



**Career in Civil Service
and Gender Equality**





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Career in Civil Service and Gender Equality

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Executive Summary

The report “Career in Civil Service and Gender Equality” includes interpretations and theoretical findings of qualitative and quantitative sociological data collected by the researchers of the Institute for Development of Freedom of Information (IDFI). The goal of the study is to improve gender inequality at civil service. Accordingly, the main objective of the research was to study career paths of female and male managers from the starting points of their employment at civil service and identify those differences which cause gender inequality at civil service. During the research, information was collected through quantitative methodology, online survey and qualitative methodology, focus groups and in-depth interviews. With the assistance of LEPL Civil Service Bureau, 1010 civil servants (676 women and 334 men) participated in the online survey. In-depth interviews were conducted with 26 civil servants of the first and second rank (15 women and 11 men). 13 civil servants took part in focus group discussions (7 women and 6 men). Collected qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed and interpreted based on three theoretical directions.

The first theoretical direction is **Working Conditions and Environment**, which combines the findings related to working conditions, difficulties, rewards/incentives, work benefits and family. According to the quantitative data, 64% of civil servants surveyed believe that women are more satisfied with their job conditions than men. 67% of women surveyed believe that men are better encouraged/rewarded for their work at civil service, while 73% are of the opinion that women at civil service are more likely to experience stress and discomfort at work than men. According to the qualitative data, invisible cultural practices causing gender inequality at civil service are not obvious to men. Moreover, sexual objectification constitutes additional distress for women, which is usually followed by unpleasant and overwhelming remarks and sometimes takes the form of sexual harassment. Lastly, women at civil service are more patient than men while receiving notices and being victims of oppression, which strengthens gender inequality against women.

The second theoretical direction is **Visibility and Power**, which combines gender-related findings regarding the visibility, power, influence, appreciation and self-esteem of civil servants. According to the quantitative data, 86% of the respondents believe that men have higher influence and more powers at civil service than women. 69% believe that men are more appreciated in the workplace. 85% of men think that wom-

en and men of the same qualifications are equally visible at civil service, while only 58% of women share the opinion. Based on the results of the qualitative research, the writing skills of women at civil service are appreciated most of all, however, women are given fewer opportunities to undertake representational tasks. In addition, by endorsing the writing skills of female civil servants, men “chain” them to the workplaces and thus oppress women. Based on the narrative of women respondents there is **an invisible gender hierarchy** at civil service, where men stand somewhat higher than women, which in itself is an invisible event dwelling from the external, patriarchal culture.

The last theoretical direction is **Career Success** which combines findings related to achieving success on a career path. According to the quantitative data 71% of respondents believe that men succeed faster in their careers. While the advantage of men in career is accepted, 70% of the respondents believe that women possess more theoretical knowledge necessary for achieving success in their careers. 81% of fourth-rank civil servants stress that men succeed faster on their career paths. According to the qualitative data, women demonstrate better academic achievements at different levels of education, however, they are “held back” after joining civil service. Women’s career development is not proportional to their academic performance. As women are more patient, they are less likely to achieve career success and prefer to stay unnoticed. According to yet another finding, in cases when women are less patient and more critical they face difficulties in the process of achieving success.

Quantitative and qualitative data analysis proves that female and male managers at civil service have contrasting career paths. The differences are reflected in various cultural practices, which determine gender inequality at civil service. These cultural practices, in the form of invisible social events, emerge from **historical experience and patriarchal ideology** within the society, while civil servants and men, in particular, support the re-emergence of inequality.

The goal of the Institute for Development of Freedom of Information (IDFI) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is to disseminate the findings of the research and develop recommendations which, as the end goal, will support the process of tackling gender inequality at civil service. In addition, various problems of gender equality identified by the study, needs additional research, in order to conduct a comprehensive analysis of its causes.

Problem Statement

Gender equality is a globally recognized principle, which aims to eliminate discrimination based on gender *inter alia* in labor relations. The UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, constitute pivotal documents on the protection of labor rights. According to these documents, states must increase women's participation in public life, ensure equal pay for equal work, and create environments for women that are equal to those of men. Every individual should have an equal opportunity for promotion, based on merit, work experience and qualifications, both in private and civil service employment.

In recent years numerous reforms were implemented in the Georgian civil service system. In 2017, following the initiation of the Public Administration Reform (PAR), a new Law on Civil Service went into force, prohibiting discrimination of all forms, including gender-based discrimination. The law goes further than simply prohibiting discrimination and states that public institutions have to take relevant measures in order to ensure equal treatment of civil servants, among them including and implementing provisions of non-discrimination in their rules of conduct and other operational documents.¹ However, the general provisions of the law are not sufficient for guaranteeing gender equality. Specifically, the law requiring inclusion of relevant provisions in internal operational documents is not always respected. For instance, neither the rules of conduct nor the statute of the Ministry of Justice includes any provisions on gender equality and discrimination.

According to the research conducted by the Institute for Development of Freedom of Information (IDFI) in 2013, of the 9,250 individuals employed at senior managerial positions (heads of departments and above) at civil service, the majority were male. Namely, 7,245 senior managerial positions were occupied by men while only 2,005 were occupied by women.²

¹ Law of Georgia on Civil Service, Article 56, para. 3.

² Statistical Data on Gender Equality in Civil Service, IDFI (2013).

Based on the Civil Service Bureau Annual Report of 2018, within the four ranks³ of civil servants 67% are male and 33% are female, while 58% of administrative staff are female and 42% are male.⁴ It should be emphasized, that according to the UN Women data, Georgia has the largest gender difference in reading skills among Asian and Pacific countries, while the gender parity index equals to 1.64, showing that girls achieve better reading skills by the time they graduate school. Based on the same data, Georgia ranks fourth among the 30 countries in terms of the gender pay gap (35.6 in 2014).⁵ Thus, we should conclude that we have horizontal segregation⁶ and a “glass ceiling”⁷ which is the probable cause of wage differences in favor of men.

³ According to Article 26 of the Law of Georgia on Civil service based on the competence and responsibilities of civil servants one of the four ranks are assigned to them: a) Top management level, b) Middle management level, c) Senior specialist level, d) Junior specialist level.

⁴ Institute for Development of Freedom of Information (IDFI), “Statistical Data on Gender Equality in Civil Service in Georgia”, Open Society Georgia Foundation and Open Society Foundations, Tbilisi, 2015, pg. 7.

⁵ L. Khechuashvili, T. Bregvadze, G. Ratiani, PIRLS, NAEC, Tbilisi, 2019, pg. 96-97.

⁶ Horizontal Segregation, that is giving an activity/a sector masculine or feminine meaning, the so called reproduction of feminine or masculine activity, has been a serious challenge throughout the history. Another expression which was used to genderize a sector was developed by the researcher of social studies Luis Kapphowe, which called the segregation and women dominated labor markets – Pink Collar jobs. His work *Pink Collar Workers: Inside the World of Women’s Work* (1997), demonstrated that despite the outflow of women on the labor market and the activities of women’s movements, women were still in the captivity of feminine jobs, which resulted in low remuneration and subordination to men - **G. Khonelidze, “Causes of Unequal Pay and the Ways to Solve It”, SAPARI, 2019, Tbilisi, pg. 3.**

⁷ The expression “Glass Ceiling” was first used in 1986, in order to describe the invisible barriers that were faced by women in the process of promotion or career development. “Glass Ceiling” in its original meaning refers to the chain of difficulties, which hinders career development of women, regardless of their skills and qualifications. In case of the horizontal segregation male dominant sectors are the so called “rich sectors” while female dominant sectors are caring and low income professions; During vertical segregation there is high concentration of women in lower level, easily substitutable jobs, while men are present at well-paid jobs as decision-makers - **G. Khonelidze, “Causes of Unequal Pay and the Ways to Solve It”, SAPARI, 2019, Tbilisi, pg. 5.**

Goal and Objectives of the Study

The goal of the study is to improve the extent of gender inequality at Civil service by studying different career paths of men and women and perceptions⁸ towards their professional success.

The objectives of the study are:

- » Reviewing those theories which have been the basis for career research since the 1980s;
- » Studying the career paths of female and male managers from the starting points of their employment at Civil service;
- » Studying/ascertaining the perception of women and men in Civil service on the need and benefits of professional development;
- » Researching the perceptions of female and male civil servants on the efficiency of the career development system in the Civil service;
- » Identifying gender differences in the process of career development at Civil service;
- » Studying objective/subjective and internal/external factors of a successful career at Civil service and identifying relationships between success and gender, age and origin of civil servants.

⁸ Those main gender-related differences that Georgian civil servants experience on their career paths.

The Study Methodology, Methods, Object, Selection and Limitations:

Both quantitative and qualitative methods of sociological research were applied in the process of the research in order to realize the above-listed objectives. Focus group meetings and in-depth interviews were used for the purposes of qualitative research, while online surveys/questionnaires were used for quantitative research.

Two focus group meetings were conducted with the participation of civil servants from eight ministries as part of the study. Focus group meetings are particularly useful when a researcher is studying an unknown event and a social group while looking for unfamiliar wordings, word combinations and speech manners. Thus, the focus group meetings aimed to ensure the validity of the semi-structured questionnaire for in-depth interviews and the structured questionnaire for the online survey. Specifically, the questionnaires included questions for measuring the objectives of the study, which would also be easy to understand for the respondents. Projective methods were used during the focus group meetings: questions in third person form and personification.

In order to enable the so-called Satellite Effect,⁹ a focus group should be homogeneous in composition, yet the participants should not be familiar with each other. Accordingly, one focus group meeting was conducted with the participation of women and the other with the participation of men. Apart from a few exceptions, the respondents were not familiar with each other. In total, 13 civil servants (7 women and 6 men) participated in the focus group discussions. Qualitative data collected during the focus groups were analyzed using the method of narrative analysis.¹⁰ This was followed by the preparation of the research tools: questionnaire for semi-structured in-depth interviews containing open-end questions only, and a structured questionnaire for online surveys containing closed ended and semi-closed ended questions.

⁹ Sociologists believe that people are more likely to open up emotionally with strangers, rather than their acquaintances.

¹⁰ The narrative analysis constitutes the reformulation of unique stories told by the respondents and reflects different individual experiences. In other words, the narrative analysis is a revision of the basic qualitative data by the researcher.

After the finalization of focus group discussions and the preparation of the research tools, 26 civil servants (11 male and 15 female) of the first and second rank were identified based on targeted selection and were interviewed accordingly. During the in-depth interviews, specific methods were used in order to provoke honesty: silence, echo and application. Collected qualitative information was studied through narrative analysis and theoretical categories in line with the study objectives were developed, which were followed by the citations of the respondents in order to support the conclusions of the researchers.

Along with the in-depth interviews, quantitative online surveys were conducted with the participation of civil servants.¹¹ In order to ensure 90% validity of the quantitative data, taking into consideration the margin of error, it was necessary to receive at least 300 responses, however, the number of received responses considerably exceeded the minimum requirement and 1,010 civil servants responded to the survey. The quantitative data were statistically analyzed and correlations between the indicators of gender and professional success/path were identified using mostly univariate and bivariate analysis.

The study had the following limitations:

- » Close-end questions in the quantitative questionnaire, most of which did not allow respondents to maintain a neutral position;
- » Targeted method of selecting respondents for in-depth interviews during qualitative research, when the ministries arranged meetings with those civil servants which they deemed suitable for the interviews and which had already reached a certain level of success in their careers. This could have affected the results and perceptions of the study.

