



## AYOLLARNING OLIY TA'LIM OLISHI: MUAMMO VA QIYINCHILIKLAR

[doi:https://doi.org/10.55439/ECED/vol23\\_iss3/a30](https://doi.org/10.55439/ECED/vol23_iss3/a30)

**Xidirov Nodir G'iyosalievich** -  
Moliya kafedrası katta o'qituvchisi,  
PhD (iqtisodiyot fanlari) Toshkent moliya instituti  
**Mamadjonova Sarvinoz Sharifjonovna** -  
Magistratura talabasi Toshkent moliya instituti

**Annotatsiya.** Ayollar uchun oliy ta'lim XIX asrning ikkinchi yarmidan keyingina paydo bo'lgan nisbatan yangi hodisa hisoblanadi. Shunga qaramay, 1990-yilning o'rtalaridan boshlab rivojlangan mamlakatlarda oliy ta'lim olishda erkaklar soni kamaydi (Vinsent-Lankrin S., 2008) [3], shuning uchun ushbu mamlakatlarda ayollar va erkaklar o'rtasidagi tengsizlik nisbatan tezroq barham topdi. Biroq rivojlanayotgan mamlakatlar bu muammoni hal qilish uchun hali ko'p vazifalarni amalga oshirishi kerak. Ayrim jamiyatlarda qizlar faqat ikkinchi darajali o'ringa ega bo'lgan uy yordamchilari sifatida ko'rilmogda. Eng yomoni, ushbu jamiyatlar hali ham qizlarning asosiy vazifasi avlodning davomchisidir, deb o'ylashadi. Xususan, mamlakatimizda ham erkak kishiga nisbatan xususiy sektorda ish topish ayollar uchun qiyinroq. Aholimizning qariyb yarmini (50.11 foizini) ayollar tashkil etishini hisobga oladigan bo'lsak, biz o'z salohiyatimizning yarmini yo'qotaymiz, deb hisoblash mumkin. Ushbu maqolada qizlarning oliy ma'lumotga ega bo'lish yo'lidagi bir qancha muammolari muhokama qilinadi va tushuntiriladi hamda bu muammoni hal qilish uchun ba'zi yechimlar taklif etiladi.

**Kalit so'zlar:** ayollar ta'limi, gender tengsizligi, ta'limdan qaytish, malakali ishchi kuchi.

## ПОЛУЧЕНИЕ ВЫСШЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ ДЛЯ ЖЕНЩИН: ПРОБЛЕМЫ И ВЫЗОВЫ

**Xidirov Nodir Giёsaliyevich** -  
Старший преподаватель кафедры "Финансы",  
PhD (экономических наук)  
Ташкентский финансовый институт  
**Мамаджонова Сарвиноз Шарифжонова** -  
Магистрант  
Ташкентский финансовый институт

**Аннотация.** Доступное высшее образование для женщин — сравнительно новое явление, появившееся только после второй половины XIX века. Тем не менее, в развитых странах с середины 1990-х годов мужчины получают меньше ученых степеней, а также реже посещают высшие учебные заведения (Vincent-Lancrin S., 2008) [3], таким образом, неравенство для женщин искореняется. Однако развивающимся странам еще многое предстоит сделать для решения этой проблемы. Поскольку девочки рассматриваются только как домашние помощницы с пассивными ролями, что еще хуже, общество по-прежнему исходит из того, что главная обязанность девушки — продолжение поколения. В частности, в нашей стране женщине труднее найти работу в частном секторе, чем мужчине. Если учесть, что почти половину нашего населения составляют женщины (50.11 %), можно считать, что мы теряем половину своего потенциала. В этой статье мы обсудим и объясним несколько проблем, с которыми сталкиваются девушки на пути к получению высшего образования, и предложим некоторые возможные решения этой проблемы.

**Ключевые слова:** женское образование, гендерное неравенство, отдача от образования, квалифицированная рабочая сила.

## OBTAINING HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

**Khidirov Nodir Giyosalievich** -  
Senior lecturer of Department of Finance,  
PhD (in economics), Tashkent Institute of Finance  
**Mamadjonova Sarvinoz Sharifjonovna** -  
Master student Tashkent Institute of Finance

**Annotation.** Accessible tertiary education for women is a comparatively new phenomenon, which appeared only after the second part of the XIX century. Nevertheless, in developed countries, men are gaining fewer degrees and also attending less higher education since mid-1990 (Vincent-Lancrin S., 2008) [3], thus inequality for women is eradicated. However, developing countries still have much to do to overcome this issue. Because girls are seen only as domestic helpers with passive roles, what is worse, society still assumes that the main responsibility of a girl is a continuation of the generation. Particularly, in our country, it is more challenging for a woman to find a job in the private sector rather than for a man. If to consider that almost half of our population are women (50.11 %), it could be reckoned that we are losing half of our potential. This paper will discuss and explain several problems for girls in the path for their wish to obtain higher education and offer some possible solutions to solve this problem.

