Annex 15 Country Contexts

Georgia	1
Ukraine	5
Moldova	7
Armenia	9

Georgia

A volatile political context and shrinking civic space

During 2024, the political context in Georgia became even more volatile and civic space continued to shrink. The current government has shifted away from the reform path towards EU and instead promotes a public discourse of traditional conservative values, which resonates with Russia, the neighbouring country that since 2008 continues to occupy 20% of Georgia's territory. In May 2024, a law on transparency of foreign influence (commonly referred to as the "foreign agents law") was passed by the parliament despite a veto from the president. Massive demonstrations against the law have been taking place, as this law requires nonentrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal entities and media outlets, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) receiving more than 20 per cent of their funding from international sources, to register as "foreign agents" or "organisations carrying out interests of a foreign power". The registration requires very personal information about all staff, such as their sexual orientation, religion etc., which causes great concern that this information will be misused to target specific groups. The foreign agents law continues to allow the government to sow seeds of mistrust towards civil society, particularly amongst more conservative, rural populations and poses a highly significant risk of widespread closures of NGOs and CSOs. KVINFO partner Women's Fund in Georgia (WFG) gets legal advice on how to cope with the foreign agents law, such as looking at possibilities of registering abroad but operating in Georgia. ¹ During 2023 and 2024, the right to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly came under increased attack, with human rights defenders and other civil society actors reporting increased threats, smears and harassment for criticising the government, as well as risks to physical safety. Also members of the political opposition have experienced attacks from violent groups.²

High levels of anti-LGBTIQ+ sentiments

In Georgia, there are high levels of homophobia and anti-LGBTIQ+ sentiments, often supported by the Church. In 2023, government officials and their supporters spread anti-LGBTIQ+ propaganda with increased intensity. A private Pride event in Tbilisi on 8th of July 2023 was stormed by approximately 2,000 anti-LGBTIQ+

¹ From discussions with Women's Fund in Georgia during study tour to Copenhagen in September 2024.

² Amnesty International Country Report on Georgia 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/eastern-europe-and-central-asia/georgia/report-georgia/

protesters. Despite the police being present when this happened, they failed to act to prevent the protestors' actions.³ A growing anti-gender movement with its anti-gender and anti-LGBTIQ+ rhetoric, as well as the "law on family values" adopted by the government in September 2024 play a significant role in the spreading of mistrust. The "law on family values" enforces broad restrictions on LGBTIQ+ rights, such as outlawing Pride events, and banning same-sex marriages and adoption and gender transition. WFG, has highlighted that they have to find new creative ways to support LGBTIQ+ communities in order not to be considered as "LGBTQ propaganda" by the government.

Gender-based violence, a widespread problem

The National Study on Violence Against Women in Georgia 2022, conducted by UN Women in partnership with the National Statistics Office of Georgia (GEOSTAT), shows that every second woman in Georgia has experienced at least one form of violence during her life, and every fourth woman has experienced sexual harassment. The study also explored public attitudes towards violence against women; 74.7 per cent of the men are of the opinion that a woman's most important role is taking care of her family, while the corresponding percentage for women is 59.9 per cent.⁴ According to Amnesty International's country report from 2023, violence against women and girls, including femicide and other forms of gender-based violence (GBV) prevails in the country, with violence against women in politics also being common.⁵ In KVINFOs current programme, *Gender for Democracy: Strengthening Gender Justice in Georgia, Ukraine and Denmark, 2021*-2024, under the Neighbourhood Programme, local partners have identified a need to develop their focus on cybercrime and technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV), in order to prevent cyber-attacks and advocate for policy reform in these areas. This has become more important in light of a growing anti-gender movement in the region and would be a topic that KVINFO and partners would continue to address.

