GENDER DIFFERENTIALS IN TAJIKISTAN: A GENDERED ANALYSIS OF THE 2003 TAJIKISTAN LIVING STANDARDS MEASUREMENT SURVEY

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ABSTRACT

In 2000, the Asian Development Bank sponsored an in-depth study of gender relations in Tajikistan (Falkingham, 2000). Whilst much of that analysis remains valid, there have been significant developments in the labour market, particularly in the agricultural sector. Land reform has led to the break-up of the large collective farms and the creation of smaller, individually run, dekhan farms. The concept note for the *Tajikistan Gender Review* prepared by the World Bank Social Development Team July 2004 highlighted three areas where a gendered analysis of the recent Tajikistan Living Standards Survey (TLSS) would be useful: 'the relative poverty incidence of men and women at different ages; the composition of the employed labour force of both men and women by sector, occupation, employee status, type of enterprise, and urban-rural locations; and the differential access of men and women to services and resources such as health, education, and credit'(p.5). This report aims to provide preliminary analysis in each of these three areas. In addition background work for the recent World Bank Poverty Assessment Update highlighted the fact that almost 20 percent of households in Tajikistan were female headed and concluded that further analysis of the TLSS was warranted to produce a profile of female headed households (FHH). Thus the report also includes such an analysis.

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Gender differentials in Tajikistan: a gendered analysis of the 2003 Tajikistan Living Standards Measurement Survey

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Abstract

In 2000, the Asian Development Bank sponsored an in-depth study of gender relations in Tajikistan (Falkingham, 2000). Whilst much of that analysis remains valid, there have been significant developments in the labour market, particularly in the agricultural sector. Land reform has led to the break-up of the large collective farms and the creation of smaller, individually run, dekhan farms. The concept note for the *Tajikistan Gender Review* prepared by the World Bank Social Development Team July 2004 highlighted three areas where a gendered analysis of the recent Tajikistan Living Standards Survey (TLSS) would be useful: 'the relative poverty incidence of men and women at different ages; the composition of the employed labour force of both men and women by sector, occupation, employee status, type of enterprise, and urban-rural locations; and the differential access of men and women to services and resources such as health, education, and credit'(p.5). This report aims to provide preliminary analysis in each of these three areas. In addition background work for the recent World Bank Poverty Assessment Update highlighted the fact that almost 20 percent of households in Tajikistan were female headed and concluded that further analysis of the TLSS was warranted to produce a profile of female headed households (FHH). Thus the report also includes such an analysis.

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Introduction

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1. A Gendered Profile of Poverty in Tajikistan
    - Material poverty rates for men and women across a range of household sizes, types, age and location
    - Other indicators of poverty, including housing attributes, ownership of consumer durables etc.
2. A Profile of Female Headed Households in Tajikistan
3. Gender and the Labour Market
    - Composition of the employed labour force of men and women by sector, occupation, employee status, type of enterprise and urban-rural locations
4. Gender and access to Social Services
    - Differential access of men and women education and health
    - Utilisation of reproductive health services

The Tajikistan Living Standards Survey 2003

This report presents a gendered analysis of the Tajikistan Living Standards Survey (TLSS) for 2003. The TLSS 2003 was based on a stratified random probability sample, with the sample stratified according to oblast and urban/rural settlements, and with the share of each strata in the overall sample being in proportion to its share in the total number of households as recorded in the 2000 Census. The same approach was used in the TLSS 1999, although there were some differences in the sampling which should be borne in mind when making comparisons with earlier results presented in the ADB gender study (Falkingham, 2000). First, the share of each strata in the overall sample in 1999 was determined according to 'best estimates', as it was conducted prior to the 2000 Census. Second, the TLSS 2003 over-sampled by 40 percent in Dushanbe, 300 percent in rural GBAO and 600 percent in urban GBAO. This was done in order to increase the sample size to facilitate analysis within oblast. For nationally representative analysis weights are used. Third, the sample size was increased in 2003 in order to reduce sampling error. In 2003 the overall sample size was 4,156 households compared with 2,000 households in 1999.

1. A Gendered Profile of Poverty in Tajikistan

Poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomena that goes well beyond a narrow lack of material consumption or resources to encompass the psychological impact of being poor, low achievements in education and health, and a sense of vulnerability to external events. Accordingly there are a wide variety of approaches to its definition and measurement. In the first part of this section we focus on traditional money-metric measures of poverty, based on the assumption that a person's material standard of living largely determines their well-being. The second part then examines a range of subjective measures of welfare included in the TLSS whilst the final part discusses other indicators of welfare such as the ownership of consumer durables, housing circumstances and household's access to safe drinking water and other services. Gender differences in achievements in education and health are investigated in subsequent sections of the report.

1.1 Material poverty

As noted in the recent World Bank Poverty Assessment Update (PAU), there is no officially sanctioned or universally accepted poverty standard within Tajikistan. Accordingly the PAU includes analysis using a range of alternative assumptions[1]. In order to ensure comparability, this report adopts the same definition of household welfare as that used in the central analyses of the PAU i.e. per capita household consumption adjusted for regional price differences.

Absolute poverty is defined as the share of the population living in a household with a per capita consumption of less than US$2.15 PPP a day (using the ECAPOV PPP conversion factor for 2000 inflated to 2003 using the CPI). In May/June 2003 this international poverty line was equivalent to 47.06 somoni.

Relative poverty is defined as those individuals living in households that are ranked in the bottom 20 percent of the distribution of per capita household consumption adjusted for regional price differences. For completeness sake the proportion of individuals living in each quintile of the distribution is shown. It should be noted that the derivation of quintiles takes place at the *household* level but that analysis is presented at the *individual* level; it is not necessarily the case that 20 percent of *individuals* are located in each quintile.

Table 1: Absolute poverty amongst women and men by region, Tajikistan 2003

Region	Overall Poverty rate	Poverty rate amongst women	Poverty rate amongst men
GBAO	84.1	84.3	84.0
Sugd	64.3	65.0	63.6
Khatlon	78.1	78.1	78.1
Dushanbe	48.9	49.3	48.5
RRS	45.1	45.5	44.7
Total	63.5	63.9	63.1

Source: TLSS 2003

[1] See Falkingham and Klytchnikova (2004)

Table 1 shows the proportion of women and men living in absolute poverty in Tajikistan by region. Overall 64 percent of the total population were living in households with a per capita consumption of less that $2.15 PPP a day. The likelihood of living in poverty varied according to region, ranging from 84 percent the southern oblast of to 45 percent in the agricultural oblast of RRS in the north. There was little variation within region by gender, although women were slightly more likely to be poor than men.

Table 2: Relative poverty amongst women and men by region, Tajikistan 2003

Region	Q1 (poorest)	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5 (richest)
GBAO					
Women	42.1	26.6	17.5	9.0	4.8
Men	42.4	24.2	18.8	8.8	5.7
Sugd					
Women	21.3	22.6	23.8	18.0	14.2
Men	20.6	23.2	22.2	20.0	14.0
Khatlon					
Women	36.2	26.0	17.9	11.7	8.1
Men	34.6	25.9	19.5	12.0	7.9
Dushanbe					
Women	13.9	16.0	22.9	24.8	22.3
Men	14.7	17.2	20.1	22.5	25.5
RRS					
Women	13.2	14.9	20.0	27.1	24.9
Men	13.2	14.1	20.2	27.5	25.1
Total					
Women	24.2	21.4	20.7	18.4	15.2
Men	23.4	21.5	20.6	19.1	15.4

Source: TLSS 2003

Table 2 shows the proportion of men and women within each region who live in households in the different quintiles of the distribution of per capita consumption. Overall 24 percent of women and 23 percent of men live in the bottom quintile compared to 15 percent of both men and women in the richest fifth. This is because poorer households tend to be larger than richer households. Again there are significant differences by region, with over 40 percent of women and men in GBAO living in relative poverty compared with just 13 percent in RSS. However within regions there is little difference in the likelihood of being poor between women and men. This is primarily a function of the fact that poverty is defined at the household level. Thus men and women living in the same household are assumed to enjoy the same standard of living. Implicit in this is the assumption that a unitary model of the household applies i.e. that all the resources in the household are pooled and that all members share in these pooled resources in each measure. However recent research shows that in many instances this is not the case[2], and that increasing women's share of cash income in a household increases the share of the household budget allocated to food[3] and reduces the amount allocated to items such as tobacco and alcohol. Future work will investigate these factors for Tajikistan. However in this report the unitary model of the household is assumed to apply.

[2] Kanji, 2004; Agarawl, 1997; Haddad, Hoddinott and Alderman 1997.
[3] Hoddinott and Haddad, 1995

Table 3 shows how absolute poverty rates vary by age and gender. The relationship with age appears to be U-shaped, with headcount poverty rates being highest amongst children and those aged 70 and over, and lowest in middle age i.e. aged 40-59. As the welfare indicator used to measure poverty here is per capita household expenditure, one might expect larger households to have a lower per capita consumption than smaller ones and thus be more likely to be poor. Table 4 confirms that this is indeed the case. Poverty is lowest amongst single person households; interestingly women living on their own are slightly more likely to be poor (27 percent) than men (25 percent).

Table 3: Absolute poverty amongst women and men by age, Tajikistan 2003

Age	Poverty rate amongst women	Poverty rate amongst men
0-4	69.7	68.6
5-9	69.9	67.1
10-14	64.5	62.6
15-19	62.1	60.1
20-29	63.6	62.1
30-39	63.8	64.7
40-49	55.8	58.2
50-59	59.4	57.0
60-69	58.6	57.2
70-79	60.2	63.6
80 and over	62.0	68.8
All ages	63.9	63.1

Source: TLSS 2003

Table 4: Absolute poverty amongst women and men by household size, Tajikistan 2003

Number of members of the household	Poverty rate amongst women	Poverty rate amongst men
One	26.9	24.7
Two	23.6	23.5
Three	38.0	38.8
Four	45.8	42.5
Five	56.1	54.7
Six	64.9	63.3
Seven	64.0	61.8
Eight	67.2	66.1
Nine	74.1	73.2
Ten or more	73.7	74.1
All	63.9	63.1

Source: TLSS 2003

As poverty is measured at the household level, the likelihood of an individual being poor is in part a function of their household composition. A priori one would expect that poverty would be highest amongst those living in households with relatively large numbers of non-economically active members such as children and older people and lowest amongst those living in households with relatively more members of economically active age.

Table 5 shows how absolute poverty varies according to household composition and gender. Absolute poverty rates are lowest amongst those who live in pensioner only households, either single or multiple pensioner households. Amongst single pensioners, women are more likely to be poor than men (37 percent v 30 percent). People living in single parent households are slightly more likely to be poor than those living in dual parent households with 1 or 2 children. However the greatest risk of poverty is associated with living in households with 3 or more children. This finding was confirmed by multi-variate analysis in the main PAU (Table 13, Annex 1), where the share of young children in the household was found to be negatively associated with per capita expenditure right across the distribution. Conversely the number of elderly people in the household was found to have a positive impact on expenditures, particularly in the bottom half of the distribution, reflecting the potentially important role of cash income from pensions in household welfare.

Table 5: Absolute poverty amongst women and men by household composition, Tajikistan 2003

Number of members of the household	Poverty rate amongst women	Poverty rate amongst men
Single pensioner	37.2	30.2
Single non-pensioner	n/a	20.7
Single parent (one adult + kids)	50.4	49.8
Two adults, 1-2 children	45.9	44.8
Two adults, 3 or more children	68.4	65.7
Three or more adults, 1-2 children	58.9	59.0
Three or more adults, 3 or more children	72.3	71.4
Two or more pensioners (no children)	33.6	32.9
Two or more adults (no children)	35.7	36.7
Adults and pensioners (no children)	47.8	48.2
All	63.9	63.1

Source: TLSS 2003

Multi-variate analysis presented in the PAU also showed that there were no significant differences in the likelihood of being poor according to the gender of the household head. This is in contrast to the findings using the 1999 TLSS where female-headed households (FHH) faced an elevated risk of being poor. Differences in the material welfare of FHH are further explored in Section Two.

1.2 Subjective poverty

The TLSS 2003 included questions on a range of subjective measures of welfare. The information was collected at the *household* rather than *individual* level and so it is not possible to carry out disaggregated analysis by gender that reflects differences in the psychological well-being between women and men in the same household. Given this, the analysis here is restricted to comparing differences in subjective welfare according to the gender of the household head in conjunction with other household characteristics.

Table 6 shows how satisfied households were with their current financial situation on a likert scale ranging from ‘very satisfied’ through to ‘very unsatisfied’. Over four-fifths of all households were either unsatisfied or very unsatisfied, which is not surprising given the high levels of absolute poverty in the country. FHH were more

likely than male-headed households (MHH) to report being very unsatisfied. Not surprisingly there is a clear gradient in the proportion of households reporting dissatisfaction by quintile of per capita household consumption (adjusted using regional CPI) (see Table 31 in Annex 1 of the PAU), but as Figure 1 shows there remains a clear gender differential within each quintile, indicating that FHH are facing higher levels of psychological stress than MHH at a given level of welfare. This is confirmed by Table 7 where, when comparing their financial situation today with that of three years ago, more FHH say it has deteriorated than improved (33 percent v 22 percent) whilst more MHH say it has improved rather than deteriorated (27 percent v 18 percent respectively).

Table 6: Satisfaction with current financial situation by gender of the household head, TLSS 2003

'How satisfied are your with your current financial situation?'	**Female**	**Male**	**All households**
Very satisfied	2.7	2.9	2.9
Satisfied	11.7	16.3	15.4
Unsatisfied	50.8	58.9	57.3
Very unsatisfied	34.8	21.9	24.4
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: TLSS 2003

Figure 1: Percentage of households reporting being 'very unsatisfied with their current financial situation by gender of household head and welfare quintile.