**Keywords:** female education, gender inequality, returns from education, qualified labor force.

**Introduction.** Indeed, education plays a crucial role in cultural, social and economic role of any society, however We decided to concentrate on specifically higher education of women. Thus, before discussing the topic We face a fair question: why higher and not primary or secondary education? And why female and not male education? To vindicate my focus on exactly higher education of women We bring the suggestion of the Mincerian equation, each additional year of education brings from 1% to 20% additional return, the highest return comes from tertiary education followed by primary and then secondary education. In addition returns from women education are higher than of male education (Patrinos. H.A, 2016) [9]. This claim must convince policymakers decide to allocate more funds on higher education, especially on girls' education. Female education possess both private returns such as higher salaries, further education of their own children and higher possibility of marrying an educated man, and social returns as decreased child mortality, slower growth of population, more qualified labor force.

As primary and secondary educations in Uzbekistan are compulsory, the main problem related to the participation differences between sexes starts in the tertiary education. Hence, only 37% of students enrolling to the universities are girls in the Republic. Despite this number the vast majority of ordinary people still assume that there are no barriers for women to study and realize their interests. In my current study we want to share some evidence about the situation in educating women. Moreover, reasons for the problems We found and their possible solutions will be explained in the research.

**Literature Review.** Curiously, there is no research on returns on investment on education of Uzbek human capital, which might become a reasonable indication of the role of investment. However, Patrinos, H., et, (2019) [8] considered that returns to investment in education in the term of up-to-date human capital sense, have been estimated since the late 1950s in particular parts of the world. Thus, there have been several empirical analysis of returns from education by Psacharopoulos in order to set a pattern for the investments from the education. In accordance with the review by Patrinos H., (2016) [9] the returns of investment for the female gender is usually higher than for the opposite gender. Undoubtedly, women are those who spend more time, effort and skills to raise the children, thereby impacting potential future generation. The former claim could be estimated as a private return in the short run but in the long run it will benefit the whole society. Financial returns of female higher education could be even higher, as

educated woman is more inclined to join workforce than without a higher degree.

According to the Smirnov, A., (1974)[4], in several developing countries of Africa girls are discriminated by being limited in obtaining primary and secondary education more than boys. Thus, in order to raise girls' enrolment in, and graduation of, both primary and secondary school scholarships were used as a motivation for the families. Perhaps, such a strategy might be effective in our country too, for the case of tertiary education. From the other perspective Sperling, G., (2016) [5] found that it was obvious that even in the most advanced and well-off nations, educators and policymakers struggle to understand which educational methods and measures are most effective and which are ineffective. For this reason there must be an evidentiary exact focus on what works for attendance, learning, and female empowerment in developing nations.

After the global Covid-19 crisis almost all the layers of society reduced their incomes, investigated Fasih, T., et (2021) [17], the crisis have profound implications on income inequality between those with and without a university degree. The post pandemic reality impacted on modest reduction of the incomes of university-educated workers, while the incomes of less-educated workers had dropped substantially. And as we will see further in this paper women of Uzbekistan hold less university degrees, making them more vulnerable to after pandemic consequences. Hence, as cited Osiobe, E., and et (2020) [10] as long as we desire a dignified future, educating the female population is a necessity. Looking at the achievements of some wonderful women representatives of our community, there is no doubt that more can be achieved if women are given equal opportunities. We know numerous patterns of brave, smart and successful female scientists, politicians and leader who could ignite other girls to dream and follow their future, and their gender must be a bonus rather than a hindrance on their journey.

Additionally, Hamdan, A., and et, (2020) [27] stated that as human factor is one of the most important productive factors contributing to economic growth, the interest in investing in education has increased. The recognition of the effective role of investment in education in achieving comprehensive economic and social development has begun in the vast majority of countries. Uzbekistan, must not be an exclusion from the general recognition, either. There are returns to the GDP from female labor force participation just as tertiary education. For instance, Malinowski, M., and Jabłońska-Porzuczek, L (2020) [28] came to conclusion that female employment rates grew on average by 6.5 percentage points in the Central and Eastern European countries from 2013 till 2017, which is a significant

change. Again there are no sufficient investigations on contribution of Uzbek females to our national domestic product; just the same with the returns of University studies in Uzbekistan must be calculated. And I am sure that women's contribution are underestimated, and we are not able to see the full potential of our girls for now.

Besides, because the payoff to university education is so high, efforts to get women into university represent a sound investment option, leading to overall efficiency gains and putting a further dent into the gender gap, this simple and obvious estimation must be remembered by policy-makers as well as other officials. So, the following paragraphs will make an effort to suggest several challenges women face in obtaining tertiary education and possible solutions to the problems.

**Methods.** The research in this work is based on the secondary data from various internet websites and official statistical data given in by the statistical committee of the Republic, as well as face-to-face interviews were implemented as qualitative data from focus groups. Information from one-to-one interviews and questionnaires was gathered from more than 100 respondents, from local schools situated in our hometown, Chust. Other participants of interviews were representatives of "makhalla committee" who agreed to express their opinions for our research.

**About interviewees.** Interviewees of our research were selected from secondary schools of

the age interval from 15-17 years old, meaning that focus group respondents were boys and girls of 10 and 11 grades. We tried to concentrate on the answers of elder children as elder students already had chosen their future plans and possess a more realistic and transparent view of their futures rather than their younger siblings. In order to diversify the attitudes towards questions in the Google sheets, we decided to visit both Uzbek and Russian schools. As students of Uzbek schools are usually more of a traditional and conservative point of view and this way we wanted to avoid similarities in the answers.