A large volume of quantitative and qualitative primary sociological information was accumulated using the surveys, however, due to the small scale of the study, in-depth data analysis was not conducted and a large number of analytical conclusions were not made. It should be noted that the information collected through the scientific method allows for the secondary analysis, which can be used for other research purposes in the future.

¹¹ UNDP database of civil servants employed at HR departments was used during the qualitative survey, for sending out the online questionnaire. In addition, the Civil Service Bureau provided IDFI with significant assistance in the process of disseminating the questionnaire among the civil servants.

Literature Review

In order to ensure the internal validity of the research methods and provide a compelling interpretation of analyzed primary sociological data, researchers examined sociological theories of career path and professional success during the study.

Success in career demonstrates the ways in which individuals were able to meet the needs that would have facilitated the advancement of their careers and the process of gaining power. Professional success is equally beneficial for individuals and organizations. At the **individual level**, career success is manifested in materialistic achievements, power, and satisfaction. In addition, there is the **notion of Career Success Knowledge Phenomenon** which assists individuals in gaining education and developing the skills that enable them to take necessary, useful actions with the aim of career planning and development. The research focused on the gendered aspects of **Career Success Knowledge Phenomenon**. In particular, representatives of which gender, male or female, are better able to control and manage own careers, have more in depth knowledge on career planning and development, etc. As for **the organizational level**, career success refers to the knowledge of a manager/organization about the differences between employees and its relationship to advancement in career. All the above-mentioned helps managers create and implement effective systems for career development.

A successful career is conceptualized as the result of objective and subjective elements of advancement in the process of individual experience and professional pathways. In general, career success is reflected in the **organizational hierarchy of promotion, wage rise, power growth, broader and more responsible work, and satisfaction with the career of an individual**.

Based on the literature reviewed, it was particularly interesting to examine the individual and organizational levels of career success in the context of gender and its relation to the career path in general. This was the particular topic to which the key research questions were linked.

Indicators of Professional Success

Even though different professions have individual indicators of career success, some unifying factors can still be identified. Recent studies show that career path and success are divided into objective and subjective directions, which can be further grouped into two sub-categories: external direction, such as employee salary, total remuneration, salary rise, number of incentives/ support, and internal direction - the content of the employee's work, career and level of life satisfaction. According to the researchers in order to conduct a comprehensive analysis of career success both the objective / subjective and internal / external dimensions should be studied. Based on these directions, four squares of career success ¹² are developed:

Figure 1 Four squares of career success

Q1

(External/Objective)

External factors that can be observed: hierarchical rank, number of incentives, change in work, remuneration.

Q2

(Internal/Objective)

The observational and positive evaluation system, objective monitoring and approaches tailored to staff aspirations: recognition, status, power, influence and outcome.

Q3

(External/Subjective)

Subjective perceptions of external visibility and recognition, equal conditions for competition, equal means for career opportunities, satisfaction with salary and incentives.

Q4

(Internal/Subjective)

Internal perception and feelings of Job satisfaction: work-life balance satisfaction and general career satisfaction.

¹² Career Success Studies: An Examination of Indicators, Approach and Underlying Theories in Literature, Science Journal of Business and Management 2015; 3(6): 251-257.

One of the objectives of the study was to measure career success indicators and their correlation with the gender and career development of respondents. Accordingly, these indicators were operationalized as questions in the agendas of focus group discussion, in the questionnaires of in-depth semi-structured interviews and in the structured quantitative questionnaires.

The above-listed indicators, factors and theories were linked with gender-related factors. First, they were connected to **historical experience**, since historical beliefs and views may be affecting the present, existing cultural beliefs, practices and perceptions. This became particularly evident as a result of qualitative data analysis, which identified a number of **invisible cultural practices**, reinforcing 'external' gender order and inequality at civil service. Sociologists believe that 'organizations and employees follow the old assumption that an ideal worker is a white man employed on a full time basis. Women need to stay at home. We believe that each employed woman constitutes a faulty deviation from normative perceptions.'¹³ The local context should also be taken into consideration. According to the study report - Public Perceptions on Gender Equality in Politics and Business: 'Opinions regarding women employment mainly derive from public perceptions on the role models of male and female behavior within a family - beliefs regarding the role and functions of women and the role and obligations of men. <...> Based on Georgian traditions, a man is the head of the family and is responsible for ensuring financial support of the family while a woman is a housewife and a mother and it is her duty to obey her husband, take care of the family and children.'¹⁴

According to gender sociologists, gender characteristics are not only evident at an individual level, rather they constitute a social system that is even used for stratification. Gender as a system implies the so-called transformational power by which individuals instead of taking a passive role, actively contribute to building a structure of social gender stratification by themselves. Data analysis and interpretation confirmed that women and men with different cultural / customary backgrounds themselves create gender inequality at the civil service. Sociologists equate the gender system with political and economic structures and note that gender does not merely create individuality in the process of socialization or simply shape cultural rules and institutions, rather it does both and in a manner that is highly systematized. Analysis of the data generated as a result of quantitative and qualitative research demonstrates that

¹³ Nighat Ansari, PhD, Nasira Jabeen, PhD, Amani Moazzam Baig, PhD, Female Career Progression: A Gender Stratification View; Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS), Vol 36, No. 2 (2016), PP797-807, pp.798;

¹⁴ Public Perceptions on Gender Equality in Politics and Business, UNDP Georgia, ACT, Tbilisi, 2013, pg. 35.

gender inequality at civil service is created as a result of various cultural practices that are subject to a certain order, such as gender/class hierarchy.

In addition, those factors that contribute to maintaining a considerably high degree of gender inequality at the workplace should also be considered. First of all - ideology. Any form of inequality is driven by a certain type of ideology establishing different types of privileges and rewards. **“Gender ideology is a set of beliefs which determine both the concept of each gender as well as the relation that is established or has to be established between them.”**¹⁵ Ideology creates stereotypes and norms of behavior. One of the most important distinctions in career success for women and men is **progress on the corporate ladder**. Female managers occupy lower levels as compared to men. Despite numerous studies and efforts, no significant progress has been made in this regard. This is referred to as the “glass ceiling,” which explains the reason women are less likely to succeed is because they simply are women. Even if a woman still succeeds on a career ladder, she does so in a way that is considerably different as compared to men. Gender researchers have tried to explain this phenomenon. Two schools of thought have developed on the topic: according to the first one, women are reluctant to spend as much time on career development as men, their priorities are different, and they prefer to spend time on different activities and responsibilities. On the other hand, gender researchers discuss those difficulties and disadvantages that women face at work, through conflict and negativity coming from colleagues, family and society,¹⁶ as deriving from the above-mentioned gender ideology. The results of the study are explained by the views of gender equality, which demonstrates the factors causing subjugation of women based on gender ideology and then portrays this phenomenon in the way that women themselves have no interest in career advancement and development.

¹⁵ I. Padavichi, B. Reskin, “Women and Men at Work”, 2nd Addition, Center of Social Studies, 2007, Tbilisi pg. 82.

¹⁶ Ibid, pg. 2.

An example of gender ideology is the archetype of an ideal employee working 24 hours a day, which completely contravenes the cultural role expectation of a woman, based on which she should stay at home with children and the elderly.¹⁷

According to researchers, the second gendered factor important for career development is the so-called **“Networking” (connections)**. Men succeed by establishing friendships with each other. Whereas when women want to succeed they make friends with men, rather than women. This was confirmed by a study conducted by SAFARI, according to which women in political parties lack the knowledge of building up social networks. They have no power and prefer to make friends with men, who have the authority necessary for women to advance on their career ladders.¹⁸

Lastly, feminist scholars point out that human **social origins** are linked to gender inequality. It is believed that women of different social backgrounds experience different gender inequalities throughout their lives. In modern societies, social classes are strongly distinguished, that is they are well noticed, while in this context gender inequality is less evident. The financial condition of most women reflects the material capabilities of their fathers or husbands. However, there is still the notion that gender inequality is mainly explained based on class.¹⁹

Based on the given short summary, the following social phenomena were operationalized in the focus group discussion plan, semi-structured questionnaire and structured questionnaire:

- » Social origin (family/parents’ education/parents’ social and cultural capital, city/region), marital status, number and age of children, education/contacts/social capital/human capital;²⁰
- » Work experience/work experience at recent civil service;
- » Attitudes of respondents towards recruiting, establishing and retaining staff members and their relation to the gender of an employee;

¹⁷ Ibid, pg. 84.

¹⁸ G. Urchkulishvili, “Women at Political Parties: Deconstructing Myths”, SAFARI, 2017, Tbilisi, pg. 60-87.

¹⁹ Giddens, Sociology, Open Society Georgia Foundation, Tbilisi, 2012, pg. 263.

²⁰ The aim of the qualitative research was to ascertain the impact of respondents’ social origins and gender on their career paths.

- » The paths taken by female and male managers from the start of their civil service employment;
- » Advancement in the hierarchy, wage rise, power gain, wider obligations and higher responsibilities, satisfaction with one's career and gender differences;
- » Objective/subjective and internal/external factors of career success and gender-related differences;
- » Perceptions of female and male civil servants on the need and benefits of professional development at civil service;
- » The needs, challenges and views (both positive and negative factors) of women and men civil servants at each stage of their career development;
- » Perceptions of female and male civil servants on the effectiveness of the career development system at civil service;
- » The aspirations of men and women to gain from work: money and material possessions, independence, control over the environment and future, social contribution, interacting with peers and colleagues;
- » Gender differences in knowledge about career success;
- » Gender ideology, stereotypes and employment at the civil service;
- » Best practices of career development at civil service and ways to eliminate possible differences;

These social phenomena were transformed into questions and fieldwork studies were conducted as a result of which both quantitative and qualitative primary sociological data were collected for the purposes of the research. Along with literature review and data collection, both quantitative and qualitative research findings and interpretations were grouped into three main thematic directions identified by the researchers, namely:

Working Conditions and Environment - combines data collected through questions related to working conditions, difficulties, rewards/incentives, work benefits and family;

Visibility and power - combines data collected through questions related to visibility, power, influence, appreciation, and self-esteem of civil servants;

Career Success - combines data collected through questions related to achieving success on a career path and theoretical knowledge on career success.

Furthermore, an additional direction was added to the findings of the qualitative research: **historical experience/ideology**, which combines the findings on invisible cultural practices.

The findings of the quantitative research and the interpretations of the qualitative research are discussed below.