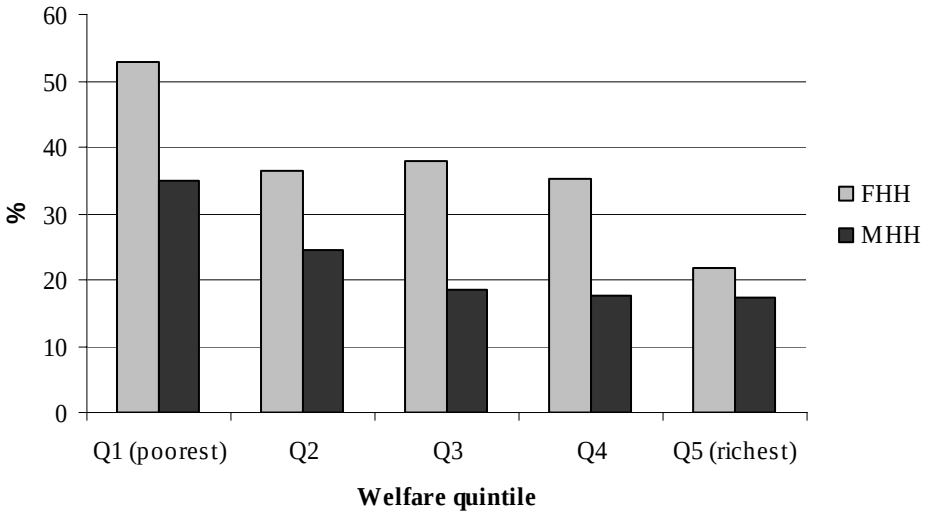


Table 7: Households perception concerning their financial situation today compared with three years ago by gender of the household head, TLSS 2003.

'Do you feel that your financial situation in the last 3 years has …?	**Female**	**Male**	**All households**
Improved a lot	2.5	3.1	3.0
Somewhat improved	19.2	23.9	23.0
Remained the same	45.8	54.9	53.1
Somewhat deteriorated	24.5	14.3	16.3
Deteriorated a lot	8.0	3.8	4.7
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: TLSS 2003

FHH are also generally more negative about the future than MHH. When asked about their financial situation in 12 months time (Table 8), 6 percent of FHH thought that their financial situation would have 'deteriorated a lot' compared to 2 percent of MHH. However, overall amongst both FHH and MHH more households are optimistic than pessimistic.

Table 8: Households perception concerning their financial situation in 12 months time by gender of the household head, TLSS 2003

'Do you think that in the next 12 months your financial situation will …?	**Female**	**Male**	**All households**
Improve a lot	3.8	3.5	3.6
Improve somewhat	29.7	38.1	36.5
Remain the same	54.8	52.8	53.2
Deteriorate somewhat	6.0	3.4	3.9
Deteriorate a lot	5.8	2.2	2.9
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: TLSS 2003

Although absolute poverty rates have fallen over the last three years, the majority of people still feel poor. When asked where they would place themselves on a ten rung ladder (with the poor at the bottom and the rich at the top) the majority of households in Tajikistan ranked themselves as being on the bottom half of the ladder, with 8 percent extremely poor (rung 1), 17 percent on rung 2, 29 percent on rung 3 and 22 percent on rung 4.

Table 9: Subjective relative poverty ranking using Cantril ladder by gender of the household head, TLSS 2003

'Imagine a 10-step ladder where on the bottom, i.e. the first, step stand the poorest people and on the highest step, i.e. the tenth, stand the richest. At which step would you place yourself today?'	**Female**	**Male**	**All households**
1	15.0	6.6	8.3
2	19.9	16.5	17.1
3	28.5	29.5	29.3
4	17.1	22.9	21.8
5	16.4	19.4	18.8
6	2.0	3.5	3.2
7	<1	1.1	1.0
8 or higher	<1	<1	<1
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: TLSS 2003

Again there are very clear gender differentials, with FHH being over twice as likely to place themselves on the bottom rung as MHH (15 percent v 7 percent). Once more, this differential remains even after controlling for objective material well-being, with 30 percent of FHH in the poorest quintile of per capita consumption placing themselves on the bottom rung of the subjective poverty ladder compared with 11 percent of MHH (Figure 2). The possible explanations for this may lie in differences in the sources of income between FHH and MHH and the degree of control, and therefore certainty, the household has over these. As the analysis in Section 2 demonstrates, a much higher proportion of overall income comes from remittances

and social assistance in FHH than MHH; sources that the household itself has little control over (see Figure 6 below). Table 11 shows that when looking forward over the next 12 months a much higher proportion of FHH except their main source of income to be from charitable sources and benefits than is the case amongst MHH. One hypothesis is that the greater dependence on external transfers of FHH than MHH may lead to greater feelings of vulnerability and insecurity and higher levels of subjective poverty in such households.

Figure 2: Percentage of households reporting being on the bottom rung of the 'subjective poverty ladder' by gender and welfare quintile.

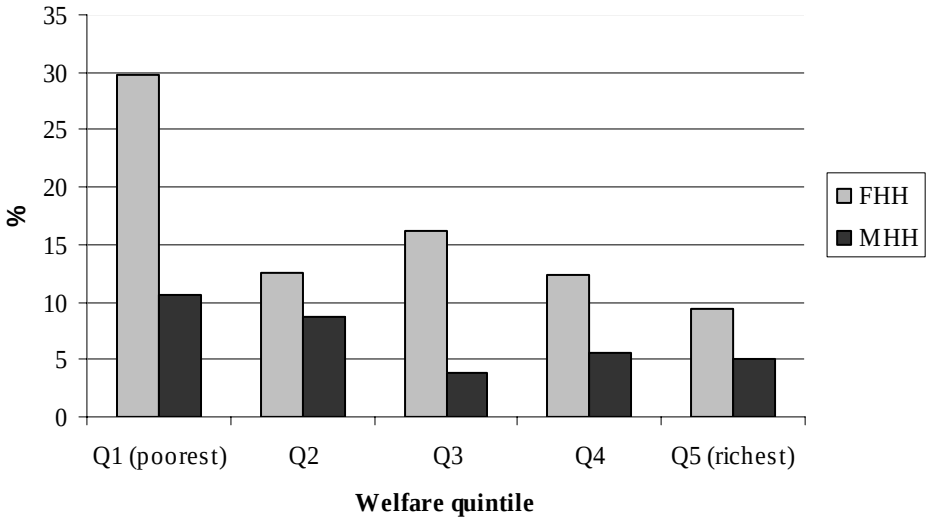


Table 11: Perceived main source of income over the next 12 months by gender of the household head, TLSS 2003

'In the next 12 months, the largest share of your income will come from …'	**Female**	**Male**	**All households**
Work in the government sector	28.1	33.2	32.3
Work in the private sector	23.0	28.4	27.4
Own business	11.6	9.5	9.9
Own farm	7.0	12.3	11.3
State/local benefit payments	8.6	3.0	4.1
Charitable sources	17.0	8.3	10.0
Other	4.3	5.2	5.0
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: TLSS 2003

More insight into households' vulnerability may be gathered by examining the amount of food households have in their store cupboard (Table 12). The store cupboard in most Tajik households appears to have been fairly empty in May 2003 with low per capita stocks of flour and virtually no stocks of dried and preserved fruits and beans. This is perhaps not surprising as the survey was conducted after winter and spring and before the main harvest period. As one would expect, rural households appear to have more supplies than urban households with the noticeable exception of sugars and preserves, but within regions there is little correlation between food stocks and the gender of the household head. There is some evidence, however that FHH are cutting back on their food consumption more than MHH. Over

half of both urban and rural FHHs ate an average of one meal or less a day, and only 8 percent ate three or more (Table 13).

Table 12: Average per capita stock of selected foods (kg) by gender of the household head and type of settlement, TLSS 2003

Mean per capita stock of food item (kg)	Urban Households		Rural Households	
	FHH	MHH	FHH	MHH
Flour	4.6	4.3	7.2	6.8
Wheat	0.5	1.0	5.7	7.3
Rice	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.8
Fresh fruit	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.8
Fresh vegetables	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.8
Beans	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
Dried fruits	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Sugar & preserves	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.3
Oils & fats	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5

Source: TLSS 2003

Table 13: Average number of meals per day consumed by members of the household over the last week by gender of the household head and type of settlement, TLSS 2003

'Over the last week, how many meals has your household eaten per day, on average?'	Urban Households		Rural Households	
	FHH	MHH	FHH	MHH
1 or less	50.1	43.0	51.6	46.0
2	41.7	48.8	40.9	45.2
3 or more	8.2	8.2	7.5	8.8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: TLSS 2003

Coping strategies

Households employ a range of different strategies to survive on limited resources. There is a clear relationship between gender and the proportion of households reporting the use of a particular strategy over the last 6 months, with a higher proportion of FHH reporting having to resort to adapting their food consumption or resorting to other depleting strategies such as borrowing and selling assets than MHH. The proportion using depleting strategies was higher in urban than rural households despite the fact that in general urban households enjoy a better material standard of living than rural households.

Table 14: Proportion of households reporting having needed to engage in selected coping strategies in the last six months by gender of the household head and type of settlement, TLSS 2003

	Urban Households		Rural Households	
	FHH	**MHH**	**FHH**	**MHH**
Shift to cheaper foods	73.4	69.8	75.9	71.1
Reduce number of meals a day	43.9	37.2	48.3	45.8
Eat smaller portions	42.8	31.1	42.9	41.1
Find other work	30.6	26.9	30.7	27.4
Sell household assets	21.7	12.1	14.0	12.5
Borrow	35.2	24.7	27.9	20.0
Beg	4.2	2.4	1.5	1.0
Send children to relatives	6.2	3.6	3.8	2.6

Source: TLSS 2003

In addition to the coping strategies already employed by households, respondents claimed that they would envisage using a variety of coping strategies over the *next* six months. A higher proportion of FHH thought that they would have to modify their diet still further and/or find other work A sixth of urban FHH thought that they would have to sell household assets and over a quarter would have to borrow to make ends meet. Four percent thought that they would have to resort to begging.

Table 15: Proportion of households reporting having needed to engage in selected coping strategies in the next six months by gender of the household head and type of settlement, TLSS 2003

	Urban Households		Rural Households	
	FHH	**MHH**	**FHH**	**MHH**
Shift to cheaper foods	64.3	61.5	67.0	60.1
Reduce number of meals a day	35.8	28.8	43.1	36.5
Eat smaller portions	32.8	24.3	38.2	32.5
Find other work	26.4	24.0	24.8	21.8
Sell household assets	16.6	7.6	11.8	9.2
Borrow	23.3	15.1	14.7	11.6
Beg	3.8	1.5	1.2	1.3
Send children to relatives	5.1	2.4	2.1	2.0

Source: TLSS 2003

1.3 Alternative indicators of poverty

In Tajikistan, as in other countries of the FSU, in the past there was little or no relationship between a household's ownership of consumer goods and its level of income. This is because under the Soviet Regime consumer durables were allocated by the command economy rather than by the market economy. However, as we have seen above over the past few years the sale of household assets has emerged as a key household coping strategies. Table 16 shows the relationship between gender of household head and the ownership of a range of durables. Generally, a lower proportion of FHH own durables than MHH, with the largest differentials being seen amongst luxury goods such as video players and cars.

Table 16. Percentage of households owning selected consumer durables by gender of the household head and type of settlement, TLSS 2003

	Urban Households		Rural Households	
	FHH	**MHH**	**FHH**	**MHH**
gas or electric stove	55.8	56.6	25.4	22.9
refrigerator	51.5	54.4	20.8	19.6
washing machine	19.0	19.1	5.6	8.8
sewing machine	33.7	42.0	56.7	57.4
air conditioner	10.1	13.2	1.2	1.5
tape or CD player	32.9	35.3	21.2	22.4
colour TV	41.8	45.4	14.1	15.0
video player	12.0	18.6	6.8	6.6
bicycle	4.5	11.8	11.8	17.4
car	3.3	14.3	69.6	11.0

Source: TLSS 2003

Looking at access to basic amenities (Table 17), there is little difference according to gender of household head in rural households. However amongst urban households FHH are much more likely to have an inside toilets, piped water and central heating than MHH. This is in large part a function of the spatial location of FHH, with FHH being heavily concentrated within the capital city of Dushanbe (see below). The characteristics of FHH are further explored in the next section below.

Table 17: Housing amenities by gender of the household head and type of settlement, TLSS 2003

	Urban Households		Rural Households	
	FHH	**MHH**	**FHH**	**MHH**
One or more inside toilets	72	54	15	14
Outside toilet	28	46	85	86
Central heating	40	22	2	1
Main source of water				
Piped water, inside	80	63	10	8
Piped water, outside	11	19	16	16
Water truck	2	5	2	3
Public tap	5	6	13	14
Spring, well	1	3	16	17
Other (inc river)	1	5	44	43

Source: TLSS 2003

2. A Profile of Female Headed Households in Tajikistan

2.1 The Spatial distribution of FHH

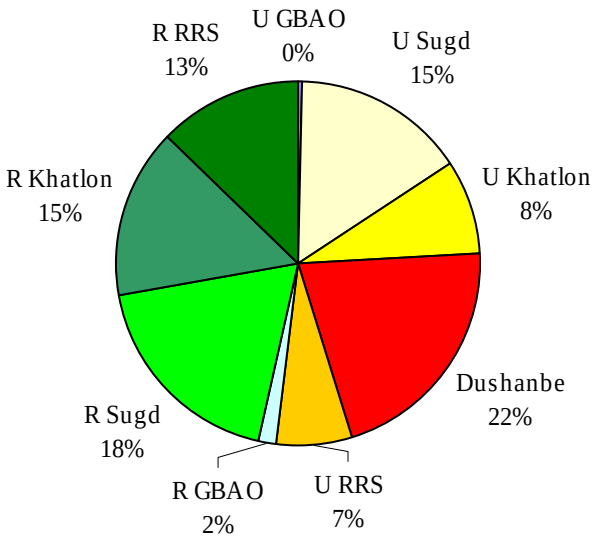
Overall nearly a fifth of all households in Tajikistan (19.7%) are headed by a woman. This is a surprisingly high figure and represents a slight increase from the level found in 1999 (17.6%). FHH constitute a higher proportion of all households in urban areas, accounting for two in every five urban households in RRS and nearly a third of households in Dushanbe. As Figure 3 shows, just over half of FHH live in urban areas, with 22 percent residing in Dushanbe and a further 15% in Sugd (mainly in Khojand). Just under half of all FHH live in rural areas.

Table 18: Proportion of households headed by a women within urban and rural areas by region, TLSS 2003

% female headed households	Urban	Rural	All households
GBAO	18.3	13.1	13.9
Sugd	27.5	15.2	19.1
Khatlon	26.4	12.6	15.5
Dushanbe	31.8	n/a	31.8
RRS	40.0	15.7	19.9
Total	30.0	14.3	19.7

Source: TLSS 2003

Figure 3: Distribution of female headed households, Tajikistan 2003.



