8	50.0	48.1	78.8	78.8	78.8	51.7	42.9	36.7	43.8	47.7	67.4	44.9	40.0	52.9
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	4.0	3.5	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0***	4.0
Standard dev.	-	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.8	1.1	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.7
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	80	80	29	21	30	80	149	132	79	40	400

Notes: \*Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\*\* Sig< 0.05; † Sig< 10<sup>-6</sup> No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-8a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Women should take care of the domestic tasks" by province, life cycle, and sex

Male	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
Strongly Disagree	-	10.0	5.0	-	2.5	1.3	-	-	-	5.0	-	2.5	1.0	3.0	2.0
Disagree	5.0	40.0	22.5	5.0	20.0	12.5	-	-	25.0	10.0	17.5	8.0	18.0	13.0	13.0
Agree	25.0	30.0	27.5	57.5	60.0	58.8	-	5.0	35.0	35.0	35.0	35.0	35.0	38.0	36.5
Strongly Agree	70.0	20.0	45.0	37.5	17.5	27.5	100.0	95.0	35.0	55.0	45.0	56.0	41.0	48.5	48.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00***	2.50***	3.00	3.00***	3.00***	3.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00
Standard dev.	.587	.940	.939	0.57	0.69	0.66	0.00	0.22	0.16	0.92	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.83	0.77
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
Female															
Strongly Disagree	-	10.0	5.0	-	5.0	2.5	-	-	-	-	5.0	2.5	-	5.0	2.5
Disagree	10.0	10.0	10.0	5.0	15.0	10.0	5.0	15.0	10.0	30.0	5.0	17.5	11.0	12.0	11.5
Agree	60.0	55.0	57.5	50.0	57.5	53.8	45.0	35.0	40.0	25.0	40.0	32.5	46.0	49.0	47.5
Strongly Agree	30.0	25.0	27.5	45.0	22.5	33.8	50.0	50.0	50.0	45.0	50.0	47.5	43.0	34.0	38.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00**	3.00**	3.00	3.50	3.50	3.50	3.00	3.50	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Standard dev.	.616	.887	.764	0.59	0.77	0.71	0.60	0.75	0.67	0.88	0.81	0.84	0.66	0.81	0.74
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
Both															
Strongly Disagree	-	10.0	5.0	-	3.8	1.9	-	-	-	2.5	2.5	2.5	.5	4.0	2.3
Disagree	7.5	25.0	16.3	5.0	17.5	11.3	2.5	7.5	5.0	27.5	7.5	17.5	9.5	15.0	12.3
Agree	42.5	42.5	42.5	53.8	58.8	56.3	22.5	20.0	21.3	30.0	37.5	33.8	40.5	43.5	42.0
Strongly Agree	50.0	22.5	36.3	41.3	20.0	30.6	75.0	72.5	73.8	40.0	52.5	46.3	49.5	37.5	43.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.50***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00**	3.00**	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	3.00*	4.00*	3.00***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00
Standard dev.	.636	.920	.851	0.58	0.73	0.69	0.51	0.62	0.56	0.89	0.74	0.83	0.68	0.82	0.76
n of cases	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	40	80	200	200	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10



Table 4-8c. Respondent’s opinion towards the view that “Women should take care of the domestic tasks” by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces					
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total
<b>Male</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	5.0	5.0	-	6.3	-	1.3	-	-	-	7.7	-	2.5	-	2.9	5.0	-	2.0
Disagree	-	22.5	22.5	13.6	12.5	-	12.5	-	-	-	15.4	35.7	17.5	11.1	5.8	22.5	26.3	13.0
Agree	-	27.5	27.5	61.0	50.0	60.0	58.8	2.5	2.5	23.1	61.5	21.4	35.0	54.2	24.6	27.5	31.6	36.5
Strongly Agree	-	45.0	45.0	25.4	31.3	40.0	27.5	97.5	97.5	76.9	15.4	42.9	45.0	34.7	66.7	45.0	42.1	48.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	-	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0
Standard dev.	-	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.8
n of cases	=	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	40	13	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	200
<b>Female</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	5.1	5.0	3.3	-	-	2.5	-	-	-	-	6.3	2.5	2.6	-	5.1	4.8	2.5
Disagree	-	10.3	10.0	13.3	-	-	10.0	10.0	10.0	18.8	-	25.0	17.5	14.3	6.3	10.3	19.0	11.5
Agree	-	59.0	57.5	56.7	53.3	20.0	53.8	40.0	40.0	18.8	62.5	31.3	32.5	48.1	46.0	59.0	28.6	47.5
Strongly Agree	100.0	25.6	27.5	26.7	46.7	80.0	33.8	50.0	50.0	62.5	37.5	37.5	47.5	35.1	47.6	25.6	47.6	38.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0**	3.0**	4.0**	3.0	3.5	3.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0*	3.0*	3.0*	3.0*	3.0
Standard dev.	-	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.7
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	40	16	8	16	40	77	63	39	21	200
<b>Both</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	5.1	5.0	1.7	3.2	-	1.9	-	-	-	4.8	3.3	2.5	1.3	1.5	5.1	2.5	2.3
Disagree	-	16.5	16.3	13.4	6.5	-	11.3	5.0	5.0	10.3	9.5	30.0	17.5	12.8	6.1	16.5	22.5	12.3
Agree	-	43.0	42.5	58.8	51.6	40.0	56.3	21.3	21.3	20.7	61.9	26.7	33.8	51.0	34.8	43.0	30.0	42.0
Strongly Agree	100.0	35.4	36.3	26.1	38.7	60.0	30.6	73.8	73.8	69.0	23.8	40.0	46.3	34.9	57.6	35.4	45.0	43.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0**	3.0**	4.0**	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0
Standard dev.	-	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.8
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	80	29	21	30	80	149	132	79	40	400

Notes: \*Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 10<sup>-2</sup>. No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison





Annex Table 4-9b. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men are better leaders than women" by province, educational attainment, and sex

Male	Bamyan <sup>b</sup>					Kabul					Nangarhar <sup>b</sup>					Takhhar					All Provinces					
	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	
	-	-	6.7	10.0	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	-	15.0	50.0	17.5	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.1
9.1	-	46.7	30.0	28.2	15.8	-	-	-	10.0	2.7	5.6	-	-	30.0	17.5	8.5	-	30.0	-	17.5	8.5	8.5	8.5	26.9	16.3	16.8
36.4	33.3	13.3	20.0	23.1	47.4	62.5	59.4	52.4	55.0	-	-	9.1	10.0	5.4	27.8	-	15.0	50.0	22.5	30.5	30.5	37.5	32.1	34.9	32.7	
54.5	66.7	33.3	40.0	43.6	36.8	37.5	15.6	33.3	27.5	100.0	100.0	90.9	80.0	91.9	50.0	-	40.0	-	42.5	55.9	55.9	62.5	35.9	44.2	45.9	
<i>Median (x̄)</i>	4.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.5	-	3.0	2.0	3.0	4.0**	4.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0	
<i>Standard dev.</i>	0.7	0.6	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.4	1.1	-	1.2	1.4	1.2	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.9	
<i>n of cases</i>	11	3	15	10	39	19	8	32	21	80	11	5	11	10	37	18	0	20	2	40	59	16	78	43	196	
Female	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	11.1	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.6	16.7	-	-	-	5.0	0.9	3.6	-	4.5	1.5
Disagree	-	100.0	25.0	55.6	20.0	11.6	-	16.7	20.0	11.3	10.3	16.7	-	-	10.0	16.7	50.0	40.0	-	30.0	9.8	17.9	26.3	31.8	16.5	
Agree	54.5	-	37.5	33.3	45.0	46.5	73.3	41.7	50.0	51.3	37.9	16.7	-	50.0	32.5	50.0	16.7	33.3	-	37.5	46.4	46.4	34.2	40.9	43.5	
Strongly Agree	45.5	-	37.5	-	32.5	41.9	26.7	41.7	30.0	37.5	51.7	66.7	100.0	50.0	57.5	27.8	16.7	26.7	100.0	27.5	42.9	32.1	39.5	22.7	38.5	
<i>Median (x̄)</i>	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0***	3.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	3.0***	3.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0	
<i>Standard dev.</i>	0.5	-	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.8	-	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	
<i>n of cases</i>	22	1	8	9	40	43	15	12	10	80	29	6	3	2	40	18	6	15	1	40	112	28	38	22	200	
Both	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	
Strongly Disagree	-	-	4.3	10.5	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	16.7	8.6	33.3	11.3	2.3	2.3	3.4	4.6	3.0	
Disagree	3.0	25.0	39.1	42.1	24.1	12.9	-	22.7	16.1	14.4	7.5	9.1	-	8.3	6.5	11.1	50.0	34.3	-	23.8	9.4	11.4	26.7	21.5	16.7	
Agree	48.5	25.0	21.7	26.3	34.2	46.8	69.6	54.5	51.6	53.1	27.5	9.1	7.1	16.7	19.5	38.9	16.7	22.9	33.3	30.0	40.9	43.2	32.8	36.9	38.1	
Strongly Agree	48.5	50.0	34.8	21.1	38.0	40.3	30.4	22.7	32.3	32.5	65.0	81.8	92.9	75.0	74.0	38.9	16.7	34.3	33.3	35.0	47.4	43.2	37.1	36.9	42.2	
<i>Median (x̄)</i>	3.0	3.5	3.0	2.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0***	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0	
<i>Standard dev.</i>	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.8	
<i>n of cases</i>	33	4	23	19	79	62	23	44	31	160	40	11	14	12	77	36	6	35	3	80	171	44	116	65	396	

