



OXFAM

Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of perception of gender roles and gender-based violence in 6 districts of Tajikistan

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Disclaimer

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INTRODUCTION

Problems of gender balance and equal opportunities are identified with the area that is of high interest to political and legislative levels of Tajikistan. Republic of Tajikistan was among first in the post-Soviet space to ratify the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in December 1993. An expression of commitment to the principles of the Convention and implementation of the obligations towards its ratification have been the development of numerous institutional mechanisms, including the Committee on Women and Family Affairs under the Government of RT and the Committee on Social Issues, Family, Health and Environment in the Parliament. Since 1993, several measures have been taken at the legislative level on provision of equal rights and opportunities: in 1997 as an immediate measure aimed at improving equality of the women in society, the quota was introduced for girls' admission to higher educational institutions of the country. President's Decree signed in 1999 «On Advancing the Role of Women in Society» was aimed at increasing women's access to decision-making positions. Based on this Decree a relevant State Programme for 2001-2010 was adopted¹ ensuring women participation in governance decision making processes, in March 2005 a law «On State Guarantees for Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities for Men and Women» was adopted and a few years later in 2013 a «On Prevention of Domestic Violence» Law.

It should be noted that these measures helped to monitor and make changes at the institutional level regarding access to education, decision-making process, etc. The situation is assessed through studies in the following areas:

- a) Situation analyses on selected sectors in the context of gender – education, economy, health, justice, reproductive health, labor migration, access to land, polygamy as a phenomenon, etc.²;
- b) Monitoring and Assessment of specific gender Projects.

One of the UN CEDAW recommendations for Tajikistan, made in 2013, states that «it is necessary to adopt a comprehensive strategy to changing patriarchal attitudes and stereotypes that discriminate against women»³. The recommendation focuses on assessing gender stereotypes and identifying possible ways to reform them.

Stereotypes are known to translate into society through numerous tools of intergenerational transfer – from senior to junior, and through social environment and mass media. Information received by the

¹ Key areas of State Policy on provision of equal rights and equal opportunities for men and women in Republic of Tajikistan for 2001–2010.

² F.S. Islamov. Demographic Development Trends of Republic of Tajikistan. - Dushanbe, Institute of Demographic Studies of Republic of Tajikistan, 2005; Analysis of the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on State Guarantees of Equal Rights for Men and Women and Equal Opportunities in the Exercise of Such Rights // Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative. – 2005; Kh.O. Khushkadamova. Gender Aspects of Labor Market of Tajikistan; Project «Women's Access to Justice in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia». – 2011; Legal Problems: population needs for legal services and practiced ways to find solutions //ТФ ИОО-ФС. – Dushanbe, 2012; Statistical Agency under the Government of Tajikistan, Ministry of Health and IFC International. Health and Demographic Survey. - Dushanbe, 2012; Cleuziou J. A second wife is not really a wife: polygyny, gender relations and economic realities in Tajikistan. – 2015.

³ Concluding remarks on consolidated fourth and fifth periodic Report on Tajikistan. – C.4/13.

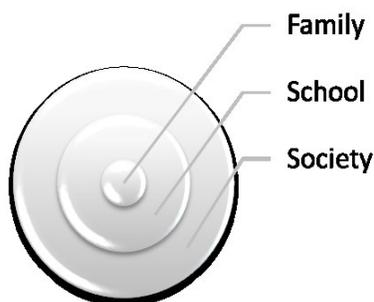
individual shapes his/her perception of social roles in the family and society, relationships and defines further actions. It should be noted that these stereotypes have certain elasticity and depend on a number of factors, including type of a settlement, living standards, education, employment of individuals, etc.

This report aims to identify sources and reasons for negative gender stereotypes and find possible mechanisms to change negative attitudes and mentality. We tried to understand the perceptions of responsibilities of men and women related to family planning and child care. Is there any distinction in the perception of gender norms for older and younger generations? What is the attitude of men and women towards gender violence? And are men and women aware of legislation related to gender equality?

Oxfam GB in Tajikistan has requested a study to be carried out focusing on gender stereotypes, which will help to develop and set up tailored approaches for its further gender activities.

Methodology of the Study

The researchers point out that over the past 20 years the most important thing in the lives of Tajiki population has been the family⁴. This fact is associated with a decreasing level of confidence in other social institutes. At the stage of continued socialization, the institutes affecting individuals include social environment, school.



The study covers all three institutional levels: family, school and society. The levels covered in the study are interrelated and interdependent. Namely the family, being part of society, reflects the prevailing gender order in the society. An Individual in turn, while growing, perceives the existing order, projects it to the immediate environment and further as a grown member of society, passes it on to the next generation. Having considered that, the methodology includes along the three institutional levels –

family, school and society, the study of the perceptions of older and younger generations.

Existing practices of gender roles distribution and attitudes towards women and children have been constructed at the family level.

Similarly, at the school level, there is an existing system of gender tolerance between boys and girls. The manner and shape of interaction between men and women in the society defines overall gender tolerance.

One of the issues covered in the study is involvement of father figure in raising children. The significance of this role was highlighted in the dedicated discussions at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994) and 4th International Conference on Women in Beijing (1995). Programs of Actions adopted at the two conferences pursued the same goal that involved the need to promote achieving equality and partnership between men and women across all areas of family commitments including reproductive health and responsible parenting.

⁴ Sh. Shoismatullaev. Tajikistan in the mirror of generational continuity.

Goal and Objectives of the Study

Perception of gender roles in pilot district communities and a methodology used to identify knowledge, attitudes and practices of gender roles perceptions (*Knowledge, Attitude and Practice – KAP*).

Pursuant to the goals the following Objectives were identified:

- 1) To determine perceptions of gender roles among the pilot districts communities and whether the perceptions are similar between older and younger generations;
- 2) To determine the attitude about gender violence in pilot districts' communities and to establish if there are any differences in perception of the violence between older and younger generations;
- 3) To determine the level of fathers' involvement in raising children;
- 4) To determine the level of awareness of country's gender policy;
- 5) To draft recommendations and proposals for developing preventive and educational programs on gender and women empowerment.

Target districts

According to ToR the study was implemented in RRS, Khatlon and Sogd Provinces:

- a) RRS: Rudaki District;
- b) Khatlon Province: city of Kulyab and Muminabad, A. Jomi and J. Rumi districts;
- c) Sogd Province: Ayni District.

Sampling

According to ToR, total size of sampling was 400⁵, of which 200 respondents were men and 200 – women.

Developing a sampling plan was based on the following actions:

1. Based on official statistics each target district determined total number of population between 18 – 65 (see Table 1);
2. A share of each district in relation to general population was identified;
3. In the next step the size of sampling for each district was determined.

The sample for this study is proportional.

⁵ Sampling error- 5% <http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html>

Table 1. Sample distribution by regions and districts

Region	Areas	Population	%	Amount
RRS	Rudaki	394,2	15,0	60
Khatlon	Muminabad	77,7	11,5	46
	A. Jomi	135,5	15,0	60
	J. Rumi	157,7	15,0	60
	Kulyab	181,4	15,0	114
Sogd	Ayni	72,0	15,0	60
Total		1 018,50	100,0	400

As a next step the sampling size or the number of interviews was identified. Since the study covered 4 target groups (young men/adult male, young women/adult female) it was decided to interview 5 respondents from each group in each location. Thus, sample size was established in the amount of 20. Number of settlements was determined based on this estimate.

The following step involved the need to determine sampling locations (specific geographic settlements). A list of all villages comprising respective districts was developed for each district. Each village was assigned a random number selected by Random Number Generator, followed by a village selection procedure for the polls to be carried out in them.

Target group

Object of the study: older and younger generations residing in the households of the project area of Oxfam GB operation.

Subject of the study – knowledge, attitude and perception of gender roles and gender violence for older and younger generation

- 1) Older generation includes **parents** – adult male and female;
- 2) Younger generation includes **young couples** – young male and female.

Training the interviewers

In order to conduct gender-related trainings it was previously determined that due to the nature of questions, female respondents would need to be interviewed by women-interviewers. Accordingly, for men-respondents the required number of men-interviewers shall be envisaged.

A two days training included following topics: a) 1st day – gender education for interviewers; 2nd day - focus on the study itself, including:

- ☑ Discussing confidentiality of interviews,
- ☑ Reaching respondents' consent for the survey,
- ☑ Sampling by villages,
- ☑ Selecting respondents in every household,

- ☒ Discussing each question and block of the Questionnaire.

The study was supported by the Committee for Women and Family Affairs under the Government of RT. The interviewers in each district approached local Committee branches that assisted in obtaining respective information of recently registered young married couples from the Civil Registration Office.

Data collection and results processing

Data collection was carried out based on the scheduled activities in December 2015. The survey was done using tablets with installed CPro software.

Data assessment

Data Assessment Plan was developed in close collaboration with Oxfam GB Gender Coordinator.

Assessment was made using statistical software SPSS. For triangulation of results following sources were used.

- ☒ Compendium «Men and Women of the Republic of Tajikistan» published by Statistical Agency of the Government of Tajikistan for 2014.
- ☒ Demographic and Health Survey Report on Tajikistan, 2012;
- ☒ Compendium «Socio-economic situation of the Republic of Tajikistan» published by Statistical Agency of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2014; and
- ☒ Findings of other studies on various aspects related to Knowledge, Attitude and Perception on gender roles and gender violence in 6 districts of Tajikistan (*shown in the text of the Report*).

While drafting the Report, following information sources were referred to: a) survey results; b) scientific-research articles including Kessler-Harris's «Female labor and social order», I. Klyotsin's «Paternity in analytical approaches to masculinity», Zh. Chernov's «Family politics in Western European Countries: paternity models», Paquette D. «A new typology of fathering: defining and associated variables»⁶; c) Labor Code of Republic of Tajikistan, Law of RT on Prevention of Domestic Violence; d) UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; e) Concluding Remarks on consolidated fourth and fifth periodic report of Tajikistan to CEDAW Committee.