In order to unpack this further it is useful to develop a typology of female-headed households based on their age (i.e. whether they are aged under 60 years of age or over 60) and their household composition. Overall, 39 percent of female household heads are aged 60 and over and the majority of these live in extended households. Single pensioner households make up just 5 percent of all rural FHH and 11 percent of urban FHH. The majority of FHH are headed by younger women and most FHH contain children.

Table 19: Distribution of Female Headed Households by type within urban and rural areas, TLSS 2003

Type of female headed households	Urban	Rural	All FHH
Single pensioner	11.3	5.4	8.5
60+ living with other adults only	5.6	4.0	4.9
60+ living in extended household with kids	13.8	38.9	25.8
Single younger adult	8.2	-	4.4
Lone parent	15.6	8.1	12.0
Under 60 living with other adults only	15.8	6.4	11.3
Under 60 living in extended household with kids	29.6	36.8	33.1
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: TLSS 2003

Looking at the composition of FHH within regions (Figure 4), single female pensioner households account for a higher share of FHH in Sugd (13%) and Dushanbe (12%) than elsewhere, whilst lone parent households account for a higher share in Khatlon (18%). Figure 5 shows the distribution of each type of FHH across the regions. Over half of all single female pensioners (51%) live in Sugd and nearly a third (30.8%) live in Dushanbe. The majority of younger women living on their own also live in these oblasts, with 55% in Dushanbe and 32% in Sugd. Interestingly over a third (35%) of lone parent FHH live in Khatlon the area where the fighting in the civil war was most harsh.

Figure 4: Composition of FHH within regions, TLSS 2003

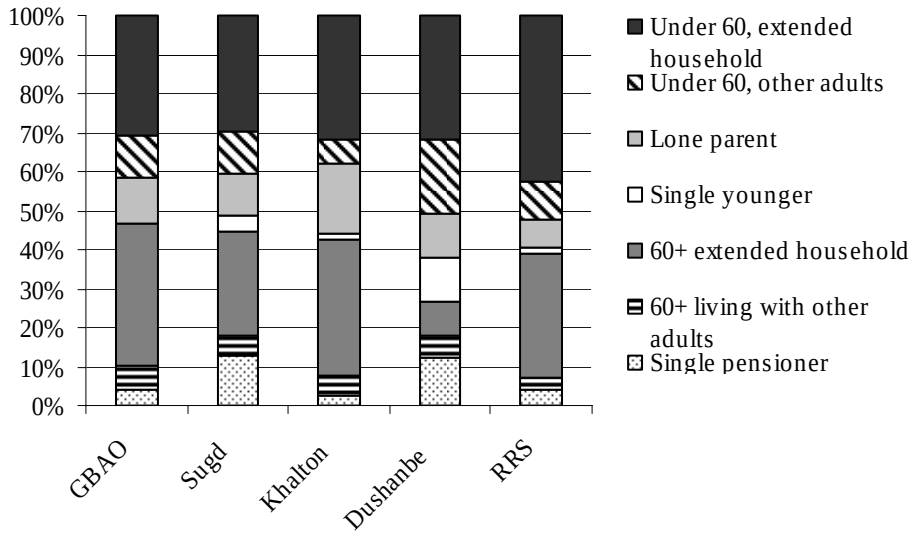
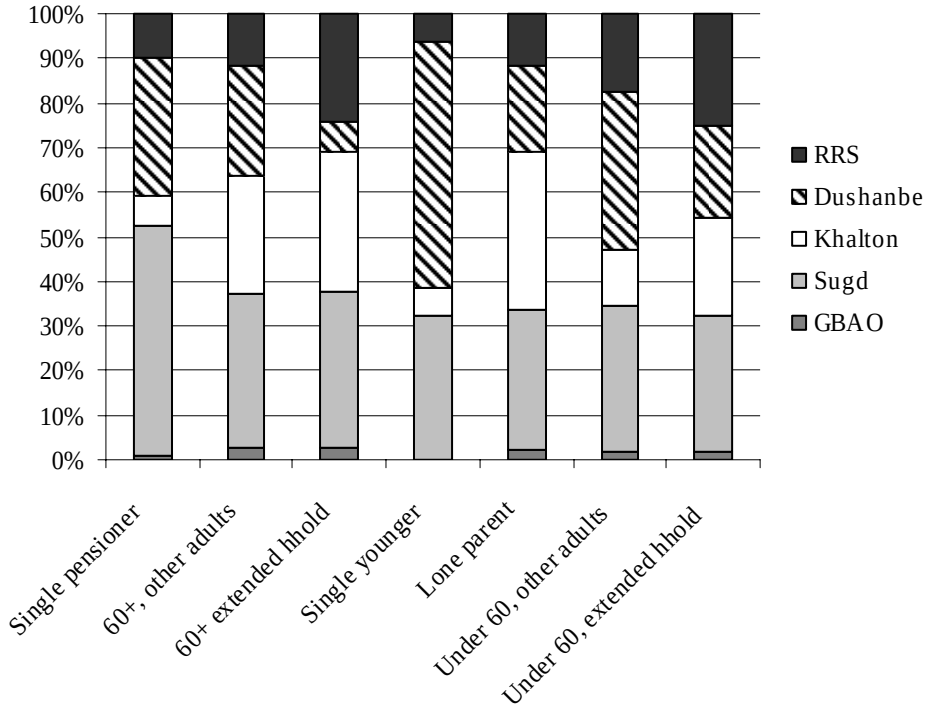


Figure 5: Spatial distribution of different types of FHH, TLSS 2003



2.2 Material welfare and FHH

Given the diversity in the type of FHH one would expect that there may be significant differences in the level of material welfare enjoyed by the different groups. This is borne out by the data in Table 20 which shows the average (mean) per capita household expenditure and income for different types of household. There are several points to note. First the average value of per capita expenditures is considerably higher than average per capita income for all household types. This reflects the fact that income is heavily under-reported in the TLSS, confirming the decision to use consumption as the welfare indicator. Second, female-headed households as a group appear to enjoy higher average levels of both expenditure and income than MHH.

Table 20: Average income and expenditure by type of household head, TLSS 2003

Type household	**Average HH size**	**Mean per capita expenditure (somoni) (regionally adjusted)**	**Mean per capita Income (somoni) (regionally adjusted)**
Male headed household	6.7	50.80	26.00
Female headed household	5.1	59.24	28.07
Within FHH			
Single pensioner	1.0	79.77	40.69
60+ living with other adults only	2.9	55.58	28.66
60+ living in extended household with kids	7.5	45.00	22.25
Single younger adult	1.0	132.83	52.13
Lone parent	3.1	62.89	27.50
Under 60 living with other adults only	3.2	76.68	41.27
Under 60 living in extended household with kids	6.6	47.28	21.52

Source: TLSS 2003

Looking within FHH, there are significant differences in the average level of material welfare enjoyed, with FHH containing more than two generations and including children being the least well off and single person households the best off. It appears that women of economically active age (aged 15-59) living on their own enjoy the highest average material standard of living.

Table 21 Decomposing regionally adjusted per capita expenditure within and between group inequalities by female and male household head

	MHH	FHH		MHH	FHH
50 percentiles	40.85	44.92	Atkinson indices, A(e)		
Mean	50.80	59.24	A(0.5)	0.09	0.117
SD	37.82	50.89	A(1)	0.17	0.21
			A(2)	0.31	0.37
Population share	0.80	0.20			
Income share	0.77	0.23	Within-group inequality Atkinson indices		
			A(0.5)	0.09	
Generalized Entropy indices, GE(a)			A(1)	0.18	
GE(-1)	0.22	0.29	A(2)	0.32	
GE(0)	0.19	0.24	Between group inequality		
GE(1)	0.20	0.25	A(0.5)	0.0006	
GE(2)	0.27	0.36	A(1)	0.0006	
Gini	0.33	0.38	A(2)	0.0005	
Within-group inequality-all observation			Total number of household		
GE(-1)	0.238			3335	822
GE(0)	0.20				
GE(1)	0.21				
GE(2)	0.30				
Between group inequality					
GE(-1)	0.001				
GE(0)	0.001				
GE(1)	0.001				
GE(2)	0.002				

Table 21 presents a series of measures that summarise the distribution of regionally adjusted per capita expenditures in male and female-headed households including the Gini Coefficient and other measures of inequality such as the Generalised Entropy (GE) indices and the Atkinson indices. Similar information concerning the distribution of income is included as Table A1 in the Appendix. Looking at the most commonly used measure of inequality i.e. the Gini Coefficient, it can be seen that there is a higher degree of inequality amongst FHH than MHH. The GE index can be parameterised to reflect different perception of inequality, with lower values indicating a higher degree of inequality. Thus GE(-1) places a greater weight on observations at the lower end of the distribution., whilst GE(2) places a higher weight on those at the top of the distribution. In a country such as Tajikistan, where the majority of the population are absolutely poor, relative advantage may be thought to play a greater role in defining household welfare than relative disadvantage, a value of

GE(2) may thought to be the most appropriate measure. Again the GE shows greater inequality for FHH than for MHH.

One advantage of the GE indices is that they can be additively decomposed into the constituent parts of within and between-group inequalities. Looking at Table 21 it is clear that the main contributor to inequality in material welfare in Tajikistan is inequality amongst *all* households {GE(2)=0.30} rather than inequality *between* households on the basis of the gender of their head {Ge(2)=0.002}. This supports the earlier conclusion that gender of the household head is not an important discriminator of welfare in Tajikistan.

Table 22 Decomposing regionally adjusted per capita expenditure within and between group inequalities by type of female-headed household

	Single pensioner	**60+ living with other adults**	**60+ living in extended household**	**single adult**	**lone parents parents**	**under60 living with other adults**	**under60 living in extended household**
50 percentiles	64.37	50.82	37.25	101.00	49.36	63.03	40.30
Mean	79.77	55.58	45.00	132.83	62.89	76.68	47.28
SD	62.94	39.64	35.94	106.21	48.69	49.04	33.08
Population share	0.09	0.05	0.26	0.04	0.12	0.12	0.32
Income share	0.11	0.05	0.19	0.1	0.13	0.16	0.26
Generalized Entropy indices, GE(a)							
GE(-1)	0.31	0.27	0.22	0.72	0.27	0.22	0.18
GE(0)	0.25	0.21	0.19	0.28	0.2	0.18	0.16
GE(1)	0.25	0.21	0.21	0.24	0.21	0.17	0.18
GE(2)	0.3	0.24	0.31	0.31	0.29	0.2	0.24
Gini	0.38	0.35	0.33	0.36	0.34	0.33	0.31
Within-group inequality-all observation							
GE(-1)	0.25						
GE(0)	0.19						
GE(1)	0.2						
GE(2)	0.3						
Between group inequality							
GE(-1)	0.04						
GE(0)	0.04						
GE(1)	0.05						
GE(2)	0.06						
Total number of household receiving some income	70	41	207	33	94	95	259
Total number of household	70	41	208	38	97	99	269

Table 22 presents a similar analysis, decomposing the contribution to inequality of all FHH by type of household. The analogous data for per capita income is included as

Table A2 in the Appendix. Again the main contributor to inequality in material welfare is inequality amongst *all* FHH households {GE(2)=0.30} rather than inequality *between* households on the basis of their type {Ge(2)=0.06}.However the between group inequality by type of FHH is higher than the inequality between FHH and MHH. This is not surprising looking at the variation in the mean value of per capita expenditure across each type of FHH. Nevertheless the level of inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient remains fairly consistent within each type of FHH, varying from 0.31 amongst extended households head by a woman aged under 60 to 0.38 amongst single female pensioners. Thus each household type encompasses a wide diversity of material circumstances, implying that one should be cautious about making generalisations on the relative level of welfare between groups based on the mean. There are better off and worse off FHH within each class of our typology.

Given these differences in the distribution of material welfare between groups of FHH, how does this translate into the likelihood of living in absolute poverty? There are no significant differences in overall headcount poverty between FHH and MHH. Within FHH the most likely to be poor are those living in extended households with children, confirming earlier findings regarding the negative impact on household welfare of large numbers of children.

Table 23: Absolute poverty rates in the population by type of household head

Type household	**Headcount poverty (p0)**	**Poverty Gap (p1)**	**Poverty Severity (p2)**
Male headed household	63.6	23.0	10.9
Female headed household	62.6	23.3	11.4
Within FHH			
Single pensioner	37.2	12.9	5.8
60+ living with other adults only	48.1	20.1	9.7
60+ living in extended household with kids	68.3	26.0	13.3
Single younger adult	6.9	3.9	3.2
Lone parent	50.8	15.8	6.9
Under 60 living with other adults only	36.3	12.9	5.8
Under 60 living in extended household with kids	67.1	24.9	11.9

Source: TLSS 2003

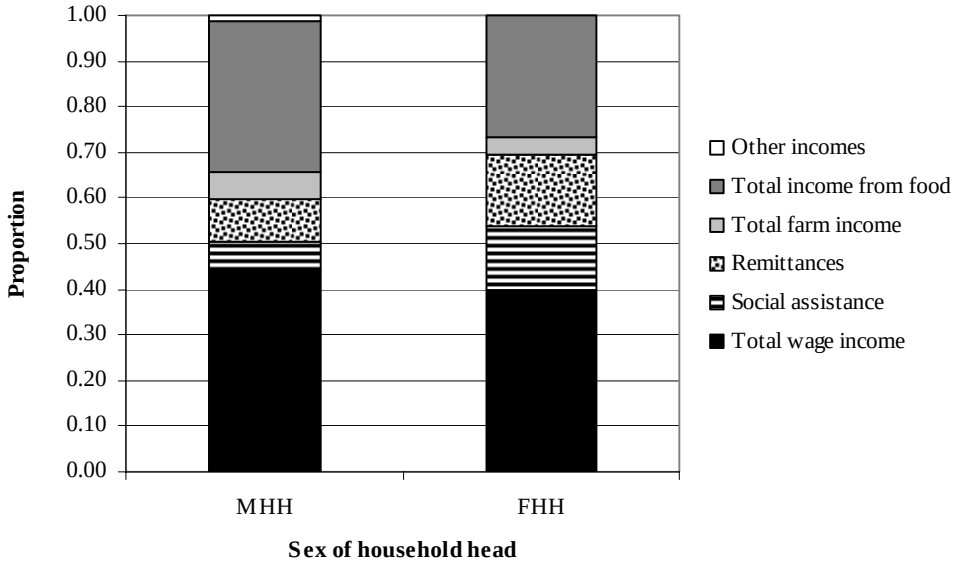
2.3 Sources of income and FHH

Finally in this section we examine differences in the sources of income between FHH and MHH. Total income is comprised of :

- Total wage employment
- Social assistance
- Remittances
- Rent obtained from land
- Income from farm
- Income from family business
- Income from non-farm enterprise
- Imputed income from consumption of home production and gifts of food received.

