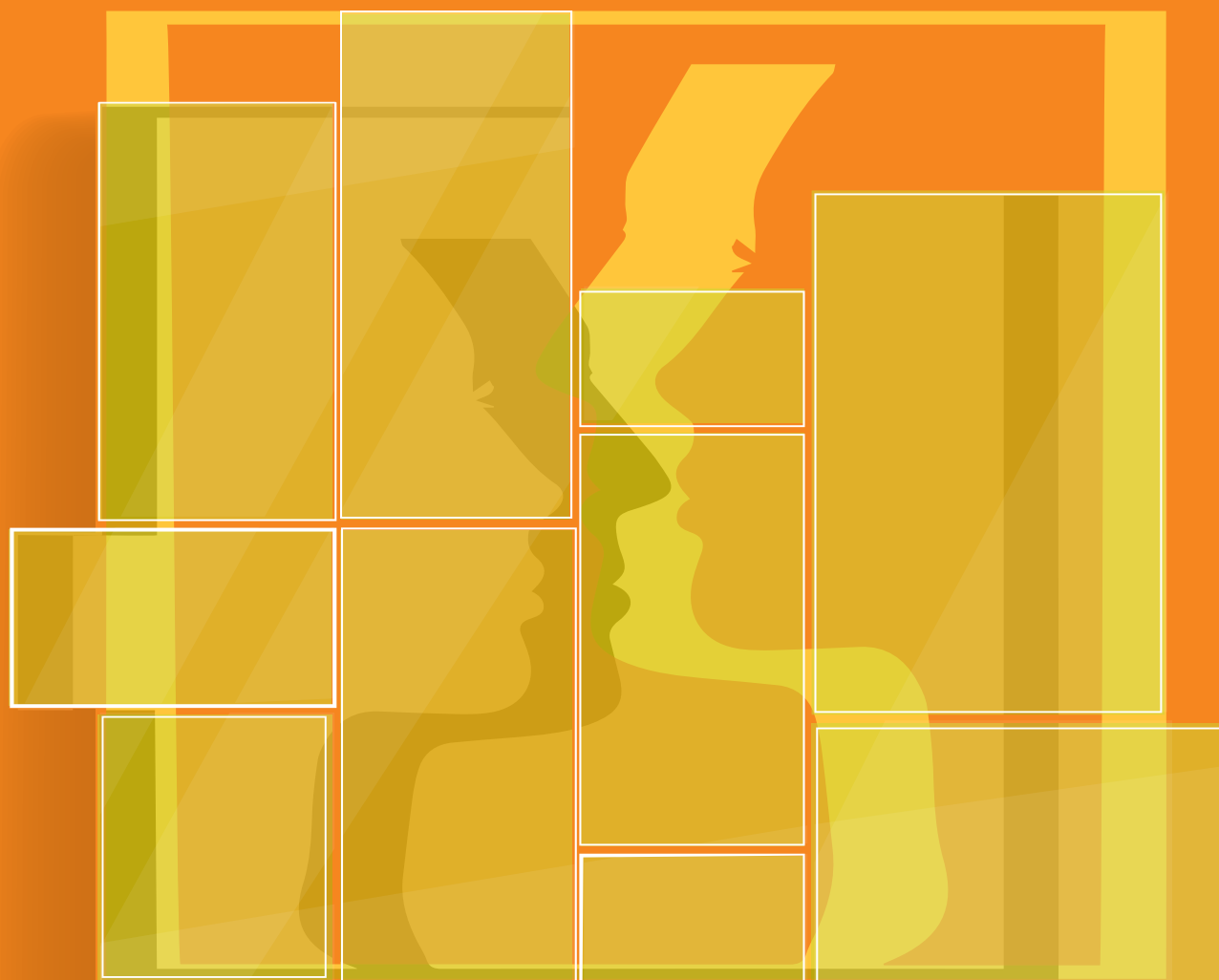




REPORT



ANALYTICAL RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE IN UKRAINE

REPORT

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Dear colleagues, friends, readers!

Only about one third of the respondents (34,1%) among working women never experienced discrimination against them at the workplace. And, the amount of women among the Ukrainian Verhovna Rada deputies never exceeded 8% over the years of independence. Moreover, the average salary of men is almost 30% higher than of women... Such data and more one can find on the pages of this very interesting and timely research.

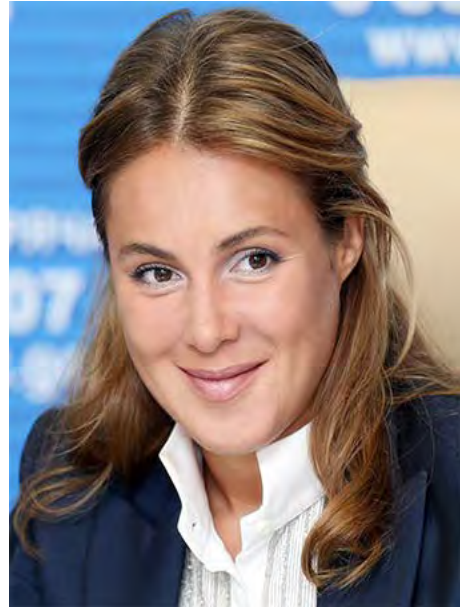
The gender equality issue gradually becomes more substantial in the Ukrainian society. The social development introduces new behavioral principles and attitude towards women.

In September 2013, the State program to ensure equal rights and opportunities for men and women till 2016 has been approved. The Program will implement equality standards for men and women adopting the best European and international experience.

Securing the equality practices for men and women in Ukrainian society constitutes a priority for us today. And, with our joint efforts, I am determined to lift this load of problems that has been piling for years up from the ground level.

This research is a fine example of the increasing attention to gender issues in Ukraine. Due to the results represented in this research, the gender equality issue received qualitative and quantitative assessment.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the United Nations Population Fund Office in Ukraine that supported this research. I am confident that this work will be beneficial not only for specialists, but also for the wide public, those interested in the issues of gender equality.



Natalia Korolevska

Minister of Social Policy of Ukraine

ABBREVIATIONS

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HHS	Household Survey
ILO	International Labour Organization
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	non-governmental organization
UDHS -2007	Ukraine Demographic and Health Survey
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund



The research and publication were financially and technically supported by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) as part of the project UKR2U706 'Increasing the Availability of Disaggregated Population Data for National and Sectorial Development Policymaking, Programming and Public Use', which is a part of the UNFPA Country Programme for Ukraine for 2012-2016. Technical support in the research design and implementation was also provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO). The publication does not represent the official positions of UNFPA or ILO.

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades Ukraine has achieved significant progress in the promotion of gender equality by establishing the core elements of an appropriate legal and institutional framework: Ukraine is signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform of Action. At the national level, commitment to equality is enshrined in the Constitution of Ukraine, while a Law 'On Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities of Men and Women' was adopted in 2005. Ukraine has also ratified International Labour Conventions such as Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), Discrimination (Employment and Occupational) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 (No. 103), Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156), which are among the Key Equality Conventions of the International Labour Organization.

In September of 2000, Ukraine signed the Millennium Declaration together with 189 UN-member states, taking political obligations to achieve the Millennium Development Goals; gender equality is occupies an important place among these goals. The Government of Ukraine prioritized the tasks of achieving gender parity in decision-making and the reduction of the gender gap in wages, selecting a range of indicators for the monitoring and evaluation of the specified goals. Ukraine was also the first among the CIS countries to adopt the 'Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence' in 2001.

However, gender equality is far from being a reality in Ukraine. Significant gender gaps exist in the realization of economic rights and control over economic resources. In addition to the ineffective implementation of the existing provisions for equality in various legal mechanisms, and the persistence of stereotypical notions regarding the role and status of women, the promotion of gender equality and measures to strengthen the equal treatment and equal opportunities of women, and men in the labour market have not been a top priority of Ukrainian employment policy so far.

According to the 2011 UNDP Human Development Report, Ukraine ranked 57th in the global gender inequality index out of 187 countries. The number of women in the Ukrainian Parliament has not exceeded 8 percent since independence and few of them have had any significant influence on the decision or policy making process. The average male wage exceeds the average female by almost 30 per cent, though some decline in the gender wage gap has been observed in recent years. As a whole, official labour market statistics provide rather a full database for gender research on the trends in economic activity and employment of the population. A more detailed analysis however of the social-economic position of men and women lacks certain information. At the same time, there is the under-researched issue of the development of gender stereotypes in society, determining the features of the division into 'male' and 'female' spheres of activity, distribution of social roles of men and women in household life, the impact of family obligations on the opportunities for professional realization and employment in the labour market.