⁶ A. Kessler-Harris. Female labor and Social Order // Anthology of Gender Theory. – Minsk: Propilee, 2000; I.S. Klyotsin. Fatherhood in analytical approaches to masculinity. - <http://humanpsy.ru/klyotsina/maskulinnost>, Paquette D. A new typology of fathering: defining and associated variables.

Limitations of the Study

Due to sensitivity of the research, it was expected to face some challenges in the process of data collection:

- ✓ *Respondents refused to be interviewed in the beginning of the conversation. Interviewer explained the topic of the survey and made sure that potential respondents did not object to participate in the survey. Potential respondents, particularly young men and women, once they had known about the survey, at times declined to be interviewed;*
- ✓ *Respondents refused to continue with the interview. During the survey a respondent refused to continue with the interview, claiming «It became too personal».*

STUDY OUTCOMES

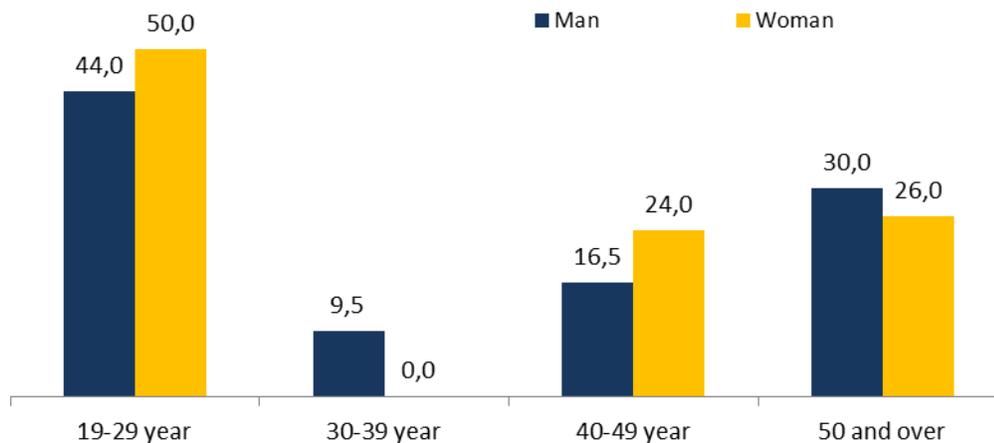
I. Socio-Demographic Characteristic of Survey Participants

Age

Prior to analyses of the study findings it is necessary to take socio-demographic characteristic of respondents into consideration. Based on the general focus of the study, along with actual data grouped by education and employment rates in the paragraph, a gender distribution analyses was carried out.

Overall, 400 respondents were interviewed. For analytical purposes and pursuant to the goals and objectives of the study, two age groups of the interviewed respondents were set up.

Diagram 1. Distribution by age groups (%), n=400.



Half of the respondents (50%) were couples married during the last 5 years. This group was called «younger generation» and includes married men and women. Upper age limit for the interviewed women in the category «young» is 29; while for men this limit is 39 years old. It is interesting to note that age range 30-39 includes only men (see Diagram 1). This can be explained by the fact that statistically mean age at marriage for women is 22,6 and 25,7 for men⁷. It should be noted however that for some interviewed men marriage, which they are in thus far, is not their first one.

The other half (50%) of respondents is «older generation». Age of the older generation, “parents”, is 40 and older.

Education

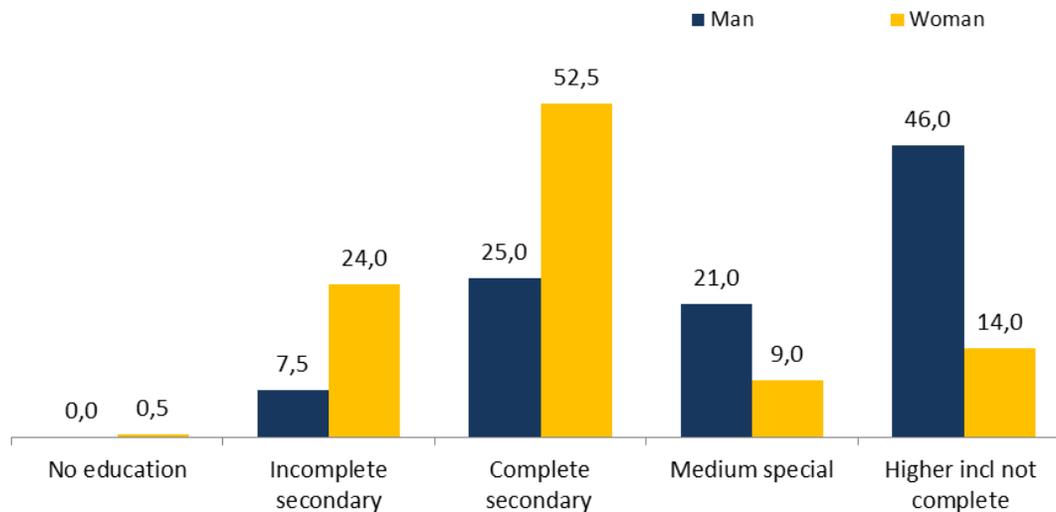
As shown in the study results, **women's education is mainly shifted towards the mean level – 9 classes (24%) and 11 classes (53%).** Cumulatively, secondary education (incomplete – 9 classes and complete – 11 classes) for 77% of those surveyed women – see Diagram 2. These survey results on the level of

⁷ Women and men of Republic of Tajikistan. – Statistical Agency under the Government of Republic of Tajikistan, 2014. – C.34.

education for women correlate with Demographic and Health Survey data (hereafter DHS) for 2012. Based on this data, “90% of women attended at least secondary educational institutions”⁸.

Results by level of education for men tend towards a higher level of education. Secondary education including incomplete secondary for 33%, secondary special – for 22% and supreme education for 46% of men for those interviewed. Cumulatively, 68% of men have upper-secondary education – see Diagram 2.

Diagram 2. Distribution of respondents by level of education (%), n= 400.



Employment

Employment is one of the factors impacting wider capacities of a person. Correlation of education and employment indicators suggest that **the higher is the level of education the greater is probability to**

find a job for a woman in the formal sector.⁹ Accordingly, the lower is the level of education, the greater likelihood is to end up with seasonal employment (presumably the jobs are associated with agriculture), informal employment and self-employment. **Employment in the informal sector is fraught with the lack of opportunities for social benefits, family allowances and maternity leaves.** Women working from home (self-employed) are a new category of workers, introduced under the Labor Code in 2011 and they are not

Unemployed – individuals that have reached certain age under the national law, who, during the period in consideration: a) do not have a job (income generating occupation); б) available to begin work; в) engaged in finding a job

Hired labor – individuals, occupied in the state-owned, private and other companies and paid the wage, compensation, remuneration (similar to the term «blue and white-collar worker»).

Socio-economic situation of Tajikistan. – Statistical Agency

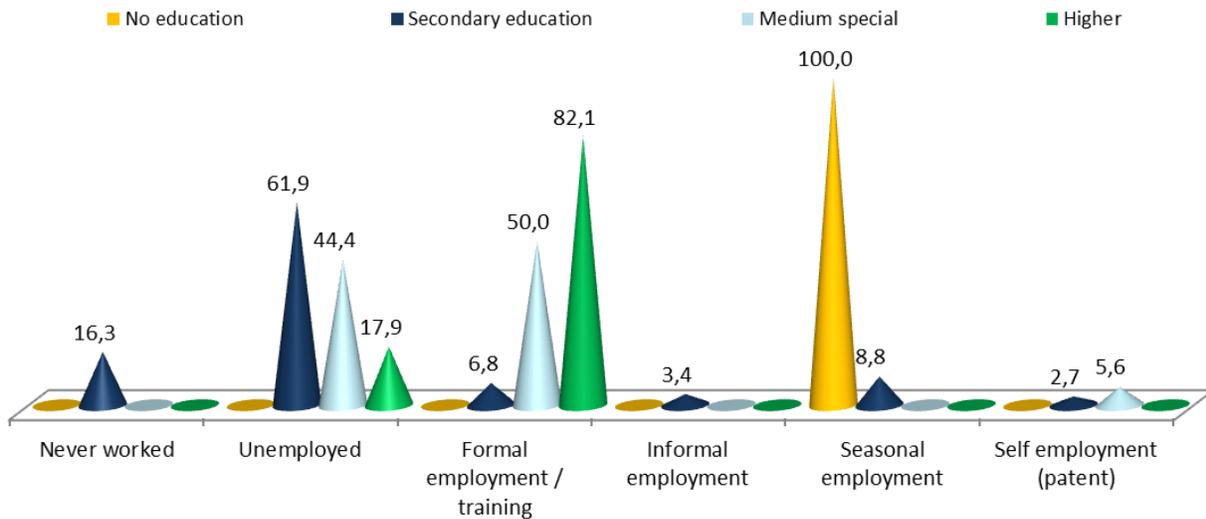
⁸ Statistical Agency, Tajikistan and IFC International, 2013. *2012 Demographic and Health Survey of Tajikistan: Atlas.* – C.4.

⁹ *Formal employment* stands in this context for «**hired labor**». The definition was given during trainings with the interviewer

eligible for maternity protection and related payments¹⁰.