**Instruments.** Interviews were conducted face to face with the assistance of Google forms which could increase the speed of the research. As the main aim of the paper is to evaluate whether there are difficulties for women and girls to study in the universities, questions were designed in a way that could elucidate the concern of my study. Still, it was very interesting for us to delineate the attitudes separately of girls from boys which gave interesting fruits and will be discussed further in the paper. Google sheets included such questions as "What professions are convenient for girls and what are not?" or "Have you faced impediment in your wish to enroll in tertiary education?"

**Results and Discussion.** We decided to start the discussion from the statistical data gathered from the official government websites.

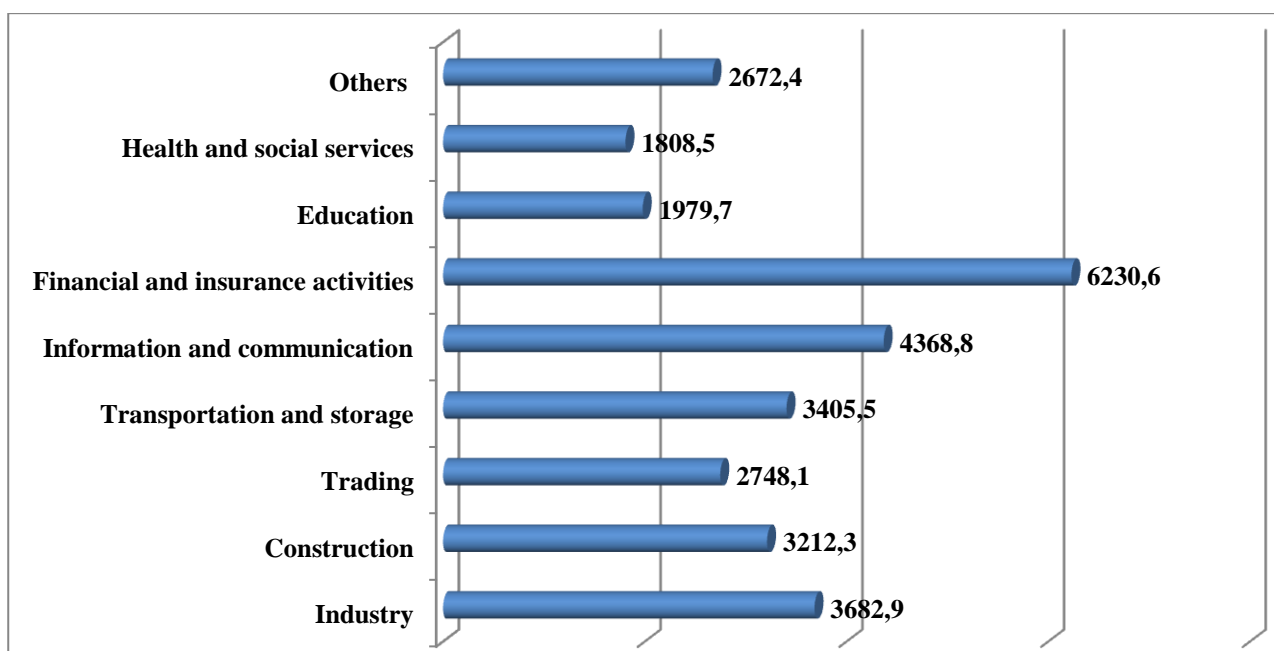


Figure 1. The spheres of the industry by income (thousand sums), 2020 [2]

First of all, if to look at the data (figure 1); it becomes obvious that the financial and insurance activities in addition to information and communication were leader spheres with the average income in Uzbekistan in 2020. These spheres were followed

by industry and transportation with 3682.9 and 3405.5, respectively. Education with an average of 1979.7 thousand sums and health services (1808.5 thousand) were located in the last places.

It is clear that education and health services were mainly occupied by females in 2018 estimating 78% and 79%, respectively. Roughly half (50%) of the trading was occupied by women, then followed by industry (44%) and financial and

insurance activities (39%). Whereas construction, transportation, and storage took place in the last positions, considering 5% and 8%, respectively (figure 2).

