



The Asia Foundation

A Survey of the Afghan People

AFGHANISTAN IN 2015

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Project Direction

The Asia Foundation

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About The Asia Foundation

The Asia Foundation is a nonprofit international development organization committed to improving lives across a dynamic and developing Asia. Informed by six decades of experience and deep local expertise, our programs address critical issues affecting Asia in the 21st century – governance and law, economic development, women’s empowerment, environment, and regional cooperation. In addition, our Books for Asia and professional exchange programs are among the ways we encourage Asia’s continued development as a peaceful, just, and thriving region of the world.

Headquartered in San Francisco, The Asia Foundation works through a network of offices in 18 Asian countries and in Washington, DC. Working with public and private partners, the Foundation receives funding from a diverse group of bilateral and multilateral development agencies, foundations, corporations, and individuals.

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PREFACE

The Asia Foundation is pleased to present *Afghanistan in 2015: A Survey of the Afghan People*. Since 2004, our annual surveys have gathered the opinions of more than 75,000 Afghan men and women on issues of paramount importance to their country's social, economic, and political development. This past June, 939 expert Afghan male and female enumerators conducted face-to-face interviews with 9,586 Afghans from 14 different ethnic groups in all 34 provinces of the country, including insecure and physically challenging environments.

It is a time of historic transition in Afghanistan, and the new government is inevitably grappling with simultaneous security, political, and economic challenges. Much has happened since we conducted our last survey, in 2014, immediately following Afghanistan's June presidential runoff election. The national mood was high and closely correlated with the perception that the presidential election would improve lives. Since then, Afghanistan has seen the formation of the National Unity Government after a contentious election process, a deteriorating economy in the face of declining international aid and foreign military spending, and the full assumption of security responsibilities by Afghan forces amid increasing attacks by armed opposition groups. Against this backdrop, our 2015 survey reflects Afghans' understandable concerns about these challenges, and increased skepticism about the government's ability to address them.

This year's survey shows that Afghan optimism about the overall direction of the country fell to the lowest point in a decade, after steadily rising through 2014. Afghans are particularly concerned about security, and the proportion who fear for their personal safety is at the highest point in the past decade. The economy and unemployment have also emerged as major concerns, especially for youth and for women. Many Afghans say their employment opportunities have declined over the past year. There has been a sharp decline in the level of satisfaction with and confidence in different levels of government and public institutions, and the number of Afghans who are satisfied with how democracy works in their country hit an all-time low in 2015. While anti-corruption efforts at the highest levels have increased, the proportion of Afghans who say that corruption is a problem in their daily lives is at the highest point in a decade.

During this rapid transition period in Afghan society, the survey also reflects some ambivalence about full integration of women in public life. On the positive side, 2015 was a year of wins for women in Afghan politics: the cabinet now includes four female ministers and the government appointed two new female provincial governors. Afghan women are increasingly aware of their rights and aware of institutions to contact in a domestic conflict—rural women are more likely than urban to turn to an organization that assists them if they have a family problem. Over time, there has been a gradual erosion in the proportion of Afghans who say that women should make their own voting decisions, work outside the home, and have the same educational opportunities as men. However, when asked whether women should be able to pursue specific educational opportunities from the primary to university level, or whether it is appropriate for women to work in a variety of specific professional settings, a significant proportion of Afghans agree.

Encouragingly, even in the face of the overall downturn in national mood this year, 75% of Afghans say they are generally happy in their lives. Long-term survey data since 2004 shows that Afghans have seen progress in the delivery of basic government services that most developed countries take for granted. Education is absolutely crucial for Afghans, and two-thirds of respondents report satisfaction with the quality of education for children. Nearly three out of four Afghans report satisfaction with access to drinking water, a long-term improvement since 2006. Year after year, the survey and others interested in Afghanistan's development remind us that the steady gains in the delivery of basic public services—health, education, roads, drinking water, sanitation—make an enormous difference in people's lives and are an antidote to extremism, instability, and vulnerability.