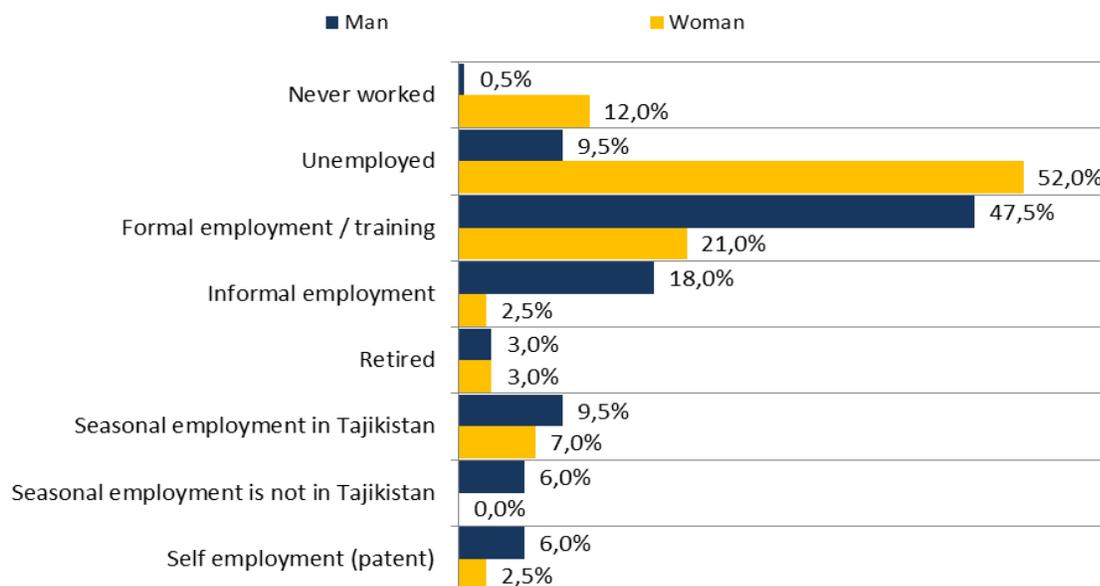
In other words, hypothetically only a quarter (24%) of those interviewed women can rely on the possibility of securing social payments, family allowances, maternity and child care leaves, and returning back to work after maternity leaves. Remaining 76% does not enjoy such possibilities.

Diagram 3. Employment of women in the distribution by level of education (%), n=200.



Comparing employment rates between men and women according to the study results it is seen that unemployed ratio among them is 10% and 56% respectively. Women employed in the formal sector comprise 21% and men – 48%. Based on DHS data for 2012, the rate of women engaged in the formal sector is 25%.

Diagram 4. Distribution of respondents by employment rate (%), n= 400.



¹⁰ Final remark on cumulative fourth and fifth periodic report of Tajikistan to CEDAW Committee.

II. The concept of gender roles

Distribution of duties

Distribution of duties in the household is one of the indicators defining the concept of gender roles as well as realization of these concepts in practice.

Assessment of the data for **the question regarding distribution of tasks in the household showed that responses of men and women are practically similar.** All types of work involving their daily execution and immediately associated with the house are female field of activity, according to respondents. **Types of work associated with public space, i.e. relationship with external world – buying food, paying bills and home renovations are the tasks mainly performed by the men – see Diagram 6.**

The question - «did they teach you when you were a child to do specified works (tidying, laundry, cooking)?» by majority of men was answered positively – see Diagram 5. In other words, **men do have skills for these works however they do not perform them because they are “female kind of works”.**

Based on observations of interviewers:

Yet another phenomenon has emerged, such as **self-discrimination of women.** Specifically, one of the respondents told us that her husband, having come back from migration in Russia, attempted to help with something about the house. Her reaction was negative – «It’s a woman’s work, don’t! What would the neighbors say? »

Diagram 5. Affirmative responses by men on skills management (%), n= 200.

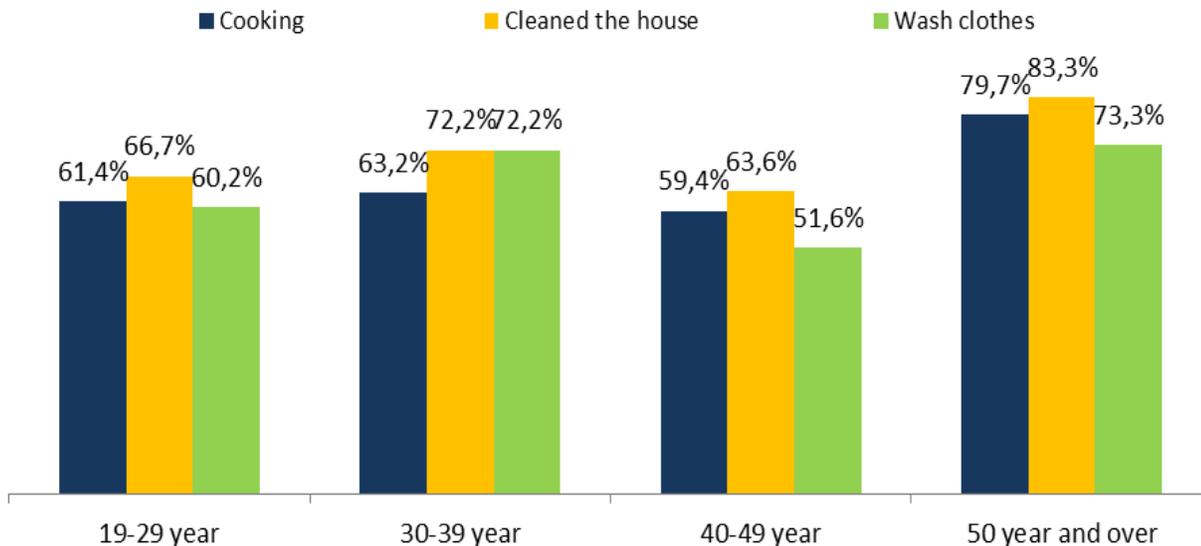
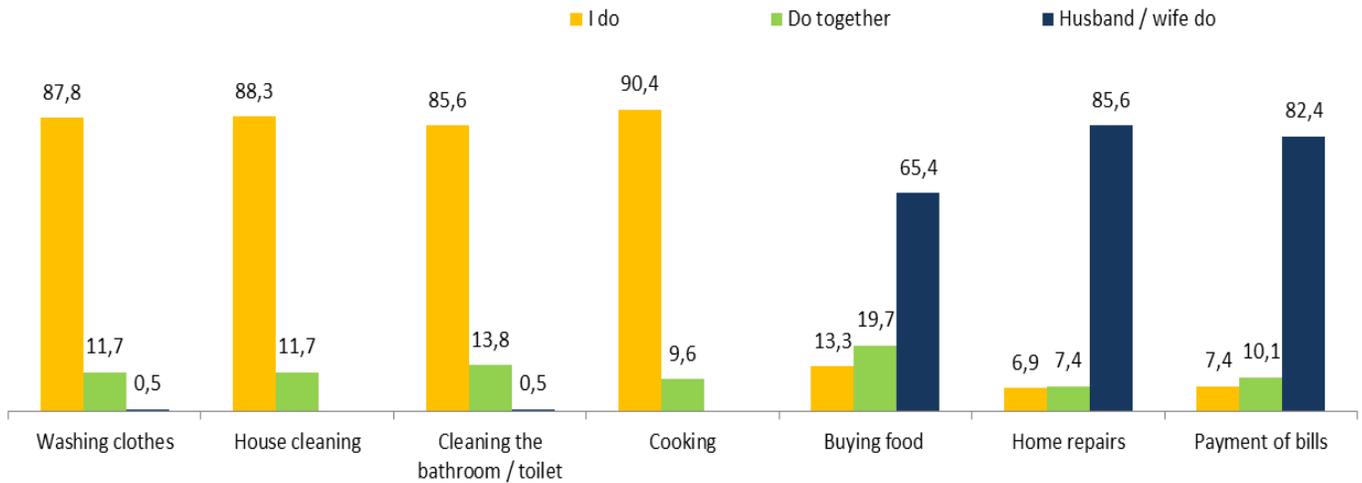


Diagram 6. Distribution of duties about the house (%), n=400.



Compilation of responses of younger and older generation about the distribution of tasks shows that **with age the understanding of gender roles is slightly transforming** (see Table 2). For older generation, shared efforts-taking while doing the chores within (laundry, tidying) as well as outside of house, such as grocery shopping, paying bills, becomes increasingly important. However, distribution of duties around two areas – public and private – nonetheless persists.

Among younger generation the idea of gender roles is rather adamant: by them, certain tasks are and must be discharged by women only (laundry, tidying, cooking) while certain other tasks by men (grocery shopping, house maintenance and paying bills).

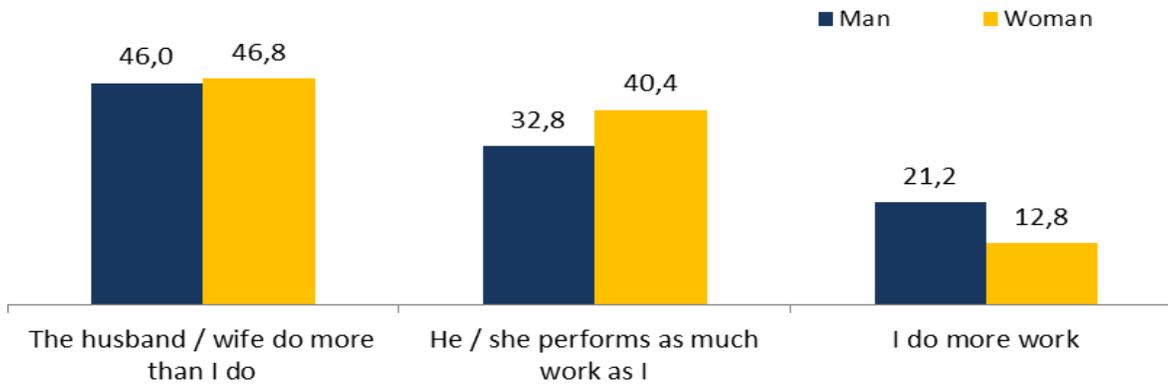
Table 2. Distribution of duties about the house based on the experience of younger and older generation (5), n=400.