Figure 6 shows that remittances and social assistance transfers make up a considerably higher proportion of the total income of FHH than MHH (x% v y% respectively). The contribution of each source of income to overall inequality in male and female-headed households is shown in Table A3 in the Appendix.

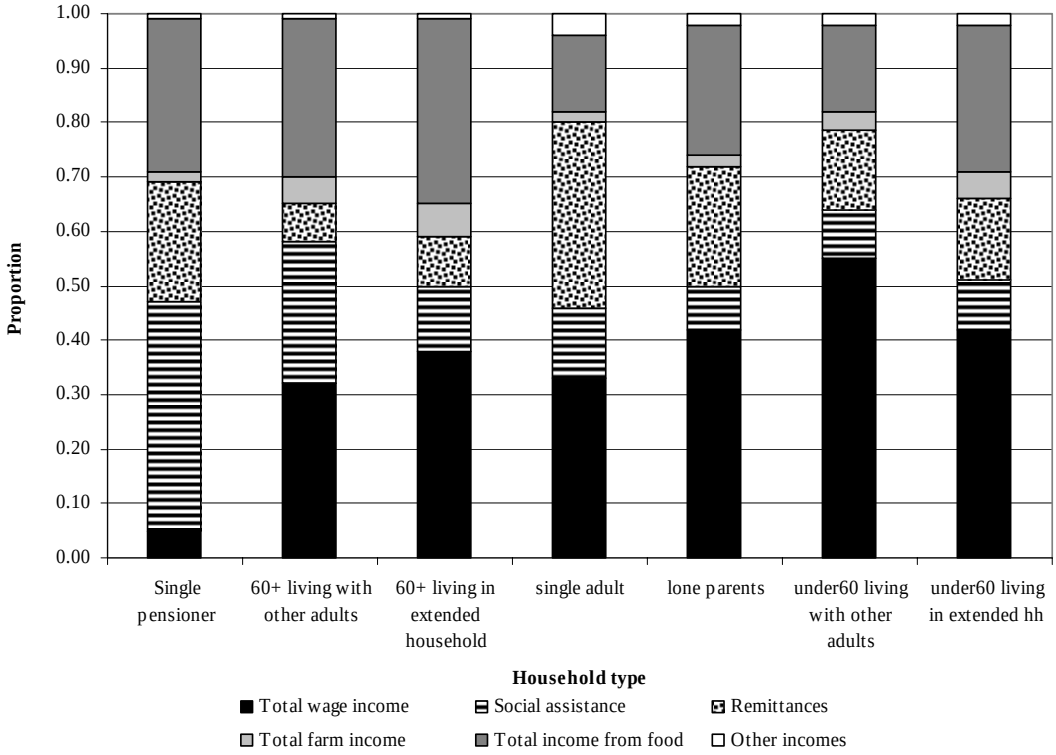
Figure 6: Average contribution of different income sources to total income by sex of household head.



Source: TLSS 2003

Looking at the different sources of income across the various types of FHH in Figure 7 we can see that remittances play a major role for single females under age 60 and single pensioners. It may be that many of the former group are students. The contribution of each source of income to inequality within each type of FHH is shown in Table A4 in the Appendix.

Figure 7: Average contribution of different income sources to total income for FHH by household type



Source: TLSS 2003

3. Gender and the Labour Market [4]

3.1 Labour force participation

Table 24 presents a detailed breakdown of the utilization of labour resources in Tajikistan in the summer of 2003 for the whole population aged 16 and over and for mean and women separately. More than half (57%) of the adult population are economically active i.e. participate in the labour force, whereas 43 per cent are not economically active. The main reason cited for being out of the labour force is home care (20 per cent).

Table 24: The Utilization of the labour resources by gender, Tajikistan 2003

	as % total population >= 16	as %(out of) labour force	as % total population >= 16	as %(out of) labour force	as % total population >= 16	as %(out of) labour force
	Total		Men		Women	
Population >16	100	-	100	-	100	-
Missing	0.1	-	0.1	-	0.0	-
Out of the labour force	**42.9**	**100**	**30.0**	**100.0**	**54.2**	**100.0**
No specific job	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.1
No jobs	3.1	7.2	4.4	14.7	1.9	3.5
Study	5.6	13.3	7.1	23.7	4.3	7.9
Home care	20.2	47.2	6.1	20.3	32.9	60.5
Pensioners	7.8	18.1	6.6	22.0	8.8	16.2
Disabled+Not healthy	4.3	10.1	3.7	12.1	5.0	9.1
Not willing to work	1.7	3.8	1.8	6.2	1.4	2.7
Labour force	**57.0**	**100.0**	**69.8**	**100.0**	**45.5**	**100**
Employed	**54.5**	**95.7**	**66.1**	**94.7**	**44.1**	**97.1**
With job	53.3	93.6	64.9	93.1	42.8	94.2
Full-Time						
Part-Time						
With a job not at work	1.2	2.2	1.1	1.6	1.3	2.9
Unemployed	**2.5**	**4.3**	**3.7**	**5.3**	**1.3**	**2.9**

Definitions:
Employed: An individual aged 16 and above is defined as employed if in the past 14 days has worked for someone as a hired labourer or has worked on a farm they owned or rented or has cared for livestock or has worked on his/her own account or if he/she has not done any of these work in the past 14 days but he/she has a permanent term job from which he was temporarily absent.
Unemployed: An individual aged 16 and above is defined as unemployed if he/she declares himself as not employed and he/she is not looking for a job because he/she is waiting either a response or to start. Alternatively someone is defined unemployed if is not employed but he is looking for a job
Out of the labour Force: An individual aged 16 and above is defined as out of labour force if he/she declare himself as not employed and is not looking for a job and declares that he/she is not looking for a job for one of the following reasons: a) there is not a job either in the fields, b)or a suitable job, c) is studying , d) is taking care of home, e) is pensioner, f) is disabled or not healthy, g) does not want to work

[4] This narrative in this section draws upon the structure of a paper prepared by Chris de Neubourg for the PAU 2004. However it should be noted that the tables from TLSS 2003 presented here differ from those in Prof de Neubourg's report as further data cleaning has taken place since he produced his report. Thus the analysis here should be thought of superseding the earlier analysis.

There are considerable differences by gender, with just 45 per cent of women aged 16 and over reporting themselves as being economically active compared to almost 70 per cent of men. However, if they are economically, active a higher proportion of women are employed than men, with just 1.3 % of all women being unemployed (and 2.9% of all economically active women being unemployed) compared to 3.7% of men (and 5.3% of all economically active men). A third of all women (32.9%) report that they are not in the labour force as they are taking care of the home compared to six percent of men. However one of the most striking findings from Table 24 is the high proportion of both men and women who may be described as 'discouraged' from seeking work. This includes those in the categories 'no specific job' and 'no jobs'. The combination of these two categories combined with 'not willing to work' is almost as high as those that state they are not economically active due to study.

Table 25 shows the utilization of labour resources by place of residence. Labour force participation appears to be considerably higher in rural areas than in urban areas. More than 60 per cent of the rural population are engaged in the labour force as opposed to just 45 per cent in urban area. The rate of unemployment amongst those economically active is considerably higher in urban areas than in rural areas; 9.2% v 2.9%. So too is the proportion of the population aged 16 and over who might be thought of as 'discouraged'; 4.4% in urban areas say there are no jobs compared with 2.6% in rural areas.

Table 25: The utilization of labour resources by place of residence, TLSS 2003

	as % total population >=16	as %(out of) labour force	as % total population >=16	as %(out of) labour force
	Urban		Rural	
Population >16	100	-	100	-
Missing	0.4		0.1	
Out of labour force	**54.1**	**100**	**38.4**	**100.0**
No specific job	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.5
No jobs	4.4	8.2	2.6	6.7
Study	6.9	12.7	5.1	13.4
Home care	27.5	50.9	17.3	45.1
Persioners	7.2	13.4	8.0	20.8
Disabled+Not healthy	5.5	10.2	3.9	10.1
Not willing to work	2.4	4.5	1.4	3.6
Labour force	**45.5**	**100.0**	**61.5**	**100.0**
Employed	**41.3**	**90.8**	**59.7**	**97.1**
With job	39.9	87.7	58.54	95.2
Full-Time				
Part-Time				
With a job not at work	1.4	3.1	1.15	1.9
Unemployed	**4.2**	**9.2**	**1.8**	**2.9**

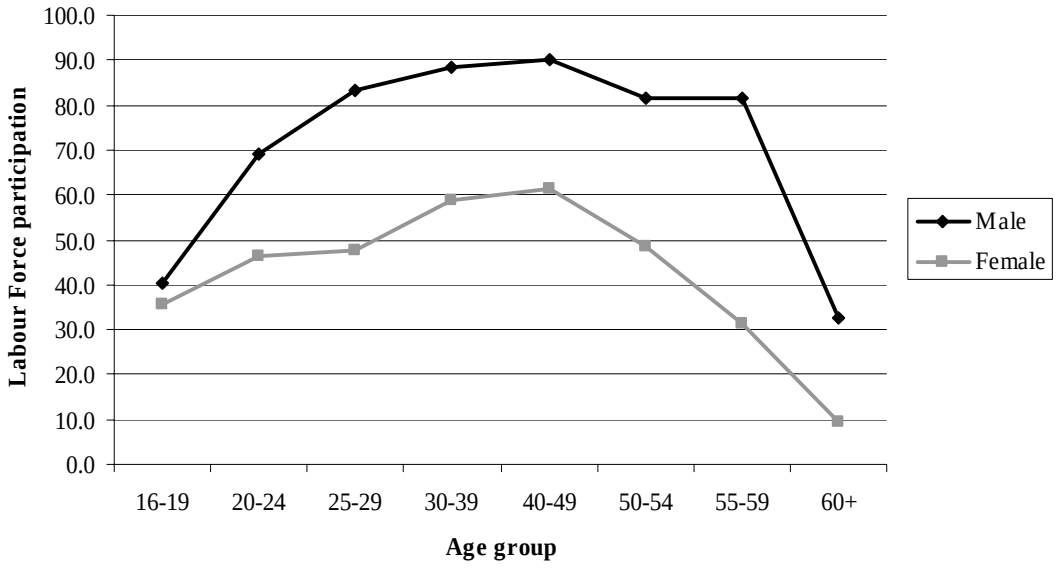
Labour force participation varies by age for both men and women (Table 26 and Figure 8). The highest participation rates are amongst men aged between 30 and 49, around 90 percent of the men in that age-group being in the labour force. Amongst women, participation rates are highest for women in their forties, when children are more likely to be reaching adolescence or even leaving home. Participation rates decline at older ages for both sexes, reflecting that women retire at age 55 and men at

age 60. However even after age 60 a considerable minority remain economically active (32.5% of men and 9.6% of women), reflecting the relatively low value of state pensions and the necessity of continuing to work for survival.

Table 26: Labour Force participation by age group and gender, TLSS 2003.

	Male	Female	Total
16-19	40.5	35.8	38.1
20-24	69.0	46.2	56.7
25-29	83.3	47.8	64.3
30-39	88.6	58.7	72.8
40-49	90.1	61.4	75.1
50-54	81.6	48.5	62.7
55-59	81.4	31.4	56.6
60+	32.5	9.6	20.9
Total	69.8	45.4	57.0

Figure 8: Labour force participation rates by age, TLSS 2003.



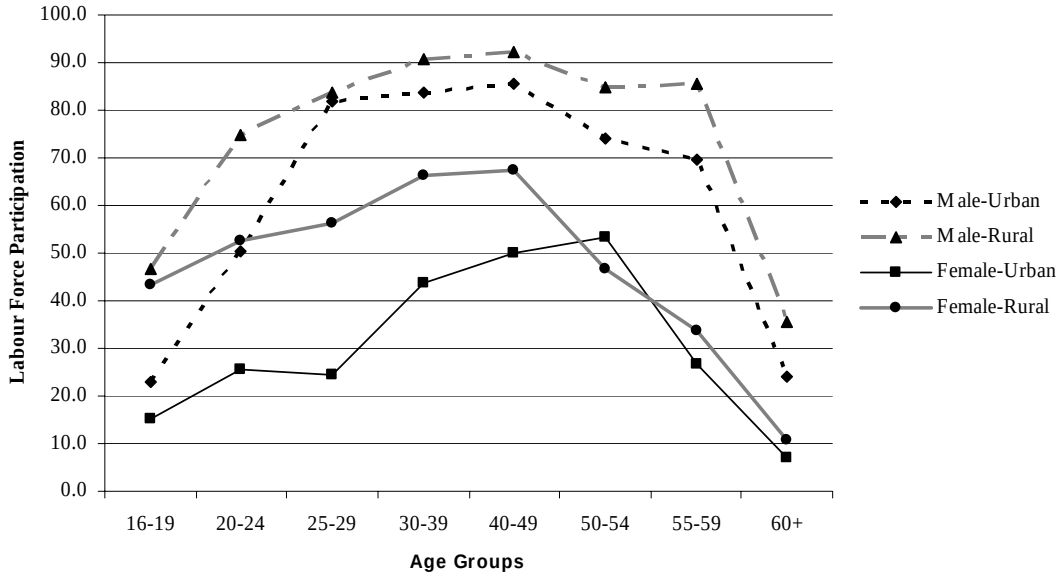
The very low participation rates amongst young adults are a cause for concern, with less than two in five 16-19 year olds, and only just over half of 20-24 year olds, reporting being employed or actively seeking work. De Neubourg (2004) explores the reasons behind this non-participation in greater depth and concludes that 'discouragement is extremely significant amongst younger people in Tajikistan'.

