

# Portable Seclusion: Religious Veil and The Public Role of Women

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# Motivation

Headscarfs: conventional wisdom

Symbol of subjugation and oppression of women

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OR

Symbol of religious fundamentalism?

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## Alternative view

A portable seclusion: a device that enable women to leave their home while avoiding social stigma.

Hence,

The increasing number of women wearing the veil might be explained by the improvement in economic opportunities for women

Table: The prevalence of veil by education level

Wearing a veil?	Education Category				Total
	Elementary	Secondary	Undergraduate	Graduate	
Yes	64.7	67.3	70.2	85.7	71.4
No, but I definitely will	5.9	8.9	7.2	9.5	8.3
No, but maybe I will	17.6	7.0	8.2	0.0	7.9
Sometimes	11.8	13.8	5.1	4.8	10.0
No, and I will not	0.0	2.9	1.7	0.0	2.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Jakpat Poll on the trend of religious headscarf, conducted in 2016. The survey is conducted using a smartphone app on the Jakpat network and the sample a non-probability sample from this network. The question is "Are you personally wearing *Hijab* (a religious headscarf)?"

Table: Reason to veil by education level

Reason to veil	Education Attainment				Total
	Elementary	Secondary	Undergraduate	Graduate	
Requested by parents	9.1	4.0	0.9	5.6	2.7
Requested by spouse	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.6
Respondent's own will	90.9	87.6	90.4	83.3	88.8
Following trend	0.0	0.9	0.6	0.0	0.7
Others	0.0	6.9	7.5	11.1	7.2
Number of observation	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Jakpat Poll on the trend of religious headscarf, conducted in 2016. The survey is conducted using a smartphone app on the Jakpat network. The question is "What is your reason to wear *Hijab* (a religious headscarf)?" Answer category "Others" include answers such as "commanded by the Quran", "fear of God's punishment", etc.

Table: Characteristics by group of veil-use

Variables	Less than 40			Less than 30		
	No Veil	Veil	Difference	No Veil	Veil	Difference
age	29.06	29.74	-0.68 (-0.59)	24.83	24.55	0.28 (0.48)
married	0.82	0.75	0.07** (0.04)	0.74	0.61	0.13** (0.06)
education	5.34	5.66	-0.31* (0.17)	5.47	6.02	-0.56** (0.22)
income group	6.14	6.21	-0.06 (0.28)	6.05	5.9	0.14 (0.37)
children	1.79	1.86	-0.06 (0.12)	1.4	1.5	-0.09 (.17)
internet	1.86	1.8	0.05 (0.03)	1.83	1.76	.07 (.049)
facebook	1.08	1.04	0.04 (0.06)	1.02	1	.019 (.033)
cellphone	2.01	2	0.01 (0.02)	2.02	2	.018 (.038)
landline	1.97	1.97	0.003 (0.014)	1.98	1.97	.009 (.017)
religiosity	7.18	7.21	-.035 (0.138)	7.12	7.15	-.033 (0.19)
Islamist party	0.29	0.3	-.006 (.0547)	0.27	0.31	-.037 (0.07)
urban	0.47	0.38	.085* (.046)	0.45	0.39	.062 (0.06)
Observation	513	149		307	80	

Source: Pew Survey

Table: Logit regression of veil use on education attainment

VARIABLES	Pew Survey		Jakpat Survey	
	age <41	age <31	age <41	age <31
	veil	veil	veil	veil
education	0.122** (0.062)	0.195** (0.090)	0.57*** (0.13)	0.54*** (0.17)
Observations	632	369	970	859

Data: Pew Survey and Jakpat Poll, Regression by Author



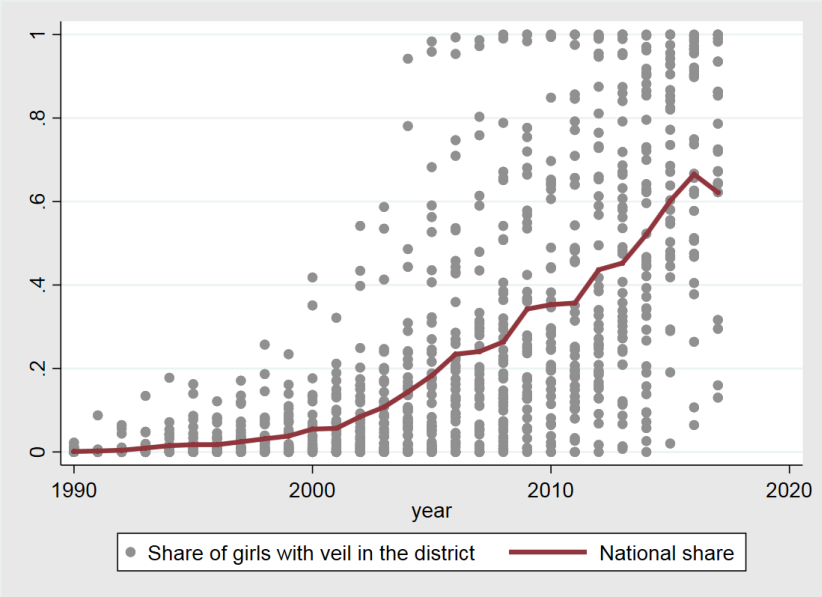
Table: Logit regression of wearing veil on working status