		Washing clothes	House cleaning	Cleaning the bathroom / toilet	Cooking	Buying food	Home repairs	Payment of bills
Young	I do	92,9	96,0	92,9	93,9	10,1	5,0	2,0
	Do together	6,1	4,0	6,1	6,1	9,1	1,0	5,1
	Husband / wife do	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,0	80,8	93,9	92,9
Older	I do	82,0	79,8	86,5	86,5	16,9	9,0	13,5
	Do together	18,0	20,2	22,5	13,5	31,5	14,6	15,7
	Husband / wife do	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	51,7	76,4	70,8

It's noteworthy, **that men's opinion moves towards the notion of unfair distribution of duties.** Scope of works discharged by men, according to men-respondents, is more significant than that of women – 21%. Works, associated with daily duties about the house, **are usually not regarded as a type of works that require efforts, concentration and time. Unpaid domestic labor refers to “invisible” category and is estimated as insignificant.**

For women, assessment of the distribution of duties takes shape around the option «Husband handles a greater amount of work» - 47% and «we handle same amount of work» - 40%.

Diagram 7. Assessment of fair distribution of duties (%), n=400.



Decision-making

The notion of gender roles – what men can/can't do or what women can/can't do, can be treated through finding the way for women to take their own decisions. To determine this possibility, three areas that, similar to DHS 2012, require decision-making, were applied: a) own health; b) grocery/clothing shopping and c) seeing relatives and/or female friends.

According to the survey results, on average 12% of women **from younger generation group and 36% of women from older generation group participated in decision-making across all three points.** – see Diagram 8. However, the lowest indicator for young (20%) and adult women (56%) alike, is decision-making in the area of «grocery and/or clothing shopping».

To compare and verify data, the information was taken from DHS study 2012 on women taking their own decisions. According to DHS data, decision-making involves 43% of married women between 15-49 years old¹¹. Based on DHS it was pointed out that across all three areas, 24 % of interviewed women take their own decision. *Why is there such a discrepancy between the survey and DHS study data?*

Based on observations of the interviewers across all covered districts:

To interview a man, you need only his consent.

To interview a woman, especially if she is a young wife, you need to have consent of a husband or other relatives.

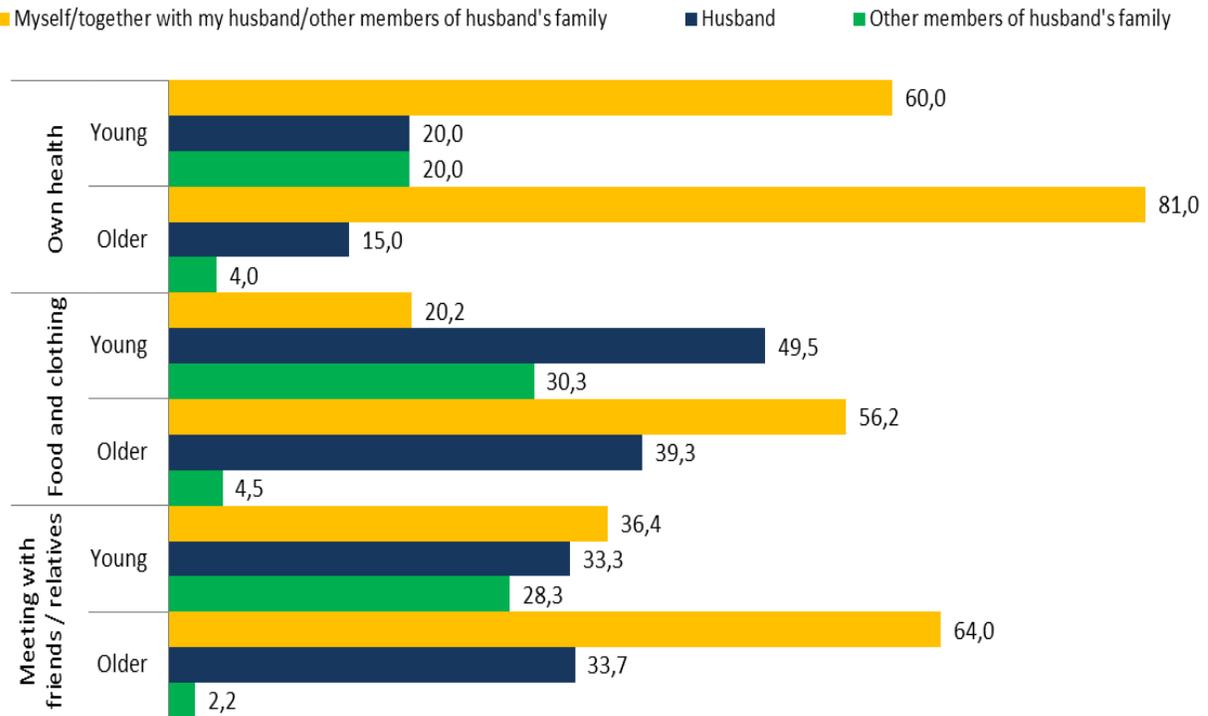
To answer this question, we should understand the nature of DHS study respondents, indicating that majority of interviewed married women is in formal union¹². It implies that definition for «formal union» is not provided in DHST 2012 Report. It can be assumed that group of women with formal status covered by the DHS study did not share a house with the relatives of their husbands. Also, under DHST 2012 the age-range covered is 15-49. Based on the survey results and socio-cultural practices,

¹¹ Statistical Agency, Tajikistan and IFC International, 2013. 2012 Demographic and Health Survey of Tajikistan: *Atlas*. – C.18.

¹² Statistical Agency, Tajikistan and IFC International 2013 2012 Demographic and Health Survey of Tajikistan: *Atlas*. – C.5.

young women are commonly controlled by their husbands and mother-in-laws. Consequently, if she lives individually, the young woman can take decisions on the three mentioned areas: a) own health; б) grocery/clothing shopping, as well as в) seeing relatives and/or female friends.

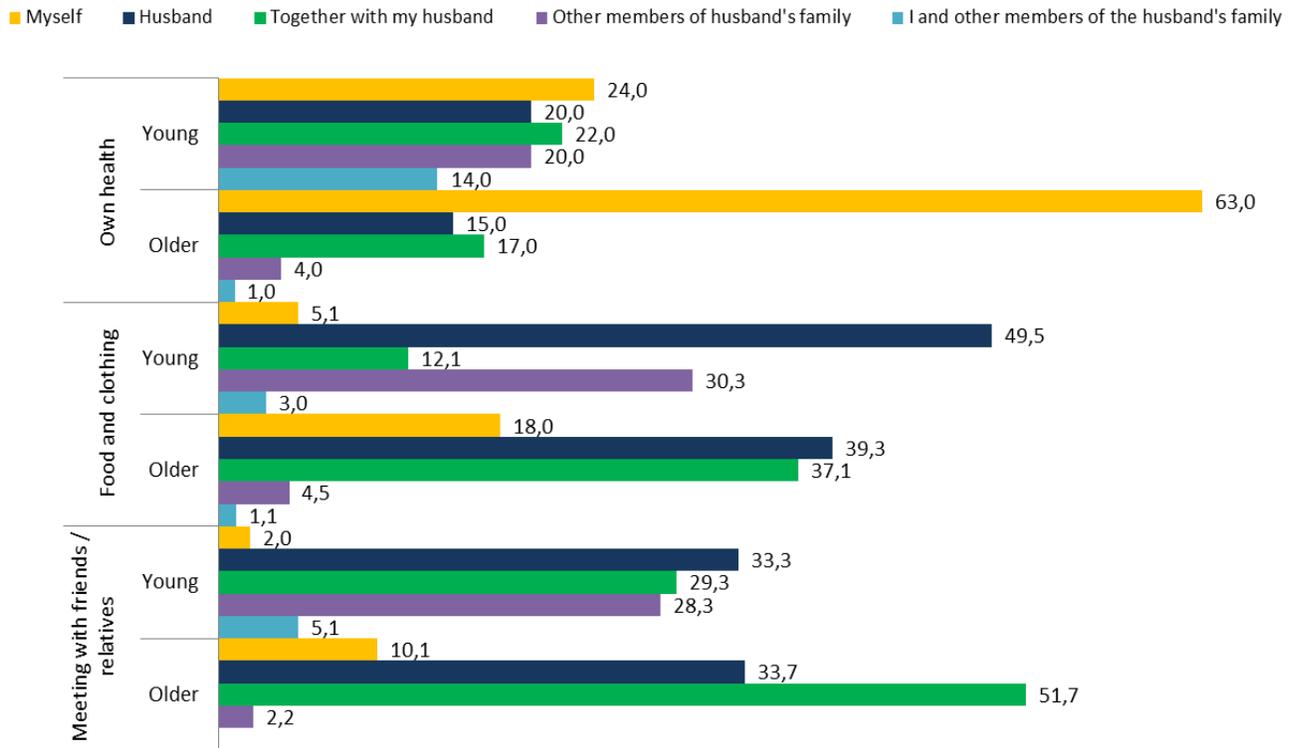
Diagram 8. Responses grouped by decision-making of women (%), n=200.



Older generation of women (age 40 and older) are more involved in decision-making compared to younger generation. Typically, they share decision-making with their husbands. At the same time, the highest result on independent decision-making by adult women is shown for «own health care» - 81% and the lowest for «food and clothing» - 56%. Other family members, while discussing and taking decisions, were not indicated by the representatives of older generation. It is worth mentioning that for adult women only husbands maintain the control.

For younger generation, decisions on all three aspects are made either by husbands or other family members. **Typically, this role is plaid by mother-in-laws. Involvement of young women themselves in the discussions and decision-making is in-situ insignificant.** The highest result on independent decision-making/shared decisions is on «own health» - 60% and the lowest is on budget «food and clothing» – 20%.

