



Gender as a determinant for people's participation in education and politics



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Gender, education and political participation in Afghanistan

Introduction

The study focuses on people's responses regarding genders not allowing access to education and political participation. Gender discrimination still exists in countries with both developed and undeveloped economies. It is a problem constantly being addressed because it is difficult to eradicate. Gender inequality is a serious issue that requires attention from scientists and analysts. One study showed that if progress is made in securing equal rights for women, it can have a significant macroeconomic impact. It means that equal distribution of unpaid care work, better labour market activity rates for women and higher wages are all possible outcomes (Bilan, 2020). Gender inequality is a problem that needs to be constantly monitored, as it can be found in many areas of life, such as education, politics, the workplace, public sphere. Women face significant inequalities in the right to work, from the initial stages of their careers to the job search process.

Progress has been made in some areas, but there has been little or no progress on other issues, such as violence against women, lower pay for the same work, and practices such as "honor" killings and female genital mutilation. Despite a significant change in women's access to education, employment, healthcare, and political participation over the past two decades, progress has been uneven (Wong, 2012). It is due to cultural traditions that sustain discrimination against women in all sectors of life. Even if there is enough political will to implement policies aimed at empowering women, these policies often prove insufficient to change deeply ingrained gender stereotypes.

Gender equality is a social construct that can vary depending on the culture. In some cultures, gender equality means that men and women have the same access to education and other

social resources. In different cultures, gender equality may mean that women can participate equally in child-rearing and household duties. The concept of gender equality is contingent on the sociocultural context in which it is practiced (Siddiqi, 2021). Many believe education can help change people's attitudes about social inequality, but this relationship is not always acknowledged. Feminist scholarship has shown connections between gender and racial disparities (Kyyrö, 2001).

If women do not enroll in school or stop attending after completing a cycle of education, and if they only study specific fields, their ability to transmit essential skills and knowledge for a reconfigured society is diminished. However, over time, the rate of illiteracy and the number of years women attend school have decreased. Many developing and developed countries have significant gender gaps at the university level. Women have lower enrollment rates than men, and women tend to focus on a few disciplines that are often referred to as "feminine," which can lead to low wages and authority (Stromquist N. P., 138). Several years ago, Anderson stated that the rate of educational participation of women is "the least common denominator of worldwide statistics (Anderson, 1980)." Although the situation has improved, many countries still do not collect statistics by sex, especially at higher education levels, which indicates that they do not consider improving women's education a priority.

Another major problem that genders face is political participation. While women's formal representation in politics is now a given, there are still many obstacles to their representation. Gender inequality persists in all positions, elected or appointed. It is well-established that there is a gender gap in political interest and knowledge. Both in developed and developing nations, it is well-established that men are more interested and have more excellent political knowledge than women (Pamela Paxton, 2007). For instance, women in Afghanistan politics are being targeted for various reasons. They are subject to violence to discourage and limit their participation in politics.

The experts said that Afghanistan is experiencing the same backsliding, regression, and regressive actions on women's rights and girls' rights during times of transition as they have seen in other countries, mainly when women are not included in decision-making. All laws, policies, and institutional practices must protect women's and girls' rights.

Understanding their direct political ambition is crucial to understanding who chooses to run for office. Law, business, and politics are the most likely professions to produce political candidates. However, it was found that women are less likely to aspire to run for office than men. It could be partly explained by the fact that women in these professions were less likely to consider themselves qualified to run for office than men. Also, women were less encouraged to run for office than men (Pamela Paxton, 2007). Despite their ambitions and interest, women have fewer resources than men to be involved in politics. Participating in politics takes time, which is why women around the globe have less time than their male counterparts. Women still do most of the household chores, such as cleaning and cooking, and they are the primary caregivers for their children. It may limit women's political participation (Wolbrecht, 2006).

