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## **Evaluation of the Development of Women's Employment Laws in an Islamic State: The Case of Islamic Republic of Iran (1989-2017)**

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### **Abstract**

The researcher in this paper attempts to examine and analyze the factors of underdevelopment in women's employment in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The goal of this paper was to assess the implementation of women's employment development laws in the Islamic Republic of Iran from 1989 to 2017. This research paper examined the text of laws, policies, and interviews with key informants through the theories of occupational inequality, gender theories, and feminism. The results show that despite policies and planning for the development of women's employment, the necessary infrastructure to enhance women's employment is still lacking. Whereas the identity and personality of individuals in Iranian society are formed among the family; the role of the family is therefore significant, that adds to its importance in preserving and affecting it. In other words, Iranian society is confronted with a two-tiered structure of social policy and family-oriented discourse, and different governments apply different development policies with respect to their certain method to the family institution. During periods of supportive policies that lead to women being excluded from employment, and in other periods, focusing on the issue of gender rights and freedom, policies are being developed that encourage women to participate more economically. However, what stands out among them is the centrality and power of the family in society that raises such issues and challenges in the development of women's employment.

**Keywords:** Women employment, Iranian women, Women policies, Women rights, Family.

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## Introduction

Women's employment and unemployment are one of the economic and social issues of Iran in the present condition. The extent of women's employment in the country related to the set of economic policies adjusted using labor market laws and regulations. So, women totally have numerous job opportunities than men that in this case can be suggested by policymakers and researchers in the field, by enhancing the level of education and skills and by changing supportive laws and regulations governing society.

The assistance of the authorities and the practitioners in this field to some extent was solving this problem. On the other word, in terms of the pathology of the problem of women's employment, it is better to point out that the experts and critics of women's employment believe; protective employment laws and regulations that will enhance the cost of applying their labor force will also assist to decrease their employment in the country. Because the employer incurs other costs such as the construction of kindergartens, the payment of maternity leave and so on because of compliance with such laws and regulations as the construction of day care and maternity leave and breastfeeding. This would tend to hire male labor to reduce costs. However, in addition to the cost-effectiveness of using labor, researchers say, and society's dominant culture can also hinder women's employment.

Traditional old-fashioned prejudices and patriarchal morals in society impact women's job opportunities. In addition, another point to note is the effect of fertility on the share of women in employment. Statistical Center of Iran show that in the years 1976-1986 we are experiencing a decline in the employment rate of women, one of the reasons being the enhance in the birth rate in this decade. In other words, with enhance in the number of children, women had low opportunity to work, leaving some women out of the labor market. However the other issue with the low share of women in employment is that, usually women do not declare their employment status and type in surveys, this show that numerous women in Iran are recruited in informal sections of the economy, or they refuse to declare their employment status because of cultural and social restriction and prejudices. The matter to point is that in this paper we have looked at the percentage of women in formal employment that is women recruited by insurance who are entitled to retirement. However, in spite of the different problems and issues of women's employment in society, it can be said that social work attracts people because of its positive characteristics. Work cans also assistant one's personality improvement because it can be an intellectual, physical, mental, and emotional excellence factor.

Also, having a job and earning can make a person flourish in the community. Working women with personal income in addition to investment for the future, they also receive security and financial independence.

Ghodrati (2015), in her article, indicated that in the last three decades, there has been a reduction in female labor force participation in all age groups. However, there have been many ups and downs in female labor force participation, however there is low level of women employment. While it seems that by evaluating policies in different governments and by reviewing the views of key informants, a missing ring can be found in the women's employment planning.

In her article, Rafat Jah and Kheirkhah (2013) has determined the barriers and issues of women's employment by applying the experience and expertise of executive managers of organizations and providing proper solutions and conditions for optimal employment of Iranian women.

Masoud Safaeipour and Shahrokhzad Vali Khajeh (2016) in a study entitled *Analyzing the barriers to women's participation in Iran (case study: Tabriz metropolitan area)* seeking to obtain women's economic participation barriers in Tabriz metropolitan area according to the calculated score of RMS = 0.721, they know the cultural barriers of society. As a result of women's employment, we find that employment enhances women's greater self-awareness of their rights, intellectual and financial independence that is a positive step towards enhancing equality between men and women in a society.