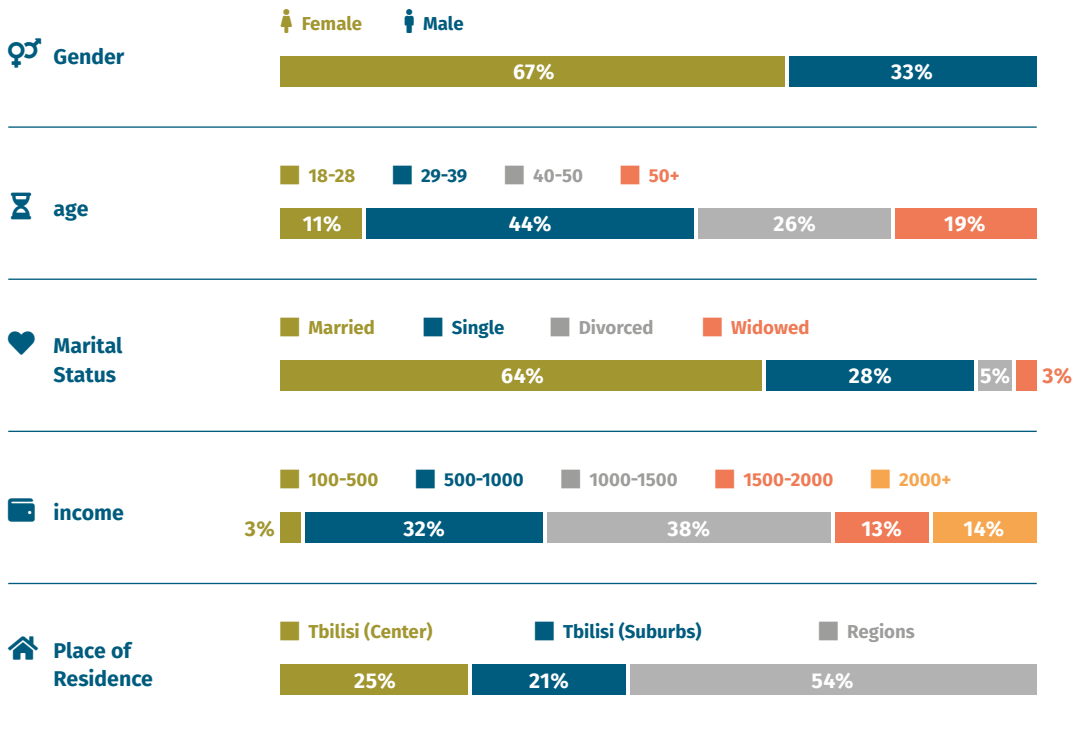
Results of Quantitative Research (Online Survey)

A total of 1,010 civil servants participated in the quantitative survey aimed at identifying potential gender related differences in the course of career development at civil service.

The questionnaire was designed for conducting the quantitative research aimed at identifying gender, age, marital status, monthly income and place of residence of the respondents, which helped to evaluate the impact of these demographic variables on the survey results.

According to the survey results, 67% of the participant civil servants were female. The majority of the respondents fell within the age group of 29-39, 64% of whom were married. The monthly income received by most of the survey participants (38%) fluctuated from GEL 1,000 to GEL 1,500. The ratio of the respondents with income ranging from GEL 500 to GEL 1,000 was also high (32%). Most of the respondents (46%) lived in Tbilisi (including 25% in the city center and 21% in the suburbs), while the remaining 54% were distributed within nine regions of Georgia.

Figure 2 Demographic indicators of the survey participants

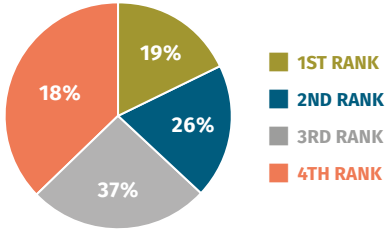


The questionnaire also aimed at ascertaining the ranks and years of civil service experience of the respondents. During the survey, 67 respondents did not indicate their rank (due to the lack of a relevant ranking system in a particular institution). Subsequently, the data on the ranks of civil servants was analyzed based on the responses of 942 participants.

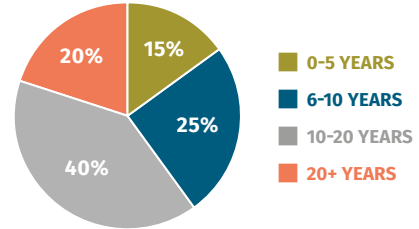
According to the survey results, 19% of respondents were first rank civil servants, 26% - second, 37% - third, and 18% - fourth. Most of the respondents (40%) had been working at civil service from 6 to 10 years, 25% - from 0 to 5 years, 20% - from 10 to 20 years, and the remaining 15% had more than 20 years of experience at civil service.

Figure 3 Distribution of research participants by ranks and years of service

Number of participants by the rank at civil service



Number of participants by the years of experience at civil service



As it has already been mentioned above, the quantitative survey results aimed at identifying potential gender related differences in the course of career development at civil service are presented below in three main thematic directions.

Survey Results on Working Conditions and Environment

Responses on the questions regarding the working conditions and environment at the civil service are not uniform. For example, 64% of civil servants surveyed believe that women are more satisfied with their job conditions than men. However, 65% believe that women experience more stress and difficulties at civil service.

Figure 4 Satisfaction with civil service vs stress

Which gender is more satisfied with his/her employment, remuneration, conditions?



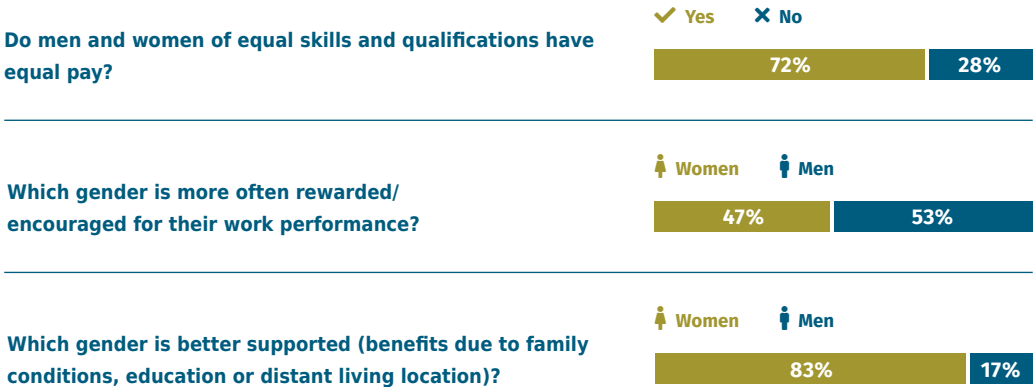
Which gender experiences more stress and difficulties at civil service?



Majority of the respondents - 72% share the opinion that men and women of equal professional qualifications and skills receive equal pay, while 53% think that men are better encouraged/rewarded for their work.

83% believe that women are better supported in terms of benefits at civil service (linked with family conditions, education or distant living location).

Figure 5 Attitudes toward salary, material and non-material incentives



Responses of male and female survey participants regarding working conditions and environment were highly contrasting. For example, 67% of women surveyed believe that men are better encouraged/rewarded for their work at civil service, while 76% of men surveyed are of the opposing opinion.

73% of women believe that women at civil service are more likely to experience stress and discomfort at work than men. Only 49% of men share this opinion.

Figure 6 Attitudes of men and women towards material incentives and stress at work

Which gender is better rewarded/encouraged for their work performance?



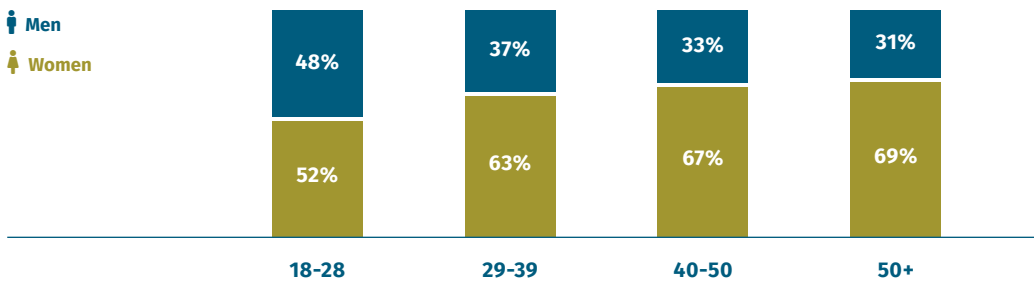
Which gender is more likely to experience stress and discomfort at civil service?



The survey analysis by age group showed that the respondents of higher age groups are more likely to believe that women are more satisfied with their work conditions, wages, etc. Namely, 52% of respondents falling within the age group of 18-28 share the opinion, while 69% those 50 and older believe that.

Figure 7 Satisfaction with job, salary and work conditions by age group

Are women more satisfied with their job, salary and work conditions, or men?



The largest differences among the respondents are demonstrated by the questions regarding the gender-based differences in income, incentives and other employment conditions. For instance, 46% of respondents with 100-1,000 GEL income find that women are better rewarded than men. The figure equals to 61% among the respondents with an income of 2,000 GEL and above. 57% of the respondents earning up to 1,000 GEL per month believe that women are more satisfied with their employment conditions, including salaries. 74% of respondents with more than 2,000 GEL income per month share the opinion.

We should assume that one of the factors contributing to the differences in attitudes between the low-income respondents and those receiving more than GEL 2,000 per month, is the high ratio of men within the group of better paid respondents. Namely, in the group of respondents receiving GEL 1,000 or less per month, the share of men was only 22%, while in the group of respondents receiving more than GEL 2,000 per month, the share of men was 51%.

Figure 8 Attitudes towards material incentives by income

Are women better rewarded/encouraged for their work, or men?

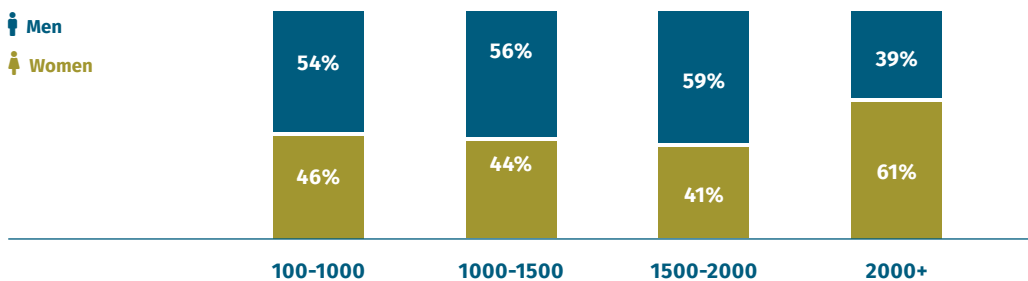
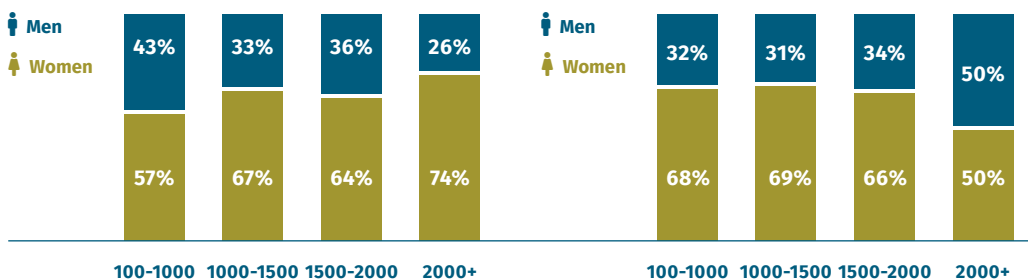


Figure 9 Satisfaction with job, salary and work conditions and work related stress by income

Are women more satisfied with their jobs, salaries and work conditions, or men?