With the purpose of a deeper analysis of these under-researched aspects of gender inequality, an information database of research has been created not only by using official statistics, but also by including results of the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and Household Survey (HHS) realized by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine on a regular basis. The research is also widely based on the results of a special sociological survey 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', conducted by experts of the Ukrainian Centre for Social Reform and M. Ptoukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies of NAS of Ukraine in cooperation with the sociological agency

Centre 'Social Monitoring' in September of 2012, for the purpose of this study. The purpose of the social survey was to study the personal experience of respondents related to the signs of gender inequality in the labour market and general public opinion to this problem, to assess the present peculiarities of distribution of gender roles in society and to define other relevant problems in this field. Two target groups of respondents were selected, including 'working women' (women in employment) and employers. Individual interviews were conducted with 1,001 working women and 206 employers (of them: 93 men and 113 women), representing 26 territorial-administrative units of Ukraine, and various types of settlements.

The authors of this research aimed: to carry out in-depth analysis of the present problems of gender inequality in the Ukrainian labour market and to describe its basic features; to investigate workers' opportunities to combine employment and family obligations; to study peculiarities of income generation of the Ukrainian men and women, in particular to assess the scales of unaccounted work and the contribution of women; to outline public attitudes to discrimination in employment and to assess the frequency of its occurrence. The results of the study allowed the development of a range of policy recommendations and proposals on promoting gender equality in the labour market, and defining the main barriers, which hinder progress in achieving the gender parity in a society.

The publication is a result of the research work of a collective of authors under supervision of Ella Libanova, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Doctor of Economics, consisting of: Svitlana Aksyonova, PhD in Economics (Section 4), Ganna Gerasymenko, PhD in Economics (Section 1, Section 2, conclusions), Iryna Maydannik, PhD in Sociology (Section 3), Olena Makarova, Doctor of Economics (policy recommendations), Lidiia Tkachenko, PhD in Economics (Section 1). Scientific support for this publication was provided by statistics experts – Anna Reut and Olha Lysa, technical support for the publication – by Maksym Otkydach.

SECTION 1. LABOUR MARKET OPENING FOR WOMEN IN UKRAINE

1.1. Recent trends in the employment and participation of women in the Ukrainian labour force.

The labour market performs both economic and social functions. Due to an individual's economic activity, added value is created providing a source of income and a basis for well-being not only for the State as a whole, the employed individual themselves and their families but also for all population strata, particularly via social transfer. Work as a source of income and a form of participation in economic activity offers an individual the opportunity to become an owner of property, including production assets, securities, etc. At the level of the global Millennium Development Goals, full and productive employment and decent work for all were adopted as a central target in eradication of poverty¹.

The employment of women in Ukraine and EU Countries

As far back as the days of the USSR it became the norm for women to be employed in economic activities. Participation in 'socially useful work' was administratively compulsory. During the post-Soviet transformation period, the employment rate of the Ukrainian population substantially declined because of a set of economic, political and social factors (cancellation of legislatively mandatory employment, destruction of the centralized economy, growing unemployment during the transition period crisis, greater educational enrolment of young people, extension of the period of study, etc.)².

The employment rate of Ukrainian women was 57.5% in 2011 which was rather close to the EU average figure of 58.5% and exceeded the indicator of most South and East European countries³ (Fig. 1.1). At the same time, the female employment rate in Ukraine is much lower than those in the Nordic countries that are recognized leaders in pursuing an efficient policy of gender equality promotion. In particular, the employment rate of women aged 15-64 is about 70% in Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Finland. Approximately the same figure is recorded among women in traditionally conservative Germany and Austria as well as in Iceland, Norway and Switzerland, particularly in 2011.

It should also be noted that on average the female employment rate in Ukraine is growing at a slower pace than in the EU. During 2000-2011, female employment rates in most EU countries increased by 5-7 percent points whereas in Ukraine the growth was only 2.4 percent points. Figure 1.1 shows the slow pace of female employment growth rates in all post-socialist states, even in the countries where the employment rate is substantially lower than the EU average (except in the case of Bulgaria).

One of the reasons for Ukraine lagging behind the highly developed European countries in terms of female employment and its growth rates is the considerably lower retirement age limit. The retirement age for women in Ukraine was 55 years until recently whereas the current standard European retirement age is 65, regardless of sex. Perhaps, the recently introduced gradual raising of the retirement age in Ukraine will allow the gap between female employment rate in Ukraine and advanced countries in the future to be reduced.

¹ Guide to the new Millennium Development Goals Employment Indicators: including the full set of Decent Work Indicators / International Labour Office. – Geneva: ILO, 2009. – 48 p.

² Human development of the regions of Ukraine: 2004 (collective of authors) / Yearly scientific-analytical report / Edited by E.M. Libanova. – K.: Institute for Demography and Social Studies of NAS, State Statistics of Ukraine, 2004. – 266 p. (here: pp. 123–126).

³ To ensure correct international comparisons of employment and unemployment rate figures, the European standard of working age – 15-64 years – has been used.

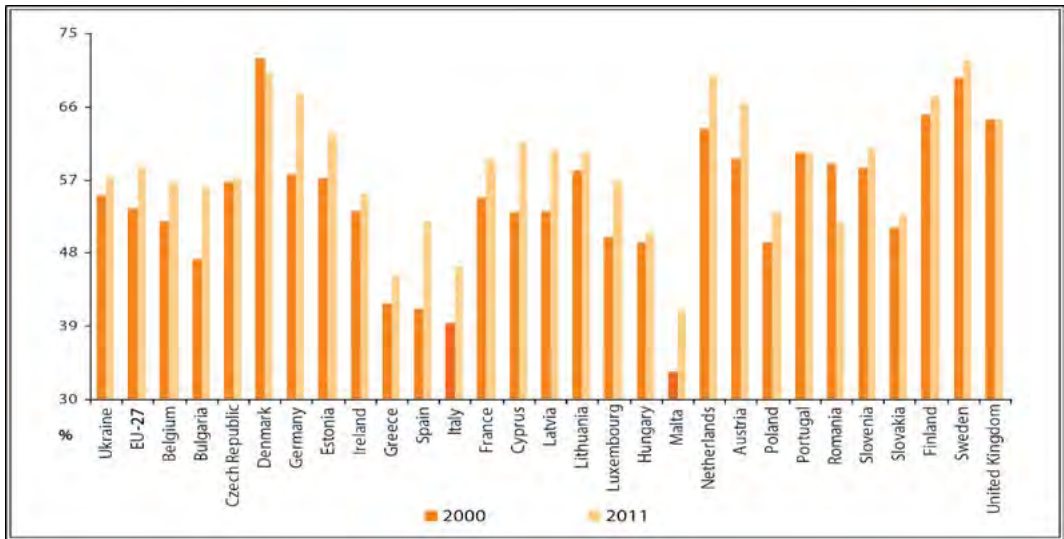


Fig. 1.1. Female employment rate in some European countries (population aged 15–64), 2000 and 2011

Source: *Economic activity of population of Ukraine - 2011: Statistics Yearbook / Responsible editor N.V. Grigorych. – K.: State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2012. — P. 163*

The female unemployment rate in Ukraine is considerably lower than the EU average (Fig. 1.2). The leading countries overcoming the unemployment are Austria and the Netherlands, where this indicator has been at the so-called 'natural level of unemployment' (4-5%) throughout the past 10 years.

In most EU countries, like Ukraine, no considerable increase in female employment rates was recorded during the financial and economic crisis period. The exceptions were countries who were effected the most by the crisis: Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and in the last two years Greece and Spain (now having Europe's highest unemployment rates). It is these countries that now have the widest gender gap in terms of unemployment rates (5-7 percentage points). In Greece only the female unemployment rate remains much higher than male (21.6% against 15.2% in 2011). In general, a narrowing of the gender gaps in unemployment rates can be observed in Europe, although the reasons for the narrowing may include various factors prompted by the crisis such as the fact that initially the crisis hit the male-dominated sectors, resulting in a faster increase in the overall unemployment rate for men than for women, as well as the possibility that women might become discouraged following a reduction in their wages, and withdraw from the labour market⁴.