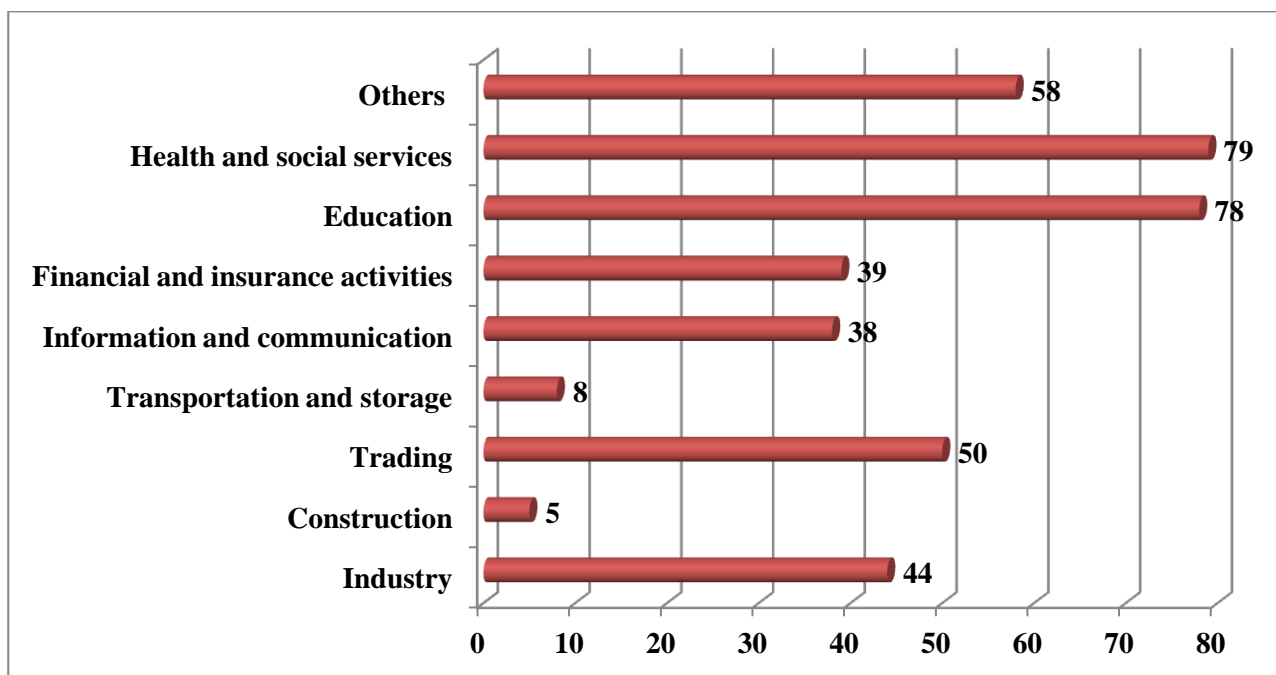


Figure 2. Spheres which are occupied by women (in percent), 2018 [2]

Hence, even though there is two-year difference between two diagrams the there was not a colossal change in data for the year of 2020, these two diagrams are illustrative facts that women of our country mainly work in the least paid occupations in Uzbekistan, making them financially unsecured. Certainly, our paper is not about problems for women in the labor market. However, the

above-stated problem also refers to education, as women are educated mainly for the less paid jobs. Another reason for passive female participation in banking or other mainly private sector is that employer is responsible for maternal leave payments of their female employee, which significantly reduces women's chances to receive a job in the private sector.