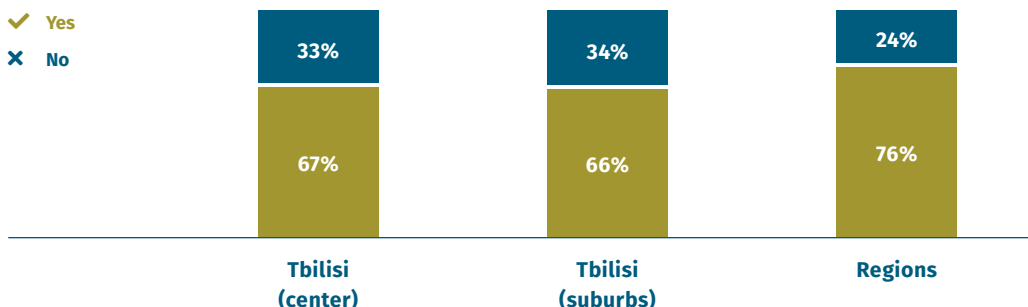
Which gender is more likely to experience stress and difficulties?



According to the survey, 76% of civil servants in the regions believe that men and women of equal qualifications have equal pay. These figures are about 10% higher than the ones in the center of Tbilisi and its suburbs.

Figure 10 Attitudes towards male and female remuneration by place of residence

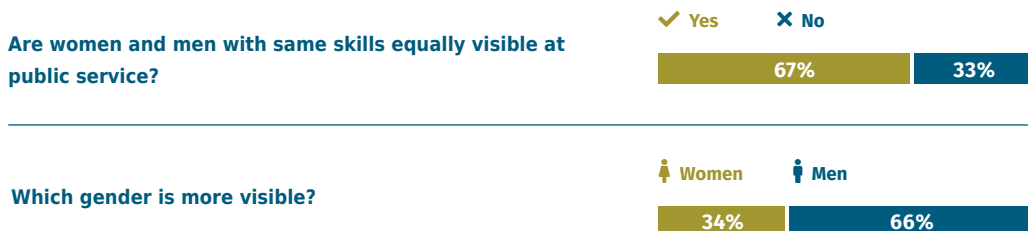
Do women and men of equal qualification and skill receive equal pay?



Survey Results on Visibility and Powers of Civil Servants

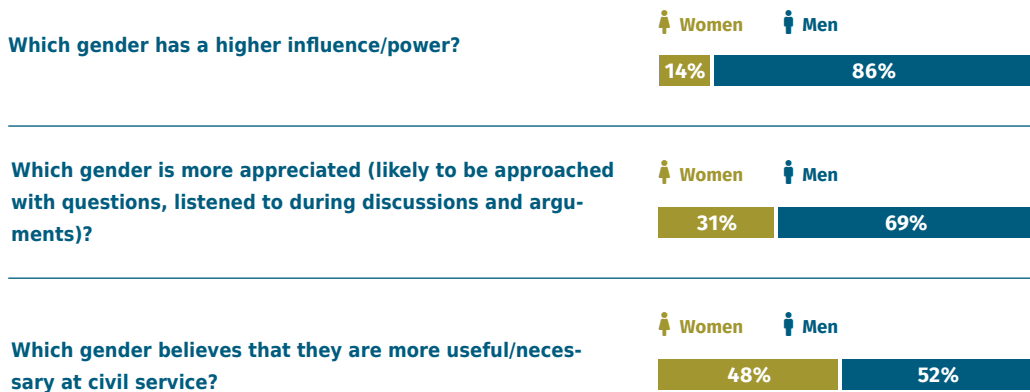
According to the results of the quantitative survey, 67% of the respondents believe that women and men with the same skills are equally visible at civil service. Out of the respondents who disagree with the opinion of the equality between men and women, **66% find that under the conditions of the same skills and professional qualifications men are more visible.**

Figure 11 Attitudes towards the visibility of women and men



The vast majority of the respondents (86%) believe that men have higher influence/powers, while **69%** believe that men are more appreciated at the workplace, in particular, they are more likely to be approached with questions, listened to during discussions and arguments, etc.

Figure 12 Attitudes towards the influence and power of women and men



Taking into consideration the results of the questions above, **the majority of the respondents (79%) believe that Georgian civil service is more men-centered than female-centered.**

Figure 13 Gender at Georgian civil service

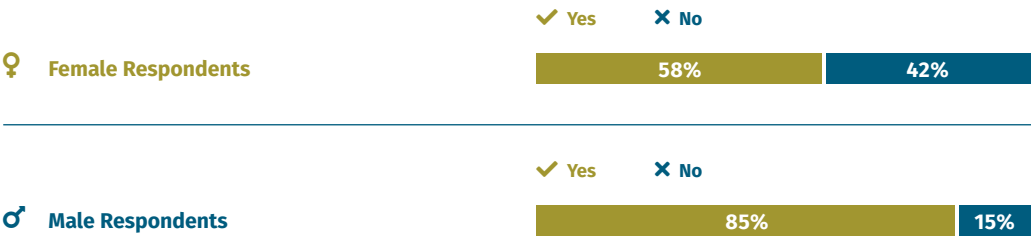


It is noteworthy that **an equal percentage of women and men (79%) surveyed noted that Georgian civil service is more men-centered than female-centered.** Moreover, for instance, 87% of women and 84% of men surveyed believe that men at civil service have more influence than women. 73% of women and 60% of men find that male civil servants are more appreciated (approached for feedback, listened to during discussions and arguments, etc.) than women.

Regardless of the coherence of attitudes on a number of issues, the results on various questions demonstrate a significant difference in opinions due to gender. For example, 85% of men think that women and men of the same qualifications are equally visible in civil service, while only 58% of women share the opinion. Moreover, out of the civil servants giving a negative response, 53% of men believe that women are more visible, while 73% of women believe that men are more visible.

Figure 14 Attitudes towards equal visibility of women and men

Are women and men with same skills equally visible at civil service?

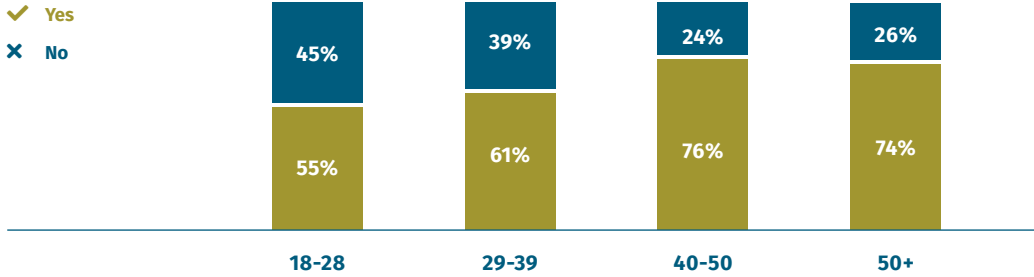


Within the age group of 18-28, as little as 45% of the respondents believe that women and men with the same qualifications are equally visible at civil service. The figure increases up to 76% within the age group of 40-50 and equals 74% within the respondents aged 50 and over.

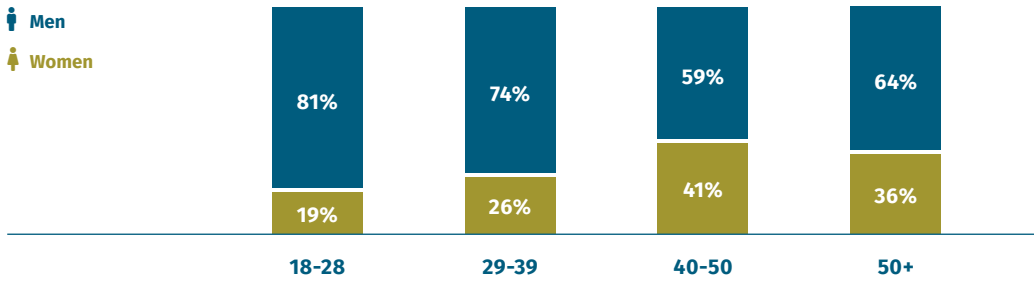
Similar trends among age groups are also observed on issues such as the appreciation of civil servants based on gender, their self-esteem and other similar factors. For example, 81% of the respondents within the age group of 18-28 believe that men are more likely to be approached with questions, listened to during discussions and arguments, and therefore are more appreciated than women, while only 59% of the respondents within the age group of 40-50 share the opinion.

Figure 15 Attitudes towards equal visibility, appreciation and necessity of women and men by age group Do women find themselves more useful or men?

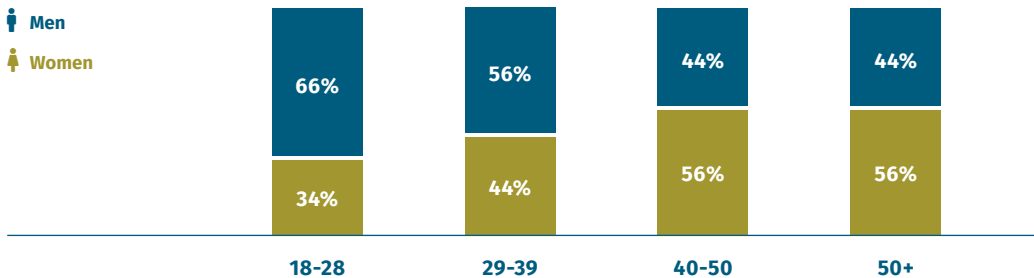
Are women and men with same qualifications equally visible at civil service?



Do women find themselves more useful or men?



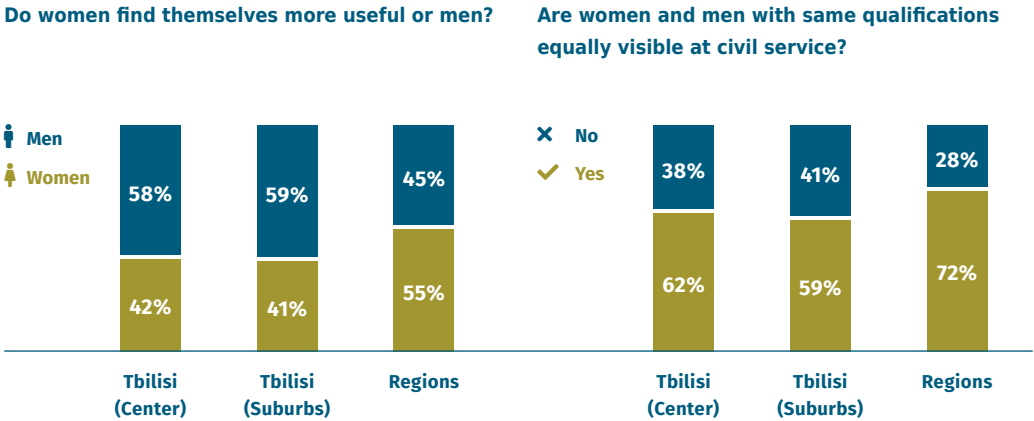
Are women more visible then men at civil service?



In most of the cases, the differences in attitudes by place of residence are insignificant. In some cases, however, regional indicators provide less information about the existing gender-driven differences regarding the visibility and powers of women and men at civil service. For example, 58% of respondents from the central of Tbilisi and 59% of suburban residents believe that men find themselves more useful at civil service. This figure falls to 45% among the residents from the other regions.

72% of the residents in the regions believe that men and women are equally visible at civil service. The figure is approximately 10% higher compared to the central and suburbs of Tbilisi.