The reasons behind the lower participation of women in politics. First, women have historically been underrepresented. They were previously barred from involvement in politics and democracy in the past. Although these restrictions have been lifted, informal barriers still exist to prevent women from participating in politics and democracy (Thomas, 2013). Politics is always controlled and dominated by men. Men create the game's rules and set the criteria for assessing it. This male-dominated model leads to lower interest in and participation of women in politics. Traditional politics focuses on political activity in the public realm. Private life, however, is safe and apolitical. The conventional explanation of politics uses this public-private divide to exclude

women from politics. Women face significant obstacles to their political careers due to their masculine nature and inaccessibility to political networks (Ara, 2019).

The “culture” of politics describes attractive or hostile attributes of women. Lovenduski (2005) described politics as complex and contested. (Lovenduski, 2005) described politics as complicated and contested. Sapiro (1983), p.30, also defined politics as a business for men and government as a men’s club. Women cannot enter politics without different social norms, rituals, and languages. Politics is also a tough-and-tumble environment that involves competition, aggression, power, independence, and corruption.

Research Problem

Gender has been a topic of debate in society and domestic setups. It has been a controversial issue in society that the general social evolution trend has seen women take on roles previously held by men. Stereotyping about gender and sex remains a significant issue in all cultures. Women’s decision to step out of their passive roles in society, which had limited them to household chores and men taking care of all communal affairs outside the home, has led to women wanting to assume positions previously reserved for men. The first studies were focused on the topic of women’s psychology. This issue evolved into the general research and integration of gender psychology with men’s psychology. Gender studies must consider both men and women. This subject defines gender and explains how society has shaped it over time (Wharton, 2005).

When their meanings differ, the concepts of sex and gender are often misunderstood and used interchangeably. Talking about sex can lead to the perception that people are either male or female. Gender is meant to trigger thoughts of masculinity and feminism. The characteristics of an individual’s sexuality can be considered to be their biological differences in chromosomes and

hormonal profiles, as well as internal and external sex organs (Tuck C Ngun, 2011) Sex can be used to identify an individual's anatomy. The physical characteristics of the individual determine it. Gender refers to a group of appearances assigned to individuals based on their cultural background. Although gender descriptions can differ from one society, the basic concept of sex is society's expectations for male and female individuals in certain conditions.

Gender is a social construct that dictates society's expectations for men and women. These expectations can include the behavior, roles, and responses that each sex is expected to show to the community. These roles, along with the sex definition, help define a man or woman in any society. This study aims to analyze people's responses to gender. It will examine what people think or say regarding banning women's education and political participation across Afghanistan.

Research Question

Every culture has its norms regarding gender, especially on women's side. Usually, women are more restricted and confined to the household and doing the chores. It is essential to analyze how people responded to this within the country. The study explores people's responses on gender regarding banning education and political participation in Afghanistan.

1. To what extent does gender affect people's perception of women's access to education?
2. Does gender affect people's perception of women's political participation?

Research Objective

The study aims to analyze people's responses on gender regarding banning education and political participation. Gender inequality, bias, and discrimination are probably the most common forms of social evils that most women have experienced at least once in their lives.

Significant of Study

Most people won't participate in discussions about gender studies because they view gender as only affecting women. As a teacher and student, it is essential to make clear that gender studies include both men and women. It is important to understand that gender studies are about identity performance. Gender roles and norms are woven into our everyday lives and practiced. To validate masculine and female identities, society has established standards and rules. These roles are to be performed and the conditions that support them. Everything is gendered, from the clothes we wear to the places we live, the jobs we accomplish, and even the languages we use. This encoded information directly affects our sociocultural and economic status. Gender studies refer to a field of research that studies the causes and reproduction of gender inequality. This discussion must be honest and open. However, many people feel uncomfortable discussing gender in formal settings.