Raheleh Kardovani (1986), in her essay, points out the coherence of maternal and occupational roles for women that requires reflection and management in various ways. In this article, he has been paid to all Iranian policies (1979-1955), including laws, regulations, bylaws, circulars, etc. that are coordinated by the competent authorities in order to coordinate maternal / employment roles that approved and communicated.

Finally, in this research, we try to find out the shortcomings and restrictions in the development of women's employment in order to put forward suggestions and recommendations for proper policy making and planning for women's employment development.

### **Conceptual Framework**

This study examines the context of women's employment development laws and policies as well as interviews with lawmakers, policymakers, and activists in the field of women's employment percentages in Iran from 1989 to 1986. Therefore, to achieve this goal, we have studied internal and external research. Although similar to the subject of our research, so far it has not been directly addressed by researchers; we have attempted to investigate those studies that are subjectively close to ours. We applied various theories of gender inequality in the labor market as well as in society. Selecting these theories deliberately and based on the lived experience of the researcher is subject to the experience of gender discrimination and the existence of barriers to employment and the advancement of women in the workplace. It appears that in the workplace, in addition to the relationships between people at high levels, other factors are also implicitly and indirectly influencing women's non-participation in the labor market.

According to the theories of occupational inequality, neoclassics refer to women's occupational inequality over sex differences. The neoclassics believe that lower wages for women are due to their low human capital because they are few in vocational training and work experience. Disintegration of dual labour market theory also sees the labor market as a set of organizational barriers that divide it into different sections. One of the most famous is the breakdown of the dual labor market that divides the jobs into the first and second sectors. According to the theory, the second part jobs are less stable than the first part jobs, so because married women are moving into their jobs because of maternal and child labor reasons, they are more likely to work in the second part. And so, they don't have job stability. In the discussion of gender theories, theorists believe that women always appear as a caring role in society. And even if they work outside the home and in the job market, they will still be responsible for the care, maintenance and care of their children. The rationale behind this theory is that child-rearing is the natural duty of the woman and that the child needs the full and constant attention of an adult. Another theory we have discussed in this section is the theory of women's empowerment in development.

Theorists of this approach tend to create real contexts of women's presence in various ways, especially through education. The qualified theory of women suggests that it is the duty of

governments in societies to create the conditions necessary for them to achieve the right jobs for those women are not excluded. Finally, we examine the feminist view of social policy making. In this theory, feminists criticize government services and social security and believe that these services keep women individually dependent on men and that they address men in addition to the government to meet their needs.

Finally, regarding to research and theoretical review, it can be said that as we know the laws of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the years 1989 to 2017 have focused on the issue of the development of women's employment and various laws and programs in this field has been edited. However, on the other hand, these laws seem to have failed to meet their goals of promoting and enhancing women's employment.

### **Methodology**

In this paper, regarding to the research goals, the necessity of using qualitative research method has been considered. In other words, as this study attempt to assess the development laws of women's employment in the Islamic Republic of Iran, it attempts to examine a field that little research has been done so far. For this reason, we will use qualitative research to analyze the results. As our research title show, we attempt to reply two main research questions in this research. First: What laws and regulations are in place to promote women's employment? Second: Why has the employment rate for women not soared despite the various development laws and programs?

In fact, these two questions are considered as key research questions and there are other questions that will be answered.

We have two data points in this study and we analyze each in our own way. The first set of data is the text of the laws, programs and policies for the development of women's employment that were formulated from 1989 to 2017, and the second set of data are direct and indirect interviews (Internet interviews) is one of the key informants about the implementation and results of these programs. In analyzing the first part of the data, as we mentioned earlier in the policy analysis method, we will investigate the historical course of the adoption of these laws, as well as analyze and critique them.

Where we are dealing with two sets of data in this study, we therefore analyze them in two ways. We will use the policy analysis method and the critical analysis model described above to analyze the context of women's employment development policies and programs, to examine the historical and political course of programs and laws in different governments. In this way, after extracting the text of the laws and programs, we will first classify them according to the formulation of those programs in different political periods. In this method, first, after identifying the problem and purpose of the study, we examine and analyze the text of the constitution and then divide the programs and laws according to that state each of them has been formulated. In other words, we analyze each of these laws and programs based on the perspective and type of policies in that period. We then examine the impact of those policies and laws on stakeholders and analyze the results.