⁴ ILO (2012), *Global Employment Trends for Women 2012* / International Labour Office – Geneva: ILO, December 2012

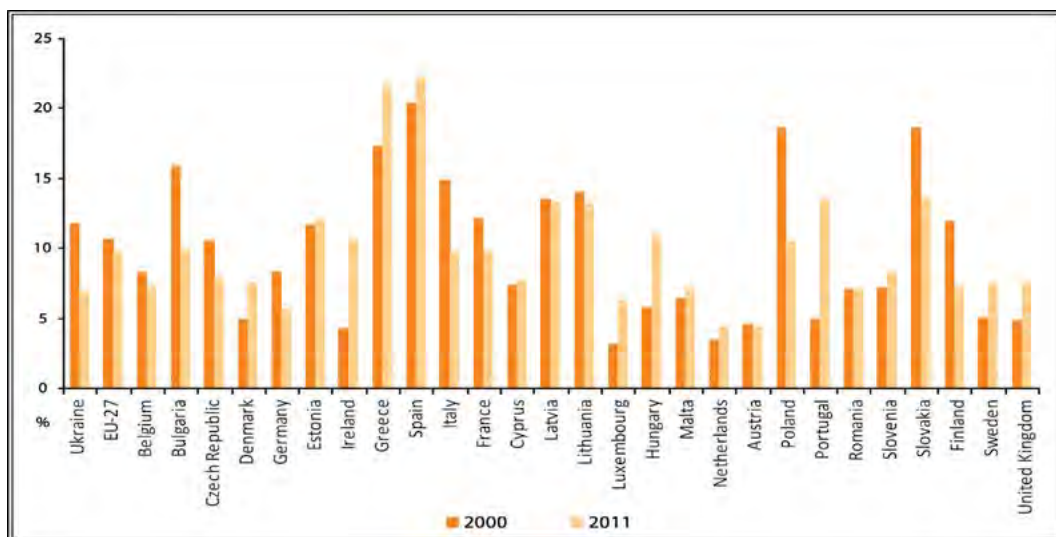


Fig. 1.2. Female unemployment rate in some European countries (population aged 15–64), 2000 and 2011

Source: *Economic activity of population of Ukraine - 2011: Statistics Yearbook / Responsible editor I.V. Senyk. – K.: State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2012. — P.170*

Recent trends in female employment and unemployment in Ukraine

Work accessibility for women in the most general dimension, can be estimated through the indicators of the number and structure of the employed and unemployed as well as employment and unemployment rates.

Throughout 2000-2011, the number of women in employment remained almost unchanged, varying within the range from 9.8 million in 2011 to 10.1 million in 2005-2008; in the last three years, the indicator has begun to lessen (Fig. 1.3). The number of men in employment changed in a more dynamic way and directionally: during 2001-2008 it increased from 10.2 to almost 10.9 million; in the crisis year of 2009 it dropped by more than 0.6 million, but in the post-crisis years it has demonstrated a tendency to recover.

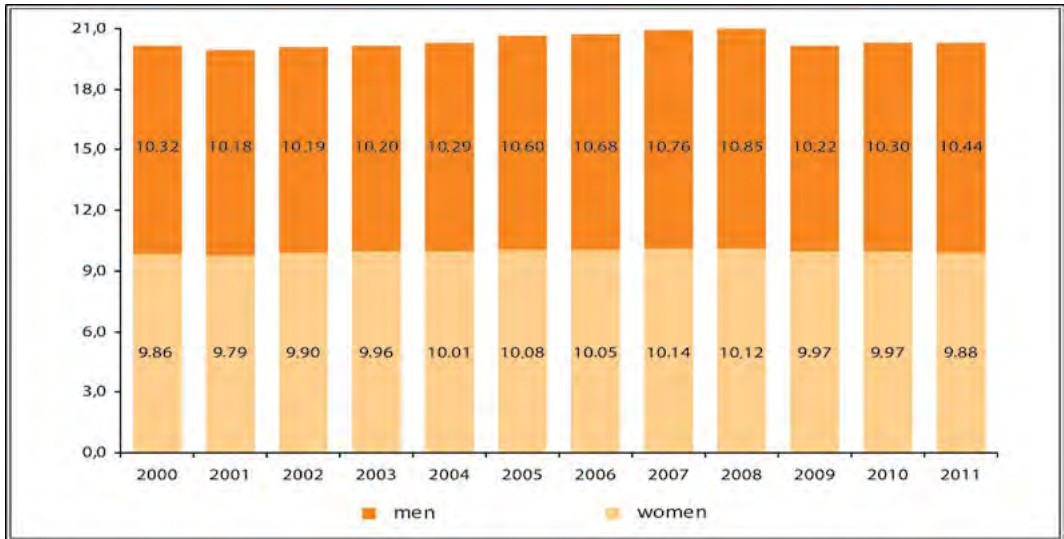


Fig. 1.3. The number of individuals in employment by gender (aged 15–70), Ukraine, 2000–2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

According to Ukrainian legislation, the retirement age was 55 for women and 60 for men in the reporting period. Despite this circumstance, women made up almost a half (about 49%) of those in employment. This is explained by two factors: prevalence of employment among retirement-age women and the predominance of women among the adult population. Due to an extremely high male mortality, the age when women and men become equal in numbers in Ukraine is unnaturally low, 30–34, whereas 50 is considered a normal age for a balance of sexes in a population⁵. The female share among the population aged 15–70 (age limits for economic activity surveys) reaches 53–55%.

In the near future, women's role in the shaping of the employed element will obviously grow because, according to the Law of Ukraine on Measures for Legislative Support of Pension System Reform, the gradual raising of women's retirement age began on the 1st of October 2011. It is envisaged that by 2021 the retirement age for both sexes will be 60. In particular, the number of working women increased by 9,400 during the first half of 2012 year-on-year⁶.

Unlike the absolute indicator, the female employment rate increased throughout the reporting period in a stable, though slow fashion (Fig. 1.4). Even the crisis in 2009 actually did not stop this trend. As far as then male employment rate is concerned, four periods of time can be clearly identified: stagnation (2000–2004), a fast rise (2005–2008), critical decline (2009), and post-crisis recovery (since 2010 onwards). Proceeding from these findings, we can conclude that male employment is more sensitive to measures of active state labour market policy (for example, the impact of the presidential programme on creation of 1 million new jobs every year that was implemented since 2005) and to economic cycle impacts.

⁵ Human development of the regions of Ukraine: analysis and projection (collective monograph) / Ed. by E.M. Libanova. – K.: Institute for Demography and Social Studies of NASU, 2007. – 367 p. (here: p. 163).

⁶ Economic activity of population in the half of 2012: Express-issue of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine from 24.09.2012 №09/2-27/273.

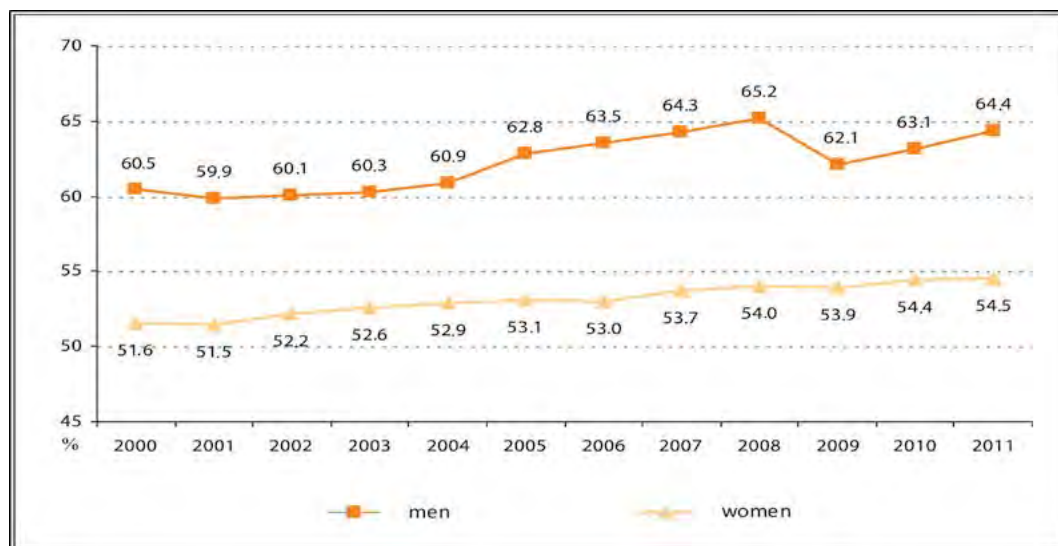


Fig. 1.4. Employment-to-population ratio by gender (aged 15–70), Ukraine, 2000–2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

The smallest gap between male and female employment rates was recorded in 2003 (7.7 percentage point) whereas the largest was seen in 2008 (11.2 percentage point). Raising of the female retirement age should decrease this gap in the future. The female employment rate increased to 55.1% in the first half of 2012 (in the first half of 2011 it was 54.7%) but increase in the male employment rate occurred at a higher rate owing to the post-crisis recovery, due to which the gender gap in employment slightly increased (9.4 percentage points against 9.1 in 2011).

Unemployment rate behaviour generally indicates broader employment opportunities for Ukrainian women. Throughout 2000–2007, the number of unemployed women was declining at a faster pace than unemployed men (Fig. 1.5). Due to that, the female share among the unemployed decreased from 48.5% to 45.6%.

At the same time, data clearly shows that women were the first to have been hit by the financial and economic crisis. In the second half of 2008, when the global crisis reached Ukraine, the number of unemployed women started rising earlier (as far back as the third quarter) than that of men, and it increased more intensely in the fourth quarter than male unemployment. Overall growth of unemployment in the second half of 2008 among women reached 234.9 thousand, whereas the figure for men was 178.3 thousand⁷. Although the next year, 2009, unemployment was already growing mainly among men, we can still say that women were more vulnerable to dismissal at the time of economic downturn. Attention also should be paid to the fact that female unemployment in the post-crisis years of 2010 and 2011 reduced at a slower pace than the corresponding male indicator.

