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GENDER ISSUES IN EUROPE AND EURASIA

An Overview of the Literature

June 2006

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GENDER ISSUES IN EUROPE AND EURASIA

AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY

ACRONYMS

ADS	Automated Directives System of USAID which provides policy, programming, and procurement guidelines
DGST	USAID's Office of Democracy, Governance and Social Transition in the Bureau for Europe & Eurasia
EAP	Economically active population
E&E	USAID's Regional Bureau for Europe & Eurasia
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure. UNDP measure of gender inequality in economic and political spheres of activity.
GDI	Gender Development Index. UNDP measures of the same variables as the HDI except that the GDI adjusts for gender inequalities in the three aspects of human development.
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure. UNDP measure of gender inequality in economic and political spheres of activity
HDI	Human Development Index. UNDP measures of a country's achievements in three aspects of human development: longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.
HDR	Human Development Report. UNDP-commissioned annual report which assesses the level of people's long-term well-being in all UN countries.
MONEE	Monitoring Eastern Europe, a branch of UNICEF
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
SME	Small-Medium Enterprise
SOW	Scope of Work
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

GLOSSARY

<i>Ala kachuu</i>	Kyrgyz term for "bride-stealing"
EdStats	Education Statistics
Gender ratios	Ratio of female to male attainment, expressed as a percentage.
GenderStats	Gender statistics
<i>Kurbet</i>	Armenian term for "poverty migration," the out-migration of men whose remittances support the extended family at home

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Introduction

The extensive socio-economic transformations of E&E nations over the last decade have differentially affected the women and men of those countries. Earlier studies, most notably UNICEF's MONEE *Women in Transition* research of 1999,¹ reported on the gender impacts of the earlier transition period, and a 2000 E&E study surveyed that and other publications to create a report which was specifically applicable to Bureau concerns.² More recent E&E studies on gender issues include a study of gender in the social sector and a review of domestic violence issues.³

This study builds on the earlier research, focusing on information that has been published since 1999/2000 and knitting together extensive qualitative and quantitative information to provide a more fine-grained picture than that allowed by macro-data sets. The qualitative information is primarily from the academic and scholarly literature; the quantitative is from the datasets of such international research institutions as the United Nations and the World Bank.

The purpose in doing this is to illuminate the subtle ways in which men and women in the region may not receive equal treatment, benefit from equal opportunities, or be equally empowered. The information can be a valuable resource for Missions who are required to take gender issues into consideration in designing and implementing programs.

Five countries were selected as “focus countries”: Albania, Armenia, Kyrgyz Republic, Serbia and Montenegro, and Ukraine. They were chosen both because they represent the different E&E sub-regions of different histories and cultural backgrounds and because USAID has full-fledged programs in all of them.

Both at a regional level and within the focus countries, the study examines how the changes of the transition have affected women and men in the following five thematic areas:

- Gender Ideology
- Gender Roles in the Family and Household
- Employment and Income
- Political Power
- Education

¹ UNICEF, MONEE Project, *Women in Transition: Regional Monitoring Report No. 6* (Florence: UNICEF International Child Development Centre, 1999), <http://www.unicef-icdc.org/publications/pdf/monee6sume.pdf>

² Rasnake and others, *The Economic, Democratic, and Social Status of Men and Women in Eurasia and Southeast Europe* (Washington: Aguirre International for Europe & Eurasia Bureau, USAID, April 2000) http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACK729.pdf

³ See: Ruth Rosenberg, *Domestic Violence in Europe and Eurasia* (Washington: Aguirre International, a division of JBS International, for Europe & Eurasia Bureau, USAID, June 2006); and USAID, Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, Office of Democracy, Governance and Social Transition, *Women and Men in Europe and Eurasia: An Analysis of Gender Parity in the Social Sector* (Washington: USAID, 2006).

B. Organization of the Paper

The paper begins with an introductory chapter, which lays out the research problem and methodology and introduces the focus countries and topical chapters. The next chapter presents information on the focus countries. The following chapters each deal with a topical issue. The concluding chapter investigates the meaning of the research findings for the field and gives recommendations for next steps

C. Summary of the Focus-Country Research

A summary of the information for the five focus countries includes:

- Countries range in ethnic and religious diversity from the homogeneous Armenia to the multi-cultural Serbia.
- Household data show falling marriage and fertility rates, and rising divorce rates.
- Four of the five countries fall in the World Bank income category of “lower middle”; the Kyrgyz Republic is categorized as “low.”
- In all national parliaments or legislatures, women are significantly under-represented.
- In all countries, women outnumber men enrolled in tertiary education.

D. Summary of the Topical Research

The five chapters on topical issues are framed by the thematic queries outlined in the Scope of Work. The following summarizes the queries and findings from each chapter.

1. Gender Ideology

- *Do citizens of the country hold strong gender stereotypes? If so, what are the contents of these stereotypes? How much tolerance is there for deviations from gender stereotypes?* The literature on gender ideologies and stereotypes at a national level did not yield any clear analyses or descriptions of belief systems at a national level. Consequently, it is difficult to frame a precise response to the question within the confines of this report.
- *To what extent is religion a major factor in affecting gender ideologies in the country?* Few references were found regarding the links between gender ideology and religion. However, in those that were uncovered, two approaches are taken: (a) religion as a cultural or national identity or (b) all major religions, including Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, as patriarchal in their ideology.

2. Gender Roles in the Family and Household

- *What is the division of labor in the home?* No data were found on specific tasks within the household, but several sources describe a dominant ideology of men being seen as the breadwinners and women as wives and mothers (despite their high rates of participation in the labor force). However, with increasing problems of male unemployment, this model may be breaking down. One possible result is increasing morbidity and mortality rates for men. Another is decreasing marriage rates and

increasing female-headed households. A third is changing belief systems about appropriate roles for women and men.

- ***Who has the decision making power in the household?*** No information was found on this particular query, but it is linked with the preceding in terms of the many changes in gender roles that are currently taking place.
- ***How much freedom do women have in choosing who and when to marry?*** No information was found on this topic except for the issue of “bride-stealing” in the Kyrgyz Republic. It appears that it may be increasing in the areas which are returning to pre-socialist cultural patterns, but the data are very inconclusive.

3. Employment and Income

- ***Are women and men typically segregated into different occupations? If men and women hold different jobs, is “women’s work” lower paying?*** Men and women are still often segregated by occupations, with the women being employed in jobs that generally pay less than those dominated by men.
- ***To what extent do men and women participate in the informal economy?*** Women are heavily involved in the informal economy, which provides needed employment and additional income but may create later problems due to lack of pension fund contributions.
- ***To what extent do men and women engage in entrepreneurial activity and what factors determine this? Do men and women have equal access to credit?*** Women’s entrepreneurship lags behind men’s, and women have less access to credit for a variety of reasons, such as a lack of requisite collateral such as title to land or a car.
- ***Are women over-represented among the poor? If yes, why?*** Given the lack of accurate measures, the research is not entirely clear on whether or not women are likely to be over-represented among the poor. However, gender inequality in income and wealth generation in transitional countries is likely to exacerbate the risk of poverty among women.

4. Political Power

- ***Are men and women equally represented in national, regional and local government bodies?*** Women’s representation in government decreased greatly in the early transition from socialism to a level that is now lower than the rest of Europe and even the United States. Some increases can be seen at the local level, especially where gender quotas have been introduced.
- ***Has the number of women holding political positions of power been increasing or decreasing since the transition?*** Women’s political power does not appear to be increasing from its post-transition low level of well below ten percent in national parliaments, and it has recently significantly decreased in the Kyrgyz Republic.

5. Education

- ***Do men and women specialize in different majors in higher education?*** Men and women do have different specialties, with women predominating in such lower-paying areas as teaching, economics, and medicine.
- ***Do men and women receive equal returns (in terms of job level and pay) for the same level of education?*** Women receive less return than men for comparable levels of education. However, the reasons and outcomes are very complex. For example, in a country such as Ukraine, even though women's returns are lower than men's, the return for women is comparable to Sweden and higher than that of the U.S. and the Netherlands.
- ***Do social norms constrain women from getting the full benefits of their education by discouraging them from working or suggesting that their place should be in the home?*** Women's labor force participation rates remain high and are comparable to men's, which suggests that socio-cultural forces constraining women from using their education in the workplace are no stronger than in the U.S. or Western Europe.

E. Conclusions and Recommendations

1. *What does the literature say? Why does gender matter?*

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the countries of the region went from being under the umbrella of a major superpower to being considered "in transition." Not only was there a change of status at the geo-political level, there were also major changes in the parity between women and men in a range of socio-economic indicators. In contrast to a truly poor country like Niger -- the lowest-ranked for gender equality among 174 nations -- where the hope is that time will bring improvement for women, E&E countries are different. The concern in E&E is that changes in the last decade have brought about increasing gender disparity. This is because socialism, for a variety of economic and ideological reasons, promoted very high rates of participation for women in the labor force, in politics, and in education, resulting in relatively high equality. But even though some economic and political measures have worsened, the inequalities are still relatively small when compared with other areas in which USAID works.

If that is the case, why is gender even an issue for the region? Why should E&E be aware of gender in its planning, programming, and evaluation activities? The simple answer is that attention to gender makes sense and provides for better results in development. It is not only just, it is also economically smart.⁴

2. **USAID Gender Requirements: The ADS**

A final reason for considering gender issues in planning, programming, evaluation, and procurement -- in addition to better targeted and more effective development and to redressing inequalities -- is that the Agency requires it. Although these guidelines are currently being

⁴ Both the "equity" argument and the "economic" argument regarding gender are found in the academic literature on gender and development, sometimes in opposition. One useful summary is: Carol Miller and Shahara Razavi, *Gender Analysis: Alternative Paradigms* (Geneva: UNRISD, May 1998), <http://www.sdn.org/gender/resources/mono6.html>

revised, the general directive to consider gender in a range of activities will remain. The ADS specifics regarding gender are presented in Appendix III.

3. Next Steps

In order to improve the socio-economic status of men and women in E&E a number of steps are necessary.

- The first step is to understand the general problems through objective, reliable research. That is where the information from this study and its predecessors are of use. They lay out the parameters. They present the larger picture of the primary inequities in the areas of the labor market, credit, representative politics, and education. And, as noted in the data chapters, gender inequalities affect men as well as women.
- The second step is to operationalize the findings, to link the information with the actual planning, programming, and evaluation activities of a Mission. For example, this research has identified the fact that women entrepreneurs have more difficulty than men in obtaining credit. A Mission should take this into account in planning credit activities because it will also result in more entrepreneurs, thus growing the economic pie.
- The tool for this operational next step is a gender assessment.⁵

A gender assessment asks:

- How are the problems of men and women different? How might solutions be different?
- How might contributions of men and women to activities be different?
- How might activities differentially affect women and men?

4. Recommendations

This study resulted in the following recommendations. It is believed that their consideration will promote the integration of gender into planning and implementation, which, in turn, will result in more efficient and effective development.

- **Gender Analyses:** Using this report as a base, gender assessments of Mission activities of planning, programming, or evaluation could be carried out for interested units, taking into account the differential problems, opportunities, and solutions for men and women of the proposed activities. The analyses would provide the Mission with information essential for shaping future activities or revising current ones. It would be vital to have field input in determining the specifics of each SOW.

⁵ Two World Bank studies concluded that: (1) projects which took gender into account in their design and implementation tended to achieve their objectives more often than projects that ignored gender issues and (2) projects tended to have better impacts when gender issues had been analyzed at the country and project levels and those issues were taken into account in the design phase. See: World Bank, *Integrating Gender into the World Bank's Work: A Strategy for Action* (Washington: World Bank, January 2002), 11, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/strategypaper.pdf>

- **Easily Accessible Research Mechanism:** A variation of the gender analyses described above is a “Rapid Research Response” activity which could be built into a current or future mechanism, perhaps an IQC. Need to define Rapid Research Response. This study and its predecessors demonstrate the wealth of research data on a range of gender issues in E&E. They also point to the importance of systematically examining both qualitative and quantitative information in order to develop and implement policies and programs that accurately reflect the needs and opportunities for men and women. Development experts need accurate information, but generally neither Washington nor the field has the time or human resources for data collection and analyses, and there is currently not an efficient way to get rapid responses to research requests.

- **Special Studies:** The research revealed several regional issues which differentially affect men and women and which have implications for E&E activities. Because the time and space constraints of this study did not permit an in-depth exploration of them, it is suggested that they be considered for a series of special desktop studies. They include:
 - Education / Tertiary Enrollment
 - Elections and Gender Quotas
 - Enterprise Development
 - Poverty

I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem

For many years, gender issues in the E&E region went largely unexamined, based on the assumption that under the Soviet system, men and women were treated equally. Indeed, during Soviet times men and women achieved enviable levels of gender equality by the standards of many other nations with similar GDP levels. In most countries in the E&E region, men and women had relatively equal access to education, health care, and employment. Many now feel, however, that women's gains and status have begun to erode since the transition and some have come forward to question whether the equality that existed under the Soviet system was more apparent than real.

Assessing gender-related trends and issues in the region proves to be a surprisingly difficult task, however. To some extent, this is due to the absence of comparable cross-country data on many gender issues which are of concern, such as domestic violence rates, participation in the informal labor market, and men's and women's roles and responsibilities in the home. The goal of this project is to conduct a more fine-grained analysis of gender issues and gender equality in five countries in the E&E region: Albania, Armenia, Kyrgyz Republic, Serbia and Montenegro, and Ukraine. The purpose in doing this is to illuminate the subtle ways in which men and women in the region may not receive equal treatment, benefit from equal opportunities, or be equally empowered. This information should be a valuable resource for Missions who must take gender issues into consideration in designing and implementing programs. Although only five countries will be highlighted in this paper, the intent is to provide a discussion of gender issues that could be profitably used by all USAID Missions in the region.

B. Methodology

This paper is the result of a review of the academic and scholarly literature on gender issues in E&E. It did not involve any primary research, such as interviews or questionnaires, nor did it include the topics of domestic violence, trafficking, or national conflict since these have been addressed in other USAID documents.⁶ Its purpose was to look at the published research, as well as the major sex-disaggregated datasets, in order to present a picture of the region and the five "focus countries" which goes beyond the macro-level of many of the datasets. The literature search was conducted by topic and also by country.

⁶ See, for example, a recent paper: Ruth Rosenberg, *Domestic Violence in Europe and Eurasia* (Washington: Aguirre International, a division of JBS International, for Europe & Eurasia Bureau, USAID, June 2006).

1. Data Sources

As called for in the SOW, the data are from a variety of reliable sources which meet the standard of coming from either peer-reviewed journals or academic or scholarly presses and from organizations which require peer-review before publication, such as the World Bank. These sources include:

- the academic and scholarly literature of journal articles, books, and master's and doctoral dissertations in disciplines ranging from Anthropology, Education, and History to Post-Soviet Studies; and
- the relevant databases and research articles of multi-lateral donors, particularly the World Bank and the United Nations.

In addition, the paper benefited considerably from the very extensive literature review and summary on gender which was done for USAID/E&E in 2000 and a 2006 paper analyzing gender parity in the social sector.⁷

Except in cases where the source was unique or of historical importance in the field, the information was limited to that published in 2000 or later. All relevant sources are included in the *Bibliography* of the Appendix.