VARIABLES	Age group			<b>All ages</b>
	< 21	21-30	>30	
	veil	veil	veil	
Base category : Not working				
Cat. 2 : working	-0.94** (0.46)	0.36** (0.14)	0.53*** (0.20)	<b>0.30***</b> (0.11)
Cat. 3: student	0.95** (0.45)	0.37 (0.23)		<b>0.51***</b> (0.18)
Observations	215	651	130	996

Data: Jakpat Poll, Regression by Author



# Data: Proportion of girl wearing headscarf



# Method

## General Least Square

$$Veil_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta_1 FemJob_{it} + \beta_k X_{k,it} + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

## Instrumental Variable

First Stage:

$$FemJob_{it} = \gamma_i + \lambda price\_shock_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

Second Stage

$$Veil_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta_1 \widehat{FemJob}_{it} + \beta_k X_{k,it} + \epsilon_{it} \quad (3)$$

# The Instrument

The instrument consists of 3 elements:

$$price\_shock_{it} = \sum_{s=1}^n price_{st} score_s share_{si}$$

- ▶ Share of sector  $s$  in district  $i$  at time  $t = 0$  [see sectoral composition](#)
- ▶ Score of sector  $s$ , calculated as the proportion female in labor force of sector  $s$  at national level [see industry score](#)
- ▶ International price level in sector  $s$  at time  $t$
- ▶ Summed by district-year

Table: Panel GLS Regression results

VARIABLES	<i>Dep. Var : Proportion of girls with headscarf</i>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>female job opportunity</i>	0.314** (0.120)	0.273** (0.111)	0.312** (0.121)	0.273** (0.128)	0.349*** (0.124)	0.215** (0.098)	0.301** (0.125)	0.316** (0.119)
share migrated popul.		Y						
share muslim			Y					
male job opportunity				Y				
share live in urban					Y			
islamist vote share						Y		
log young popul.							Y	
share popul. own television								Y
Observations	704	704	704	700	702	666	704	704
R-squared	0.442	0.449	0.443	0.443	0.444	0.431	0.445	0.501
Number of distcode	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46

Table: IV Regression Results

2 SLS								
VARIABLE	<i>Dep. Var : Proportion of girls with headscarf</i>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>female job opportunity</i>	1.781** (0.730)	1.812** (0.761)	1.788** (0.760)	2.004** (0.901)	1.730** (0.684)	1.507** (0.704)	1.772** (0.740)	1.803** (0.754)
share migrated popul.		Y						
share muslim			Y					
male job opportunity				Y				
share live in urban					Y			
islamist vote share						Y		
log young popul.							Y	
share popul. own television								Y
First Stage								
VARIABLE	<i>Dep. Var: Female Job opportunity</i>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>price shock</i>	0.020*** (0.005)	0.019*** (0.005)	0.019*** (0.005)	0.017*** (0.005)	0.020*** (0.005)	0.018*** (0.005)	0.019*** (0.005)	0.019*** (0.005)
K-P F-Statistic	13.19	14.07	12.42	12.69	14.6	11.16	12.79	13.02
Observations	704	704	704	700	702	666	704	704
Number of distcode	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46

# Conclusions

- ▶ Headscarf does not signify low education or low social class
- ▶ Increasing number of headscarfs might be explained by the improving economic opportunities for young women
- ▶ Importance for development policies, eg. cultural values shape development outcome
- ▶ Importance for integration policies, eg. bans of religious symbols



The End

Table: Placebo: Male Job Opportunity

VARIABLES	<i>Dep. Var : Proportion of girls with headscarf</i>						
	1	2	3	5	6	7	8
<i>male job opportunity</i>	0.082 (0.087)	0.069 (0.083)	0.088 (0.090)	0.087 (0.088)	0.051 (0.074)	0.071 (0.088)	0.110 (0.087)
<i>female job opportunity</i>	0.273** (0.128)	0.244* (0.122)	0.266** (0.132)	0.300** (0.130)	0.190* (0.107)	0.269** (0.130)	0.261** (0.128)
share migrated popul.		Y					
share muslim			Y				
share live in urban				Y			
islamist vote share					Y		
log young popul.						Y	
share popul. own television							Y
Observations	700	700	700	698	662	700	700
R-squared	0.443	0.443	0.447	0.444	0.431	0.445	0.446
Number of distcode	46	46	46	46	46	46	46