⁷ Calculated on the basis of: Economic activity of population of Ukraine 2008: Statistics Yearbook / Edited by N.V. Grygorovych. – K.: State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2009. — 232 p. (here: p. 60).

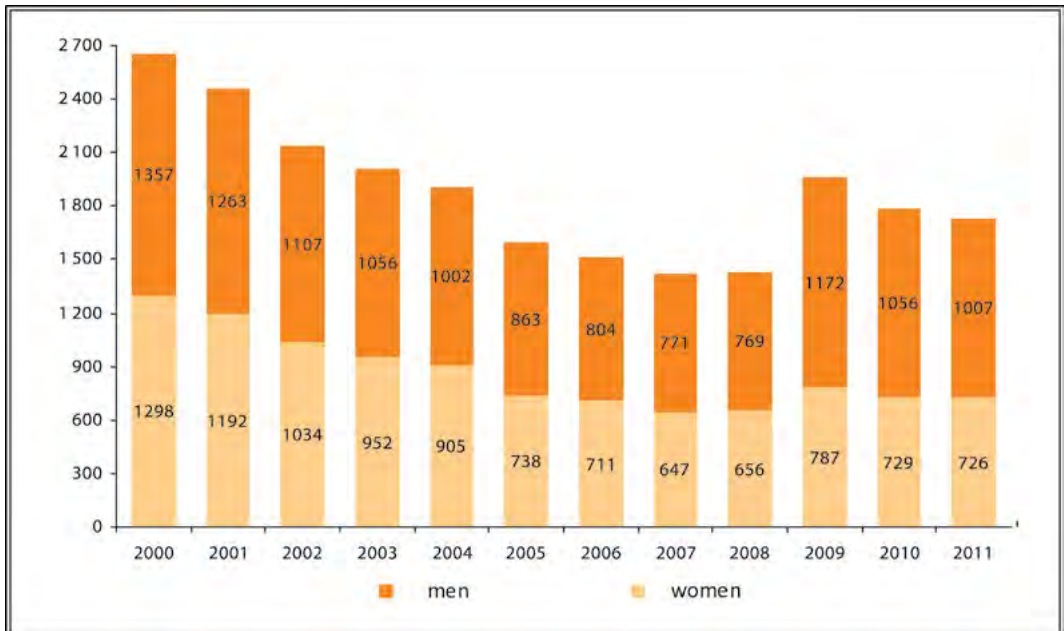


Fig. 1.5. Unemployed population by gender (aged 15–70), Ukraine, 2000–2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

In 2000, female and male unemployment rates were the same, 11.6% (Fig. 1.6). Due to faster unemployment decline in 2001–2007 and to weaker effects of the 2008–2009 crisis, this indicator is currently much lower for women than for men (6.8% against 8.8%).

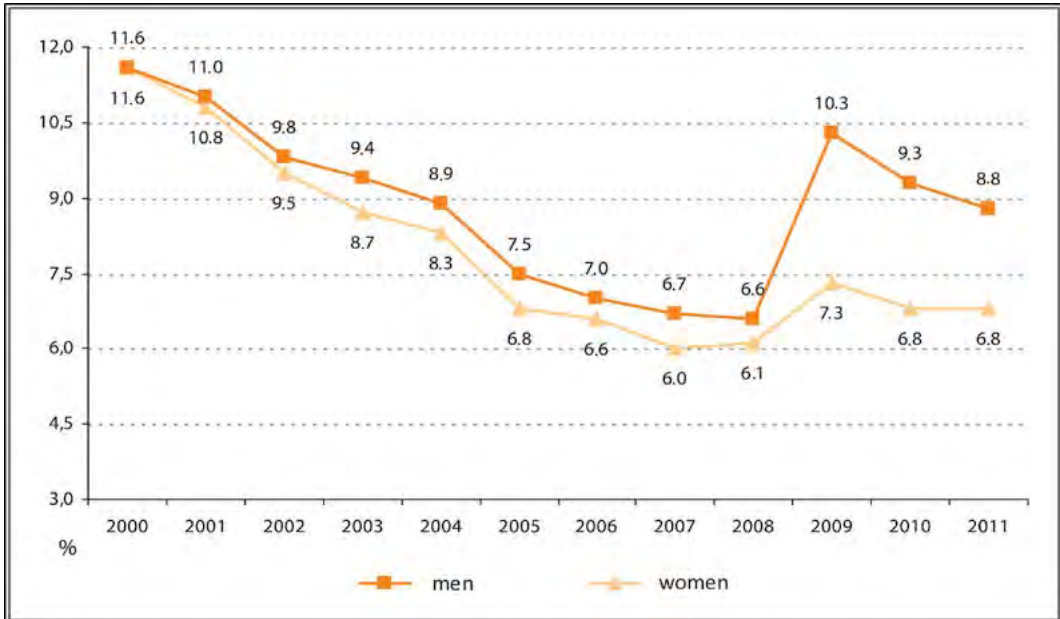


Fig. 1.6. Unemployment rate by gender (aged 15–70), Ukraine, 2000–2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

Despite fears from some politicians and experts that an retirement age increase could lead to growing female unemployment, results of the first half of 2012 showed a clearly positive trend. Compared to the corresponding period of 2011, the number unemployed women decreased by 75.4 thousand while the female unemployment rate declined by 0.7 percentage points (to 6.2%). Therewith, a gap between female and male unemployment rates reached 3 percentage points – a similar gap was recorded only in the crisis year of 2009 when the male unemployment rate jumped sharply.

Dynamical analysis of general employment and unemployment indicators for the first decade of the 21st century gives grounds to conclude that women are rather well represented at the Ukrainian labour market, constituting almost a half of the employed population. It should be noted that women benefited from improvement of the economic situation in the country to a greater extent; this is indicated by more stable increase in female employment, which facilitated a decline in female unemployment. Female employment turned out to be more sustainable, and it suffered far less from the implications of the global financial and economic crisis of 2008–2009. This kind of gender difference in response to the crisis is typical for most European countries and can be explained by peculiarities of female and male employment structure by economic activity: industry and construction, with male employment dominating, suffered from the crisis most of all⁸. However, in the post-crisis period females are returning to work more slowly because a considerable share of those who lost their jobs are not looking for a new one and are dropping out of labour force.

⁸ Women in labour markets: measuring progress and identifying challenges / International Labour Office. — Geneva: ILO, 2010. — XV+92 pp.

Economic inactivity in labour market: a gender analysis

According to the Labour Force Survey results for persons aged 15-70, the economically inactive category included 4.75 million men (almost 30% of men of economically active age) and 7.51 million women (more than 40% of women of economically active age) in 2011 (Fig. 1.7). Hence, women accounted for almost two-thirds of the entire economically inactive population, prevailing among both those of a working-age and those of retirement age.

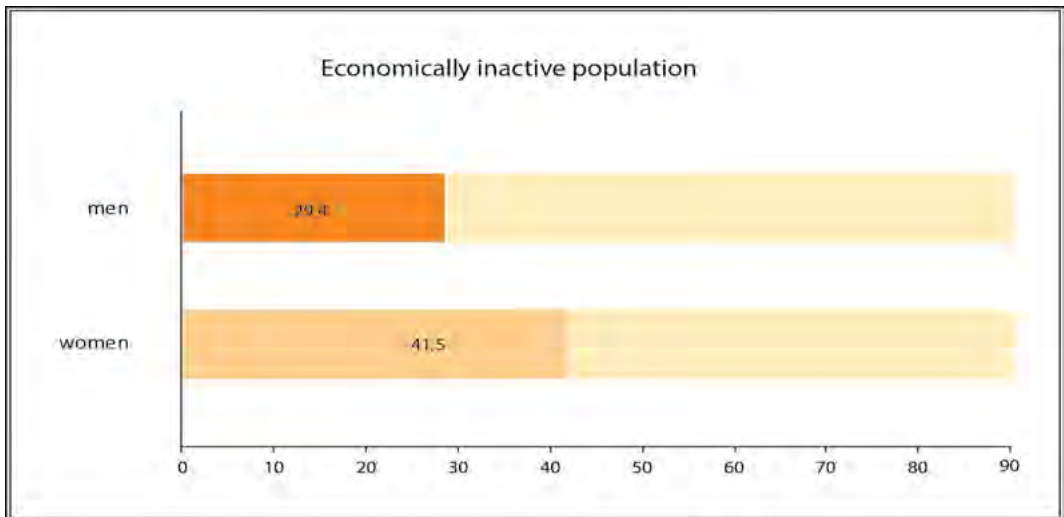


Fig. 1.7. Population aged 15-70 by gender and economic inactivity, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

The key reason for non-participation of both women and men in labour force consists of the pension status (49.9% against 48.5% of inactive population of the respective sex in 2011): The absence of a considerable gender gap amid women's lower retirement age can probably be explained by greater prevalence of 'special', early pensions among men. The second significant reason for male inactivity is the pursuit of education. Due to this more than 1.54 million men are not seeking employment. The salient reason for women is the preference of home (family) responsibilities, i.e. 'housewife status' (Fig. 1.8). This reason for economic inactivity is of top priority for working-age women (45.7% of the respective group); in the groups of the most active reproductive age, it reaches considerably higher figures: 85.5% inactive women aged 25-29, 84.7% aged 30-34, and 79.9% aged 35-39. Taking into account that a rather large share of housewives have a higher education, it's clear that a considerable percentage of the domestic skilled labour force does not realize its potential labour opportunities in the labour market. As for other reasons for economic inactivity, such as health, disillusionment, seasonal character of work, hopes for returning to a previous job, or early retirement, their impact is rather insignificant, determining inactivity of small population segments each of which accounts for up to one percent of the respective aggregates.