Diagram 9. Ungrouped responses by decision-making for women (%), n=200.



Male-Female Relations

What is the relationship between men and women? Is it built upon the principles of equality and mutual respect? These aspects of the relationship are described in the section.

Based on observations of the respondents:

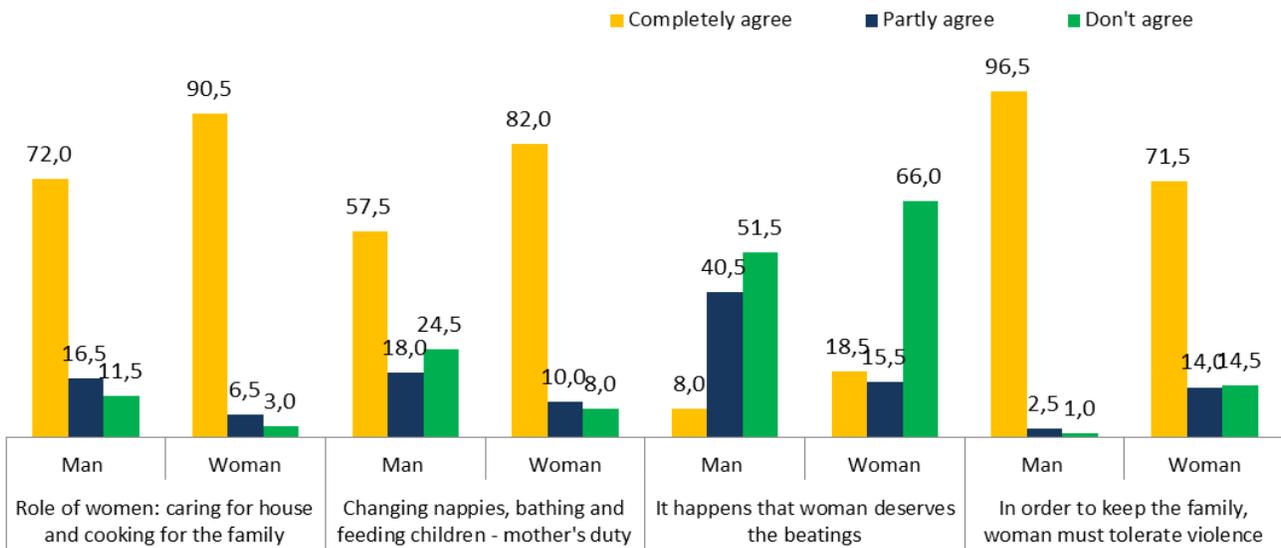
The women responded negatively on the question of domestic violence in their families. However some of them later opened up during the interview. For example, one woman responded: «I tell my mom if he batters me».

Childcare is women's prerogative according to 58% of men and 82% of women interviewed. Key role of the woman, according to the respondents, is household area. Noteworthy, **this point was made by the absolute majority of women – 91%.**

Based on the 2005 study results¹³, 50% of married women appeared to report various forms of violence they had experienced (physical, emotional, sexual, control) in the family. **According to current survey results, respondents believe «a woman must tolerate violence to keep her family together». This was the answer of 97% of men and 72% of women.** Perception of the respondents on the concept that women should tolerate violence for the sake of marriage suggests the likelihood that such actions have been committed in the past.

¹³ Violence against Women in Marriage: a general population study in Khatlon oblast, Tajikistan // Project to reduce violence against Women (PROWAV) in Tajikistan. Report prepared by Dr. R. Haar, International Consultant, Swiss Cooperation Office-Tajikistan. – Dushanbe, 2005. – P.11.

Diagram 10. Gender Balance Scale (%), n=400

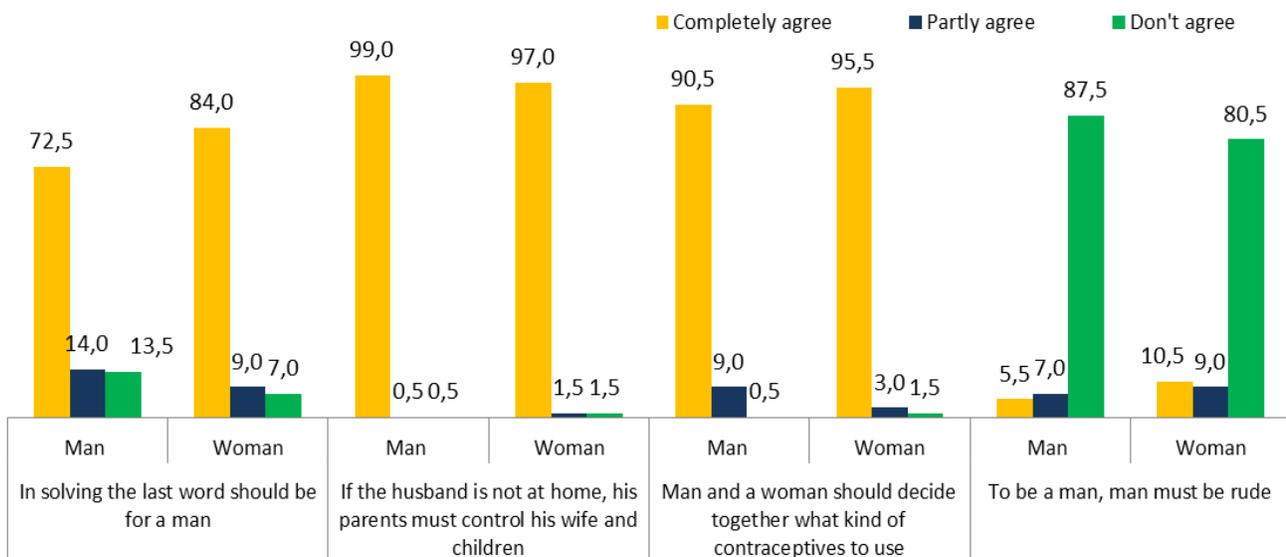


Based on respondents' observations:

Agreeing with the concept of tolerating violence for the sake of the family, the respondents often perceived violence as an obstruction. For example, when the respondent was told – «What if it's about your daughter?» she instantly gave it another thought about tolerating violence.

In decision-making the husband should have a final say.

Diagram 11. Gender Balance Scale (%), n=400



Respondents were offered a series of statements around the same concept – whether the situation in which sexual contact takes place due to financial dependence of a woman on man is acceptable. Based

on the assessment, *proposed statements do not cause any rejection by the respondents. **Some statements the respondents agree with more, others – less.*** Data in the table suggests that one of the reasons women agree with domestic violence is a financial reason.

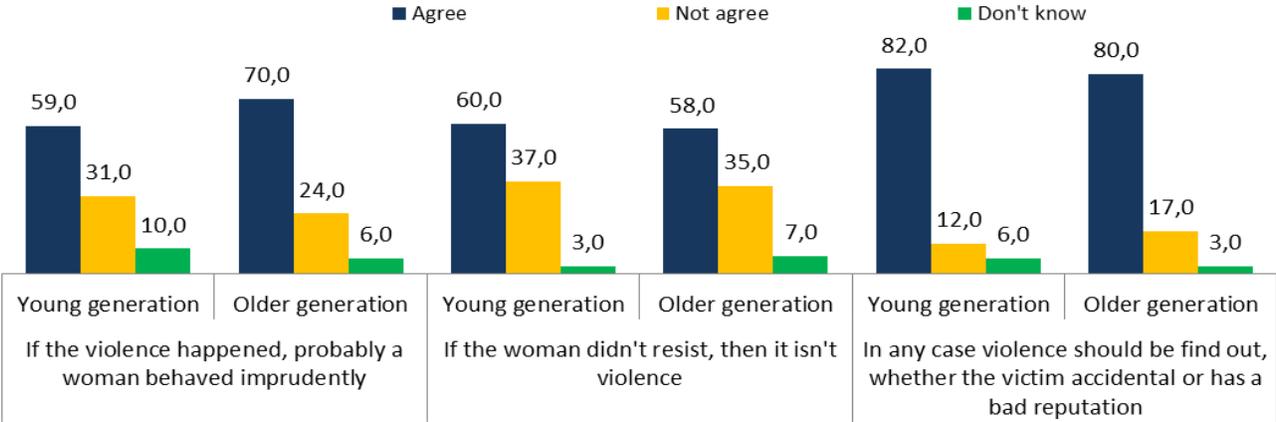
Table 3. Statement Assessment, (%), n=400.

Statement suggestion	Yes		No		Don't know	
	Man	Woman	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Because of ensuring nutrition, clothing, cell phone or transportation	28,0	32,5	67,5	63,0	4,5	4,5
Because of that he would provide the costs of children study at school or accommodation costs	33,0	5,5	61,5	94,5	5,5	0,0
He would provide accommodations	34,5	15,5	60,5	81,5	5,0	3,5
He would pay for expensive cosmetics or beauty shops and etc	21,5	40,5	70,5	57,0	8,5	2,5
He would give, any things or products for children and family	25,0	32,5	65,0	62,0	5,5	4,5
He would pay accounts	25,0	17,0	65,0	78,0	10,0	5,0
He would give something else, which women would not buy herself	25,0	37,5	65,0	58,5	8,5	4,0

Attitude towards sexual violence

One of the questions asked was about how women could deal with the situation involving violence in order to determine the attitude towards violence. In the perception of the majority of interviewed women the blame for the incident lies with the woman. **And it is kind of an assessment that becomes one of the triggers to justify violence for it brings up talking about the woman while the person, who committed violence, is ignored.**

Diagram 12. Situation analysis involving violence, women (%), n=200



III. Role of Men in the Family: Perception and Experience

Various fields of science are interested in paternity problems, each dealing with the issue through its individual approaches, conceptual framework and from the perspective of its own discipline. Definition of «paternity» in English literature is conveyed in two terms: “fatherhood” and “fathering”. In the first case the term refers to social expectations of society and in this context the survey involves revealing socio-cultural norms for fatherhood. In the second case, «paternity» is revealed as an activity, as social practices. It studies what fathers do in practical life, whether they spend time with children or involved in raising them¹⁴.

