AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF ARMENIA

GENDER IMBALANCES IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ARMENIA:

THE ROLE OF STEREOTYPES

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Abstract

       The essay focuses on gender stereotypes among civil servants in Armenian executive agencies. Many scholars emphasized the important role of stereotypes in existing gender imbalance in upper levels of public administration, when women have generally been well represented at the lower levels of the public service, but underrepresented in the higher ranks, where more policy-making takes place. The importance of women at the top levels of decision-making is best understood through the lens of representative bureaucracy, which provides a concept about how bureaucracy fits into a democratic polity.

       Based on literature, certain variables were defined and explored during the study. *Gender role socialization, organizational barriers, and stereotyping* are considered by many authors as main causes for women's exclusion from decision-making. The research was designed to reveal possible gender stereotypes among employees of three different ministries of the Republic of Armenia, with the particular emphasis on comparing and contrasting actual phenomena and people's perception of them. Women are underrated in terms of education, experience, aspiration to promotion, leader's qualities, and in general, were considered as unable to supervise and hold higher positions. At the same time, women themselves partly hold up this viewpoint.

       The results generally supported the proposed hypothesis that existing gender stereotypes are a significant cause of women's exclusion from the top levels of decision-making in public administration in Armenia.

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Sugar and spice and everything nice,
That's what little girls are made of.
Snips and snails and puppydog tails,
That's what little boys are made of.

INTRODUCTION

Recently, women's issues have been in the forefront of international attention, when new qualitative changes were introduced, by shifting the emphasis from the observation of facts to the identification of cause and analysis. The perception of women as a powerful, productive social force that can contribute to the development of their countries has become universal. Thus, both societies and governing structures faced the need to fundamentally reshape their long-term policies in view of a gender approach to the development of all segments of the society.

Indeed, the study of women's role in decision-making in all levels of public administration and government is particularly important for Armenia. Having experienced a painful process of democratization, Armenia currently is moving toward the way of creation of a system of gender relations coherent with the social development, where the adequate protection of natural gender rights and the efficient functioning of all social groups will be maintained. It is clear today that de facto participation of women in political life, in making economic and social decisions is tied up to the preparedness of the society at large to accept the changing roles of women. Unfortunately, the principle of gender equality is not yet totally accepted for general public. Conservative, patriarchal stereotypes are still prevalent in mass consciousness. On the other hand, women themselves are not always aware of the necessity and significance of their participation in public and political life at all levels of power and management (Hasratian 2003). Whatsoever, the intentions of some women to break up this tendency run against stable opposition of male majority, as well as the society in general. Despite the fact that women in Armenia received equal political rights in the first Armenian

Republic of 1918-1920, which were promoted further during Soviet era, gender imbalance is still present in our society (UNDP Reports, 1999, 2005). Women are traditionally involved in sectors such as education, health care, and services, which are low-paid, but provide opportunities for women to combine work with family duties. This brought about a situation whereby women are not represented either in the governance bodies or in the highest political positions, but rather take posts in the middle and lower echelons.

Moreover, during the last fifteen years, the level of women's participation in political decision-making has been decreased consistently. Very few women hold decision-making posts in spite of the fact that they are not inferior to men in terms of their qualifications and education (Ibid.). Currently there is no woman minister in the Republic of Armenia. No woman has yet held the office of the Prime Minister or Vice Prime Minister. About 40% of the employees working in ministries are women, most often holding middle-level positions, such as heads of departments. Out of 131 Armenian parliamentarians, only seven are women (5 percent), against twelve seats (6.3 percent) in the parliament of the 1995 convocation. Heads of local government units are elected positions and there are only 16 women among more than 925 community heads (less than two percent) despite the fact that nearly half of their staff is comprised of women, in none of the 47 cities has a woman mayor been elected (Table 1) (UNDP Report 2005, NSS 2004).

Thus, public administration became a significant front line for those desiring better gender balance in decision-making. Thanks to its visibility, strength and importance as a mirror of the values of a policy, increasing numbers of measures should be implemented to improve fair representation of women across the different levels of responsibility. That is why the given study will focus on current gender imbalances in public administration in Armenia, and will attempt to find out the underneath causes of such situation and propose some gender-balanced public policies.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Second wave of Feminism

As our interest is in gender imbalances in public administration, it would be reasonable to briefly discuss the legitimacy of gender and women in the field, as well as further inclusion of these concepts into the syllabi of the discipline. The relation of women as a social group to the scholarship of public administration certainly should be discussed within the broad framework of so-called feminist studies.

The gender methodology of public administration, established on the basis of feminist ideology, considers women's issue to be a comprehensive problem. By overcoming the restricted approaches of feminism, a gender approach does not only priorities women, but addresses the issues of gender equality and an effective relationship within the framework of public administration. Feminist theory of public administration maintains a crucial perspective on women's current economic and social status, employing gender as a central element. "Feminist theory, then, use gender as lens through which to analyze critically women's current status and role in public agencies, bring to light ways in which gender bias inhabits ideas and practices in the field, and formulate new theoretical approaches " (Stivers1998, p.882).

The term "feminism," coined in the mid-1800s following the French word *féministe*, was used regularly in English for a belief in and advocacy of equal rights for women based on the idea of the equality of the genders. Although the term "feminism" in English is rooted in the mobilization for women's suffrage in Europe and the US during the late 19th and early 20th century, some have found it useful to think of the women's movement in the US as occurring in "waves". While first-wave feminism focused largely on *de jure* (officially mandated) inequalities, second wave feminism saw *de jure* and *de facto* (unofficial) inequalities as tightly linked issues that had to be addressed together. In this second wave,

feminists pushed beyond the early quest for political rights to fight for greater equality and the end to discrimination and oppression across the board, e.g., in education, at home, and in the workplace (Wikipedia).

Mary Parker Follett, a classic writer in public administration theory, probably has to be considered as a precursor of feminist theories of public administration (Morton & Lindquist 1997). Seminal works of Joan Acker (1990) and Camilla Stivers (1992) on gender in public administration, having introduced the theory of gendered organization and having been focused on the history and present distribution of women in public service roles, initiated a wide variety of theories and research concerning study of gender in theory and practice of public administration.

The Notion of Representative Bureaucracy

Recently, governments in many countries have been under legal pressure to refrain from gender discrimination and to neutralize the effects of past discrimination. Organizations have been required to provide programs to promote equal opportunity for employment and promotion. Many of these programs are to be known under the umbrella term of "Affirmative Action Program" (Timm & Peterson 1982, Heys 1993). However, importance of women at the top levels of decision-making is best understood through the lens of representative bureaucracy. One reason for the sustained interest in representative bureaucracy is that this notion is fundamental to prevailing ideas about how bureaucracy fits into a democratic polity. Scholars of representative bureaucracy argue that the demographic composition of the public sector affects the nature and substance of governmental outputs (Saidel & Loscocco 2005, Dolan 2004, Sowa & Selden 2003, Kelly & Newman 2001, Riccucci & Saidel 1997, Krislov 1974). A diverse public sector is important not only for symbolic reasons, but because governmental decisions are expected to be more responsive to the public when the workforce

reflects the whole picture of the society. As the reasoning goes, individuals from different social backgrounds bring different attitudes, priorities, and perspectives to their jobs. With a diverse public-sector workforce, "the wide range of concerns generally voiced in a highly pluralistic nation is more likely to be heard … than in one drawn disproportionately from a single social group" (Riccucci & Saidel 1997, p.425).

Representative bureaucracy, thus, suggests that if a bureaucracy is broadly representative of the public it serves, then it is more likely to make decisions that benefit this public. In an examination of the meanings of representative bureaucracy, passive representative bureaucracy is the condition of similarity between the demographic characteristics of the bureaucracy and the general population and, therefore, the correspondence between bureaucratic decisions and the policy preferences of the general population. Active representativeness theory holds that values linked to demographic origins will be translated into programs, policies, or decisions that benefit individuals of similar origins (Meier 1993, as sited in Meier 1999). Scholars argue further that given the positional power of those at the top of hierarchically structured public agencies, it is especially important that appointed leaders be representative as well. Although it is certainly true that political appointees function within a very different set of dynamics – "web of politics" – "… that web nonetheless includes the competing pressures of bureaucratic processes" (Saidel & Loscocco 2005, p.160). If active representative bureaucracy suggests that government officials will act in ways that benefit those in the general public who share their gender or race group membership, then women as political and managerial leaders could have an impact on outcomes that could benefit women (Saidel & Loscocco 2005). Moreover, the higher the proportion of women in decision-making, the greater the priority given to gender equality in the organization, to gender-sensitive methods and processes, as well as to equity as a performance value (Keiser et al 2002, Kelly & Newman 2001).

Nevertheless, as Dolan (2004) demonstrates, subtle biases often constrain the advancement opportunities for women in the United States, leaving them in positions that afford less discretion. The law practically in all countries dictates that all senior bureaucrats demonstrate the same core competencies, so we should expect male and female executives to be relatively indistinguishable from one another. Mani (1997) finds preliminary support for such expectations, showing very similar educational backgrounds and leadership styles among male and female US federal senior executives. However, the bulk of evidence from other political arenas suggests that women have less significant responsibilities and fewer opportunities to influence policymaking. Women have generally been well represented at the lower levels of the public service, but underrepresented in the highest ranks, where policy-making opportunities are more prevalent (Dolan 2004).

Scholars argue further that bureaucracy, a masculine institution, mitigates against gender-neutral bureaucratic roles and responsibilities (Duerst-Lahti & Kelly 1995, Newman 1994). When women do advance to managerial and higher-level positions, they often find themselves in stereotypically feminine areas (education, health, social services) and in less powerful positions than their male colleagues (Guy and Duerst-Lahti 1992). Male majority is leaving women with fewer opportunities to shape government decisions, and at a competitive disadvantage because they are employed primarily in the types of agencies that afford them the least discretion. Moreover, even in "feminine" areas as higher the ranking and status, as lower the number of women represented (Figure 1).