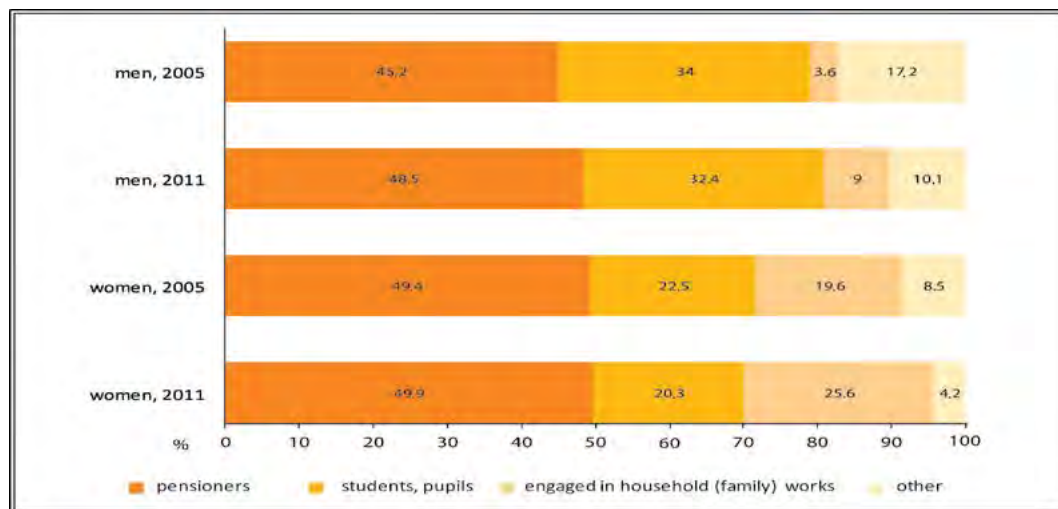


Fig. 1.8. Composition of economically inactive population by gender and reasons of inactivity, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

Note that, compared to the pre-crisis period, a considerable growth occurred in that part of the inactive population that relinquished labour activity for the performance of family responsibilities. Substantial labour force drain into the household sector was typical for younger women. For comparison: in 2005, pursuit of education remained the key reason for female inactivity whereas the share of women who did not enter the labour market due to their family responsibilities was less than 20% (Annex A – Table A.1). Prevalence of that reason for inactivity among younger female groups was also considerably lower: only two-thirds of women aged 25-29 and 61% aged 30-34 gave up employment for housekeeping. Respective shifts in the peculiarities of labour force participation provide a good illustration of the underlying theories of household economy, according to which housekeeping becomes a more ‘advantageous’ sphere of labour application for women amid an economic crisis than the paid employment sector⁹. Interestingly, this tendency affected not only women but also men, among which the percentage of those engaged in performance of home (family) responsibilities increased from 3.6% of the inactive population in 2005 to 9% in 2011.

However, in the opinion of Russian scientist S.Yu. Roshchin¹⁰, a woman’s choice between paid employment and domesticity depends not only on the level of their skills or career aspirations but also on their husbands’ occupation and income. Some unemployed women chose to become housewives voluntarily; others can only conditionally be included in the housewife category because of having some supplementary earnings; finally others are willing to work but unable to find a job. Determining whether the status of ‘housewife’ is chosen voluntarily remains the key problem because the perceived public value of household work remains rather low and results in a woman’s material dependence on her husband.

⁹ Becker G. A Treatise on the Family. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1981.

¹⁰ Roshchin S.Yu., Gorelkina O.A. Gender disparities in wages: microeconomic analysis of factors and trends // Gender inequality in the modern Russia through the prism of statistics. – M.: Editorial URSS, 2004, Pp. 130-146.

Structural shifts in employment status by gender

Generally during 2000-2011, a re-distribution of employment was taking place in the Ukrainian labour market from the paid employment sector to the self-employed sector (Fig. 1.9). These structural changes concerned both women (the number of self-employed women increased from 1.06 to 1.99 million) and men (this increased from 0.97 to 1.93 million). However, the shift from paid employment to self-employment was more prevalent for women than men. For example, among women, the share of self-employment increased from 10.8% in 2000 to 20.1% in 2011, while the share of self-employment among men was 9.4% in 2000 and increased to 18.5% in 2011.

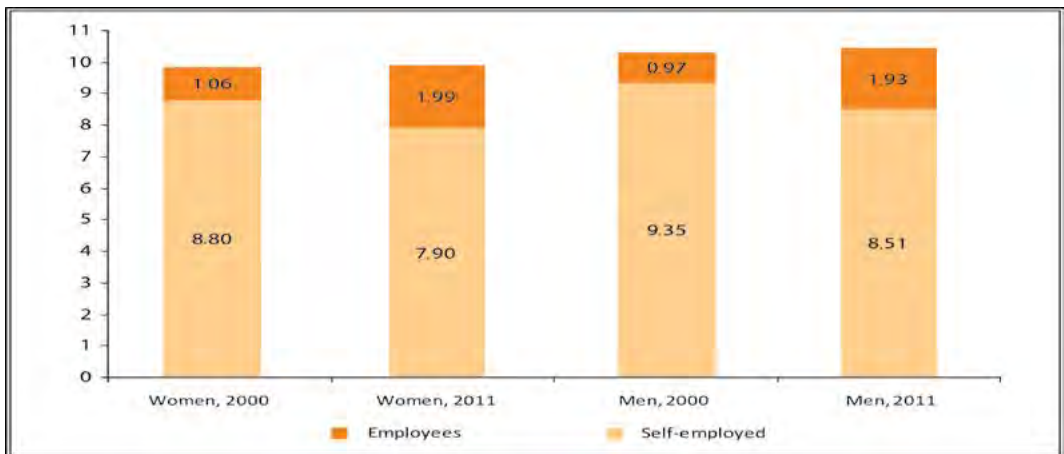


Fig. 1.9. Employed population by gender and aggregated status of employment at the labour market, Ukraine, 2000 and 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

Two main issues can be gleaned from the status of employment. All employment statuses not connected with 'hired work' could indicate certain entrepreneurial opportunities that permitted greater success in professional activity. This is true both for employers and own-account workers as well as unpaid family workers whose economic activity is connected with the realization of their own business. On the other hand, self-employment, especially own-account work and unpaid family contributing worker can indicate 'vulnerable employment' where work is performed for low pay or no pay, perpetuating the phenomenon of the 'working poor'. Hence the breakdown of the population by statuses of employment provides some idea on peculiarities of male and female opportunities for the realization of their own entrepreneurial potentials, or their vulnerability. The larger share of women among the self-employed confirms the results of the studies conducted by the International Finance Corporation according to which the number of female sole proprietors is slightly greater than that of male sole proprietors (based on 2010 results, women accounted for 53% of that employment category). Gender analysis with a breakdown by activity sector confirmed that the number of female sole proprietors in trade (70% of the total number of female sole proprietors) is almost two times greater than the number of male sole proprietors in that sector (38%)¹¹.

¹¹ Report of IFC 'Investment climate in Ukraine: how the business perceives it' / International Finance Corporation. – K.: IFC, 2011: [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: ifc.org/Ukraine/ifc.

Although the structure of the breakdown by employment status is rather similar for men and women (Fig. 1.10), women are more likely to be the self-employed population whose economic activities feature smaller scope and turnover (the so-called own account workers; a person who is self-employed with no employees working for them), whereas among men the share of employers (i.e. entrepreneurs that not only secure their own well-being but also create jobs for other persons) is somewhat larger (Annex A – Table A.2). It is also noteworthy that the share of unpaid family workers decreased for women. To the extent that women are entering into paid self-employment, the shift is a positive one, However it may also be an indication of intensifying poverty which required previously unpaid family workers to engage in some form of income generation through self-employment.