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as educational attainment; \*\*\* Sig<.01; \*\* Sig<.05; \* Sig<10<sup>b</sup> No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/ limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-9c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men are better leaders than women" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces							
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total	
<b>Male</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	5.0	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53.8	-	17.5	-	10.1	5.0	-	-	4.5
Disagree	-	27.5	27.5	18.6	12.5	20.0	17.5	2.5	2.5	5.0	-	30.8	21.4	17.5	15.3	10.1	27.5	21.1	16.5	16.5
Agree	-	22.5	22.5	55.9	50.0	60.0	55.0	5.0	5.0	92.5	15.4	-	35.7	22.5	48.6	17.4	22.5	42.1	32.0	32.0
Strongly Agree	-	45.0	45.0	25.4	37.5	20.0	27.5	92.5	92.5	42.5	84.6	-	42.9	42.5	36.1	62.3	45.0	36.8	47.0	47.0
<i>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</i>	-	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	1.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
<i>Standard dev.</i>	-	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.8	1.2	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.9
<b>n of cases</b>	=	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	40	40	13	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	200	200
<b>Female</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	2.6	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	6.3	5.0	-	1.6	2.6	-	-	1.5
Disagree	-	20.5	20.0	13.3	6.7	-	11.3	10.0%	10.0	10.0	25.0	50.0	25.0	30.0	15.6	14.3	20.5	19.0	16.5	16.5
Agree	-	46.2	45.0	56.7	33.3	40.0	51.3	32.5%	32.5	43.8	12.5	43.8	43.8	37.5	53.2	30.2	46.2	42.9	43.5	43.5
Strongly Agree	100.0	30.8	32.5	30.0	60.0	60.0	37.5	57.5%	57.5	31.3	25.0	25.0	25.0	27.5	31.2	54.0	30.8	33.3	38.5	38.5
<i>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</i>	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0*	4.0*	4.0*	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0*	4.0*	3.0*	3.0*	3.0	3.0
<i>Standard dev.</i>	-	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8
<b>n of cases</b>	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	40	16	16	8	16	40	77	63	39	21	200	200
<b>Both</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	3.8	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.1	3.3	11.3	-	6.1	3.8	2.5	-	3.0
Disagree	-	24.1	23.8	16.0	9.7	10.0	14.4	6.3	6.3	13.8	38.1	23.3	23.3	23.8	15.4	12.1	24.1	20.0	16.5	16.5
Agree	-	34.2	33.8	56.3	41.9	50.0	53.1	18.8	18.8	31.0	14.3	40.0	40.0	30.0	51.0	23.5	34.2	42.5	37.8	37.8
Strongly Agree	100.0	38.0	38.8	27.7	48.4	40.0	32.5	75.0	75.0	55.2	9.5	33.3	33.3	35.0	33.6	58.3	38.0	35.0	42.8	42.8
<i>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</i>	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0*	3.0*	3.0*	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	2.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0**	3.0**	3.0	3.0
<i>Standard dev.</i>	-	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8
<b>n of cases</b>	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	80	29	21	30	30	80	149	132	79	40	400	400

Notes: \*Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10; No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-10a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should be more educated than women" by province, life cycle, and sex

	Bamiyan				Kabul				Nangarhar				Takhar				All Provinces				
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
Strongly Disagree	20.0	30.0	25.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	10.0	10.0	5.0	10.0	5.0	30.0	30.0	30.0	14.0	14.0	14.0	14.0	14.0	14.0	14.0
Disagree	20.0	45.0	32.5	36.3	22.5	36.3	15.0	35.0	25.0	15.0	35.0	17.5	20.0	17.5	30.0	29.0	29.0	30.0	29.0	29.0	29.5
Agree	10.0	15.0	12.5	38.8	50.0	38.8	5.0	10.0	7.5	5.0	10.0	12.5	10.0	12.5	17.0	17.0	17.0	17.0	27.0	27.0	22.0
Strongly Agree	50.0	10.0	30.0	20.0	22.5	20.0	70.0	55.0	62.5	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	39.0	39.0	39.0	39.0	30.0	30.0	34.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.50**	2.00**	2.00***	3.00**	3.00**	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	4.00	4.00***	3.00**	2.50	3.00**	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Standard dev.	1.25	0.94	1.18	0.84	0.81	0.84	1.09	0.95	1.01	1.31	1.29	1.31	1.31	1.29	1.11	1.11	1.04	1.04	1.04	1.04	1.07
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	100	100	100	100	200
<b>Female</b>																					
Strongly Disagree	5.0	10.0	7.5	10.0	10.0	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	35.0	40.0	37.5	12.0	14.0	14.0	12.0	14.0	14.0	13.0
Disagree	40.0	55.0	47.5	52.5	57.5	55.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	15.0	25.0	20.0	40.0	47.0	47.0	40.0	47.0	47.0	43.5
Agree	45.0	20.0	32.5	20.0	25.0	22.5	40.0	35.0	37.5	40.0	37.5	10.0	20.0	15.0	27.0	25.0	25.0	27.0	25.0	25.0	26.0
Strongly Agree	10.0	15.0	12.5	17.5	7.5	12.5	20.0	25.0	22.5	20.0	22.5	40.0	15.0	27.5	21.0	14.0	14.0	21.0	14.0	14.0	17.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00	2.00	2.00**	2.00	2.00	2.00**	3.00	3.00	3.00**	3.00	3.00**	2.50	2.00	2.00**	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Standard dev.	0.75	0.88	0.82	0.90	0.76	0.83	0.77	0.81	0.78	0.81	0.78	1.36	1.12	1.25	0.96	0.90	0.90	0.96	0.90	0.90	0.93
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	100	100	100	100	200
<b>Both</b>																					
Strongly Disagree	12.5	20.0	16.3	7.5	7.5	7.5	5.0	-	2.5	5.0	7.5	32.5	35.0	33.8	13.0	14.0	14.0	13.0	14.0	14.0	13.5
Disagree	30.0	50.0	40.0	45.6	40.0	45.6	27.5	37.5	32.5	27.5	45.6	15.0	22.5	18.8	35.0	38.0	38.0	35.0	38.0	38.0	36.5
Agree	27.5	17.5	22.5	23.8	37.5	30.6	22.5	22.5	22.5	22.5	30.6	12.5	15.0	13.8	22.0	26.0	26.0	22.0	26.0	26.0	24.0
Strongly Agree	30.0	12.5	21.3	17.5	15.0	16.3	45.0	40.0	42.5	45.0	16.3	40.0	27.5	33.8	30.0	22.0	22.0	30.0	22.0	22.0	26.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00**	2.00**	2.00***	2.00	3.00	2.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00	2.00***	3.00	2.00	2.00***	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.50
Standard dev.	1.03	0.92	1.01	0.87	0.84	0.85	0.97	0.89	0.93	0.89	0.85	1.32	1.23	1.27	1.04	0.99	0.99	1.04	0.99	0.99	1.01
n of cases	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	80	40	40	80	200	200	200	200	200	200	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\* Sig < 0.01; \* Sig < 0.05; \* Sig < 0.10