Thus, experience shows that representative bureaucracy and female parity at all levels in public organizations are attainable yet unrealizable goals. However, what are the causes for such situation? The traditional explanations offered for women's exclusion from decision-making all seem insufficient: sociopsychological characteristics, limited access to training and mentors, and differential rates of education are not able explain fully why the

implementation of equal opportunity policies is so difficult within government, and why a sense of unfairness so frequently penetrates the process of professional advancement for women in government (Kelly & Newman 2001). The possible explanation for such insufficiency could be researchers' devotion to the general Weberian principle that ideal-type bureaucracies are fundamentally unisex, lacking a broader perspective from that of the uniform, unisex bureaucratic state structure (Ibid).

Instead, recent studies show that gender is deeply embedded in organizations; indeed, organizations are gendered: gender affects the structure of the labor market, relations in the workplace, control of the work process, and the compensation system (Acker 1990, Stivers 1992, as sited in Schwartz-Sea 1998). Moreover, Stivers goes much further and argues that typical justifications of women's discrimination are inadequate because they are culturally masculine, to the "impairment of contemporary women both inside and outside public agencies" (Ibid, p.966). Using the considerable feminist analysis of contemporary public administration theorists, she shows that justifications are shaped by the "andocentric history of key concepts" (Ibid). Expertise, for example, is tied up to the notion of professional autonomy and independence; it has been men, who historically had the independence to be autonomous decision makers, whereas women's autonomy was restricted. Dependence is a characteristically feminine quality, and by this reasoning, the social expectations of a professional are in direct contrast with the social expectation of a woman. An androcentric academic knowledge base, then, reinforce an androcentric managerial approach in the government sphere (Ibid).

To begin to break that connection requires a willingness to question accepted approaches. Among other scholars, Mani (1997) offers the following set of explanations: *gender-role socialization, organizational barriers, and stereotyping*. First, women's choices may be influenced by individual factors such as the gender roles that children learn (as well

as family background, motivations, family obligations, and segregation of domestic labor). They may learn that the primary role of a woman is wife and mother, and feel discouraged when they consider advanced education or training to develop skills that are important to a career. Second, there are certain organizational barriers that confine women to certain job through discrimination, or the distribution of opportunities and power. Some of these barriers are dangerous because they are apparent to employees, but they limit career advancement. Third, the stereotypes of women that others believe – for example, they lack the ability to manage and motivate – impede their advancement as well. However, for the purpose of the given study, it was found reasonable to discuss gender-role socialization within the broad issue of stereotyping, thus trying to explain the difficulties women face during their advancement.

Through the Glass

Theory of social equity delineates organizational equality into block and segmented. Block equality is a holistic approach to the concept of equality that views overall representational concerns among groups within an organization. Upper-level management positions in state governments are one such level, or segment. Although block equality has been achieved, segmented equality remains elusive. Guy (1993) came to support empirical conclusions in her examination of two decades of public service affirmative action in the US. She found the number of women in decision-making positions to be disproportionately low as compared to their percentage of the public work force.

Indeed, women's share in senior top management has made marginal increases. According to the "Women "Take Care," Men "Take Charge", a new report by Catalyst, a

U.S. research and advisory organization dedicated to advancing women at work, women's participation on the boards of the Fortune 500 companies in 2005 was 13.6, up from 12.4 per cent in 2001, 11.7 per cent in 2000 and 11.2 per cent in 1999. Fifty-four companies had no women board directors, compared to 66 companies in 2001. Another 208 companies had just one woman director. Fifty-four companies had 25 per cent or more women directors, up from 30 companies in 2001 and 11 in 1995. Moreover, there has been little progress in the last three years in the number of women moving into executive positions not only in the US, but also all over the world (Wirth 2004) (Figures 3, 4, 5, 6). Simply saying, "The rule of thumb is still: the higher up an organization's hierarchy, the fewer the women" (Ibid).

Thus, women continue to be compressed into the lower levels of public agencies, and concentrated into traditionally defined "female-type" occupations as a result of job segregation; in other words, under glass ceilings and within glass walls (Kelly & Newman 2001, Guy 1994, Kelly et al 1991, Reskin 1993, Hartmann 1987, Reskin & Hartmann 1986).

Job segregation – the tendency for men and women to predominantly work in different occupations – occurs both horizontally and vertically. Horizontal segregation – nicknamed *glass walls* – refers to the distribution of men and women across occupation, such that women are case workers and men are central figures; women hold staff posts and men hold line posts. Vertical segregation – *glass ceilings* – refers to the distribution of men and women within the job hierarchy in terms of status within an occupation, such that women work as assistants and men as directors (Guy & Newman 2004, Guy 1993, Mani 1997, Harlan & Berheide 1994).

The term glass ceiling most commonly refers to the condition in which top-level management in businesses is dominated by men. A "ceiling" is suggested because women are seen as limited in how far they can advance up organizational ranks; the ceiling is "glass" (transparent) because the limitation is not immediately apparent. The "glass ceiling" is

distinguished from formal barriers to advancement, such as education or experience requirements. The term is often credited as having been originally coined by Carol Hymowitz and Timothy Schellhardt in the Wall street Journal in 1986. Being used mostly to refer to women's access to upper management, however, the glass ceiling also refers to the general tendency for women to be underrepresented at higher levels of the occupational hierarchy. The extension to other groups, such as racial or ethnic minorities, is usually made with direct or indirect reference to gender. It is the unseen, yet unbreakable barrier that keeps women from rising to the upper ranks of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements. Yet, the glass ceiling denies millions of opportunities for economic and personal advancement (Wirth 2004).

Harlan & Berheide (1994) point out the following consequences of the "glass ceiling"

- The low-paying jobs with the largest number of female incumbents are not connected to any "pipeline" (job ladders) in the organization;

- Job recruitment and hiring practices used by employers often result in the initial placement of women in jobs that have short or nonexistent job ladders. This results from using inexpensive and convenient "screens" for job applicants, and from recruiting candidates through sex-segregated training and educational programs;

- Job incumbents who work in jobs on female-typed job ladders experience significantly lower rates of promotion than those whose jobs are on male- or mixed-gender job ladders;

- Women who might move to male or mixed-gender job ladders with higher opportunities for promotion are blocked by restrictive eligibility requirements, seniority rights, and the lack of training and career development opportunities;

- Enforcement of rigid work schedules, requirements of excessive time commitments, and lack of family-sensitive employee benefits constrain women's promotional opportunities as they try to combine jobs with the needs of their families. Ironically, low-wage jobs are the most inflexible and least likely to have benefit;

- Job evaluation systems that form the basis for employer compensation policy perpetuate the invisibility of the content and context of women's work. Value bias in job evaluation systems means that existing   wage structures neither acknowledge nor reward the skill, effort, and responsibility in traditional women's jobs.

The invisible barriers that limit women's progress toward employment equity extend all the way from the "glass ceiling" at the top to the "sticky floor" of low-paying, low-mobility jobs at the bottom of the labor market. These barriers are created by a process of exclusionary practices that consecutively prevent women from advancement. Advancement beyond low-paying jobs must be considered in a broader context than simply movement up the hierarchy. In the best case, advancement means a job change that results in better pay, benefits, working conditions, or security. Many women work in low-paying jobs in the informal and secondary sectors of the economy where opportunities are lacking. Women in these types of jobs have few opportunities for promotions and they face many structural and cultural barriers that keep them from earning more money.

Organizations mirror society's ideas about which groups of workers are appropriate for different kinds of jobs. Although hiring and promotion decisions in organizations are

supposed to be based on rational and universalistic criteria, they often express informal and socially acceptable expectations about the gender, race, and class of the people best suited for particular positions. Social norms, cultural stereotypes and power and privilege in organizations provide the "invisible foundation" for organizational decisions about which jobs and how much opportunity are suitable for certain types of workers. These decisions determine the ways that complex organizations structure work, creating barriers for women and keeping them from advancing in organizational "pipelines" (Harlan & Berheide 1994).

Complex organizations contain many subsystems of job ladders to which different rules and procedures apply (Heilman 1995). Promotion rates and access to the means of acquiring new skills systematically differ according to where one is located in the organization. Certain career lines are blocked while others afford ample upward movement. The barriers that prevent women from moving off the "sticky floor" often arise because the jobs in which these groups are concentrated either lead nowhere or have very short lines of progression (Guy 1993, Hartmann 1987, Bielby and Baron 1986). Pipelines are central to the process of advancement in organizations. Whether a particular job is located on a ladder as well as the characteristics of the job ladder itself, define the built-in limitations on when, how high, and how quickly incumbents can advance. Thus, a high degree of sex segregation at the individual job level has serious consequences for the career advancement opportunities of women (Bielby & Baron 1986).

Inevitably, gender and race interact with social class as they determine women's and men's positions within organizations. Class affects the worker's hierarchical position, and gender and race shape the segregation of occupations within the class-based hierarchy. Organizations use gender and race to decide who fills positions at various levels in their hierarchies. "*Patriarchy is not simply hierarchical organization*, but hierarchy in which *particular* people fill *particular* places" (Hartmann 1987, p.62). Hierarchical differences

18

among workers frequently coincide with racial, ethnic, or gender divisions. As a result, within the organizational culture, gender becomes synonymous with one's place in the hierarchy. Thus, another barrier women face is the identification of particular positions in organizational hierarchies with gender, keeping women in lower-level positions.

Besides, there is also such phenomenon as resistance to women's advancement in organizations. According to Reskin (1993, 1986) men often resist the entry of women into male domains; the glass ceiling is but one form of that resistance. She argues further that men will resist efforts to close the wage gap. Resistance will include opposing equalizing women's access to jobs because integration would equalize women and men on the current superficial cause of the wage gap – occupation. Men may also try to preserve job segregation because it is a central mechanism through which they keep their dominance in other spheres, and because many people learn to prefer the company of others like them. Men will resist efforts to replace occupation with alternative principles for assigning pay that would mitigate segregation's effect on women's wages (as pay equity claims to do). Dominant groups (men) have a stake in maintaining existing forms of inequality in the workplace. Their stake constitutes a formidable barrier to women's upward mobility: "the dominant group ... uses its dominance to advance its own position by writing and as necessary rewriting the rules to counteract any challenge to their continued dominance. Like other dominant groups, men make rules that preserve their privileges" (Reskin 1986, p.73). This power to rewrite the rules and procedures relating to hiring, promotion, seniority, and other personnel processes constitutes a sometimes hidden but critical barrier to women's upward mobility. Male-dominated organizations resist attempts to diversify the work force by moving women and minorities out of low-paying occupations into higher-level jobs (Reskin 1986).