Economic violence is prevalent but often not recognised as a form of GBV. KVINFO and partners have generated new knowledge on this form of violence and used the study findings to raise awareness. KVINFO partner WFG is working on women's labour rights and participation, and as such addresses the low rate of female labour force participation in Georgia. In 2023, the labour force participation rate among females was 54.4% compared to 72.4% among male. KVINFO partner Union Sapari's study on economic violence against women in Kakheti and Adjara revealed that 25% of women have experienced economic violence from an intimate partner/husband. KVINFO's study on women who have experienced GBV in Georgia and its relationship to economic independence shows that particularly women in rural areas and from ethnic minorities encounter challenges in finding employment. Even if they manage to secure employment, it is challenging for them to have control over their earnings. Furthermore, the findings of the study highlight that GBV

³ Ibid.

⁴ UN Women Georgia. *National Study on Violence against Women: Results and trends*. (2023). https://georgia.unwomen.org/en/stories/feature-story/2023/12/national-study-on-violence-against-women-results-and-trends

⁵ Amnesty International Country Report on Georgia 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/eastern-europe-and-central-asia/georgia/report-georgia/

⁶ World Bank Group. Gender Data Portal: Georgia. https://genderdata.worldbank.org/en/economies/georgia

⁷ Union Sapari Study of Economic Violence against Women in Kakheti and Adjara. (2023). Available at: https://sapari.ge/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/economic-violence-against-women.pdf

significantly hinders Georgian women's access to education and job opportunities, trapping them in cycles of economic dependence and abuse.⁸

Deeply rooted gender stereotypes

In April 2024, the Georgian Parliament abolished the gender quota. This will have an impact on women's political representation, making civil society's work on this issue harder, but even more important. Gender discrimination and strong gender stereotypes, along with conservative and patriarchal values affect women's roles in the Georgian society, both in the public and private spheres. These values also impact the LGBTIQ+ community and marginalised groups like internally displaced persons (IDPs), rural women, and ethnic minorities. KVINFO and partners have addressed issues of gender stereotypes in the current programme and would continue to do so. A study on gender stereotypes and harmful practices in five municipalities of Georgia conducted by Women's Information Center (WIC) showed that a significant number of the respondents (46%), agree with the statement that a woman should "try to do everything as the husband wants, to avoid provoking violence from the husband". Perceptions like these point at the need to continue addressing deeply rooted gender stereotypes across generations in the Georgian society.

Backsliding on democracy and human rights

Implementation of legal frameworks for safeguarding human rights is lacking in Georgia, as last year's crack down on civil society, media and political opponents have shown. The passing of laws directly violating human rights indicates challenging times for CSOs to push for implementation of the legal human rights and gender equality framework, and for the perseverance of democracy. In the European Union Commission's recommendation for Georgia's candidate status to the EU, nine steps were set out. As per May 2024, insufficient political attention has been mobilised to progress substantially on these steps. The EU has repeatedly stressed that the law on transparency of foreign influence and the law on "family values" go against EU core principles and values and its enactment leads to a backsliding on at least three out of the nine steps (on disinformation; on polarisation; on fundamental rights and involvement of CSOs). According to KVINFO partner Union Sapari, the law on transparency of foreign influence and other anti-democratic laws has led to the entire civil society working like in an emergency situation or crisis. All three partners in the current programme, are in what they call an "existential crisis". The foreign agents law has made it harder to work not only with public servants, but also with the general population, as any person related to non-registered NGOs can be fined.

In the context of democratic backsliding, a growing anti-gender movement and human rights violations, it is ever more crucial to support women's organisations in Georgia. In a study on the women's movement and

⁸ KVINFO Study on Women Who Have Experienced GBV in Georgia and its Relationship to Economic Independence. (2024). Available at: https://kvinfo.dk/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/GBV-and-its-relationship-to-economic-independence-combined-Georgia-2024.pdf

⁹ Women's Information Center Study on Gender Stereotypes and Harmful Practices in Five Municipalities of Georgia. (2022). Available at: http://wicge.org/uploads/docs/60722531c6530c54b280e57051baa529.pdf

¹⁰ European Commission. Statement by the High Representative with the European Commission on the final adoption of the law on transparency of foreign influence in Georgia. (2024). https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/news/statement-high-representative-european-commission-final-adoption-law-transparency-foreign-influence-2024-05-28 en

¹¹ From discussions with Union Sapari during study tour to Copenhagen in September 2024.