This study tries to interview those women and family activists who have worked in the field of legislation or research in this field. Sampling in the qualitative method, unlike the quantitative methodology, does not follow a specific algorithm and formula, and the interview usually continues until new data is produced and we reach saturation levels. In this study, we ensured the transferability of the study by applying an external review procedure that provided the final findings for the advisory professor of this study, one of the PhD students of Tehran University and three of

the social science students of Allameh Tabatabai University. We did the qualitative research, presented it and assessed the validity and reliability of the research.

## **Results**

### **Analyze developments in laws, policies, and programs**

Employment of Women in the Constitution (Article 20-28 and clause 102-103)

**Article 20 of the Constitution:** all men and women are equal under the umbrella of the protection of the law in order to enjoy all human, political, economic, social and cultural rights in accordance with Islamic standards.

**Article 28 of the Constitution:** Everyone has the right to choose a career he or she does not oppose Islam and the public interest and the rights of others. In addition, the law obliges the government to provide equal opportunities for everyone to work and create equal opportunities for all by respecting the community's need for different jobs.

**Article 102 of the Constitution:** The right of women to benefit from information, education and skills and work opportunities for decent employment and the right to receive support in these matters provides for their wives and head of household. It also provides that everyone in the community, including women, has the right to information and training necessary for decent employment, the right to receive the necessary employment skills such as vocational training and employment opportunities, the government. It is also obliged to provide those women in need with a job income, such as self-employed or housewives, to provide them with appropriate employment opportunities and commensurate with their abilities.

**Article 103 of the Constitution:** includes the right of women to employment and employment counseling by women. Also, job counseling to identify and introduce job opportunities appropriate to the physical and psychological conditions of women is a matter of women's employment rights and economic participation. In this section, the relevant authorities consider the presence of female experts to be a priority in the provision of the above mentioned consulting services, as they provide greater justification for the specific needs and conditions and facilities and facilities for women.

As regards the analysis of these laws, it is clear that the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in accordance with Islamic and Jurisprudential principles, in Articles 20 and 28, addresses all persons in society and does not address their gender. In other words, both men and women are the target audience, and there is no gender discrimination. In addition, it has obliged the government to devise measures to create jobs for all men and women in society. These laws also regard the right to work and economic activity as a human and public right and do not consider it specific to a particular group or gender. In view of the importance of women's rights in Islam in clauses 102 and 103, the laws are specifically designed for women and emphasize that all conditions must be explained by the government to facilitate women's employment. The constitution in these clauses clearly and exclusively describes the stages of women's employment creation through education and skills, job counseling and employment, and ultimately equal pay for male and female workers.

### **Workers' Special Facilities Act (Labor Code - approved 1990)**

According to the Article 38 of the Labor Code, the wages of men and women workers for equal work are equal. However, women are legally exempt from certain heavy jobs that rely solely on physical or physical strength or pose serious health risks. However, in Article 75 of the Labor Code, it is

forbidden for women workers to carry out dangerous, difficult and harmful work and to carry more loads by hand without the use of mechanical means. The maximum weight permissible for conventional cargo by hand and without the use of a mechanical tool is about 20 kg. There are forbidden for women during pregnancy as well as ten weeks after delivery. In addition, in accordance with Article 77 of the Labor Code, in cases where the diagnosis of a social security organization physician is difficult to diagnose as hazardous to a pregnant worker, the employer shall, at the end of her pregnancy, refer to a more appropriate and lighter work without deduction of wages. Pregnancy and childbirth leave female workers have a total of 90 days and even 45 days should be used after childbirth. Twins are also allowed 14 days off for childbirth. Upon termination of maternity leave, the female worker returns to her former job, and this period is considered as a service record with the approval of the Social Security Organization. According to Article 67 of the Social Security Act, a worker who has a sixty-day premium payment during one year prior to delivery may benefit from the following assistance:

A. Pregnancy Assistance: Uninsured can use pregnancy assistance equivalent to two-thirds of the last wage or uninsured wages for a total of twelve weeks before and after deduction for the first three days.

B. Pre- and post-medical examinations: Pre- and post- medical examinations include any examination, treatment, and admission to maternity hospitals and social insurance organizations or affiliates of that organization. In workshops involving female workers, the employer is required to establish child-care centers (such as nurseries, kindergartens, etc.) in proportion to the number of children and, given their age group.