Additionally, men often leave women out of informal networks of communication and mentorship that support workers in their current positions and in their pursuit of upward

mobility. A tremendous amount of informal knowledge is necessary to move up the job ladder. Men may not tell women about particular positions in the organization that are dead ends (Bielby and Baron 1986).

Thus, power and privilege in organizations provide the "invisible foundation" for organizational decisions about which jobs and how much opportunity are suitable for personnel. Nonetheless, some scholars argue that gender stereotypes have been underexamined as a causal factor in creating the barriers, although they, in fact, play a powerful role in maintaining the glass ceiling (Agars 2004, Sczesny 2003, Kelly& Newman 2001, Mani 1997, Heilman 1995, Reskin & Hartmann 1986).

Stereotyping

At the basis of many problems faced by working women is the simple fact that people prejudge and discriminate against other people. Prejudice and stereotyping is often rooted in misunderstanding or lack of exposure to different types of people (Timm & Peterson 1982). Traditional gender roles, as the term is commonly used, emphasize the differences rather than similarities between women and men. These differences are assumed innate. Sex roles also suggest that women should behave in a "feminine" manner, in accordance with all their presupposed attributes, and that men should behave in a "masculine" manner, in accordance with their presupposed attributes. These sex roles have had a profound impact on our society in all spheres of life, including the workplace (Powell 1998). Some gender differences represent beliefs that have been stable over time and held by a large proportion of the population. In particular, men have been believed to be "independent, aggressive, and dominant", while women have been believed to be "gentle, sensitive, and tactful". These believes are called to be *gender role stereotypes*, or *gender stereotypes* (Ibid). Thus, "A

stereotype is a belief about the characteristics of a special social group; it is also defined as a mental picture of a group or category of people" (Ibid, 79). The picture or image includes characteristics many people tend to associate with any member of that particular group or category. Once categorized, we perceive and interpret the behavior of individual group members based on generalized knowledge and expectations about the group, not based on their unique individuality. The process of categorization causes people to maximize differences between social groups and minimize differences within them. We tend to view all of those within a social category as the same – their perceived similarities are exaggerated and their differences and variability are downplayed and/or ignored (Heilman 1997, 1995).

Stereotypes are inevitable; in our fast-changing and complicated social environment, people look for ways to interpret events simply and predictably, and stereotyping provides a shorthand method for accomplishing and interpreting. This overgeneralization which is an outcome of social categorization, can become the basis for faulty reasoning, leading to biased judgments and actions, thus disadvantaging (or advantaging) individuals not because or who they are and what they have done, but because of the group into which they have been categorized. "Gender, because it is an easily perceived and immediately present physical feature of individuals, is a common basis for categorization, and gender stereotypes are the product" (Heilman 1995, p.5).

Two of the distinguishing characteristics of stereotypes are their persistence over time and resistance to change, even when the stereotype holder receive information that does not conform them. Thus, a male manager who accepts stereotypes that men are more assertive, active, objective, rational, and competent than women, and women are passive, emotional, and submissive, may be reluctant to woman employee further career advancement (Heilman 1995).

A major theoretical framework for explaining stereotypes, emerged in the 1990s, is called the social cognitive approach. According to this approach, stereotypes are belief systems that guide the way we process information, including information about gender. "Role theory" is a theory of society based on the power of custom and social conformity. People learn their roles, in the course of growing up, and then perform them under social pressure. "Sex role" theory explains gender patterns by appealing to the social customs that define proper behavior for women and for men. Applied to men, "sex role" theory emphasizes the way expectations about proper masculine behavior are conveyed to boys as they grow up, by parents, schools, mass media, and peer groups. This theory emphasizes the "role models" provided by sportsmen, military heroes, etc; and the social sanctions (from mild disapproval to violence) that are applied to boys and men who do not live up to the role norms (Connell 2006).

Jost and Kay (2003) argue further that stereotypes serve an even broader set of social and psychological functions and that seemingly benevolent stereotypes — such as the belief that someone is "poor but honest" — sustain the perception that inequality in society is fair and justified. Benevolent stereotypes like "women are nurturant" and "poor people are the salt of the earth" assign favorable value to all groups in a system, including members of disadvantaged groups. According to the study, "Masculine and feminine stereotypes are complementary in the sense that each gender group is seen as possessing a set of strengths that compensate for their weaknesses and that balance out the presumed strengths of the other group." Gender stereotypes also cause that members of each group are well-suited to specific social roles (e.g., business executive, parent). Because these stereotypes contain "flattering" information for members of both groups, they are attractive to women as well as men, and the *status quo* is reinforced. These stereotypes "are appealing in part because they satisfy the desire to perceive existing forms of social and economic arrangements as fair, legitimate, and

justified". If the social order carries with it the myth that the poor are communal, happy, and virtuous, it reinforces the sense that women are born to be superior and should be excluded from all levels of decision-making (Jost & Kay 2003).

In our everyday interactions gender stereotypes, bias and prejudice influence our judgments and evaluations such that, ultimately, we treat women and men differently. But what is the felt impact of this discrimination? Do these arguably small differences in beliefs about women and men result in any meaningful consequences? Could gender discrimination, as a result of the application of stereotypes, be an explanation for the differences at workplace?

Unfortunately, with few exceptions (Agars 2004, Heilman 1997,1995, Reskin 1993), there have been limited insights into the impact of gender stereotypes at the workplace. The presence of gender discrepancies in management motivates the continued search for explanatory factors. Defined also as "the unconscious or conscious application of (accurate or inaccurate) knowledge of a group in judging a member of the group" (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994, p. 58), the act of stereotyping is not necessarily the result of intent, mal, or blatant prejudice. Gender stereotypes are common and often applied as a result of accepted cultural, societal, or unconscious beliefs about women or women's role in the workplace. An individual often invokes stereotypes without conscious awareness and research demonstrates that the application of stereotypes (e.g., by an evaluator) is often not intentional. These findings, when considered concomitantly with evidence that stereotypes are a functional aspect of information processing underscore the likely and important role stereotypes play in evaluations of women's performance. Gender stereotypes favor men over women and that their application in performance evaluations works to the detriment of women. Instead, they represent global evaluations of men and women as a social group. If we are to accurately

interpret how gender stereotyping affects individuals in organizations, we must consider their impact in a performance context (Agars 2004)

Catalyst also argues that the effects of gender-based stereotyping can be devastating, potentially undermining women's capacity to lead, and posing serious challenges to women's career advancement (2005). Senior executives' perceptions of men and women are more informed by gender-based stereotypes than facts, leading to misrepresentation of the true talents of women and contributing to the startling gender gap in business leadership. Prior Catalyst research (2003) also showed that senior women executives consistently point to gender-based stereotyping as a top barrier to their advancement. Men consider women to be less skilled at problem-solving, one of the qualities most associated with effective leadership. Since men far outnumber women in top management positions, this male-held stereotype dominates current corporate thinking.

Another research of COACHME (2006), a nonprofit career-coaching program for women, conducted interviews with human resources and training directors to at dozens of Fortune 500 companies to find out why women, as a group, do not seem to advance in their careers at the same rate as men. The results, consistent across all industries, show that it is not the core competencies of job that women are lacking, but rather the subtle, unwritten rules that impede the further advance of their career.

Studying stereotypes is important for Armenia as well, since traditionally Armenia has been a patriarchal society, with the emphasis on the maternal aspect of women and their role in the family. Currently our society is undergoing a process of social and economic transformation, old habits and stereotypes are being undermined, the emerging ones, however, are contradictory and far from simple. New perspectives based on new mentality are rising and they are conductive to the new status of women in modern society. For

Armenia to become a truly democratic society, it is necessary to ensure equal participation of women in decision-making in all areas of political, economic, social, and cultural life.

In the lights of all above mentioned, this study is to support the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis: The existing stereotypes are a significant cause of women's exclusion from the top levels of decision making in public administration in Armenia.

OPERATIONALIZATION

In reviewing the current literature, a common theme emerges: what variables should be considered while conducting a research concerning the status of women in public administration? Newman (1993) proposes three main clusters: human capital variables, sociopsychological variables, and systemic variables. Human capital barriers are identified as insufficient education, dysfunctional choices, domestic constraints, limited financial resources, and insufficient experience. Social psychological barriers include sex-role socialization, sex-role stereotypes/role prejudice, negative perceptions of women's capacity for managing, questionable motivation, and limiting self-concepts. Systemic barriers manifest themselves as sex segregation in the labor force, differential career ladder opportunities, sex-segregation of domestic labor, limited access to professional training, limited access to professional network, lack of power, sexual harassment, perceived lack of compatibility, and the lack of the female role models for women. Manipulation of these variables should result in prescriptive policies, aimed at lowering or removing these barriers.

Having summarized basic theories and assumptions, the following variables were explored:

Group 1: *Control Variables*

V 1. Age

V 2. Gender

V 3. Marital status

V 4. Household/child rearing involvement

V 5. Education

V 6. Experience

V 7. Position

V 8. Aspiration to promotion

Group 2: *Test Variables*

V 9. Education perception

V 10. Experience perception

V 11. Perception of aspiration to promotion

V 12. Ability Stereotypes

Test variables were conceptualized in the following way:

- Education perception is understood as how people perceive the educational level of women as compared to that of men.

- Similarly, Experience perception refers to what people actually think about the level of experience among women as compared to that of men.

- Ability stereotypes concept includes auto- and hetero-stereotypes. That is to say how people perceive their personal abilities, whether they think they are able to hold higher positions etc, as well as how they perceive other people and their abilities, whether they are holders of these stereotypes in general.

- Aspiration to promotion is to be understood as a desire for future career advancement. Its perception means what men and women think about women's aspiration in particular.

With the purpose of testing the hypothesis, the following research questions were formulated:

- *RQ 1*. Is the level of education among women lower than that of men, and what is the perception about it?

- *RQ 2*. Are women less experienced than men are, and what is the perception about it?

- *RQ 3*. Do women less aspire promotion than men do, and what is the perception about it?

- *RQ 4*. Does household/child care involvement serve as an obstacle for women's career advancement?

- *RQ 5*. Are men considered as more able to hold higher positions than women?