¹² From discussions with Women's Fund in Georgia, Union Sapari and Women's Information Center during study tour to Copenhagen in September 2024.

donor policy, conducted by WIC, some of the key findings are that the women's movement needs support in developing sustainable financing models and in addressing challenges from hostile government rhetoric. 13

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¹³ Women's Information Center Study on The state of the Women's movement and Donor Policy Research. (2023). Study for internal use and therefore not published.

Ukraine

Russia's invasion continues to bear huge human suffering and impact human rights

Russia's invasion of Ukraine continues, with a devastating impact on human rights, and consistently high levels of internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees. ¹⁴ Despite the invasion, the Ukrainian organisations that KVINFO supports have been able to implement planned activities and adapt to the situation with new activities addressing needs of IDPs, proving their capacity to adapt and deliver in this challenging context. Despite the Russian invasion, Ukraine has managed to keep its institutions working in the non-occupied parts of the country and hence making it possible for KVINFO partners to work with duty bearers on institutionalising gender equality. While partners confirm the need for humanitarian aid, other rights issues related to gender justice, such as support to internally displaced persons (IDPs), survivors of sexual violence, programs for veterans and their family members, and for reconstruction and resilience are also in great demand. ¹⁵ Partners have reported that the economic situation in Ukraine has declined significantly since the start of the invasion. Many people have experienced a dramatic decrease in income or lost their jobs and homes, whilst inflation has continued to rise. KVINFO partner Center Women's Perspectives (CWP) has responded to this by offering women in Lviv a course ("I Can") in how to start their own business or apply for funds for social projects, and thereby encouraging women to self-employment.

Various types of gender-based violence in the context of the invasion

In December 2023, EU leaders agreed to open accession negotiations with Ukraine. One step towards these negotiations was Ukraine's ratification of the Istanbul Convention, which came into force November 1st, 2022. According to Amnesty International's country report on Ukraine from 2023, there was a high increase in recorded cases of domestic violence. Police registered 349,355 cases of domestic violence from January to May 2023, compared with 231,244 cases over the same period in 2022 and 190,277 cases in the first five months of 2021. The number from 2023 is the highest level on record. 16 Center Women's Perspectives report about different types of cases of sexual violence connected to the conflict, not just domestic violence, which was more the case before the full-scale invasion. CWP also reports that many survivors of sexual gender-based violence (SGBV) are not able to integrate or find a new job easily, leading to more challenges. In response, CWP targets various groups with different types of support and also strengthens new organisations working on preventing and responding to gender-based violence to help them learn how to work with different stakeholders. The needs for men are also different. Due to the enforced conscription for men, many men are on the front lines where they are exposed to intense combat and traumatic experiences. This can lead to mental health issues such as PTSD which in turn can increase domestic violence, if not treated. A focus on social reintegration of soldiers returning from the front lines is therefore necessary. The displacement of Ukrainians across the country and abroad will impact generations ahead, requiring targeted interventions from both the state and civil society to support people to rebuild, reconcile and deal with physical and psychological scars.

Resistance against gender stereotypes and anti-gender movements are needed

¹⁴ Amnesty International Country Report on Ukraine 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/eastern-europe-and-central-asia/ukraine/report-ukraine/

¹⁵ From discussions with Center Women's Perspectives and Insight during study tour to Copenhagen in September 2024.

¹⁶ Amnesty International Country Report on Ukraine 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/eastern-europe-and-central-asia/ukraine/report-ukraine

A study on gender stereotypes and roles, conducted by the KVINFO partner Insight, show that some gender stereotypes and patriarchal norms still prevail across age groups, for example, that men are better political leaders than women, that men are better at business, and that a man should fully provide for the family.¹⁷ That is why Insight has focused special attention on this topic with campaigning and awareness raising work and that would continue to be an important area in the new programme.

In March 2023 a draft legislation on registration of civil partnerships, including for same-sex couples, was published. Partners in Ukraine have explained how mainstream opinion is in opposition to anything associated with Russia and its conservative values. Insight have noted that attitudes towards LGBTIQ+ people have become notably more tolerant, with doctors and psychologists actively seeking further training and knowledge on LGBTIQ+ issues. However, the LGBTIQ+ community continues to experience attacks online and offline, including from the anti-gender movement. KVINFO partners assess that more awareness is needed on cybercrime and technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV) and skills to prevent cyberattacks. Provided the community continues to experience attacks on the cyberattacks.