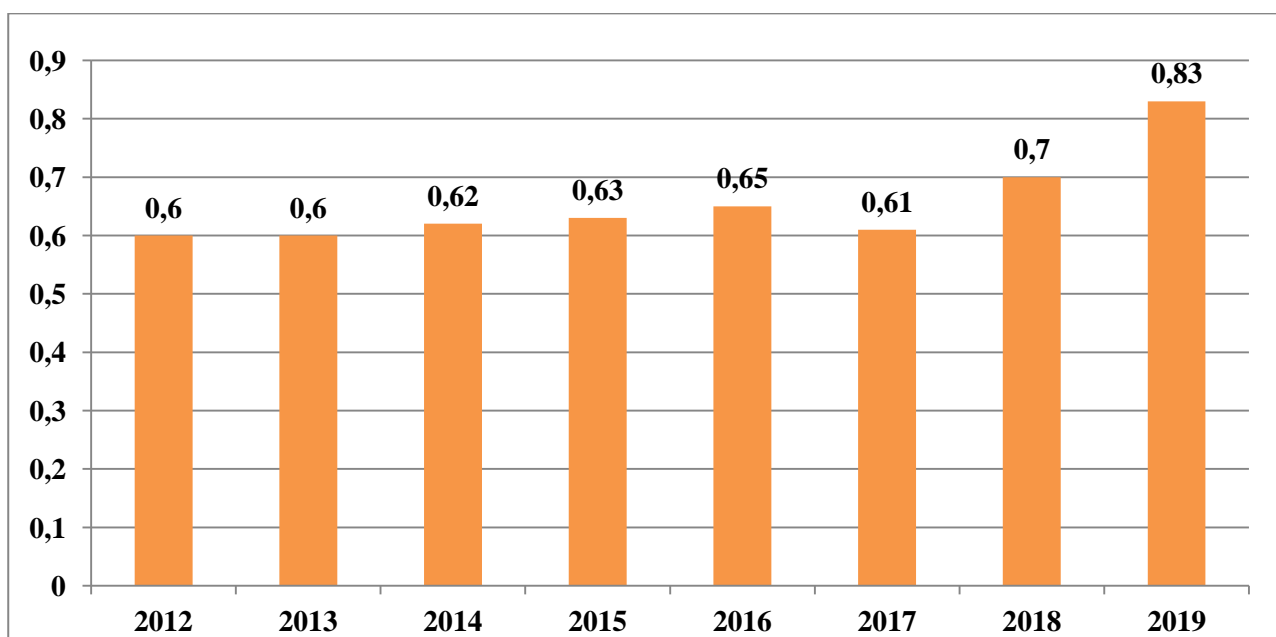


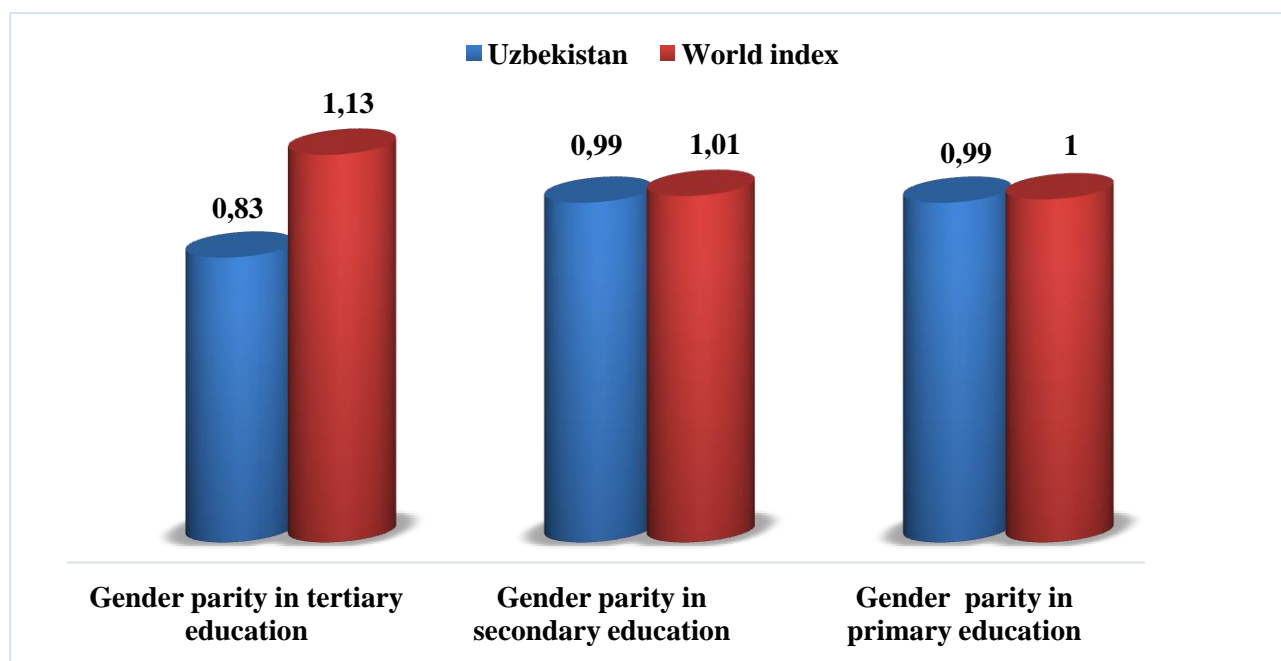
Figure 3. Gender parity index for gross enrollment female to male ratio in tertiary education by years [26]

The represented diagram (figure 3) shows the gross enrollment ratio of women to men in tertiary education and it is obvious that the ratio steadily increased from 2012 till 2016 in Uzbekistan, which then notably dropped to 0.61 from 0.65. However, the figures grew to 0.7 in 2018, meanwhile, the peak was in 2019, estimating 0.83. The gender parity index of gross enrollment data of our country might seem normal from the first glance however if to compare our numbers with the world's figures problems will be obvious and it is shown in figure 4.

It is clear from the diagram that the parity of gross enrollment by sex ratio is almost the same as the world index in primary and secondary education, estimating only 0.01 and 0.02 difference, respectively in both of them. Whereas a pellucid

problem can be seen in tertiary education, because the Uzbek index is 0.83 in contrast, the world index is by 0.3 more (1.13).

The reason for less difference in gross enrollment by gender in the primary and secondary steps of education can be explained by the strict policy of the government, as everyone has the right to education. Free primary and secondary education is guaranteed by the state. Schoolwork is under state control (Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Article 41) [1], in contrast, other steps of education are the responsibility of the girl's family. The diagram illustrates that more families prefer to educate boys rather than girls in the Republic, which is more common in Uzbekistan than throughout the world.



**Figure 4. Gender parity index for gross enrollment female to male ratio in education by years, comparison Uzbekistan with the world index, 2020 [26]**

If to consider comparing the gender parity index of conservative and traditional Uzbekistan with the world index with its western position as useless, here is the line chart (figure 5) representing the proportion of women of central Asian countries. As central Asian countries might be similar in their opinions towards educating their girls.

Hence, it is clear that Uzbekistan stood in the lower positions in educating the female gender from the beginning of the race on gender equality movements. As the highest point of the country were in 1988 and 1989 considering almost 46% of educated women, meanwhile situation in our neighbors Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan was by approximately 10% better in their not even highest periods. Whereas, in the peak, 60% of Kazakh women were

educated in 1985, which was never reached by Uzbekistan. The graph is abrupt from 2015 for a pity, but we can see the figure decrease of Uzbekistan starting from 2000.

We may estimate as a reason for comparatively low higher education rates in Uzbekistan than its neighbors (figure 5) unlike the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs who had had a mostly nomadic and less religious background, the Uzbeks were more religious and followed the Islamic traditions. This was the main reason for resistance against the new policy that required all women to receive an education. Even the atheistic policy of the Communists had little effect on changing their attitude to religion (Kunduz Maksutova, 2004) [12].