As we have already seen, participation rates vary significantly between urban and rural areas. Table 27 and Figure 9 show participation by age, gender and place of residence. Young urban women have the lowest levels of labour force participation with just 15 per cent of women aged 16-19 engaged in the labour force compared to 43 per cent of rural women of the same age. The gap for the female labour force participation between urban and rural area narrows with age and the rates converge after fifty. **This highlights the particular difficulties urban women face in combining productive and reproductive roles.**

Table 27: Labour Force Participation by age group, gender and place of residence, TLSS 2003

	Male-Urban	Male-Rural	Female-Urban	Female-Rural	Total
16-19	23.0	46.6	15.4	43.4	38.1
20-24	50.4	74.9	25.7	52.6	56.7
25-29	81.7	83.8	24.6	56.3	64.3
30-39	83.6	90.8	43.6	66.5	72.8
40-49	85.5	92.2	49.8	67.3	75.1
50-54	73.9	84.8	53.3	46.8	62.7
55-59	69.7	85.4	26.6	33.7	56.6
60+	24.0	35.5	7.2	10.6	20.9
Total	61.8	72.8	32.0	51.0	57.0

Figure 9 : Labour Force Participation by age group, gender and place of residence, TLSS 2003.



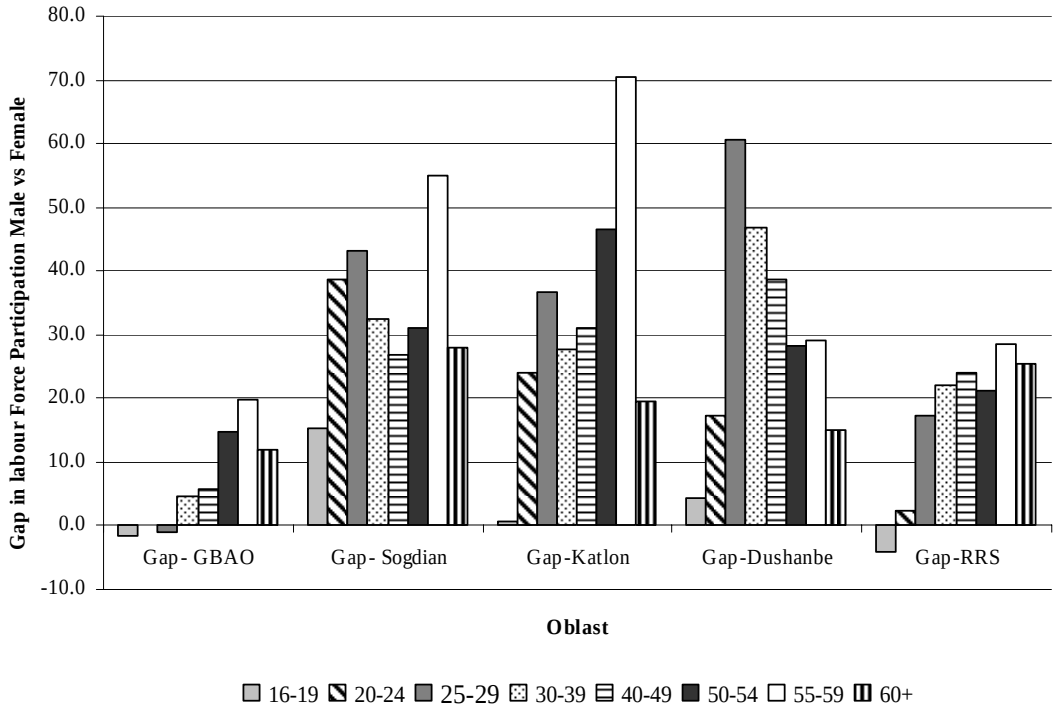
There are substantial regional variations in patterns of participation (Table 28). The highest rates of female participation, and the narrowest gender gap, are found in rural GBAO, where 73 per cent of male adult population are engaged in the labour market and 70 per cent of female. In contrast the widest gender gaps are observed in urban Khatlon, Dushanbe and Sugd with women recording a participation rate 28-35 percentage points lower than men.

Table 28: Figure: Labour Force Participation gender and place of residence, TLSS 2003.

	Male	Female	Gender gap
Urban			
GBAO	57.2	50.8	6.4
Sugd	64.4	36.0	28.4
Khatlon	58.9	23.0	35.9
Dushanbe	61.5	29.9	31.6
RRS	59.6	40.1	19.5
Rural			
GBAO	73.7	70.7	3
Sugd	75.8	43.8	32
Khatlon	72.1	50.0	22.1
RRS	69.6	58.1	11.5

Figure 10 shows the gender gap in labour force participation rates between adult male and female by oblast and age group. The gender gap is most marked in Khatlon, Dushanbe and Sugd. Gender differentials are particularly marked in Dushanbe amongst those aged 25-29, with men labour force participation being a staggering 60 percentage points higher participation than women. Again this highlights the fact that urban women are less able to combine caring for young children with work. Interestingly in the youngest age group (16-19) the labour force participation rate is in favour of females in GBAO and RRS. This might indicate that boys are more likely than girls to stay on in education beyond age 16 in these areas.

Figure 10: Gap in Labour Force Participation between Male vs Female by Oblast and age group, TLSS 2003.



Note: Dushanbe is entirely urban.

3.2 Unemployment

As we have already discussed, a significant number of young people are discouraged from entering the labour market due to perceived (or real) lack of jobs. Further detailed information on unemployment by age and gender is presented in Table 29. Several key features stand out. Firstly, there are a large number of men and women who are what one might classify as 'hidden' unemployed or discouraged workers. If these elements of 'labour slack' are taken into account then the true level of under utilised labour resources in Tajikistan (U5) is much higher than that indicated by the standard ILO definition of unemployment (U1). Second, unemployment on either definition is much higher amongst young people than older people. Moreover, the age gap is even greater when looking at levels of 'true' unemployment, reflecting the discussion above concerning the high proportion of discouraged younger workers.

Thirdly, there are distinct gender differentials, but these are not consistent across the life-cycle. Young men are at a greater risk of unemployment than young women. This may be due to the fact that young women have the option of alternative activity within the home and so do not come out in the figures as unemployed. However, at ages over 30, women experience higher levels of unemployment than men. From this detailed analysis, it appears that women are slightly more disadvantaged than men in the labour market, particularly at ages over 30. However what is most shocking is the extremely high level of labour slack in general and amongst young people in particular. Active labour market policies to address youth unemployment are urgently needed if Tajikistan is not to lose a generation of workers. Active labour market policies also need to take into account the gendered nature of unemployment for workers aged over 30

Table 29 Unemployment rates by age group and gender, TLSS 2003

	ILO U1 definition			**ILO U5 definition (inc. hidden, involuntary and discouraged workers)**		
	Total	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**	**Men**	**Women**
16-19	6.1	6.9	5.3	32.2	35.1	28.9
20-24	6.7	8.4	4.4	26.4	28.4	23.8
25-29	4.9	7.0	1.7	20.7	22.5	17.7
30-39	3.9	5.0	2.4	16.6	16.5	16.8
40-49	2.9	3.3	2.4	15.8	14.4	17.6
50-54	3.0	4.3	1.3	16.8	16.2	17.5
55-59	2.6	3.6	0.0	15.3	12.3	23.4
60+	0.7	0.4	1.5	15.9	14.8	19.3
All 16+	4.3	5.3	2.9	20.5	20.7	20.2

Source: TLSS 2003, adapted from De Neubourg 2004.

3.3 Employment

Data from the TLSS on the composition of the employed labour force in Tajikistan in 2003 is presented by sector, occupation, employee status and type of enterprise for both men and women (Tables 30-34). All classifications use the standard ILO definitions.

Table 30 highlights the fact that Tajikistan remains an essentially agrarian economy, with agriculture accounting for just under two-thirds of all employment. The share of agriculture in total employment varies by region with Dushanbe lowest at less than two percent, Sugd 61 percent, GBAO 68 percent, Khatlon 70 percent and RRS 76 percent.

Table 30 Employment by sector and gender, TLSS 2003

	Total	Men	Women
Agriculture	63.8	56.9	73.2
Mining	0.1	0.1	0.1
Manufacturing	1.2	0.5	2.1
Utilities	0.0	0.1	0.0
Construction	2.6	4.2	0.4
Retail, hotel, restaurant	6.4	7.2	5.3
Transport	1.7	2.9	0.1
Finance, real estate	0.0	0.0	0.0
Insurance	0.3	0.4	0.2
Publ.admin, defence	5.7	7.9	2.7
Education	5.9	5.4	6.6
Health, social work	1.9	1.3	2.8
Other services	10.2	13.0	6.4
Other industries	0.1	0.2	0.1
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: adapted from De Neubourg 2004.

Table 30 also shows clear signs of gender based segregation. Women are relatively over-represented in agriculture, education, health and social work, whilst men are relatively over-represented in transport, construction and public administration. Surprisingly few men and women report being employed in the service sectors despite the share of services in GDP having increased over the past 5 years.

A similar picture of occupational segregation is found in Table 31. The majority of people (69%) are employed in elementary occupations. Most of these are related to agricultural activities. Professionals account for the second largest group, followed by sales and serviceman. Men are over-represented amongst the higher grade (skill) occupations, whilst women are over-represented amongst the lower grade (skill) occupations.

Table 31 Employment by occupation, TLSS 2003

	Total	Men	Women
Armed Forces	0.4	0.7	0.0
Legisl.,senior officials, management	0.9	1.4	0.3
Professionals	10.9	12.3	8.9
Technicians, assoc. professional	2.2	1.9	2.6
Clerks	0.7	0.4	1.0
Service worker, sales	8.1	9.2	6.6
Skilled agricultural work	1.2	1.6	0.6
Craft and related trade work	4.5	5.6	2.9
Plant, machine operators	2.3	3.9	0.1
Elementary occupation	68.8	62.9	76.9
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: TLSS 2003, adapted from De Neubourg 2004.

Table 32 highlights some of the recent changes in the labour market. In the past workers were almost exclusively either employees of large state-enterprises or worked on collective farms. Employees still account for six out of ten workers. However this means that three out of ten are employed in new forms of work. Most importantly, 24 percent of men and 34 percent of women report working for themselves and around 12 percent report working as part of a family business. Although there are slight gender differentials, the data does *not* indicate that women face significantly greater barriers in taking up self-employment as compared to men. Many of the own accunt workers are working on de-collectivised farms.

Table 32 Employment by status, TLSS 2003

	Total	Men	Women
Employee	58.3	62.3	52.9
Paid family worker	6.5	5.7	7.5
Employer	1.8	2.1	1.3
Own account	28.2	24.3	33.5
Unpaid family worker	5.2	5.6	4.7

Source: TLSS 2003, adapted from De Neubourg 2004.

Table 33 Employment by type of enterprises and ownership, TLSS 2003

	Total	Men	Women
Govt. / public work	15.9	18.8	12.0
State enterprise	19.9	21.1	18.3
Private firm (inc agriculture)	35.1	30.4	41.4
Collective / Joint stock	17.0	15.0	19.7
NGO, International Joint Venture	0.8	0.9	0.6
Family business	11.3	13.7	8.0

Source: TLSS 2003, adapted from De Neubourg 2004.

Finally, Table 33 shows employment disaggregated according to the type of employer and ownership of the enterprises. In contrast to 1999, the majority of people now work outside the government sector, although a sizeable minority still work in the public sector and in state enterprises. As De Neubourg notes ‘changes in the registration of farm activities have produced spectacular changes in the distribution of

agricultural activities across public and private firms'. Notably a higher proportion of women work in the private sector than men.

3.4 Wage differentials

Accurate data on wages remains difficult to obtain due to reporting problems. A proportion of wages continue to be paid in kind, or are paid in arrears, or not at all. In the former Soviet Union, wages used to make up 80 percent of a household's budget. Today, although still the most important source of household income, data from the TLSS 2003 suggests that labour income constitutes around 45 percent of households' income. The combined income from the imputed value of consumption of home production, social assistance and remittances accounts for a similar share (Table 33; see also Figure 6 in Section 2 above).

Table 33: Structure of total household income (including the imputed value of home production) (%) by quantile group of households ranked by per capita household expenditure (adjusted for regional price differences)

	Poorest 20%					Richest 20%	
	1st decile	2nd decile	2	3	4		All
Wages	47	44	46	44	47	42	45
Remittances	12	10	10	9	8	9	10
Social assistance inc school subsidies	13	10	9	9	7	9	9
Imputed value of food produced at home & gifts	24	33	33	33	34	36	33
Agricultural income	2	2	2	4	2	3	2
Business	1	<1	1	2	1	2	4
Other	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In this section we focus on total wage income, combining the value of both cash wages and wages paid in-kind. We consider five measures of wage income:

- *Primary wage* which includes both cash income and in kind income from the individual's main employment;
- *Secondary wage* which includes both cash income and in kind income from the first second job that is reported ;
- *Total wage* which include primary and secondary wage income(both in kind and cash);
- *Total cash wage* which include cash income from both primary and secondary employment;
- *Total in kind wage* which include in kind income from primary and secondary employment.

Measures are calculated for the 'present' adult population, i.e. all respondents aged 16 and above and who have not been absent from the household for 12 months or more in the previous 24 months.

As Table 34 shows wages are considerably higher for men than women. Average (mean) primary wages for men are double those for women (54.03 somoni v 26.29 somoni; and there is a similar gender gap for secondary wages. A summary of the gender gap and the ratio of male to female wages is shown at the bottom of the Table. Smaller gender differences are reported when ages are paid in-kind than in cash, but

nevertheless a substantial gap persists. The results of the decomposition analysis, looking at the contribution of inequality in male and female wages to overall wage inequality is presented in Table A5 in the appendix. Despite the large gender differentials, the main driver of overall wage inequality is within genders rather than between them.

Table 34: Levels of wage income by type, TLSS 2003

	Primary wage	Secondary wage	Total Wage	Total cash income	Total in kind income
All					
Median	21.1	16.66	23.8	25.00	5.00
Mean	43.5	29.49	44.6	48.50	9.35
SD	71.9	72.37	73.3	77.57	12.30
Gini Coefficient	0.58	0.54	0.58	0.57	0.56
Total population	5586	223	5612	4907	1530
Weighted proportion of the population receiving some income					
	0.39	0.02	0.39	0.33	0.12
Men					
Median	30.00	16.66	30	30.60	6.60
Mean	54.03	34.16	55.61	59.98	10.70
SD	83.44	88.13	85.53	89.60	13.80
Gini Coefficient	0.56	0.59	0.56	0.55	0.56
Total population	3407	147	3426	3043	869
Weighted proportion of the population receiving some income					
	0.50	0.01	0.50	0.44	0.13
Women					
Median	15.00	16.66	15	16.00	4.16
Mean	26.29	20.56	27.15	29.43	7.58
SD	42.44	17.80	42.55	45.43	9.54
Gini Coefficient	0.55	0.37	0.54	0.53	0.54
Total population	2179	76	2186	1864	661
Weighted proportion of the population receiving some income					
	0.28	0.01	0.39	0.24	0.08
Gender gap					
Median	15.00	0	15	14.6	2.44
Mean	27.74	13.6	28.46	30.55	3.12
Ratio Males: females					
Median	200	100	200	191	159
Mean	206	166	205	204	141

Note: The table refers to the population 16 and above which where not absent for 12 or more. Average values calculated amongst those that receive it.
Note: weighted data.

