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Gender Preference of Parents and its Effect on School Children's Activity

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to see the influence of the factors of parents' gender preferences on children's activities, namely Patterns and differences in the influence of parents' gender preferences on children's activities according to gender. The sample in this study was children aged 12-17 years, with the reason that the limit for children to start other activities besides going to school. The results of the study show that parents tend to prioritize men in education and work and vice versa tend to prioritize women in managing the household. The preference of boys in education tends to benefit the education of boys than girls. However, men's preference for work tends to favor girls over boys. These findings indicate that parents' gender preferences are not always beneficial for children's education.

Keywords

Children's Activities, Children's Education, Gender, Gender Preferences.

Introduction

Parents place a higher value on the education of boys than girls and therefore girls often drop out of school at an earlier age than boys. Discrimination against women in education

often stems from the view that boys have opportunities in the labor market, while girls are responsible for household affairs. The increase in girls' school participation shows a shift in the value in society regarding the importance of education for girls. The status of family members in a patrilineal society follows the father's line, while in a matrilineal society, the status of family members follows the maternal line, therefore the position of sons is important in patrilineal families. Kevane and Levine (2003) in their study found that the preference for boys did not significantly cause discrimination against girls and that preferences for boys were more related to the structure.

Looking at this fact, we want to see the relationship between parents gender preferences and children's activities, so that it is known whether these preferences cause gender bias in children. Because parents' gender preferences have the potential to lead to discriminatory treatment of children in the household. This study aims to examine this potential in society. The research question is "how is the relationship between parents' gender preferences and children's activities according to gender, especially in school activities, working, and taking care of the household."

Literature Review

Gender Preferences and Determinants of Child Activity

The concept of gender explains the position of women in social life that is different from men. This concept separates the understanding of the biological differences between men and women from the understanding of different roles in social life, and there is a polarization of the roles of men and women. Apart from gender-biased parental preferences, several other factors influence the activities of boys and girls and these factors have different effects on boys and girls. Among these factors are household characteristics, parental characteristics, child characteristics, sibling characteristics, and regional characteristics (Ponczek and Souza, 2012; Chang, 2005; Ali and Khan, 2004). Cognitive development theory explains that gender roles are part of the learning process during childhood.

Cognitive development theory emphasizes how to process information based on gender, both from external drives and internal motivation, with a tendency to distort information when it is not gender-appropriate. In society, it is often observed that there is a division of gender roles that are introduced specifically for boys and girls to form certain stereotypes about what is appropriate for women or men (Sadli & Patmonodewo, 1995). In the household environment, it can be observed that there is a division of gender roles such as the father acting as the head of the family who is responsible for household needs while the mother is responsible for taking care of the household although it does not rule out the dual role of working.

System of Power and Gender Preference

The division of roles between men and women is influenced by the power system of the father or mother in the household. In the world, cultural systems that relate to male and female power are known as patriarchy and matriarchy. The patriarchy is a social system in which the father or older man has full power over the assets and children in the household, while the matriarchy is a social system in which the mother or older woman has the power to control and regulate the household (Ayokunnu, 2011). The position of the child as the successor of the family or family causes different views on the value of boys and girls. As summarized by Hank and Kohler (2002), the implication is that children have a high value if they can provide high utility to their parents, because in the patrilineal system, boys have high values in the family and vice versa for matrilineal society. For example, the form of the kinship system in the Batak community is identical to the patrilineal kinship system, the Minang tribe which is identical to the matrilineal kinship system, and the Javanese tribe which is identical to the bilateral kinship system (Naully, 2002).

Parents see the benefits of investing in children's education, however, the differences in job opportunities and types of work between men and women cause parents to see the value of investing in education for boys and girls as different. The difference in the average wages received by women, although not because women are given a lower wage when both are in the same job position, but because the type of work women tend to have lower wages (Khotimah, 2009), can reduce the value of an educational investment in children girls. If the mother increases the allocation of time in the labor market, the time allocation for activities in the household is reduced so that the position will be replaced by children (Brown, Deardorff and Stern, 2002). The existence of differences in the activities of boys and girls is an implication of different gender roles. As an illustration of the differences in the activities of boys and girls, Table 1 shows the percentage of the number of boys and girls aged 15-17 years based on their activities.