A Survey of the Afghan People is unique in its long duration and broad scope. This annual survey provides a picture of a nation undergoing extraordinary change, and the concerns, hopes, and experiences that accompany such change. For a country that has endured decades of loss and unrest, the survey findings serve as a valuable resource to inform the policies and programs of the Afghan government as it strives to fulfill national aspirations for self-sufficiency. The survey is also a useful reminder for the international community to remain a steady and patient partner in Afghanistan's ongoing struggle to achieve peace and prosperity for its people.

David D. Arnold

President, The Asia Foundation

November 2015

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A Survey of the Afghan People is a major project of The Asia Foundation each year, requiring coordination of multiple inputs and of numerous Asia Foundation staff and Foundation partners. The survey report was produced under the guidance of Afghanistan Country Representative Abdullah Ahmadzai, and led by a team of Afghan data analysts, including Sayed Masood Sadat, Shamim Sarabi, and Shahim Kabuli, working with the Director of Research Zachary Warren. Report design was led by Rohullah Mohammadi and Kristin Colombano, data visualization was constructed by Jaime Medrano, and editorial and production support provided by The Asia Foundation's Global Communications team and Washington DC office.

ACSOR-Surveys, a subsidiary of D3 Systems, Inc., worked closely with the Foundation to conduct all survey fieldwork, and the Foundation is grateful for their partnership in executing best practices in quality control within one of the world's most challenging research environments. Special thanks is due to Nicholas Malouta, ACSOR's project manager, for compiling the survey's 1000+ questions over 10 years into a single merged document and dataset. Sayara Research, Inc., provided reliable third-party monitoring support for fieldwork and enumerator trainings.

The Asia Foundation thanks the United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Australian government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), and the German government (Deutsche Zusammenarbeit) for their support to this survey and for supporting Afghan capacity in research and analysis.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Afghanistan in 2015: A Survey of the Afghan People is The Asia Foundation's eleventh annual public opinion survey in Afghanistan. The longest-running barometer of Afghan opinions, the survey has gathered the views of 75,144 Afghans nationwide on a wide range of issues central to the country's growth and development since 2004. All data is free to the public, available on The Asia Foundation website.

This year witnessed major changes in national mood, reflecting rising concern over insecurity and a struggling economy. One year ago, as the results of the presidential election were due to be announced, the majority of respondents were optimistic about the direction of the country. Since then, a contentious election was followed by the formation of the National Unity Government (NUG) in September 2014, and political struggles have been compounded by rising security threats, as well as unemployment and economic shocks caused by the reduced foreign military footprint and declining development funding by the international community.

This year's survey polled 9,586 Afghan citizens, including 50.6% male and 49.4% female respondents, representing 14 ethnic groups and all 34 provinces in the country. Face-to-face interviews were conducted between June 11 and June 28, 2015, by a team of 939 trained Afghan enumerators matched with respondents by gender (i.e., men interviewed men, and women interviewed women). All enumerators are residents of the provinces where they conduct interviews. Survey results are weighted to be nationally representative using the most recent population data (2015-2016) released by the Afghan Central Statistics Organization (CSO). The total sample consisted of 18% urban households and 82% rural households. This year, the complex margin of error is +/-1.6% for the probability sample, based on a design effect of 2.53 and a confidence interval of 95%.

The Foundation's longstanding research partner, the Afghan Center for Socio-Economic and Opinion Research (ACSOR), conducted all survey fieldwork and logistics, while its parent company, D3 Systems, Inc., provided analytical and methodological support. As was the case for the 2013 and 2014 surveys, Sayara Research conducted third-party validation of fieldwork, a best practice for survey research in challenging environments. Together with its partners, the Foundation is committed to quality control processes guided by principles of validity and reliability.

This year's *Survey of the Afghan People* includes several new questions proposed by key users of the survey findings. New questions explore Afghans' views on problems facing youth, reconciliation with the Taliban, the organization known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant/Syria (ISIL/ISIS), landmine incidents and government care for people injured by landmines and the conflict, women in leadership positions, and access to social media on mobile phones. An in-depth discussion of the survey methodology is provided in Appendix 1 of this report.