Average wages vary considerably according to type of settlement and across regions, being higher in urban than rural areas, and highest in Dushanbe (Table 35). However gender differentials appear to be relatively wider in areas with lower average wages, with the ratio of male-to-female primary wages being 230:100 in rural areas compared with 172:100 in urban areas. The relative differential in wages between men and women is lowest in Dushanbe (142:100) and highest in RSS (272:100). Thus, on average men's total wages in RSS are almost three times those of women.

Table 35: Mean wage income by gender, region and type of settlement, TLSS 2003

	Primary wage	Secondary wage	Total Wage	Total cash income	Total in kind income
Rural					
All	33.13	29.41	34.52	31.02	9.57
Men	42.59	34.16	44.29	40.53	10.95
Women	18.52	20.49	19.41	16.31	7.74
Ratio M:W	230	167	228	248	141
Urban					
All	72.54	30.31	72.86	74.05	7.27
Men	85.82	34.20	86.15	85.38	8.17
Women	49.93	21.47	50.17	49.40	6.04
Ratio M:W	172	159	172	173	135
GBAO`					
All	53.87	**	55.55	55.10	8.95
Men	67.57	**	70.34	69.80	11.37
Women	35.12	**	35.12	34.80	6.01
Ratio M:W	192		200	201	189
Sugd					
All	43.70	38.60	45.34	55.38	10.22
Men	53.62	42.90	55.84	67.02	11.76
Women	27.17	25.52	27.83	34.30	7.99
Ratio M:W	197	168	201	195	147
Khatlon					
All	31.05	17.63	31.85	32.43	7.38
Men	40.37	18.03	41.18	41.69	1.36
Women	17.50	17.15	18.52	18.27	6.84
Ratio M:W	231	105	222	228	20
Dushanbe					
All	83.38	**	83.45	83.42	1.09
Men	93.84	**	93.84	93.91	5.30
Women	65.97	**	66.14	66.02	2.65
Ratio M:W	142		142	142	200
RRS					
All	58.01	51.94	53.52	54.92	13.16
Men	68.64	52.18	69.19	70.59	15.61
Women	25.23	**	25.47	25.88	9.65
Ratio M:W	272		272	273	162

Note: The table refers to the population 16 and above which where not absent for 12 or more. Average values calculated amongst those that receive it.
Note: weighted data.
** less than 20 observation

Gender differentials in wage income vary according to age, and are highest at younger ages. The total average wages of men aged 16-29 are around two and half times that earned by young women (Table 36), whilst after age 30 men merely earn double that of women! Even at ages over 60, male wage income is 30 percent higher than female. To what extent are these differentials the result of occupational segregation.

Table 36: Mean wage income by age and gender, TLSS 2003

	Primary wage	Secondary wage	Total Wage	Total cash income	Total in kind income
All					
16-19	28.74	**	28.74	34.81	6.71
20-24	35.57	**	36.10	40.64	8.27
25-29	50.95	29.98	51.98	56.77	11.18
30-39	45.83	25.07	47.14	50.26	10.10
40-49	46.75	44.14	48.61	51.94	9.05
50-59	45.30	**	45.93	48.26	10.36
60+	45.08	**	45.63	48.16	9.95
Men					
16-19	40.98	**	40.67	50.25	6.53
20-24	46.34	**	46.91	69.35	9.51
25-29	62.82	36.35	64.04	62.21	12.91
30-39	57.80	28.65	59.19	63.58	11.26
40-49	57.45	53.74	60.10	59.38	11.05
50-59	56.30	**	56.74	50.62	11.00
60+	47.88	**	48.45	17.98	11.51
Women					
16-19	15.93	**	16.06	17.98	6.89
20-24	18.82	**	19.48	20.95	6.41
25-29	27.70	**	28.20	30.80	8.16
30-39	27.84	19.52	28.95	30.89	8.75
40-49	31.00	**	31.64	34.04	6.75
50-59	29.14	**	29.97	31.13	9.63
60+	36.62	**	37.12	40.52	5.96
Ratio: M: W					
16-19	257	**	253	279	95
20-24	246	**	241	331	148
25-29	227	**	227	202	158
30-39	208	147	204	206	129
40-49	185	**	190	174	164
50-59	193	**	189	163	114
60+	131	**	131	44	193

Note: The table refers to the population 16 and above which where not absent for 12 or more. Average values calculated amongst those that receive it.
Note: weighted data.
** less than 20 observation

Tables 37 and 38 explore the wages of men and women by sector and occupation. Stark differentials remain even within sectors, with the smallest gaps being in the public sector, especially education and health. However even here men earn on average a sixth to a third more than women. Interestingly women working in 'other industries' which includes the ILO group 'Extra-territorial organizations and bodies' earn substantially more than men, although the number of cases here are small so the figures should be interpreted with caution. Pay differentials also persist within occupations – more affirmative action needs to be taken to close such gaps.

Table 37: Average (mean) total wages by sector and gender, TLSS 2003

	Total	Men	Women	Wage gap (M-W)	Ratio M:W
Agriculture	26.95	34.67	17.47	17.2	198
Mining	138.90	138.90	0	138.9	
Manufacturing	37.89	61.03	29.44	31.59	207
Utilities	118.93	118.93	0	118.93	
Construction	101.92	101.54	106.96	-5.42	95
Retail, hotel, restaurant	89.49	94.60	79.58	15.02	119
Transport	94.90	96.43	12.61	83.82	765
Finance, real estate	107.77	135.27	52.77	82.5	256
Insurance	55.99	59.64	45.44	14.2	131
Publ.admin, defence	54.88	61.65	30.33	31.32	203
Education	33.37	37.40	28.90	8.5	129
Health, social work	24.34	26.26	23.18	3.08	113
Other services	71.58	80.25	45.42	34.83	177
Other industries	64.51	41.34	156.66	-115.32	26

Table 38: Average (mean) Total wages by occupation and gender, TLSS 2003

	Total	Men	Women	Wage gap (M-W)	Ratio M:W
Legisl.,senior officials, management	106.77	115	62.73	52.27	183
Professionals	48.21	53.61	38.03	15.58	141
Technicians, assoc. professional	40.00	61.91	18.44	43.47	336
Clerks	67.57	119.57	39.28	80.29	304
Service worker, sales	79.80	84.15	71.45	12.7	118
Skilled agricultural work	38.23	44.15	19.86	24.29	222
Craft and related trade work	71.50	80.90	44.11	36.79	183
Plant, machine operators	86.74	87.92	30.92	57	284
Elementary occupation	31.65	42.04	18.06	23.98	233
Other	none	none	none		

4. Gender and access to Social Services

4.1 Gender differences in enrolment in education

Schooling is compulsory in Tajikistan for children from age seven to fifteen. It is divided into primary education (until age 10) followed by lower level of secondary education. Enrolment rates have historically been high, upwards of 94 percent.

There are currently varieties of different estimates regarding enrolment rates in Tajikistan. Looking through the background papers prepared for the PAU at least 3 variants can be found. Some of the confusion is caused by the fact that the TLSS 2003 was conducted in the summer months and overlapped with the end of the academic year and the start of the summer break. There is also some confusion as to which grade students should be assigned to, as their age in the survey is their age last birthday, which means that a single year of age may combine students in adjacent school years. Thus, for example 7 year olds include those who were aged seven last September i.e. at the start of the academic year as well as those who have only recently had their birthday. For transparency, the data on enrolments are presented here by single year of age for both boys and girls for all ages 7 to 21. As is clear from the table, many children who were aged 7 at the time of the survey were not enrolled in the previous academic year, probably because they were 'rising 7' during the year[5]. Respondents who state they have never attended school (and thus were not asked about enrolment) are included in the denominator. Thus the rates may be thought of as being net enrolment rates.

Table 39: Net Enrollment in education by age and gender, TLSS 2003

Age	Boys	Girls	Absolute Gender gap	Ratio of boys: girls (boys per 100 girls)
7	56.1	53.9	2.1	104
8	93.7	93.0	0.7	101
9	96.3	96.1	0.2	100
10	96.2	97.0	-0.8	99
11	96.4	94.7	1.7	102
12	97.8	95.9	1.9	102
13	94.8	87.3	7.4	109
14	95.5	89.1	6.4	107
15	91.8	84.5	7.4	109
16	87.5	73.1	14.4	120
17	71.5	44.8	26.7	160
18	33.0	24.7	8.3	134
19	21.6	14.3	7.3	151
20	16.9	8.5	8.3	197
21	17.0	5.2	11.8	327

Source: TLSS 2003

It is clear that enrolment rates for compulsory schooling have remained high, and in primary school (up to age 10) there is little difference by gender. However beyond primary school age, worrying gender differences are emerging; at ages 13 and 14

[5] This is in part explains why primary enrolment rates using the age group 7-10 appear to have fallen between 1999 and 2003. Extreme caution should be exercised when making comparisons over time between the TLSS 199 and 2003.

enrolment rates of boys exceed those of girls by 6-7 percentage points. Beyond compulsory schooling the gender differential widens further; boys are significantly more likely to stay on in education than girls at ages 16 and 17 and by ages 20 and 21 the ratio of boys to girls in higher education is over 2:1.

Figure 11: Net enrolment rates by age and gender, TLSS 2003.

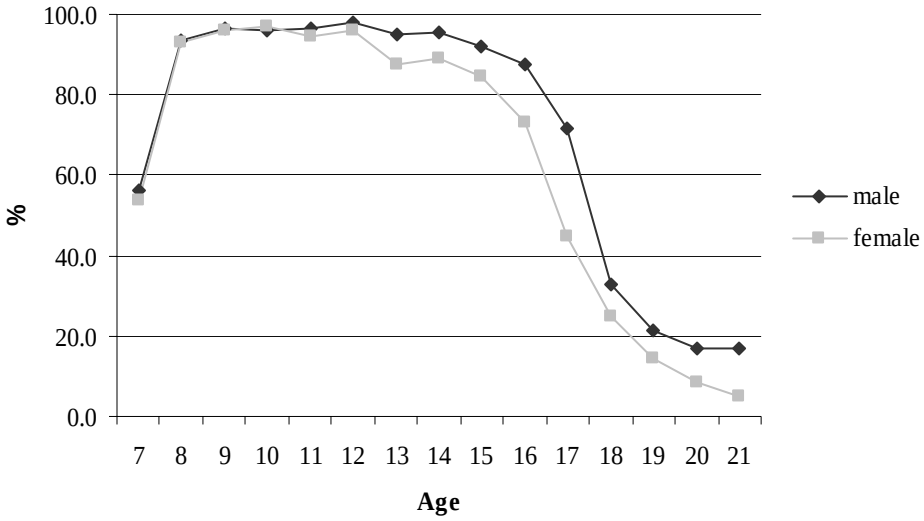


Table 40 shows enrolment rates within age groups by gender for urban and rural areas and by oblast. Up to age 18 enrolment rates are similar by type of settlement, tending to be slightly higher in rural than urban areas. Gender differential are also similar, although urban girls tend to be somewhat more disadvantaged than rural girls. Post 18, the situation is reversed with the proportion of both boys and girls participating in higher education being greatest in urban areas. Here the gender gap is greatest in rural areas, with just 9 percent of rural girls aged 18-21 in education compared to 20 percent of rural boys and 27 percent of urban girls of the same age.

Looking at enrolment rates by oblast, GBAO emerges as the most gender equitable region and indeed is the only region where girls outnumber boys in higher education. Roughly equal numbers of boys and girls also continue in education beyond compulsory education to age 18 in Sugd. Perhaps the most striking finding is that significant numbers of girls are beginning to drop out of school in Dushanbe at ages 11-15. As the PAU notes, the rising costs of education (which are particularly high in Dushanbe) may play a role in this. Families with limited income ensure that all children are able to obtain primary education, but they may withdraw girls from secondary school to tend to household tasks and look after younger siblings. However, school feeding programs and the provision of take home rations linked to attendance can provide a strong incentive for girls to return to school. A study by CARE found that girls were 66 percent more likely to continue on to higher grades (after grade 4) when school lunches and/or take home rations were provided.[6]

[6] Data from CARE, internal "impacts of school feeding" report.