Annex Table 4-10c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should be more educated than women" by province, ethnicity and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces							
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total	
Male																				
Strongly Disagree	-	25.0	25.0	5.1	6.3	-	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	-	84.6	7.1	30.0	4.2	20.3	25.0	5.3	14.0	
Disagree	-	32.5	32.5	35.6	50.0	-	36.3	25.0	25.0	25.0	15.4	7.7	28.6	17.5	31.9	27.5	32.5	21.1	29.5	
Agree	-	12.5	12.5	42.4	18.8	60.0	38.8	7.5	7.5	7.5	23.1	-	14.3	12.5	38.9	8.7	12.5	26.3	22.0	
Strongly Agree	-	30.0	30.0	16.9	25.0	40.0	20.0	62.5	62.5	62.5	61.5	7.7	50.0	40.0	25.0	43.5	30.0	47.4	34.5	
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	-	2.0	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	4.0	4.0 <sup>***</sup>	4.0 <sup>***</sup>	4.0 <sup>***</sup>	1.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.5 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	
Standard dev.	-	1.2	1.2	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.1	
n of cases	=	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	40	40	13	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	200	
Female																				
Strongly Disagree	-	7.7	7.5	11.7	6.7	-	10.0	-	-	-	-	50.0	68.8	37.5	9.1	7.9	7.7	52.4	13.0	
Disagree	-	48.7	47.5	56.7	66.7	-	55.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	18.8	37.5	12.5	20.0	48.1	46.0	48.7	9.5	43.5	
Agree	-	33.3	32.5	18.3	20.0	80.0	22.5	37.5	37.5	37.5	18.8	12.5	12.5	15.0	18.2	30.2	33.3	28.6	26.0	
Strongly Agree	100.0	10.3	12.5	13.3	6.7	20.0	12.5	22.5	22.5	22.5	62.5	-	6.3	27.5	24.7	15.9	10.3	9.5	17.5	
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	2.0	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	4.0 <sup>***</sup>	1.5 <sup>***</sup>	1.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0*	2.0*	2.0*	1.0*	2.0	
Standard dev.		0.8	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.1	0.9	
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	40	40	16	8	16	40	77	63	39	21	200	
Both																				
Strongly Disagree	-	16.5	16.3	8.4	6.5	-	7.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	-	71.4	40.0	33.8	6.7	14.4	16.5	30.0	13.5	
Disagree	-	40.5	40.0	46.2	58.1	-	45.6	32.5	32.5	32.5	17.2	19.0	20.0	18.8	40.3	36.4	40.5	15.0	36.5	
Agree	-	22.8	22.5	30.3	19.4	70.0	30.6	22.5	22.5	22.5	20.7	4.8	13.3	13.8	28.2	18.9	22.8	27.5	24.0	
Strongly Agree	100.0	20.3	21.3	15.1	16.1	30.0	16.3	42.5	42.5	42.5	62.1	4.8	26.7	33.8	24.8	30.3	20.3	27.5	26.0	
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	2.0	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	4.0 <sup>***</sup>	1.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	
Standard dev.		1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.3	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.0	
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	80	80	29	21	30	80	149	132	79	40	400	

Notes: <sup>a</sup>Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; <sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sig< 0.01; <sup>\*\*</sup> Sig< 0.05; <sup>\*</sup> Sig< 0.10; <sup>o</sup> No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-11a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Women shouldn't decide who and when to marry" by province, life cycle, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
<b>Male</b>															
Strongly Disagree	5.0	25.0	15.0	2.5	5.0	3.8	10.0	-	5.0	15.0	5.0	10.0	7.0	8.0	7.5
Disagree	20.0	30.0	25.0	22.5	27.5	25.0	10.0	15.0	12.5	15.0	10.0	12.5	18.0	22.0	20.0
Agree	15.0	20.0	17.5	55.0	52.5	53.8	10.0	30.0	20.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	32.0	36.0	34.0
Strongly Agree	60.0	25.0	42.5	20.0	15.0	17.5	70.0	55.0	62.5	45.0	60.0	52.5	43.0	34.0	38.5
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	4.00**	2.00**	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	3.00	4.00	4.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.98	1.15	1.14	0.73	0.77	0.75	1.05	0.75	0.90	1.12	0.88	1.02	0.94	0.94	0.94
<b>n of cases</b>	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
<b>Female</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	5.0	2.5	2.5	10.0	6.3	-	-	-	15.0	35.0	25.0	4.0	12.0	8.0
Disagree	10.0	40.0	25.0	17.5	25.0	21.3	40.0	35.0	37.5	35.0	40.0	37.5	24.0	33.0	28.5
Agree	65.0	35.0	50.0	42.5	42.5	42.5	40.0	45.0	42.5	25.0	10.0	17.5	43.0	35.0	39.0
Strongly Agree	25.0	20.0	22.5	37.5	22.5	30.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	25.0	15.0	20.0	29.0	20.0	24.5
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	3.00*	3.00*	3.00***	3.00*	3.00*	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	2.50*	2.00*	2.00***	3.00**	3.00**	3.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.59	0.86	0.76	0.80	0.92	0.88	0.77	0.75	0.75	1.05	1.05	1.07	0.83	0.94	0.90
<b>n of cases</b>	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
<b>Both</b>															
Strongly Disagree	2.5	15.0	8.8	2.5	7.5	5.0	5.0	-	2.5	15.0	20.0	17.5	5.5	10.0	7.8
Disagree	15.0	35.0	25.0	20.0	26.3	23.1	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	21.0	27.5	24.3
Agree	40.0	27.5	33.8	48.8	47.5	48.1	25.0	37.5	31.3	25.0	17.5	21.3	37.5	35.5	36.5
Strongly Agree	42.5	22.5	32.5	28.8	18.8	23.8	45.0	37.5	41.3	35.0	37.5	36.3	36.0	27.0	31.5
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	3.00***	2.50***	3.00	3.00*	3.00*	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00**	3.00**	3.00
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.80	1.01	0.96	0.77	0.84	0.81	0.96	0.79	0.87	1.09	1.18	1.13	0.89	0.95	.929
<b>n of cases</b>	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	40	80	200	200	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10

**Annex Table 4-11b. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Women shouldn't decide who and when to marry" by province, educational attainment, and sex**