NATIONAL MOOD

- **Direction of the country.** In 2015, 36.7% of respondents nationwide say their country is moving in the right direction, down from 54.7% in 2014. This represents the lowest level of optimism

recorded over the past 10 years, following last year's record high during the presidential runoff election. Overall optimism has decreased across all regions, and is lowest in the Central/Kabul (27.8%) and North West (30.5%) regions. This year, Afghans in Helmand province (62.1%) are the most optimistic about the overall direction of the country, and residents of Kabul province (22.5%) are the least optimistic.

- **Reasons for optimism.** Those who say the country is moving in the right direction cite reasons of reconstruction (31.8%), followed by good security (28.5%). The percentage of respondents citing good government (10.5%) has increased four percentage points since 2014. Good security is most likely to be cited as a reason by Afghans in the Central/Hazarajat (39.9%), South West (33.7%), and East (29.9%) regions, while other regions are more likely to cite reconstruction as their top reason for optimism.
- **Reasons for pessimism.** Among the 57.5% of Afghans who say their country is moving in the wrong direction, the most frequently cited reason is insecurity (44.6%, up six percentage points from 2014), followed by unemployment (25.4%), corruption in general (13.0%), a bad economy (12.4%), and bad government (11.4%). The percentage citing bad government increased from 4.9% in 2014, while the percentage citing administrative corruption decreased from 9.6% in 2014 to 4.6% in 2015.
- **Afghanistan's biggest problems: national and local.** The most frequently cited national problem is insecurity (42.7%), up from 34.1% in 2014 and at its highest level since 2007. The most frequently cited local level problem is unemployment (31.2%). However, the percentage of Afghans citing insecurity as a local problem (22.0%) is at its highest level since the survey began.
- **Biggest problems facing women.** As in previous years, Afghans identify education and illiteracy (20.4%) and unemployment/lack of job opportunities (11.3%) as the two main problems facing women. However, the frequency with which they have been cited has declined since 2014, while the percentage of Afghans who cite a lack of women's rights has increased from 6.2% in 2014 to 8.7% in 2015. In general, men and women point to the same challenges facing Afghan women, with the exception of the issue of domestic violence, which is more often mentioned by women (13.0%) than men (8.1%).
- **Biggest problems facing youth.** In all individual provinces and also at the national level, unemployment (71.4%) is the most commonly cited problem facing youth. At the national level, this is followed by illiteracy (26.5%), a poor economy (15.9%), lack of higher education opportunities (15.3%), and drug addiction (14.2%). Afghans who live in the Central/Kabul (23.5%) and North East (20.2%) regions are more likely to cite the need for opportunities in higher education, while residents of the East (36.9%) and South West (33.3%) regions cite the more basic challenge of illiteracy.
- **Self-reported happiness.** Despite a major drop in national optimism about the direction of the country since 2014, Afghans report general happiness at roughly the same rate in 2015 as in 2014.

This year, 74.9% of Afghans say that they are either very happy (28.6%) or somewhat happy (46.3%). While men (75.6%) and women (74.3%) report happiness at similar rates, Afghans in urban areas are significantly more likely to say they are happy (81.2%) compared to residents of rural areas (72.8%).