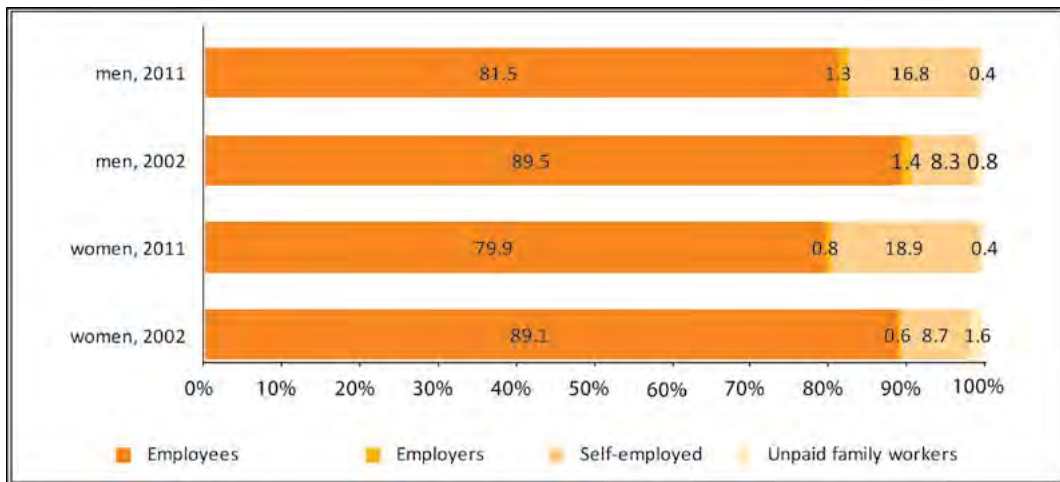


Fig. 1.10. Employed population by gender and status of employment at the labour market, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

Certain gender-related features are also typical for the age structure of the self-employed population and unpaid workers (Fig. 1.11). The age-specific distribution of the female population having respective statuses in the labour market is characterized by a greater shift towards older age groups – as compared with men, a larger part of the relevant category of women are older than 50. On the other hand, self-employed men mostly belong to younger age groups: the greatest percentages of this contingent are proportionally distributed within the age group of 30-49 years. When compared to women, percentages of the youngest self-employed men are also markedly higher. Another feature of the male self-employed population is a somewhat greater percentage of persons having a full tertiary education (12.5% against 8% for women). Taking this into consideration, we can assume that for men belonging to the self-employed category, this employment status can be regarded as a more 'decent' and productive alternative to hired work, providing more opportunities for professional realization and expansion of their potential, whereas women are 'forced out' into self-employment when they are unable to compete in the 'hired work' sector. In other words, employment in this sector for women is associated not with greater entrepreneurial opportunities but with higher vulnerability in the labour market. This

assumption however should be supported by further research, targeted particularly at these population groups to reveal the actual reasons and circumstances of employment status with regard to gender.

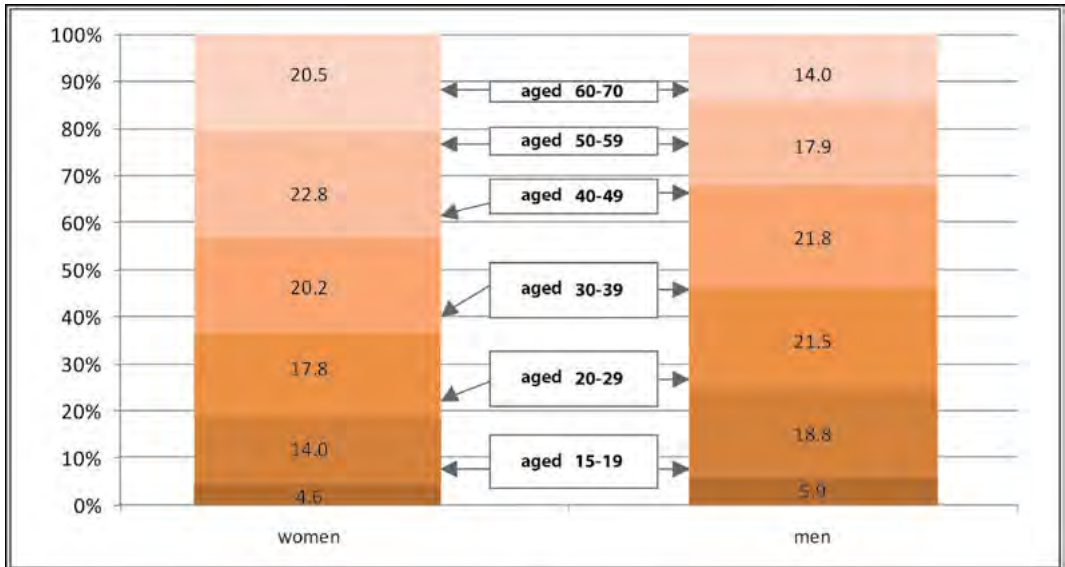


Fig. 1.11. Sex-age composition of self-employed population, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

At the same time, in the contemporary, post-industrial stage of societal development, special opportunities in the labour market are being created for women because the population's employment structure is changing towards the expansion of services and new models of relations in the world of work are being formed. Women seem to have acquired competitive advantages owing to their perceived socialized qualities. These include particularly high communication skills, credibility, a developed intuition, psychological capabilities, persistence and responsibility, fitness to overcome stress situations, etc. Positive factors also include women's greater social orientation, higher consolidation, relatively low potential of conflict of interests, and a lower corruption level.

Age, educational and regional profiles of women's employment and unemployment in Ukraine

During 2000-2011, a clear tendency for an ageing female workforce was observed (Fig. 1.12). Although the number and structural share of women aged 15-34 ('youth' according to national legislation) remained almost unchanged, the number of persons of pre-retirement and retirement age increased by 583 thousand whereas their structural share in total female employed went up from 21.2% to 27.0%. On the contrary, representation of the middle-age group (35-49) declined.

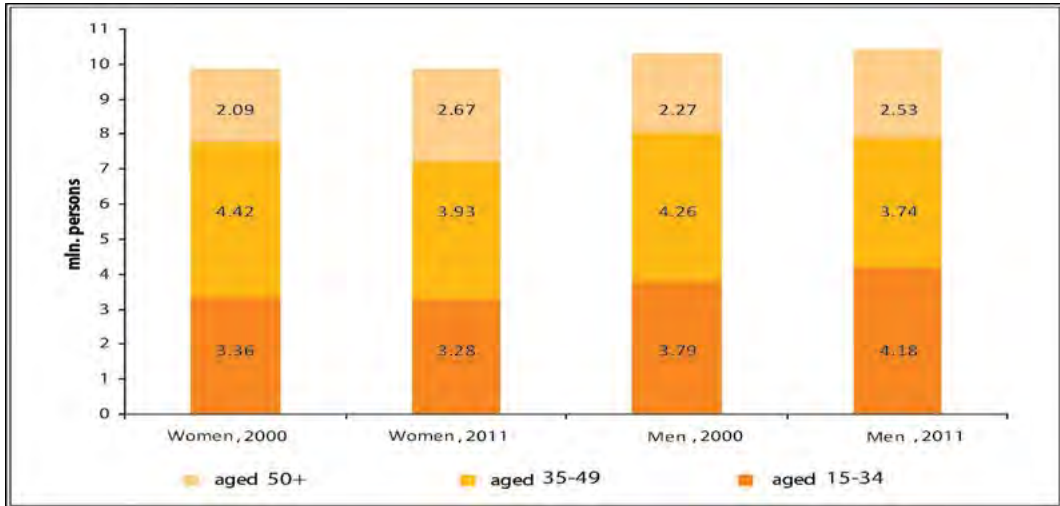


Fig. 1.12. Employed population by gender and age groups, Ukraine, 2000-2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

There is a less pronounced aged male workforce. The number and percentage of the middle-age group underwent a large-scale reduction (even larger than the female workforce) but redistribution of the age cohorts took place due to growing representation of younger ones. Despite the statutory difference in retirement age, the share of persons aged 50 and older among employed men is substantially lower now than among women (24.2% against 27.0%). To a great extent this has been a consequence of high mortality among working-age men.

Structural shifts in the employed population's age composition have been caused not only by variations in the total quantity of female and male generations but also by oppositely directed gender dynamics of age-specific employment rates (Fig. 1.13). The employment rate among women aged 25-34 decreased considerably. It is connected first of all with transition to a modern family model (a greater age of marriage and childbirth) as well as with a growing enrolment rate in higher education. At the same time, the employment rate among women older than 40 increased markedly. Among men on the contrary, employment rate growth was recorded in younger age groups whereas it remained unchanged after 40. It is the age of 40-49 that the lowest gender gap in terms of employment was seen – it is traditionally the age in which the burden of family responsibilities upon women is minimized and more opportunities are open for economic activities.