	Bamyan <sup>b</sup>				Kabul				Nangarhar <sup>b</sup>				Takhar				All Provinces					
	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Tot.		
<b>Male</b>																						
Strongly Disagree	18.2	-	20.0	15.4	-	6.3	4.8	3.8	-	20.0	-	10.0	5.4	5.6	-	5.0	10.0	6.3	7.7	11.6	7.7	
Disagree	9.1	33.3	26.7	40.0	25.6	26.3	28.6	25.0	9.1	20.0	9.1	10.0	10.8	16.7	-	10.0	-	37.5	15.4	25.6	19.9	
Agree	18.2	33.3	20.0	17.9	57.9	25.0	47.6	53.8	-	20.0	45.5	10.0	18.9	22.2	-	30.0	-	25.0	43.6	27.9	34.2	
Strongly Agree	54.5	33.3	33.3	40.0	41.0	15.8	19.0	17.5	90.9	40.0	45.5	70.0	64.9	55.6	-	55.0	-	52.5	31.3	33.3	34.9	38.3
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0*	-	4.0*	1.0*	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
<b>Standard dev.</b>	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.1	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.6	1.3	0.7	1.1	0.9	1.0	-	0.9	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.9
<b>n of cases</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>196</b>
<b>Female</b>																						
Strongly Disagree	-	-	12.5	-	2.5	2.3	-	25.0	6.3	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	26.7	-	25.0	21.1	4.5	8.0	
Disagree	22.7	100.0	25.0	22.2	25.0	14.0	33.3	30.0	34.5	16.7	66.7	100.0	37.5	16.7	66.7	53.3	-	37.5	42.1	31.8	28.5	
Agree	54.5	-	37.5	55.6	50.0	51.2	25.0	10.0	44.8	66.7	-	-	42.5	16.7	33.3	6.7	100.0	17.5	18.4	31.8	39.0	
Strongly Agree	22.7	-	25.0	22.2	22.5	32.6	16.7	30.0	20.7	16.7	33.3	-	20.0	33.3	-	13.3	-	20.0	14.3	18.4	24.5	
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0*	2.0*	3.5*	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0***	2.5	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0***	3.0***	2.0***	3.0	
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.7		1.0	0.7	0.8	0.7	1.1	1.2	0.7	0.6	1.2	0.0	0.7	1.3	0.5	1.0		1.1	1.0	0.9	0.9	
<b>n of cases</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>200</b>	
<b>Both</b>																						
Strongly Disagree	6.1	-	17.4	5.3	8.9	1.6	11.4	6.5	5.0	9.1	-	8.3	2.6	19.4	-	14.3	66.7	17.5	12.1	9.2	7.8	
Disagree	18.2	50.0	26.1	31.6	25.3	17.7	34.8	20.5	23.1	18.2	21.4	25.0	24.7	16.7	66.7	28.6	-	25.0	36.4	24.1	24.2	
Agree	42.4	25.0	26.1	31.6	34.2	53.2	43.5	52.3	48.1	45.5	35.7	8.3	31.2	19.4	33.3	20.0	33.3	21.3	40.9	35.3	29.2	36.6
Strongly Agree	33.3	25.0	30.4	31.6	31.6	27.4	21.7	15.9	23.8	27.3	42.9	58.3	41.6	44.4	-	37.1	-	36.3	20.5	28.4	31.3	
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.9	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.1	0.9	1.2	0.5	1.1	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.0	1.0	
<b>n of cases</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>65</b>	

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as educational attainment; <sup>\*\*</sup> Sig<.01; <sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sig<.001; <sup>\*</sup> Sig<.05; <sup>†</sup> Sig<.10<sup>b</sup> No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/ limited number of ethnic groups for comparison





AnnexTable 4-12a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Power goes hand in hand with being a man" by province, life cycle, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
	Male														
Strongly Disagree	10.0	25.0	17.5	-	5.0	2.5	-	-	-	25.0	25.0	25.0	7.0	12.0	9.5
Disagree	35.0	35.0	35.0	17.5	25.0	21.3	-	-	-	10.0	20.0	15.0	16.0	21.0	18.5
Agree	15.0	20.0	17.5	52.5	57.5	55.0	-	10.0	5.0	30.0	15.0	22.5	30.0	32.0	31.0
Strongly Agree	40.0	20.0	30.0	30.0	12.5	21.3	100.0	90.0	95.0	35.0	40.0	37.5	47.0	35.0	41.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00	2.00	2.00***	3.00**	3.00**	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00*	3.00*	3.00
Standard dev.	1.09	1.09	1.10	0.69	0.73	0.73	0.00	0.31	0.22	1.21	1.26	1.22	0.94	1.02	0.99
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
Female															
Strongly Disagree	5.0	20.0	12.5	-	7.5	3.8	-	-	-	10.0	20.0	15.0	3.0	11.0	7.0
Disagree	30.0	35.0	32.5	25.0	32.5	28.8	10.0	55.0	32.5	35.0	40.0	37.5	25.0	39.0	32.0
Agree	45.0	25.0	35.0	52.5	45.0	48.8	55.0	20.0	37.5	20.0	30.0	25.0	45.0	33.0	39.0
Strongly Agree	20.0	20.0	20.0	22.5	15.0	18.8	35.0	25.0	30.0	35.0	10.0	22.5	27.0	17.0	22.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00**	2.00**	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00**	2.50**	3.00
Standard dev.	0.83	1.05	0.95	0.70	0.83	0.78	0.64	0.86	0.80	1.06	0.92	1.01	0.80	0.90	0.88
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
Both															
Strongly Disagree	7.5	22.5	15.0	-	6.3	3.1	-	-	-	17.5	22.5	20.0	5.0	11.5	8.3
Disagree	32.5	35.0	33.8	21.3	28.8	25.0	5.0	27.5	16.3	22.5	30.0	26.3	20.5	30.0	25.3
Agree	30.0	22.5	26.3	52.5	51.3	51.9	27.5	15.0	21.3	25.0	22.5	23.8	37.5	32.5	35.0
Strongly Agree	30.0	20.0	25.0	26.3	13.8	20.0	67.5	57.5	62.5	35.0	25.0	30.0	37.0	26.0	31.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00*	2.00*	3.00***	3.00**	3.00**	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	3.00	2.00	3.00***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00
Standard dev.	0.96	1.06	1.02	0.69	0.78	0.75	0.59	0.88	0.76	1.12	1.11	1.12	0.88	0.98	.943
n of cases	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	40	80	200	200	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10





Annex Table 4-13a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should always be more powerful than women" by province, life cycle, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
<b>Male</b>															
Strongly Disagree	10.0	30.0	20.0	2.5	5.0	3.8	-	-	-	20.0	35.0	27.5	7.0	15.0	11.0
Disagree	20.0	30.0	25.0	10.0	20.0	15.0	-	10.0	5.0	25.0	15.0	20.0	13.0	19.0	16.0
Agree	15.0	30.0	22.5	42.5	62.5	52.5	-	5.0	2.5	10.0	-	5.0	22.0	32.0	27.0
Strongly Agree	55.0	10.0	32.5	45.0	12.5	28.8	100.0	85.0	92.5	45.0	50.0	47.5	58.0	34.0	46.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00***	2.00***	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	4.00*	4.00*	4.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	4.00***	3.00***	3.00
Standard dev.	1.09	1.01	1.14	0.76	0.71	0.77	0.00	0.64	0.46	1.24	1.42	1.32	0.95	1.06	1.03
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
<b>Female</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	20.0	10.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	-	-	-	20.0	25.0	22.5	5.0	10.0	7.5
Disagree	25.0	35.0	30.0	10.0	27.5	18.8	10.0	20.0	15.0	15.0	40.0	27.5	14.0	30.0	22.0
Agree	55.0	30.0	42.5	55.0	55.0	55.0	45.0	35.0	40.0	20.0	5.0	12.5	46.0	36.0	41.0
Strongly Agree	20.0	15.0	17.5	32.5	15.0	23.8	45.0	45.0	45.0	45.0	30.0	37.5	35.0	24.0	29.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00*	2.00*	3.00***	3.00**	3.00**	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00	2.00	2.50***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00
Standard dev.	0.69	0.99	0.89	0.71	0.71	0.73	0.67	0.79	0.72	1.21	1.19	1.21	0.83	0.94	0.90
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
<b>Both</b>															
Strongly Disagree	5.0	25.0	15.0	2.5	3.8	3.1	-	-	-	20.0	30.0	25.0	6.0	12.5	9.3
Disagree	22.5	32.5	27.5	10.0	23.8	16.9	5.0	15.0	10.0	20.0	27.5	23.8	13.5	24.5	19.0
Agree	35.0	30.0	32.5	48.8	58.8	53.8	22.5	20.0	21.3	15.0	2.5	8.8	34.0	34.0	34.0
Strongly Agree	37.5	12.5	25.0	38.8	13.8	26.3	72.5	65.0	68.8	45.0	40.0	42.5	46.5	29.0	37.8
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00***	2.00***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00***	4.00	4.00	4.00***	3.00	2.00	3.00***	3.00***	3.00***	3.00
Standard dev.	0.90	0.99	1.02	0.73	0.71	0.75	0.57	0.75	0.67	1.21	1.30	1.26	0.89	1.00	0.97
n of cases	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	40	80	200	200	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10