For the purposes of presenting the study results, following aspects are reviewed:

- Contributory factor - «institutional practice», i.e. how society promotes paternity at the institutional level;
- Such a parameter of «paternity» as involvement of fathers in child care and time-spending with children as well as helping the mother of children.

Institutional Practice

According to the researchers,¹⁵ male and female roles are largely due to the family and social state-led policy that determines the practice of conduct and person's choice at work and at home. While analyzing institutional practices it's important to take into consideration the legacy of the Soviet gender process. Family policy of the Soviet period was of a mother supporting nature in relation to women and children, the man regarded as a financial entity providing tangible support»¹⁶. For example, the right for maternity and child care leave was granted only to women.

While reviewing the laws of Tajikistan in comparison to the Soviet practice, one can note a range of paragraphs that can be interpreted as encouraging equal and informed participation. The Constitution of Tajikistan stipulates that «family as a pillar of society is protected by the State” and further it is stressed that “parents are responsible for upbringing children”. The definition implies that parenthood is vested in men and women proportionally. Promotion of principles of spousal equality and engaging in paternity are pointed out in a few articles of Tajikistan’s Labor Code:

- ✓ «Working men are provided an annual leave upon request during maternity and child care

Paternity, maternity, upbringing, education and other issues of a family life shall be addressed by spouses jointly based on the principles of spousal equality

Article 32, Family Code of Tajikistan

Women shall be granted maternity leaves for the period of 70 calendar days before the childbirth and 70 calendar days after the childbirth including social insurance allowance during that period.

Article 164, Family Code of Tajikistan

Termination of Employment Contract with pregnant and women with children under 3 at the initiative of the employer shall be restricted.

Article 172 Family Code, Tajikistan

¹⁴ I.S.Kon. Paternity and socio-cultural institute

¹⁵ E. Zdravomislova, A. Temkina. Russian gender process: social approach. Collective monograph. - Publication of European University in Saint Petersburg, 2007.

¹⁶ Zh.Chernova. “Soviet” model of paternity: discursive approaches
http://socioline.ru/files/5/348/pages%20from%20gender2_08_03_last.pdf

leave of the wives» (Article 94 «Time and procedure for providing the annual leave»),

- ✓ «The fathers can also use a childcare leave either fully at once or by parts». (Pg.165 «Childcare leave»).

It should be pointed out that a child birth leave for up to 7 calendar days for men is available, however it falls into the category of unpaid leaves¹⁷. In other words, at the legislative level the paternity, as an expression of childcare, is promoted, however it is declarative in a way. It is caused by the lack of motivation for the working men to claim the leave¹⁸.

Care and concern for children

A number of questions have been asked to assess the engagement of fathers in upbringing of and caring for children,: does the father take care of the children? Does he look after them? Does he spend time with them?

According to the researchers, the inherited Soviet policy on family issues did not prioritize the family and parental roles for men. And greater involvement of men in an unpaid household work was not assumed even as a part of the goals and objective of the Soviet family policy¹⁹. **To be noted that an unpaid household work included child care as well.**

Sensitizing respective modus operandi and models of behavior through the textbooks and media helped to develop and enhance the idea of a mono-parent family, where the woman provides care and concern while the man is mainly involved in providing for the family.

According to the survey results, respondents believe that daily childcare functions are mother's business and this opinion is reflected in the responses of men and women alike. Men often exercise a kind of childcare that involves minimum engagement: child pick-up from school/preschool – 23%, joint leisure – 32%. These responses by men are more confident compared to their answers about childcare at home: daily care and spending time with the child at home, when the child is ill and helping the mother of the child. While responding these questions, men often noted they had performed these duties jointly with their wives. **Assessment of men's answers indicated that the rate of independent performance of duties associated with childcare was low.**

From interviewers' observations in all covered districts:

For women looking after the child is their key function.

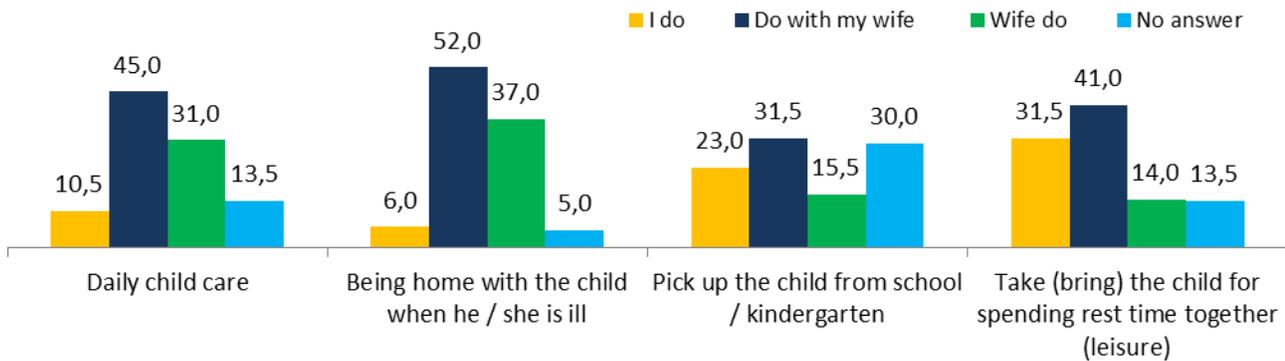
They believe the man gets tired at work because he has to earn for a living.

¹⁷ D.Turakhanova. Mather and child care system in Central Asia: national studies in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan/Technical support group on decent labor and IOM Bureau for Eastern Europe and Central Asia. – M.: MOT, 2014. – C. 35.

¹⁸ For more convincing statements for this conclusion it's important to conduct a study, including a) interviews with employers enabling to determine persistence of the practice of men taking the leave for the occasion of childbirth or child care; б) interviews with working men with children to determine their awareness rate about such options and their opinion about this option.

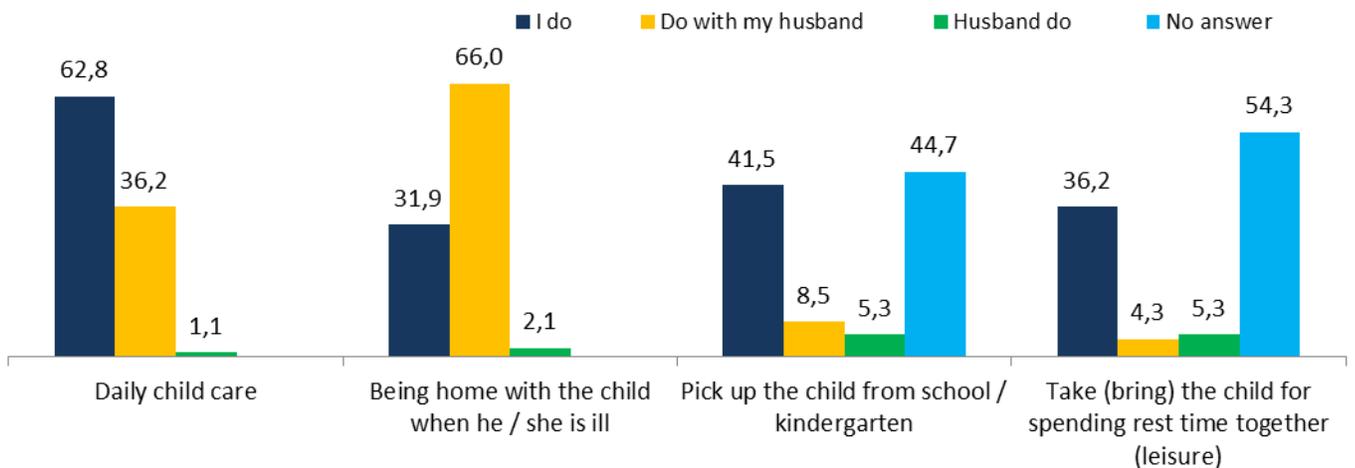
¹⁹ M.Chernova. "Soviet paternity" model: discursive instruction

Diagram 13. Child care, man (%), n=200



Collation of responses given by men and women demonstrated the anticipating results. Daily childcare, according to 63% of women is their concern and duty. While responding to these questions, women are more confident that they perform childcare duties alone unaware that they are the duties of other parent as well.

Diagram 14. Child care, women (%), n=200



According to psychologists, children with stable, supportive, reciprocal and emotional relationship with their parents are mentally better off than those who do not have such relations. And this relationship should be available with both parents.