2. Time Constraints and Material Examined

Because of contractual constraints, the research time was limited; consequently, it was not possible to examine exhaustively all the sources cited in the extensive bibliography.⁸ However, they were included in the bibliography in order to:

- assist future researchers; and
- give a sense of the range of literature on the topics of the study.

Triage decisions about which sources to examine were based on:

- greatest reliability of the data source;
- most recent publication date; and
- best fit between research query and information in the reference.

3. Time Lag

Because of the time lag in scholarly publishing between research time and eventual publication – sometimes as much as five years -- data do not necessarily reflect the current situation.

Whenever possible, overarching information, such as the UNDP's *Human Development Reports* or the World Bank's *GenderStats* (Gender Statistics) and *EdStats* (Education Statistics) have been included to give more recent information from a longitudinal and regional perspective.

⁷ For the 2000 study see *Rasnake and others* in the Bibliography, http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACK729.pdf. The 2006 study is: USAID, Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, Office of Democracy, Governance and Social Transition, *Women and Men in Europe and Eurasia: An Analysis of Gender Parity in the Social Sector* (Washington: USAID, 2006).

⁸ See *Bibliography*, Appendix II.

4. The Literature

Because of time constraints, it was not possible to do an exhaustive search of all possible books, journals, and dissertations. However, even within these limits, the amount of research on the region which is contained in the Bibliography is considerable. It is hoped that these sources and the analyses will provide useful information for future strategic and programmatic decisions by USAID/E&E, as well as the basis for further gender investigations. Appendix I presents the primary regional studies and the primary datasets. Additional sources are in the Bibliography, Appendix II.

C. Organization of the Paper

The organization of the paper was shaped by the literature itself. Since a majority of the sources address gender issues from a regional or comparative perspective, rather than country-specific viewpoint, the important sections of this study are topical, rather than geographic.

The paper begins with a chapter, *Focus Countries*, which gives an overview of the five focus countries, presenting political, economic, demographic, educational, and socio-cultural information. These countries were selected both because they represent different sub-regions with different histories and cultural backgrounds in which E&E works and because USAID has full-fledged programs in all of them. In addition, focusing on only five countries limits the length of the paper.

This overview chapter is followed by five topical chapters, which concentrate on ideology, family, employment, politics, and education. These topics were chosen based on findings of the 2006 E&E gender paper cited earlier. That paper was exploratory in nature and used only international macro-data bases with information available for most E&E countries in order to draw conclusions. The results revealed many interesting findings but the authors also concluded that many socio-cultural and economic-political questions could not be addressed by the macro data because these data do not cover many topics of interest.

“The ability to draw firm conclusions about gender parity in the region is hampered by the lack of data to address many issues. Important topics such as male and female participation in the labor market, gender-based violence, the relative vulnerability of men and women to poverty and other issues could not be addressed in this paper due to the absence of comparable data sets across countries or missing data on individual variables in numerous countries.”⁹

Thus, this study was designed as a follow-on to the earlier study, examining the following topical issues and using a combination of quantitative and qualitative data:

- Gender ideology
- Gender roles in the family and household
- Employment and income issues
- Political power

⁹ *Women and Men in Europe and Eurasia*, op. cit., 13.

- Education issues

Each chapter is organized as follows: an introduction to the topic; a regional overview; focus-country comparisons; and conclusions. When it is believed that comparative numerical data from an international source, such as UNICEF or the World Bank, will help illustrate the subject, a table is included.

The last chapter of this report, *Conclusions and Recommendations*, reviews the primary findings and suggests possible next steps and uses of this research for both the field and Washington.

II. FOCUS COUNTRIES

A. Introduction

In this chapter, a brief picture is presented of each of the five focus countries: Albania, Armenia, Kyrgyz Republic, Serbia and Montenegro, and Ukraine.

To summarize the findings:

- Countries range in ethnic and religious diversity from the homogeneous Armenia to the multi-cultural Serbia.
- Household data show falling marriage and fertility rates, and rising divorce rates.
- Four of the five countries fall in the World Bank income category of “lower middle”; the Kyrgyz Republic is “low.”¹⁰
- In all national parliaments or legislatures, women are significantly under-represented, a major change from the mandatory quota systems of the socialist period.
- In all countries, women outnumber men enrolled in tertiary education. All five nations show a gender gap of more than five percent; in Ukraine the gap is more than eleven percent.

Note that in the summary tables the data of the first four sub-sections are presented as percentages. In the sub-section on education, the data are presented as gender ratio differences. A *gender ratio* or *gender gap* are gender differences which are expressed relatively. “That is, women’s scores on a given variable are expressed relative to men’s scores. For these ratios, a score of 1.00 would indicate perfect gender parity. The farther away a ratio is from 1.00 in either direction, the greater the gender disparity or gender gap.”¹¹ Another definition is: The ratio of female to male, expressed as a percentage.¹² In all cases, if the percentage shown is negative, it means that women are above parity; if positive, women are below parity.

¹⁰ Based on gross national income per capita, the World Bank ranks all countries. The April 2006 categories are: (1) low income, \$825 or less; (2) lower middle income, \$826-3,255; (3) upper middle income, \$3,256-10,065; and (4) high income, \$10,066 or higher. World Bank, *Country Classification*, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:20420458~menuPK:64133156~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html>

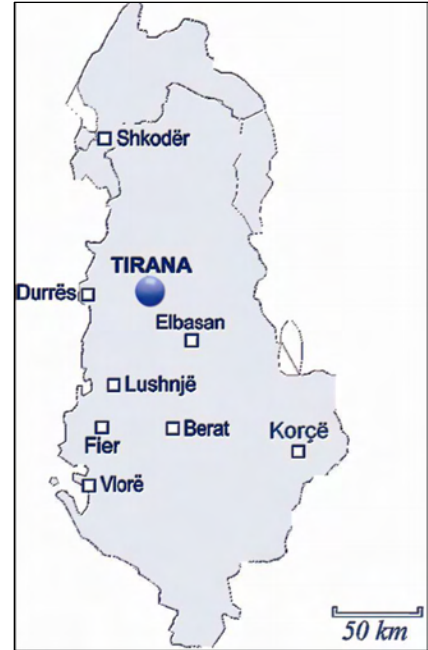
¹¹ *Women and Men in Europe and Eurasia*, op. cit., 2.

¹² Robert Barro and Jong-Wha Lee, “International Data on Educational Attainment: Updates and Implications.” *Center for International Development Working Paper*, 42 (Cambridge: Harvard University, April 2000), <http://www1.worldbank.org/education/globaleducationreform/pdf/Barro%20and%20Lee.pdf>

B. Albania¹³

1. Political and Economic Background

The CIA 2006 Factbook states: “Between 1990 and 1992 Albania ended 46 years of xenophobic Communist rule and established a multiparty democracy. The transition has proven challenging as successive governments have tried to deal with high unemployment, widespread corruption, a dilapidated physical infrastructure, powerful organized crime networks, and combative political opponents. Albania has made progress in its democratic development since first holding multiparty elections in 1991, but deficiencies remain... In the 2005 general elections, the Democratic Party and its allies won a decisive victory on pledges of reducing crime and corruption, promoting economic growth, and decreasing the size of government. The election, and particularly the orderly transition of power, was considered an important step forward. Although Albania's economy continues to grow, the country is still one of the poorest in Europe, hampered by a large informal economy and an inadequate energy and transportation infrastructure.”¹⁴



2. Socio-Cultural and Household Information¹⁵

- Ethnic groups: Albanian 95%, Greek 3%, other 2% (Vlach, Roma, Serb, Macedonian, Bulgarian).
- Religions: Muslim 70%, Albanian Orthodox 20%, Roman Catholic 10%.
- Languages: Albanian (official - derived from Tosk dialect), Greek, Vlach, Romani, Slavic dialects.
- Median age: 29 years.
- Net migration rate: -4.67 (out-migration) per 1,000 population. Remittances of \$600-800 million, mostly from migrants in Greece and Italy.

¹³ Map source: UNECE, *Trends In Europe and North America: The Statistical Yearbook of the Economic Commission for Europe 2003*, <http://unece.org/stats/trend/>

¹⁴ CIA, *The World Factbook*, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/al.html>

¹⁵ CIA, *The World Factbook*, *ibid.*

Table 1
Women and Men in Albania^{16 17}

	1980	1990	2000	2004
GNP per capita (US\$)	...	680	1,180	2,120
World Bank income category = lower middle				
Population total (millions) / Female % of total	2.7/48.4%	3.3/48.7%	3.1/50.3%	3.1/50.4%
Family & Household				
Life expectancy at birth (years) Male / Female	68 / 72	69 / 75	70 / 76	71 / 77
Total fertility rate (births per woman)	...	3.03	2.10	2.05
Crude marriage rate ¹⁸	...	8.9	8.0	8.8
General divorce rate ¹⁹	...	9.2	7.0	13.3
Labor Force Participation				
Total labor force (millions) / Female % of total	1 / 39%	2 / 40%	1 / 42%	1 / 42%
Unemployment total (% of total labor force) / Female (% of female labor force)	...	...	23%/28%	15%/18%
Political Representation				
Women in Parliament (% of total seats occupied in lower or single house)	...	29%	5%	6%
Education: Gender Ratios ²⁰				
Literacy rate (% of people aged 15+)	...	20.1	15.2	0.9
Secondary enrollment rates	...	11.8	2.7	2.5
Tertiary enrollment rates	...	-0.9	-5.2	-7.2

A note on *gender ratio*: As discussed on page 5, a gender ratio is the ratio of female to male, expressed as a percentage; it is the gap between women's and men's scores on a given variable. Thus, in the literacy data of preceding table:

- In 1990, the literacy gap, or gender ratio, between men and women was 20.1 percent, a 20.1 percent difference in favor of men.
- In 2000, the gap decreased to 15.2 percent, still favoring males.
- In 2004, the ratio had further decreased to 0.9 percent, still in favoring males, but basically insignificant.

Note on italics: The data in italics refer to the most recent data available within the two years of the year indicated.

¹⁶ GNP, Labor Force, Life Expectancy, and Political data come from World Bank, GenderStats, <http://genderstats.worldbank.org/home.asp> Data in italics refer to the most recent data available within the two years of the year indicated. Other data sources are noted below.

¹⁷ Fertility, Marriage, and Divorce data are from UNICEF MONEE database, <http://www.unicef-icdc.org/research/>

¹⁸ Per 1,000 mid-year population.

¹⁹ Per 100 marriages.

²⁰ World Bank, *EdStats* [Education Statistics], <http://devdata.worldbank.org/edstats/td3.asp>

C. Armenia ²¹

1. Political and Economic Background

The CIA 2006 Factbook states: “Under the old Soviet central planning system, Armenia had developed a modern industrial sector, supplying machine tools, textiles, and other manufactured goods to sister republics in exchange for raw materials and energy. Since the implosion of the USSR in December 1991, Armenia has switched to small-scale agriculture away from the large agroindustrial complexes of the Soviet era... The ongoing conflict with Azerbaijan over the ethnic Armenian-dominated region of Nagorno-Karabakh and the breakup of the centrally directed economic system of the former Soviet Union contributed to a severe economic decline in the early 1990s. By 1994, however, the Armenian Government had launched an ambitious IMF-sponsored economic liberalization program that resulted in positive growth rates in 1995-2005... Armenia's unemployment rate, however, remains high, despite strong economic growth.” ²²



2. Socio-cultural and Household Information ²³

- Ethnic groups: Armenian 97.9%, Yezidi (Kurd) 1.3%, Russian 0.5%, other 0.3%.
- Religions: Armenian Apostolic 94.7%, other Christian 4%, Yezidi (monotheist with elements of nature worship) 1.3%.
- Languages: Armenian 97.7%, Yezidi 1%, Russian 0.9%, other 0.4%.
- Median age: 30 years.
- Net migration rate: -5.72 (out-migration) per 1,000 population, primarily to Russia. Remittances from the Armenian diaspora and migrants are an important income source for the nation.

²¹ Map source: UNECE, op.cit.

²² CIA, *The World Factbook*, op.cit.

²³ CIA, *The World Factbook*, ibid.

Table 2
Women and Men in Armenia ^{24 25}

	1980	1990	2000	2004
GNP per capita (US\$)	...	310	660	1,060
World Bank income category = lower middle				
Population total (millions) / Female % of total	3.1/51.3%	3.5/51.5%	3.1/53%	3/53.3%
Family & Household				
Life expectancy at birth (years) Male / Female	68/74	66/72	68/74	68/75
Total fertility rate (births per woman)	...	2.62	1.11	1.35
Crude marriage rate ²⁶	...	8.0	2.9	4.8
General divorce rate ²⁷	...	15.4	12.2	11.8
Labor Force Participation				
Total labor force (millions) / Female % of total	1 / 48%	2 / 48%	1 / 48%	1 / 49%
Unemployment total (% of total labor force) / Female (% of female labor force)	...	...	...	...
Political Representation				
Women in Parliament (% of total seats occupied in lower or single house)	...	36	3	5
Education: Gender Ratios ²⁸				
Literacy rate (% of people aged 15+)	...	2.8	1.6	...
Secondary enrollment rates	...	...	1.8	-2.4
Tertiary enrollment rates	...	...	-2.1	-5.0

²⁴ GNP, Labor Force, Life Expectancy, and Political data come from World Bank, GenderStats, op. cit.

²⁵ Fertility, Marriage, and Divorce data are from UNICEF MONEE database, op. cit.

²⁶ Per 1,000 mid-year population.

²⁷ Per 100 marriages.

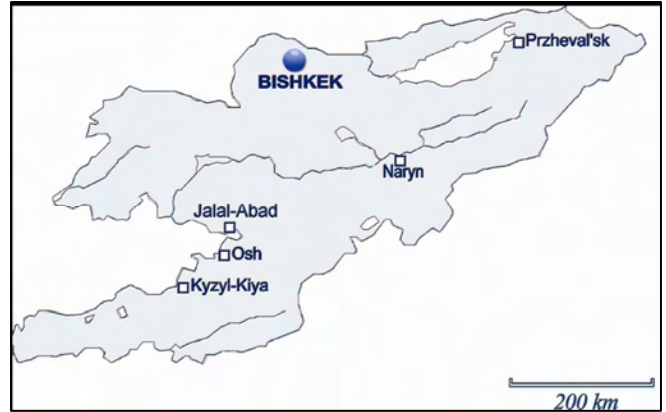
²⁸ World Bank, *EdStats*, op. cit.

D. Kyrgyz Republic ²⁹

1. Political and Economic Background

The CIA 2006 Factbook states: A country of proud nomadic traditions, Kyrgyzstan was annexed by Russia in 1864 and gained independence from the USSR in 1991. Nationwide demonstrations in 2005 resulted in the ouster of President Akayev, who had run the country since 1990. Subsequent 2005 presidential elections were won

overwhelmingly by former Prime Minister Bakiyev. Current concerns include: privatization of state-owned enterprises, expansion of democracy and political freedoms, reduction of corruption, and improving interethnic relations.... In the World Bank's lowest income category, the economy is predominantly agricultural. The country has been progressive in carrying out market reforms, such as an improved regulatory system and land reform and was the first former Soviet Union country to be accepted into the World Trade Organization... Government and international financial institutions have been engaged in a comprehensive medium-term poverty reduction and economic growth strategy...." ³⁰



2. Socio-cultural and Household Information ³¹

- Ethnic groups: Kyrgyz 64.9%, Uzbek 13.8%, Russian 12.5%, Dungan 1.1%, Ukrainian 1%, Uygur 1%, other 5.7%.
- Religions: Muslim 75%, Russian Orthodox 20%, other 5%.
- Languages: Kyrgyz (official), Russian (official).
- Median age: 23.6 years.
- Net migration rate: -2.5 (out-migration) per 1,000 population.