Annex Table 4-13c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should always be more powerful than women" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces							
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Total	Pashtun	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Total	Hazara	Others	Total
<b>Male</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	20.0	20.0	5.1	-	3.8	-	-	-	53.8	28.6	27.5	4.2	10.1	20.0	21.1	21.1	21.1	21.1	11.0
Disagree	-	25.0	25.0	13.6	25.0	15.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	30.8	28.6	20.0	11.1	14.5	25.0	21.1	21.1	21.1	21.1	16.0
Agree	-	22.5	22.5	49.2	62.5	52.5	2.5	60.0%	2.5	7.7	-	5.0	41.7	17.4	22.5	15.8	15.8	15.8	15.8	27.0
Strongly Agree	-	32.5	32.5	32.2	12.5	28.8	92.5	40.0%	92.5	7.7	42.9	47.5	43.1	58.0	32.5	42.1	42.1	42.1	42.1	46.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	-	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	3.0	4.0	1.0***	2.0***	3.0***	3.0***	4.0***	3.0***	3.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0
Standard dev.	-	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.9	1.3	1.3	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0
n of cases	-	40	40	59	16	80	40	5	40	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	19	19	19	200
<b>Female</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	10.3	10.0	3.3	-	2.5	-	-	-	25.0	43.8	22.5	2.6	3.2	10.3	33.3	33.3	33.3	33.3	7.5
Disagree	-	30.8	30.0	21.7	6.7	18.8	15.0	20.0	15.0	18.8	25.0	27.5	20.8	17.5	30.8	23.8	23.8	23.8	23.8	22.0
Agree	-	43.6	42.5	55.0	60.0	55.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	12.5	6.3	12.5	45.5	42.9	43.6	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	41.0
Strongly Agree	100.0	15.4	17.5	20.0	33.3	23.8	45.0	40.0	45.0	68.8	25.0	37.5	31.2	36.5	15.4	28.6	28.6	28.6	28.6	29.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0***	2.0***	2.5***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	2.0***	2.0***	2.0***	2.0***	3.0
Standard dev.	1	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.3	1.2	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.9
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	80	40	5	40	16	16	40	77	63	39	21	21	21	21	200
<b>Both</b>																				
Strongly Disagree	-	15.2	15.0	4.2	-	3.1	-	-	-	42.9	36.7	25.0	3.4	6.8	15.2	27.5	27.5	27.5	27.5	9.3
Disagree	-	27.8	27.5	17.6	16.1	16.9	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.3	26.7	23.8	16.1	15.9	27.8	22.5	22.5	22.5	22.5	19.0
Agree	-	32.9	32.5	52.1	61.3	53.8	21.3	50.0	21.3	10.3	3.3	8.8	43.6	29.5	32.9	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	34.0
Strongly Agree	100.0	24.1	25.0	26.1	22.6	26.3	68.8	40.0	68.8	79.3	33.3	42.5	36.9	47.7	24.1	35.0	35.0	35.0	35.0	37.8
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0***	2.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	2.5***	2.5***	2.5***	2.5***	3.0
Standard dev.	1	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.3	1.3	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.0
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	160	80	10	80	29	30	80	149	132	79	40	40	40	40	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup>Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig < 0.01; \*\* Sig < 0.05; \* Sig < 0.10; No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison





Annex Table 4-14b. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should always have the last word" by province, educational attainment, and sex

	Bamyan <sup>b</sup>						Kabul						Nangarhar <sup>b</sup>						Takhhar						All Provinces							
	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.		
	<b>Male</b>																															
Strongly Disagree	18.2	-	6.7	10.0	10.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.6	-	-	-	-	2.5	5.1	-	1.3	2.3	2.6
Disagree	-	-	40.0	50.0	28.2	15.8	21.9	23.8	22.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.2	-	25.0	100.0	27.5	11.9	18.8	-	-	-	27.5	11.9	18.8	23.1	27.9	20.4	
Agree	18.2	-	33.3	20.0	23.1	52.6	37.5	47.6	48.8	-	-	36.4	-	10.8	11.1	-	25.0	-	17.5	23.7	18.8	-	-	-	17.5	23.7	18.8	38.5	27.9	30.1		
Strongly Agree	63.6	100.0	20.0	20.0	38.5	31.6	25.0	28.1	28.8	28.6	28.8	100.0	100.0	63.6	100.0	100.0	63.6	100.0	52.5	59.3	62.5	62.5	62.5	37.2	41.9	46.9						
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	4.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0*	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0*	3.0	3.0*	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0*	4.0	4.0	4.0*	4.0*	4.0*	4.0*	4.0*	3.5	2.0	4.0*	4.0*	4.0*	3.0*	3.0*	3.0		
<b>Standard dev.</b>	1.2	0.0	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	1.0	0.9	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	
n of cases	11	3	15	10	39	19	8	32	21	80	11	5	11	10	37	18	0	20	2	40	59	16	78	43	196							
<b>Female</b>																																
Strongly Disagree	-	-	-	11.1	2.5	2.3	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	16.7	13.3	-	15.0	3.6	3.6	5.3	4.5	4.0							
Disagree	18.2	100.0	50.0	77.8	40.0	18.6	33.3	25.0	20.0	22.5	17.2	16.7	-	-	15.0	50.0	26.7	-	40.0	23.2	35.7	28.9	40.9	28.0								
Agree	59.1	-	37.5	11.1	42.5	60.5	46.7	50.0	55.0	55.0	41.4	33.3	66.7	50.0	42.5	27.8	40.0	100.0	32.5	50.0	35.7	44.7	36.4	45.5								
Strongly Agree	22.7	-	12.5	-	15.0	18.6	20.0	25.0	30.0	21.3	41.4	50.0	33.3	50.0	42.5	5.6	16.7	20.0	-	12.5	23.2	25.0	21.1	18.2	22.5							
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.5	3.0	3.5	3.0***	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0						
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.7	-	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.0	-	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8							
n of cases	22	1	8	9	40	43	15	12	10	80	29	6	3	2	40	18	6	15	1	40	112	28	38	22	200							
<b>Both</b>																																
Strongly Disagree	6.1	-	4.3	10.5	6.3	1.6	-	-	-	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	16.7	5.7	-	8.8	4.1	2.3	2.6	3.1	3.3							
Disagree	12.1	25.0	43.5	63.2	34.2	17.7	34.8	22.7	22.6	22.5	12.5	9.1	-	-	7.8	36.1	50.0	25.7	66.7	33.8	19.3	29.5	25.0	32.3	24.2							
Agree	45.5	-	34.8	15.8	32.9	58.1	43.5	50.0	48.4	51.9	30.0	18.2	42.9	8.3	27.3	19.4	31.4	33.3	25.0	40.9	29.5	40.5	30.8	37.9								
Strongly Agree	36.4	75.0	17.4	10.5	26.6	22.6	21.7	27.3	29.0	25.0	57.5	72.7	57.1	91.7	64.9	33.3	16.7	37.1	-	32.5	35.7	38.6	31.9	33.8	34.6							
<b>Median (<math>\bar{x}</math>)</b>	3.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0***	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0							
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.6	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8							
n of cases	33	4	23	19	79	62	23	44	31	160	40	11	14	12	77	36	6	35	3	80	171	44	116	65	396							