Table 1 Percentage of children aged 15-17 years according to the type of activity and gender

Type of Activity	Male	Female	Total
Just work	14,3	3,5	9,2
Work and school	4,1	1,8	3,0
Work and take care of the household	3,6	6,3	4,9
Work, study and take care of the household	1,3	2,8	2,0
Just school	50,1	40,0	45,3
School and take care of the household	10,3	24,3	17,0
Just take care of the household	4,4	15,7	9,8
Has no activities	11,9	5,7	8,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

According to Lin and Adsera (2012), people who have a preference for boys, girls ¹ are not expected to be the main source of support for parents. In the patrilineal system, the membership of girls will move to the husband's family when they are married and have the responsibility of caring for the husband's family. This will reduce parental incentives for girls' education or other forms of long-term investment, thus lowering girls' chances of attending school. Furthermore, Lin and Adsera (2012) state that parents tend to ask girls to help carry out household duties as a form of contribution to the family. The burden of taking care of the household on women is due to the belief of parents that girls must have skills in doing household chores to be socially ready as adults. The public view that the eldest child is considered a substitute for the mother's role in taking care of the household or her younger siblings so that this responsibility can reduce the opportunity to obtain a higher education (Hsin Yu and Hsin Su, 2006). However, when viewed from a gender perspective, Kumar (2013) writes that in economically affluent families, boys and girls tend to have equal opportunities in education.

a. Characteristics of Parents and Children's Activities

Parents play an important role in making decisions related to children's activities. Decision-making is influenced by parental characteristics, including characteristics of education, occupation, and health conditions. Parental education determines the views of parents on the importance of education for children because those with higher education generally have a positive view of children's education. Parents' work is closely related to the income they earn, so the higher the income of the parents, the more likely they are to go to school.

The health condition of the parents will determine the involvement of the child to replace the parent, either in working or taking care of the household. Bonke (2010) argues that parental education, especially mothers, is negatively related to children's activities taking care of the household so that it allows children to spend more time at school. De Carvalho Filho (2012) states that parental education affects children's work participation and school participation, namely that high parental education has a positive effect on income so that it affects children's opportunities to go to school. Parental education can directly affect children's education because educated parents generally have a greater appreciation for education, and can increase mother productivity or affect preferences for children's education, even in the context of a mother's low bargaining position in the household.

⁶ Parents' work is closely related to the level of household income because in poor households, involving children in work can increase household income. If parents have a

high income, they will be able to send their children to the school financially and prevent the children from working. However, the work of fathers and mothers can have a different effect on children's activities, because if mothers work, even though on the one hand it increases household income to increase their children's attendance at school, on the other hand, it will reduce the time to do household chores. Bonke (2010), found that full-time working mothers can increase the likelihood of boys and girls doing household chores because working mothers expect children's support to replace them.

b. Parents' Disabilities

People with disabilities have a problem with disabilities that have substantial and long-term side effects on the ability to carry out daily activities (Morris and Wates, 2006), so they are unable to carry out daily activities, for example in work or taking care of the household. Parents with disabilities are vulnerable to poverty because they are not optimal in the labor market, this can be caused by limited job opportunities or even discrimination so that they have the potential to earn low income (Morris and Wates, 2006). It is for this reason that children with parents with disabilities are more likely to work and ultimately the child may not attend school.

Research Method

Based on the research framework, several factors influence children's activities, such as gender preferences, welfare levels, biological parent characteristics, child characteristics, sibling characteristics, and regional characteristics. The choice of the lower limit for the sample age is 12 years because age 12 is the limit for children to start activities other than school and only a few work or take care of the household. The criteria for children who are sampled are: 1) Children who have relationship status as children of the head of the household do not have severe disabilities. 2) Children come from ordinary households, 3) Parents and children live together in the household, this is intended because this study wants to see the role of both parents in making decisions in the household related to children's activities.