This study differs slightly from others because the author collected data from Twitter based on Afghan ethics. More specifically, Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazara, and Uzbek are the largest ethnic in the country. There has been no prior study in Afghanistan to accomplish such a study regarding people's responses to gender. There a number of reasons why this study is important:

1. The study's results could inform future descriptive research in the same field.
2. To know about people and respond to gender restrictions, especially in education and politics.
3. Also, this study will help future researchers and students in education and politics regarding women in Afghanistan.

Literature Review

The gender gap usually happens because of the patriarchal society, and this phenomenon mainly affects women, such as education limitation or political participation. In contemporary Afghanistan, women are limited only to housing and cannot educate or participate in politics. Afghan society is composed of a diverse array of ethnic groups, and Pashtuns are the largest ethnic in the country and are dominantly Taliban or *Talib*. The Taliban has a critical rule that dictates how its policies should be implemented, including restrictions on women's rights, such as wearing the Burqa, and bans on women working, education, politics, travelling, and public gathering.

Deniz Kandiyoti (2005), women's rights in Afghanistan are complex issues entangled in the turbulent history of the state and society relations. Although two attempts at radical reform were initiated from the top, both episodes were met with violent uprisings that targeted women's clothing, movements, and public appearance. Rubin describes the opposition between "modernists" and "traditionalists as unhelpful and misleading in understanding the forces driving the political process of Afghanistan. (Kandiyoti, 2005). The characteristics of society also determined the nature of the state. Tapper (2009) explains that the roots of Afghanistan's modern state are in the Durrani confederation, now known as the Pashtun tribes. This state evolved into a dynastic one. Paradoxically, the relations between the state and tribe are not harmonious (Tapper, 2009).

On the one hand, the state needs unity to maintain the hierarchy for an indirect rule. While on the other hand, it uses tribal cleavages to consolidate its central power. Roy suggests that Afghanistan's tribes saw the state as a periphery entity responsible for administering the land and redundant regarding their internal administration. He argues that the historic mission of the Afghan government was to reverse this situation and move from the center to the periphery. The state could

not escape the consequences of the original principle, which gave it legitimacy. “It was to remain tribal-Pashtun (Roy, 1990).”

Fatima Ayub (2009), the Afghan conflict has devastated women’s status, as they have been victims of both fighting and policies from the various ruling regimes. But it is not enough to look at Afghanistan’s situation through the prism of the past and current conflict. Also, it is essential to recognize how unequal gender relationships are created by the complex web of conflict, religious customs, and poverty (Fatima Ayub, 2009). Afghan society is primarily pre-industrialized, agricultural, and poor. The Afghan-Soviet War destroyed the modest economic gains made in the 1950s and 1960s. Unrelenting conflict since the 1980s has impeded development. It is essential to link industrial growth, urbanization, and gender dynamics. Women have often moved from the private sphere to the public sector by the increased demand for labour in industrial societies (Moghadam, 1992).

Further, Fatima continues, to modernize Afghanistan, the Communist regime of Afghanistan underwent radical changes in their religious and social practices during the 1970s. The difference in government caused a backlash from the conservative elements of Afghan society. It led to a period of violence and chaos. The Taliban eventually took control of most parts of Afghanistan and enforced strict Islamic law. Women were forbidden from working in urban areas, and schools for girls were closed. Many Afghans were familiar with the Taliban’s vision of social order. Many government laws were based on social customs and traditional tribal codes. While the Taliban are often criticized as the primary violators of women’s rights, this overlooks the deeper social forces that reinforce patriarchal norms.

Some of the social restrictions and norms in Afghanistan's major urban centers are less apparent. Women and girls can work, attend school and university, and have more freedom of movement. Education for women is still vulnerable to violence and harassment in different parts of the country. There have been many cases where female civil servants, activists, and politicians faced challenges in their private and professional lives (Watch, 2004).