SECURITY

- **Fear for personal safety.** More than two-thirds (67.4%) of Afghans report that they always, often, or sometimes fear for their personal safety, the highest percentage in a decade. This rate is highest in the South West (84.6%) and South East (81.1%) regions, where clashes with AOGs have been most frequent. In the West region, however, the percentage of Afghans reporting fear for their safety has decreased by more than 10 percentage points (to 68.5%) since 2014.
- **Experience and reporting of violence or crime.** Approximately 18.2% of Afghans say that they or a member of their family experienced violence or crime within the past year, up from 15.6% in 2014. The most frequently mentioned types of violence or crime are physical attacks (30.9%), livestock theft (19.4%), suicide attacks (19.3%), racketeering or extortion (17.6%), and murder (17.0%). Among victims of an incident of violence or crime, nearly two-thirds (62.0%) reported the incident to an external authority. The percentage of Afghans reporting incidents to *shuras* or elders has increased over time (from 16.0% in 2006 to 37.2% in 2015), but the Afghan National Police (ANP) (44.7%) remains the preferred institution for reporting.
- **Confidence in Afghan security forces.** Using a composite measure of overall confidence, this year's survey shows higher confidence in the Afghan National Army (ANA) (80.8%) than in the ANP (70.0%). Compared to last year, confidence in the ANA dropped less than a percentage point, down from 81.6% in 2014, while confidence in the ANP dropped three percentage points, down from 73.2% in 2014. A large majority of Afghans say the ANA (82.8%) and ANP (80.1%) need foreign support to do their job, an increase of more than five percentage points for each since last year.
- **Reconciliation.** When asked whether the Afghan government's efforts to reconcile with Armed Opposition Groups (AOGs) will help stabilize the country, 62.6% of Afghans say yes, a significant decrease from 72.5% in 2014. The percentage of Afghans who say they have sympathy for AOGs has decreased steadily over the years, from 55.7% in 2009 to 27.5% in 2015. When asked why AOGs are fighting the government, the most common answer from 2011-2014 was the presence of foreign forces. This year, however, the most common answer is that AOGs want to gain power.
- **Fear encountering armed forces.** Afghans report experiencing the highest rates of fear when they encounter the Taliban (92.0%), followed by Western forces (79.5%). They report experiencing the lowest rates of fear when encountering the ANP (45.3%) or ANA (42.2%).
- **Knowledge and threat of ISIS.** Of the 74.3% of Afghans who say they have heard of ISIS, approximately half (54.2%) also say the group poses a current or future threat to the security of their district.

- **Landmines.** Roughly one-third (33.8%) of Afghans say that landmines or unexploded devices have caused accidents in their community at least several times a year. The highest frequencies of mine- or unexploded device-related incidents are in the South West and East regions.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT

- **Household financial situation.** More Afghans say that over the past year the financial situation of their household has grown worse (29.7%), rather than better (21.0%); a remaining 49.3% say their situation is unchanged.
- **Employment opportunities.** More than half of respondents (55.4%) say that employment opportunities for their household are worse this year compared to last year, while 36.5% say they are the same, and 7.6% say they are better. Areas most affected include cities, particularly Kabul (73.6% reporting worsened job opportunities), where the number of higher-wage jobs have decreased, and in districts surrounding, supplying, or contracting from foreign military installations, particularly Balkh, Parwan, and Panjshir. Areas least affected include rural provinces with agriculture-based economies, such as Wardak and Laghman, but not in Helmand, Kandahar, and Farah, where poppy production decreased due to crop disease.
- **Availability of goods.** Over one-third of Afghans (38.0%) say the availability of goods in their local market has declined since last year, consistent with reports of decreased trade with Pakistan in particular.
- **Assets.** Half of respondents (53.7%) say they own land, and 82.3% say they have at least one mobile phone in their household. Rural and urban Afghans report having different kinds of assets, reflecting different levels of access to electricity as well as different levels of exposure to markets. Compared to those living in rural areas, urban Afghans are more likely to own consumer appliances such as a television, refrigerator, and washing machine. Rural Afghans are more likely to own land and livestock.

DEVELOPMENT AND SERVICE DELIVERY

- **Water.** When asked about a range of public services, Afghans report the highest level of satisfaction (71.8%) with access to drinking water, with rural and urban residents reporting satisfaction at similar rates. Most Afghans obtain their water from personal or communal wells, which have increased in number nationwide. Satisfaction with irrigation water has decreased over time, which is of major concern, given that agriculture is the largest source of Afghan livelihoods and nutrition.
- **Electricity.** Overall, 40.2% of respondents report satisfaction with electricity, with a major gap in satisfaction between urban (73.4%) and rural (29.3%) residents. In the violence-affected South West and South East regions, a majority of Afghans say that, on average, access to electricity has grown worse over the past year (56.0% and 54.0% respectively). Kabul and Kunduz are the only two provinces where over 60% of Afghans report satisfaction with electricity.