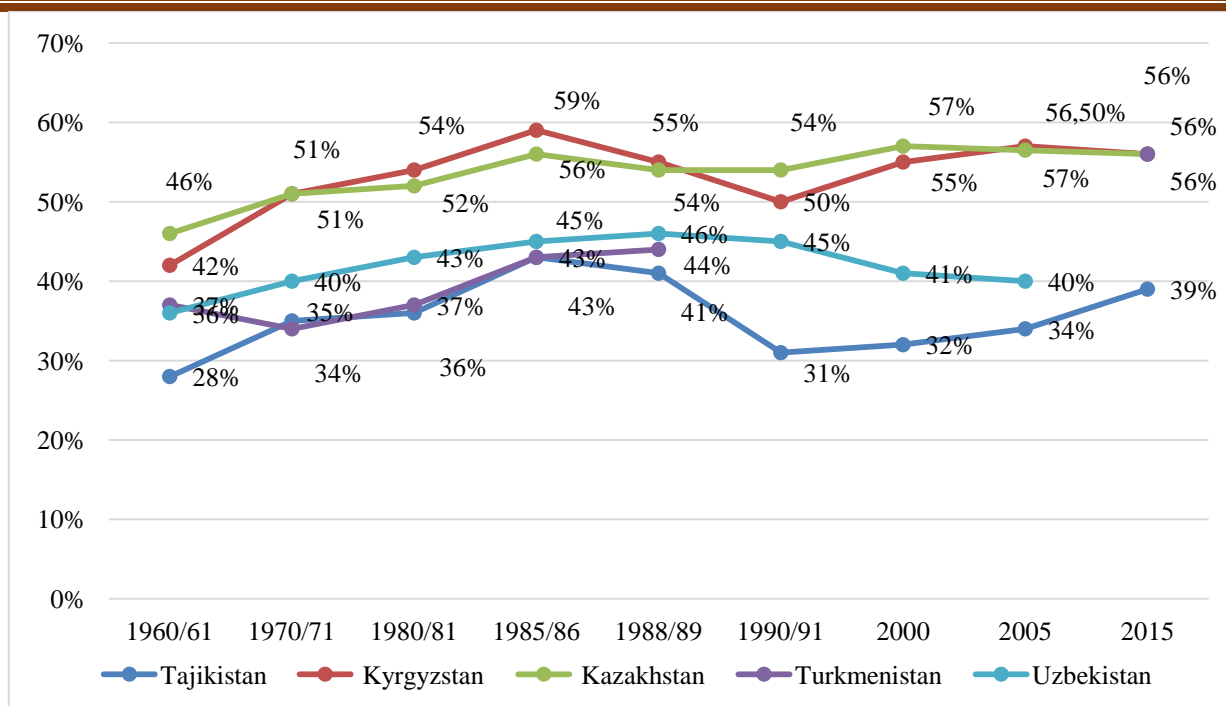


Figure 5. Women higher education in Central Asia, (Sabzaliyeva, E., 2016) [25]

Illustration (figure 6) represents that girls feel obvious or hidden hindrances in their way of continuation of their education, whereas fewer boys consider that girls ever face such problems. For some point, such results in wider mass tab can

cause the problems of higher education for females are not being noticed by the community. Because the initial claim of our interviewees was that they do not see any problem for the girls in their future education.

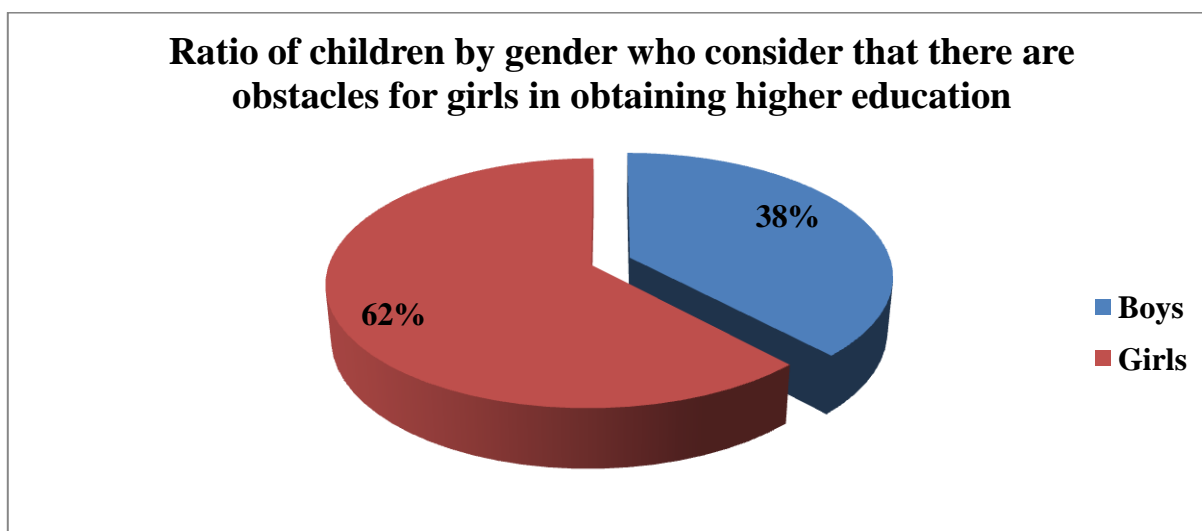


Figure 6. Opinions of 10-11 grade students by gender [2]