Based on the limitation of the criteria above, of the 2,361 children who became the population from 21 districts in Medan City, the number of children who were the sample of the study was 383 children consisting of 117 boys and 266 girls, taken at random sampling from each district. This study uses children's activities as the dependent variable obtained from the questionnaire and the details of the questions. By looking at the various possibilities of children's activities, the dependent variable in this study is a combination of these various activities. This is based on the understanding that generally children do

not only do certain activities, therefore the variables of children's activities are formed into five categories, namely: 1) go to school, 2) Work, 3) Take care of the household, 4) Others. The gender preference questionnaire is to see the preferences of parents in general without being able to know whether these preferences are the preferences of the father or the preference of the mother.

Table 2 Distribution of Parents' Gender Preference Characteristics

Characteristics	of survey resource persons			Total
	Household Heads	Head of Couples Household	Other	
Educational preferences				
Man	21,6	21,2	19,6	21,4
Women	7,3	7,8	7,7	7,5
Nothing	71,1	71,0	72,7	71,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Job Preferences				
Man	37,8	41,7	36,6	39,3
Women	3,8	2,3	2,9	3,2
Nothing	58,3	55,9	60,4	57,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Housekeeping Preferences				
Man	2,9	2,4	2,2	2,7
Women	53,7	56,0	54,9	54,7
Nothing	43,3	41,6	42,9	42,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The relationship between gender preferences and children's activities is explained using children's value theory (Hank and Kohler, 2002). In community culture, assessments of children tend to vary. In a rigid patrilineal society, boys scored higher than girls so that boys took precedence over girls. The method of analysis in this research is descriptive analysis and inferential analysis, namely to provide an overview of the variables based on the results of cross-tabulation between variables and based on graphics. The inferential analysis is used to determine the effect of independent variables on the dependent variable. In this case, the inferential analysis method used is the multinomial logic model.

Results and Discussion

The data in Table 3 shows that most parents have a preference for boys and girls in education and work, but this is not the case in managing the household where most parents prioritize girls to take care of the household. However, when compared to preferences for boys and girls, parents who have preferences for boys are much more than parents who have preferences for girls in education and work.

Table 3 Distribution of Parents and Household Characteristics

Parents and Household Characteristics	Gender of Children		Total
	Man	Women	
Parental preferences in education			
Man	26,6	17,4	22,2
Women	4,5	11,5	7,8
without preference	68,9	71,2	70,0
Parental preferences at work			
Man	40,6	37,7	39,3
Women	1,9	2,8	2,3
without preference	57,5	59,4	58,4
Parents' preferences in managing the household			
Man	2,5	2,3	2,4
Women	55,5	54,5	55,1
without preference	41,9	43,2	42,5
Level of welfare / poverty status			
Poor	12,6	13,0	12,8
Not poor	87,4	87,0	87,2
Father's education			
Elementary School or lower	52,7	52,7	52,7
Junior High School and above	47,3	47,3	47,3
Mother's education			
Elementary School or lower	59,1	58,7	58,9
Middle School and above	40,9	41,3	41,1
Total	9.798	8.754	16.179
	(100,0)	(100,0)	(100,0)

Cognitive development theory explains that children in their development will recognize gender identity based on what they see from the surrounding environment or adult activities. This is reinforced by parents who tend to direct children's activities according to their inherent identity. Differences in parental preferences for children indicate that there are differences in parental views on the value of boys and girls in the household. Some parents see the value of the child from how much the child provides economic benefits to the family.