RESEARCH DESIGN

To obtain data for supporting hypothesis and answering research questions, cross-sectional survey with face-to-face structured interviews was completed. A questionnaire as a research instrument was constructed considering the peculiarities of research questions and hypothesis. The interviews were conducted among 80[1] employees of Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Social Provision, and Ministry of Transport and Communication of the Republic of Armenia. As the purpose of this study was to reveal whether civil servants could be considered as holders of gender stereotypes, it was found reasonable to arrange sample of these government agencies with diverse composition of the workforce.

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[1] This figure is accurate at 10% confidence level.

However, some ministries were excluded from the very beginning: Ministry of National Security, Defense, and Justice that are commonly considered as the epitomization of male occupations. Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also excluded as one with the workforce highly exposed to politically correct vernacular that would make difficult learning stereotypes, as well as one with specific education and experience. Due to the details mentioned, data from those ministries could blur overall picture, maximizing stereotypes in the first case and minimizing them in the second.

After examination of the data concerning the workforce composition by gender, the following ministries were purposively chosen: Ministry of Agriculture as one with the least number of women, Ministry of Trade and Social Security as the only one with women outnumbering men, and Ministry of Communication and Transport was randomly selected from those with approximately equal number of male and female civil servants.

Interviews were conducted individually, with the random selection of employees from different management levels. However, it excluded support staff such as assistants, secretaries, etc. since they were not considered as civil servants. Participants were guaranteed privacy and confidentiality of their answers; personal answers were limited to the necessary demographic information. The interviews were conducted in October-November 2006; all the senior and middle managers of the organizations mentioned in this study were kept informed that the data obtained would be used in this study. Before interviewing, questionnaire was translated into Armenian for the convenience of the respondents, and then back translated into English. Slight technical adjustments were made because of the process of back-translation. The final version of the questionnaire consisted of 26 items measuring control and test variables (see appendix). Technical processing of research included the codification of the qualitative data, such as open-ended questions, and data analysis through SPSS program by running Cross-Tabulation, Chi-square, and T-Test analyses.

FINDINGS

Sample Characteristics

The sample consisted of 80 employees, 26 male, and 54 female (32.5% and 67.5%). The mean age of the respondents fell within the category of 30-40 years, with majority of them married, 62.5% of the sample had children. All the respondents had university degree, most of them have long years working experience, and occupy non-managerial position; the position categories "junior", "1st category" and "leading specialist" were collapsed into the one category "specialist" (Table 2).

Table 2. Demographic characteristics of the sample.

Category	N	Percent
Gender		
male	26	32.5
female	54	67.5
total	80	100.0
Age		
20-30	24	30.0
30-40	19	23.8
40-50	16	20.0
50-60	19	23.8
more than 60	2	2.5
total	80	100.0
Marital status		
married	45	56.3
single	29	36.3
other	6	7.5
total	80	100.0
Children		
no	30	37.5
yes	50	62.5
total	80	100.0
Education		
university	75	93.7
advanced graduate	5	6.3
total	80	100.0
Experience		
up to5	19	23.8
5-10	21	26.3
10-15	3	3.8

15-20	4	5.0
more than 20	33	41.3
total	80	100.0
Position Hold		
specialist	29	36.2
leading specialist	26	32.5
head of department	18	22.5
head of division/deputy head	7	8.8
total	80	100.0

Descriptive statistics

As survey has shown, 60% (48 out of 80) of the employees disagreed with statement that men are more educated than women, with 11.3% of people who strongly disagree. However, 30% of men agreed with the statement (16% - strongly agree), while 83% of women disagreed (17% - strongly disagree). Further, 39% of the respondents think that men are more experienced (6% strongly agree), and 29% think that is no true (6% strongly disagree); 60% of men agree, and 25% even strongly agree that men are more experienced than women, while women think the other way: 52% disagree, 10% strongly disagree, and another 36% complied with the statement.

Opinions on satisfaction with the job position distributed almost equally among the employees: 50.1% of employees are satisfied with their job position (6.3% very satisfied), and 46.3% are unsatisfied (16.3% very unsatisfied). However, if we break these responses by gender and position categories, the picture looks in a little different way: 29.1% of men are satisfied with their position, no one was very satisfied, 45.8% were unsatisfied, and the other 25% were very unsatisfied. While 50.9% of women were satisfied and 24.5% unsatisfied with small percentage of very satisfied (9.4%) and very unsatisfied (15%). Among junior and senior specialists, 34.5% were satisfied against 65.5% unsatisfied, 56% of leading specialists were satisfied and 44% unsatisfied, head of departments were mostly satisfied - 61%, though there were also unsatisfied people – 38%. All the five head/deputy head of departments were satisfied with their position – 100% positive answers. Majority of respondents, 73.8% would

accept the opportunity of higher position, which could be considered as aspiration to further promotion.

50% of female employees spare 0-2 hours a day to household/child care, 13% - from 0-2 to 2-5, and 35.2% spare 2-5 hours; however, no matter how much time they spare, as it has been already mentioned, 95% of women aspire promotion anyway.

On the inquiry about the main obstacles for women's advancement, 33.8% of respondents consider household/child care involvement as a main obstacle. Instead, 26.3% of women think that their inappropriate education/experience does not allow themselves to achieve further career advancement. Incidentally, it was revealed that quite high number of respondents considers corruption/patronage/nepotism as main obstacle/s for their own/people's career advancement; all of these opinions were included in category "other." As those variables were out of scope of this research, it was not possible to measure the exact numbers of the responses. However, this should be taken into consideration in further research.

While examining the issue of gender stereotypes, and ability stereotypes in particular, it was found that 13.8% of respondents think that women should work only if there is an urgent need for that, 70.1% disagree with them. 61.3% do not agree that women can take higher positions in some other countries but not in Armenia; however, 30.1% agree with the statement. 36.6% of the respondents think that women should work only if she can combine her work with household/child care, while 66.3% does not think so. 57.5% of the sample disagree that there are some qualities necessary for higher position, which women lack, 38.8% agree. Some portion of the sample thinks that women do not have appropriate education (21.3%) and experience (33.8%) to hold higher position, while majority – 77.5% and 62.6% disagree with them on the first and second question consequently. Finally, 45% consider men as more suitable for higher position, while women being subordinates with

another 58.8% disagreed with that state of affairs. Distribution of responses across the "gender" category could be inferred from the Crosstabulations (Appendix D).

Basic findings and analysis

Turning to the central findings of the study, the first research question to be tested is the following:

RQ 1. Is the level of education among women lower than that of men, and what is the perception about it?

In order to answer the research question, the Independent-Samples T-Test was run for the following variables: *education/gender*, and *education perception/gender*. The results show that men tend to think men are more educated, while women think that is not true (p= .000). In reality, there is no significant difference between man and women in terms of education, though women are even slightly more educated (Tables 3, 4).

Table 3. T-Test, group statistics: Education perception/Gender

	Gender	N	Mean
Men more educated	male	24	2.63
	female	51	1.96
1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree			

Table 4. T-Test, Group statistics: Education/gender

	Gender	N	Mean
Education	male	26	4.96
	female	54	5.06
4=college, 5=university, 6=advanced degree			

Obviously, there could hardly be more telling argument than this one. The facts of hetero-stereotyping are still more factual than one could think. Though, small sample size do not allow us to draw conclusions across all layers of public administration, nevertheless it

permits to speak about Armenian Government: male civil servants groundlessly perceive women as less educated, thus illuminating themselves as holders of hetero-stereotypes.

RQ 2. Are women less experienced than men are, and what is the perception about it? T-Test run for this RQ for variables *experience perception/gender*, and *experience/gender* showed statistical significance between to groups: men think they are more experienced that women (mean 3.13 fell between "agree" and "strongly agree"), while women tend to disagree (mean 2.24), p=.000. Instead, there is no statistically significant difference between men and women in terms of experience (Tables 5, 6).

Table 5. T-Test, Group statistics: Experience perception/Gender

	Gender	N	Mean
Men are more experienced	male	24	3.13
	female	50	2.24
1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree			

Table 6. T-Test, Group statistics: Experience/Gender

	Gender	N	Mean
Experience	male	26	3.50
	female	54	2.96
1=up to 5 years, 2=5-10, 3=10-15, 4=15-20, 5=more than 20			

Again, the same tendency is repeated: male civil servants tend to underestimate women in terms of experience, without any prerequisite for such judgment.

RQ 3. Do women less aspire promotion than men do, and what is the perception about it?

In order to reveal differences between two groups, T-Test was run for variables *aspiration to promotion/gender*. As it could be inferred from the test, women aspire

promotion even more than men do (though, the difference is marginal), and do not think that in general, women aspire promotion less that men (Table 7). However, both differences were not statistically significant; men and women highly aspire promotion.

Table 7. T-Test, Group statistics: Aspiration to promotion/Gender

	Gender	N	Mean
Promotion	male	24	1.88
	female	40	1.95
1=no, 2=yes			

T-Test run for *aspiration perception/gender* also did not reveal statistically significant difference between men and women in terms of aspiration to promotion; however, women tend rather to disagree than agree, while men think vice versa (Table 8).

Table 8. T-Test, Group statistics: Perception of aspiration to promotion/Gender

	Gender	N	Mean
Women less aspire promotion	male	26	2.69
	female	54	2.48
1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree			

Thus, men and women are highly aspiring promotion. Although, at this stage it is not possible to draw conclusions with similar confidence relating to the second part of the research question, there is a tendency for men to think that women desire promotion less.

RQ 4. Does household/child care involvement serve as an obstacle for women's career advancement?

Exploring this research question, actual variables *household/child care involvement, aspiration to promotion,* and *help in household/child care* were tested. The difference between women who spent more and less time to household/child rearing in terms of

aspiration to promotion was not statistically significant: both groups highly aspired promotion (Table 9). Nevertheless, those 2 women out of 40 who would not take higher position if there were a chance, were those with high level of household/child care involvement. Due to the very small number of cases in this category, the possible assumption about a negative correlation of household/child care to the aspiration to promotion can not be genelized; however, the tendency gives nourishment for further inference, since it allows to detect some qualitative differences.

Table 9. T-Test, Group statistics: Aspiration to promotion/ household/child care involvement.

