Gender Assessment

FP040: Tajikistan: Scaling Up Hydropower Sector
Climate Resilience

Tajikistan | EBRD | B.16/02
**Key points**

- Tajikistan has a population of 8 million, with a 75% majority of ethnic Tajiks and a significant (15-20%) Uzbek minority. Officially a presidential republic, the ruling People’s Democratic Party has held power continuously since 1994.

- Despite a supportive legal framework, women face practical barriers to greater participation in business, employment and public life. Transition has been associated with an upsurge in traditional gender norms that locate women’s primary responsibilities in the home (family/household duties) and men’s in the public sphere (employment, business, political representation). These views are reinforced in rural areas by a revival of more conservative forms of Islam.

- Poverty has led to very high levels of emigration (mostly men migrating to Russia), such that Tajikistan is now the most remittance-dependent country in the world, with remittances accounting for 52% of GDP (WB, 2014c). While remittances provide a critical safety net for many poor households, women do not always gain control over household finances or a stronger voice in community groups despite increased responsibilities in their husband’s absence (e.g. land management). There are growing concerns about the vulnerability of “abandoned wives”, i.e. those whose husbands who do not remit money or divorce their wives while abroad.

**Access to services**

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<tr>
<th>Rural-urban divide</th>
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<tr>
<td>Around 70% of the population lives in rural areas, where women face particular difficulties, experience more restricted access to transport, education and health services and increased vulnerability to domestic violence and early/forced marriage.</td>
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**Water and sanitation**

According to UNDP (2012), women are the main suppliers, users and managers of household water: 72.3% of Tajik households report that women are primarily responsible for water collection (Shahiari, 2009). The burden of poor water availability and sanitation thus particularly falls on women, who undertake the majority of water-related household chores. Only around 59% of the population have access to a public water supply, and the majority of water in most systems does not meet national drinking standards (WB, 2014). However, the burden is greatest in rural areas, where only 38% of households have access to centralised water supply and 14% of households have to spend 30 minutes or longer collecting drinking water on a daily basis (DHS, 2012; UNDP, 2012). Challenges regarding poor water and sanitation are exacerbated by the fact that there is a low level of knowledge regarding good hygiene practices (USAID, 2014). Female agricultural small-holders are also affected by poor water supply. Oxfam (2011) reports that the most fertile and well-irrigated farmland in Tajikistan is usually allocated to the production of cash crops (predominantly cotton), and small-holders (typically women) are consequently forced to farm sub-standard land without adequate access to water supplies.

**Transport**

There is limited information available about public transport in Tajikistan and how it is used by women and men. According to ADB (2011), Tajikistan has one of the least developed transport sectors in Central Asia and among the world’s highest transport costs. Since the early 2000s, Dushanbe has experienced a rapid expansion in the use of private motor vehicles, along with deterioration in public transport (UNDP, 2010). In mountainous and remote regions of Tajikistan, transport systems are underdeveloped.
ADB, 2011), making it difficult for rural women to travel to urban centres to access health services or pursue employment or business opportunities.

**Fuel and electricity**

Tajikistan faces ongoing challenges with respect to energy supply, which has a differential impact on women as a result of their primary responsibility for household chores, including firewood collection, heating preparation, cooking, childcare, washing and cleaning (UNDP, 2012). These tasks become considerably more onerous without access to reliable electricity. In winter, households cope by burning solid fuels indoor (predominantly wood and coal) (WB, 2013). The resultant indoor air pollution is a major health risk factor and particularly affects women and children (WB, 2013; UNDP, 2014). Some 35% of the population use solid fuels (UNDP, 2014).

**Education**

Families tend to prioritise the education of boys, who are regarded as the families’ future breadwinners (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2013). The investment in girls’ education is not considered as important (cf boys), because girls are seen as temporary household members who will leave their own families and join their husbands’ families when they marry.

**Health**

Women have been particularly affected by the decline in health services caused by economic problems and financial cuts during transition. Infant and maternal mortality rates (partly stemming from high rates of home births) are among the highest in the WHO European region and malnutrition is a major public health concern (WHO, 2010). Access to health services is most constrained for women in rural areas, as evidenced by higher levels of infant mortality (54 deaths per 1000 live births cf 41 in urban areas) (UNDP, 2012).

**Childcare**

ETF (2010) classifies child care responsibilities as the main barrier to labour force participation for women. According to official statistics, in the period 1991-2007, the number of pre-school institutions was reduced almost by half and the number of children attending them fell 2.3 times (ETF, 2010). The increased burden of caring for pre-school children overwhelmingly fell on women and constitutes major deterrent for women wishing to enter the labour market. As a consequence, women of childbearing age have a labour market non-participation rate which is five to six times higher than that of men in the same age range (ETF, 2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access to employment</th>
<th>Labour Force Participation (LFP)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women’s labour force participation (59.1%) is relatively high, but lower than that of men (77.4%) (World Bank database, 2014). In recent decades, certain factors have had a strong impact women’s labour market participation in Tajikistan:</td>
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<td>- Transition: Transition led to a drop in women’s labour force participation, as a result of the decline of state sectors that had previously employed large numbers of women, and the dismantling of state services which had facilitated women’s employment, including childcare (ETF, 2010).</td>
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<td>- Conflict: The civil war (1992-1995) led to higher levels of women’s employment in some regions. A World Bank study (2011) found that married women in conflict-affected areas are still more likely to participate in the labour market than women in unaffected areas. This is partly explained through the ‘added-worker’ effect, whereby women enter the labour market in response to the migration, displacement or deaths of their husbands.</td>
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<td>- Remittances: A study by IDS (2012) found that women and men from</td>
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remittance-receiving households in Tajikistan are less likely to participate in the labour market. However, this effect is smaller for women, which IDS attributes to the timing of the first waves of labour migration.