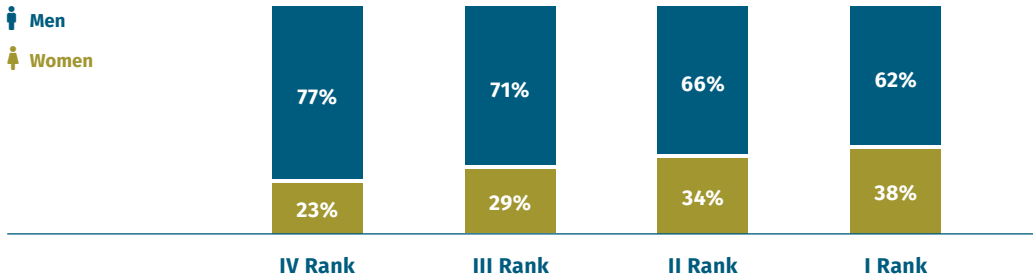
Figure 16 Attitudes toward the appreciation and necessity of women and men by place of residence



Data analysis, according to the ranks of civil servants demonstrates that with rise in rank respondents are less likely to believe that men are more valued than women at civil service. For example, 77% of fourth-grade civil servants state that male civil servants are more appreciated (approached for feedback, listening to during discussions, etc.). The rate gradually decreases with the rise in rank and equals to 62% among the first rank civil servants.

Figure 17 Attitudes towards the appreciation of women and man by rank

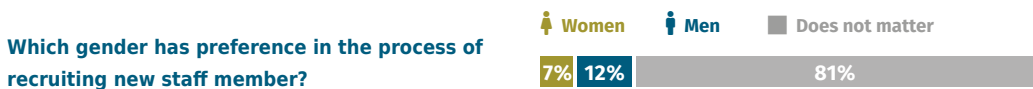
Are women civil servants better appreciated (likely to be approached with questions, listened to during discussions) or men?



Survey Results on Career Success

The majority of the questions designed for the purposes of identifying gender related potential differences at civil service did not give the respondents a possibility to demonstrate neutral positions. In particular, survey participants had to identify one of the genders in relation to the practices implemented at civil service. In this regard, one of the exceptions was the question related to the recruitment at civil service, aimed at ascertaining which gender is more likely to be employed. A large majority (81%) of the respondents noted that the gender of a candidate did not affect the process. Out of the remaining 19%, 12% believe that men have the preference, while 7% believe that there is a bias towards women.

Figure 18 Attitudes towards gender bias in the process of recruitment



In the case of the other questions, where respondents had to identify gender based attitudes, the results demonstrate the advantage of men in the process of building a career at civil service. In particular, **71%** of respondents believe that men succeed faster in their careers. While the advantage of men in career is accepted, **70% of the respondents believe that women possess more theoretical knowledge necessary for achieving success in their careers.**

Figure 19 Attitudes towards the practice and knowledge of career success



According to the results of the survey, the attitudes of female and male respondents regarding career success are mostly consistent. For example, 73% of women and 67% of men believe that male civil servants succeed faster on their career paths. However, the figures are different regarding the theoretical knowledge on career success. In particular, 79% of women and only 51% of men believe that women have more theoretical knowledge than men on career success.

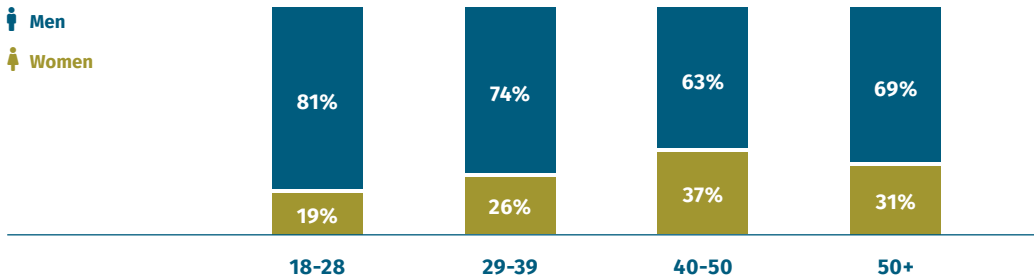
Figure 20 Theoretical knowledge on career success by gender



Analysis of the survey results by age groups demonstrates that there is a higher percentage of attitudes confirming gender differences in the process of career development at civil service among younger respondents. For example, 81% of the respondents within the age group of 18-28 years believe that male civil servants succeed faster in their career paths than female civil servants. The figure falls to 74% within the age group of 29-39 and to 63% within the age group of 40-50 years.

Figure 21 The speed of career success by gender

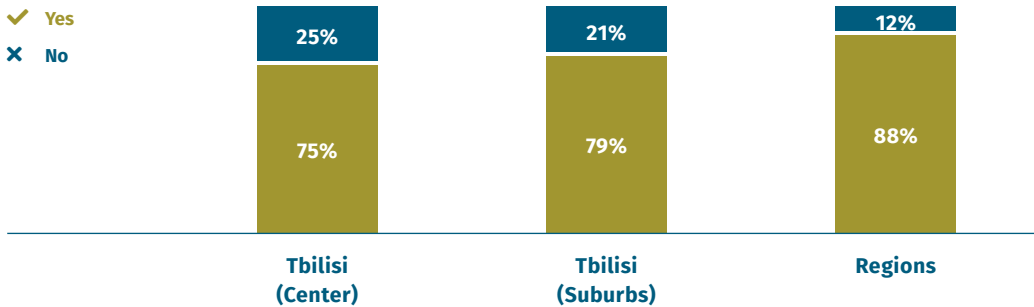
Civil servants of which gender succeed faster in their careers?



Data analysis by place of residence demonstrates that a higher ratio of civil servants living in regions (88%) believe that they have theoretical knowledge on career success. This figure equals to 79% among the respondents residing in the suburbs of Tbilisi and to 75% among the residents residing in the center of Tbilisi.

Figure 22 Theoretical knowledge on career success by place of residence

Do you have theoretical knowledge on career success?

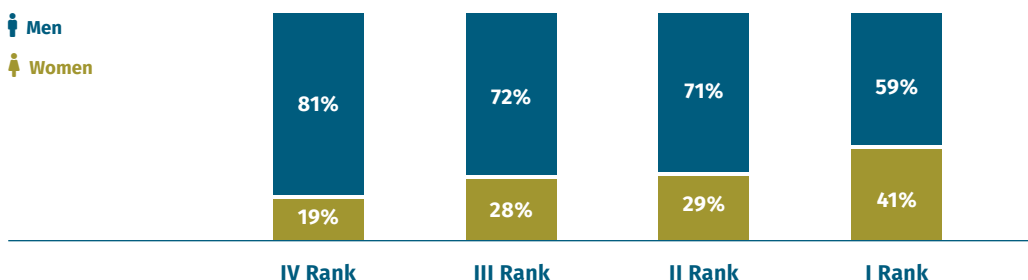


The results of the survey demonstrate that on multiple occasions the rise of rank and years of service have a proportional effect on the percentage of the results obtained. In particular, as the rank and years of service increase, the coherence between the responses of female and male civil servants rises. However, the rank has a higher effect on these results compared to the years of service.

For example, 81% of fourth-rank civil servants stress that men succeed faster on their career paths. This rate decreases gradually with the increase in rank and falls to 59% among the first rank civil servants. The same position is demonstrated by 73% of respondents with five years of experience at civil service, which gradually decreases with the increase of years of service and falls to 63% among the civil servants with more than 20 years of experience.

Figure 23 Speed of career success by rank

Civil servants of which gender succeed faster on their career paths?



The questionnaire also aimed at identifying attitudes of the respondents towards the effectiveness of the career development system and incentives of civil service. It is noteworthy that according to survey results, civil servants believe that the current career development system is more ineffective than effective. Specifically, only 6% of the respondents found that career development at civil service is very effective, 26% - effective, 34% - neither effective nor ineffective, 22% - ineffective and 12% considered the system very ineffective.

69% of the respondents believe that the main output of success at civil service is personal growth, 64% believe that it is improvement of skills, 53% - contribution to society, 42.3% - independence, 40.5% - relationship with peers and colleagues, 17, 8% - money and possessions, and the lowest ration of 15.8% believe that success brings control over the environment and the future.

Figure 24 Effectiveness of career development system

To what degree is the career development system at civil service effective?

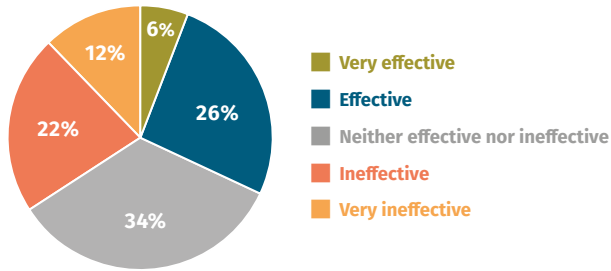
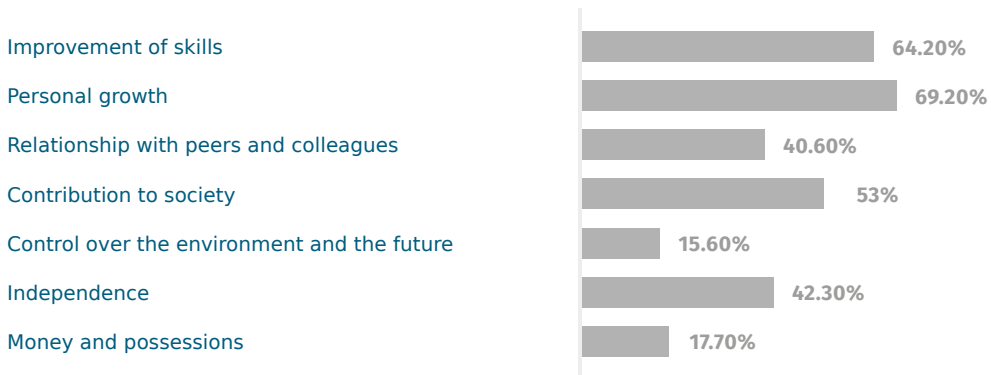


Figure 25 Outputs of career success

What are the main outputs of career success?



civil servants living in the regions are less critical towards the career development system at civil service. Namely, as little as 25% of residents in the regions consider the career development system at civil service as ineffective or highly ineffective. In the case of Tbilisi, the figure equals to 42% among the residents of the center and to 50% among the residents from suburbs.

Results of the Qualitative Research

The interpretations of the results received as a result of the qualitative research and their analysis cannot be generalized to the full civil service in Georgia. The qualitative research analysis is based on the opinions of 26 respondents²¹ and can only be theoretically generalized. Even though the issues discussed and interpreted here may be widely spread in the social world, we are unable to state that with confidence. The qualitative information aimed at complementing and diversifying the information generated as a result of the quantitative survey.

For the purposes of the qualitative research, we divided respondents according to their sex, age, geographic and social origin. In doing so, we aimed to take into consideration the role of intersectionality²² in the process of gender related order construction within the social world, and in particular within the Georgian civil service.

Based on the age we divided respondents into the following groups: 18-38 (young), 39-50, (adult) and 51+ (elderly) respondents;²³

Based on geographic origin, we divided respondents into the following groups: Tbilisi (center), Tbilisi (suburb) and regions;

²¹ The focus group data was used to develop a semi-structured questionnaire for in-depth interviews and a structured questionnaire for online survey, thus the findings and the interpretations of the qualitative research were based on the data collected through in-depth interviews.