To address the barrier regarding gender education and political participation in Afghanistan, Dana Burde (2013) argues the participation rate in primary school is shallow in Afghanistan, especially for girls. Only 37% of primary school-aged children went to school in 2007. Rural areas had a 17% gender gap in primary school enrollment. The Afghan government and donors have prioritized establishing schools to address this problem. In Ghor, the focus of this study, only 29% of families live within five kilometers (km) of a primary school. Schools are often far away (Sutton 1998). There may not be separate sanitation facilities for female teachers or gender-segregated classrooms when they are available. It could also discourage girls from enrolling in schools. According to Somaye Sarvarzade & Christine Min Wotipka (2017), most schools are closed due to ongoing security threats and attacks by the Taliban. Which also includes those that target girls' schools (Wotipka, 2017).

Others argue that conservative beliefs and low education demand are more significant obstacles. Children are often expected to help in the household, animal husbandry, and farming. Girls and boys perform different tasks. It can lead to girls facing higher opportunity costs and lower returns on their education (Linden, 2013). While UNESCO states Afghanistan is "one of the least educated and poorest countries in the world" ([UNESCO country programming document-UCPD, 2011](#)). Different research organizations have conducted relevant studies on the

issue of gender inequalities in education. Most literature points to insecurity, poverty, corruption, and ethnicity as significant obstacles to female education in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan cannot effectively promote quality education systems that engage students, particularly women. There are many obstacles to women's education. These include insecurity, constant conflicts, low social statuses, poor quality education, and harmful traditional practices, such as early marriage, *baadal*, and *baad* divorces (ACKS, 2015). Huma Ahmed-Ghosh (2003) women have suffered the most, as women's lives were often used to establish ethnic prominence. In deciding gender roles, mainly through kinship hierarchies and in rural areas, tribal laws, and sanctions have dominated Islamic and constitutional laws. Women's status has been put at risk by tribal power plays, institutions and honors, and patriarchal control between the tribes. Tribal law views marriages as alliances among groups. Women are expected to abide by their husbands and family members and are not permitted to divorce (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2003).

Theoretical Framework and Hypothesis

The theory of development feminism was a significant contribution to achieving equality between women's status and control over social life. Women have high status in some societies because they control large economic resources. Women and girls are less valuable in patriarchal families where everything women produce, even children, is owned by the husband. According to Development Feminist theory, women are powerful and prestigious if they produce the majority of the food that the group eats, and if women control the distribution of any excess, then women have power (Lorber, 1997).

The study of gender has seen a significant shift in its specific elements, especially among women. Current research is more diverse and includes works on masculinity and feminists. For

example, the study of gender has been used to understand aspects like social relations and the structures of societies. However, the study of sexuality and gender has not been easy due to the lack of clear analytical procedures. This research will review and apply the existing literature to the subject. The feminist theory will serve as the theoretical framework. That is why the study will focus on gender inequalities within Afghanistan. The feminist theory advocates equal and fair treatment for men and women. The following are essential aspects of feminist theory that you should consider when examining them. First, feminist theory refers to a social approach in which women's experience is the source and driving force (Dong, 2016).

It means that feminist theory primarily focuses on women's profit and interests. It is essential to eliminate gender inequality and ensure equal treatment for both genders, as this is what feminist theory supports. Feminist theory was born from the realization that women have suffered unfair treatment in society (Zhang, 2018). Public attention has been drawn to the poor and harmful effects on women. Feminist supporters have decided to make an effort to address the gender inequality problem and create equal and respectful women. Second, feminist theory aims to identify the causes of gender inequality, highlight their existence, and provide a framework for addressing them. According to feminist theory, the fundamental factor that causes gender inequality is society's values. Gender inequality is an issue that shouldn't or should not be addressed by the values and beliefs held by members (Yingchun Ji, 2017).