The theory of human capital investment states that the level of wages in the labor market is a consideration for parents in investing in children's education because men seem to have better opportunities in the labor market. Then from the characteristic level of household welfare using the poverty line approach in Medan, it is known that around 13% of households are classified as poor. In terms of parental education, most parents, both fathers, and mothers, have an elementary school education level or lower. When compared between fathers and mothers, the average level of education of fathers is higher

than that of mothers as indicated by a higher percentage of fathers with junior high school education and above. This is the impact of differences in treatment between men and women in the past in which men were given wider opportunities to live, which can be seen in Table 4 to get an education.

Table 4 Distribution of Characteristics of Children, Siblings, and Regions

Characteristics of Children, Siblings and Territories	Gender of Children		Total
	Man	Women	
Order of the child			
First	55,3	54,0	54,7
Second	30,0	30,9	30,4
Third or so	14,8	15,1	14,9
Number of school-age siblings			
One person / don't have	72,3	73,1	72,7
Two persons	19,4	19,1	19,3
Three people	8,3	7,8	8,0
Residential area			
Urban	42,2	43,1	42,6
Rural areas	57,8	56,9	57,4
Total	12.317 (100,0)	11.066 (100,0)	23.383 (100,0)

Many parents expect a steady stream of wealth to flow from their children. With increasing levels of welfare, parents tend not to expect the flow of wealth from their children and prioritize human capital investment in children so that for maximum investment, they choose to have a small number of children. Also, the area of residence boys and girls, which means the number of children who are exposed to the limited availability of schools, access to schools that are quite far away, especially for secondary education, the quality of schools is inadequate and so on. The difference in school participation between boys and girls reaches (1.9%).

Table 5 Percentage of Children Aged 12-17 by Activity and Gender

Gender Taking	School	Work	Care of Households	Other	Total
Boys	88,1	7,2	1,1	3,6	100,0
Girls	90,0	2,9	5,2	1,9	100,0
Total	89,0	5,2	3,0	2,8	100,0

Several factors behind the low school participation at the secondary education level can be distinguished from the demand and supply side. From the demand side, Suryadarma, Suryahadi, and Sumarto (2006) state that there are factors that cause low school participation, such as the level of household welfare where children from poor families cannot continue their education because their parents do not have the resources. This indicates that poverty contributes significantly to the number of children who do not go to school. When viewed from the supply side, low school participation at the secondary

school level cannot be separated from the problems of education policy in Indonesia. The data in Table 5 shows a polarization in the activities of boys and girls who are not in school. This indicates that gender stereotypes are not only visible in the division of gender roles for adults but also children's activities. In Haspels and Suriyasarn (2005), it is stated that boys tend to imitate the behavior of fathers or adult men, while girls tend to imitate the behavior of mothers or adult women around them.

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Based on the results of the chi-squared test, it is known that parents who have male preferences in education do not provide benefits for boys. After all, it is not significant because it causes higher school participation for boys when compared to parents. Whereas for girls, parents who have a male preference in education have significantly lower enrollment for girls and higher participation in work and household care when compared to other parents. This means that the prioritization of boys in education does not have a positive impact on boys' education but harms girls' education.

Table 6 Percentage of Boys Aged 12-17 by Activity and Factors Related to Children's Activities