²² The understanding of identity, which recognizes the existence of multiple and simultaneous intersections of identity. This approach does not perceive identity in a cumulative form (e.g. woman + lesbian + black = more discriminated than woman + lesbian), rather sees them in combinations. These combinations assign individuals specific social positions, which may include limitations as well as privileges, Introduction to LGBT Psychology, Editors: Shorena Gabunia, Irakli Vacharadze; NGO Indentoba, Tbilisi, 2013, pg. 408; 20 SM - Dictionary, pg. 384-408.

²³ The life-path model developed by Giddens is used: childhood, adolescence, youth, adulthood, old age. Since no children or adolescents are employed at civil service we used the last three stages in the process of categorizing respondents.

Based on social origin, we divided the respondents into three social classes: elite, middle class and basic class (people).²⁴

The necessity of grouping respondents into different categories emerged after conducting qualitative research, in-depth interviews and data analysis, as the narrative analysis of interviews revealed that respondents coming from different social, geographical backgrounds and on different stages of life development had contrasting opinions on various topics of the research. These differences apply to 26 respondents only and may not represent the social reality in civil service at all, however, **the data obtained from quantitative research and the qualitative in-depth interviews are fully in line and complement each other.** A difference was identified regarding a single topic only: according to quantitative research civil service is more male-centered, while according to qualitative research civil service is more female-centered.

After analyzing and interpreting the qualitative data, we identified a number of main findings which may characterize the Georgian civil service:

- » During the research young, adult and elderly respondents were identified based on age and only elite, middle and basic classes were identified based on social origin.²⁵

²⁴ The social ranking model of post-soviet countries developed by Mikhalev is used, according to which during the transitional period the following social classes emerged in the post-soviet countries: **1. Elites:** Influential citizens emerging from nomenclatura and those who have collected significant capital during the chaotic transitional period and have thus gained significant influence in politics; **2. Middle Class:** Those citizens who possess means of production, manage labor, have education and qualification. E.g. entrepreneurs, managers and professionals belong to the middle class, which according to Goldthorpe constitute the service/entrepreneurial class. These citizens are placed in the middle of elites and the basic class; **3. Basic Class (People):** Wage workers, mainly employed at civil service or at privatized enterprises. People dependent on wage. Teachers, lower rank administrative workers, engineers, nurses, blue-collar workers, craftsmen, peasants and retirees. Their income is slightly higher than the basic minimum. The mostly used strategy is to retain a job at a factory, state entity, or try to work at non-formal economy. Taxi drivers, street entrepreneurs etc.; and lastly **4. Poor (socially deprived):** This class is composed of socially vulnerable groups: pensioners, single elderly, socially vulnerable families, people with disabilities, transgender women and men (people of this social class were not included in the survey. It might be the case that they are not employed at civil service, or were not among those who civil servants who participated in the survey).

²⁵ Generally there is a particularly low level of LGBT and people with disabilities' employment at civil service. There was low probability of the Poor social class representatives participating in the survey, since being categorized as Poor is highly dependent on the employment status. This can be seen as a social event or as a peculiarity of the study.

- » Respondents with academic education in gender sociology spoke more in depth on gender differences and possible inequalities in their career paths compared to the respondents with no such background;
- » Gender related inequalities at civil service are not evident for male respondents;
- » Apart from the inability to notice inequalities, men completely denied the existence of gender bias when interviewees discussed specific examples of gender inequalities at civil service with them. Male respondents noted that gender differences are absent in the process of recruitment, promotion and motivation and an individual is successful if he/she is a hard-working professional.
- » According to the survey, male respondents have a positive²⁶ perception of gender differences between the careers of men and women at civil service. They perceive certain aspects in the way they experience them. If they are not oppressed within their social practices, they believe that no one is. They witness that a man is more successful than a woman and thus conclude their analysis. Women civil servants of elite classes coming from the center of Tbilisi tend to perceive events positively as well. Gender inequality is invisible to them. One of the female civil servant respondents stressed that there is no gender inequality in the country, dwelling from the fact that her mother drove a car in her 60s. She added that there were only three women drivers in Tbilisi during those times. She perceived the world from her own perspective and did not realize that most of the women have been drivers for a short period of time and the majority of the females from basic class still lack powers and emancipation, thus they have no driving experience.
- » Only a single male respondent who could be characterized as an example of non-hegemonic, more subordinate masculinity (originating from the region, young male of basic class) shared the opinion that there could be an invisible gender practice at civil service which creates inequalities for one of the genders.
- » The majority of female respondents, unlike men, have heard about Georgian gender legislation and NGOs working on the rights of women. Out of the female re-

²⁶ Bob Connell in his “Social Organization of Masculinity” offers several definitions of masculinity, one of them is a positivist understanding, according to which: “Masculinity is the attribute that men actually represent. Masculine pattern within a patriarchal society; Masculinity as such”.

spondents those from middle or basic class backgrounds, coming from the suburbs of Tbilisi or regions, demonstrated higher gender awareness and sensitivity. As it has already been mentioned above, gender inequalities at civil service are invisible for the women of elite class coming from the center of Tbilisi.

Historical Experience/Ideology

In addition to the general findings of the study, the analysis of qualitative data revealed so-called **invisible cultural practices**, which may be affecting gender related order and relevant inequality at civil service. These practices were combined under the notion of historical experience and ideology.

Invisible Cultural Practices

The Law of Georgia on civil service calls on state institutions to create a non-discriminatory environment for civil servants. Georgia is a party of the UN and other international conventions on the protection of women's rights. In addition, the state has adopted laws on gender equality and the elimination of all forms of discrimination. However, in-depth interviews demonstrated that there are invisible **cultural practices** at civil service which construct gendered and socially unequal working environments. Subsequently, **customary rules** are developed which may be the key factors in shaping gender perceptions and result in unequal practices. As one female respondent noted:



The approach is most easily evident in the case of inheritance. Although the topic is regulated by law, it is incompatible with cultural practices. The cultural practice stands stronger here since there is no civil society. Therefore, one might think that men and women have equal claims on inheritance, however, in practice men are the ones receiving an inheritance in most of the cases.²⁷
(Female, 37 years old, young, originating from the region, basic social class).

²⁷ The original conversation style of the respondent is preserved in the report.

According to the narrative of female respondents, similar is the case when it comes to civil service. Even though the issue is well regulated in law, there are invisible cultural practices that allow for the re-emergence of inequality. Below we will discuss those invisible customs and cultural practices which may be the cause of the conservation of unequal practices at civil service.

Invisible Gender Hierarchy

During the course of the research we identified an event that can be referred to as an **invisible gender hierarchy** among the civil servants of similar positions. A man always stands higher in the hierarchy than a woman. According to one of the respondents:



In any case, a man is in a better position. Take the territory, a woman has to visit him when they have a common task to accomplish, a woman is always a service provider. However, most of the work has to be done by a woman. Context, text, typing, editing, work on a specific document, and a man should evaluate, comment on it. A man is seemingly better in the component of the evaluation.
(Female, 37 years old, young, originating from the region, basic social class).

The hierarchy referred to in the respondent's quote may be the result of existing customs and practices in Georgian society - the historical experience that perceives a woman as an object, and man as a subject. According to the respondents' narrative, this practice pushes women to reserve themselves during civil service (when she constantly receives complaints and is criticized for her work, she admits that she is incompetent and needs to stay silent during important discussions. Consequently, instead of putting herself forwards she reserves her opinions which hinders her career development. In contrast, men are perceived as supervisors, with an active role, those who give corrections, which places him as a frontrunner and facilitates his career development). We come across the similar invisible gender hierarchy in the respondents' narrative, which extends to young men of basic social class, coming from regions and having no powers conferred to them by social groups. Adult men of elite or middle social class, coming from Tbilisi stand on the top of the invisible gender hierarchy (influenced by social and geographic origins), while women from regions and the suburbs of Tbilisi as well as young men from the regions are placed below them.

The qualitative research suggests, that if a male or a female of the basic social class does not accept complaints and finds that their author is incompetent, then he or she must leave their job and disappear from a particular area, or as an alternative puts up with the complaints and may even be promoted. This issue will be discussed more in detail below.

Invisible Social Origins, Gender Identity (Femininity) and Age - in Georgian Civil Service

The qualitative research found that the majority of the successful female respondents with basic social class backgrounds agree that their social origin (lack of social capital) added to their gender identity – being a woman, were the reasons for their oppression at public and private service, particularly at a young age. One of the respondents recalled that she was oppressed by the head of a department. Along with being a project manager she was asked to fulfill the function of a janitor merely because she was a young woman from basic social class:



What bad will it do to you if you sweep the floor a bit, he would tell me, while at the same time being friendly and positive with poor guys. He would never tell them to sweep the floor or take over the functions of a janitor.

(Female, 37 years old, young, originating from the region, basic social class).

As the respondent herself points out, this approach comes cultural expectations, according to which women are cleaning ladies at civil service. The head of the department might have asked men from basic social class to take up the responsibilities of a driver, but not cleaning. Cleaning/housekeeping are the basic expectations, the gender roles placed upon a young woman of basic social class and through this path it sometimes transforms into the work environment. A woman of an elite class background might not be the subject of these expectations, as her roles and social background do not include housekeeping.

Theoretical Outcomes of the Qualitative Research

In addition to the general findings, the so called invisible cultural practices, historical experience and ideology, qualitative data, similar to quantitative data, was grouped into three main directions. Theoretical implications and interpretations dwelling from each of them are discussed below.

Working Conditions and Environment

Gender of Promotion, Motivation and Rise in Remuneration

According to the majority of female respondents participating in the qualitative research, the work performed by men at civil service is more appreciated through verbal appraisal and acknowledgement of the work, than similar tasks accomplished by women. **This observation is in line with the findings of the quantitative research.**

Regarding the promotion and consequently the rise of remuneration, as the types of incentives, the female respondents stressed that in the past men received promotion and salary rise more often, as they were seen as the ones financially supporting their families and were subject to higher expectations in the eyes of society. However, according to the same respondents, this has become a rarity. The approach that “men should have a higher salary as he has to carry the family on his shoulders,” is slowly being eliminated within the Georgian civil service. However, the stance of one of the male respondents on this topic is worth noting:



Since men have historically been family supporters, there are high expectations towards them. If we want men in civil service and want them to be motivated, we may think that what is included in almost every rule of conduct, but is rarely used at all, forms of material incentives, they are absolutely ignored, at most it is used in the form of bonuses, but if I come up with a good idea and implement it, you have to issue some kind of an act and encourage it, especially when men are distinguished by such global thinking. In my opinion, women are more focused on local issues and see them well, if a man gives us an idea that has brought success to an organization, why don't we encourage men.

(Male, 55 years old, originating from the region, basic social class).



According to this narrative, the opinion of female respondent is that men no longer pay rise, through their promotion for the purposes of relieving the social pressure placed on them may not be applicable to some male civil servants. As we have seen, the male respondent even justified the phenomenon of gender pay incentives, based on the myth of a family supporter.

Along with the encouragement of men at civil service, female respondents within focus groups as well as during in-depth interviews indicated that their supervisors at civil service pushed them to develop a sense of incompetence through constant criticism and humiliation:



You are not good for anything else! For some time you do believe you are not capable for anything else, you are a loser, you cannot do more, and you stop, someone might not stop, but me, I have believed that I could not do anything else, I had no experience and age too. Now that I have gone some way, I would not believe it anymore. Now I know exactly what I know and what I don't know, I don't need to be told by someone. Is it harder to bully elderly women? It depends on bullying. It's not linked with age but with experience. It could happen to me now too, but it's less probable.