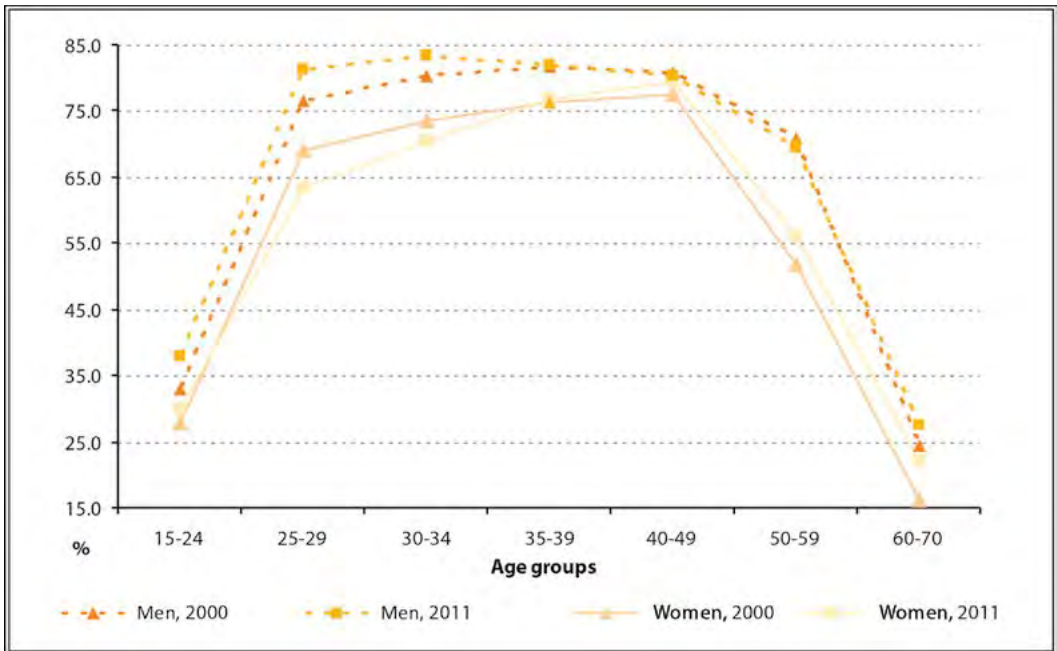


Fig. 1.13. Age-specific employment rates by gender, Ukraine, 2000-2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

Generally, the number of unemployed men in Ukraine has traditionally been higher than the number of unemployed women (1,007 thousand against 725.7 thousand in 2001); at the same time, reasons for unemployed are characterized by certain gender-related features (Fig. 1.14). Although differences in this field are rather minor, we can state that the share of those released for economic reasons (such as closing of enterprises, staff reduction, etc.) and those not placed in a job after graduation from educational institutions is somewhat higher among unemployed women. On the other hand, percentages of those who resigned of their own accord or were dismissed due to contract expiry are somewhat higher among unemployed men. This is evidence of a male higher confidence is seeking employment. However, analysis of unemployment drivers in the crisis and post-crisis period reaffirms that it was women who turned out to be more protected in terms of employment safeguards because the share of unemployed men released for economic reasons approached as close as possible the corresponding 'female' indicator those years and even exceeded it in 2010 (Annex A – Table A.3).

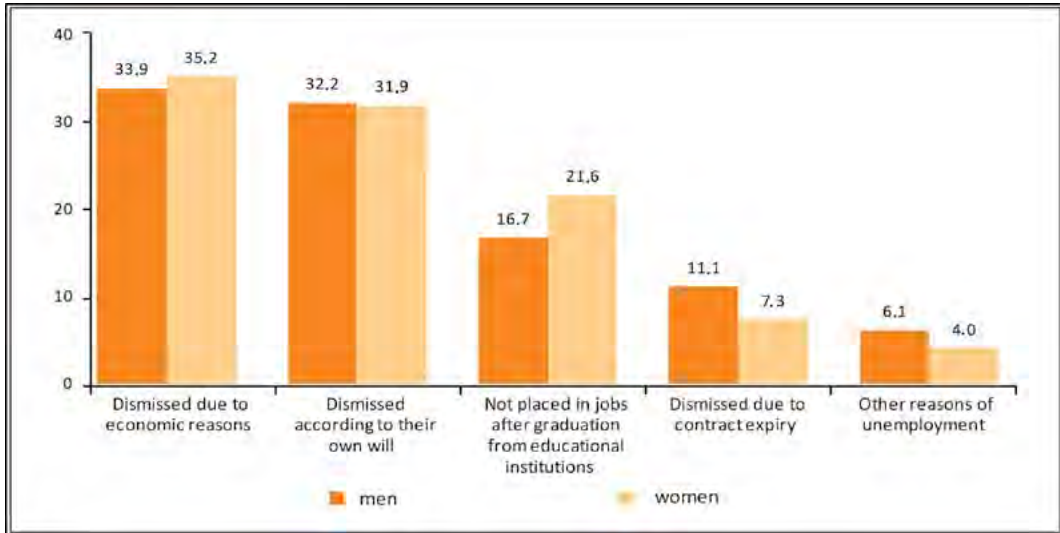


Fig. 1.14. Reasons of unemployment (population aged 15-70) by gender, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

When analysing employment, special attention is paid to the situation of young persons aged 15-24. An important stage of the socialization of young generations falls on this age interval – transition from childhood to adult life, from training to economic activities (employment), searching for first jobs, etc.

During 2000-2011, unemployment in absolute terms has decreased substantially in each and all age groups, including youth unemployment (Fig. 1.15). Unemployment among middle-age persons (35-49 years) declined at a faster pace, due to which the share of young people aged 15-24 in the total number of unemployed increased slightly. At present, it is 28.8% among unemployed women and 27.5% among unemployed men. The number of unemployed individuals of pre-retirement and retirement age is quite minor. Overall, gender-related features in the unemployed population's age composition are much less appreciable than among the employed population. It is obviously caused by the fact that the unemployed population is formed mostly under the impact of economic trends rather than demographic factors; in particular, the sex-age population composition makes a considerably lower impact.

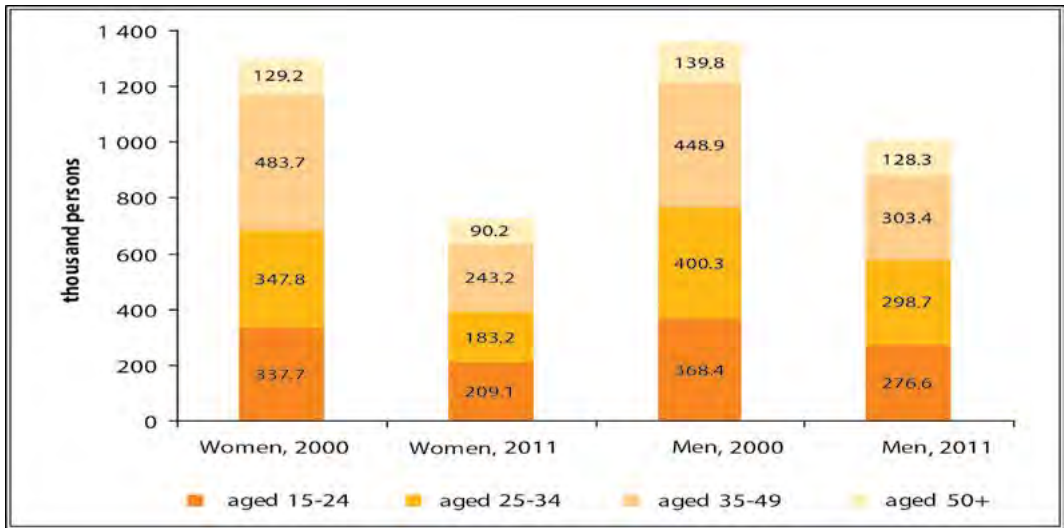


Fig. 1.15. Unemployed population by gender and age groups, Ukraine, 2000-2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

The unemployment rate decreased between 2000 and 2011 in all age groups regardless of gender (Fig. 1.16). Traditionally, the highest unemployment rate is recorded among young persons aged 15-24 (usually being two times higher than the average rate for the entire population), which is related to searching for first jobs. The female and male unemployment rates were the same only in this working-age interval in 2011; in other age groups, female unemployment was much lower than male.