One of the assessment criterion for the level of engagement in childcare is time budget that includes or precludes time-spending with one's own children. Time budget is determined by the scale with the options used as measurements:

- ☒ «Every day» – that implies an option of showing daily care and points at the father-parent engagement in child's upbringing, attention to the needs of a child;
- ☒ «Several times a week» – points at a less engagement of the father in child's upbringing;

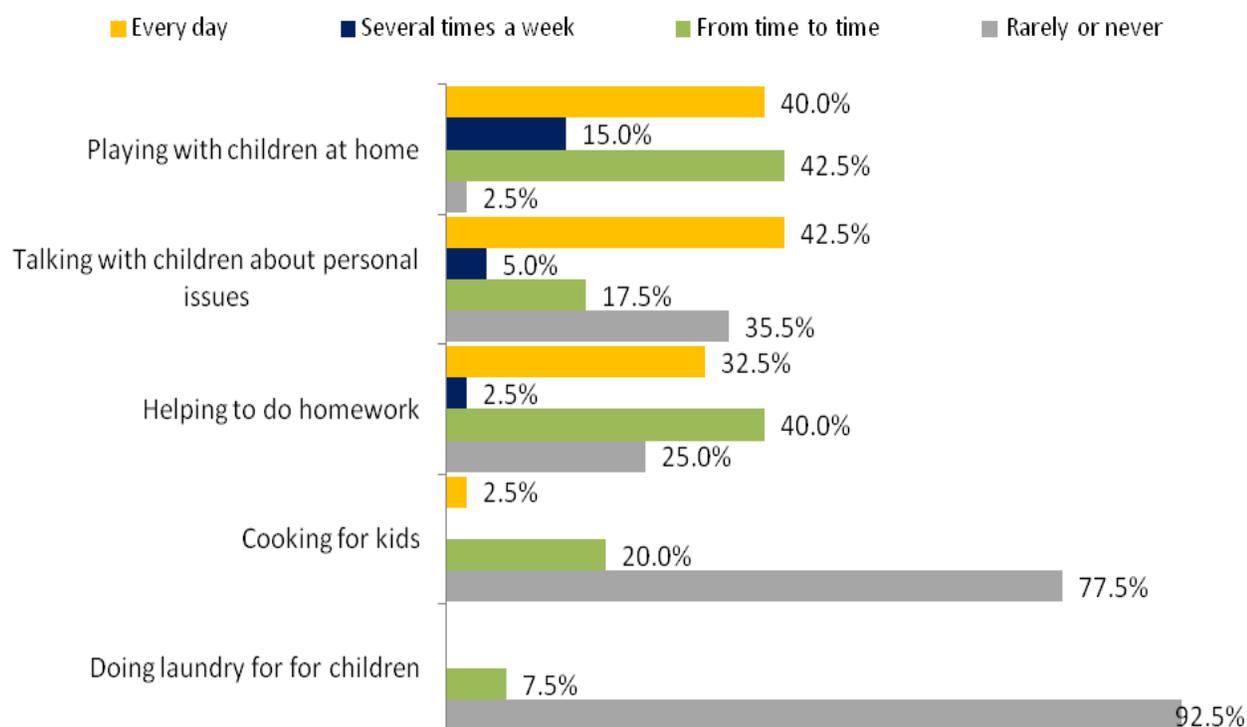
- ☒ «Occasionally» or «Rarely or never» – this criteria features delegation of emotional care for the child on other people. Commonly, it is mothers, who are responsible for providing care.

According to the researchers, while estimating the time spent by the man looking after the children, it should be taken into consideration that **it doesn't always involve his willingness**. Commonly, men are breadwinners and more that 40 hours a week they spend at work with only a single day off²⁰. It should be noted that quantity of time father spends with his children is less important than quality of time. **In other words, what this time is filled with is more important.**

The following parameters in this study serve to measure the quality: «talking to children about personal matters» (**i.e. attention to their needs**), «helping to do homework» (**help to take care of current tasks**), «playing with kids». Above indicators characterize the level of care for a child. Indicators «fixing meals for children» and doing laundry for children» are childcare indicators.

According to the survey results, childcare is almost entirely laid on mothers. Indeed, **such a practice of behavior can be affected by general patriarchal culture** implying that household chores are women's prerogative rather than men's. It should be noted **that the factor affecting behavior change can be a propaganda of what a «good loving dad» is who can fix lunch for a kid or clean after him.** One of the tools is to mark and cultivate Father's Day similar to Mother's Day.

Diagram 15. Father and child time-spending. Young women views, (%), n=100



²⁰ L.Ilibezova, E.Karpovich, T.Tyulekova, Gender norms and practices on maternal and reproductive health, family planning, paternity and domestic violence. / UNFPA. – Bishkek, 2013. – C.42.

IV. Awareness

Knowing laws and dealing with them

Respondents were asked a block of questions to determine awareness level on gender policy, laws on promoting gender balance.

Based on the results, majority of women know about guaranteed maternity leave for working women – 89%. Since distribution of answers by generations didn't to show significant differences it is possible to conclude that awareness of the maternity leave is high. **And three fourth (74%) out of interviewed women are not aware of the legal possibility for men to claim childcare leave.**

Diagram 16. Women awareness of maternity leave (%), n=200

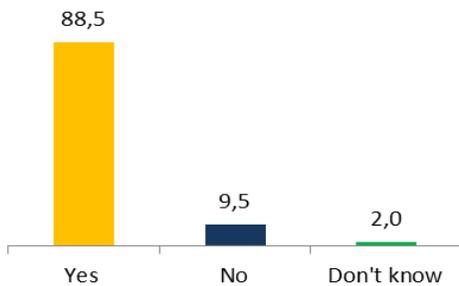
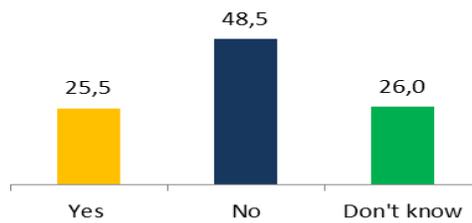


Diagram 17. Women awareness of paternity leave (%), n=200



79% of interviewed women are aware of the Paternity Law – see Diagram 18. At the same time **only 36% are aware of the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence** – see Diagram 19.

Overall, according to the women awareness analysis, women are more aware of the laws **that, on the one hand have a long history of existence and, on the other - do not conflict with traditional concepts of gender roles.**

In other words, respondents are aware of an option for a maternity leave for women and of the Paternity Law, which can be explained with the following factors:

- Traditionally parenthood is more associated with mothers and stipulated maternity leaves correspond to this concept;
- As for awareness of the paternity law, it relates with the fact that this phenomenon thus far has become «visible» and more widespread than before (more details below).

However, awareness of the maternity leave is much higher than of the Paternity Law. It can be noted that the Paternity Law has been around since Tajikistan's ratification of the Convention Against all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, i.e. it's relatively new for the law. The Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence has been adopted in March 2013, so it is quite recent. Thus, it is logical to assume awareness level of these laws is poor.

Diagram 18. Awareness of the Paternity Law among women (%), n=200

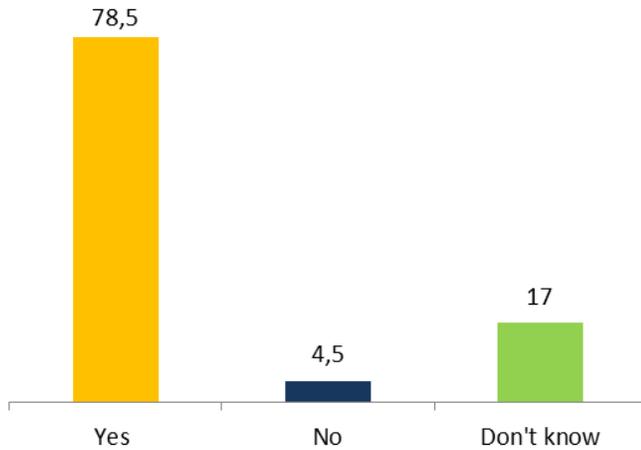
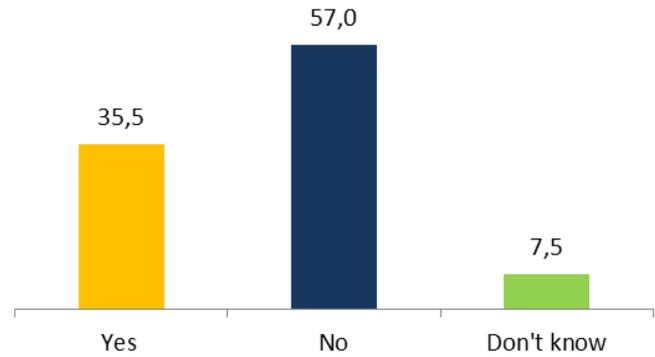


Diagram 19. Awareness of Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence among women (%), n=200



According to statistics, if number of marriages is decreasing, the number of divorces increases. In 2014 in contrast with 2010, the number of registered marriages decreased by 3.7%. From 2010 to 2013 registered number of divorces increased 1.3 times comprising 7920 in 2013.

Compendium «Men and Women of RT». – C.34.

The most common legal problems in Tajikistan are related to family issues²¹. The problem can involve such issues as child support, affiliation, property sharing, in other words all the issues **common for divorce**. Let us review the extent of divorces among the population. Numerical men-women ratio in Tajikistan is 49,5% and 50,5%. This fact assumes gender balance in terms of marriage. However, labor migration, mainly represented by men of reproductive age, leads to gender bias limiting the opportunity for women to have a family.

Due to gender bias, which is becoming increasingly widespread, divorce is no longer classified as «deviant». In other words, social impact assessment is shifting from unacceptable phenomenon to understanding the phenomenon.

Table 4. Growth rate by registered marriages and divorces²²

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Marriages	-5,4	0,1	-6	3,1	-0,7	-1,6
Divorces	8	7,6	12,3	9,7	6,8	14,4

However, divorce for men and women in social practice involve different implications. Noteworthy that divorce process entails numerous legal issues for women that they have to deal with, including property issues, child support and most importantly a place to live in after divorce for her. If marriage is not officially registered it entails a number of additional hurdles to deal with legal issues.

²¹ Legal issues: population needs for legal services and practical means to address the needs //ТФ ИОО-ФС. – Dushanbe, 2012

²² Gender statistics. Statistical Agency under the Government of Tajikistan <http://stat.tj/ru/gender/generbazeng/>

It is customary for women (those in officially registered marriage and those in a religious ceremonial

Article 19. A process of keeping records on parents in the child's birth certificate

Father and mother, married to one another, are recorded as the child's parents in the child's birth certificate at the request of any of the parents. Information about the mother is recorded in the birth certificate based on the documents indicated in Article 16 of the Law, information about the father of the child – based on the marriage certificate of parents.