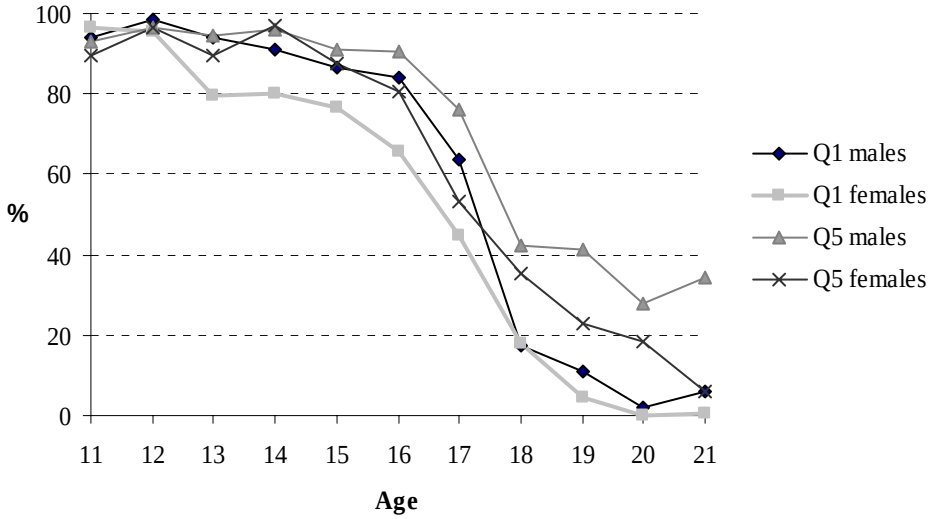
Table 40: Net Enrollment in education by gender by type of settlement and region, TLSS 2003

	Boys	Girls	Absolute Gender gap	Ratio of boys: girls (boys per 100 girls)
Urban				
7-10	85.7	85.6	0.1	100
11-15	93.1	85.5	7.6	109
16-17	76.0	56.4	19.6	135
18-21	32.4	26.9	5.5	120
Rural				
7-10	85.8	84.9	0.9	101
11-15	96.2	92.1	4.1	104
16-17	80.2	59.3	20.9	135
18-21	19.6	9.0	10.6	218
GBAO				
7-10	91.3	90.5	0.8	101
11-15	96.4	97.6	-1.2	99
16-17	92.0	92.4	-0.4	100
18-21	25.4	37.1	-11.7	68
Sugd				
7-10	86.3	85.3	1.0	101
11-15	95.4	94.2	1.2	101
16-17	74.5	71.3	3.2	104
18-21	24.4	16.3	8.1	150
Khatlon				
7-10	87.1	84.9	2.2	103
11-15	95.6	89.3	6.3	107
16-17	78.9	53.3	25.6	148
18-21	14.0	7.3	6.7	192
Dushanbe				
7-10	85.7	80.4	5.3	107
11-15	92.3	**78.6**	**13.7**	117
16-17	85.7	49.3	36.4	174
18-21	46.5	37.0	9.5	126
RRS				
7-10	82.7	86.5	-3.8	96
11-15	95.9	91.3	4.6	105
16-17	81.4	49.3	32.1	165
18-21	23.8	7.6	16.2	313

Source: TLSS 2003

Figure 12 presents some interesting data on the differences in enrolment rates by age, sex, and the level of household welfare as measured by quintile of per capita consumption. At ages 11 and 12, there are few differences in enrolment rates by sex or by welfare. Poor girls begin to drop out of school after age 12 and enrolment then drops dramatically from age 15 for all children, marking the end of compulsory schooling. Enrolments rates in ages 15-17 are lowest for poor girls, but it is notable that rates rich girls (i.e. those living in households in the top quintile of the welfare distribution) are still below those of poor boys. Beyond age 18, the gap in enrolment by income widens appreciably. There is no real gender difference amongst poor boys and girls, both being equally disadvantaged. However there are clear gender differences amongst the better-off, with boys being significantly more likely to stay in education. Poor girls are least likely, and non-poor boys are most likely, to still in higher education at 21.

Figure 12: Enrolment rates by gender and welfare quintile, TLSS 2003.



The 2000 ADB gender report highlighted that urgent action is needed to halt the widening chasm between the educational achievement of boys and girls. That conclusion remains valid. Highest priority is rightly being given to basic education, but it is also important to focus on technical and vocational training of both boys and girls. Particular attention needs to be paid to the rising drop out rate post primary school amongst girls from poor families and in Dushanbe.

4.2 Health

This section uses data from the 2003 and 1999 TLSS in conjunction with published results from the UNICEF MICs (2000) to explore the dynamics of health and poverty in Tajikistan over the last four years.

4.2.1 Self-reported morbidity

As was the case in 1999, the majority of people reported that their health status over the last year had been good or very good. Furthermore people generally felt that their health had improved over the last year or had remained about the same. Not surprisingly, the prevalence of both chronic and acute morbidity increased with age, and women generally reported higher levels of morbidity than men in the same age groups.

Table 41: Self-reported morbidity by age and gender, TLSS 2003

	Men			Women		
	0-15	16-64	65+	0-15	16-64	65+
Chronic illness lasting more than three months						
Yes	1.7	7.5	25.9	2.1	8.7	30.4
Acute illness in the last four weeks						
Yes	5.1	5.4	15.9	5.0	8.4	20.7
General health status over last year						
Very good	24	23	11	25	20	9
Good	53	50	33	52	49	32
Average	23	25	42	22	28	38
Poor	1	2	11	1	4	19
Very Poor	< 1	<1	3	<1	<1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Subjective health compared to a year ago						
Much better now	17	16	7	17	14	7
Somewhat better	30	28	21	30	28	19
About the same	52	52	51	51	52	49
Somewhat worse	1	3	19	1	5	22
Much worse	<1	1	2	<1	1	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: 2003 TLSS.

4.2.2 Health care use

Overall, a relatively low proportion of the overall population had sought medical assistance in the month prior to the survey or reported being hospitalized in the previous year.

Table 42: Health care use by age and gender, TLSS 2003

	Men			Women		
	0-15	16-64	65+	0-15	16-64	65+
Sought medical assistance in last month (2003)						
Yes	3.4	4.8	17.9	3.5	8.8	20.0
Needed, but did not seek	0.8	1.7	5.5	0.8	2.3	6.4
Sought medical assistance in last two weeks (1999)						
Yes	4.3	4.8	11.4	3.0	8.8	13.1
Needed, but did not seek	3.2	5.0	16.7	2.4	7.7	21.8
Hospitalised in the last year (2003)						
Yes	1.6	2.9	7.7	1.4	5.8	7.8
Hospitalised in the last year (1999)						
Yes	3.1	5.7	10.1	2.5	8.3	5.8

Source: 1999, 2003 TLSS.

It is not possible to directly compare results on medical assistance between 1999 and 2003 as the reference period used changed from being the last 2 weeks to the last month. However, ceteris paribus, one would expect a longer reference period in the 2003 survey to result in a higher incidence of health seeking behaviour. In fact the results from the 2003 TLSS tend to show the reverse both for actual use of medical care and perceived need for care resulting in non-use – pointing to a decline in health service use over time. It is, however, possible to directly compare hospitalisation rates. Results from the TLSS 2003 show that hospitalisation rates have fallen for all groups, except amongst women aged 65 and over (which comprise a relatively small section of the overall population), reinforcing the conclusion that utilisation of health care services has decreased over the last four years.

Interestingly, of those who reported that they 'needed medical assistance but *not* seek such care' in 2003, the majority of respondents reported that affordability was the main reason for not seeking medical attention. This contrasts with the position in 1999 where self-medication was cited as the most common reason for not seeking care. Thus it appears that that financial barriers to access have increased rather than decreased over the last four years.

Table 43: Reasons given for why respondents did not seek medical assistance by age and gender (%),TLSS 2003

	Men			Women		
	0-15	16-64	65+	0-15	16-64	65+
2003 TLSS						
Self-medicated	28	33	27	49	31	19
Believed problem would go away	18	13	4	14	10	10
Too far/facility closed/poor service	-	5	3	-	6	2
Could not afford	**52**	**48**	**62**	**37**	**51**	**66**
Other	3	2	4	-	3	3
1999 TLSS						
Self-medicated	48	55	47	61	52	47
Believed problem would go away	9	8	6	15	8	5
Too far/facility closed/poor service	4	2	6	4	3	5
Could not afford	**35**	**33**	**33**	**18**	**34**	**39**
Other	4	2	8	3	4	5

Source: 1999, 2003 TLSS.

4.2.3 Reproductive health and health care

Contraceptive use

Prior to the 1990s contraceptive use was very limited and estimates suggest that only three percent of sexually active individuals in Tajikistan used any form of modern contraception (UNFPA, 1999). As was the case elsewhere in the Soviet Union, the main form of 'contraception' was abortion; in 1990 the number of abortions was 256 per 1,000 live births. However, over the last decade, the donor community has been active in providing both information and supplies of modern contraceptives and in 2003 contraceptive prevalence was estimated at around 30 percent.

Data from the TLSS 2003 found that amongst all women of reproductive age who were menstruating and not currently pregnant 27 percent were currently using contraceptives (Table 44). Of these, just under 17 percent were using 'traditional' methods (abstinence, withdrawal, rhythm method, water douche), 70 percent were using IUD, 9 percent other modern methods (including pill, condoms and injections) and 4 percent specified 'other' methods including lactational amenorrhea. Current use of condoms is very low, at under 2 percent.

Despite the improvement in the availability of modern contraception, abortion rates remain relatively high, with three percent of all women aged 20-24 reporting that they had already had at least one abortion.

Table 44: Contraceptive use, all women aged 15-49 not currently pregnant, TLSS 2003

Age group	Currently using contraception	Ever abortion	Of whom: mean number of abortions
15-19	5	-	-
20-24	12	3	1.4
25-29	30	9	1.7
30-34	39	15	2.1
35-39	47	18	1.9
40-44	44	20	2.0
45-49	37	19	2.2
All	27	14	2.0

Source: 2003 TLSS.

When women were asked the main reason for not currently using contraception, 44% said they were not in a relationship, 25% stated that they wanted to have a child, 9% reported that their husband objected, 7% cited health problems and 5% said it was too expensive.

Confining the analysis to ever married women only, a slightly different picture emerges, particularly amongst women aged 20-24 and 25-29. Amongst married women not pregnant, 36% are currently using contraception. Of those not using contraception, 3%6 cite wanting a child as the main reason. However 15% say that their partner objects – indicating that more work remains needs to be done on involving men in family planning.

Table 45 Contraceptive use, ever married women aged 15-49 not currently pregnant, TLSS 2003

Age group	Currently using contraception
15-19	5
20-24	19
25-29	32
30-34	41
35-39	47
40-44	44
45-49	37
All	36

Source: 2003 TLSS.

Source of information on sexual matters

The family remains the main source of information on sexual matters for most women, with 42% of all women aged 15-49 citing their mother, 24% husband/partner and 10% other relatives. Less than 1% cited their teacher. The pattern varies little according to the age of the woman, although women aged 15-19 were more likely to report their mother as their main source of information than other groups. This group was was much more likely to cite the television as their main source of information on sexual matter (13%), with important implications for reproductive health campaigns. Recent IEC campaigns in schools appear to have made little or no impact.

Table 46 Main source of information on sexual matters, all women aged 15-49, TLSS 2003

In your opinion, who (or what) was the most important source of information you have had about topics related to sexual matters?	All women	Age 15-19	Age 20-24
Mother	42	51	43
Father	1	1	1
Other relative	10	7	12
Husband/partner	24	9	18
Boyfriend	1	1	<1
Friend	3	3	3
Co-worker	<1	-	<1
Colleague, peers	<1	-	<1
Doctor	4	2	4
Nurse, midwife	1	1	1
Teacher	<1	1	<1
Pharmacist	-	-	-
Books	1	1	1
Newspaper, magazines, brochures	2	4	2
Radio	1	1	1
TV	7	13	8
Other	<1	<1	<1
Don't remember	3	5	3
(N)	(5876)	(1098)	(1181)

Source: 2003 TLSS.

Antenatal care

Table 47 shows differentials in the use of maternal health care facilities in relation to the woman's last pregnancy for both 1999 and 2003. Overall there has been a slight decline in the percentage reporting having consulted a doctor and giving birth in a medical facility (hospital, sub, sva or maternity home). The fall in the proportion of births taking place in medical facilities has been most marked in Khatlon and RRS and GBAO. Moreover the differential between women from the poorest and richest households appears to have widened.

Table 47: Differentials in the use of maternal health care services for last pregnancy amongst ever-married women aged 15-49, 1999-2003

	% consulting a doctor/ skilled personnel		% giving birth in medical facility	
	1999	**2003**	**1999**	**2003**
All women	84.7	84.9	74.3	69.1
Region:				
Dushanbe	85.8	90.2	85.4	81.4
GBAO	98.8	94.9	76.3	61.1
RRS	78.3	77.6	70.0	63.1
Sugd	96.8	96.5	92.3	93.1
Khatlon	77.3	73.6	57.1	41.4
Settlement:				
Urban	91.3	91.7	88.9	82.8
Rural	82.5	82.1	69.1	63.3
Economic Status:				
Poorest 20%	79.9	76.3	68.0	57.6
2	86.9	84.2	72.5	62.8
3	86.4	87.3	76.5	71.9
4	84.6	89.6	73.5	78.5
Richest 20%	86.0	89.7	82.4	79.9

Source: 1999, 2003 TLSS.

4.2.4 Knowledge of HIV/AIDs

Knowledge of HIV in Tajikistan remains low by international standards; just 27% of women aged 15-49 had ever heard of HIV/AIDs in June 2003. This is a significant increase compared to the 20% reported in 2000 by the MICs survey, but knowledge remains low by international standards. Of these women, nearly half (45%) had heard some information on HIV/AIDs in the last months , with the main source of that information being the mass media(TV 65%, radio 9%, newspaper 6%, leaflet 4%). Knowledge of HIV varies with age, with 35% of 35-39 year olds reporting ever having heard of HIV/AIDS compared to just 16% of 15-19 year olds.

Table 48: Knowledge of HIV/AIDS by age group, all women aged 15-49, TLSS 2003

Age group	**Ever heard of HIV/AIDs**	
	TLSS 2003	**MIC 2000**
15-19	16	10
20-24	21	17
25-29	29	26
30-34	32	26
35-39	35	26
40-44	29	23
45-49	29	22
All	27	20

Source: 2003 TLSS, 2000 MICS.

Knowledge of AIDs also varies by location , with women living in urban areas being much more likely to have heard of HIV/AIDs than those in rural areas. However, most of the rise in knowledge of AIDs between 2000 and 2003 has occurred in rural areas (13% in 2000 to 21% in 2003). The picture by oblast is mixed. There has been a remarkable increase in knowledge of AIDS in GBAO over the past three years. However the proportion of women who have heard of AIDS in Dushanbe appears to have fallen. This may be due to the differences in sampling methodology used in the two surveys. Alternatively it may reflect a real change as the population of Dushanbe has altered with the arrival of a significant number of migrants from rural areas.

Table 49: Knowledge of HIV/AIDS, all women aged 15-49, TLSS 2003

Age group	**Ever heard of HIV/AIDs**	
	TLSS 2003	**MIC 2000**
Urban	42	41
Rural	21	13
Dushanbe	52	77
GBAO	53	11
RRS	25	17
Sugd	29	28
Khatlon	16	6
All	27	20

Source: 2003 TLSS, 2000 MICS.

Furthermore, amongst those women who have ever heard of HIV/AIDS, knowledge seems confused.