#### **Law on Creation of Kindergarten (Regulations-1991)**

In Article 78 of the Labor Code, the employer is obliged to create centers for the care of children, such as infants, day care centers, etc. in accordance with the age of the child. The by-law of this law was adopted in August 1991. Accordingly, an employer in workshops with more than 10 workers whose children have more than 5 children should establish a place in or near a place where the children of working women can be held. Children under 7 years old are kept there. It also mentions things like starting a daycare center, shift work permits, setting up a joint center, and the costs the employer has to pay.

#### **Women's Employment Policies in the Islamic Republic of Iran (Approved 1992/05/20 - Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution)**

The employment policies of women were confirmed by the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution in 1992. These policies were formulated in 13 articles. At the outset, it emphasizes the role of women in the family and focuses on the importance of the family as a sacred institution. In this first policy, in view of the maternal sanctity and upbringing of the next generation and the management of the home, it states that the moral and material value of the role of women in the family and their work at home must be taken into account; since then, the employment of women in cultural, social and administrative circles has been considered as the conditions and conditions for the realization of social justice and community excellence, that must be given the necessary time. In addition, this policy emphasizes the need for family members to work together and cooperate effectively to manage their home affairs and to better serve their social responsibilities, it is important to note that the announcement will have a positive impact on the interaction of couples and children in terms of culture and family participation.

## **Women's Employment and Social Justice**

With the victory of the Principlists led by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the center of women's participation changed to the center of women's and family affairs in the light of the Ninth Government's policies that prioritized the family. The renaming was the beginning of a new era of government policies on women.

The Principlists state highlights the issue of women and the role of women in Islamic society with a jurisprudential and Islamic view and considers women's social presence as a necessity and a religious necessity; however, this presence should not lead to the breakdown or loosening of family ties.

For this government, women should not be so stressed that women sacrifice their families for employment to the extent that the necessity of family formation for young girls is high on the agenda. The Fifth Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran were approved by the government, However, many of its provisions were not implemented.

This program and Article 230 of the Constitution have enacted a number of amendments to existing laws and policies to facilitate and protect women's employment, and are proposed by relevant representatives and experts, that we will explain below.

### **1. Bill to reduce the working hours of working women**

At the beginning of the Ninth Government, a bill was introduced to reduce the working hours of working women. Under the scheme, married women are reduced by 2 hours; However, their salaries are paid in full. It also reduces the working time of the mother by one hour with the birth of the first child and longer time with the second child. However, the bill was not passed at this time because it would cost the government enormous amounts of money to implement. However, the plan was approved by the late Tenth Government in 2016 with a one-hour reduction in working hours, and its implementation directive was communicated to all government agencies and centers.

### **2. Teleworking scheme for employed women**

The Telecommunications Regulations were adopted in 2010 to further enhance productivity, work flexibility and reduce staff turnover in the Ninth and Tenth Governments. According to Article 4 of this Code, the right to use this scheme applies to female employees; especially mothers who have a young or disabled child and who themselves or members of the family are exposed to certain diseases. Under the ordinance, disabled employees and pregnant women or children under 6 years of age are eligible for employment if there are several eligible teleworkers.

The drawbacks to this plan were the lack of necessary infrastructure such as internet access and home work requirements, managers are not familiar with this type of personnel work, reducing the productivity of people in these conditions and enforcing this law on devices in a way that everyone has interpreted and implemented it.

### **3. Early retirement of women**

In 2012, the tenth government approved the early retirement of women, adding that women who apply for early retirement will be added to the number of their children if accepted. It is clear, therefore, that the government's aim in this period is to enhance population policies and emphasize the greater presence of women in the home, thus approving early retirement of working women seeking to exclude women from employment and enhancing their focus on raising children and playing the role of mother and wife.

#### **4. Family leave**

In 2012, bills called family leave were introduced. During this sick leave, working women can take sick leave and this leave is not less than their one-month leave. However, the bill has not yet been approved. Finally, the 9th and 10th governments highlight the values of family consolidation, non-gender education, elimination of violence and reform of women's rights and shaky family-based policies that threaten society's moral values and encourage women to participate in non-family arenas (Karami Ghahi; 90, 70).