(Female, 28 years old, young age group, from Tbilisi (suburbs), middle class).

After such treatment, women may lose courage (or continue to develop low self-esteem due to their social background and gender identity). They are saying that they are not afraid of losing their job when they refrain from expressing their opinion, they are more afraid of being taken as incompetent. *"I am not scared to get fired when I protest, I am more afraid of, now that I am protesting this, am I competent for this? Does my opinion matter?". Does my mind weigh? "* (female, 28 years old, young age group, from Tbilisi, middle class).

According to one of the female respondents, men are braver and can use such arguments during debates, which they themselves do not believe to be clear or true. *"To step back, because I'm not sure whether I'm competent or not, man are braver in this regard"* (female, 35 years old, young, from Tbilisi, (suburbs), middle class).

According to one of the respondents, aging and work experience in a particular area can help a female civil servant to build up courage and be confident in her abilities. It turns out that can be an important variable when it comes to the experience of female respondents:



Women are shy, at the beginning when I was just starting to work here, and when I look back and compare, it is so different, now I laugh about my past. I've been working here for 15 years. At first, I thought however confident I was that I was acting correctly, thinking correctly I still had the feeling, if I don't put it right, what if someone takes it in the wrong way, what is someone laughs, but now I have reevaluated so much and so well-argumenta, I don't know, it must be the experience that brings it.

(Woman, 40 years old, adult, originating from the regions, middle class).

Gender of Harassment/Punishment/Receiving Complaints and Tolerating Them

Analysis of the in-depth interviews indicates that punitive feedback and public notices are only received by women or young men and never by adult men. It is evident that there is a practice of publicly giving/ not giving notices that has its gender and age. It turned out that male supervisors or male heads of departments openly quarreled and complained to young civil servant women of basic social class. There are also cases of punching tables and psychological harassment, however same supervisors are more careful when giving complaints to male civil servants or quarrelling with them. This is where invisible cultural practices come to face, where men are treated with dignity and should therefore not be publicly humiliated, while women are considered to have "no dignity." Power is subjective – you harass someone who signs to it by virtue of an invisible cultural practice. According to the narrative of female respondents, it all comes from a gender order which teaches women, not men, to be patient. A woman is supposed to accept insults, the supervisor knows it and insults her, while a man should not tolerate it, as it is against his dignity, thus the supervisor does not quarrel with men. It turns out that everyone knows in advance who will be oppressed and who will tolerate oppression. According to one of the respondents, a man can also be patient if he is not originally from Tbilisi, is young or has acquired feminine traits during initial socialization and has low self-esteem, just like women. For example, he is not physically strong, does not find himself competent and so on.



Since a man is physically stronger and may have a stronger voice, somehow, he is more likely to win in that way, while a woman is not allowed to yell or punch a table. In one of the LEPLs I remember the director used to punch tables, but women tolerated it.

(Women, 35 years old, young, originating from the region, basic social class).

The common vision of the men surveyed, according to which it is mostly stressful for them to receive public complaints in the presence of the others, is sufficient to confirm the above-described opinions.



Unfair notice/notices which have no basis, unsubstantiated situational remarks in the presence of the others, cause distress of male staff members, individually and collectively. It is better if he lets you know separately in writing or in person and calmly explains his concern. In the opposite case a conflict arises.

(Man, 38 years old, young, from Tbilisi, middle class).

One of the male respondents, in addition to sharing the opinion that publicly giving notices to men is problematic, also stressed that it would be particularly painful for him to receive a public notice from a woman supervisor. Thus, neither man nor women supervisors are allowed to give notices to male employees. A man should be unmistakable in the public eye.



Each society has its own values and I think that in our case masculine dignity is not a subject of definition and when individuals are employed as top-level or middle-level managers, they should know that they should never publicly question the dignity of men. This may include suggesting that he is useless. Public reproach can be necessary but in no way in a public form, this negatively affects dignity, then he is distressed and generally plans to leave job straight away.

(Male, 55 years old, originating from the regions, middle class).

The gender of patience is yet another probable cultural practice on the career path of civil servants. During the reach, most of the women surveyed stressed that they were patient while receiving notices, being victims of oppression, humiliation, but not with the purpose of achieving success, but rather to avoid being fired and disappearing from the civil service space.



A woman has to tolerate – if you express protest, it will be seen negatively – women will be fired

(Female, 35 years old, young, originating form region, basic social class).

During the study, it was ascertained that, as in the case of family life, women and men can have certain gender roles at civil service too, based on which predetermined expectations are built. For example, women – patient, hard-working, silent; men – conflicting, aggressive, giving notices and loud.



Knowing that a woman has to be scared, I put up with the gender role, even if I protest, it has no continuation, you have to leave. What difference would it make if I protest? It might have some result, but for me, the outcome would be losing the job, protest does have an outcome. Patience becomes your strategy, what else do women have left? Stepping back. The strategy is stepping back

(Female, 35 years old, young, originating form region, basic social class).

Based on the research it is evident that a married woman may be more obedient in civil service, compared to unmarried. A woman emancipated in/from her family is emancipated at civil service as well, while a woman raised according to the values of old/traditional gender order is obedient in civil service too, and tailors herself to the role of an object.

Once again it should be noted that the data obtained as a result of analyzing qualitative information and their interpretation apply to survey respondents only and it is not the purpose of the study to generalize them.

Gender of Family/Family Support

Interpretation of the information gathered during the qualitative research, namely the narrative of one of the respondents, showed that regardless of how much higher a wife stands in her career, no matter how much more she earns and regardless of how 'westernized/progressive' her husband is, if she is raised based on gender socialization, then in her marriage as well she experiences/accepts unequal gender hierarchy, according to which the work of a husband is more valued and a man requires more rest and support than a woman because having work is more important for a man than a woman.

In addition, family as an obstacle on a career path, applies to women only and not to men. According to the respondent women, they face numerous obstacles in the process of pregnancy and child-care, since they are not sufficiently supported by the family or work. They realize, that after marriage and childbirth chances of their career advancement are decreased, as they are obliged to devote more time to the family and less time to work, due to the gender roles placed upon them. This could be the result of gender ideology referred to in the literature review.



If I didn't have a family, I could have done more, could have been more active, the family held me back a bit, being on maternity leave, feeling weak, a man is more independent physically. The main source of distress for a woman is her reproductive abilities. a man is more independent in that regard

(Female, 35 years old, coming from Tbilisi (suburbs), basic social class).

In contrast with other gender-based inequalities, pregnancy and the reproductive role is an obvious problem for the women of the elite class coming from Tbilisi as well.



Since I can't relax at home I learnt to think during the action, I got well-trained, civil service is not flexible or tailored to the needs of women, for instance letting her work from home

(Female, 45 years old, adult, coming from Tbilisi, elite social class).

Visibility and Power

Gender of Visibility

A number of interesting observations regarding visibility were made in the process of the survey: even if a woman has contributed more to the process of developing a product, man is still the one with the role of presenting the product to the audience.



If a man has presentation skills, they prefer a man to do so. A woman is a presenter only if a man has no presentation skills, or he personally refuses to do the presentations

(Female, 37 years old, young, originating from regions, basic social class).

As it has already been mentioned above, civil servants play with gender roles. Core expectations are crucial. Thus women seem to automatically avoid being exceptional and showing themselves, they try to avoid being subjects and prefer to contribute to the life of civil service from the back stage: *“we play with gender roles and this is why we forget being visible, we prefer to be silent and do our job in this way”* (female, 37 years old, young, originating from regions, basic social class).

The narrative of the respondents surveyed during the research, confirms that in addition to the above-mentioned two factors, being noticed is also hampered by the fact that men are more perceived as public figures and thus they have to put less effort to be noticed, while women have to put double efforts to reach the goal.

It should be mentioned that stereotypical attitudes towards women’s behavior are pre-gendered. For example, one female respondent noted that her presentation skills were as good as writing skills, however, her male supervisor did not share the opinion:



One of my biggest concerns, which I have discussed with my male supervisor, is that he tried to make us (women) less noticed. The stuff under his supervision, including when you would work on a certain document, it would go out with his name and no one in the top management knew who worked on the document and so on.

(Female, 30 years old, young, coming from Tbilisi (suburbs), basic social class).

It should also be noted that according to the respondents' narrative, women are often given responsible tasks - working on important documents, producing texts on which main directions of civil service depend. Especially when they are promoted, but this is not proportional to the rise of their visibility. Senior-level female civil servants of basic and middle class unanimously indicate that the rise in their rank resulted in increased responsibilities rather than visibility.



She may be responsible for completing a task, but not visible, it will, by all means, be presented as someone else's. They don't find it hard to assign responsibility, but on the other hand, when it comes to visibility, they don't show her.

(Female, 35 years old, young, originating from the region, basic social class).

Gender of Power, Masculine Social Connections and Solidarity

Analysis of the data collected during in-depth interviews demonstrated that men at civil service may be friendlier to each other and more likely to empower each other, than women.



Boys establish social networks faster and are less afraid to lose a job. Women make friends with men and so do men. Plus, if you are bold enough and sociable, then especially...

(Female, 28 years old, from Tbilisi (suburb), basic social class).

The research demonstrates that men establish social connections more than women, as social networks with men bring results. This phenomenon is referred to in social sciences as masculine connections. According to the narrative of female respondents, the phenomenon of following the social circle of friends/supervisor to a new position is also mainly a male characteristic.



Among my acquaintances, I have only heard about the phenomenon of following a supervisor to a new job, among the guys, when, for instance, management has changed and someone accompanied someone else to a new job. They feel more comfortable working with old staff, they are pals already and everything is clear

(Female, 30 years old, young, from Tbilisi (suburb), basic social class).

The Gender of Feeling Responsible and Powerful

Female respondents believe that male managers at civil service only hold women responsible to complete tasks, but when it comes to taking credit, they do not allow them to. Thus, the argument that promotion and higher responsibilities also increase the powers and influence of women, might not be the reflection of reality.

The majority of women respondents stated that promotion does not bring them emancipation or the feeling of power. Rather the opposite, they find that promotion only increases their responsibilities:



I don't think I feel any power, rather more responsibilities, since a large direction is under my management, which isn't very easy and then, somehow many problems can emerge in the process. But I don't feel powerful.

(Female, 28 years old, young, from Tbilisi (suburbs) basic social class).

One of the respondents highlights that “being a manager was more stressful” since her responsibilities were increased and “since a woman has better work ethics and a higher feeling of responsibility and fault, she gets stressed more easily” (female 38 years old, young, from Tbilisi, basic social class). According to the respondents, the promotion of women and their emancipation is not directly proportional.

Female respondents highlight that in the case of men it is the opposite. After reaching the level of management they have less feeling of responsibility and fault. In fact it is the opposite, they fit the role of punishing and “looking from above”. As it has already been mentioned above, they start to give notices and fit in the role of a boss. In addition, according to the narrative of one of the respondents, the same is the case with women managers, they have less feeling of responsibility and fault if there are women and men under their management which originate from the regions of Georgia. This assumption in the narrative of the respondent might not be in line with reality.

Success in Career

The Gender of Success Timeline / The Gender of Being Satisfied with Employment

Based on the respondents' narrative, women at different stages of education show better academic achievements, but their development slows down and their path of success stops to counterpart their academic performance once they join the labor market. In addition, according to the respondents, there are no high expectations from families and society towards women to achieve success. This is another form of invisible social practice, thus women are less concerned about achieving success and are more satisfied with their employment. As a result, they feel less pressure and are more relaxed, but at the same time, this impedes their progress and development. The invisible social practice considers being with family and children to be the success for women.