Thus, We were able to evaluate some of the existing problems by analyzing obtained data:

**1. Religious misinterpretations.** It is clear from the holy Al-Qur'an and Al-Hadiths (words and deeds of Prophet Muhammad) that the acquisition of knowledge is obligatory for women, the same way as in the case of men (Siddiqa A., 2018) [19]. However, not every member of our society adheres to the above-stated quote. Such misinterpretation is especially neglected by men who are considered to

be predominant in society. For example, at the beginning of the XX century, when the discussion on educating girls just begun, people of rather traditional views claimed: "Yes, women are weak, but if we start teaching them to write, it will lead to confusion. Therefore, teaching girls to write is forbidden, we are obliged to give up this act, as it can lead to disastrous results." However, it isn't Islam that restricts women from studying or working. The problem is that in Islam a wife's duty

is to obey her husband, if the husband does not allow studying, she will be restricted. Notably, a boy student of 11<sup>th</sup> grade in Russian school hinted to his girl classmate during our discussion about occupation for girls:

*The best future activity for the female is "quietly" sitting at home and doing her home chores.*

But, the reason for such opinions of the vast majority of our men is not transparent, whether such approach is based on Uzbek mentality or Islamic "views".

**2. Early marriage.** In the qualitative research of Raj, A. et. (2019) [23] conducted in India and Ethiopia which are also predominantly religious countries, some respondents recognized that they may have to contend with family or in-laws' attempts to impede their career aspirations, despite recognized benefits. The same happens in Uzbekistan, girls get married soon after secondary school graduation because parents sometimes consider that investing in the education of their girl child is not a beneficial investment, and marrying her is a better option for the family budget. Meanwhile, a new family of the girl considers the same, but with a different motive, this time the young bride must take care of the whole family and have no extra time for her studies. And traditional Uzbek family may consist of up to 15 members, which is a responsible burden for the young wife to take care of. Six girls from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grades who were not motivated to further studies confessed that their parents hold the traditional view:

*Would you take me to the city by study? (O'qib shahar olib berarmiding?)*

For a pity, such opinion is not rare amongst traditional Uzbek families and prepares girls for marriage from early childhood.

**3. The distance of the Higher Educational Establishments.** According to well-known independent economist Yuliy Yusupov (2020) [24], two-third of the Institutions and Universities of Uzbekistan are situated in large cities, and parents of girls usually do not allow their daughters to be far from them in accordance with the traditional outlook.

**4. The insufficiency of family budget to invest in daughters' education.** 30 of my respondents indicated their family income as the main problem arising in front of their wish and tertiary education access. Answers of boys were generally alike:

We do not think that it is materially possible for us to attend higher education We better go work in Russia to enhance our family.

Whereas, girls were more laconic and preferred not to speak about their decision to work after school. Such position specifically of boys might

be formed by the stereotypes of the community about boys' bread breeding roles.

**Conclusion.** From the above-stated data, it can be concluded that it is more difficult to achieve academic pursuits for women than for men in our traditional society. Even though authorities are trying to enhance gender equality concepts in the Republic, for the most men or women novices are still not able to change the moral norms of the community. Thus, some perspective solutions might be listed to change the confirmed concepts of people about women's role in our lives: firstly, the Government must enhance private educational institutions, increasing quotas for matriculates' as now just 10% (UzStat, 2019) [2] of enrollees are accepted to the higher education. From such a perspective "unreachable" higher education is a big problem for all boys and girls. In this case private Universities and academic establishments could also become an option. But as the price of private education is significantly higher than of public, most parents give preference to their sons in giving such a costly education, as the bread winner or hoping for the private return for the family from the boy child. Secondly, religious representatives should try to change the wide public opinion that our religion allows and encourages women to study and self-fulfill. Because today admonitions of such people are widely taken into account. Thirdly, sufficient female labor force in some economic spheres might change that system positively, as women have their own specific attitudes to their jobs. Today financial institutions hire women less eagerly, because they cannot stay at work throughout the night and husbands do not allow them working in masculine workplace. Hence, the more women could occupy mostly "patriarchal" jobs the more flexible the workplace could become for other females. For this reason, women enrolling in spheres with low female participation should be materially encouraged.

On the other hand we could see obviously that statistics in obtaining tertiary education for girls is underrated comparing with the world data (fig4), again numbers for Uzbek girls say that there is a gap in receiving tertiary education between Uzbekistan and the other neighboring countries as Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (fig5), and we can see that Uzbek girls were in loss more than other two central Asian country. Of course it would be wrong to underestimate a positive change in numbers of girls' attendance in tertiary education starting from 2017 to 2018 (fig3); perhaps the reason lies in the move in attitudes of our country towards gender equality in Uzbek conservative society. It is important to continue the same positive track in order to reach dignified opportunities to build careers for our girls.