#### **Interview Analysis**

Many interviewees cite violations of various laws in the area of women's employment, that they consider to be an obstacle to enhancing the percentage of women in employment in society. In addition to the interviews on the implementation of macro laws and policies, some experts also believed that in spite of violations of some laws in general, the basic laws and even the protective laws in our society are not properly implemented. The highlight that most interviewees showed were the ineffectiveness of these safeguards laws; the safeguard laws reform plans are in Article 230 of the Fifth Development Plan Act. For example, one of the most notable issues was the issue of maternity leave that enhanced from 6 months to 9 months in 2012. According to this law, maternity leave that was prescribed in 2001 by the Supplementary Law to Note 3, Article 3 of the Breastfeeding Promotion Act was four months. In 2007, as amended by Article 3, this Act was extended to six months and also, according to the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution, in 2012, maternity leave enhanced to 9 months and unpaid leave of 21 months per child for a total of 10 years and it was adopted by the child up to the age of 6. In addition, her father was expected to have a two-week childbirth leave. Also, in connection with the Breastfeeding Leave Plan that was adopted in the Breastfeeding Promotion and Support of Breastfeeding Act of 74 it was approved that mothers are allowed to devote one hour of their time a day to breastfeeding their children. This is one of their working hours and they do not need to take a leave. The same law was amended in the proposed package of Vice Presidential Affairs for Women in the Family and Family Development Program under Article 230 of the Fifth Development Plan, according to the amendments, in workshops with working women, the employer is obliged to give breastfeeding mothers up to two and a half hours of breastfeeding by the end of two years, that is part of their working hours. Needless to say about explaining the premature retirement law for women mentioned earlier; in 2012, the tenth government approved the early retirement of women, adding that women who apply for early retirement would be added to the number of their children if accepted. Following the discussion of protection laws, a tenth government bill was introduced in 2012, called family leave. In sick leave, working women can take sick leave, and their leave is not reduced to one month's leave. However, the bill has not yet been approved.

In the Special Worker Facilities Act, we noted that, according to Article 38 of the Labor Law of 1990, the wages of women workers and men for equal work are equal. Also, women are legally exempt from certain heavy jobs that rely solely on physical or physical strength or pose serious health risks. Article 75 of the Labor Code states: It is forbidden for women workers to carry out dangerous, difficult and harmful work and to carry more loads by hand without the use of mechanical means.

According to Article 77 of the Labor Code, in cases where it is difficult for a pregnant worker to be diagnosed with a social security doctor's diagnosis, the employer must refer to a more appropriate and lighter work, without deduction of wages, until the end of her pregnancy. According to an expert



on women's issues, cultural patterns are one of the social barriers to women's economic activity in Iran.

Of course, the restrictive cultural patterns of Iranian women do not end in one or more patterns, however because of the diversity of ethnicities and cultures in the country, different structures and perspectives have limited Iranian women.

The common cultural pattern in many areas of Iran is that women lack resources and social presence and reach more for home affairs. However, that's not the case in reality. In analyzing socio-cultural causes in analyzing interviews with key informants, we can also point to the lack of confidence in women and women's fear of being in the public arena. In explaining the findings of the interviews, we can attribute it to society's rejection of women's participation in the fields of economic, social, and political participation. As the findings of the interviews show, all scholars agree on the importance of socio-cultural factors and their impact on people's attitudes and behaviors and they see it as an integral part of people's lives.

In addition, many neoclassical theorists and gender theorists also point to the existence of discrimination and inequality between men and women and many of them see the need to break free of this duality as an education for women and to raise their awareness and knowledge.

From this point of view, if we are to think of a solution to the obstacles mentioned above, given this theory as well as the socio-cultural characteristics of Iranian society, we must re-educate the pattern of equality between men and women in the way that men and women are trained to eliminate the outdated and obsolete traditions. As well as educating women and raising their awareness of their own laws and rights, the necessary reforms will be made and the gender of women will be promoted from being second-degree to first-degree. It is important to note, however, that the social, cultural and economic activities of women have enhanced significantly in recent years. The working environment for women and the community's view of this group has also been very tight.