²⁹ Map source: UNECE, *Trends In Europe and North America: The Statistical Yearbook of the Economic Commission for Europe 2003*, op.cit.

³⁰ CIA, *The World Factbook*, op. cit.

³¹ CIA, *ibid.*

Table 3				
Women and Men in the Kyrgyz Republic^{32 33}				
	1980	1990	2000	2004
GNP per capita (US\$)	...	510	280	400
World Bank income category = low				
Population total (millions) / Female % of total	3.6/51.5%	4.4/51.1%	4.9/50.8	5.1/50.8
Family & Household				
Life expectancy at birth (years) Male / Female	61/70	64/73	65/72	64/72
Total fertility rate (births per woman)	...	3.60	2.40	2.50
Crude marriage rate ³⁴	...	9.9	5.0	6.8
General divorce rate ³⁵	...	18.0	22.0	15.7
Labor Force Participation				
Total labor force (millions) / Female % of total	2 / 48%	2 / 46%	2 / 45%	2 / 44%
Unemployment total (% of total labor force) / Female (% of female labor force)	...	...	7.5% / ...	9.9%/10.5%
Political Representation				
Women in Parliament (% of total seats occupied in lower or single house)	...	...	1	10
Education: Gender Ratios³⁶				
Literacy rate (% of people aged 15+)	...	...	...	...
Secondary enrollment rates	...	-2.4	-2.3	-1.0
Tertiary enrollment rates	...	...	-0.4	-6.9

³² GNP, Labor Force, Life Expectancy, and Political data come from World Bank, GenderStats, op. cit.

³³ Fertility, Marriage, and Divorce data are from UNICEF MONEE database, op. cit.

³⁴ Per 1,000 mid-year population.

³⁵ Per 100 marriages.

³⁶ World Bank, *EdStats*, op. cit.

E. Serbia and Montenegro³⁷

1. Political and Economic Background

The CIA 2006 Factbook states: After Tito's 1980 death, Yugoslavia began to unravel along ethnic lines: Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina became independent in 1992. Serbia and Montenegro declared a "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (FRY) in 1992 and carried out military interventions to unite ethnic Serbs in neighboring republics into a "Greater Serbia..." In 1998-99, expulsions by FRY forces and Serb paramilitaries of ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo provoked an international response... Elections in the fall of 2000 ousted Milosevic...³⁸



Milosevic-era mismanagement of the economy, sanctions, and the damage to infrastructure and industry during 1999 air strikes left the economy half the size of 1990. ..The complexity of Serbia-Montenegro political relationships, slow progress in privatization, uncertainty over property rights, scarcity of foreign-investment, and a substantial foreign trade deficit hold back the economy... Severe unemployment remains a key political and economic problem for this entire region.³⁹

2. Socio-cultural and Household Information⁴⁰

- Ethnic groups: Serb 62.6%, Albanian 16.5%, Montenegrin 5%, Hungarian 3.3%, other 12.6%.
- Religions: Orthodox 65%, Muslim 19%, Roman Catholic 4%, Protestant 1%, other 11%.
- Languages: Serbian 95%, Albanian 5%.
- Median age: 37 years.
- Net migration rate: -1.27 (out-migration) per 1,000 population.

³⁷ Map source: UNECE, op. cit. Map includes Kosovo.

³⁸ In May 2006, Montenegro voted to become independent.

³⁹ CIA, *The World Factbook*, op. cit.

⁴⁰ CIA, *The World Factbook*, ibid.

Table 4				
Women and Men in Serbia and Montenegro ^{41 42}				
	1980	1990	2000	2004
GNP per capita (US\$)	...	...	960	2,680
World Bank income category = lower middle				
Population total (millions) / Female % of total	9.8/50.4%	10.5/50.3%	8.1/50.3%	8.1/50.3%
Family & Household				
Life expectancy at birth (years) Male / Female	68/73	69/74	70/75	71/76
Total fertility rate (births per woman)	...	2.08	1.64	...
Crude marriage rate ⁴³	...	6.2	5.5	...
General divorce rate ⁴⁴	...	16.5	14.6	...
Labor Force Participation				
Total labor force (millions) / Female % of total	4/40%	5/42%	4/41%	4/42%
Unemployment total (% of total labor force) / Female (% of female labor force)	...	...	12.6%/15.2%	15.2%/16.4%
Political Representation				
Women in Parliament (% of total seats occupied in lower or single house)	..	4	...	27
Education: Gender Ratios ⁴⁵				
Literacy rate (% of people aged 15+)	...	...	...	...
Secondary enrollment rates	...	-2.0	-1.2	...
Tertiary enrollment rates	...	-4.0	-6.3	...

⁴¹ GNP, Labor Force, Life Expectancy, and Political data come from World Bank, GenderStats, op. cit.

⁴² Fertility, Marriage, and Divorce data are from UNICEF MONEE database, op. cit.

⁴³ Per 1,000 mid-year population.

⁴⁴ Per 100 marriages.

⁴⁵ World Bank, *EdStats*, op. cit.

F. Ukraine ⁴⁶

1. Political and Economic Background

The CIA 2006 Factbook states: Ukraine achieved independence in 1991, but democracy remained elusive as the legacy of state control and endemic corruption stalled efforts at economic reform, privatization, and civil liberties. A 2004 peaceful mass protest "Orange Revolution" forced the authorities to overturn a rigged presidential election and to allow a vote that elected a reformist slate under Yushchenko... After Russia, Ukraine was the most important economic component of the former Soviet Union, producing about four times the output of the next-ranking republic. It generated more than one-fourth of Soviet agricultural output, and its diversified heavy industry supplied the equipment and raw materials to industrial and mining sites in other regions of the former USSR... Shortly after independence was ratified in December 1991, the Ukrainian Government liberalized most prices and erected a legal framework for privatization, but widespread resistance to reform within the government and the legislature soon stalled reform efforts and led to some backtracking. Output by 1999 had fallen to less than 40% of the 1991 level... GDP growth was 2.4% in 2005, down from 12.4% in 2004. ⁴⁷



2. Socio-cultural and Household Information ⁴⁸

- Ethnic groups: Ukrainian 77.8%, Russian 17.3%, Belarusian 0.6%, Moldovan 0.5%, Crimean Tatar 0.5%, Bulgarian 0.4%, Hungarian 0.3%, Romanian 0.3%, Polish 0.3%, Jewish 0.2%, other 1.8%.
- Religions: Ukrainian Orthodox - Kiev Patriarchate 19%, Orthodox (no particular jurisdiction) 16%, Ukrainian Orthodox - Moscow Patriarchate 9%, Ukrainian Greek Catholic 6%, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox 1.7%, Protestant, Jewish, none 38%
- Languages: Ukrainian (official) 67%, Russian 24%; small Romanian, Polish, and Hungarian-speaking minorities.
- Median age: 39.2 years.
- Net migration rate: -0.43 (out migration) per 1,000 population.

⁴⁶ Map source: *UNECE*, op. cit.

⁴⁷ CIA, *The World Factbook*, op. cit.

⁴⁸ CIA, *The World Factbook*, *Ibid.*

Table 5
Women and Men in Ukraine ^{49 50}

	1980	1990	2000	2004
GNP per capita (US\$)	...	1,610	700	1,270
World Bank income category = lower middle				
Population total (millions) / Female % of total	50/54.3%	51.9/53.7%	49.2/53.8%	47.5/54.1%
Family & Household				
Life expectancy at birth (years) Male/Female	65/74	66/75	62/74	63/74
Total fertility rate (births per woman)	...	1.90	1.10	1.20
Crude marriage rate ⁵¹	...	9.3	5.6	7.8
General divorce rate ⁵²	..	39.9	71.9	47.8
Labor Force Participation				
Total labor force (millions) / Female % of total	26/50%	26/49%	23/49%	22/49%
Unemployment total (% of total labor force) / Female (% of female labor force)	...	...	11.6%/11.6%	8.6%/8.6%
Political Representation				
Women in Parliament (% of total seats occupied in lower or single house)	...	...	8	5
Education: Gender Ratios ⁵³				
Literacy rate (% of people aged 15+)	...	0.5	0.3	0.2
Secondary enrollment rates	...	...	0.2	1.8
Tertiary enrollment rates	...	-1.2	-6.0	-11.6

⁴⁹ GNP, Labor Force, Life Expectancy, and Political data come from World Bank, GenderStats, op. cit.

⁵⁰ Fertility, Marriage, and Divorce data are from UNICEF MONEE database, op. cit.

⁵¹ Per 1,000 mid-year population.

⁵² Per 100 marriages.

⁵³ World Bank, *EdStats*, op. cit.

III. GENDER IDEOLOGY

A. Introduction to the Topic

The organization of this section is framed by the following questions:

- *Do citizens of each country hold strong gender stereotypes?*
- *If so, what are the contents of these stereotypes?*
- *How much tolerance is there for deviations from gender stereotypes?*
- *To what extent is religion a major factor in affecting gender ideologies in each country?*

An introduction to the topic is followed by an exploration of each query. Comparisons of each issue in the five focus countries follow, along with summary conclusions.

B. Regional Overview: Gender Ideology

What do “Gender Ideology” and “Gender Stereotypes” mean and can they be measured?

As with any concept concerning human belief systems, “ideology” and “stereotypes” are terms that can not only mean many things to many people, they are also exceptionally difficult to measure. In this paper, *stereotype* and *ideology* are defined very broadly to mean “the opinions or beliefs of an individual, group, or society, with stereotype representing an oversimplified opinion, attitude or judgment.”⁵⁴

The literature on the subject ranges from writers who propose that gender ideology needs to be examined at a local or household level⁵⁵ to those who attempt to measure it at a national or cross-country level.⁵⁶ The focus in this chapter will be at the national and cross-country level. The

⁵⁴ See, for example: Bernice Lott, “Gender Difference and Sameness: Reading Between the Lines. The Personal and Social Correlates of a Gender Difference Ideology,” *Journal of Social Issues* 53 (Summer 1997): 279, <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/links/doi/10.1111/0022-4537.00018>

⁵⁵ See, for example: Michael Burawoy and Katherine Verdery, eds. *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999); James Gentry, Suraj Commuri, and Sunkyu Jun. “Review of Literature on Gender in the Family.” *Academy of Marketing Science Review* (2003): 1-22, <http://www.amsreview.org/articles/gentry01-2003.pdf>; Arlie Hochschild, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (New York: Viking-Penguin, 1989); and Amy Kroska, “Conceptualizing and Measuring Gender Ideology as an Identity.” *Gender and Society* 14, no. 3 (June 2000): 368-394, [http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0891-2432\(200006\)14%3A3%3C368%3ACAMGIA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0891-2432(200006)14%3A3%3C368%3ACAMGIA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C)

⁵⁶ Such researchers include: Michael Kevane, *What Are The Effects Of Moving To Gender Equality? Using CEDAW In Cross-Country Regressions*. Draft. Department of Economics, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA, March 2004, http://business.scu.edu/faculty/research/working_papers/pdf/kevane_wp04_no21.pdf; Mikael Nordenmark, “Does Gender Ideology Explain Differences Between Countries Regarding the Involvement of Women and of Men in Paid and Unpaid Work?” *International Journal of Social Welfare* 13 (2004): 233-243, <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/links/doi/10.1111/j.1369-6866.2004.00317.x/abs/>; and Evelina Panayotova and April Brayfield, “National Context and Gender Ideology: Attitudes toward Women’s Employment in Hungary and the United States, *Gender and*

next chapter discusses belief systems at the level of family and household and how they are manifested in gender roles.

In the literature that was surveyed, one approach to gender issues in the region focuses on the socialist ideal of total gender equality and the ideological and behavioral adaptations that are necessary now that socialism is no longer the only belief system underpinning society. In other words, the socialist ideal of human equality and equal ownership of resources permeated almost every aspect of social organization, from the family to the factory. Since the transition, that belief is no longer the only principle, and its loss or diminishment has created room for other convictions such as religion and capitalism to influence ideology about gender.⁵⁷

Other research discusses the gap between the real and the ideal in socialist ideology and the fact that true equality was never achieved.⁵⁸ Very little literature was found on contemporary ideology or stereotyping, including the contents of the belief systems or the tolerance for deviance from the norm.

Because the constraints of this paper do not permit a lengthy discussion of the complicated concepts of *ideology* and *stereotypes*, *gender equality* has been used here as a measurable indicator of underlying belief systems. This makes it easier to use a range of techniques to show the relative differences between women and men vis-à-vis their access to social power and economic resources. As discussed on the following page, in this paper, the proxy for gender equality is the UNDP's Gender Development Index (GDI).

Gender equality is also the term more widely used by organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank.

The UNDP's *Human Development Report* for Serbia discusses the relativity of gender equality internationally and the fact that all societies have gender inequality.

“Gender discrimination and inequality. *Gender inequality is a problem that even the most developed societies struggle to cope with.... There exists an entire system of traditions, beliefs and norms which perpetuate these differences. It appears that modern societies differ only by the intensity of gender inequality and the degree to which this problem is registered and how they try to solve it.*”⁵⁹

Society 11, no. 5 (October 1997), 627-655, [http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0891-2432\(199710\)11%3A5%3C627%3ANCAGIA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-G](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0891-2432(199710)11%3A5%3C627%3ANCAGIA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-G).

⁵⁷ The socialist ideal of gender equality was framed by such statements of Marx as: “equal rights for men and women...” and “equality of all citizens regardless of sex...” Cited in Pierella Paci, *Gender in Transition*. (Washington: World Bank, 2002), 9, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDS_IBank_Servlet?pcont=details&eid=000094946_0208130410249

⁵⁸ See, for example: Pierella Paci, op. cit., 1; and UNICEF, MONEE Project, *Women in Transition: Regional Monitoring Report No. 6* (Florence: UNICEF International Child Development Centre, 1999), 41, <http://www.unicef-icdc.org/publications/pdf/monee6sume.pdf>

⁵⁹ UNDP, *Human Development Report, Serbia 2005: The Strength of Diversity* (Belgrade: UNDP, 2005), 44, http://www.undp.org.yu/nhdr/2005/NHDR_Serbia_2005_eng.pdf

It is the premise of this paper that “gender equality” can only be understood in comparison to other countries. All societies have various forms of gender equality, and those must be analyzed both cross-culturally as well as internally in order to distinguish the ideal from the real.

C. Focus-Country Comparisons

The Gender Development Index (GDI)

An important international measure for assessing gender equality on a comparative basis, both within E&E and worldwide, is the UNDP’s *Gender Development Index (GDI)*. Table 6 below gives the rankings for the five focus countries, comparing them with the highest and lowest ranking countries (Norway and Niger), plus the U.S., of all the 174 countries that are ranked. The *Gender Development Index* ranks all E&E focus countries in the middle third of the total of 174, significantly lower than Norway which leads all countries, but much higher than Niger which is the lowest-ranked.