Factors Related to Children's Activities	Boys Activities					Total	Percent
	School	Work	Taking care of household	Others			
Educational preferences							
Man	87,4	8,2	0,8	3,6	3.237	100,0	
Others (ref)	88,2	7,5	1,1	3,3	9.080	100,0	
Job preferences							
Man	86,0*	8,9*	1,0	4,2*	4.987	100,0	
Others (ref)	89,3	6,8	1,0	2,8	7.330	100,0	
Preference in managing the household							
Women	86,0*	8,9*	1,0	4,1*	6.776	100,0	
Others (ref)	90,4	6,2	1,0	2,4	5.541	100,0	
Poverty status							
Poor	77,5*	14,9*	1,9*	5,7*	1.756	100,0	
Not poor (ref)	89,7	6,5	0,8	3,0	10.561	100,0	
Father's education							
Elementary School or lower	81,5*	12,4*	1,5*	4,6*	6.545	100,0	
Junior High School and above (ref)	95,3	2,3	0,4	2,0	5.772	100,0	
Mother's education							
Elementary School or lower	82,5*	11,5*	1,4*	4,6*	7.333	100,0	
Junior High School and above (ref)	96,0	2,1	0,3	1,6	4.984	100,0	
Order of the child							
First	87,1*	8,7*	1,0	3,2	6807	100,0	
Second	88,8	6,6	0,9	3,7	3693	100,0	
Third or more (ref)	89,7	5,9	1,0	3,4	1817	100,0	
Number of school-age siblings							
One person / don't have	88,9*	6,9*	0,9	3,3	8906	100,0	
Two persons	86,3*	9,1	1,3	3,3	2394	100,0	
Three or more people (ref)	83,7	10,9	1,3	4,1	1017	100,0	
Residential area							
Urban	92,7*	3,9*	0,7*	2,6*	5.199	100,0	
Rural (ref)	84,5	10,4	1,2	3,9	7.118	100,0	
Total	88,0	7,7	1,0	3,4	12.317	100,0	

Table 7 Percentage of Girls Aged 12-17 by Activity and Factors Related to Children's Activities

Factors Related to Children's Activities	Girls Activities					
	School	Work	Taking care of household	Others	Total	Percent
Educational preferences						
Man	87,7*	4,5*	5,5*	2,3*	1.988	100,0
Others (ref)	91,7	2,5	4,6	1,3	9.078	100,0
Job preferences						
Man	90,3*	2,4*	5,6*	1,7	4.171	100,0
Others (ref)	91,3	3,1	4,3	1,3	6.895	100,0
Preference in managing the household						
Women	89,8*	3,3*	5,3*	1,6*	6.059	100,0
Others (ref)	92,4	2,2	4,1	1,2	5.007	100,0
Poverty status						
Poor	79,5*	7,6*	10,0*	2,8*	1.545	100,0
Not poor (ref)	92,8	2,0	3,9	1,2	9.521	100,0
Father's education						
Elementary School or lower	85,9*	4,6*	7,4*	2,1*	5.827	100,0
Junior High School and above (ref)	96,5	0,9	1,9	0,7	5.239	100,0
Mother's education						
Elementary School or lower	86,5*	4,4*	7,1*	2,0*	6.533	100,0
Junior High School and above (ref)	97,4	0,6	1,3	0,7	4.533	100,0
Order of the child						
First	90,8	2,8	4,8	1,6	5977	100,0
Second	91,4	3,1	4,5	1,1	3415	100,0
Third or more (ref)	90,6	2,6	5,3	1,6	1674	100,0
Number of school-age siblings						
One person / don't have	92,0*	2,4*	4,3*	1,4	8087	100,0
Two persons	89,2*	3,6*	5,6*	1,6	2115	100,0
Three or more people (ref)	85,9	5,2	7,6	1,3	864	100,0
Residential area						
Urban	94,5*	1,8*	2,7*	1,1*	4.769	100,0
Rural (ref)	88,3	3,6	6,4	1,7	6.297	100,0
Total	91,0	2,8	4,8	1,4	11.066	100,0

In poor households, parents who have male preferences in education tend to have a positive effect on boys' education and vice versa for girls, indicating that in poor households, parents who have male preferences in education are detrimental to girls' education. This indicates that when faced with cost constraints, parents who have male preferences tend to send their sons to school than girls. Chakrabarti et al (2000) argues

that the preference for boys encourages poor families, to prefer to send boys to school than girls to work and take care of the household which results in reduced opportunities for girls to attend school.