Instead, we should look at the long-term and historical perspectives to understand why inequality has lasted so long. Gender politics, however, should also be considered. Gender politics directly relates to the power of both genders. There is a significant difference in ability between the two genders, and this imbalance can lead to severe issues of gender inequality (Yingchun Ji, 2017). It is therefore supported by the feminist theory that to address the issue of gender

inequalities with high performance, and it is essential to identify and resolve the ultimate factor. Feminist theory also emphasizes gender discrimination. Feminist theory is based on women's experiences. Gender discrimination results from the loss of profit and interest for women (Zurndorfer 2018). Social development, as supported by feminist theory, is based on centralizing the power of men. It is directly linked to gender discrimination (Zurndorfer, 2018). Gender inequalities between women and men indicate that women do not have the same opportunities to succeed financially or enjoy equal rights and privileges (Zurndorfer, 2018). This fact makes feminist theory the best one for this study. This theoretical framework will guide us in the completion of this study. Afghan gender requires equal treatment of men and women, even though it is affected by many factors, such as the cultural and social background.

H1: *Women are more likely to disagree with the ban on woman's education.* The right to education is one of the basic human rights. Traditional societies often deny girls the opportunity to reach their full potential. Their education is also affected by school fees and safety concerns. These barriers are slowly being removed due to the overwhelming evidence that educated girls can benefit society and the international focus on universal schooling. It's useful to encourage girls to pursue careers in science and technology, which have a majority of men. But this is still a problem. While there have been some improvements in sending girls to secondary and primary schools, less than half are enrolled in university. In this regard, feminists further highlight the rhetoric of equal opportunities is almost the sine qua non by which liberal-feminist perspectives are recognized "equal means the same. (Sandra, 1987)"

Education is considered a basic necessity and right for the citizens of any nation, which is a powerful tool to reduce inequalities in society, especially for women who face discrimination in many fields and have a special need for this. Education is considered a turning point in empowering

women because it enables them to face challenges and change their lives. Still, many women in our country are illiterate, backward, weak and exploited, which can be changed with proper education. Education is one of the ways to spread the message of empowering women.

No goals and aspirations of the citizens of a country can be achieved without effective education. Education not only educates the individual but also helps them to understand that women are an essential part of society. Career achievement, self-awareness and satisfaction are many things which are guaranteed by the effective use of training. Guidance and counselling also help women choose careers and follow career paths through training. Education helps women become empowered through science and technology and face the challenges of today's technological age. Education educates women and enables them to make decisions and take responsibility in their homes and the outside world. Education is a goal, and a means to achieve other desirable goals.

Based on the information above, I believe women disagree with banning education because it is their right. Education empowers women and helps them stand on their feet. Education helps women to be self-sufficiently rely on no men. However, education does not only apply to one gender, as we have already stated. It means that a husband, father, brother, or sister cannot force their spouse, child, or sister to study or prevent realizing this indisputable, fundamental and legal right for women and girls.

H2: *Women are more likely to disagree with the woman's restriction of political participation.* Women are prevented from speaking out and cannot ensure that their needs and interests are considered in policy development and delivery of public goods/services. This will only reinforce gender biases. It is crucial to have capable women in important political, positions

to hold politicians accountable for securing gender equality goals and developing democracy. Participation by women in politics is essential for genuine democracy and gender equality. It allows women to directly participate in public decision-making, and it is a way of improving accountability for women. It is important to increase the number of women who hold decision-making posts in politics. But it does not end there. Gender-sensitive governance reforms are needed to make elected officials more effective in promoting gender equality and ensuring its implementation.

Gender equality can be conceptualized as equality in opportunities and equality of outcomes. This is measured in terms of differences between men and women, boys and girls, or the gender gap. Gender equality is often measured by outcomes, as opportunities can be difficult to measure. This is a flawed measure because men and women have different preferences. Women may choose to act differently when they are given equal opportunities (Kabeer, 2005).

All choices have different implications when it comes to the definition of political participation. Certain choices have a greater impact on lives than others. These strategic life decisions include where to live, what to marry, how many children to get, who has custody, freedom of movement, association, etc. These choices help frame other decisions that can be crucial for one's quality of life. For instance, women who have access to land resources may not be able to cultivate them. This is due to their limited mobility and gender norms. However, they may be able to rent land and make an income. This could improve their economic situation. This illustrates how empowerment can have many, interrelated dimensions.