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as educational attainment; <sup>\*\*</sup> Sig< 0.01; <sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sig< 0.001; <sup>\*</sup> Sig< 0.05; <sup>†</sup> Sig< 0.10. No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-14c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "Men should always have the last word" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces						
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total
	<b>Male</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	10.0	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.7	-	2.5	-	1.4	10.0	-	2.5
Disagree	-	27.5	27.5	15.3	50.0	20.0	22.5	-	-	-	7.7	38.5	35.7	27.5	13.9	18.8	27.5	31.6	20.0
Agree	-	22.5	22.5	54.2	25.0	60.0	48.8	10.0	10.0	15.4	38.5	-	-	17.5	47.2	18.8	22.5	15.8	29.5
Strongly Agree	-	40.0	40.0	30.5	25.0	20.0	28.8	90.0	90.0	76.9	15.4	64.3	52.5	40.0	38.9	60.9	40.0	52.6	48.0
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	-	3.0	3.0***	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	4.0***	3.0***	4.0***	4.0***	4.0***	3.0*	4.0*	3.0*	4.0*	3.0
Standard dev.	-	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.9
n of cases	-	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	40	13	13	14	40	40	72	69	40	19	200
<b>Female</b>																			
Strongly Disagree	-	2.6	2.5	1.7	-	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	37.5	15.0	1.3	-	2.6	28.6	4.0
Disagree	100.0	38.5	40.0	21.7	33.3	-	22.5	15.0	15.0	56.3	37.5	25.0	25.0	40.0	29.9	22.2	38.5	19.0	28.0
Agree	-	43.6	42.5	53.3	60.0	60.0	55.0	42.5	42.5	43.8	25.0	25.0	25.0	32.5	50.6	44.4	43.6	33.3	45.5
Strongly Agree	-	15.4	15.0	23.3	6.7	40.0	21.3	42.5	42.5	-	37.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	18.2	33.3	15.4	19.0	22.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	2.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0	3.0***	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0**	3.0
Standard dev.	-	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.8
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	40	16	8	16	16	40	77	63	39	21	200
<b>Both</b>																			
Strongly Disagree	-	6.3	6.3	.8	-	-	.6	-	-	-	4.8	20.0	8.8	8.8	.7	.8	6.3	15.0	3.3
Disagree	100.0	32.9	33.8	18.5	41.9	10.0	22.5	7.5	7.5	34.5	38.1	30.0	33.8	33.8	22.1	20.5	32.9	25.0	24.0
Agree	-	32.9	32.5	53.8	41.9	60.0	51.9	26.3	26.3	31.0	33.3	13.3	25.0	25.0	49.0	31.1	32.9	25.0	37.5
Strongly Agree	-	27.8	27.5	26.9	16.1	30.0	25.0	66.3	66.3	34.5	23.8	36.7	32.5	32.5	28.2	47.7	27.8	35.0	35.3
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	2.0	3.0	3.0***	3.0**	3.0**	3.0**	3.0***	4.0	4.0***	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0
Standard dev.	-	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.2	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.1	0.8
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	80	29	21	30	80	80	149	132	79	40	400

Notes: \*Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\*\* Sig< 0.05; \*Sig<10<sup>-6</sup> No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-15a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "it is acceptable for a man to raise his hands on his wife" by province, life cycle, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
<b>Male</b>															
Strongly Disagree	-	15.0	7.5	-	2.5	1.3	5.0	5.0	5.0	10.0	5.0	7.5	3.0	6.0	4.5
Disagree	30.0	35.0	32.5	55.0	30.0	42.5	20.0	30.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	37.0	30.0	33.5
Agree	15.0	25.0	20.0	35.0	57.5	46.3	40.0	40.0	32.5	55.0	30.0	42.5	33.0	42.0	37.5
Strongly Agree	55.0	25.0	40.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	25.0	25.0	37.5	10.0	40.0	25.0	27.0	22.0	24.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.00*	2.50*	3.00*	2.00	3.00	3.00*	3.50	3.00	3.00*	3.00	3.00	3.00*	3.00	3.00	3.00
Standard dev.	0.91	1.05	1.02	0.68	0.67	0.68	0.95	0.88	0.92	0.81	0.94	0.89	0.86	0.85	0.86
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200
<b>Female</b>															
Strongly Disagree	5.0	35.0	20.0	5.0	10.0	7.5	-	-	-	15.0	15.8	15.4	6.0	14.1	10.1
Disagree	50.0	30.0	40.0	40.0	45.0	42.5	10.0	10.0	10.0	15.0	42.1	28.2	31.0	34.3	32.7
Agree	20.0	25.0	22.5	45.0	35.0	40.0	50.0	40.0	45.0	35.0	21.1	28.2	39.0	31.3	35.2
Strongly Agree	25.0	10.0	17.5	10.0	10.0	10.0	40.0	50.0	45.0	35.0	21.1	28.2	24.0	20.2	22.1
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	2.00*	2.00*	2.00***	3.00	2.00	2.50***	3.00	3.50	3.00***	3.00	2.00	3.00***	3.00*	3.00*	3.00
Standard dev.	0.93	1.02	1.00	0.74	0.81	0.78	0.66	0.68	0.66	1.07	1.02	1.06	0.87	0.97	0.93
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	19	40	100	99	199
<b>Both</b>															
Strongly Disagree	2.5	25.0	13.8	2.5	6.3	4.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	12.5	10.3	11.4	4.5	10.1	7.3
Disagree	40.0	32.5	36.3	47.5	37.5	42.5	15.0	20.0	17.5	20.0	33.3	26.6	34.0	32.2	33.1
Agree	17.5	25.0	21.3	40.0	46.3	43.1	37.5	40.0	38.8	45.0	25.6	35.4	36.0	36.7	36.3
Strongly Agree	40.0	17.5	28.8	10.0	10.0	10.0	45.0	37.5	41.3	22.5	30.8	26.6	25.5	21.1	23.3
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	3.00**	2.00**	2.50***	2.50	3.00	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00***	3.00	3.00	3.00
Standard dev.	0.96	1.05	1.04	0.71	0.76	0.73	0.81	0.82	0.81	0.95	1.01	0.97	0.86	0.92	0.89
n of cases	40	40	80	80	80	160	40	40	80	40	40	80	200	199	399

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; <sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sig< 0.01; <sup>\*\*</sup> Sig< 0.05; <sup>\*</sup> Sig< 0.10

Annex Table 4-15b. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "It is acceptable for a man to raise his hands on his wife" by province, educational attainment, and sex