Table: Placebo: Informal Job Opportunity

VARIABLES	Dep. Var : Proportion of girls with headscarf							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Female informal job opportunity</i>	-0.030 (0.131)	-0.030 (0.131)	-0.027 (0.132)	-0.031 (0.131)	-0.041 (0.127)	0.043 (0.141)	-0.040 (0.139)	-0.023 (0.131)
share migrated popul.		Y						
share muslim			Y					
male job opportunity				Y				
share live in urban					Y			
islamist vote share						Y		
log young popul.							Y	
share popul. own television								Y
Observations	704	704	704	704	702	666	704	704
R-squared	0.429	0.429	0.440	0.429	0.428	0.424	0.433	0.494
Number of distcode	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46

**Table:** Robustness: Excluding districts with potential veil regulation

**2 SLS**

*Dep. Var : Proportion of girls with headscarf*

VARIABLE

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

<i>female job opportunity</i>	1.629** (0.718)	1.657** (0.754)	1.673** (0.750)	1.780** (0.890)	1.618** (0.678)	1.300** (0.655)	1.737** (0.753)	1.629** (0.731)
share migrated popul.		Y						
share muslim			Y					
male job opportunity				Y				
share live in urban					Y			
islamist vote share						Y		
log young popul.							Y	
share popul. own television								Y

**First Stage**

*Dep. Var: Female Job opportunity*

VARIABLE

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

<i>price shock</i>	0.021*** 0.006	0.019*** 0.005	0.02*** 0.006	0.017*** 0.005	0.021*** 0.006	0.019*** 0.006	0.02*** 0.006	0.02*** 0.006
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K-P F-Statistic	12.59	13.73	11.79	10.81	13.27	10.69	11.81	12.58
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Observations	620	620	620	618	618	587	620	620
Number of distcode	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40

**Table:** Robustness: compositional effect (IV regression)

**2 SLS**

*Dep. Var : Proportion of girls with headscarf (residual after controlling for high school female attendance)*

VARIABLE

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

*female job opportunity*

1.807\*\* (0.734) 1.838\*\* (0.766) 1.824\*\* (0.764) 2.033\*\* (0.908) 1.753\*\* (0.687) 1.514\*\* (0.708) 1.802\*\* (0.744) 1.826\*\* (0.756)

share migrated popul.

Y

share muslim

Y

male job opportunity

Y

share live in urban

Y

islamist vote share

Y

log young popul.

Y

share popul. own television

Y

**First Stage**

*Dep. Var: Female Job opportunity*

VARIABLE

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

*price shock*

0.020\*\*\* (0.005) 0.019\*\*\* (0.005) 0.019\*\*\* (0.005) 0.017\*\*\* (0.005) 0.020\*\*\* (0.005) 0.018\*\*\* (0.005) 0.019\*\*\* (0.005) 0.020\*\*\* (0.005)

K-P F-Statistic

13.19 14.07 12.42 12.69 14.6 11.16 12.79 13.02

Observations

704 704 704 700 702 666 704 704

Number of distcode

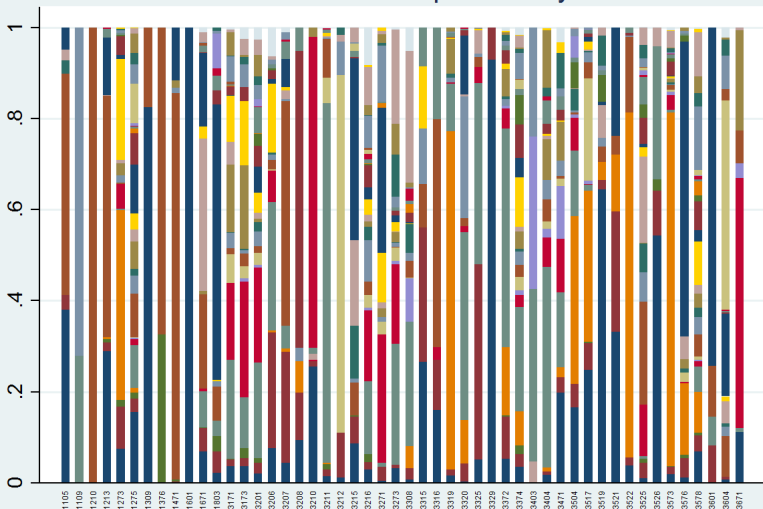
46 46 46 46 46 46 46 46

# Industry scores

Table: Industry scores example

Industry score	ISIC rev.2 code	Industrial code description
0.763	322	Wearing apparel made of textile (garments), leather and furs
0.760	314	Cigarettes and other tobacco products
0.753	324	Shoes and footwear
0.691	390	Jewelry, sewing machine needle, personal adornment from precious metal
0.572	385	Medical and non-medical appliances, electrical instrument for measuring, navigating and testing
	:	
	:	
	:	
	:	
	:	
	:	
0.112	382	Industrial machineries
0.103	369	Marble, granite and other non-metallic mineral products
0.102	363	Cement and lime plaster products
0.084	353	Petroleum and natural gas refineries
0.053	371	Iron and steel industries

## Historical sectoral composition by district



Each color represent 1 industrial sector instrument