1. In the event marriage of the parents is terminated, found invalid by the court or of the death of a spouse, however as of the day the marriage terminated, found invalid by court or death of a spouse until the birth of a child has passed no more than three hundred days, information about the child's mother is recorded in the child's birth certificate in the order established in Part 1 of the Article, information about the child's father – on the basis of the marriage certificate of the parents or other document certifying the fact and time of the termination of marriage.

2. In the event the parents are not married, information about the mother is recorded in the child's birth certificate in the manner, established in Part 1 of the Article. Information about the father in this case is recorded based on:

- **Records of the act of paternity;**
- **Request of the child's mother in the event paternity is not established.**

Child father's name is recorded under the name of the mother, name and patronymic – as stated by her in a written form.

Records made do not pose an obstacle in establishing the paternity.

1. A married couple who have given their written consent to implantation of embryo, in the event of a child's birth following this method, are recorded in the child birth register as the father and mother (in the edition of the Law of RT as of 26.03.2009r.№496).

“nikkoh” alike), to move to live in the house of the spouse. Divorce brings up a poignant issue of housing for a woman, even more so if she is not registered to be residing in her husband's house. In the rural area her chances are she won't be accepted back in her parental house²³. One other hurdle a woman in the rural area faces involves the lack of identification documents (passport, child's birth certificate)²⁴. For women married based on «nikkoh», divorce (mainly in rural areas) entails more confusion while taking actions to protect interests. Firstly, for a woman to report to the authority, she has to obtain basic documents.

A marriage without an official registration and lack of marriage certificate respectively at dissolution of marriage involve following consequences. A divorce is regulated by the Civil Law norms and not by the Family Code of RT²⁵. Divorce brings about possible legal problems, such as required paternity process for claiming birth certificates for children, issues involving child-support, property claims, and children's right for inheritance.

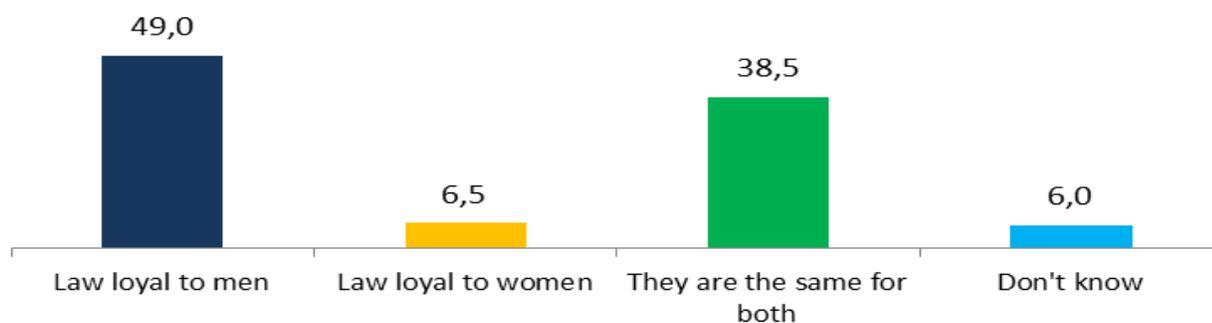
²³ Impact of the lack of documents on the woman's access to justice // a Program on Equality before the law: Access to justice in Central Asia ОФ «Fund Eurasia Central Asia » (FECA). – Dushanbe, 2013. – C.10.

²⁴ See, *ibid.*

²⁵ Women's right in: Yearly Report. Situation with human rights in Tajikistan// Republican Bureau on Human Rights and Compliance. – Dushanbe, 2007.

All of the above, as well as poor level of legal literacy among women can contribute in the assumption the law is more friendly to men than women in the event of divorce. It is believed by the half of the respondents – see *Diagram 20*. Another half of the respondents divided into those a) who believe the law treats men and women equally – 39%; б) who believe the law is women-friendly – 7%. Presumably, **such an assessment is associated with poor awareness and/or complications women face after dissolution of an unofficial marriage.**

Diagram 20. Perception of the loyalty of Law at divorce, (%), n=200.



Conclusions

Relevance of the study is determined by the following:

- At the political level: In 2013 CEDAW formulated a recommendation on the need to “adopt a comprehensive strategy for modifying patriarchal attitudes and stereotypes that discriminate against women”. The outcomes of the research can be useful at the national level;
- At the level of international donor organizations with a gender mandate: an option for coordinated efforts towards changing negative gender stereotypes that pose an obstacle to equality of men and women;
- A methodological approach of this kind, an individual study on gender stereotypes has never been conducted previously, so the results can be of interest to all stakeholders.

The results allow for the following conclusions to form:

Distribution of responsibilities

- ✓ Majority of men have skills they have built since childhood – cleaning, laundry. However, they will not do these kinds of works even with respect to their own children for they relate to “women’s works” in the established practice of gender roles perception;
- ✓ This opinion effects the time a woman has for self-development and engagement in «productive aspect», in paid jobs;
- ✓ Among the younger generation, there is a clear distribution of tasks for what men should handle only, and what – only women. Besides, women’s type of work is associated with “invisible” work she performs at home and it is not compensated. Thus, it is not perceived as an important work so men assume they work more than women.
- ✓ For older generation, it is increasingly important to be involved in joint decision-making with the spouse and in sharing household chores.

Decision-making

- ✓ To determine a possibility for a woman to take an independent decision, three areas, where decisions are made, were used following DHST 2012 analogy: a) own health; б) grocery/clothes shopping and в) seeing parents and/or female friends. In decision-making across all three areas 12% of women from «younger generation» and 36% of women from «older generation» were involved. Across all three areas, 24% of interviewed women reported to be involved in decision-making;
- ✓ Older (provisionally) generation of women (40 years and older) are more actively involved in decision-making in contrast to younger generation. Consideration would need to be given to the fact that adult women are controlled only by the husbands;
- ✓ Decisions on all three counts for the younger generation are made either by husbands or other family members, most commonly mother-in-laws. In-situ young women’s involvement in discussions and decision-making is insignificant;

Relationship between men and women

- ✓ According to 97% of interviewed men and 72% of interviewed women, “the woman must tolerate violence to keep her family together”. The respondents’ idea of women tolerating violence for the sake of marriage assumes the likelihood of the fact that such actions have taken place in the past and that violence is treated as an obstruction (speculating about someone else but not about oneself or one's daughter);
- ✓ Assessment of the results suggests that one of the reasons of why women admit domestic violence is financial.
- ✓ Gender self-discrimination that has been developing in women over the years significantly affects government’s efforts towards achieving gender equity.

Man's role in the family

- ✓ Laws in Tajikistan in contrast to the Soviet practice generally encourage paternity;
- ✓ Labour Code contains numerous Articles emphasizing the role and significance of the father figure in the family. However, men are granted unpaid leaves. Presumably, lack of motivation can have an adverse affect on attempts to use this option. However, to support this statement in a more comprehensive and reasonable fashion, a separate study will be required;
- ✓ Existing models of conduct for fathers and mothers were developed inter alia through textbooks and media promoting a concept of a single-parent family, where women deal with care-giving while men’s role is strictly to provide financial support;
- ✓ According to the respondents, looking daily after the children is mother's prerogative and this opinion was suggested in the answers of both men and women; informed paternity institute, from the period of pregnancy through the birth of a child is not available;
- ✓ Quantity of time spent by the father with his children is less important than quality. In other words, it is more important what the time period includes. Based on the survey results, men are less engaged in the life of a child. This fact supports the idea of a single-parent family with a woman looking after the child (cleaning, laundry, cooking). It should be noted that mother’s engagement in child-care is clear since the study didn’t include this issue;
- ✓ Women’s legal awareness level is higher as concerns long-standing gender related laws. Paternity Law was developed after Tajikistan’s ratification of CEDAW Convention. The Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence was adopted in March 2013.
- ✓ Divorce entails a number of legal issues for women, including property sharing, child-support, for a woman finding a place to live after the divorce. If the marriage is not registered the woman confronts many hurdles in addressing legal issues. Traditionally, after the marriage women (it's about marriage, registered with Vital Statistics Office and based on «nikkoh»), move to live in the house of the husband. Divorce makes housing issues highly acute particularly if the woman is not registered as residing in the house. Overall, all of the above plus women's legal illiteracy contributes to women's idea that in the event of divorce the laws are more loyal to men than women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings made the following recommendations to change negative gender perceptions can be presented:

- 1) It is highly important to carry out more robust population awareness campaigns:
 - These approaches can be integrated in the system of general schools and on to other levels of education system.
 - While campaigning, electronic media including radio and TV should be widely used. In addition, there should be records of the most popular performers focusing on egalitarian relations. The rationale for this sort of recommendations is TV being one of the most effective channels of information dissemination, both traditional and video.
 - Campaigns should be carried out at the community, mahalla and village levels in order to capture as many people as possible, particularly women, who due to their double workload have restricted mobility.
 - it is necessary to carry out information and educational campaigns for better legal literacy of the population. However, traditional formats – trainings/workshops/discussions can fail to capture the audience of housewives.
- 2) Promoting men involvement in parenthood as a style and practice of behavior can be one of the areas of activities on involving fathers in parenthood. To engage fathers in parenthood, advocacy on increasing the role of fathers in upbringing and caring for children should be carried out.
- 3) It is important to engaging and sensitize health workers on the significance of fatherhood and fathers' involvement in the family life at all levels
- 4) Important to promote broad campaigns on distribution of duties in reproductive labor and fair appreciation of such labor (time and power consumption compared to similar services provided in the market but compensated)
- 5) Given that women's employment is determined by the level of education, it is important to strengthen campaigns on recruiting girls and women in education system.
- 6) For awareness campaigns for housewives it proves more effective to disseminate information through video films and film clips.
- 7) Changing the attitude of young men from negative to positive (in relation to gender equity) can be ensured through the institutes they voluntary attend, such as mosques, sport clubs.