	Bamyan <sup>b</sup>					Kabul					Nangarhar <sup>b</sup>					Takhar					All Provinces						
	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.	No Ed	Prim	Sec	Col.	Tot.		
<b>Male</b>																											
Strongly Disagree	-	-	20.0	-	7.7	-	-	3.1	-	1.3	-	-	9.1	10.0	5.4	11.1	-	5.0	-	7.5	3.4	-	7.7	2.3	4.6		
Disagree	27.3	66.7	20.0	50.0	33.3	42.1	50.0	46.9	33.3	42.5	18.2	20.0	27.3	40.0	27.0	16.7	-	30.0	50.0	25.0	27.1	43.8	34.6	39.5	34.2		
Agree	18.2	-	33.3	10.0	20.5	47.4	37.5	43.8	52.4	46.3	27.3	20.0	54.5	20.0	32.4	55.6	-	30.0	50.0	42.5	40.7	25.0	39.7	34.9	37.8		
Strongly Agree	54.5	33.3	26.7	40.0	38.5	10.5	12.5	6.3	14.3	10.0	54.5	60.0	9.1	30.0	35.1	16.7	-	35.0	-	25.0	28.8	31.3	17.9	23.3	23.5		
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	4.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	-	3.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0		
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.1	0.9	0.9	-	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9		
<b>n of cases</b>	11	3	15	10	39	19	8	32	21	80	11	5	11	10	37	18	0	20	2	40	59	16	78	43	196		
<b>Female</b>																											
Strongly Disagree	4.5	-	25.0	55.6	20.0	2.3	13.3	16.7	10.0	7.5	-	-	-	-	-	5.6	33.3	21.4	-	15.4	2.7	14.3	18.9	27.3	10.1		
Disagree	40.9	100.0	37.5	33.3	40.0	39.5	53.3	25.0	60.0	42.5	6.9	33.3	-	-	10.0	16.7	66.7	21.4	100.0	28.2	27.7	53.6	24.3	45.5	32.7		
Agree	27.3	-	25.0	11.1	22.5	51.2	20.0	33.3	30.0	40.0	55.2	16.7	-	50.0	45.0	27.8	-	42.9	-	28.2	43.8	14.3	32.4	22.7	35.2		
Strongly Agree	27.3	-	12.5	-	17.5	7.0	13.3	25.0	-	10.0	37.9	50.0	100.0	50.0	45.0	50.0	-	14.3	-	28.2	25.9	17.9	24.3	4.5	22.1		
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	3.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.5 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	3.5	4.0	3.5	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.5 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>**</sup>	3.0 <sup>**</sup>	2.0 <sup>**</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.9	-	1.0	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.5	1.0	-	1.1	0.8	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.9		
<b>n of cases</b>	22	1	8	9	40	43	15	12	10	80	29	6	3	2	40	18	6	15	1	40	112	28	38	22	200		
<b>Both</b>																											
Strongly Disagree	3.0	-	21.7	26.3	13.9	1.6	8.7	6.8	3.2	4.4	-	-	7.1	8.3	2.6	8.3	33.3	11.8	-	11.4	2.9	9.1	11.3	10.8	7.3		
Disagree	36.4	75.0	26.1	42.1	36.7	40.3	52.2	40.9	41.9	42.5	10.0	27.3	21.4	33.3	18.2	16.7	66.7	26.5	66.7	26.6	27.5	50.0	31.3	41.5	33.4		
Agree	24.2	-	30.4	10.5	21.5	50.0	26.1	40.9	45.2	43.1	47.5	18.2	42.9	25.0	39.0	41.7	-	35.3	33.3	35.4	42.7	18.2	37.4	30.8	36.5		
Strongly Agree	36.4	25.0	21.7	21.1	27.8	8.1	13.0	11.4	9.7	10.0	42.5	54.5	28.6	33.3	40.3	33.3	-	26.5	-	26.6	26.9	22.7	20.0	16.9	22.8		
<b>Median (x̄)</b>	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>**</sup>	2.0 <sup>**</sup>	3.0 <sup>**</sup>	2.0 <sup>**</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0 <sup>***</sup>	2.0 <sup>***</sup>	3.0		
<b>Standard dev.</b>	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.5	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.9		
<b>n of cases</b>	33	4	23	19	79	62	23	44	31	160	40	11	14	12	77	36	6	35	3	80	171	44	116	65	396		

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as educational attainment; <sup>\*\*</sup> Sig< 0.01; <sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sig<10<sup>-6</sup> No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-15c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "It is acceptable for a man to raise his hands on his wife" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces					
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total
	<b>Male</b>																	
Strongly Disagree	-	7.5	7.5	1.7	-	-	1.3	5.0	5.0	-	23.1	-	7.5	1.4	7.2	7.5	-	4.5
Disagree	-	32.5	32.5	44.1	50.0	-	42.5	25.0	25.0	-	61.5	14.3	25.0	36.1	37.7	32.5	10.5	33.5
Agree	-	20.0	20.0	45.8	43.8	60.0	46.3	32.5	32.5	46.2	15.4	64.3	42.5	45.8	31.9	20.0	63.2	37.5
Strongly Agree	-	40.0	40.0	8.5	6.3	40.0	10.0	37.5	37.5	53.8	-	21.4	25.0	16.7	23.2	40.0	26.3	24.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	-	3.0	3.0*	3.0**	2.5**	3.0**	3.0*	3.0	3.0*	4.0***	2.0***	3.0***	3.0*	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Standard dev.	-	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.9	1.0	0.6	0.9
n of cases	-	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	40	13	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	200
<b>Female</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	20.5	20.0	8.3	6.7	-	7.5	-	-	-	25.0	26.7	15.4	6.5	4.8	20.5	20.0	10.1
Disagree	-	41.0	40.0	48.3	26.7	20.0	42.5	10.0	10.0	6.3	62.5	33.3	28.2	39.0	20.6	41.0	30.0	32.7
Agree	-	23.1	22.5	35.0	60.0	40.0	40.0	45.0	45.0	50.0	12.5	13.3	28.2	37.7	44.4	23.1	20.0	35.2
Strongly Agree	100.0	15.4	17.5	8.3	6.7	40.0	10.0	45.0	45.0	43.8	-	26.7	28.2	16.9	30.2	15.4	30.0	22.1
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	2.0	2.0***	2.0*	3.0*	3.0*	2.5***	3.0	3.0***	3.0***	2.0***	2.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	2.0***	2.5***	3.0
Standard dev.	-	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.8	1.0	1.1	0.9
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	40	16	8	16	40	77	63	39	21	200
<b>Both</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	13.9	13.8	5.0	3.2	-	4.4	2.5	2.5	-	23.8	13.8	11.4	4.0	6.1	13.9	10.3	7.3
Disagree	-	36.7	36.3	46.2	38.7	10.0	42.5	17.5	17.5	3.4	61.9	24.1	26.6	37.6	29.5	36.7	20.5	33.1
Agree	-	21.5	21.3	40.3	51.6	50.0	43.1	38.8	38.8	48.3	14.3	37.9	35.4	41.6	37.9	21.5	41.0	36.3
Strongly Agree	100.0	27.8	28.8	8.4	6.5	40.0	10.0	41.3	41.3	48.3	-	24.1	26.6	16.8	26.5	27.8	28.2	23.3
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	2.0	2.5***	2.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0	3.0***	3.0***	2.0***	3.0***	3.0***	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
Standard dev.	-	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.9
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	80	29	21	30	80	149	132	79	40	400

Notes: \*Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig < 0.01; \*\* Sig < 0.05; \* Sig < 10<sup>-2</sup>. No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison

Annex Table 4-16a. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "A man should be tough and display aggressive behaviours at home" by province, life cycle, and sex

Male	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces		
	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both	Mature	Young	Both
	35.0	63.2	48.7	7.5	12.5	10.0	15.0	5.0	10.0	40.0	50.0	45.0	21.0	28.3	24.6
20.0	31.6	25.6	57.5	65.0	61.3	25.0	55.0	40.0	60.0	40.0	50.0	44.0	51.5	47.7	
15.0	5.3	10.3	25.0	17.5	21.3	5.0	5.0	5.0	-	5.0	2.5	14.0	10.1	12.1	
30.0	-	15.4	10.0	5.0	7.5	55.0	35.0	45.0	-	5.0	2.5	21.0	10.1	15.6	
2.00**	1.00**	2.00***	2.00	2.00	2.00***	4.00	2.00	2.50***	2.00	1.50	2.00***	2.00**	2.00**	2.00	
1.27	0.61	1.11	0.77	0.70	0.74	1.21	1.03	1.12	0.50	0.81	0.67	1.04	0.89	0.98	
20	19	39	40	40	80	20	20	40	20	20	40	100	99	200	
<b>Female</b>															
Strongly Disagree	5.0	25.0	15.0	2.5	15.0	8.8	-	-	70.0	60.0	65.0	16.0	23.0	19.5	
Disagree	50.0	55.0	52.5	42.5	35.0	38.8	50.0	32.5	20.0	40.0	30.0	34.0	43.0	38.5	
Agree	20.0	5.0	12.5	37.5	45.0	41.3	35.0	45.0	5.0	-	2.5	31.0	26.0	28.5	
Strongly Agree	25.0	15.0	20.0	17.5	5.0	11.3	15.0	22.5	5.0	-	2.5	19.0	8.0	13.5	
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	2.00*	2.00*	2.00***	3.00	2.50	3.00***	2.50	3.00***	1.00	1.00	1.00***	2.50**	2.00**	2.00	
Standard dev.	0.93	0.97	0.98	0.79	0.81	0.81	0.75	0.74	0.83	0.50	0.68	0.98	0.88	0.95	
n of cases	20	20	40	40	40	80	20	40	20	20	40	100	100	200	
<b>Both</b>															
Strongly Disagree	20.0	43.6	31.6	5.0	13.8	9.4	2.5	5.0	55.0	55.0	55.0	18.5	25.6	22.1	
Disagree	35.0	43.6	39.2	50.0	50.0	50.0	52.5	36.3	40.0	40.0	40.0	39.0	47.2	43.1	
Agree	17.5	5.1	11.4	31.3	31.3	31.3	20.0	25.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	22.5	18.1	20.3	
Strongly Agree	27.5	7.7	17.7	13.8	5.0	9.4	25.0	33.8	2.5	2.5	2.5	20.0	9.0	14.5	
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	2.00***	2.00***	2.00***	2.00*	2.00*	2.00***	2.00**	3.00***	1.00	1.00	1.00***	2.00***	2.00***	2.00	
Standard dev.	1.11	0.87	1.06	0.79	0.76	0.79	0.89	0.95	0.68	0.68	0.67	1.01	0.89	0.97	
n of cases	40	39	79	80	80	160	40	80	40	40	80	200	199	399	