	Promotion, women	N	Mean
Care combined, women	no	2	2.50
	yes	38	1.89
1=0-2 hours a day, 2=2-5 hours, 3=most of the day			

It was not possible to reveal any more or less significant trends concerning the question "if someone take care of your child/help you with the household, will it facilitate your further promotion?" (Table 10) Opinions distributed almost equally across all three categories: 1) women who spare 0-2 hours a day equally to household and child care, 2) women who spare 0-2 hours to one, and 2-5 hours to another, and 3) women who devote 2-5 hours equally to both matters (Appendix D).

Table 10. T-Test, Group statistics: If someone take care, women/care combined, women

if someone take care, women		N	Mean
care combined, women	yes	16	1.94
	no	15	1.73
1=yes, 2=no			

At the same time, women point out household/child care involvement as the main obstacle to women's (and their own) career advancement (Appendix D).

Thus, at one side, women's aspiration to promotion is influenced neither by marital status, nor by household/childcare involvement, most of them would take on higher position, if provided with such opportunity. On the other side, sparing very little time to household/child care, they point out this variable as a main impediment to their career. It is not quite clear how does this involvement serve as a real obstacle; probably, influenced by common stereotypes and social desirability, women just follow the suggested image of "genuine" Armenian woman as a mother and wife. It is also possible that, devoting so little time to their home and children, women unconsciously feel guilt or shame, and give answers that do not correspond to the reality, thus trying to psychologically "justify" themselves. Whatever the reason, it is too early for making any definite statements concerning household/child care involvement as an obstacle to women's career advancement.

RQ 5. Are men considered as more able to hold higher positions than women?

In order to answer this research question and to reveal possible ability stereotypes, responses on different set of questions were compared. People were asked two types of questions: direct and oblique, with an aim to compare them later. It was remarkable, that there was very high response rate on inquires concerning this research question.

At first sight, both groups, men and women, almost equally disagree with the statements, which undervalue women's abilities, and think that women are able to hold higher positions, have appropriate education and experience for that purpose, and in general, should be given more opportunities at workplace (Appendix D).

Nevertheless, the picture looks just the opposite way, when people are indirectly asked about their opinions concerning women's abilities. Thus, people were proposed to point out the most important quality for a leader, and the most suitable quality for a woman, with the purpose of comparing them later. The four qualities - decisive, problem solver, attentive to details, and kind – were grouped into two groups: a) decisive or problem solver,

b) attentive to details or kind. First group was defined as "leader's qualities," the second one – as "women's qualities." As it was expected, an overwhelming majority of respondents sees a leader as decisive or problem solver person (most frequent answer - decisive), while 73.8% consider women as kind and attentive to details (mode – attentive to details) (Appendix D). Additionally, an open-ended question was asked about what quality they consider as the most essential for a leader. Managers were described using success related attributes such as determinant, intelligent, knowledgeable, experienced, etc. After codification of qualitative data, it has been revealed that determination (27.5%) was the most frequent answer. The other three – leadership, education/experience, and assertiveness (17.5% equally) also are those not associated with women; results are similar across "gender" category (Appendix D). Thus, women are treated as not able to hold higher positions, since (according to the answers received) they do not possess qualities necessary for higher position.

Similarly, having been asked about whom they would prefer as a boss, majority preferred men: 58 people as opposed to those desiring woman boss (only 3 person out of 61 answered). Even those who have never had a woman boss also would like to work under the supervision of a man (those 3 people who desired woman boss have worked with them earlier). More than 61% of those who used to work with women boss also thought that it would be better to have male supervisor (Appendix D). In passing, it is necessary to note that most civil servants used to work under a supervision of woman, which could be considered as a good sign of high number of women in managerial positions. Unfortunately, there were no exact measures for this category; however, it is reasonable to say with high degree of assurance that those women were mostly in position no higher than head of department.

The findings on this research questions demonstrate that both groups, men and women, could be considered as holders of stereotypes. If responses on direct questions are biased by social desirability and cultural expectations, indirect questions seem to be under the ill effect

of deeply embedded, firm gender stereotypes. In assigning attributes to the theoretical leaders, observers also were biased by subjective social prejudice and by stereotypes. Moreover, not only men, but also women themselves believe that they are not able to supervise other people, which is in support of Hasratian's (2003) argument of women's being unprepared to change the situation toward factual, commonly accepted gender equality across all levels of society in Armenia.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the survey has disclosed prejudices and stereotypes in the evaluation of women's intellectual and professional competence, and reveal predisposition to devaluate women's performance at workplace. Being as educated and experienced as men are, women are perceived as less educated and less experienced. They aspire promotion not less than men do, however being suspected in deficient aspiration. Furthermore, it has been revealed that women themselves, being holders of self-ability stereotypes, do not realize the importance of their equal participation across all layers of public administration and governance, or rather, are not prepared to change the situation of overall male dominance. Moreover, exhaustive results on the women's evaluation as possible leaders, once again highlighted deeply embedded gender stereotypes, covered by social desirable responses: women are perceived as less capable to hold higher positions in Armenia. Traditional social stereotypes, holding that a leader needs to have typical masculine characteristics, are still prevailing in social consciousness.

Yet it has not been possible to state with confidence that household/child care involvement served as an obstacle to women's career advancement: results showed that,

sparing very little time to household/child care, nevertheless, women tend to point out this factor as a dominant impediment to their further career promotion.

Overall, the results support the proposed hypothesis that gender stereotypes are a significant cause of women's exclusion from the top levels of decision making in public administration in Armenia. They also supported theories and research explored by Agars (2004), Guy (2004, 1993), Heilman (1997, 1995), Newman (1994, 1993), and others, about the important role of stereotypes at workplace. They also sustained the results of UNDP Reports, as well as Hasratian's (2003) perspective about the inadequate representation of women in Armenian system of governance as a result of implicit prejudice and stereotyping.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

At this stage in the development of Armenia, the goals of democracy building and of sustainable development require a balanced social strategy, ensured by legislation and implemented by the State. Drastic changes undergone by Armenia in recent years resulted in a progressively growing gender asymmetry that became noticeable in all the spheres of the society's life. Thus, the State faces new problems of building out a strategy. The solution of those problems should aim to secure a maximum of use of men's and women's abilities in all fields, as well as to implement the policy of women's and men's balanced participation in socio-political life.

That presupposes that the developed strategy should be focused primarily on ensuring equal rights, freedoms and equal opportunities to men and women, thus requiring the inclusion of a gender component into all spheres of legislation and state policies. In Armenia, while making their decisions, the analysts and politicians in legislative and executive

branches of government should take into consideration the possible gender consequences of the laws they are drafting or of the policies they are establishing. As any country's development level is determined by such indicators as gender equality and a real elimination of explicit and hidden forms of sex-based and other discrimination, those principles should be reflected in the priorities of government policies.

However, achievement of those goals should require not only gender-sensitive government policies, by also a responsible, aware, mature civil society. As this study once again revealed a domination of a masculine outlook and a patriarchal mentality, it is a question of high importance to expand gender knowledge and increase people's awareness to minimize the impact of patriarchal gender stereotypes, and change the situation toward equal use of women's and men's potential and opportunities, and full participation of women in political and public life and in decision-making processes in Armenia.

LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

It is necessary to say, however, that results of the present study have to be treated with caution. As any other research, it has its limitations. Having summarized the literature review, findings, and analysis, it would be appropriate to briefly discuss the limitations of present study and suggest next steps to be done in the further research on this original topic.

First of all, the very framework for discussing the concept differs from author to author. As it has been already mentioned, some authors discuss stereotypes as completely independent phenomena, many put it within the frame of gender roles, while the others talk about gender role within the stereotype frame instead. The present study has been developed while confining the last point of view; however, speaking about absolutely valid and reliable results requires having other concepts tested as well.

Besides that, it is very difficult to gather better data to study accurately gender stereotypes in public administration. As this study has been based on small sample size, it makes the task of extending the implications very problematic: clearly, the use of small numbers of participants in the study makes it difficult to generalize to a larger population. In order to have the whole picture in Armenia, much more organizations, both public and private, as well as greater number of employees, should be included in further research.

It has to be mentioned that use of less obtrusive methods would be more advantageous to this type of research, since using questionnaires usually leads to subjective results (Kirchler (1992) attained impressive results while exploring the issue of social stereotypes by examining words as indicators, used to describe a deceased manager in obituaries in newspapers)).

Reliance on self-reports might result in responses biased by social desirability and cultural expectations: it is likely that people tend to answer in a socially acceptable manner ("suitable" to their gender), and their answers might not correspond to the reality and *de facto* situation. Direct questions generally hide existing stereotypes and provide with "desirable" answers rather than give the real picture (Kirchler 1992), which was once again vividly demonstrated during the study. Employees might be observed in their workplace, while performing their day-to-day activities, rather than interviewed. Besides that, in-depth interviews could give more accurate answers, not biased by cultural and gender expectations. For example, Certainly, those original and non-standard methods would be more money- and time-consuming, but would bring about more productive, valid, and reliable results, aimed to improve the situation toward women's balanced representation in higher levels of public administration.

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Research Instrument (English version)

October 06   **ID#**_____

Interview date: _____

Hello. My name is Valeria Sargsyan. I am from American University of Armenia. I am conducting a survey about gender imbalances in public administration in Armenia. Your answers to my questions will greatly help me in our study. I would like to inform you beforehand that the interview will last 10 minutes and the anonymity of your answers is strictly guaranteed. May I begin? Thank you.