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¹⁷ Insight study Gender Stereotypes and Roles through the Eyes of Young People: Before and After the Start of Full-scale Russian Aggression. (2023). Available at: https://www.insight-ukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/GS 2 ENG.pdf

¹⁸ Amnesty International Country Report on Ukraine 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/eastern-europe-and-central-asia/ukraine/report-ukraine

¹⁹ From discussions with Center Women's Perspectives and Insight during study tour to Copenhagen in September 2024.

Moldova

Gender-sensitive responses are needed, especially in relation to the high number of displaced persons

Moldova is the country that per capita in Europe has welcomed the highest number of displaced persons fleeing Ukraine because of Russia's invasion. As of 3 December 2023, Moldova was hosting 112,811 refugees from Ukraine. Most of the refugees are women and children and the risk of GBV and human trafficking remains high. 22

Besides a high prevalence of GBV, consideration for new forms of trafficking in persons is lacking, diverse educational choices by women and girls are limited, and gender occupational segregation exists. Women have limited access to justice and there are insufficient financial and human resources to advance women's rights.²³ The European Commission acknowledges that Moldova has engaged civil society in decision making but urges the country to get CSOs more involved in policy dialogue, especially in parliamentary debates and at local level.²⁴ This will hopefully be a window of opportunity for KVINFO's prospective partners in Moldova.

Deep-rooted gender stereotypes and intersectional discrimination

Despite the considerable progress made in Moldova in recent years to advance gender equality, including the country's ratification of the Istanbul Convention in 2022, gender inequalities persist and conservative gender norms and stereotypes are still common, which can be observed for example in the labour market where women remain underrepresented due to a persistence of patriarchal attitudes and deep-rooted stereotypes. The market employment rates are especially low among vulnerable women, including Roma women, women with disabilities and rural women, due to intersectional discrimination. According to Amnesty International's country report on Moldova from 2023, discrimination against openly LGBTIQ+ people is of frequent occurrence and homophobic statements by religious activists and some officials are commonplace. Besides LGBTIQ+ persons, persons belonging to minorities, persons with disabilities, and the Roma community face discrimination, also in the labour market.

High prevalence of gender-based violence and a need for effective response to TFGBV

Gender-based violence (GBV) in Moldova is pervasive. In 2018, the OSCE led survey *Well-being and Safety of Women*, revealed that almost 40% of women in Moldova have experienced physical and/or sexual violence. Although progress has been seen in the past years, reporting of GBV remains low compared to the overall

²¹ Amnesty International Country Report on Moldova 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/eastern-europe-and-central-asia/moldova/report-moldova/

²⁰ European Commission. Commission Staff Working Document: Republic of Moldova 2023 Report, p. 3. Available at: https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-11/SWD_2023_698%20Moldova%20report.pdf

²² European Commission. European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations: Moldova. https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/where/europe/moldova_en

²³ European Commission. Commission Staff Working Document: Republic of Moldova 2023 Report, p. 40. Available at: https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-11/SWD_2023_698%20Moldova%20report.pdf ²⁴ Ibid. p. 4.

²⁵ United Nations Moldova. UN Women Moldova - Strategic Priorities 2023-2027. https://moldova.un.org/en/215763-un-women-moldova-strategic-priorities-2023-2027

²⁶ Amnesty International Country Report on Moldova 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/eastern-europe-and-central-asia/moldova/report-moldova/