Regarding to the interviewees, our country has had many problems during the 40 years since the Islamic Revolution. If Iranian society was in a rational and peaceful way with other countries, perhaps it would not have been involved with economic issues, youth employment, and so on. However, at the beginning of the 1978 revolution we see internal problems and since 1980 Iran-Iraq war in the late 1980s, rebuilding the country and rebuilding it, plus the international sanctions already in place. As we know, the enemies and opponents of the Islamic Republic have not been silent since the beginning of the revolution and have used every means to overthrow this system. One of their important and effective weapons was the economic sanctions at the international level that we have witnessed in Iran at different times. However, it is important to note that when a society is facing boycott and economic crisis, the first issue it faces after inflation is employment. For experts, the first group to be harmed in the crisis of employment and unemployment in Iran is the working class. Because, given the impact of traditional patterns on the female employment community, men are the breadwinners in the home. As a result, in the event of economic problems, firms and employers are unable to pay for the costs of services, wages, and protection laws for women. As obtained from the analysis of the politics of laws, programs and interviews with key informants in the field of women's employment, we have found that women's employment in Iran is not a new issue, and for many years policymakers have been paying attention to the importance of this issue both in society and in the family and have developed numerous laws and programs. As stated in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, that is the source of laws in the country, the importance of women's

employment in Iranian society has been emphasized and the need to create suitable conditions for their employment has been emphasized.

## **Conclusion**

In this research, we attempt to reply two questions: 1. what are the laws and regulations that promote the development of women's employment? 2. why has the employment rate for women not enhanced significantly despite different development laws and programs? To reply the research questions more precisely, we conducted direct and indirect interviews with key informants in the field and came up with five main themes to investigate the implementation of the laws as a result of these interviews. Legal paradoxes, economic crises, socio-cultural barriers, structural disparities, political barriers are some of the themes we have come up with in the interviews. The point of the interviews that can be emphasized as a key point of interest to many interviewees; there is a contradiction between different development laws and programs in this area. The challenge we faced in interviewing the informants and evaluating the laws was that some of them considered one of the reasons for the decline in the percentage of women employed was the implementation of these laws and supportive and development policies in society. The highlight that we came across in our review of employment protection laws for women, and it is worth mentioning here, there was a lack of implementation guarantees and the necessary infrastructure to enforce laws and support programs, that could have a major impact on women leaving their jobs or lacking economic participation. In addition, another important obstacle affecting women's employment is the beliefs and beliefs of society. Common cultural values and beliefs in a society have a direct impact on women's employment. Socio-cultural causes are one of the factors in Iran, especially in the years 1989 to 2017, that are the years of our study, reduce the percentage of women employed in the Islamic Republic of Iran and contribute to this. As a result, there are deep-rooted traditional ideas and prejudices about the authority and dominance of men over women in society that has led to the isolation of women in society and the emphasis on the housework of women. Based on the theoretical review of the research and the neoclassical and research findings, we found that occupational discrimination on sex differences, the factors that affect the production of manpower are mentioned like the: family responsibility, physical force, working hours, absence.

As a result of interviews and policy reviews, the theory is confirmed that women are less likely to seek higher paid fixed-term jobs because of their dual duties at home and work so that they may be forced to leave any time. They were fired because of their family responsibilities. As a result of these factors we will see a rise in the employment rate of women in society because, given the prevailing culture and view of Iranian society, housework and housework are top priority for women and employment is second to none. Regarding to the theory of women's empowerment in the perspective of development, that believes that being inclusive and involving all social groups in the process of sustainable development has an important role to play in achieving the grand goals of this approach. As well as women as one of the most influential social groups in the process of sustainable development, they have always been the focus of attention in developing countries, as a result of this theory and the findings of the study, it accepts the claim that economic crises and sanctions and a lack of funds, coupled with traditional and second-rate thinking of naming women in society, place second priority for investment in women's employment. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, and eventually, the employment rate of women decreases. Finally, if we are to explain the reasons for the lack of growth and development of women's employment in the Islamic Republic of Iran, we must point out that: regarding to the analysis of the politics of laws and the analysis of interviews,

the approach of the Islamic Republic of Iran today is in the context of the development of women's employment as referred to in the constitution, the five-year development programs as well as the support laws. However, on the other hand, the findings of interviews with experts reveal that despite policies and planning to improve women's employment, the infrastructure needed to enhance women's employment has not yet been provided, and the community has adopted its traditional method. Moreover, because women and mothers play an important and influential role in this context, as a result, any factor that undermines their role in the family and the upbringing of children is discussed and challenged by society and social norms. However, what stands out among the many is the centrality and power of the family in society that raises such problems and challenges in the rate of development of women's employment.

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