- **Roads.** Satisfaction with roads (45.6%) is concentrated around urban areas and the ring road that connects the country. A majority of Afghans in Kabul and the surrounding provinces say they are satisfied with their access to roads. Overall, a majority of people in 13 provinces say they are satisfied with road infrastructure, whereas a majority in the remaining 21 provinces say they are not satisfied.
- **Education.** Education is critical to Afghanistan's economic and social development, yet 54.5% of respondents report having no formal or home schooling, with a significant gender gap (37.8% of men compared to 69.3% of women). On average, 67.8% of respondents report satisfaction with the quality of education for children in their area. Afghans in urban areas (80.1%) are more likely to say they are satisfied than people in rural areas (63.7%). Satisfaction with education has decreased in all regions in 2015 compared to 2014. Afghans in the Central/Kabul region (77.9% down from 87.1%) are the most likely to report satisfaction with education for children. Overall, the majority of respondents in all but four provinces report being somewhat or very satisfied with children's education. Satisfaction is lowest in Nooristan (41.4%), Ghor (47.8%), and Farah (48.5%) provinces.
- **Healthcare.** Overall, 49.1% of respondents say they are somewhat or very satisfied with their access to clinics and hospitals, and 42.4% report satisfaction with their access to medicine. Among rural Afghans, just 44.3% of respondents are satisfied with clinics and hospitals in their area, while 38.3% are satisfied with access to medicine. In contrast, a majority of urban Afghans are satisfied with clinics and hospitals (63.5%) and availability of medicine (54.6%). Many (26.7%) Afghans say that their family's health is worse this year than last year.
- **Awareness of development projects and donors.** Overall, 58.4% of respondents know of at least one type of development project (from a long list of types of sector-specific projects provided by the surveyors) implemented in their area in the previous 12 months. Roads and bridges (30.3%), drinking water projects (23.2%), and new mosques (21.9%) are the most common types of projects recognized by respondents. Provinces where respondents report higher awareness of multiple local development projects include Kunduz, Samangan, Ghor, Laghman, and Logar. When asked to identify the funder for local development projects, Afghans are most likely to cite the Afghan government (24.5%), followed by the United States (22.6%), Japan (11.9%), and India (11.1%). An additional 10.9% attribute funding for projects to the people themselves.
- **Migration.** Starting in 2011, the survey has asked respondents if they would leave Afghanistan if given the opportunity. This year, 39.9% of Afghans say yes, an increase from 33.8% in 2011, while 57.9% say no. Afghans most likely to say yes live in the Central/Kabul (47.4%) and West (44.2%) regions; those least likely live in the South West (26.2%).

GOVERNANCE

- **Satisfaction with government performance.** Respondents report a sharp decline in their satisfaction with nearly all types of government institutions. The proportion of Afghans who say

that the national government is doing a good job has fallen from 75.3% in 2014 to 57.8% in 2015. Satisfaction with the performance of provincial, municipal, and district governments has also declined. The percentage of Afghans who say the municipal government is doing a good job decreased from 61.0% in 2014 to 47.2% in 2015, a record low. Reported confidence in various public officials also decreased. Afghans report less confidence in parliament this year (42.4%) compared to last year (51.0%), and also less confidence in their own member of parliament (from 51.5% in 2014 to 42.9% in 2015). By comparison, confidence in the media (66.6%) and in religious leaders (64.3%) is much higher.