²⁷ European Commission. Commission Staff Working Document: Republic of Moldova 2023 Report, p. 6. Available at: https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-11/SWD 2023 698%20Moldova%20report.pdf

prevalence, mostly due to stigma, but also due to lack of trust in existing legal and support institutions.²⁸ A recent Council of Europe study on Moldova's legal framework and its alignment with the provisions of the Istanbul Convention on protection of migrant, refugee, and asylum-seeking women from violence, shows that the country has built a strong foundation for protection against violence against women (VAW) and domestic violence (DV). This has been done through legal changes and the adoption of gender-sensitive practices. The study concludes, however, that there are still key areas needing improvement to fully meet the Istanbul Convention's standards and effectively support migrant, refugee, and asylum-seeking women survivors of GBV. These key areas include acknowledging all forms of GBV and discrimination as defined by the Istanbul Convention and simplifying access to justice and support services.²⁹ Moldova has a reservation to article 59 (Residence Status) in the Istanbul Convention which in essence means that migrant women whose immigration status depends on an abusive partner risk facing deportation when seeking support.³⁰ The European Commission has urged Moldova to undertake further measures to eliminate GBV as part of the country's accession process to the EU.³¹

In June 2024, the Council of Europe published a study on digital violence against women in Moldova, aiming at examining Moldova's national framework concerning the digital dimension of violence against women. The study identifies a need for preventive measures addressing internet norms, misogyny, hate speech, and toxic social media use. These preventive measures should engage all digital users of all genders. Key recommendations from the study include financial support for civil society organisations (CSOs) for an effective response to online and technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV). Moreover, the study found that the existing legal framework in Moldova exhibited significant limitations in addressing the digital dimension of GBV requires the development and implementation of comprehensive and coordinated policies across all government levels, involving relevant agencies, institutions, NGOs, CSOs, and the private sector.³² Disinformation in media remains a challenge, especially disinformation spread online and is on the increase with the upcoming election. In this programme, KVINFO will provide twinning opportunities for the partners in Moldova to combat and protect themselves and end-beneficiaries against TFGBV, as has been done in the current programme with the Georgian and Ukrainian partners together with the Danish organisation Cybernauterne.

²⁸ United Nations Moldova. UN Women Moldova - Strategic Priorities 2023-2027. https://moldova.un.org/en/215763-un-women-moldova-strategic-priorities-2023-2027

²⁹ Council of Europe Study On the Legal and Procedural Framework of the Republic of Moldova on International Protection of Migrant, Refugee and Asylum Seeking Women and Girls in Light of the Provisions Of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence. (2024). Available at: https://rm.coe.int/studiu-cadrul-juridic-migration-en-final/1680b03b0c

³⁰ Council of Europe Treaty Office. Reservations and Declarations for Treaty No.210 - Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (CETS No. 210). (2024).

https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-%20list?module=declarations-by-treaty&numSte=210&codeNature=0 ³¹ European Commission. Commission Staff Working Document: Republic of Moldova 2023 Report, p. 31. Available at: https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-11/SWD_2023_698%20Moldova%20report.pdf ³² Council of Europe Study on the Digital Dimension of Violence against Women in the Republic of Moldova (2024), pp. 8, 26-27. Available at: https://rm.coe.int/coe-book-en-study-on-the-digital-dimension-20240316-1-002-/1680af4f22

Armenia

Gender-sensitive responses needed in the context of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict

Armenia's main political issues and concerns revolve around security, especially its relationship with Azerbaijan and the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.³³ Since September 2023, the Armenian government has reported an influx of 100,631 new refugees, with women and girls making up 50% of this number.³⁴ In 2023, entire families were forcibly displaced to Armenia. This has called and continues to call for gender-sensitive responses. Local women's organisations have been and continue to be at the forefront of providing support to and addressing the needs of displaced women and girls.³⁵

Enabling environment for civil society, but sustainable financing models are lacking for the feminist movement

Long-term efforts for addressing other human rights issues besides the emergency responses related to the conflict are needed. Pertinent human rights issues in Armenia include domestic violence, discrimination against individuals with disabilities, and violence and discrimination against people based on their sexual orientation and gender identity.³⁶ There is a rather enabling environment for civil society and possibilities for civil society to affect changes in state policies. Civil society organisations (CSOs) are increasingly involved in state decision and policymaking processes.³⁷

In Armenia, there are few mainstream feminist movements, and women's rights groups and organisations usually rely on short-term, public grants.³⁸ The feminist/women's movement needs support in developing sustainable financing models to be able to respond to the gendered issues arising from the conflict, but also to create long-term strategies for improving gender justice and to counter the anti-gender movement that is steadily on the rise in the region.