1. I am going to ask your opinion on some statements. Using your own personal opinion, please tell me if you strongly agree (SA), agree (A), disagree (D) or strongly disagree (SD).	SA	A	D	SD	Can't say/Don't know
a) Men are more educated than women.					
b) Men are more experienced than women.					
c) Women should work only if there is an urgent need for that					
d) Men are promoted more easily than women					
e) There is no gender discrimination in our organization					
f) Women can tike higher positions in some other countries, but not in Armenia					
g) We would have more women in high position if there were no gender discrimination					

2. In your opinion, what qualities are the most important for a leader? Please classify:
_ problem solver
_ kind
_decisive
_ attentive to details

3. What is your marital status?
- single
- married

4. Do you have children?
_ yes
_ no

5. To what extent are you involved in child rearing?
- most of the day
- 2-5 hours a day
- 0-2 hours a day

6. To what extent are you involved in household?

- most of the day
- 2-5 hours a day
- 0-2 hours a day

7. If somebody else did take care of your house and child, do you think you could achieve career advancement?
- yes
- no
- don't know/can't say

8. Are you satisfied with your current job position? Can you say that you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat unsatisfied, or very unsatisfied with your job position?
- very satisfied
- somewhat satisfied
- somewhat unsatisfied
- very unsatisfied
- don't know/can't say

9. Would you take on some high position, if there were a chance?
- yes
- no
- don't know/can't say

10. How long are you occupying this position?
- 1-3 years
- 4-6 years
- more than 6 years

11. In your opinion, what is the main obstacle for women's career advancement?
- household involvement/child care
- inequalities based on gender
- inappropriate education/experience
- other

12. In your opinion, what is the main obstacle for your further advancement?
- household involvement/child care
- inequalities based on gender
- inappropriate education/experience
- other

13. Have you ever had a woman boss?
- yes
- no
- don't know/can't say

14. Was there any difference between male and female boss in terms of performance of their duties?
- yes
- no (go to 16)

- don't know/can't say

15. If not considering personal relationship, who were better, in your opinion?
- men
- women
- don't know/can't say

16. What do you think, are there any special qualities necessary for holding higher position?
- yes
- no
- don't know/can't say

17. Please point out one quality necessary for holding higher position.

_____

18. What would you prefer – to have woman or men as your boss?
- men
- woman
- don't know/can't say

19. In your opinion, are there certain rules, which women should follow in order to achieve higher poison in your organization?
- yes
- no
- don't know/can't say

20. I am going to ask your opinion on some statements. Using your own personal opinion, please tell me if you strongly agree (SA), agree (A), disagree (D) or strongly disagree (SD)	SA	A	D	SD	Don't know/ Can't say
a) Women should work only if they can combine it with household/child care					
b) People achieve high positions due to their qualities; gender doesn't matter					
c) Women less aspire promotion than men					
d) Holding higher positions is associated with certain qualities that women lack					
e) Women do not have appropriate education to hold higher positions					
f) Women do not have appropriate experience to hold managerial positions					
g) Women should be provided with more career opportunities					
h) Men should hold higher (manager) positions, while women are most suitable for being subordinates Women do not have appropriate experience to hold higher positions					

49

21. In your opinion, women are provided with the following qualities:
(Please classify)
_ problem solver
_ kind
_decisive
_ attentive to details

22. What is your age?
- under 20
- 20 – 30
- 30 – 40
- 40 – 50
- 50 – 60
- above 60

23. What is the highest education that you have obtained?
    ___ Primary school (4years)
    ___ Incomplete secondary school
    ___ Secondary school (ask and circle if 8 or 10 years)   8   10
    ___ University, college technical school
    ___ Completed university degree (5 or 4 years)
    ___Advanced graduate university degree

24. For how many years have you been employed?
- under 5
- 5 – 10
- 10 – 15
- 15 – 20
- above 20

25. Which position do you occupy?
 ----

26. Gender
- male
- female

APPENDIX B.

List of Sampled Ministries

N	Ministry	Number of civil servants interviewed
1	Ministry of Agriculture	13
2	Ministry of Labor and Social Security	31
3	Ministry of Transport and Communication	36
	Total	80

APPENDIX C. Data on gender composition of the workforce.

Table 1. Gender structure of staff of local self-government bodies, 2004

People	Mayors		Deputy		Council Members	
RA Marzes	W	M	W	M	W	M
Aragatsotn	1	110	-	111	24	421
Ararat	-	93	-	87	29	487
Armavir	3	91	-	89	18	470
Gegharkunik	3	84	3	84	47	494
Lori	3	102	4	91	57	363
Kotayk	1	59	-	60	35	357
Shirak	-	116	3	102	25	613
Syunik	2	104	4	75	62	477
Vayots dzor	-	41	-	18	9	349
Tavush	3	55	-	58	23	330

Source: *Women And Men In Armenia, 2004 (A Statistical Booklet).* National Statistical Service of The Republic of Armenia, 2004.

Figure 1. Women's share as teachers (full time and equivalent) 2000-01.
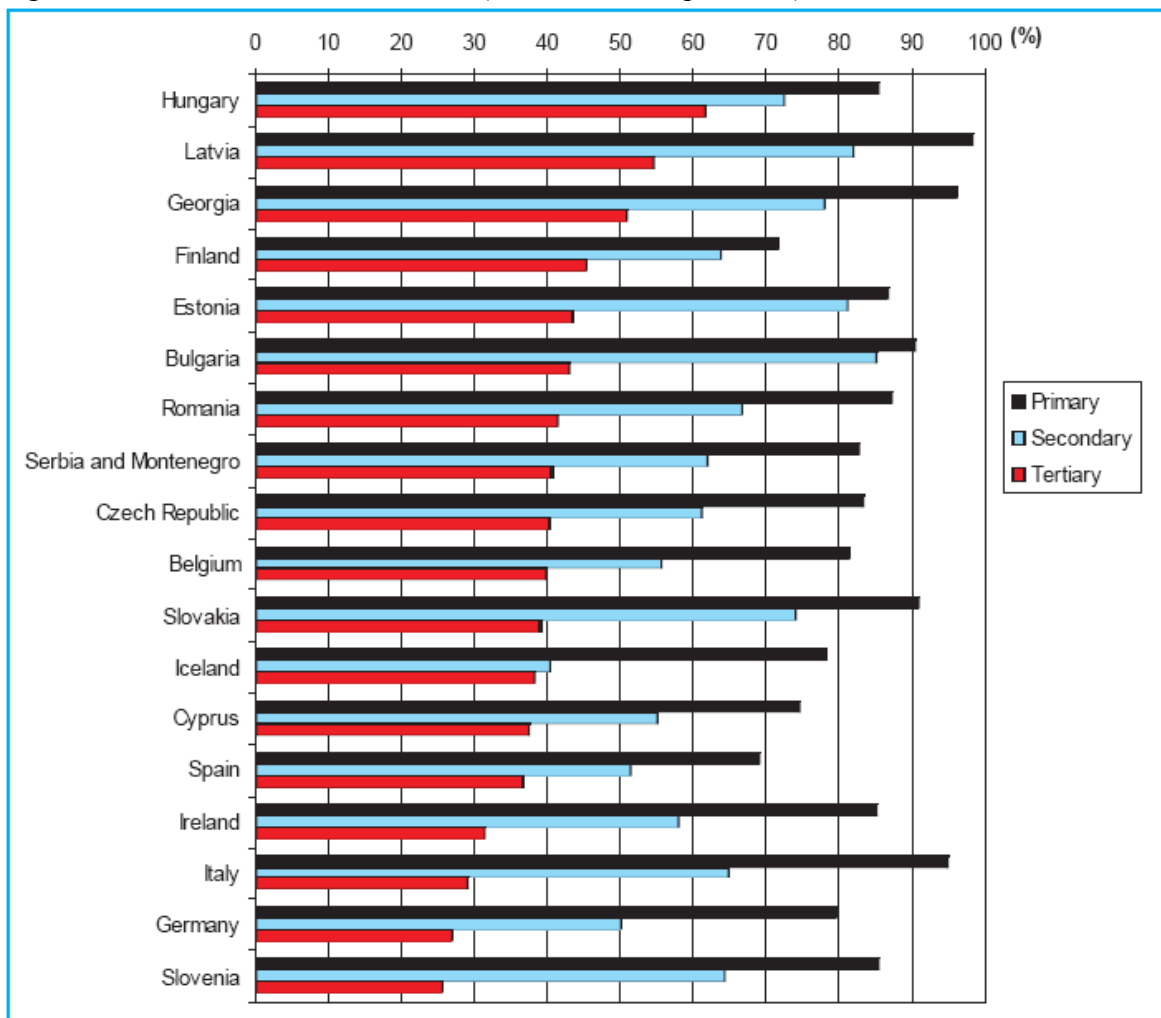
Source: Wirth, L. (2004). *Breaking Through the Glass Ceiling: Women in Management*. International Labour Office, Geneva. Retrieved from www.ilo.org/dyn/gender/docs/RES/292/F267981337/Breaking%20Glass%20PDF%20English.pdf

Figure 2. US Policy Leaders by Gender, Brunch of Government, and Position, 1998-2005.

State Government	1998					2005				
	Total	Men		Women		Total	Men		Women	
	#	#	%	#	%	#	#	%	#	%
Executive Branch	2129	1536	72.1	593	27.9	2027	1374	67.8	653	32.2
Statewide Elected Officials	326	244	74.8	82	25.2	318	237	74.5	81	25.5
Department Heads	1275	974	76.4	301	23.6	1141	802	70.3	339	29.7
Governors' Office Top Advisors	528	318	60.2	210	39.8	568	335	59.0	233	41.0
Legislative Branch	7424	5807	78.2	1617	21.8	7382	5716	77.4	1666	22.6
Senators	1984	1618	81.6	366	18.4	1971	1568	79.6	403	20.4
Representatives	5440	4189	77.0	1251	23.0	5411	4148	76.7	1263	23.3
Judicial Branch	327	255	78.0	72	22.0	325	235	72.3	90	27.7
Chief Justices	50	40	80.0	10	20.0	50	35	70.0	15	30.0
Associate Justices	277	215	77.6	62	22.4	275	200	72.7	75	27.3
All Branches	9880	7598	76.9	2282	23.1	9734	7325	75.3	2409	24.7

Source: *Women in State Policy Leadership, 1998 – 2005. An Analysis of Slow and Uneven Progress* (2006). A Report of the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society. University at Albany, State University of New York. Retrieved from http://www.cwig.albany.edu/APMSG2006.htm