The GDI Index measures the same variables as the UNDP’s *Human Development Index (HDI)* except that the GDI adjusts for gender inequalities in the three aspects of human development, (1) life expectancy, (2) literacy and gross enrollment, and (3) income in accordance with the disparity in achievement between men and women.

Table 6			
GDI (Gender-related Development Index) Values^{60 61}			
COUNTRY	GDI Value	HDI Rank	World Bank Country Classification⁶²
Norway (highest GDI)	0.941	1	High income
United States	0.935	7	High income
Serbia	0.773	74	Lower middle income
Ukraine	0.761	75	Lower middle income
Albania	0.732	95	Lower middle income
Armenia	0.727	100	Lower middle income
Kyrgyz Republic	0.700	109	Low income
Niger (lowest GDI)	0.279	174	Low income

⁶⁰ UNDP, *Gender-related Development Index*, http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2003/indicator/indic_197_1_1.html

⁶¹ Another cross-country measure of gender equality is the UNDP’s *Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)*. It uses three basic indicators: (1) economic participation and decision-making; (2) political participation and decision-making; and (3) power over economic resources.). It is not included here because three of the five focus countries (Albania, Armenia, and the Kyrgyz Republic) do not have enough available data to be listed.

⁶² World Bank, *Data and Statistics, Country Classification*, op. cit.

D. Regional Overview: Religion and Gender Ideologies

*[Religion] is the opium of the people.*⁶³

1. To what extent is religion a major factor in affecting gender ideologies in the country?

Religious beliefs within E&E countries are complex and diverse, including a multiplicity of Christian churches and at least three forms of Islamic practice, Sufi, Shi'a, and Sunni. Consequently, it is very difficult to discuss religion and gender ideologies at a national level. Furthermore, the potentially explosive issue of gender and religion is not significantly addressed in the research of multi-lateral donors like the World Bank, nor is it considered in much of the other literature surveyed. The material which was discovered can be grouped into two main categories:

2. Approaches to Religion in the Literature

Religion as cultural or national identity or as one of the many ideologies filling the vacuum left by the demise of socialism

The language below from the 2005 Serbian HDR (Human Development Report) is representative of this approach. Although the literature surveyed did not reveal the gender differences in religious belief or attendance, the country information in Chapter II gives non sex-disaggregated affiliation percentages, and it is presumed that women make up at least fifty percent of believers.

The following gives the larger picture of the dramatic change from before the transition, when religion was banned or discouraged to the remarkable changes in the early 1990s.

"... Marxist atheist doctrines had a practical political objective of alleviating national and confessional tensions, which characterized this past [1990s] period, through restricting the use of religious symbols and practices.... In several surveys carried out in the early 70s, religious people were in a remarkable minority, particularly among the younger and more educated population.

*While practicing religion was not forbidden, it was considered as an obstacle to social development, and perceived as a sign of backwardness. In the eighties, a process of "desecularisation" (sic) was initiated, as a part of a wider process of "re-tradionalisation" (sic). As a result, the number of believers, which in mid 1990 in Serbia (without Kosovo) added up to approximately 1/3 of the population, started to increase, and, in November 1993 it reached 42%...."*⁶⁴

⁶³ Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right." *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, February 1844.

⁶⁴ UNDP, *Human Development Report Serbia 2005: The Strength of Diversity*, op. cit., 20-21.

Islam and gender in comparison with other major religions

A second approach to gender and religion and one which deals with the current attention to Islam and its hypothesized link with lower status for women is represented by Valentine Moghadam, Chief of UNESCO's Gender Equality and Development Section. She writes:

*"...Islam is neither more nor less patriarchal than other major religions... all of which share the view of woman as wife and mother.... Even in the West today there are marked variations in the legal status, economic conditions, and social positions of women. The United States, for example, lags behind northern Europe in terms of social policies and overall security for women. Why Muslim women lag behind Western women in legal rights, mobility, autonomy, and so forth, has more to do with developmental issues – the extent of urbanization, industrialization, and proletarianization... -- than with religious and cultural factors."*⁶⁵

Data on differences in gender equality among the focus countries of this study present an interesting test of this perspective: Albania, which has a significant Muslim population, ranks slightly higher in gender equality (as measured by GDI) than Armenia, which is almost 100 percent Christian. This observation is not discussed in the literature; it is suggested by the analyses of the authors. But it does support the Moghadam position above that one needs to be exceptionally careful in assuming that religion is the primary variable in determining gender inequalities. Since all major religions, for example, Christianity, Islam and Judaism, can be seen as traditionally biased toward men, belief systems are generally not a primary explanatory factor.

E. Conclusions

- ***Do citizens of the country hold strong gender stereotypes? If so, what are the contents of these stereotypes? How much tolerance is there for deviations from gender stereotypes?*** The literature on gender ideologies and stereotypes at a national level did not yield any clear analyses or descriptions of belief systems at a national level. Consequently, it is difficult to frame a precise response to the question within the confines of this report
- ***To what extent is religion a major factor in affecting gender ideologies in the country?*** Few references were found regarding the links between gender ideology and religion. However, in those that were uncovered, two approaches are taken: (a) religion as a cultural or national identity or (b) all major religions, including Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, as patriarchal in their ideology.

⁶⁵ Valentine Moghadam, *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*. Second Edition. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), 5-6.

IV. GENDER ROLES IN THE FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

A. Introduction to the Topic

The organization of this section is framed by the following questions:

- *What is the division of labor in the home?*
- *Who has the decision making power in the household?*
- *How much freedom do women have in choosing who and when to marry?*

B. Regional Overview

Gender differences in E&E are not the same as in the other USAID regions since the socialist ideal was total equality between the sexes, from the national to the household unit.⁶⁶ Although never fully achieved, “women did have equal access to schooling, health care, employment and, to some extent, leadership,”⁶⁷ and this has resulted in relatively high rates for women’s labor force participation, literacy, and educational achievement. With the transition and the loss of the state-supported systems (such as free childcare) which bolstered the socialist family, kinship systems and the household have become more important than ever. Families have more burdens than before, and the resulting pressures on women and men differ, as do their responses.⁶⁸

1. *Patriarchy and the Socialist Ideal*

Despite the socialist ideal of gender equity, there is no evidence that the goal was completely achieved at any level, particularly in the household. A World Bank study on the region concludes that, “... society remained predominantly patriarchal and gender relations within the household continued to reflect a strong ‘male breadwinner’ model...women continued to be seen predominantly as mothers and wives primarily responsible for nurturing within the family.”⁶⁹

It should be noted that the patriarchal model is not unique to E&E and that any discussion of gender roles should take this into account.⁷⁰ Furthermore, “patriarchy” is a relative and complex issue.⁷¹ For the purposes of this paper, patriarchy is defined as the type of social organization where males tend to predominate in positions of power and access to valued resources; the more powerful the position or the more valuable the goods, the more likely it is that a male will hold that position or control the wealth. To talk about the family as “patriarchal” contributes very

⁶⁶ See previous chapter, *Gender Ideology*, for a discussion of this goal.

⁶⁷ Pierella Paci, op.cit., 1.

⁶⁸ UNICEF, MONEE Project, op. cit., 41.

⁶⁹ Pierella Paci, op. cit., 9.

⁷⁰ As the UNDP’s *Human Development Report, Serbia 2005*, op. cit. states: *Gender inequality is a problem that even the most developed societies struggle to cope with....* This includes the U.S. For example, the information on UNECE’s Gender Statistics Website shows the US as having only 15% women in the lower house, as opposed to Sweden with 55%, Poland with 20% and Serbia with 8%, <http://www.unece.org/stats/gender/web/welcome1.htm>

⁷¹ *Patriarchy* should not be confused with *patrilineal*. Nor should it be assumed that *matrilineal* societies are not patriarchal. See, for example, Donald Brown, *Human Universals* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

little to our understanding of how households work. It is more useful to look at the new pressures and opportunities for household members and to do gender analyses of changing roles.

2. Increasing Stress on the Family

In the literature surveyed, several authors wrote of how the changes of the transition, particularly the negative ones of unemployment, underemployment, poorer health care, and less access to good education, have created problems within the family. For example:

- A World Bank study of Ukraine states that “wide-scale male unemployment has resulted in uncertainties in gender relations that are reflected in declining marriage and fertility rates, and increasing numbers of female-headed households....” Men’s response has resulted in sharp increases in alcoholism and suicide.⁷²
- Region-wide research posits that “rising male unemployment has called into question the concept of the male as breadwinner. This has changed the power structure and bargaining power within the household and – in combination with more stable employment in the traditionally ‘feminized’ sectors – has introduced what was an unknown phenomenon a decade ago: women as prime earners.... [thus] eroding the male breadwinner model.”⁷³

The literature did not reveal the strategies or responses of individual women and men to these changes. It remains to be seen what long-lasting consequences the changes of gender relationships within the household will have on men, women, and children and on the role and structure of the family.

C. Focus-Country Comparisons

1. Demographic Changes and the Transition

To help understand the household changes since the transition, Table 7 sketches a regional demographic profile, looking at such family variables as marriage, children, and divorce.

	Albania		Armenia		Kyrgyz Republic		Serbia & Montenegro		Ukraine	
	1990	2003	1990	2003	1990	2003	1990	2003	1990	2003
Crude marriage rate (Marriages per 1,000 mid-year population)	8.9	8.8	8.0	4.8	9.9	6.8	6.2	5.4	9.3	7.8
Average age of women at first marriage (In years)	22.6	23.3	22.3	22.8	21.7	23.0	23.6	24.9	21.6	22.9
Average age of men at first marriage (In years)	26.7	28.9	25.5	27.4	24.4	26.4	27.5	28.4	23.7	26.8
Total fertility rate (Births per woman)	3.03	2.05	2.62	1.35	3.6	2.5	2.08	1.71	1.9	1.2
General divorce rate (Per 100 marriages)	9.2	13.3	15.4	11.8	18.0	15.7	16.5	15.3	39.9	47.8

⁷² Nora Dudwick, Radhika Srinivasan, and Jeanine Braithwaite, *Ukraine: Gender Review* (Washington: World Bank, 2002), 6, http://wdsbeta.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2006/01/24/000160016_20060124165553/Rendered/PDF/349750UA0CGender0Assessment.pdf

⁷³ Pierella Paci, op.cit., 13.

⁷⁴ Source for all countries: UNICEF, MONEE database, op. cit.

No formal analysis of these data was carried out, but the trends show:

- In all countries, rates of marriage between 1990 and 2003 have gone down; in the case of Armenia, by almost 50 percent.
- In all countries, age of marriage for both men and women has gone up by about two years.
- Fertility rates have gone down by approximately one child per woman.
- In two countries (Albania and Ukraine), rates of divorce have risen; in the other three (Armenia, Kyrgyz Republic, and Serbia), they have gone down.

2. How much freedom do women have in choosing who and when to marry?

In the literature surveyed, no mention was made of women's control over marriage partner or timing in any country except in the Kyrgyz Republic. "Bride-stealing" or "bride-napping" (*ala kachuu*) has attracted the attention of the media, donors, and researchers. The reports take many approaches. One is that it is an increasing problem (although concrete data are difficult to obtain)⁷⁵ and that as many as 15-30 percent of marriages are created through this forced elopement.⁷⁶ Others discuss it as a part of the return to pre-socialist cultural traditions when it was very common among the Kyrgyz, Kazakh, and Turkmen nomadic societies. (It is not found in Uzbekistan.) They do not believe that it is directly linked to Islam.⁷⁷ All agree that there are both consensual and forced forms of *ala kachuu*.

D. Conclusions

- **What is the division of labor in the home?** No data were found on specific tasks within the household, but several sources describe a dominant ideology of men being seen as the breadwinners and women as wives and mothers (despite their high rates of participation in the labor force). However, with increasing problems of male unemployment, this model may be breaking down. One possible result is increasing morbidity and mortality rates for men. Another is decreasing marriage rates and increasing female-headed households. A third is changing belief systems about appropriate roles for women and men.
- **Who has the decision making power in the household?** No information was found on this particular query, but it is linked with the preceding in terms of the many changes in gender roles that are currently taking place.
- **How much freedom do women have in choosing who and when to marry?** No information was found on this topic except for the issue of "bride-stealing" in the Kyrgyz

⁷⁵ Asian Development Bank, *The Kyrgyz Republic. A Gendered Transition: Soviet Legacies and New Risks, Country Gender Assessment* (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2005), 65, <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/Country-Gender-Assessments/cga-kgz.pdf>

⁷⁶ Cited in Renee Giovarelli and Cholpon Akmatova, *Local Institutions that Enforce Customary Law in the Kyrgyz Republic and their Impact on Women's Rights*, (Washington: World Bank), 2002, http://www-ds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2003/12/05/000160016_20031205161451/Rendered/INDEX/270080Ag0e1paper0Kyrgyz1local.txt

⁷⁷ For example: Anara Tabyshalieva, "Revival of Traditions in Post-Soviet Central Asia." In ed. Marnia Lazreg, *Making Transition Work for Women in Europe and Central Asia*. Washington: World Bank, 2000: 51-60, <http://www.ifrs.elcat.kg/Publication/Anara,%20Revival%20of%20Traditions%20in%20Post-Soviet%20Central%20Asia.htm> Non-nomadic peoples, such as the Uzbeks, do not have the custom.

Republic. It appears that it may be increasing in the areas which are returning to pre-socialist cultural patterns, but the data are very inconclusive.

V. EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

A. Introduction

The organization of this section is framed by the following questions:

- *Are women and men typically segregated into different occupations?*
- *If men and women hold different jobs, is “women’s work” lower paying?*
- *To what extent do men and women participate in the informal economy?*
- *To what extent do men and women engage in entrepreneurial activity and what factors determine this?*
- *Do men and women have equal access to credit?*
- *Are women over-represented among the poor? If yes, why?*

B. Regional Overview

According to a recent USAID gender analysis of the labor market in the region based on large cross-national datasets,⁷⁸ women on average were disadvantaged compared to men in all of the indicators examined, including: percentages of the labor force represented by men and women; relative unemployment rates; economic activity rates; relative wages; and levels of wage employment. The regional discrepancies from parity varied in size, suggesting that although women’s and men’s labor force participation rates may be similar, women are more likely to have lower paying and less powerful positions than men.

The many other studies on gender and labor markets in the region reach a variety of conclusions, depending on the variables used and the countries being examined:

- Some papers stress that the relative position of women in the labor market has not deteriorated during the transition, mostly due to their already high rates of participation under socialism and the addition of new employment opportunities for them in the service sector.⁷⁹ In these studies, the concern is male unemployment caused by a restructuring process which is “biased against manual, less-skilled labor, [and] which has put men at a disadvantage,” especially when men tend to be less educated than women.⁸⁰
- A competing theme in the research is that women have faced a higher burden during the transition, especially due to the loss of guaranteed employment, the decrease in state-sponsored benefits, and the lack of protection from employment discrimination, especially in the emerging private sector.⁸¹ Labor market withdrawal of women and

⁷⁸ *Women and Men in Europe and Eurasia*, op. cit.

⁷⁹ Pierella Paci, op. cit., 1.