Protection against and response to gender-based violence is needed

While Armenia strengthened its domestic violence law in 2024, and thereby took important steps in addressing gaps in protection and accountability measures, the country has not yet ratified the Istanbul Convention.³⁹ Protection of women remains ineffective because court rulings often cancel urgent police intervention orders. There are only two shelters for domestic violence survivors in the country, with a combined capacity of sheltering 24 women plus their children. The shelters are continuously full.⁴⁰

The UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women has urged Armenian authorities to eradicate enduring gender stereotypes in the judiciary and law enforcement, criminalise every form of gender-

³³ Freedom House, Country Report on Armenia 2024, https://freedomhouse.org/country/armenia

³⁴ European Union. Country Gender Profile Armenia 2024. Available at: https://euneighbourseast.eu/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/eu4genderhelpdesk_armenia_countrygenderprofile_2024-cgp_v3__compressed.pdf
³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Human Rights Watch. Armenia: Events of 2023. https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2024/country-chapters/armenia

³⁷ European Union. Country Gender Profile Armenia 2024. Available at: https://euneighbourseast.eu/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/eu4genderhelpdesk_armenia_countrygenderprofile_2024-cgp_v3__compressed.pdf

³⁸ openDemocracy. The feminist movement in Eastern Europe: struggles in a changing landscape. (2023). https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/feminist-movement-europe-eurasia-ukraine-armenia-poland-georgia/

³⁹ Human Rights Watch. Armenia Strengthens Domestic Violence Law: New Amendments Address Gaps in Protection, Accountability Measures. (2024) https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/04/18/armenia-strengthens-domestic-violence-law

⁴⁰ Human Rights Watch. Armenia: Events of 2023. https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2024/country-chapters/armenia

based violence, and guarantee thorough investigations into all domestic violence cases.⁴¹ Effective protection and response mechanisms are of utmost importance in the context of forced displacement, as displaced girls and women are at greater risk of gender-based violence.

LGBTIQ+ community faces discrimination and social stigma

Discrimination of LGBTIQ+ people and social stigma based on a person's real or assumed sexual orientation and/or gender identity is common. LGBTIQ+ people often face discrimination, marginalisation, attacks and bullying. Many LGBTIQ+ individuals avoid reporting hate crimes against them because of fear of being discriminated against or humiliated if their sexual orientation or gender identity becomes publicly known. LGBTIQ+ individuals can request an exemption from military service, where they often encounter homophobic harassment and violence. To obtain this exemption, they must be diagnosed with "homosexualism" or "transsexualism". This "diagnosis" is recorded in the unified healthcare electronic information system and carries with it the risk of exposing the individuals to discrimination when seeking healthcare services. As

Gender stereotypes affect women's political representation and participation in the labour market

Although there have been some improvements in how women's leadership is viewed in the society, stereotypes about women's roles in politics continue to persist. Women's involvement in politics is still relatively low, despite a significant increase in the number of parliamentary seats they hold, which went up from 9.9% in 2017 to 35.5% in 2023. There are only two female ministers, and none of the regional governors in Armenia are women.⁴⁴

A significant factor contributing to women's low representation in the labour market is their involvement in unpaid domestic tasks. The number of women aged 25-49 not participating in the labour force has risen since 2021 when women made up 70% of those in this age group who were not working. By 2022, this percentage had increased to 82% among 25-29-year-olds and 80% among 25-49-year-olds. This clearly reflects gender dominant gender stereotypes in the country, with men being viewed as the leaders of the household and the main earners, whereas women are seen as responsible for managing the home.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Amnesty International Country Report on Armenia 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/eastern-europe-and-central-asia/armenia/report-armenia/

⁴³ Human Rights Watch. Armenia: Events of 2023. https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2024/country-chapters/armenia

⁴⁴ European Union. Country Gender Profile Armenia 2024. Available at: https://euneighbourseast.eu/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/eu4genderhelpdesk_armenia_countrygenderprofile_2024-cgp_v3__compressed.pdf ⁴⁵ Ibid.