Women are disagreed with excluding women from political participation, because it provides them equal opportunities, improving their ability in daily routines such as decision-

making. These structures are considered the key to addressing gender inequality in society and the debate around their promotion is dominated by arguments of utility and equality. Human rights advocates for equal participation of women because they make up half of the world's population. The instrumentalist argument relies on the belief that women bring a different perspective to politics because of their roles as mothers and sex (Bari, 2005).

Methodology

This study uses “machine learning approaches to sentiment analysis using Twitter.” For achieving data, we use an Application Programming Interface (API); this study focuses on sentiment analysis on a dataset acquired based on the requirements. This data is based on Afghan ethnicities, politics, and education. A collection of public tweets was obtained that covered August 15, 2021, until the current time. These records include a tweet ID, the submission date (GMT+0), the submission type, and the tweet’s content.

Natural language Processing (NLP), and valence Aware Dictionary and sEntiment Reasoner (VADER) analyzer and the scoring method applied to the VADER results to evaluate its ability to classify tweets using a 5-point scale (Yang, 2019). VADER is a lexicon that uses Sentiment Reasoner and a rule-based sentiment analysis tool. It is especially suited to social media sentiments.

Research Design

Research Material and Tools

This study is based on Twitter analysis; the data has been collected from Twitter. Thus, research needs some tools, which are:

- 1- Python: Python is a high-level, general-purpose programming language. Its design philosophy emphasizes code readability with the use of significant [indentation](#).
- 2- Pandas: Pandas is a software library written for the Python programming language for data manipulation and analysis
- 3- NLT or (NLTK): The Natural Language Toolkit, or more commonly NLTK, is a suite of libraries and programs for symbolic and statistical natural language processing for English written in the Python programming language.
- 4- Visual Studio Code (vscode): Visual Studio Code, also commonly referred to as VS Code, is a source-code editor made by Microsoft with the Electron Framework, for Windows, Linux, and macOS. Features include support for debugging, syntax highlighting, intelligent code completion, snippets, code refactoring, and embedded Git.

Research Management

This stud is based on Twitter data analysis, and the tweet are collected based on Afghan ethnicity:

1. Pashtuns,
2. Tajik,
3. Uzbak,
4. Hazara

Data collection, the data has collected from Twitter through Python Computer Language, it has four stages:

1. Data Collection
2. Pre-processing
3. Sentiment extraction
4. Classify sentiment as positive or negative

Thanks to digitalization, researchers have unprecedented access to textual data that can be used to investigate contemporary phenomena. Natural Language Processing (NLP), is a computer-assisted analytical technique that aims to automatically analyze and comprehend human language (Christopher D. Manning, 1999). Scholars can easily extract valuable insights from textual datasets without having to do any computational work (Ronan Collobert, 2011). Recent years have seen significant advances in NLP with the emergence of Artificial Intelligence (AI).

NLP is a critical interest in artificial intelligence and computer science. NLP studies focus on theories and methods for effective communication between computers and humans in natural language. NLP is a scientific field that studies computer science, mathematics, and linguistics. Its primary purpose is to translate human (or natural language) into commands that computers can execute. NLP comprises two research directions, Natural Language Understanding (NLU), and Natural Language Generation. NLU's primary mission is to understand the natural language (human languages) (Schank, 1972), by deciphering and extracting information from documents for downstream tasks. NLG, on the other hand, is creating text in natural languages that humans can understand. It relies on structured data, text, and graphics (Allen, 1981).

Variables

Gender is the independent variable in this study, and the whole focus of the study is to find out the people's responses regarding women's education being banned and political participation. In contrast, this study's dependent variable is *education* and *political participation*.

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