⁸⁰ Jan Rutkowski and Stefano Scarpetta, *Enhancing Job Opportunities: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (Washington: World Bank, November, 2005), 77, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECA/Resources/laborstudy05-fullreport.pdf>

⁸¹ Sylke Viola Schnepf, “Gender Equality in Central and Eastern Europe: A Comparison of Labour Market Attitudes, Educational Achievement and Poverty between East and West.” (Ph.D.diss., University of Hamburg, 2005), 7, http://www.sub.uni-hamburg.de/opus/volltexte/2005/2657/pdf/Schnepf_GenderEqualityCEEC.pdf

youth threatens growth of transitional economies and levels of household income.⁸² Occupational segregation, gender wage gaps, work in the informal economy, lagging entrepreneurship opportunities, and unequal poverty rates reflect ongoing challenges to the goal of gender equality.

C. Focus-Country Information

1. Gender and Jobs: Are women and men and women typically segregated into different occupations? If men and women hold different jobs, is “women’s work” lower paying?

After the transition, many researchers focused on analyzing various aspects of socialist economies to point out the disparities between rhetoric and reality. Analysis of occupations showed that under the socialist system, women were segregated from men in many “feminized” jobs -- including health, education, light industry, and agriculture – that typically paid less than “male” jobs. Current trends showing gender as a determinant in access to better-paying private sector jobs could exacerbate the situation: “While women continue to fill public-sector jobs, men are making greater inroads in the private sector.”⁸³

Regarding gender pay gaps, a recent World Bank Ukraine study summarized the issue:

“In particular, there was evidence of a gender pay gap, mainly because women were prevalently working in low-paid, white-collar occupations. This wage gap was relatively small by international standards but, in practice, societies continued to reflect the model of a “male breadwinner,” which considered women as secondary workers.”⁸⁴

Country-specific data from all of the countries confirm the existence of a gender pay gap in many occupations, as well as overall lower pay in female-dominated professions. One notable area of exception is financial jobs (accountants, bookkeepers, cashiers): they are more often dominated by women, the pay is relatively high, and sometimes the pay gap is in favor of female workers. The size of the gender pay gap is a point of disagreement in different reports, and its significance also depends on which industrialized country’s data is used as a point of comparison.

Albania

Women in Albania face traditional occupational segregation as well as gender discrimination in accessing more remunerative jobs.

⁸² Jan Rutkowski and Stefano Scarpetta, op. cit., 71.

⁸³ Gaspar Fajth, “Women in Transition: Themes of the UNICEF MONEE Project,” in *Making the Transition Work for Women in Europe and Central Asia*, Marnia Lazreg, ed., World Bank Discussion Paper, No. WDP411 (Washington: World Bank, 1999), 96, http://wdsbeta.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2000/01/25/000094946_00011305303310/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

⁸⁴ Nora Dudwick, Radhika Srinivasan, and Jeanine Braithwaite, op. cit., 34-35.

*"Information on the ratios of pay between men and women show that the wages of women in the non-agricultural sector were about 27 per cent lower than those of men, and the difference was greater in the private non-agricultural sector as compared to the state sector. This difference is evident for all ages and almost in all branches of the economy. Gender pay gap is slightly lower in the educational branches and public administration, which is attributed to the fact that the state sector is dominant in these branches."*⁸⁵

Armenia

The largest number of women are employed in the agriculture/forestry sector (although they make up just a quarter of the total number), but women dominate in the education, trade/public catering, health, culture, and art sectors. The statistics on wages, when correlated by sector, show that the wages in women-dominated professions are lower than in other professions, and that women's wages are less than men's in all sectors, including the sectors in which women dominate.⁸⁶

Kyrgyz Republic

Detailed occupational statistics for 2001 and 2002 show women's average earnings are less than men in most occupations, including low-paying professions. The main exceptions are some financial jobs (e.g., retail cashier, accountant, bank teller) and a few low-paying jobs where they dominate (e.g., kindergarten teacher, language teacher, physician, x-ray technician). One anomaly in the construction industry (where, in general, women average 50-60 percent of the men's earnings) is the job of building painter: between 2001 and 2002 the earnings for women increased from a negative gap to a positive gap of 128% of men's earnings.⁸⁷

Serbia

Occupational statistics from 2002 show that men dominate in the fishing, mining, construction and transport sectors, while women dominate in the health and social work, education and financial sectors.⁸⁸ Legislators, officials, and managers are more often male, while associate professionals and technicians tend to be female. The data show some specific occupations that are nearly 100 percent segregated by sex. Examples for women include: child-care workers, pre-primary education teaching associate professionals, nursing associate professionals, stenographers and typists, and midwifery associate professionals. Male examples include: underwater workers, ships' deck crews and related workers, bricklayers and stonemasons, car, taxi and van drivers, and heavy-track and lorry drivers), but do not show a wage correlation for comparison.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ UNDP, *National Human Development Report: Pro-Poor and Pro-Women Development Policies and Development in Albania* (Tirana: UNDP, 2005), 66-69, http://hdr.undp.org/docs/reports/national/ALB_Albania/Albania_2005_en.pdf

⁸⁶ Armenia Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia, *Women and Men in Armenia: A Statistical Booklet* (Yerevan: RA Ministry of Labour and Social Issues, 2005), 72-73, <http://www.armstat.am/Publications/2005/Engl%20book%20Inet%202005.pdf>

⁸⁷ International Labour Organization LabourSTA database, <http://laborsta.ilo.org/>

⁸⁸ Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, *Women and Men in Serbia* (Belgrade: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2005), 94-95, <http://webrzs.statserb.sr.gov.yu/axd/en/dokumenti/WMS.pdf>

⁸⁹ Ibid, 99.

The statistics do not show a trend of lower wages in women-dominated professions (e.g., female-dominated financial intermediation pays some of the higher salaries and male-dominated fishing pays some of the lower), although there is a wage gap between men and women's wages in most sectors. This gap is reversed in education where women earn more on average than do men.⁹⁰

A World Bank analysis of wage differentials in Serbia concluded that much of the private sector work is in the informal economy and pays better than the public sector. Male workers on average earn a 9.4 percent premium in the private sector compared to four percent for women. This difference coupled with the added state benefits such as better job security may be causing fewer women to move to the private sector, which may result in an increased gender pay gap in the future.⁹¹

Ukraine

As discussed in the *Education* section, the data show gender differences in both the educational specialties of females and males, as well as their segregation into occupational specialties – resulting in different rates of pay.⁹² Other gender research on female Ukrainian militia officers discusses the lack of women in the profession compared to other countries, their exclusion from certain duties, their small numbers in management, and discriminatory practices.⁹³

The World Bank's *Ukraine Gender Review* also discusses gender differences in employment and other labor market issues.

“According to the survey, women are particularly active buying and selling low-quality imported goods at open market places. Men are more active in construction, agriculture, and transportation. The Ukraine Living Conditions survey (2000) also found sharp gender differentials in reported self-employment activities, but many of the categories had so few respondents that the results can only be taken as indicative and not definitive. Women's participation in trade appears to be a survival tactic that exacts a high price... It is also evident that women are more vulnerable to non-contractual work, discrimination in hiring, sexual harassment, and illegal dismissals while on maternity leave.”⁹⁴

2. Gender and the Informal Economy: To what extent do men and women participate in the informal economy?

According to available research, the impact of the informal economy on women is not fully understood.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 96.

⁹¹ Branko Jovanovic and Michael M. Lokshin, *Wage Differentials and State-private Sector Employment Choice in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*. Policy Research Working Paper Series 2959. (Washington: World Bank, 2003), 21, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=636321

⁹² Nora Dudwick, Radhika Srinivasan, and Jeanine Braithwaite, op. cit., 42.

⁹³ Adrian Beck, Vadym Barko and Alina Tatarenko, “Women Militia Officers in Ukraine: Exploring Their Experiences in a Post-Soviet Policing Organisation.” *Policing* 26, no. 4 (January 1, 2003): 548-565.

⁹⁴ Nora Dudwick, Radhika Srinivasan, and Jeanine Braithwaite, op. cit., 36.

“New gender differentials may have been created because of the increase in the size of the informal economy. On the one hand, the informal economy may offer employment opportunities to women in a context of a small, formal private sector and shrinking public sector. On the other hand, the informal economy does not provide adequate social protection, and there is some evidence that women are more vulnerable as they concentrate in lower-end jobs.”⁹⁵

No data are available to measure the extent to which men and women participate in the informal economy across the region or by individual country. However, labor force survey data can help determine the kinds of non-formal work in which the interviewee may participate; for example, shuttle trading or worker on a household plot, which is becoming a more important source of income in response to unemployment and shrinking pensions.^{96 97}

The data suggests that women may be more likely than men to take subsistence jobs in the informal market. Moreover, they are triple burdened when they seek out additional informal income to supplement low public sector wages in addition to their housework responsibilities. The lack of participation in the new pension systems is a problem for those working in the informal economy, and hits women harder due to their longer life expectancy.⁹⁸

Kyrgyz Republic

Kyrgyz women are pushed to work in the informal economy due to a combination of “rising and persistent unemployment, the absence and high cost of childcare facilities, lack of start-up capital to launch small businesses, lack of business skills and market knowledge, and the cumbersome and often daunting procedures associated with entry into what is perceived as the predominantly ‘male’ formal sector.”⁹⁹

A 2005 study found that women in Kyrgyz Republic work in the informal economy in small trade, as well as in the service and production sectors, and are generally not covered by any kind of labor agreement or protection. The study also noted that “women internal migrants often find work more quickly than men, but primarily because they are prepared to work for lower pay and undertake ‘any kind of work’”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Jan Rutkowski and Stefano Scarpetta, op. cit., 81.

⁹⁶ Nora Dudwick, Radhika Srinivasan, and Jeanine Braithwaite, op. cit., 36.

⁹⁷ Sue Bridger, “Rural Women in Russia: What Does Private Farming Mean?” in *Making the Transition Work for Women in Europe and Central Asia*, Marnia Lazreg, ed. World Bank Discussion Paper, No. WDP411 (Washington: World Bank, 1999) 42-50, http://wdsbeta.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2000/01/25/000094946_00011305303310/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

⁹⁸ Marina Baskakova, “Gender Aspects of Pension Reform in Russia,” in *Making the Transition Work for Women in Europe and Central Asia*, Marnia Lazreg, ed., World Bank Discussion Paper, No. WDP411 (Washington: World Bank, 1999), 61-68, http://wdsbeta.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2000/01/25/000094946_00011305303310/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

⁹⁹ Ibid, 31-32.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 61-62.

One study described the linkages among male unemployment, women's economic roles, and household tensions.

"Women in the Kyrgyz Republic have long worked outside the home. They make up half the work force formally employed in agriculture, and they also contribute most of the labor needed to maintain household plots. With high male unemployment, many poor women in the Kyrgyz Republic have also taken up petty trading and other informal jobs to help bring food to the table. This shift in breadwinner roles is proving to be a difficult adjustment, particularly in rural areas, where cultural traditions remain entrenched and gender inequalities are often severe."¹⁰¹

3. Gender, Entrepreneurship, and Access to Credit: To what extent do men and women engage in entrepreneurial activity and what factors determine this?

In general, confidentiality concerns make data on enterprises hard for researchers to access.¹⁰² No reliable region-wide gender data were found on entrepreneurship and access to credit, although many microcredit programs focus on women, and most small-medium enterprise (SME) programs make efforts to include women business owners. Some SME surveys conducted by development agencies have country-specific data, but such surveys often do not address gender issues or do not include sex-disaggregated business data.¹⁰³ In general, it is known that the region has a much smaller percentage of female entrepreneurs than male entrepreneurs. According to one of the rare surveys with disaggregated data, women in Ukraine own 21 percent of the small businesses.

Albania

There is a significant difference in business ownership and access to credit between women and men in Albania. Data from 2003 show that the number of women running private businesses is very low, and only seventeen percent of the total number of private businesses managers are women. However, rural credit programs are helping women break into the traditional "male monopolies" of agricultural activities.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Janna Rysakova and others, "Kyrgyz Republic: Crumbling Support, Deepening Poverty," in *Voices of the Poor from Many Lands*, eds. D. Narayan and P. Petesch (Washington: Oxford University Press and the World Bank, 2002), 291-292, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2002/03/01/000094946_02021604090737/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf

¹⁰² Randall K. Filer, "Data Watch: Research Data from Transition Economies." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 16, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 232.

¹⁰³ USAID has sponsored SME surveys such as *A Survey of Business in Ukraine* (1999) which included sex-disaggregated data. An example of a regional SME survey which did not have sex-disaggregated data is the TACIS-funded *Survey of Small and Medium Enterprises of the Lori Region* [Armenia], http://www.lori.am/downloads/sme_eng.pdf

¹⁰⁴ UNDP, *National Human Development Report: Pro-Poor and Pro-Women Development Policies and Development in Albania*, op. cit., 66-69.

Armenia

An SME survey from the Lori Region determined that few Armenian women are entrepreneurs. The report speculates that the reason women play a smaller role than do men in the SME sphere is “explained by national mentality in terms of perception of a woman as an entrepreneur.”¹⁰⁵

Kyrgyz Republic

According to a recent gender assessment, women comprise only a small number of entrepreneurs. Although there are considerable barriers for all entrepreneurs, women “have reported significant difficulties in obtaining capital (including discrimination in lending by some banking institutions); bureaucratic difficulties and “extra” costs associated with establishing and maintaining an enterprise; a lack of access to networks (e.g., trade and business associations as well as personal or familial support networks), markets, information, and training; and the stresses of combining unpaid household work and child care responsibilities with paid work.”¹⁰⁶ And, many women are also intimidated to enter what is viewed as a male domain, including problems negotiating with male loan officers.¹⁰⁷

Ukraine

According to a Ukraine SME survey, women in Ukraine owned 21 percent of the small businesses (11-50 employees); owned or managed thirteen percent of all medium enterprises (51-250 employees); and owned or managed thirteen percent of large enterprises (251+ employees). The research revealed that there are barriers to women achieving more equality in business ownership (especially of larger enterprises), including less access to working capital, the greater likelihood that businesses are in the service sector rather than in production, difficulties accessing credit through the “old-boy network” (including contracts in government and the criminal world), and increased likelihood that their businesses are inspected and harassed by state agencies.¹⁰⁸

4. Gender and Poverty: Are women over-represented among the poor? If yes, why?

Few poverty studies on transition countries have focused specifically on gender and poverty, so the difference between rates of poverty for women and men has been calculated based on household poverty and/or focused on the difference between poverty rates for female- and male-headed households. Thus measured, the differences vary by country and are of questionable reliability in answering the question of whether women are over-represented among the poor. Because the data used to measure labor force participation come from macro-level sources such as government statistical offices and use aggregate employment and household-level data, a methodological note about the gender implications of the results is important. The challenge of accurately measuring poverty is compounded by hidden employment and unemployment, the use

¹⁰⁵ “A & L” Business Center, *Survey of Small and Medium Enterprises of the Lori Region* [Armenia] (Vanadzor, Armenia: TACIS, February 2001), 12, http://www.ori.am/downloads/sme_eng.pdf

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 31-32.