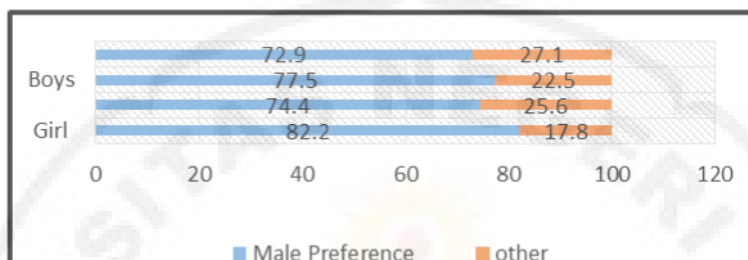


Figure 1 Percentage of Children Aged 12-17 in Poor Households by Parents' Activity, Gender, and Gender Preference in Education

The poor status of the household can be seen from the Chi-square test results showing that boys from poor households have significantly lower school participation with higher participation in working and taking care of the household when compared to boys from poor families. The same pattern is seen for girls with a high percentage of working and taking care of the household. The main reasons poor parents do not send their children to school, namely because the direct cost of sending their children to school is too large and the reason for both poor households to tend to have a higher dependence than rich households on child labor to increase family income.

Parents with junior high school education and above are seen to be more likely to send their sons and daughters to a school than parents with primary school education. Chamrbagwala (2008) explains that the contributing factor is because parents see the benefits of education from the higher return on education along with the increase in education, thus encouraging investment in children's education. Another reason is that parents who are highly educated tend to have great respect for education (De Carvalho Filho, 2012). In terms of the order of the children, the results of the chi-square test show that the first boys have significantly lower school participation and higher work participation than the second and third boys or more. The results of the descriptive analysis show that parents' gender preference seems to be detrimental to girls because it reduces schooling opportunities.

a. Determinants of Children's Activities by Gender

The analysis of the determinants of children's activities was carried out using two multinomial logic regression models, namely the boy's activity model and the girl's

activity model as can be seen in Table 8. The results of the model test show that both models are statistically significant which means they can be used for more analysis. Continue, then the test results on each of the independent variables show that all variables in the model have a significant influence on the activities of boys and girls. The effect of each independent variable on children's activities according to gender is analyzed based on the interpretation of the estimated value of the β parameter for each independent variable.

Interpretation of the value of β can use the value of the odds ratio which is the exponential value of β or based on the value of the marginal effect. The value of the marginal effect shows the amount of change in the probability of the child doing certain activities in a certain category of independent variables when compared to the reference category. Analysis of the influence of independent variables on children's activities will use the odds ratio value which can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8 The Parameter Value and Odds Ratio of the Multinomial Logic Model for Boys' Activities

Variabel	Work			Taking care of household			Other		
	β	SE	OR	β	SE	OR	β	SE	OR
(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Educational preferences	-0,228*	0,094	0,796	-0,517*	0,263	0,596	-0,288*	0,131	0,749
Job preferences	0,200*	0,095	1,221	0,252	0,248	1,286	0,254*	0,132	1,289
Preference of taking care of the household	0,213*	0,088	1,237	-0,116	0,223	0,891	0,442*	0,128	1,556
Poverty status	0,313*	0,087	1,367	0,438*	0,219	1,550	0,414*	0,127	1,513
Dad's old school years	-0,148*	0,013	0,863	-0,088*	0,032	0,916	-0,060*	0,017	0,941
Mother's old school years	-0,127*	0,013	0,880	-0,116*	0,034	0,891	-0,104*	0,018	0,901
Order of the child	-0,419*	0,047	0,658	-0,115	0,103	0,892	-0,116*	0,059	0,890
Number of school-age siblings	0,223*	0,037	1,250	0,156*	0,093	1,169	0,028	0,054	1,028
Residential area	-0,288*	0,087	0,750	-0,010	0,210	0,990	0,034	0,114	1,034

Table 9 Parameter Values and Odds Ratio for Girls' Multinomial Logit Model Activities