 Notes: <sup>a</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test is used to compare mature and young respondents; <sup>b</sup> Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 0.10



Annex Table 4-16c. Respondent's opinion towards the view that "A man should be tough and display aggressive behaviours at home" by province, ethnicity, and sex

	Bamyan			Kabul			Nangarhar			Takhar			All Provinces						
	Tajik	Hazara	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Others	Total	Tajik	Pashtun	Hazara	Others	Total
	<b>Male</b>																		
Strongly Disagree	-	48.7	48.7	13.6	-	-	10.0	10.0	76.9	50.0	7.7	76.9	50.0	45.0	12.5	20.3	48.7	36.8	24.6
Disagree	-	25.6	25.6	57.6	81.3	40.0	61.3	40.0	15.4	42.9	92.3	15.4	42.9	50.0	63.9	44.9	25.6	42.1	47.7
Agree	-	10.3	10.3	22.0	6.3	60.0	21.3	5.0	7.7	-	-	7.7	-	2.5	18.1	5.8	10.3	15.8	12.1
Strongly Agree	-	15.4	15.4	6.8	12.5	-	7.5	45.0	-	7.1	-	-	7.1	2.5	5.6	29.0	15.4	5.3	15.6
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	-	2.0	2.0***	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0***	2.5	1.0***	1.5***	2.0***	1.0***	1.5***	2.0***	2.0**	2.0***	2.0***	2.0**	2.0
Standard dev.	-	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.7	1.1	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.7	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.0
n of cases	-	40	40	59	16	5	80	40	13	14	13	13	14	40	72	69	40	19	200
<b>Female</b>																			
Strongly Disagree	-	15.4	15.0	10.0	6.7	-	8.8	-	75.0	37.5	87.5	75.0	37.5	65.0	26.0	11.1	15.4	28.6	19.5
Disagree	-	53.8	52.5	36.7	33.3	80.0	38.8	32.5	25.0	56.3	6.3	25.0	56.3	30.0	29.9	31.7	53.8	61.9	38.5
Agree	-	12.8	12.5	40.0	53.3	20.0	41.3	45.0	-	6.3	-	-	6.3	2.5	31.2	41.3	12.8	9.5	28.5
Strongly Agree	100.0	17.9	20.0	13.3	6.7	-	11.3	22.5	-	6.3	6.3	-	-	2.5	13.0	15.9	17.9	-	13.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	1.0**	2.0**	1.0**	1.0**	2.0**	1.0	2.0***	3.0***	2.0***	2.0***	2.0
Standard dev.	-	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.6	0.9
n of cases	1	39	40	60	15	5	80	40	8	16	16	8	16	40	77	63	39	21	200
<b>Both</b>																			
Strongly Disagree		32.1	31.6	11.8	3.2	-	9.4	5.0	76.2	43.3	51.7	76.2	43.3	55.0	19.5	15.9	32.1	32.5	22.1
Disagree		39.7	39.2	47.1	58.1	60.0	50.0	36.3	19.0	50.0	44.8	19.0	50.0	40.0	46.3	38.6	39.7	52.5	43.1
Agree		11.5	11.4	31.1	29.0	40.0	31.3	25.0	4.8	3.3	-	4.8	3.3	2.5	24.8	22.7	11.5	12.5	20.3
Strongly Agree	100.0	16.7	17.7	10.1	9.7	-	9.4	33.8	-	3.3	3.4	-	3.3	2.5	9.4	22.7	16.7	2.5	14.5
Median ( $\bar{x}$ )	4.0	2.0	2.0***	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0***	3.0	1.0*	2.0*	1.0*	1.0*	2.0*	1.0***	2.0***	2.0***	2.0***	2.0***	2.0
Standard dev.	-	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.0
n of cases	1	79	80	119	31	10	160	80	21	30	29	21	30	80	149	132	79	40	400

Notes: <sup>a</sup>Kruskal - Wallis H-test is used to compare provinces as well as ethnicity; \*\*\* Sig< 0.01; \*\* Sig< 0.05; \* Sig< 10<sup>0</sup>. No test statistics can be computed because there is only one group/limited number of ethnic groups for comparison



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Date	Publication name	Author	Available in Dari	Available in Pashto	Research theme	Publication type
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October 2015	Reaching Boiling Point: High School Activism in Afghanistan	Antonio Giustozzi & Ali Mohammad Ali	✓	✓	Governance	Issues Paper
October 2015	Helmand on the Move: Migration as a Response to Crop Failure	David Mansfield	✓	✓	Natural Resources Management	Brief
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As a clear indication of the global spread of critical research on masculinities, consider this fascinating example from AREU, which demonstrates that even in one of the most gender-segregated societies, reconsideration of patriarchy is possible. In conditions most will never face, this trio of researchers manages to challenge gender-based violence and show how variations in masculine performance by ethnicity, age, educational attainment and class play out in Afghan society.

Don Conway-Long  
Professor, Department of Anthropology  
and Sociology, Webster University

This very timely research paper by AREU takes readers beyond the traditional and common notion of gender as referring to women only. Boys and men are gendered beings as well, formed by patriarchal norms, values and traditions. This important study shows the world of men in Afghanistan, indeed, the other side of gender inequalities: a must-read for anyone engaged in gender equality and justice promotion. Equal, caring, non-violent and household duties-sharing men are not lesser men, but better men.

Jan Reynders  
An independent gender-justice consultant, researcher and activist, sits on the steering committee of the MenEngage network (Europe chapter), active in WO=MEN (Dutch gender platform) and board member of the international Gender and Water Alliance (GWA)

I appreciate the important and very promising work AREU has begun on notions of masculinity and their impact on gender inequality and gendered violence in Afghanistan.

M. Nazif Shahrani  
Professor of Anthropology, Central Asian  
and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Global  
and International Studies, Indiana University

"The Other Side of Gender Inequality: Men and Masculinities in Afghanistan" is a step forward in the right direction by identifying in extensive detail the gender norms that hurt both men and women. This report, by focusing on masculinity and its impact on women and the family, is highly significant. It verifies the need for a transformative social and cultural analysis, where men can welcome change not only as beneficial to themselves but to women and girls. The next step will be for the authors to invite men to look through the lens of women's experience in order to usher in the reality of gender equality where a women's voice for change is welcomed and secure.

Patricia Ackerman  
Director, Women's and Gender Studies Program,  
The City College of New York

"The Other Side of Gender Inequality: Men and Masculinities in Afghanistan" is a landmark study that has the potential to advance gender equality in Afghanistan. All over the world, men can be not just allies, but active supporters for gender equality when they see their own interest and stake in change. With the help of the government, civil society, media, community groups, and religious leaders, stakeholders can build on the findings of this paper and expand the important work of the Afghan women's rights movement so that, together, everyone wins.

Phoebe Schreiner  
Vice President and Country Director - U.S., Breakthrough

I would like to acknowledge the simple but radical fact that AREU has studied the other side of the gender coin as a crucial contribution to overcoming gender inequalities in Afghanistan. This will serve as an important source of data, hopefully guiding interventions for and with men, and for and with women.

Rachel Ploem  
Advisor, Gender and SRHR,  
International Programmes, Rutgers



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