¹⁰⁷ Asian Development Bank, *op.cit*, 31-32.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 34-35.

of barter as a substitute for wages, and the informal economy, making economic data from the region unreliable.¹⁰⁹

Previously, most poverty analyses in transitional countries have found that “female-headed households have systematically higher poverty incidence and poverty gaps than male-headed households.”¹¹⁰ Factors likely to affect female-headed households more than their male counterparts in increasing poverty are the reduction in female labor force participation and/or lower wages and the decrease in available (state-supported) daycare. However, recent poverty studies, such as for Ukraine and Armenia,¹¹¹ have reported little or no difference between male and female poverty rates. After reviewing data that showed little gender difference in poverty rates among men and women in Ukraine, the researcher suggested that non-economic factors be considered that “may shed greater light on the gender dimension of poverty,” such as “females report more illness, suffer more widely from domestic abuse, earn less money and suffer more discrimination on the labor market than do men in present-day Ukraine.”¹¹²

Wage differences and public/private sector issues are discussed in the *Jobs and Informal Sector* sections above. While earnings and benefits were the primary sources of income before the transition, privatization has resulted in property rights and access to land as an important source of post-transition capital. Gender differences in earnings, pensions and other economic opportunities are considered the main factors where there is a higher incidence of poverty among women. Also, men are increasingly likely to own most of the land that has been privatized in the region.¹¹³ Titling programs during transition often granted male head-of-household ownership rights to land parcels and, especially in rural communities, inheritance practices “conform to patrilineal custom, regardless of formal legislation that espouses gender equality of rights.”¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Poverty analysis is usually based on household income or household consumption, each approach having weaknesses: income calculations may overstate poverty by omitting contributions from the gray economy, and consumption calculations may underestimate poverty by including help from outside the household and/or consumption of savings. In disaggregating poverty data for gender analysis, the household is a black box – the household income is divided evenly among all members for the purposes of economic calculations. This means that internal gender discrimination will not be discoverable in the official data, making it very difficult to know, for example, whether or not women are poorer than men. See Gail Lapidus, “Discussant’s Comments: Post-Communist Transitions: Magnifying Gender Asymmetries?” in *Making the Transition Work for Women in Europe and Central Asia*. Marnia Lazreg, ed., World Bank Discussion Paper, No. WDP411 (Washington: World Bank, 1999), 102-106, http://wdsbeta.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2000/01/25/000094946_00011305303310/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf and Nora Dudwick, Radhika Srinivasan, and Jeanine Braithwaite, op. cit., 8-10.

¹¹⁰ Christiaan Grootaert and Jeanine Braithwaite, *Poverty Correlates and Indicator-Based Targeting in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Policy Research Working Paper 1942. (Washington: World Bank, 1998), 36, http://wdsbeta.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/1998/07/01/000009265_3980901110114/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

¹¹¹ UNDP, *Armenia Poverty Assessment, Volume II: Main Report*. Yerevan: UNDP, 2003, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2006/03/20/000012009_20060320142231/Rendered/PDF/271920v20white11MAINREPORT01PUBLIC1.pdf

¹¹² Nora Dudwick, Radhika Srinivasan, and Jeanine Braithwaite, op. cit., 10.

¹¹³ Pierella Paci, op. cit., 37-38.

¹¹⁴ Susana Lastarria-Cornhiel, *Privatization of Land Rights and Access to Factor Markets: A Path to Gender Equity?* Paper presented at Agrarian Reform and Rural Development Conference, American

Ukraine

There is little gender difference in the poverty rates among men and women in Ukraine. However, as discussed in the Economic section, non-economic factors “may shed greater light on the gender dimension of poverty.” These include such factors as “females report more illness, suffer more widely from domestic abuse, earn less money and suffer more discrimination on the labor market than do men in present-day Ukraine.”¹¹⁵

D. Conclusions

- ***Are women and men typically segregated into different occupations? If men and women hold different jobs, is “women’s work” lower paying?*** Men and women are still often segregated by occupations, with the women being employed in jobs that generally pay less than those dominated by men.
- ***To what extent do men and women participate in the informal economy?*** Women are heavily involved in the informal economy, which provides needed employment and additional income but may create later problems due to lack of pension fund contributions.
- ***To what extent do men and women engage in entrepreneurial activity and what factors determine this? Do men and women have equal access to credit?*** Women’s entrepreneurship lags behind men’s, and women have less access to credit for a variety of reasons, such as a lack of requisite collateral such as title to land or a car.
- ***Are women over-represented among the poor? If yes, why?*** Given the lack of accurate measures, the research is not entirely clear on whether or not women are likely to be over-represented among the poor. However, gender inequality in income and wealth generation in transitional countries is likely to exacerbate the risk of poverty among women.

University, Cairo, October 14-17, 2001, 4,

http://www.aucegypt.edu/src/conf_site/papers/Privatization%20of%20Land%20Rights.pdf

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 10.

VI. POLITICAL POWER

A. Introduction

The organization of this section is framed by the following questions:

- *Are men and women equally represented in national, regional and local government bodies?*
- *Has the number of women holding political positions of power been increasing or decreasing since the transition?*

B. Regional Overview: Gender Inequalities in Political Power

Under the mandated gender quota systems in socialism, women had significant representation in government, both in elected and appointed positions. In pre-transition parliaments, up to one-third of the members were women, although the high numbers of women in communist party politics were not paralleled by a comparably high level of political power.¹¹⁶ During the early transition, most of the gender quotas were removed and the numbers fell dramatically to between four and fourteen percent,¹¹⁷ resulting in a re-segregation of government that paralleled some of the other societal shifts away from gender equality such as employment ratios.

C. Focus-Country Comparisons

1. *Gender and Representation in Government: Are men and women equally represented in national, regional and local government bodies?*

As in most countries in the world, men and women in E&E are not equally represented in national, regional and local government bodies. The UNECE GenderStats website has multi-year sex-disaggregated data with which to compare national representation but very limited data on regional and local government bodies. Other national data and UNDP reports offer additional information.

National Parliaments

As shown in Table 8, the most current data show female representation in the ***national parliament*** as below ten percent in all of the focus countries, ranging from 3.2% in the Kyrgyz Republic to 7.2% in Serbia. Information from Poland (20%), Sweden (45.3%), and the U.S. (15.2%) is given for comparative purposes.

Local-level Information

Regarding other positions of political power, UNECE data are limited. The UNECE data on ***municipal councils and other local governing bodies*** only include Albania, where ten of the 396 municipal council members (2.5%) were female in 2004. Data collected in-country by UNDP-supported statistical projects in Armenia¹¹⁸ and Serbia¹¹⁹ provide more information on

¹¹⁶ Sylke Viola Schnepf, op. cit., 1.

¹¹⁷ UNICEF, MONEE Project, op. cit., 20.

¹¹⁸ *Women and Men in Armenia: A Statistical Booklet.*, op. cit.

local government. For example, in Armenia, men overwhelmingly dominate in urban positions: there are no women mayors in urban regions. In rural areas of Armenia, women have slightly better representation both among mayors and municipal council members, holding about five percent of those elected positions.

Table 8 ^{120 121} Members of National parliament by Country, Sex, Measurement and Year								
	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Albania								
Members of national parliament (F/M)	81/169	11/144	8/147	8/147	8/132	8/132	8/132	9/131
Percent of female	32.4	7.1	5.2	5.2	5.7	5.7	5.7	6.4
Percent of male	67.6	92.9	94.8	94.8	94.3	94.3	94.3	93.6
Armenia								
Members of national parliament (F/M)		12/178	4/127	4/127	4/127	6/125	6/125	7/124
Percent of female		6.3	3.1	3.1	3.1	4.6	4.6	5.3
Percent of male		93.7	96.9	96.9	96.9	95.4	95.4	94.7
Kyrgyz Republic								
Members of national parliament (F/M)		1/69	6/54	6/54	6/54	6/54	6/54	2/61
Percent of female		1.4	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	3.2
Percent of male		98.6	90.0	90.0	90.0	90.0	90.0	96.8
Serbia and Montenegro								
Members of national parliament (F/M)	4/134	9/129	9/129	..	..	10/116	10/116	10/116
Percent of female	2.9	6.5	6.5	..	..	7.9	7.9	7.9
Percent of male	97.1	93.5	93.5	..	..	92.1	92.1	92.1
Ukraine								
Members of national parliament (F/M)		17/433	35/415	35/415	24/426	24/426	24/426	24/426
Percent of female		3.8	7.8	7.8	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3
Percent of male		96.2	92.2	92.2	94.7	94.7	94.7	94.7
Poland (for regional comparison)								
Members of national parliament (F/M)	69/490	60/490	60/490	60/400	93/367	93/367	93/367	93/367
Percent of female	12.3	13	13	13	20.2	20.2	20.2	20.2
Percent of male	87.7	87	87	87	79.8	79.8	79.8	79.8
Sweden								
Members of national parliament (F/M)		141/208	149/200	149/200	149/200	158/191	158/191	158/191
Percent of female		40.4	42.7	42.7	42.7	45.3	45.3	45.3
Percent of male		59.6	57.3	57.3	57.3	54.7	54.7	54.7
United States								
Members of lower house (F/M)		51/384	56/379	56/379	61/374	62/373	62/373	66/369
Percent of female		11.7	12.9	12.9	14	14.3	14.3	15.2
Percent of male		88.3	87.1	87.1	86	85.7	85.7	84.8

¹¹⁹ Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, *Women and Men in Serbia*, op. cit.

¹²⁰ Source: UNECE Statistical Division Database, compiled from national official sources.

Definition: Members of parliament are the persons elected to the lower or single house by the persons entitled to vote in the country. The parliament is the legislative or deliberative assembly; one or more

Government Ministers

Of the five focus countries, the UNECE data on *government ministers* shows that all countries but Armenia have at least one female minister. The more up-to-date CIA sourcebook¹²² indicates that Albania, Serbia, and Ukraine each have one cabinet-level position filled by a female, and Armenia and Kyrgyz Republic have none (although the Kyrgyz Ambassador to the U.S. is a woman). Other representative information includes:¹²³

- In Albania, three of eighteen ministers (16.7%) were female for both years in 2001 and 2002. Kyrgyz Republic had two female ministers of seventeen total in 2000 (11.8%) and of fourteen total in 2001 (14.3%).
- Serbia had a reduction in female ministers between 2002 and 2004 from four (21.1%) to two (11.8%) of fifteen total.
- Ukraine data for 2000 appear incomplete with only five of fifteen ministers accounted for, one of whom was female. There were no other female ministers in Ukraine until at least 2003.¹²⁴ However, the high-profile female prime minister Yulia Tymoshenko served for nine months in 2005 and continues to be a major political player.
- According to 2005 data, women are among the *central bank board members* in Albania (two of nine members, 22%), Armenia¹²⁵ (two of seven members, or 29%), and Ukraine (one of fourteen, or 7%).

Judiciary

As for the *judiciary*, only 2002 data are available for Albania¹²⁶ (nine of the 79 judges, or 11.4% female) and Kyrgyz Republic (85 of the 292 judges or 29.1% female). The comparative data of 2000 and 2001 for Armenia show an increase in the number of female judges (from 29 of 138 judges to 36 of 175 judges) but a slight decrease in their percentage of the total number (21% in 2000 to 20.6% in 2001) due to an increase in the size of the judiciary. No data were provided for Serbia or Ukraine.

2. Gender and Political Power Trends: Has the number of women holding political positions of power been increasing or decreasing since the transition?

In general, the number of women holding political positions of power has remained at the dramatically lower levels which came with the transition. Specific trends in national parliaments since 2000 include:

- **Albania and Serbia:** Female representation in parliament remained fairly steady in Albania (eight in 2000-2004 and nine in 2005) and Serbia (nine in 2000 and ten in 2003-2005).

chambers or assemblies that form (or form part of) the legislature of a country. Data refer to the lower or single house. Data reflect results of most recent election.

¹²¹ Serbia and Montenegro data refer to the members of Chamber of Citizens. 1990: data refer to 1992. 1995: data refer to 1996.

¹²² CIA, *Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments*, op. cit.

¹²³ All information is from the UNECE source cited above, unless noted.

¹²⁴ UNDP, *Gender Issues in Ukraine*, op. cit., 14.

¹²⁵ UNECE-collected data refer to: Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Bank Board.

¹²⁶ UNECE-collected data refer to heads of Supreme Council of Justice, Supreme Court, Constitutional Court, Court of Appeals, District Courts, and members of the Supreme Council of Justice, Supreme Court, and Constitutional Court.

- **Armenia:** Only in Armenia has there been a noticeable increase in female members (from four females in 2000 to seven females in 2005), although the percentage is still low (of 131 members, 3.1 percent female in 2000 and 5.3 percent in 2005).
- **Kyrgyz Republic:** Female representation fell by two-thirds in Kyrgyz Republic from six (ten percent of 60) from 2001-2004 to two females (3.2 percent of 63) in 2005.
- **Ukraine:** The percentage of female members has decreased in Ukraine from 35 females (7.8 percent) in 2000 to 24 females (5.3 percent) in 2002.¹²⁷

It should be noted that although the numbers of women holding political positions of power are fewer today than under socialism, they do not by themselves reveal whether women in political positions today are able to exercise more than, less than, or the same power as they did in the past.

Albania: More Women Running for Office, but Not Elected

According to the research, efforts are being made to have 30 percent women on party lists and more women are running for elected office, especially at the local level. But, the number of women in office has drastically decreased and these new candidates are not getting elected. Nevertheless, the number of women in administrative government positions as department heads in ministries is on the rise, now totaling 24 percent.¹²⁸

Kyrgyz Republic: The emergence of a “male democracy”

One researcher suggests that women’s quality of life in the Kyrgyz Republic has substantially decreased with the emergence of “male democracy.”

“Kyrgyz society is moving away from gender equality as promoted by the Soviet State and espoused in its own laws. There has been a sharp decrease in the number of women in the Kyrgyz Parliament and in all management levels in various sectors of the economy. Women constitute only 6 percent of the members of Parliament and 11 percent of Government officials at the national level, compared to Soviet times when over 35 percent of Parliament and the Government were women. One woman-candidate for Parliament said: ‘It is difficult to break through the iron wall of men’s political unity. Elections openly discriminate against women.’”¹²⁹

According to an opinion survey, women generally have a positive view towards political activity, yet only eleven percent of women indicate that they are actively involved in public and political life.¹³⁰ And a recent Asian Development Bank gender assessment asserts that “women’s declining political participation in the democratic process, coupled with their lack of

¹²⁷ The 2005 political crisis in the Kyrgyz Republic may have had gendered effects on the parliamentary election results.

¹²⁸ UNDP, *National Human Development Report*, op. cit. 76.

¹²⁹ Handrahan, Lori, "Gender and Ethnicity in the 'Transitional Democracy' of Kyrgyzstan." *Central Asian Survey* 20, no. 4 (December 1, 2001): 467-496. For other aspects of women and poverty, see: Renée Giovarelli and Akmatova Cholpon, op.cit., 3.

¹³⁰ UNDP, *National Human Development Report 2001: Democratic Governance: Alternative Approaches to Kyrgyzstan’s Future Development* (Bishkek: UNDP, 2001), 23, <http://www.undp.kg/english/publications.phtml?2>

representation in decision-making structures, is one of the most pressing gender issues in the Kyrgyz Republic today.”¹³¹

Serbia: Quota System Increases Women in Local Government

Serbia increased its female representation in local assemblies from approximately six percent in 2000 to 15-25 percent in the 2004 elections through the introduction of a quota system. The Law on Local Elections of 2002 required a minimum of 30 percent of each sex on party lists. The move was in response to concerns regarding minority representation (and diffuse political unrest) as well as a recognition of the need to increase female representation.¹³²

D. Conclusions

- ***Are men and women equally represented in national, regional and local government bodies?*** Women’s representation in government decreased greatly in the early transition from socialism to a level that is now lower than the rest of Europe and even the United States. Some increases can be seen at the local level, especially where gender quotas have been introduced.
- ***Has the number of women holding political positions of power been increasing or decreasing since the transition?*** Women’s political power does not appear to be increasing from its post-transition low level of well below ten percent in national parliaments, and it has recently significantly decreased in the Kyrgyz Republic.