Variable	Work			Taking care of household			Other		
	β	SE	OR	β	SE	OR	β	SE	OR
(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(8)	(8)
Educational preferences	0,784*	0,162	2,191	-0,029	0,128	0,971	0,575*	0,214	1,776
Job preferences	-0,880*	0,158	0,415	0,162	0,119	1,176	-0,179	0,212	0,836
Preference of taking care of the household	0,464*	0,140	1,591	0,086	0,113	1,090	0,175	0,197	1,192
Poverty status	0,700*	0,134	2,013	0,558*	0,109	1,747	0,657*	0,193	1,929
Dad's old school years	-0,108*	0,021	0,897	-0,086*	0,016	0,918	-0,071*	0,027	0,931
Mother's old school years	-0,203*	0,023	0,817	-0,130*	0,017	0,878	-0,081*	0,029	0,922
Order of the child	-0,241*	0,070	0,786	-0,109*	0,052	0,897	-0,138	0,095	0,871
Number of school-age siblings	0,205*	0,059	1,228	0,136*	0,047	1,146	-0,010	0,086	0,990
Residential area	0,088	0,138	1,093	-0,326*	0,110	0,722	-0,032	0,180	0,968

Table 10 The Marginal Effect Values of the Multinomial Logit Model of Boys' Activities

Variable	Work		Taking care of household		Other		Work	
	EM	z	EM	z	EM	z	EM	z
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Educational preferences	0,026*	3,48	-0,013*	-2,15	-0,005*	-1,79	-0,008*	-1,94
Job preferences	-0,021*	-2,82	0,012*	1,90	0,002	0,86	0,007*	1,71
Preference of taking care of the household	-0,024*	-3,46	0,012*	2,14	-0,002	-0,74	0,013*	3,25
Poverty status	-0,034*	-4,86	0,018*	3,24	0,004*	1,72	0,012*	2,91
Dad's old school years	0,011*	11,45	-0,009*	-11,03	-0,001*	-2,07	-0,001*	-2,39
Mother's old school years	0,011*	11,09	-0,008*	-8,84	-0,001*	-2,75	-0,003*	-4,68
Order of Children	0,029*	8,31	-0,026*	-8,68	-0,001	-0,54	-0,002	-1,08
Number of school-age siblings	-0,015*	-5,26	0,014*	5,96	0,001	1,36	-0,0001	-0,04
Residential area	0,016*	2,47	-0,019*	-3,32	0,0002	0,12	0,002	0,61

Table 11 The Marginal Effect Values of the Multinomial Logit Model of Girls' Activities

Variable	Work		Taking care of household		Other		Work	
	EM	z	EM	z	EM	z	EM	z
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Educational preferences	-0,023*	-3,23	0,020*	4,74	-0,004	-0,72	0,008*	2,48
Job preferences	0,015*	2,22	-0,023*	-5,57	0,010*	1,88	-0,002	-0,69
Preference of taking care of the household	-0,016*	-2,52	0,012*	3,20	0,002	0,47	0,002	0,74
Poverty status	-0,046*	-7,45	0,016*	4,61	0,022*	4,61	0,008*	2,97
Dad's old school years	0,007*	7,53	-0,002*	-4,56	-0,003*	-4,91	-0,001*	-2,16
Mother's old school years	0,011*	11,03	-0,005*	-7,65	-0,005*	-6,77	-0,001*	-2,09
Order of Children	0,011*	3,79	-0,006*	-3,22	-0,004*	-1,75	-0,002	-1,23
Number of school-age siblings	-0,010*	-3,68	0,005*	3,24	0,005*	2,66	-0,0004	-0,36
Residential area	0,011*	1,90	0,003	0,90	-0,014*	-3,01	-0,0002	-0,07

Based on table 11 the results of the inferential analysis above, that in terms of education, parents who have male preferences to go to school to be higher than other parents and on the other hand also reduce the probability of boys working and taking care of household. The findings above are corroborated by Lin and Adsera (2012) that in groups of people with male preferences, girls are not expected to be the main source of support for parents, because boys tend to get better education. For girls, parents who have a male preference for work significantly increases the probability of girls going to school when compared to other parents because it reduces the tendency for girls to work.