- Electoral institutions.** Confidence in the Independent Election Commission dropped nearly in half over the past year, from 66.4% in 2014 to 36.4% in 2015. The 2014 survey was conducted prior to the 2014 presidential election results and ensuing ballot recount, and before the National Unity Government was formed. Reported confidence in the Independent Electoral Complaints Commission (IECC) is even lower (34.7%). Confidence in the IECC is slightly higher among rural (38.3%) compared to urban (30.1%) respondents.
- Corruption.** Despite government efforts to curb corruption, 89.9% of Afghans say that corruption is a problem in their daily lives, the highest percentage reported in a decade, with 61.1% saying it is a major problem and 28.8% saying it is a minor problem. Helmand (84.8%) and Kabul (81.3%) are the two provinces where the highest proportion of residents say that corruption is a major problem, and Panjshir (11.0%) is the lowest. This year, over half (53.3%) of Afghans who had contact with police within the past year say they paid a bribe, up from 45.1% in 2014 and exceeding the previous high of 53.4% in 2011. The frequency of bribes paid to officials in the municipality/district office (66.0%), the judiciary and courts (63.4%), customs office (61.2%), provincial governor's office (60.9%), when applying for a job (58.7%), state electricity supply (54.9%), ANP (53.3%), public health services (52.6%), ANA (43.2%), and admissions to school/university (43.0%) all rose in 2015.
- Dispute resolution.** Since 2007 there has been a slow but steady increase in the reported usage of state courts for dispute resolution services. However, Afghans approach a range of formal and informal actors for dispute resolution, depending upon the dispute or problem. For problems involving land or water, respondents most frequently say they would go to local elders of the *shura* (47.0% and 24.4% of respondents, respectively). For family problems, they most frequently say they would ask friends and family for assistance (29.9% of respondents). For problems with healthcare, respondents most frequently say would approach formal authorities, with 30.3% citing government departments and 10.5% saying the district authorities. This year 21.5% of respondents had a dispute or formal case that they could not resolve internally and had to take to the *Huquq* Department or a *shural/jirga*. The most prevalent type of case was a dispute over land (42.2%), followed by family problems (16.7%).

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

- Basic political freedoms.** In the 2014 survey, which was conducted immediately after the presidential runoff election, Afghans reported a comparatively low level of fear while voting (45.8%). This year (a non-election year) the percentage has risen to 55.6%, a rate that approaches the highest previously recorded (59.5% in 2010). Fear while voting ranges from a low of 32.2% in the Central/Hazarajat region to a high of 68.7% in the South West region. Like fear while voting, the percentage of Afghans who say they would experience fear while participating in a peaceful demonstration (69.1%) increased slightly compared to 2014. The percentage of Afghans who say they would experience fear while running for office (72.8%) is similar in 2015 to levels of fear reported in recent years.
- Satisfaction with democracy and influence over local government.** The percentage of Afghans who say they are satisfied with the democratic process in Afghanistan (57.2%) has declined sharply since 2014 (73.1%), marking the lowest percentage of support in a decade. The percentage of Afghans who say they can impact local government decisions has also decreased, from 55.9% in 2014 to 44.5% in 2015, the lowest recorded in 10 years.
- Religion and politics.** Most Afghans (62.8%) say that religious scholars should be involved in politics. In all regions, the percentage of residents who support mixing religion and politics declined in 2015 compared to 2014 (64.9%). However, responses to this question have varied considerably over the past 10 years.
- Women and elections.** Nationwide, 50.1% (down from 56.0% in 2014) of respondents say that women should decide on their own when making voting decisions, 27.4% say women should consult with men, and 21.9% say men should decide for women. The percentage of respondents who support women making their own electoral decisions ranges from a low of 29.8% in the South West region to a high of 68.4% in the Central/Hazarajat region. Even greater variations emerge when responses are analyzed at the provincial level, ranging from 80.9% of Panjshir residents who support for women deciding for themselves to 10.5% of respondents living in Zabul province.

ACCESS TO INFORMATION

- Sources of news and information.** Radio remains the most widely used mean of obtaining news and information in Afghanistan (75.7%), followed by television (61.6%), mobile phones (50.3%), the mosque (48.3%), and community *shuras* (37.4%). Over time, reliance on television and the internet for information has gradually increased. Women report using these various sources of news and information at lower rates than men, with the exception of television, which men and women use at equal rates.
- Mobile phone ownership:** A majority (82.3%) of respondents report owning at least one mobile phone in their household, compared to only 41.5% in 2007. Many more men (70.7%) than women (31.1%) report owning a mobile phone primarily for personal use.