- Crisis: During the crisis period, over 40% of women moved out of wage employment (compared to 30% of men), while over 60% of women who were in self-employment in 2007 had no paid work in 2009 (Kroeger & Meier, 2011).

**Horizontal segregation**

Women are strongly represented in agriculture (where they represent 50% of the workforce) (NAS, 2012). Other key sectors are hotels and restaurants (49%), health care and provision of social services (66%), education (52%) (NAS, 2007). There is evidence to suggest that gender-based occupational segregation has increased since transition, at least in some sectors (education, agriculture, public administration).

**Gender pay gap**

The gender pay gap is high, as women’s average earnings represent only 58.8% of men’s average earnings (NAS, 2012). This may be explained partly by strong patterns of vertical and horizontal gender segregation in the labour market (i.e. women are concentrated in sectors with lower wages).

**Unemployment**

Registered unemployment is relatively low (2.4% in 2013), but substantially higher for women (8.5%) (ETF, 2010). True unemployment rates are thought to be considerably higher, based on the 2009 Labour Force Survey, which recorded 11.5% unemployment, which is nearly 5 times higher than official rates (WB, 2014a). According to UNDP (2009), women’s unemployment rates drop dramatically after the age of 20, as women withdraw from the labour market and have children.

**Access to finance/property**

**Land ownership**

Whilst land reform legislation is largely gender-neutral and does not discriminate against women, women have faced ongoing challenges in realising their rights under the law. As a result, in 2012, just 8% of dekhans were headed by women, down from 12.3% in 2008 (NAS, 2012; UNDP, 2009). There is also anecdotal evidence that local officials reject women’s applications on the grounds of perceptions that women do not make good farmers (OECD, 2012; WB, 2013). Social norms which regard men as household heads mean that most land certificates are issued in the names of husbands, or, if women are widowed, in the name of an adult son (OECD, 2012). A social tax is levied on all farm shareholders, which creates a disincentive to add extra (i.e. women’s) names to the certificate (WB, 2012a). This has important consequences, as the certificates create formal property rights.

**Access to credit**

Use of formal financial services (including bank accounts and loans) is particularly low amongst women. According to data from the World Bank (2011), women are half as likely as men to obtain loans from formal financial institutions (3.2% of women vs 6.4% of men). Women face particular practical constraints in access to credit, including a lack of information about finance and a lack of access to the required collateral as a result of low levels of land ownership (OECD, 2012). Perceptions of bank officials also act as a barrier: one study found that women were charged an average of 16% for loans compared with 4% for men, because women were assumed to be less creditworthy than men as a result of lower levels of property ownership, lower overall employment rates and lower wages (WB, 2012). In addition, because women have less
exposure to wide social networks (in part due to their lower rates of employment and education), they also have less exposure to and knowledge of microfinance and loan opportunities (Pandya and Wilkinson, 2011). When women do access formal credit, they are more likely to take on short-term rather than long-term loans and to use these to cover immediate cash flow issues rather than to fund long-term investments (Shahriari et al 2009).

**Women's entrepreneurship**

There are relatively high levels of women's entrepreneurship in Tajikistan compared to regional averages (although Tajik women are still under-represented compared to men). In 2008, women participated in the ownership of 34.4% of all businesses (IFC, 2008) and in 2012, women represented 31.8% of individual entrepreneurs and managed 17.7% of SMEs (NAS, 2012). These rates are broadly in line with the average for Eastern Europe and Central Asia, where 33% of all firms report female participation in ownership (WB Enterprise Surveys). In terms of trends in the establishment of new businesses, women represented only 14.7% of all newly registered entrepreneurs in the period July 2009 to May 2011 (POT, 2013). There is limited information about the sectoral distribution of women's entrepreneurship. In particular, women entrepreneurs make up 75% of all market traders in Tajikistan, largely because men no longer regard it as a profitable activity and there are limited alternative opportunities. In general, women entrepreneurs report greater bureaucratic hurdles than men, including in relation to tax administration and the time it takes to register a business. For example, women-owned businesses report needing an average of 10 more days than men to register their enterprises (WB, 2010) and female individual entrepreneurs are subject to more inspections than men (although these inspections tend to be shorter) (IFC/World Bank, 2009).

**Decision making**

**Representation in national parliaments:**

In 2015, women's representation in parliament stands at 19%. Tajikistan does not operate a parliamentary quota system. According to US Dept of State (2014), women are under-represented in decision-making roles at all levels of politics.

**Patriarchal norms and values related to the sexual division of labour**

Rural women aged 15-49 years spend an average 32.11 hours per week on unpaid domestic work (UNDP, 2012). According to UNDP (2012), urban women spend a similar amount of time. Women in the city spend more time on child care, shopping, house-cleaning, cooking, while women in rural areas spend more time on activities associated with plots of land, animal care and provision of clean drinking water for the household.

**Key indicators: Women and men in the economy**

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<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>All</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Labour market</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Labour force participation (% of population that are economically active) World Bank 2014</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>77.4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Self-employment</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(% of female, male and combined employed population who are own-account workers) ArmStat, 2013</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Table</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Informal employment (Informal employment)</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid family work (Unpaid family work)</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate (Unemployment rate (15+ years))</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public sector employment (Public sector employment)</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender pay gap (Gender pay gap)</td>
<td>50.9</td>
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<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Firms with female participation in ownership (Firms with female participation in ownership)</th>
<th>24.7</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bank account at formal financial institution (Bank account at formal financial institution)</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loans in the past year from a financial institution (Loans in the past year from a financial institution)</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>18.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political participation</td>
<td>Representation in national parliaments (Representation in national parliaments)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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