Figure 3. US State Policy Leaders by Gender, 2005.
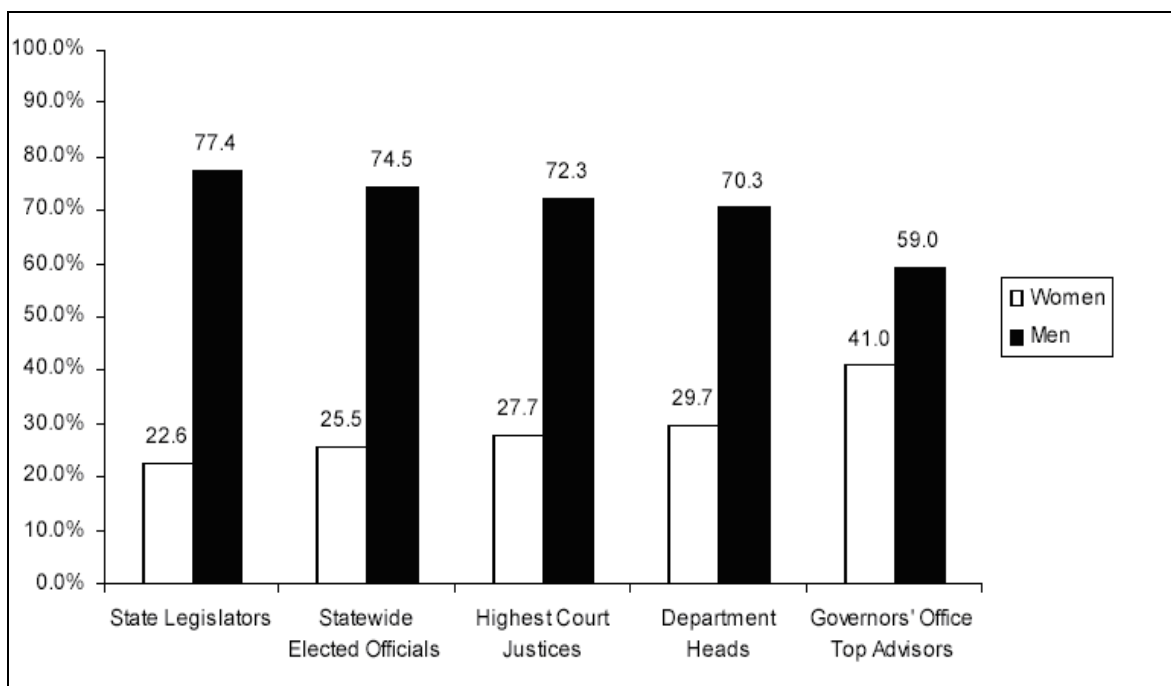
Source: *Women in State Policy Leadership, 1998 – 2005. An Analysis of Slow and Uneven Progress* (2006). A Report of the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society. University at Albany, State University of New York. Retrieved from http://www.cwig.albany.edu/APMSG2006.htm

Figure 4. US State Government Leadership, 2005 (Executive, Legislative, Judicial Posts Combined).
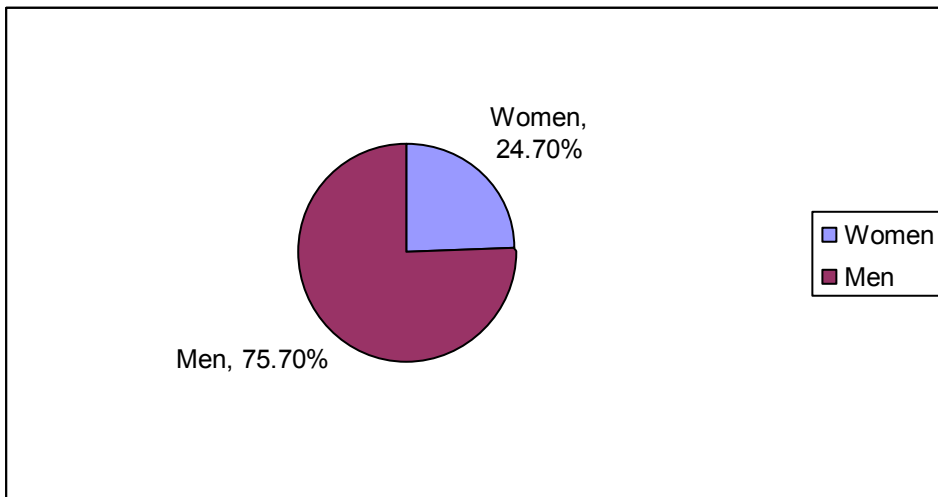
Source: *Women in State Policy Leadership, 1998 – 2005. An Analysis of Slow and Uneven Progress* (2006). A Report of the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society. University at Albany, State University of New York. Retrieved from http://www.cwig.albany.edu/APMSG2006.htm

Figure 5. Women's share as legislators, senior officials and managers and their share in total employment, 2000-2002
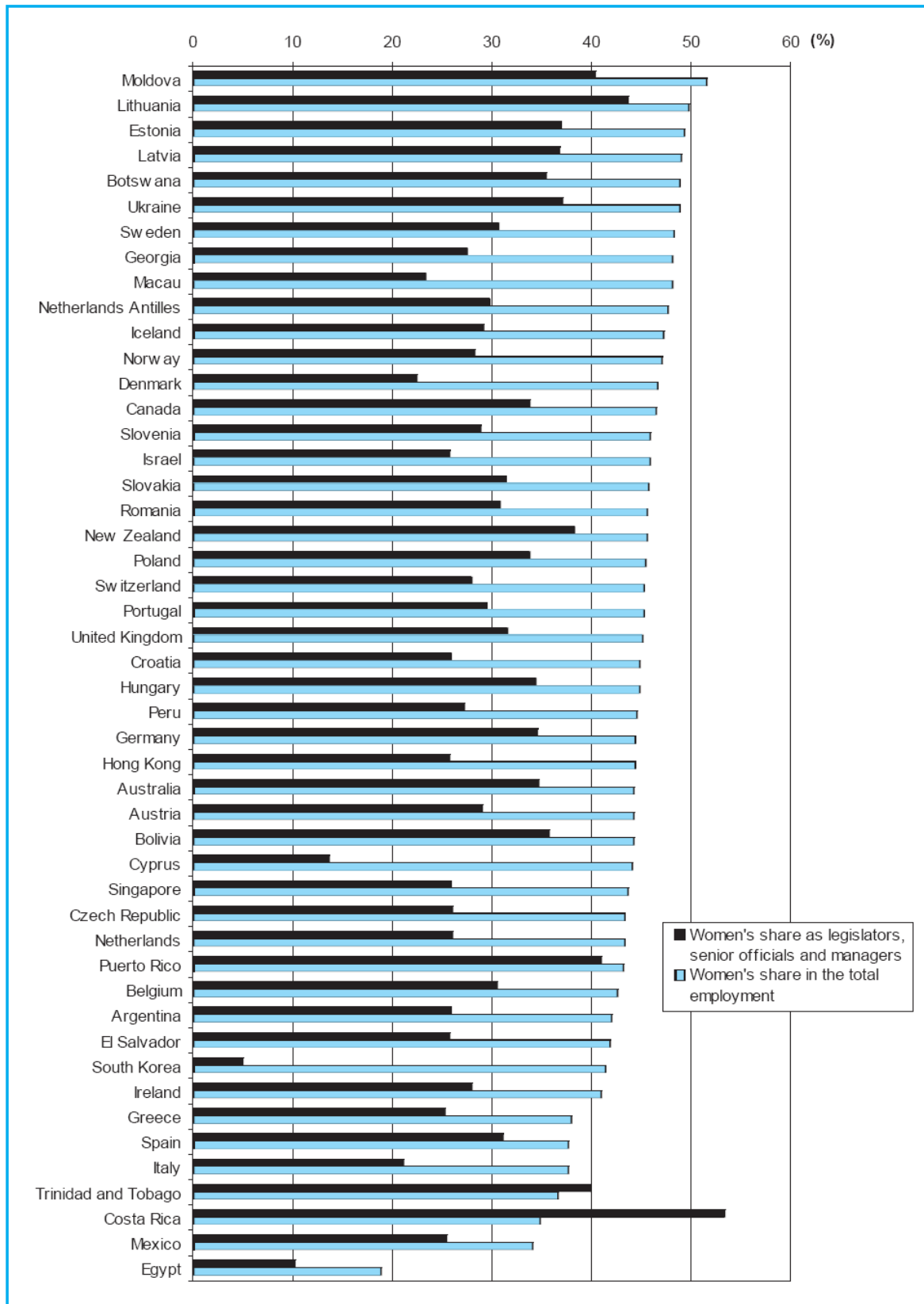
Source: Wirth, L. (2004). *Breaking Through the Glass Ceiling: Women in Management*.

International Labour Office, Geneva. Retrieved from

www.ilo.org/dyn/gender/docs/RES/292/F267981337/**Breaking**%20**Glass**%20PDF%2

0English.pdf

Figure 6. Staff of the Ministries of RA, 2002

Staff of the Ministries* of RA, 2002

Percentage

Women 1,942   Men 1,972

* Excluding police, national security and military forces

Source: Labour Statistics, NSS of RA
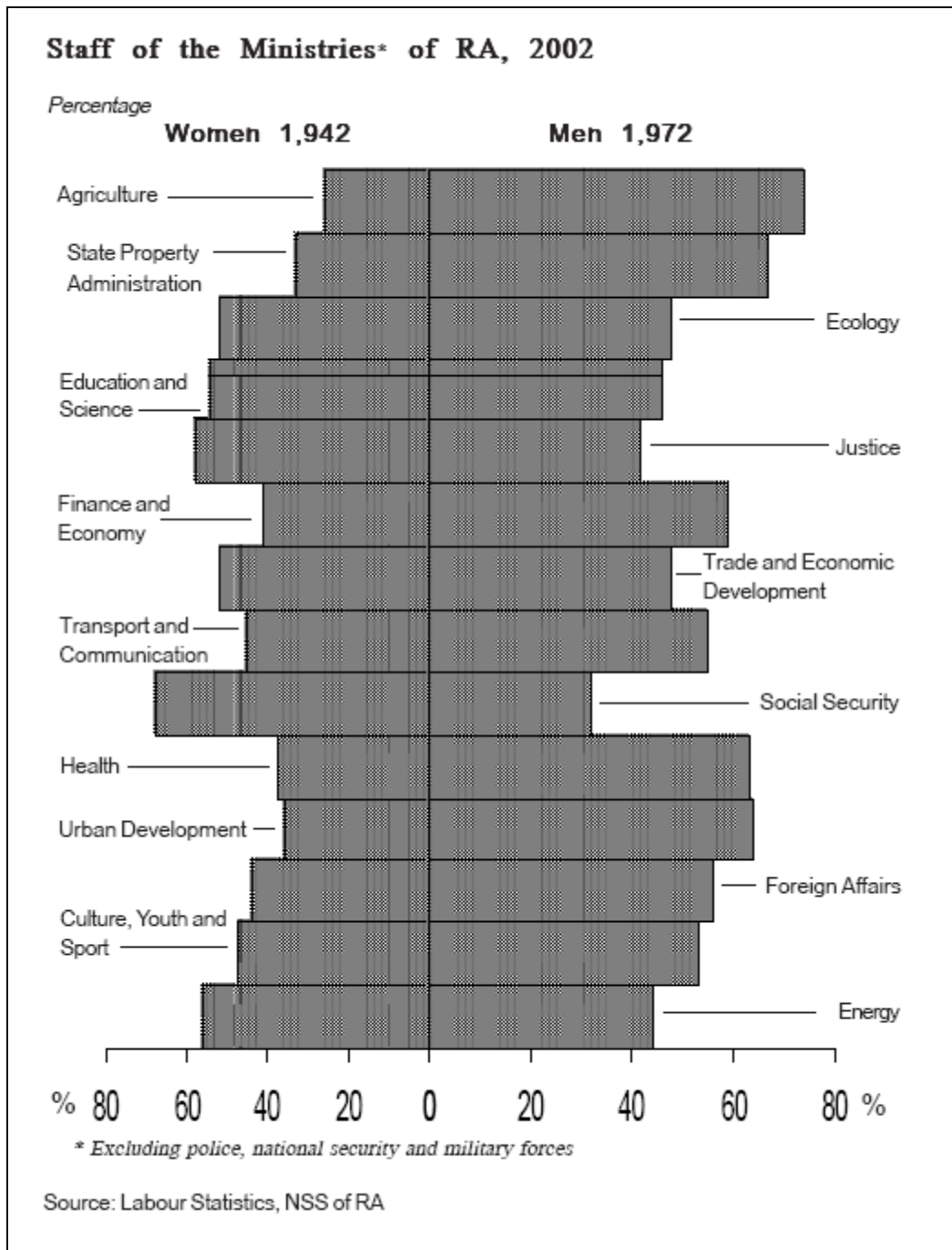
Descriptive Tables.