- **Television ownership and viewership.** The percent of respondents who own a television has increased from 36.9% in 2007 to 62.1% in 2015. When asked which television shows they watch the most, Afghans cite the six o'clock news (33.8%), followed by serials (25.8%), religious programs (4.0%), and sports (3.1%).
- **Internet access.** Approximately one-fifth (21.0%) of respondents nationwide report having someone in their household who has access to the internet. Internet use continues to grow. In 2013, 3.2% said they use the internet for news and information. This year, 9.6% say the same.

WOMEN AND SOCIETY

- **Assistance for women.** Nearly one quarter (23.4%) of respondents know of an organization that assists women with their problems, an increase over previous years. More urban respondents (28.1%) than rural (21.9%) are aware of places where women can seek assistance. Almost half of respondents (45.7%) identify the Directorate of Women's Affairs, while 9.7% identify the District Governor's Office and 9.0% identify the Human Rights Council/Office.
- **Access to justice.** Overall, 47.0% of Afghans who have taken a case to the state courts agree that the state courts treat men and women equally. Notably more women (51.1%) than men (43.1%) say that there is equal treatment of men and women by the state courts. Among respondents who took a case forward for resolution by a *jirga* or *shura*, 67.2% agree there should be local women's *jirgas* and *shuras*.
- **Customs and cultural practices:** Most Afghans (80.5%) disagree with the practice of *baad*, where a daughter is given to another party as a penalty or payment for some offense. Fewer, but still a majority (64.7%), disagree with the practice of *baddal*, the exchange of daughters between families for marriage. In both cases, the human rights concern is that the daughters may be forced to marry without their consent. Meanwhile, 87.8% of respondents agree that a daughter is entitled to part of her deceased father's inheritance (*miras*), a right guaranteed by Islamic law.
- **Women's attire in public.** Over a third (35.1%) of Afghans say that the *burqa* (a full-body covering) is the most appropriate public dress for women, followed by 27.7% who say the *niqab* (a veil that covers the full face, with the exception of the eyes). Only 1.2% of Afghans say it is appropriate for a woman to be unveiled in public.
- **Leadership.** Among an array of leadership positions, Afghans are most likely to agree that a woman should be allowed to sit on a community development council (74.4%) and least likely to agree that a woman can run for president (52.9%). A majority of Afghans agree that women should be eligible to serve as a government minister or cabinet member (58.5%), as a governor of a province (57.6%), or chief executive officer of a large company (56.3%). However, support for the idea of equal representation of men and women in political leadership positions has been steadily declining, from 51.1% in 2008 to 43.6% in 2015.

- **Education.** A majority of Afghans (78.2%) say they agree that women should have the same educational opportunities as men. At the same time, there has been a measurable decrease in the level of support for gender equality in education between 2006 (58.5%) and 2015 (37.8%). Most Afghans (93.6%) are either strongly or somewhat supportive of women's equal access to education in Islamic *madrasas*, in primary school (84.5%), in high school (82.8%), and in university in a women's home province (73.8%). Respondents are less supportive of education opportunities that involve studying outside a women's home province (48.0%) or abroad (35.5%).
- **Work.** Two-thirds of Afghans (64.0%) say women should be allowed to work outside the home, including 72.9% of women and 53.8% of men. This percentage has slowly declined over time, from a high of 70.9% in 2006. The percentage of respondents who say women contribute to the family/household income has steadily increased from 13.6% in 2009 to 22.6% in 2015.
- **Employment venues.** When asked where it is appropriate for women to work, most Afghans (85.7%) say that female-only schools are acceptable, followed by employment in hospitals or clinics (83.7%), government offices (70.7%), and co-ed schools (66.5%). Fewer support women working in NGOs (44.2%), the army or police (41.4%), or in a private company where men and women work together (34.8%).