¹³¹ Asian Development Bank, op.cit., 56.

¹³² Zorica Mrsević, *Implementing Quotas: Legal Reform and Enforcement in Serbia and Montenegro*. (Budapest, Hungary: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [IDEA], October 2004), 2.

VII. EDUCATION

A. Introduction

An earlier E&E paper concluded that the gender gap in primary and secondary education is almost non-existent. In some countries, males have a slight advantage; in others, it is females. (The one exception is Tajikistan, where males have significantly higher enrollment rates than females.) The educational level where this parity pattern changes is tertiary education, where women significantly outnumber men.¹³³ The research questions of the current study emerge from these findings, looking at potential differences in tertiary education and on the links between education and employment. Consequently, the section is framed by the following questions:

- *Do men and women specialize in different majors in higher education?*
- *Do men and women receive equal returns (in terms of job level and pay) for the same level of education?*
- *Do men and women receive equal returns (in terms of job level and pay) for the same level of education?*

A. Regional Overview

Under the socialist system, education for all children, regardless of gender, was an important component of the drive for gender equality in the labor market and an essential element of economic development. In the early transition period, school enrollment rates fell, but they have increased again in most countries over the last five years.¹³⁴ Although the female rates were always high, in the later transition period they began to exceed those of males at the tertiary level.

1. Gender Inequality in Tertiary Education

Not only do tertiary gender ratios in E&E favor females, they far surpass those of other regions in which USAID works and are higher than in the “Advanced Countries.” As opposed to earlier concerns that girls would lose out, it is males whose educational levels are falling at this level. In fact, in all E&E countries except Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, the gender ratio for tertiary education favors females. Data comparing gender ratios in E&E with advanced and developing countries are in Table 9 below.

REGION	1980	1990	1995	2000
Transitional Economies	9.3	6.0	-5.1	-4.7
Advanced Countries	4.8	3.9	5.0	4.7
Developing Countries	37.5	30.7	28.2	26.8

¹³³ *Women and Men in Europe and Eurasia*, 4-6, op. cit.

¹³⁴ Pierella Paci, op. cit., 52.

¹³⁵ Based on Table 5, “Educational Attainment by Sex” in Robert J. Barro and Jong-Wha Lee, “International Data on Educational Attainment: Updates and Implications” op. cit.

In 2000, the average for transitional economies was 4.7 percent in favor of females; 4.7 percent in favor of males in advanced countries; and 26.8 percent in favor of males in developing countries.

2. Do men and women specialize in different majors in higher education?

No data on higher education enrollment by specialization were found for the region as a whole nor for all focus countries; however, good information on this question for Ukraine was uncovered. It may be representative of much of E&E.¹³⁶ In Ukraine, women specialize in the areas of economics, medicine,¹³⁷ humanities, education, and culture (all of which lead to lower-paying jobs). Table 10 below demonstrates these divisions.

Table 10 Ukraine: Gender Differences in Tertiary Education Specialization ¹³⁸		
Specialization	Gender	
	Male (%)	Female (%)
Law	63.9	36.1
Agriculture	61.1	38.9
Technical Services	58.7	41.3
Natural Services	47.2	52.8
Culture	35.6	64.4
Humanities	29.8	70.2
Medicine	27.5	72.5
Economics	26.0	74.0
Training / Education	21.4	78.6

3. Do men and women receive equal returns (in terms of job level and pay) for the same level of education?

The earlier E&E gender study reported that although women earn less than men with comparable income, the difference is similar to that in the West.

“On average ... females’ average earned income is only 61% of males’ average earned income. Regrettably, as large as this gender discrepancy is, it nevertheless compares favorable with rates in other regions of the world. For example, women’s earned income in the United States is estimated to be about 62.4% of men’s income.”¹³⁹

Another source reports that his pattern of a gender gap in comparable pay can be found across the region and also notes that the ratio for Ukraine is higher than that for the U.S. and the Netherlands. For example, women in the U.S. earn 61 percent of what men with comparable training and jobs earn; in the Netherlands, 51 percent; and in Sweden, the highest figure, 68 percent.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Nora Dudwick, Radhika Srinivasan, and Jeanine Braithwaite, op. cit., 27-42.

¹³⁷ *Economics and medicine* have a different meaning and/or lower status in post-socialist countries than in the U.S.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 32.

¹³⁹ *Women and Men in Europe and Eurasia*, op. cit., 8.

¹⁴⁰ UNDP, “Human Development Indicators,” *Human Development Report 2001: Making New Technologies Work for Human Development*, <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2001/en/>

Ukraine

A Ukraine report states that women’s wages are about 70 percent of what men with comparable education receive. As the authors of the Ukraine report summarize, “In part due to prevailing gender stereotypes about ‘appropriate professions,’ men and women are not equally represented in different sectors of the economy, with women clustered in lower-paid social sectors [even though women are as well educated as men, if not better].”¹⁴¹

4. Do social norms constrain women from getting the full benefits of their education by discouraging them from working or suggesting that their place should be in the home?

As discussed in the section on *Gender Ideology*, the data on social norms are scarce, and, as in other regions of the world, women’s labor force participation rates are also linked with differences in class, ethnicity, and rural-urban residence. During the socialist period, the exceptionally high rate of participation -- close to 100 percent -- was internationally unique; but, as many studies have documented,¹⁴² that number was artificial and depended upon women’s participation being supported with such state-funded safety nets as child and elder care. And, contrary to the vision of socialist ideology, equal labor market participation did not lead to gender equality.¹⁴³

In the later transition period, women’s labor force participation remains high and is comparable to men’s, even though the safety nets have disappeared. In fact, according to once source, 75 percent of the countries in the region have a ratio of more than 80 percent of women to men in the labor force. These trends are the results of (i) eleven of the 28 countries having experienced a fall in male activity rates, and (ii) female activity rates having risen in 17 countries, and having fallen in only six.¹⁴⁴

B. Focus-Country Comparisons: Where Are the Men?

As described above, an important educational issue across the region -- and in all the focus countries -- is the preponderance of women in tertiary institutions, which Table 11 demonstrates. The imbalance in favor of women ranges from a five percent difference between males and females in Armenia to almost twelve percent in Ukraine.

COUNTRY	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Year of Data
Albania	1.30	2.50	-7.20	2003
Armenia	-3.50	-2.40	-5.00	2004
Kyrgyz Republic	0.30	-1.00	-6.90	2004
Serbia and Montenegro	-0.10	-1.00	-6.70	2001
Ukraine	0.30	1.80	-11.60	2004

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 42.

¹⁴² See, for example, UNICEF, MONEE Project, op. cit.

¹⁴³ Pierella Paci, op. cit., 10.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 17.

¹⁴⁵ World Bank, *EdStats*, op. cit.

1. Drop-out Albanian Boys: A Case Study

The following excerpt from a World Bank Albanian study describes the links between out-migration of young men for work and their consequent lower enrollment rates in tertiary schools. Although the variables are not identical in the other four countries, the information highlights the need to examine across the region the trend toward gender inequality in tertiary enrollment.

“One of the most visible impacts of poverty on youth has been the pressure on boys to leave school. They either drop out, or are pulled out by the parents, to earn money.... The majority go abroad, mainly to Greece or Italy, reviving the Ottoman era tradition of “kurbet” (poverty migration), when it was customary for extended families to send at least one of their young men to work abroad to send money home. Today, much of the Albanian population lives on remittances from young men working abroad. As a result, male school enrollment has significantly decreased compared to that of girls, who now outnumber them almost 2:1 in some high schools.

“Interestingly, some poor families have prioritized their daughters’ education. In some cases, even when their sons were good students, parents made a strategic decision to send them abroad to work so they could at least afford to keep their daughters in school. Such parents explained that they saw education as their daughters’ only chances to obtain employment, while boys had more options because they could migrate.”¹⁴⁶

C. Conclusions

- ***Do men and women specialize in different majors in higher education?*** Men and women do have different specialties, with women predominating in such lower-paying areas as teaching, economics, and medicine.
- ***Do men and women receive equal returns (in terms of job level and pay) for the same level of education?*** Women receive less return than men for comparable levels of education. However, the reasons and outcomes are very complex. For example, in a country such as Ukraine, the return for women is comparable to Sweden and higher than that of the U.S. and the Netherlands. In Kyrgyzstan, where women have significantly more tertiary education than men, educated women have higher unemployment rates than less-educated men.
- ***Do social norms constrain women from getting the full benefits of their education by discouraging them from working or suggesting that their place should be in the home?*** Women’s labor force participation rates remain high and are comparable to men’s, which suggests that socio-cultural forces constraining women from using their education in the workplace are no stronger than in the U.S. or Western Europe.

¹⁴⁶ Nora Dudwick and Helen Shahrhiri, *Education in Albania: Changing Attitudes and Expectations* (Washington: World Bank, February 2000), 38-39.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Conclusions

1. *What does the literature say? Why does gender matter?*

The purpose of this study was to look at the more recent academic and scholarly literature and assess what it says about changes in the socio-cultural, economic, political, and educational situations of men and women in E&E. The detailed findings of that work have been summarized in the preceding chapters. The purpose of this chapter is to make the link between the research and its uses for E&E Missions. It suggests a number of avenues which can be profitably explored in order to make planning and programming decisions which promote gender equality as well as more effective and efficient development.

2. *From Superpower to “Developing” Nation: What Are the Gender Effect?*

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the countries of the region went from being under the umbrella of a major superpower to being considered “in transition.” Not only was there a change of status at the geo-political level, there were also major changes in the parity between women and men in a range of socio-economic indicators. In contrast to a truly poor country like Niger -- the lowest-ranked for gender equality among 174 nations -- where the hope is that time will bring improvement for women, E&E countries are different. The concern in E&E is that changes in the last decade have brought about increasing gender disparity. This is because socialism, for a variety of economic and ideological reasons, promoted very high rates of participation for women in the labor force, in politics, and in education, resulting in relatively high equality. But even though some economic and political measures have worsened, the inequalities are still relatively small when compared with other areas in which USAID works.

3. *Why Is Gender Important in USAID Activities?*

If that is the case, why is gender even an issue for the region? Why should E&E be aware of gender in its planning, programming, and evaluation activities? The simple answer is that attention to gender makes sense and provides for better results in development. It is not only just, it is also economically smart.¹⁴⁷

In addition, even though the position of women and men in the region may be comparatively better than in Africa, Asia, or Latin America, one of the immeasurables is that poverty and loss are also relative. It may be that it is harder to have had and lost than never to have had at all. In other words, the socio-economic losses since the transition may be more powerful and important than they appear in international comparisons. Certainly, all the human resources of E&E countries must be used effectively in order to improve socio-economic well-being for both women and men.

¹⁴⁷ Both the “equity” argument and the “economic” argument regarding gender are found in the academic literature on gender and development, sometimes in opposition. One useful summary is: Carol Miller and Shahara Razavi, *Gender Analysis: Alternative Paradigms* (Geneva: UNRISD, May 1998), <http://www.sdn.org/gender/resources/mono6.html>

4. USAID Gender Requirements: The ADS

A final reason for considering gender issues in planning, programming, evaluation, and procurement -- in addition to better targeted and more effective development and to redressing inequalities -- is that the Agency requires it. Functional Series 200 and 300 of the USAID Automated Directives System (ADS) lay out the guidelines for the areas in which gender analysis is mandatory or recommended. Although these guidelines are currently being revised, the general directive to consider gender in a range of activities will remain. The ADS specifics regarding gender are presented in Appendix III.

5. Next Steps

In order to improve the socio-economic status of men and women in E&E a number of steps are necessary.

- The first step is to understand the general problems through objective, reliable research. That is where the information from this study and its predecessors are of use. They lay out the parameters. They present the larger picture of the primary inequities in the areas of the labor market, credit, representative politics, and education. And, as noted in the data chapters, gender inequalities affect men as well as women.
- The second step is to operationalize the findings, to link the information with the actual planning, programming, and evaluation activities of a Mission. For example, this research has identified the fact that women entrepreneurs have more difficulty than men in obtaining credit. A Mission should take this into account in planning credit activities because it will also result in more entrepreneurs, thus growing the economic pie.
- The tool for this operational next step is a gender assessment.

6. What Is a Gender Assessment?

A gender assessment identifies gender issues that affect development outcomes, analyzing differential impacts on men and women and suggesting, within the parameters of specific activities, how the results can be improved. The focus can range from the country as a whole to one particular sector or project, but the scope is always built on the actual activities of the Mission, not on a wish list.¹⁴⁸

A gender assessment asks:

- How are the problems of men and women different? How might solutions be different?
- How might contributions of men and women to activities be different?
- How might activities differentially affect women and men?

¹⁴⁸ Two World Bank studies concluded that: (1) projects which took gender into account in their design and implementation tended to achieve their objectives more often than projects that ignored gender issues and (2) projects tended to have better impacts when gender issues had been analyzed at the country and project levels and those issues were taken into account in the design phase. See: World Bank, *Integrating Gender into the World Bank's Work: A Strategy for Action* (Washington: World Bank, January 2002), 11, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/strategypaper.pdf>

B. Recommendations

This study resulted in the following recommendations for the Bureau. It is believed that their consideration will promote the integration of gender into planning and implementation, which, in turn, will result in more efficient and effective development.

1. Gender Analyses

Using this report as a base, gender assessments of Mission activities involving planning, programming, or evaluation could be carried out for interested units, taking into account the differential problems, opportunities, and solutions for men and women of the proposed activities. The analyses would provide the Mission with information essential for shaping future activities or revising current ones. It would be vital to have field input in determining the specifics of each SOW.

2. Easily Accessible Research Mechanism

A variation of the gender analyses described above would be a “Rapid Research Response” activity which could be built into a current or future mechanism, perhaps an IQC. The concept of “Rapid Research Response” is derived from the popular development tool called “Rapid Rural Appraisal.” Rapid Rural Appraisal refers to a low-cost, efficient research technique which quickly produces results.

This study and its predecessors demonstrate the wealth of research data on a range of gender issues in E&E. They also point to the importance of systematically examining both qualitative and quantitative information in order to develop and implement policies and programs that accurately reflect the needs and opportunities for men and women. Development experts need accurate information, but generally neither Washington nor the field has the time or human resources for data collection and analyses, and there is currently not an efficient way to get rapid responses to research requests.

This mechanism would allow an inquirer -- Washington or a Mission -- to ask for a quantitative and qualitative research study as supplementary or background information for such tasks as designing a new activity, monitoring current programs, or determining future action plans. The breadth of the inquiry would be discretely shaped by the task determined by the inquirer, and the turn-around time would be relatively short. Fieldwork would not be required in order to carry out the research.

3. Special Studies

The research revealed several regional issues which differentially affect men and women and which have implications for E&E activities. Because the time and space constraints of this study did not permit an in-depth exploration of them, it is suggested that they be considered for a series of special desktop studies. They include:

- **Education / Tertiary Enrollment:** In all the countries examined, females significantly outnumber males in tertiary enrollment (as much as eleven percent in Ukraine). This has implications for such issues as labor markets, job training, and enterprise development. A special study could examine the sector in more detail and make recommendations appropriate to the activities of specific Missions.