These results indicate that women's preferences in managing the household are not only detrimental to girls in terms of education but also boys. In the context of developing countries, Lin and Adsera (2012) stated that parents tend to ask their daughters to help carry out household tasks as a form of contribution to the family. Girls are also considered as a substitute for the mother's role in taking care of the household and on the other hand as a complement if the mother works so that this responsibility can reduce her chances of getting higher education (Hsin Yu and Hsin Su, 2006).

b. Household Welfare Level

The factor of the level of household welfare seen from the approach to household poverty status has a significant effect on the activities of boys and girls, where children from poor households have a lower probability of going to school when compared to children from non-poor. In line with the statement Dayioğlu (2006) found that children from poor households have a higher tendency to work than children from rich households. A study by Chang (2006) in Indonesia found that households with low levels of welfare tend to reduce their children's opportunities to attend school. The reasons poor parents do not send their children to school are because the direct costs of sending their children to school are too high and the dependence on child labor to supplement the family's income.

c. Parents Education

Father's education with the old school approach has a significant effect on the activities of boys and girls, where the higher the education of the father, the higher the probability of boys and girls going to school and vice versa is seen in the possibility of working and taking care of the household. The same pattern of influence is seen in maternal education. When viewed from a gender perspective, there is no difference in the pattern of influence of father and mother's education on the activities of boys and girls. This result is in line with the opinion of de Carvalho Filho (2012) that the higher the education of parents, the more likely the child is to go to school in addition to reducing the possibility of the child working.

The z-value of the father's education variable and mother's education shows that father's education has a stronger positive effect on son's education than mother's education, while for daughters, mother's education has a stronger effect on daughter's education than father's education. This result is corroborated by Ali and Khan (2004) who found that mother's education was more influential in determining the likelihood of children working and attending school when compared to father's education, especially daughters. Furthermore, De Serf (2002) states that mothers with higher education instill the

importance of education in their children and this is reflected in the mother's decision to achieve higher education so that this attitude tends to be accounted for through action.

Table 12 Influence Patterns of Each Independent Variable on Children's Activities by Gender-Based on the Marginal Effect Value of the Multinomial Logic Model

Variable	Boys				Girls			
	School	Work	Take care of the household	Others	School	Work	Take care of the household	Others
Educational preferences	+	-	-	-	-	+	0	+
Job preferences	-	+	0	+	+	-	+	0
Preference in managing the household	-	+	0	+	-	+	0	0
Poverty status	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Dad's old school years	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Mother's old school years	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Order of Children	+	-	0	0	+	-	-	0
Number of school-age siblings	-	+	0	0	-	+	+	0
Residential area	+	-	0	0	+	0	-	0

The analysis of Table 12 shows that parents who have a male preference in education are seen to benefit boys' education and detrimental to girls' education. The opposite is true for parents who have male preferences in work. Meanwhile, parents who have a preference for women in managing the household appear to be detrimental to the education of both boys and girls, this shows that the gender preferences of parents do not always harm the education of girls. Then the influence of the level of welfare, father's education, mother's education, the order of the children, and the number of siblings in school-age and area of residence on the probability of children attending school does not appear to show a different direction when viewed by gender.

Conclusion

Statistical data shows that there are differences in patterns in children's activities according to gender in school participation, girls are seen to have outperformed boys, while in work participation and taking care of the household, there appears to be a

polarization according to the gender. This polarization indicates that there are stereotypical views of the gender of the parents that shape the gender preferences of parents. The results of the descriptive analysis show that in terms of education, 22% of parents have male preferences, 8% have female preferences and the rest are without preference. In terms of work, 39% of parents have a male preference, 2% have a female preference and the rest have no preference. In terms of taking care of the household, 2% of parents have a male preference, 55% have a female preference and the rest have no preference. Then parents who have male preferences in education tend to benefit boys' education and harm girls' education. This shows that gender preferences can have a positive or negative impact on children. Then another finding from the inferential analysis results is that maternal education has a stronger influence on girls' education than father's education.

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