We investigated several factors hindering in educating women, religious misinterpretations and early marriage are considered to be separate arguments, and however at the same time these reasons are close and related to each other. The higher establishments are situated in the urban territories making obtaining tertiary education challenging for rural girls. And the last named issue of the paper is

the lack of family funding, which might be altered with the governmental funding by the authorities who pay attention to this problem.

Putting all into consensus it is time for Uzbekistan to let the other half of its "potential" generate, meaning that educating female generation is able to bring additional returns to the GDP.

#### References:

1. Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Chapter IX. Article 41.
2. stat.uz - according to the official website of the Statistics Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan.
3. Vincent-Lancrin S. *The Reversal of Gender Inequalities in Higher Education. Higher education to 2030 – Volume 1: demography* – ISBN 978-92-64-04065-6 – © OECD 2008
4. Smirnov, A. G. (1972). Education in developing countries. *Soviet Education*, 14(10), 65–70. <https://doi.org/10.2753/RES1060-9393141065>
5. Sperling, G. B., Winthrop, R., & Kwauk, C. (2016). *What Works in Girls' Education (Issue January)*.
6. *Women in higher education: has the female advantage put an end to gender inequalities?* <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000377182>
7. Smagina, O. (2020). Gender and job satisfaction in higher education institution: Case study from Uzbekistan. *Journal of Eastern European and Central Asian Research*, 7(2), 219–229. <https://doi.org/10.15549/jeecar.v7i2.392>
8. Patrinos, H. A., Psacharopoulos, G., & Tansel, A. (2019). Returns to Investment in Education: The Case of Turkey. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, March. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3358397>
9. Patrinos, H. (2016). Estimating the return to schooling using the Mincer equation. *IZA World of Labor*, July, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.15185/izawol.278>
10. Osiobe, E. U., Osiobe, A., Foundation, I., Osiobe, S. A., Osiobe, A., Foundation, I., Osiobe, O., Osiobe, A., & Foundation, I. (2020). *Female education a way Forward ! Female education a way Forward ! i. September*.
11. Masroor, N., Asim, M., & Hussain, S. (2020). E-Commerce: A Gateway to Mobilizing Female Entrepreneurs in the Digital Era. *International Journal of Advance Science and Technology*, 29(10), 1–17.
12. Maksudova, K. (2004). *A Comparative Study of Higher Education Reforms of three Central Asian Countries* :
13. Maguain, D. (2007). Returns to Education: an International Comparison. *Economie et Prevision*, 180–181(4–5), 87–106. <https://doi.org/10.3406/ecop.2007.7673>
14. Ma, X. (2021). *Female Employment and Gender Gaps in Chinanull*. <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/20.500.12657/48696/1/9789813369047.pdf>
15. Lancrin, S. V. (2008). The reversal of gender inequalities in higher education: An on-going trend. In *OECD Higher Education to 2030 (Vol. 1)*.
16. Johnson, H. L. (2017). *Pipelines, Pathways, and Institutional Leadership*. American Council on Education. <https://vtechworks.lib.vt.edu/handle/10919/84062>
17. Fasih, T., Patrinos, H. A., & Shafiq, M. N. (2021). Economic Crises and Returns to University Education in Middle-Income Countries: Stylized Facts and COVID-19 Projections. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 23(1). <https://doi.org/10.52214/cice.v23i1.8138>
18. Caamal-Olvera, C. (2014). Gender Differences in the Returns to Education in Mexico. *Journal of Business and Policy Research*, 9(1), 65–80. <https://doi.org/10.21102/jbpr.2014.07.91.04>
19. Asian Development Bank. (2018). *Uzbekistan Country Gender Assessment Update (Issue december)*. <https://www.adb.org/documents/uzbekistan-gender-assessment-update>
20. Alabi, O. (2018). Financing female Higher Education: Lessons from the Experiences of Female Post-Graduate Students. *Researchgate.Net*, 2(1), 1–18. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326734971>
21. Siddiqa, A. (2018). Status of Women in Islam and the Present Indian Scenario. 3(February), 1–12.
22. Zaman, N. U., Bibi, Z., & Karim, J. (2018). Why Girls Disown Business Education: A Qualitative Study. *Bulletin of Education and Research*, 40(2), 41–63
23. Raj, A., Salazar, M., Jackson, E. C., Wyss, N., McClendon, K. A., Khanna, A., Belayneh, Y., & McDougal, L. (2019). Students and brides: A qualitative analysis of the relationship between girls' education and early marriage in Ethiopia and India. *BMC Public Health*, 19(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-018-6340-6>
24. Yusupov, Yu., *Uzbekistan: women earn less, less educated and less equal. (Ўзбекистан: женщины меньше получают, менее образованны, менее равны)* Interview by Matviyenko, I., 2020.
25. Sabzaliyeva, E. *Gender gaps in higher education across Central Asia. Invited commentary for University World News*, July 2016.
26. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org> - prepared by the authors based on the data of UNESCO
27. Hamdan, A., Sarea, A., Khamis, R., & Anasweh, M. (2020). A causality analysis of the link between higher education and economic development: empirical evidence. *Heliyon*, 6(6), e04046. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e04046>
28. Malinowski, M., & Jabłońska-Porzuczek, L. (2020). Female activity and education levels in selected European Union countries. *Research in Economics*, 74(2), 153–173. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rie.2020.04.002>