- **Elections and Gender Quotas:** The number of elected women officials has decreased significantly since the transition. An examination of the changes over time and local and national responses to the new quota systems which some countries are imposing would lead to a better understanding of the democratic changes in the region. It would also support the democracy and governance work of relevant Missions.
- **Enterprise Development:** Although the expansion of the private sector is an essential foundation of the transition, very little sex-disaggregated information on entrepreneurship was found, either on the successes of those women who have become business owners or on the challenges that they and others face. Because small-medium enterprise development¹⁴⁹ is a key component of E&E's economic work, it is suggested that a study be carried out to assess the collection and analysis of sex-disaggregated data in such USAID business development activities as training, credit, chambers of commerce, business associations, and government business licensing. The report could be distributed in the region to demonstrate the opportunities for further expansion of the SME sector when women, as well as men, are targeted.
- **Poverty:** In the brief timeframe of this desk survey, it was not possible to do an in-depth analysis of the gender implications of poverty research. Researchers have written about the complications of using macro-level poverty data to draw gender conclusions because of the difficulties of examining gender and economics within the "black box" of the household and have suggested alternative methodologies. A summary of these studies would help E&E better understand the range of household economic strategies in targeted countries.

¹⁴⁹ Microcredit often is, by definition, women-focused. The emphasis here is on small and medium businesses.

APPENDIX I

PRIMARY DATA SOURCES

Primary Regional Studies

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- UNECE. *Gender and Social Statistics Database*, http://w3.unece.org/pxweb/Dialog/statfile1_new.asp
- UNECE. *Statistical Division Database*, <http://www.unece.org/stats/>
- UNICEF. *MONEE Database*, <http://www.unicef-icdc.org/research/>

World Bank. *EdStats* (Education Statistics), <http://devdata.worldbank.org/edstats/td3.asp>

World Bank. *GenderStats* (Gender Statistics), <http://genderstats.worldbank.org/home.asp>

APPENDIX II

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Note: When applicable, citations are listed under more than one heading; for example, country and topical.

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APPENDIX III

USAID AUTOMATED DIRECTIVES SYSTEM (ADS) GENDER GUIDELINES

The following is a summary of *current* Agency guidelines on when and how gender issues must be or should be considered in planning, programming, evaluation, and procurement. In several cases, gender analysis is mandatory. Please note that these guidelines, concurrent with the Agency policy changes which are now being instituted, will also be revised. However, the general directive to consider gender in planning, programming, evaluation, and procurement will remain.

Gender Provisions of USAID Automated Directives System (ADS) Functional Series 200 – Programming Policy (1/21/2003 Revision) & Functional Series 300: Acquisition and Assistance (07/24/2002 Revision)

Relevant Provisions in ADS

Defined Terms – ADS 200.6B Gender

Strategic Plans – ADS 201.3.8.4 (plus parameters memo)

- Must reflect gender concerns. Gender analysis is mandatory.

Strategic Objective – ADS 201.3.7.1

- Incorporate the findings of gender analysis, and actions to overcome obstacles to SO results.

Activity Planning

Activity-Level Analyses – ADS 201.3.12.6

- Must address gender issues in manner consistent with findings of gender analysis of the SO in written statement of one page or less.

Activity Approval Document – ADS 201.3.12.15

- Gender statement must be included or rationale for exclusion.

Customer Feedback – ADS 202.3.4.2

- Recognizing the roles and responsibilities of both women and men.

PMP – ADS 203.3.3.1

- Disaggregated to the maximum extent possible.

Performance Indicators – ADS 203.3.4.3

- Equitable access to development activities and benefits.
- Must include gender-sensitive indicators and sex-disaggregated data (or gender impact indirectly).
- Unexpected effects.

Evaluation – ADS 203.3.6.1 (b); ADS 203.3.6.2

- Appropriateness – unexpected result (such as gender differential results).
- Plan for data collection and analysis, including gender considerations.

Portfolio Review – ADS 203.3.7.2, Table 203E

- Are gender concerns being addressed? New gender issues?

Acquisition and Assistance

Direct Contracting – ADS 302.5.14

Grants & Cooperative Agreements – ADS 303.5.5 (b) and (c)

- Must incorporate

See also, *USAID Gender Plan of Action, 1996*

<http://www.usaid.gov/pubs/ads/200/gplana96.pdf>

ADS 200 – Introduction to Managing for Results

200.6 B. DEFINED TERMS

Gender: The economic, political, and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female. The social definitions of what it means to be male or female vary among cultures and change over time. (Chapters 200-203)

ADS 201 – Planning

201.3.7.1 Statement of Strategic Objective

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

MANDATORY. At the time of approval, a Strategic Objective must

- Be expressed in terms of a result or impact that permits objective measurement and is clear, precise, and gender disaggregated as appropriate.
- Incorporate the findings of mandatory technical analyses (gender, environment and conflict mitigation, as appropriate) and incorporate actions that will overcome any identified, significant obstacles to achieving desired results under the SO.

201.3.8 Mandatory Technical Analyses for Developing Strategic Plans

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

201.3.8.4 Gender Analysis

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

MANDATORY. Strategic Plans must reflect attention to gender concerns. Unlike other technical analyses described in this section, gender is not a separate topic to be analyzed and reported on in isolation. Instead, USAID's gender mainstreaming approach requires that appropriate gender analysis be applied to the range of technical issues that are considered in the development of a given Strategic Plan. Analytical work performed in the planning and development of SOs and IRs must address at least two questions: (1) how will gender relations affect the achievement of sustainable results; and (2) how will proposed results affect the relative status of men and women. Addressing these questions involves taking into account not only the different roles of men and women, but also the relationship and balance between them and the institutional structures that support them. For technical assistance and additional guidance, consult the Operating Unit or Bureau gender specialist, or the Office for Women in Development (WID) in the Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade (EGAT).

201.3.12.6 Activity Planning Step 2: Conduct Activity-level Analyses as Needed

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

Gender Analysis. MANDATORY. Activities designed following approval of the Strategic Plan must address gender issues in a manner consistent with the findings of the analytical work performed during Strategic Plan development (201.3.8.4). Findings from gender analysis, such as any actions identified for overcoming potential obstacles to SO achievement, may help to determine how gender needs to be addressed in the activity. Before approving an activity, Operating Units should ensure that those who will implement that activity are capable of addressing the gender concerns identified during strategic and activity planning. For contracts and grants/cooperative agreements that are issued following a competitive process, this is accomplished by signaling in solicitation documents USAID's expectations regarding gender

expertise and capacity, tasking offerors with proposing meaningful approaches to address identified gender issues, and placing appropriate emphasis on gender-related elements of technical evaluation criteria. The following steps must be completed to address this requirement:

(1) For each activity subject to approval, the Operating Unit must, in one page or less, outline the most significant gender issues that need to be considered during activity implementation. These issues should reflect consideration of the following two questions: **(a)** Are women and men involved or affected differently by the context or work to be undertaken? **(b)** If so, would this difference be an important factor in managing for sustainable program impact?

The statement must describe how these concerns will be addressed in any competitive solicitations financed under the activity such as Requests for Proposal (RFPs) and Requests for Assistance (RFAs) or Annual Program Statements (APS). Procurements for goods and commodities are excluded from this requirement. The text of this gender statement must be included in the Activity Approval Document. (See 201.3.12.15)

(2) If the Operating Unit determines that there are no significant gender issues, it must provide a brief rationale to that effect in place of the gender statement in the Activity Approval Document.

(3) The Approving Official for the activity is responsible for ensuring that the gender statement adequately responds to item #1 in this list. In cases where no gender statement is made (see #2), (s)he must ensure as part of approving the activity that the rationale is adequate.

(4) Before issuing or approving an RFP, RFA, or APS, the Contract or Agreement Officer will **(a)** Confirm that either the gender statement is incorporated into the resulting RFA, RFP, or APS requirements or that the rationale (#2, above) has been completed as part of activity approval; and **(b)** Work with the Operating Unit or SO Team so that the relative significance of gender technical capacity to the Statement of Work or Program Description is appropriately reflected in the technical evaluation criteria.

For technical assistance and additional guidance on integrating findings of gender analysis into activities, consult the Operating Unit or Bureau gender specialist or the Office for Women in Development (WID) in the Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture, and Trade (EGAT).

201.3.12.15 Activity Planning Step 11: Prepare Activity Approval Document (AAD)

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

Activity Approval Documents at a minimum must:

- Outline the most significant gender issues that need to be considered during activity implementation, and describe what outcomes are expected by considering these issues or, if the Operating Unit determines that there are no significant gender issues, provide a brief rationale to that effect.

ADS 202 – Achieving

202.3.6.2 Using Customer Feedback

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

Use of customer feedback is essential. SO Teams should develop mechanisms to ensure that partners share the Agency's commitment to customer focus and that an effective feedback loop exists to bring customer information into management decisions. Customer participation can take place in several ways, including

- Recognizing the roles and responsibilities of the full range of customers, including both women and men.

ADS 203 – Assessing and Learning

203.3.3.1 Contents of a Complete PMP *[italics added]*

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

MANDATORY. To be considered complete, a PMP must define at least one performance indicator that will be used to measure progress towards the Strategic Objective, and at least one performance indicator to measure progress towards each Intermediate Result in the Results Framework. Each of those performance indicators must include baseline levels, and targets to be achieved over the life of the SO.

A PMP should also meet the criteria described below:

b. State the set of performance indicators that the Operating Unit will use to assess progress towards the SO over its life. The PMP should specify the set of performance indicators (at the Strategic Objective and Intermediate Results levels) that will be used to assess progress over the life of the SO, and may indicate subsets of indicators that will be used in certain years or phases of the SO. *Performance indicators should be disaggregated by gender to the maximum extent possible.* The PMP should also provide a justification of why each performance indicator was selected, including any milestone indicators. While the set of indicators may change or be expanded over the life of the SO, the Operating Unit should develop as complete a set of indicators as possible early in the life of the SO. For more information on how to select performance indicators, see 203.3.4.

203.3.4.3 Reflecting Gender Considerations in Performance Indicators

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

Men and women have different access to development programs and are affected differently by USAID activities. USAID seeks to understand these differences, to improve the efficiency and overall impact of its programs, and to ensure that both women and men have equitable access to development activities and their benefits.

One way to understand the effect of gender on development efforts is to disaggregate performance information by sex. Because disaggregating performance data by gender is not always feasible or cost effective, the following requirement ensures due consideration in assessing the relationship between gender and development efforts:

MANDATORY. Performance management systems and evaluations at the SO and IR levels must include gender-sensitive indicators and sex-disaggregated data when the technical analyses

supporting the Strategic Objective, the Intermediate Results, or the activities to be undertaken under the SO demonstrate that (1) the activities or their anticipated results involve or affect women and men differently, and (2) if so, this difference would be an important factor in managing for sustainable program impact.

If the people targeted by the activity cannot be easily identified (such as people who attend mass meetings, people who buy from social marketing program vendors, people affected by economic reform), it may be too difficult to track and report sex-disaggregated data. In these cases, Operating Units should use performance indicators that may assess gender impact indirectly.

Operating Units should be aware that their activities may have significantly different effects on different social groups, and should ensure that neither women nor men are disproportionately affected, either positively or negatively. For example, in a region where 8 of 10 farmers are women and there are certain social norms governing social relations between the sexes, the Operating Unit should weigh the benefits of using male versus female agricultural extension agents. A program might disproportionately address women's access to education in situations where they have been historically disadvantaged. Similarly, policy changes often affect men and women differently, and Operating Units should look for unexpected effects that may need to be addressed. When gender technical expertise is not present in an Operating Unit, technical assistance is available from the Office of Women in Development in the Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture, and Trade (EGAT).

203.3.6.1 When Is an Evaluation Appropriate?

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

Operating Units should consider conducting an evaluation when there is a distinct and clear management need to address an issue. Operating Units and SO Teams should consider conducting at least one evaluation aimed at assessing results achievement during the life of each SO. Situations that may require an evaluation include

- Performance information indicates an unexpected result (positive or negative) that should be explained (such as gender differential results)

203.3.6.2 Planning Evaluations

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

The scope and level of effort of an evaluation should vary according to management needs and resources available. Evaluations may be conducted by specially contracted external experts, SO Team members, or partner organizations. Evaluations may directly involve ultimate customers in data collection and analysis. Regardless of an evaluation's scope, the planning process should involve the following step: Plan for data collection and analysis, including gender considerations, as provided in 203.3.4.3.

203.3.7.2 Illustrative Questions for Portfolio Review

Effective Date: 01/31/2003

The following tables provide illustrative questions that may be used to plan and conduct Portfolio Reviews. Other questions may be relevant and useful to address.

Figure 203E, Illustrative Process Issues to Address during Portfolio Reviews	
Areas of Concern	Suggested Questions
Customer/partner perceptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are customer expectations and needs are being regularly assessed? • Are customers/partners involved in performance management and assessing effort? • Are gender concerns being addressed, and are there new gender issues that the SO Team needs to take into account? • What opportunities do customers have to obtain information and to provide ongoing feedback to USAID on priorities and activity implementation?

Functional Series 300: Acquisition and Assistance

ADS 302 - USAID Direct Contracting

302.5.14 Incorporating Gender Considerations into Evaluation Criteria for Competitive Solicitations

To ensure that competitive contract solicitations comply with the policy contained in the bullet item “Gender” in ADS 201.3.6.3 part a. (See ADS 201.3.6.3), Contracting Officers must:

- a) Incorporate into the request for proposal (RFP) the statement outlining gender issues or confirm that the Strategic Objective Team (SOT) completed the rationale for not specifying gender issues as part of the activity approval; AND
- b) Include in the RFP an appropriately weighted technical evaluation criterion addressing the gender considerations specified in the statement, if applicable.

In addition, USAID policy requires that gender issues be addressed as appropriate in all USAID-funded activities (See Mandatory Reference, USAID Policy Paper, "**Women in Development**," dated October 1982). If the SO/RP team decides that gender issues will not be incorporated, they must document their decision in accordance with the requirements in E303.5.5b, paragraph 4 (E303.5.5b, paragraph 4).

ADS 303 - Grants and Cooperative Agreements to Non-Governmental Organizations
E303.5.5b Evaluation Criteria

- 4) A statement outlining gender issues or a rationale for not including such a statement must be included in the competitive RFA or APS, in accordance with ADS 201.3.6.3 (see ADS 201.3.6.3). The appropriateness of the statement or the rationale is determined by the Approving Official as part of the pre-obligation requirements.
- 5) Whenever gender issues are to be incorporated into the activity, the RFA or APS announcement must state the requirement. In developing specific criteria for evaluating the applicant's plan to incorporate gender issues into the overall activity, the SO/RP team shall consult, to the extent necessary, with the Bureau for Global Programs, Office of Women in Development (G/WID) for guidance on structuring the criterion to evaluate the plan's positive

impacts on the socio-economic status of women, any differential impacts on men and women, and methods for measuring these impacts.

ADS 303.5.5c Review and Evaluation

The following policies apply to the review and evaluation of assistance applications. ...

3) The Cognizant Technical Officer shall coordinate as necessary with G/WID in evaluating applications against the criterion relating to gender issues.