Frequencies

Aspiration to promotion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	5	6.3	7.8	7.8
	yes	59	73.8	92.2	100.0
	Total	64	80.0	100.0	
Missing	don't know/cant say	16	20.0		
Total		80	100.0		

Aspiration **to** promotion, women

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	2	2.5	5.0	5.0
	yes	38	47.5	95.0	100.0
	Total	40	50.0	100.0	
Missing	don't know/cant say	14	17.5		
	System	26	32.5		
	Total	40	50.0		
Total		80	100.0		

Quality necessary for a leader

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	determination	22	27.5	27.5	27.5
	leadership	14	17.5	17.5	45.0
	education/experience	14	17.5	17.5	62.5
	assertiveness/will	14	17.5	17.5	80.0
	5	2	2.5	2.5	82.5
	other	14	17.5	17.5	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Stop your advancement, women

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	household/child	8	10.0	42.1	42.1
	gender discrimination	3	3.8	15.8	57.9
	inappropriate ed/exp	5	6.3	26.3	84.2
	inability	3	3.8	15.8	100.0
	Total	19	23.8	100.0	
Missing	other	35	43.8		
	System	26	32.5		
	Total	61	76.3		
Total		80	100.0		

Stop women's advancement, women

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	household/child	17	21.3	31.5	31.5
	gender discrimination	14	17.5	25.9	57.4
	inappropriate ed/exp	2	2.5	3.7	61.1
	inability	8	10.0	14.8	75.9
	other	13	16.3	24.1	100.0
	Total	54	67.5	100.0	
Missing	System	26	32.5		
Total		80	100.0		

Have you ever had a woman boss?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	59	73.8	73.8	73.8
	no	21	26.3	26.3	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Leader's qualities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	kind	4	5.0	5.1	5.1
	problem solver	36	45.0	46.2	51.3
	decisive	38	47.5	48.7	100.0
	Total	78	97.5	100.0	
Missing	System	2	2.5		
Total		80	100.0		

Women's qualities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	kind	25	31.3	32.5	32.5
	attentive to details	34	42.5	44.2	76.6
	problem solver	12	15.0	15.6	92.2
	decisive	6	7.5	7.8	100.0
	Total	77	96.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	3.8		
Total		80	100.0		

Who was better in terms of performing the duties?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	woman	3	3.8	3.8	3.8
	man	49	61.3	61.3	65.0
	dont know/cant say	28	35.0	35.0	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Who would you prefer to work with, man or women?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	man	58	72.5	72.5	72.5
	woman	3	3.8	3.8	76.3
	dont know/cant say	19	23.8	23.8	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

There are qualities necessary for a leader that women lack

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	10	12.5	13.0	13.0
	disagree	36	45.0	46.8	59.7
	agree	28	35.0	36.4	96.1
	strongly agree	3	3.8	3.9	100.0
	Total	77	96.3	100.0	
Missing	dont know/cant say	3	3.8		
Total		80	100.0		

There is no gender discrimination in our organization

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	3	3.8	4.1	4.1
	disagree	22	27.5	29.7	33.8
	agree	45	56.3	60.8	94.6
	strongly agree	4	5.0	5.4	100.0
	Total	74	92.5	100.0	
Missing	don't know/cant say	6	7.5		
Total		80	100.0		

Men get positions more quickly than women do.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	4	5.0	5.2	5.2
	disagree	5	6.3	6.5	11.7
	agree	64	80.0	83.1	94.8
	strongly agree	4	5.0	5.2	100.0
	Total	77	96.3	100.0	
Missing	don't know/cant say	3	3.8		
Total		80	100.0		

If there were no gender discrimination, we would have more women on higher positions.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly agree	4	5.0	5.5	5.5
	agree	31	38.8	42.5	47.9
	disagree	34	42.5	46.6	94.5
	strongly disagree	4	5.0	5.5	100.0
	Total	73	91.3	100.0	
Missing	don't know/cant say	7	8.8		
Total		80	100.0		

People achieve high positions only due to their abilities; gender does not matter.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	1	1.3	1.3	1.3
	disagree	21	26.3	27.3	28.6
	agree	45	56.3	58.4	87.0
	strongly agree	10	12.5	13.0	100.0
	Total	77	96.3	100.0	
Missing	don't know/cant say	3	3.8		
Total		80	100.0		

Women should be given more career opportunities at workplace.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly disagree	3	3.8	4.0	4.0
	disagree	27	33.8	36.0	40.0
	agree	41	51.3	54.7	94.7
	strongly agree	4	5.0	5.3	100.0
	Total	75	93.8	100.0	
Missing	don't know/cant say	5	6.3		
Total		80	100.0		

Cross-Tabulations

If someone take care, women * care combined, women

		care combined, women			Total
		0-2	0-2, 2-5	2-5	
if someone take care, women	yes	8	1	7	16
	no	9	1	5	15
Total		17	2	12	31

Women should work only if there is a need * gender

		gender				Total	
		male		female			
		%	N	%	N	%	N
only when need	strongly disagree	1.3	1	25	20		21
	disagree	15	12	40	31		43
	agree	8.8	7		0		7
	strongly agree	3.8	3	1.3	1		4
Total			23		52	93.8	75

Women should work if can combine household/child care * gender

		gender				Total	
		male		female			
		%	N	%	N	%	N
women work if can combine	strongly disagree		0	8.8	7		7
	disagree	3.8	3	20.0	16		19
	agree	23.8	19	36.3	29		48
	strongly agree	3.8	3	2.5	2		5
Total			25		54	98.8	79

Qualities women lack * gender

		gender				Total	
		male		female			
		%	N	%	N	%	N
qualities women lack	strongly disagree	1.3	1	11.3	9		10
	disagree	8.8	7	36.3	29		36
	agree	18.8	15	16.3	13		28
	strongly agree	2.5	2	1.3	1		3
Total			25		52	96.3	77

Women do not have appropriate education for higher position * gender

		gender				Total	
		male		female			
		%	N	%	N	%	N
no education for position	strongly disagree	3.8	3	21.3	17		20
	disagree	17.5	14	35	28		42
	agree	8.8	7	11.3	9		16
	strongly agree	1.3	1		0		1
Total			25		54	98.8	79

Women do not have appropriate experience for higher position * gender

		gender				Total	
		male		female			
		%	N	%	N	%	N
no experience for position	strongly disagree		0	11.3	9		9
	disagree	15	12	36.3	29		41
	agree	16.3	13	16.3	13		26
	strongly agree		0	1.3	1		1
Total			25		52	96.3	77

Men are more suitable for higher position, while women being subordinates * gender

		gender				Total	
		male		female			
		%	N	%	N	%	N
men-chef, women-subordinate	strongly disagree	1.3	1	13.8	11		12
	disagree	8.8	7	35.0	28		35
	agree	8.8	7	13.8	11		18
	strongly agree	11.3	9	1.3	1		10
Total			24		51	93.8	75

Stop women's advancement, women * care combined, women

| | | care combined, women | | | | Total |
		0-2	0-2, 2-5	2-5	most of the day, 2-5	
stop women's advancement only women	household/child	8	2	6	1	17
	gender discrimination	6	0	8	0	14
	inaproppriate ed/exp	1	0	1	0	2
	inability	5	2	1	0	8
	other	7	3	3	0	13
Total		27	7	19	1	54

Stop your advancement, women * care combined, women

| | | care combined, women | | | | Total |
		0-2	0-2, 2-5	2-5	most of the day, 2-5	
stop your advancement only women	household/child	2	1	4	1	8
	gender discrimination	1	0	2	0	3
	inappropriate ed/exp	4	1	0	0	5
	inability	2	0	1	0	3
Total		9	2	7	1	19

Woman boss? * who was better

| | | who was better | | | Total |
		woman	man	don't know/cant say	
woman boss?	yes	3	35	21	59
	no	0	14	7	21
Total		3	49	28	80

Woman boss? * man or women

| | | man or women | | | Total |
		man	woman	don't know/cant say	
woman boss?	yes	39	3	17	59
	no	19	0	2	21
Total		58	3	19	80

Women can take higher position in other countries but not in Armenia * gender

		gender				Total	
		male		female			
		%	N	%	N	%	N
position not in Armenia	strongly disagree	1.3	1	8.8	7		8
	disagree	17.5	14	33.8	27		41
	agree	10	8	18.8	15		23
	strongly agree	1.3	1		0		1
Total		24		49		91.3 73	