Table 50a: Knowledge of HIV/AIDS amongst women aged 15-49 who have ever heard of AIDS, TLSS 2003

Would you say you rather agree or disagree with the following statements		
	AGREE	DISAGREE
Once infected with HIV/AIDS a person remains infected for life	89	11
HIV/AIDS leads to the death of the infected person	89	11
Once infected there is no cure for HIV/AIDS	84	16
A healthy person can NOT get infected with HIV/AIDS	63	37
If you take good care of yourself, you can live a long life, even if infected with HIV	51	49

Table 50b: Knowledge of HIV/AIDS amongst women aged 15-49 who have ever heard of AIDS, TLSS 2003

Do you think that HIV/AIDS can be transmitted by ….?		
	YES	NO
Medical instruments	78	22
Kissing	66	34
Sexual contact with a causual partner (opposite sex)	81	19
Sexual contact with a regular partner/spouse	62	34
Sexual contact with a virgin partner	65	35
First sexual contact	64	36
Public bathrooms	68	32
Getting injections with an unsterilised needle	88	12
Homosexual contact	73	27
mosquito bites	55	45
Sharing a meal with a person who has HIV or AIDS	60	40
From infected mother to a new born child	72	28
Hairdresser	53	47
Dental treatment	68	32
Blood transfusion	91	9

Source TLSS 2003

Most women who had heard of HIV/AIDS felt that there was little or no risk of themselves personally contracting the virus (71%). Over a fifth said they didn't know (22%) and only 6% said they were at high risk. (Table 51)

Table 51: Perceived risk of contracting HIV/AIDS amongst women aged 15-49 who have ever heard of AIDS, TLSS 2003

How likely do you think it is that you yourself will contract HIV/AIDS?	
No risk	64
Small risk	7
Moderate risk	1
High risk	6
Don't know	22
(N)	1783

Women who answered they thought they had a moderate to high risk of contracting the disease were asked the reasons why they felt this to be the case. A third identified

risky blood transfusions. Only 17% had been in contact with someone with AIDs and (the same) 17% reported having used intravenous drugs. However the cell counts here are very low.

Table 52: Reasons for perceived risk of contracting HIV/AIDs amongst women aged 15-49 who have ever heard of AIDS and report moderate to high risk, TLSS 2003

Why do you think you are at **moderate to high** risk of contracting the HIV/AIDS virus?	
I change partners	22
Do not always use condoms	30
Have used intravenous drugs	17
Partner has other partners	19
Unsafe blood transfusions /injections	33
Have been in contact with persons with AIDS	17
Other	24
(N)	(153)

Women who answered they thought they had a low risk of contracting the disease were also asked the reasons why they felt this to be the case. A third felt there was no HIV/AIDs in Tajikistan, nearly a half were not sexually active. Most felt that their partner was faithful and they trusted them.

Table 53: Reasons for perceived risk of contracting HIV/AIDs amongst women aged 15-49 who have ever heard of AIDS and report little/no risk, TLSS 2003

Why do you think you have **little** risk of contracting the HIV/AIDS virus?	
No HIV/AIDS in Tajikistan	34
Not sexually active	46
Trust my partner	76
Always use condoms	30
Always use condoms with people I don't know	34
Do not use intravenous drugs	39
Partner is faithful	68
Have not been in contact with person with AIDS	41
Other	39
(N)	(119)

Women were also asked about ways in which people can protect themselves from becoming infected. Knowledge about protection appears to be high. However this may be due to the phrasing of the question, which tended to lead respondents to positive answers.

Table 54: Ways people can protect themselves against HIV/AIDs amongst women aged 15-49 who have ever heard of AIDS, TLSS 2003

What ways can people protect themselves from getting infected with the HIV/AIDS virus?	YES	NO
Use condoms	86	14
Have fewer partners	88	12
Both partners have no other partners	87	13
No casual sex	86	14
No sex at all	66	35
Avoid injections with contaminated needles	87	13
Other	81	19
(N)	(1783)	

Condom use

As already discussed, condom use in Tajikistan is especially low. Less than 2% of women aged 15-49 are currently using condoms and only 4 percent report ever using them. Of women who had ever used a condom, only one in twenty reported that they used them both for contraception and prevention of STIs. Furthermore only one in five reported frequent use. When asked why they rarely of never used condoms, over a half said their partners objected. Condoms are also associated with sex workers and sex outside marriage. A quarter cited cost.

Table 55: Reasons for not using a condom amongst women aged 15-49 who sometimes/almost never use condoms, TLSS 2003

Why do you only sometimes/almost never use a condom	
Birth control is partners responsibility	48
Partner objects to the method	51
Have only one sexual partner	64
Trust my sexual partner	62
Condom is for sex workers only	38
Condom is for the wives/husbands who have sex outside of their marriage	38
Condoms are not effective in pregnancy prevention	32
Interfere with sexual intercourse	25
Expensive	26
Respondent cannot get pregnant	24
Respondent prefers another method	28
(N)	(5874)

Concluding thoughts

The main messages from the above analysis are:

1. Poverty remains widespread and pervasive in Tajikistan

2. FHH appear to be no more at risk of material poverty than MHH.

3. However FHH report a higher level of vulnerability and insecurity than MHH. This maybe due to their greater dependence on non wage income, over which they exercise less control. In particular, remittances and transfers from other households are more important for FHH than MHH.

4. There are significant differences with FHH and caution such be exercised in treating them as a homogeneous group.

5. Households with large numbers of children (particularly young children) are most at risk.

6. Poverty in Tajikistan has primarily been thought of as a largely rural phenomenon. However, there are signs that urban poverty is a growing problem. In particular there is evidence that a growing number of girls are dropping out of school before the end of compulsory, particularly in Dushanbe.

7. Female labour market participation rates in the prime reproductive ages are also lower in urban areas and lowest in Dushanbe. This highlights difficulties in combining productive and reproductive roles in urban areas. The opportunity cost of child bearing in terms of wages forgone is also highest in urban areas, with consequences for household welfare.

8. Gender differences in wage income are significant. Differences are most marked for wages paid in cash and for those working in the private sector. The existence of marked inequalities between male and female wages within occupations and sectors is important for a number of reasons, including gender equity as a goal in itself. The gender gap in wages will translate into a gender gap in rates of return to education which does not bode well for incentives for girls to stay in education, perpetuating inequalities and undermining the longer term development of human capital in Tajikistan.

9. There are significant gender differentials in participation in education beyond age 15. There are also significant differences according to household welfare. Participation is lowest amongst poor girls, but poor boys also participate less than rich girls. These differentials are most marked in rural areas and in Khatlon and RRS.

10. If there is a problem of gender equity in education in GBAO, it is that boys are more disadvantaged than girls.

11. Youth unemployment is a major problem. In particular there are high levels of discouraged workers in urban areas, and the problem is particularly acute for boys (presumably girls of this age move from being unemployed to being mothers).

12. Reproductive health remains an issue of major concern. A significant number of women are not receiving ante-natal care and are giving birth at home with untrained birth attendants.

13. Use of modern contraception remains low by international standards.

14. Knowledge of HIV and AIDS per se and correct knowledge of methods of transmission and prevention is abysmally low. Urgent action is needed now.

Thus there remains much to be done to ensure gender equity across a number of different fronts. Particular attention needs to be paid to poor urban young women who may risk becoming trapped in a cycle of low education, low labour market participation, low wages and poor reproductive health.

Appendix 1

Table A1 Decomposing inequality in regionally adjusted total per capita income into between within and between group inequalities by female or male household head

	MHH	FHH		MHH	FHH
50 percentiles	18.66	20.31	Atkinson indices, A(e)		
Mean	26.00	28.07	A(0.5)	0.18	0.18
SD	30.06	30.06	A(1)	0.33	0.34
			A(2)	0.68	0.75
Population share	0.80	0.2			
Income share	0.79	0.21	Within-group inequality Atkinson indices		
			A(0.5)	0.18	
Generalized Entropy indices, GE(a)			A(1)	0.33	
GE(-1)	1.09	1.54	A(2)	0.70	
GE(0)	0.40	0.42	Between group inequality		
GE(1)	0.40	0.4	A(0.5)	0.0002	
GE(2)	0.67	0.6	A(1)	0.0003	
Gini	0.46	0.47	A(2)	0.005	
Within-group inequality-all observation			Total number of household receiving some		
GE(-1)	1.17		income	3270	799
GE(0)	0.40				
GE(1)	0.40		Total number of household		
GE(2)	0.64			3335	822
Between group inequality					
GE(-1)	0.0004		Proportion of household which do not received		
GE(0)	0.0005		any form of income	0.02	0.03
GE(1)	0.0005				
GE(2)	0.0005				

Table A2 Decomposing inequality in per regional adjusted price per capita income of female headed house into between within and between group inequality by household type

	Single pensioner pensioner	60+ living with other adults	60+ living in extended household	single adult	lone parents parents	under60 Living with other adults	under60 living in extended household
50 percentiles	27.75	24.49	17.27	30.94	21.70	27.28	17.20
Mean	40.69	28.66	22.25	52.13	27.50	41.27	21.52
SD	39.24	24.25	21.61	51.81	26.55	46.03	17.56
Population share	0.09	0.05	0.26	0.04	0.12	0.12	0.32
Income share	0.13	0.05	0.2	0.08	0.11	0.18	0.25
Generalized Entropy indices, GE(a)							
GE(-1)	0.54	1.57	0.73	1.64	0.67	0.56	2.34
GE(0)	0.37	0.46	0.35	0.52	0.36	0.39	0.36
GE(1)	0.35	0.32	0.32	0.41	0.34	0.4	0.28
GE(2)	0.45	0.34	0.47	0.47	0.46	0.61	0.33
Gini	0.45	0.44	0.42	0.49	0.43	0.47	0.4
Within-group inequality-all observation							
GE(-1)	1.5						
GE(0)	0.37						
GE(1)	0.34						
GE(2)	0.52						
Between group inequality							
GE(-1)	0.04						
GE(0)	0.04						
GE(1)	0.05						
GE(2)	0.05						
Total number of household receiving some income							
	70	41	207	33	94	95	259
Total number of household							
	70	41	208	38	97	99	269

Table A3: Decomposition of half of the square of the coefficient of variation for MHH and FHH by income source

	Percentage contribution to inequality (GE(2))	Contribution of inequality (GE(2))	Percentage contribution to inequality (GE(2))	Contribution of inequality (GE(2))
	MHH		FHH	
Total wage income	49.9	0.32	37.94	0.28
Social assistance	0.99	0.0065	0.60	0.004
Remittances	3.80	0.025	5.83	0.044
Total farm income	13.21	0.087	5.13	0.039
Total income from food	19.88	0.13	49.82	0.379
Total business income	10.78	0.07	0.29	0.002
Total income from land	0.0006	0	0	0
Other incomes	1.36	0.009	0.35	0.003
	100%	0.66	100%	0.76

Table: A4 Decomposition of half of the square of the coefficient of variation for FHH by type of household by income source

	Single pensioner		60+ living with other adults		60+ living in extended household		single adult adult	
	% GE(2)	GE(2)	% GE(2)	GE(2)	% GE(2)	GE(2)	% GE(2)	GE(2)
Total wage income	17.9	0.08	42.2	0.13	13.7	0.11	59.5	0.37
Social assistance	19.6	0.09	1.6	0.01	0.0	0.00	5.0	0.03
Remittances	21.5	0.10	2.1	0.06	4.0	0.03	14.9	0.09
Total farm income	4.5	0.02	5.1	0.02	5.4	0.04	0.0	0.00
Total income from food	36.4	0.17	49.0	0.15	76.7	0.00	1.2	0.00
Total businss income	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	19.6	0.12
Other incomes	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.62	0.0	0.00
	100%	0.47	100%	0.31	100%	0.81	100%	0.63
	lone parents		under60 living with other adults		under60 living in extended household			
	% GE(2)	GE(2)	% GE(2)	GE(2)	% GE(2)	GE(2)		
Total wage income	10.7	0.04	86.3	0.66	58.3	0.66		
Social assistance	6.4	0.02	0.4	0.00	0.9	0.00		
Remittances	38.4	0.16	4.1	0.03	7.4	0.03		
Total farm income	9.9	0.04	2.7	0.02	4.7	0.02		
Total income from food	33.9	0.14	5.9	0.04	27.7	0.00		
Total businss income	0.8	0.00	0.1	0.00	0.7	0.04		
Other incomes	0.0	0.00	0.5	0.00	0.3	0.00		
	100%	0.42	100%	0.76	100%	0.76		

Table: A5 Decomposing wage inequality into between within and between group inequalities for men and women

	Primary wage wage_1		**Total cash income totcash**		**Total in kind income totkind**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
50 percentiles	30.00	15.00	30.60	16.00	6.60	4.16
Mean	54.03	26.29	59.98	29.43	10.70	7.58
SD	83.44	42.44	89.60	45.43	13.80	9.54
Population share	0.61	0.38	0.62	0.37	0.56	0.43
Income share	0.76	0.23	0.77	0.22	0.65	0.34
Generalized Entrophy indices, GE(a)						
GE(-1)	1.91	1.37	1.42	0.90	1.79	1.64
GE(0)	0.62	0.57	0.57	0.51	0.68	0.64
GE(1)	0.62	0.60	0.59	0.57	0.57	0.53
GE(2)	1.19	1.30	1.11	1.19	0.84	0.79
Gini	0.56	0.55	0.55	0.53	0.56	0.54
Within-group inequality-all observation						
GE(-1)	1.81		1.28		1.76	
GE(0)	0.60		0.55		0.66	
GE(1)	0.61		0.58		0.56	
GE(2)	1.31		1.23		0.85	
Between group inequality						
GE(-1)	0.06		0.06		0.01	
GE(0)	0.05		0.05		0.01	
GE(1)	0.05		0.05		0.01	
GE(2)	0.04		0.04		0.01	
Atkinson indices, A(e)						
A(0.5)	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.23	0.26	0.25
A(1)	0.46	0.43	0.43	0.40	0.49	0.47
A(2)	0.79	0.73	0.73	0.64	0.78	0.76
Within-group inequality Atkinson indices, A(e) all observation						
A(0.5)	0.26		0.24		0.26	
A(1)	0.46		0.42		0.48	
A(2)	0.77		0.71		0.77	
Between group inequality						
A(0.5)	0.02		0.02		0.01	
A(1)	0.04		0.04		0.01	
A(2)	0.05		0.03		0.02	
Total population	3407	2179	3043	1864	869	661
Weighted proportion of population reciving some income						
	0.50	0.28	0.44	0.24	12.33	8.40