Career Development, Knowledge on Career Development and Gender

According to the qualitative research, there is a low level of knowledge on career development within the civil service. The career path of civil servants seems to be unplanned and spontaneous, which is the result of external cultural order. The social network, parental influence, social background, gender identity and the practice of "obedience" demonstrated towards managers are the factors that can contribute to the career development of civil servants, along with knowledge.

Another interesting cultural practice that could be characteristic of the civil service is a constant indication of the managers and supervisors that civil servants should be grateful to be employed when the prospects of professional development and motivation of civil servants is not a subject of discussion at all. As indicated in the narrative of a female respondent, this can be the result of transformative Georgia and its massive unemployment in the 90s - "who cares about self-development, be grateful that you get money for food, some don't even have that".

In addition, according to the respondents, heads of departments, men as well as women, use the practice of aiming and letting employees know their place. The heads of departments or managers develop the fear that someone else will take over their positions, that someone will advance and because of this fear they constantly try to convince employees that they are not capable of doing more, “that no one is irreplaceable”. They are afraid of giving up the reins and thus the type of a “strict manager, constantly giving notices” is created, towards which the employed should have the feeling of gratitude. However, these are the results of qualitative data analysis and do not necessarily reflect the bigger picture of civil service.

Obedience, the Main Prerequisite of Success

The research found that obedience and self-loathing are far more effective in regard to promotion at civil service than competence and critical thinking. One of the basic social level respondent women recalls that, at a ministry, she used to work for a young woman head of a department was promoted, not because she was influential or powerful, but because she showed obedience towards the decision maker.

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There was this occasion when each managerial position at our entity except for the head of the department was vacant and the minister decided to interview us, the staff members. Then we were discussing the interviews among us right, I have a bit different manner of talk, I don't like compromising, I argued, don't know if the minister liked it or not, I disagreed on a number of topics, and then when the one who was appointed as a manager told us how her interview went, it turned out that they haven't discussed anything, except for that girl being from the region, while the minister was from Tbilisi, she self-pitied herself, showed herself to be obedient, her qualification was nearly the same as mine, not much difference I would say.

(Female, 30 years old, from Tbilisi (suburb), basic social class).

According to the respondent obedience, as a method of being likable has no gender and is equally applicable to male civil servants as well.

A Competent Woman of Critical Thinking from Basic Social Class Equals to a Fired Woman²⁸

Along with the analysis discussed above, new cultural practice emerged: If a competent, capable, and critical-thinking woman with no powers of an influential family is employed at civil service she experiences two events: first - frustration that she is no longer developing herself and has no support from the management and second - the will to leave civil service.



A competent woman expects to be promoted for a long period of time, then she gets tired of waiting and leaves civil service. You start to be ambitious because you already have enough knowledge and experience and they appoint a person on top of you, which has never worked in this area before, and doesn't have much knowledge, exactly because it was a matter of gender they put a man on top

(Female, 29 years old, young, from Tbilisi (suburb), basic social level).

In addition, competent women of basic social class, which become competent as a result of obedience to the system, learning and hard work, find it highly challenging to put up with chaotic and hectic management at civil service (one of the respondent women discussed the hectic management style at civil service, which resembles chaos). Thus, a competent, self-disciplined and organized female civil servant with critical thinking is equivalent to a fired civil servant.

Gender of Work Ethics/Writing Skills

Analysis of qualitative data demonstrates that female respondents find that male civil servants have poor work ethics and writing skills. Interestingly, male respondents agree with this opinion and confirm that women have better work ethics than men. According to the narrative of female respondents, while this should imply that women have greater competence and powers, in reality, it might be the case that their skills get women “locked in the room,” making them dependent on the work-space, which requires lots of time and energy. They have no time to meet or make friends with new

²⁸ As demonstrated by the qualitative research, men do not object to the “imperfections” of civil service, firstly because most of the problems are not evident to them and secondly because, according to female respondents’ they better adapt to “chaotic” environment.

people, which might have a negative effect on their career development, as it is based on social links and connections, instead of work and competence. “Incompetent” men, on the other hand, go out of the “working space,” with more possibilities to make new social connections, present themselves, gain more influence and success by broadening their social circle. As it has already been noted above, respondent men, agree with the opinion that women are better at writing and office work, through which they might be supporting the practice, which supports gender inequality at civil service. Thus, the social structure is formed: a woman at the desk and a man at the negotiation table, which help men rather than women to advance on their career paths.

One of the respondent women describes, how the male head of the department tried to convince her that she was better at writing and should have refrained from public presentations, through which he could have been discreetly hindering the career development of the female civil servant:



My supervisor was like that as well. He couldn't write well but found that he was good at public presentations. I disagreed and we constantly argued on the matter. I disagreed that, since I could write well, I had no presentation skills or something similar

(Female, 30 years old, young, from Tbilisi (suburb), basic social class).

Civil Service is Somewhat More “Feminine”, Men Go to Private Business

Based on the analysis of qualitative research, at first glance civil service is feminine. According to female respondents, civil service is more feminine, because women are more competent and they can successfully participate in competitions at civil service, men, if they are competent, they do not accept the salaries at civil service. In addition, according to the respondents, men may be more inclined to do business, since there is more money, power and appreciation there, compared to civil service.



Why is civil service more feminine? Because all the competitions I have participated in, boys did so as well, but they weren't successful, while girls were and most probably other guys, who could have successfully participated in the competition, they didn't come, because they wouldn't work for the salary
(Female, 30 years old, young, from Tbilisi (suburb), basic social class).



Men are prone to business, thus fewer men and more women come to civil service
(Male, 40 years old, adult, from Tbilisi (center), elite social class).

Another finding of the research is the discovery of **the gender of risk**. According to one of the female respondents, women prefer working at permanent civil service, rather than at “chaotic” and “masculine” private sector, where one has to make more unplanned and spontaneous decisions, based on social links and acquaintances, which is absent in case of middle and basic class women.

Gender of Stress at Civil Service

Lastly, as part of the qualitative study, respondents were asked questions in order to create a user map that would reflect the cultural practices which were unpleasant or stressful for one gender or the other. In case of women, this kind of practices turned out to be sexual harassment, their perception as sexual, physical objects only, separation from mental/cognitive space and work at a hectic environment. While for men the main distress was failure to succeed, inability to move forward, phenomenon of having a supervisor and as it has already been mentioned above public notices.

The main distress for the women of basic social class is their perception as sexual objects, which can lead to unpleasant and overwhelming compliments. Plus, they believe that because of their “pretty” appearance, women are not taken seriously at civil service and are considered “silly.” If a woman is pretty and successful, colleagues try to attribute her success to her appearance, rather than her professional skills.

According to the narrative of male respondents, the existence of a supervisor is the main distress for them. They find that men prefer taking their own decisions and are incapable of being dependent on others, following orders and so on. In addition, they find it harder to face failure and, as previously mentioned, they get anxious when receiving public complaints.

The analysis and interpretation of the primary sociological data collected during the qualitative research revealed several cultural practices. However, it should be noted, that the arguments discussed above are not the only objective truth and the research does not intend to generalize its findings to the gendered public order and organizational culture at civil service. All of the issues discussed here are scholarly interpretations of the information (respondents' narratives) collected within the research. In-depth interviews were created with 4 unique stories that echo and substantiate the results of qualitative research. All of the issues discussed in the research are the scholarly interpretations of the information (respondents' narratives) collected within the auspices of the study. During the in-depth interviews, four unique stories were created, which echo and substantiate the results of the qualitative research.

Summary of the Quantitative and Qualitative Research Main Findings

Quantitative and qualitative data analysis proves that female and male managers at civil service have contrasting career paths. The differences are reflected in various cultural practices, which determine gender inequality at civil service.

According to the quantitative data, 71% of respondents believe that men succeed faster in their careers, 69% find that men are more appreciated at the workplace, in particular, they are more likely to be approached with questions, listened to during discussions and arguments, etc. 86% of the respondents believe that men have more power and higher authority, while 53% find that men are more likely to be rewarded or encouraged for their work.

Findings of the quantitative research are confirmed by the qualitative research, according to which women demonstrate better academic achievements at different levels of education, however, they are "held back" after joining civil service. Women's career development is not proportional to their academic performance.

Based on the data analysis collected during both quantitative and qualitative research, it was ascertained that male civil servants are more likely to receive work-related in-

centives such as verbal appraisal, an official thank you, promotion and rise in salary, than the women performing similar tasks.

An event that can be referred to as **an invisible gender hierarchy** among the similar level civil servants, was identified in the narratives of female respondents. A man always stands hierarchically above a woman. Men have more power and influence, which is nourished by the existing customs and cultural practices in Georgian society - the historical experience that perceives a woman as an object, and man as a subject. During the study, it was revealed that, as in the case of family life, women and men can have certain gender roles at Civil service too, which are based on predetermined expectations built in the society. For example, women - patient, hard-working, silent; men - conflicting, aggressive, giving notices and being loud. Thus, women at Civil service are more patient, they are less likely to achieve career success and prefer to stay unnoticed. The qualitative research also found that, if a woman is less patient and more critical, she still faces difficulties in the process of achieving success. Cases of gender-based discrimination were also found during the study (verbal abuse, punching tables, and psychological harassment). This is not the case when it comes to men since men are more careful with each other, they are afraid of physical and verbal conflict with other men.

The advantage of men on the career path at Civil service is accepted, while at the same time, according to the quantitative data, 70% of respondents believe that women possess more theoretical knowledge necessary for achieving success in their careers. This is also evidenced by the gender category of labor and writing skills revealed during the qualitative study, according to which, women have better writing skills and work ethics compared to men, however, men are still more successful in their careers.

Regardless of the coherence of attitudes on a number of issues, the results on various questions demonstrate a significant difference in opinions due to gender factors. For example, 67% of women surveyed believe that men are better encouraged/rewarded for their work at Civil service, while 76% of men surveyed are of the opposing opinion. 85% of men think that women and men of the same qualifications are equally visible at Civil service, while only 58% of women share the opinion. Moreover, out of the civil servants giving a negative response, 53% of men believe that women are more visible, while 73% of women believe that men are more visible. These results are also confirmed by the results of the qualitative research. The cultural practices causing gender inequality at Civil service are not evident for men.

73% of female respondents believe that women at Civil service are more likely to experience stress and discomfort at work than men. Only 49% of men share this opinion.

According to the qualitative research, the main distress for the women of basic social class is their perception as sexual objects, which can lead to unpleasant and overwhelming compliments. In addition, cultural and gendered practices separate femininity (beauty) from cognitive abilities which leads to the discrimination of feminine civil servants (adjusted to beauty standard). They are not taken seriously, due to their beauty, which is an additional barrier for women on the path to career success.

66% of the surveyed respondents believe that under the conditions of the same skills and professional qualifications men are more visible. Based on the results of the qualitative research, it was ascertained that the writing skills of women are appreciated more often, however, when it comes to public presentations and self-demonstration, they start to stress their poor skills of representation.

Lastly, an equal ratio of male and female respondents (79%) believe that Civil service in Georgia is more male-centered than female-centered, which was the only difference between the findings of qualitative and quantitative research. The qualitative research showed that Civil service is more feminine than masculine.

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