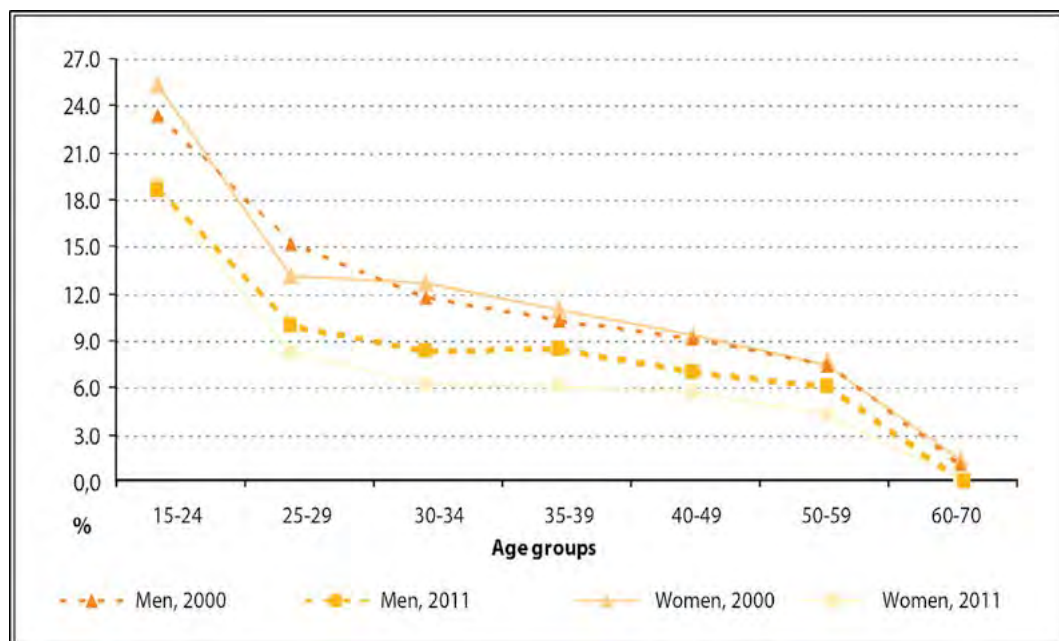


Fig. 1.16. Age-specific unemployment rates by gender, Ukraine, 2000-2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

So far, it is hard to evaluate the impacts of the pension reform measures, particularly the raising of the retirement age and the increase in required pensionable service, upon changes in age profiles of female employment and unemployment. In the first half of 2012, the employment rate for women aged 40 and older even decreased a bit as compared to the same period of 2011, however, that of women aged 25-39 increased; the unemployment rate for women up to 50 has substantially declined whereas it has slightly grown in the 50-59 age group (4.2% against 3.8%)¹². Although the changes are within statistical error limits and the half-year results are affected by seasonality to some extent, it is clearly necessary to design additional target active employment policies for women aged 50-59.

Because of a change of the education classification in the economic activity survey programme, gender analysis of educational profiles of employment and unemployment is only available for the period since 2004. During 2004-2011, the number of employed women having completed tertiary education increased by 667.7 thousand and reached 30% of the total female population (2004 – 22.9%). At present, more than 56% of working women have a tertiary education (including complete, basic and incomplete). Male education level is considerably lower: only 24.4% of working men have a complete tertiary education whereas 16.8% of employed men have an incomplete or basic tertiary education (Fig. 1.17). This is despite the fact that the male age composition is considerably 'younger', as mentioned above, whereas tertiary education has become wide-scale in Ukraine since the late 1990s. That is to say that female educational 'breakaway' has widened considerably over the last ten years.

¹² Labour market in the I half of 2012: Express-Issue of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine from 18.10.2012 №09/2-26/294

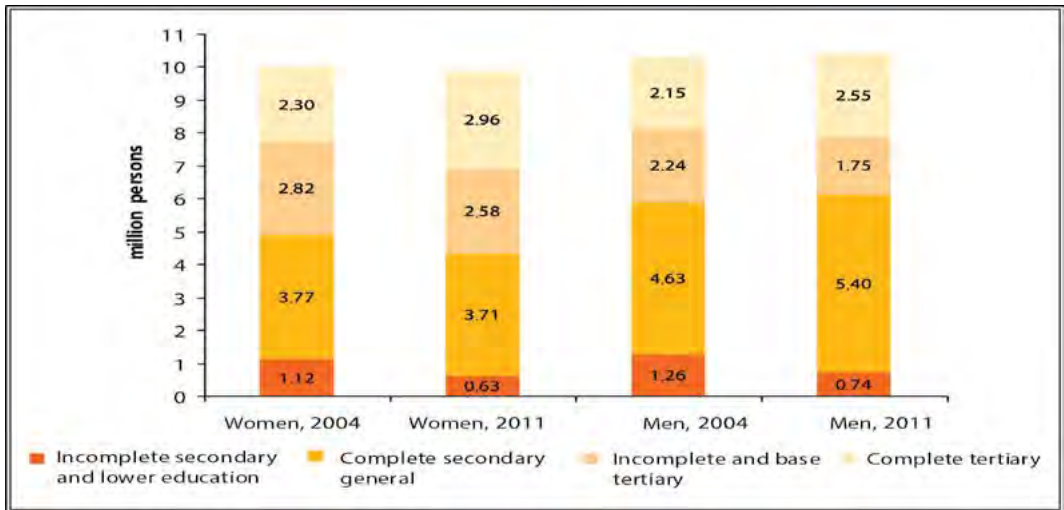


Fig. 1.17. Employed population by gender and educational level, Ukraine, 2004 and 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

This situation is related to male overall 'loss' in terms of educational attainments, that being a typical situation for contemporary Europe¹³. European women are to a much greater extent focused on acquiring tertiary education, and they have an opportunity of realizing these aspirations: their number among students of tertiary educational institutions is much greater than the number of men¹⁴. In Ukraine, the gender parity index (ratio between the numbers of women and men) among the students of TEIs of III-IV accreditation levels increased from 1.109 in 2000/01 academic year to 1.22 in 2008/09 academic year¹⁵. In recent years, the index declined (to 1.163) because of a 'shortage' of university entrants and measures taken to simplify entrance, but it's quite obvious that female educational superiority will keep growing.

Further growth in female educational potential is a pledge of their competitiveness in the labour market because there is a direct correlation between the education level and the employment rate: the highest employment rate is seen among persons having complete tertiary education (Fig. 1.18). It should be noted that this nexus shows itself more clearly among women: their education level grows almost in an arithmetic progression with each subsequent stage. Among men, a dramatic increase in the employment rate can be seen with the acquisition of complete secondary education; from that point on, the employment rate responds to any education level rise in a considerably more discreet way. The employment rate of women having complete tertiary education is 1.4 times higher than the figure for women having complete secondary education (1.2 times for men). It is among the persons having complete tertiary education that the least employment gender gap is recorded. Probably, the outstripping growth of women's education levels will promote their higher employment rates and reduce the gender gaps in employment in the labour market.

¹³ Kalabikhina, E. gender factor in economic development of Russia: Monograph. – M.: MAKCPress, 2009. – P. 184.

¹⁴ Key Data on Education in Europe. 2012 Edition. – Brussels: Eurydice, 2009 – Pp. 79–80.

¹⁵ Main indicators of activity of tertiary education institutions of Ukraine at the beginning of 2011/12 academic year :Statistical Bulletin / Edited by I.V. Kalachova. – K.: State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2012. – P. 7.

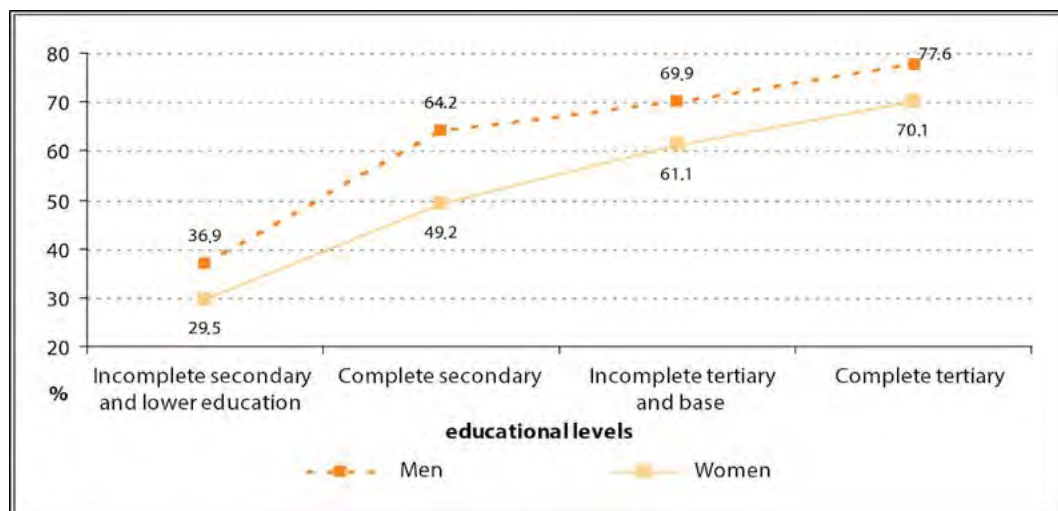


Fig. 1.18. Employment rates by gender and educational level, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

According to findings of the sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine' (2012)¹⁶, between 10 and 20 percent of employed women having higher-than-secondary education pointed out that their educational level exceeds the occupational requirements of the job they work at (Fig. 1.19). The greatest share of women believing that their education potential is not fully used is seen in the group with basic and incomplete tertiary education (more than 21% of the respondents), i.e. the persons having junior specialist or bachelor qualifications.

¹⁶ A detailed description of the tasks, program and target groups of this questioning, which has been achieved in the framework of this publication, is provided in Section 3.

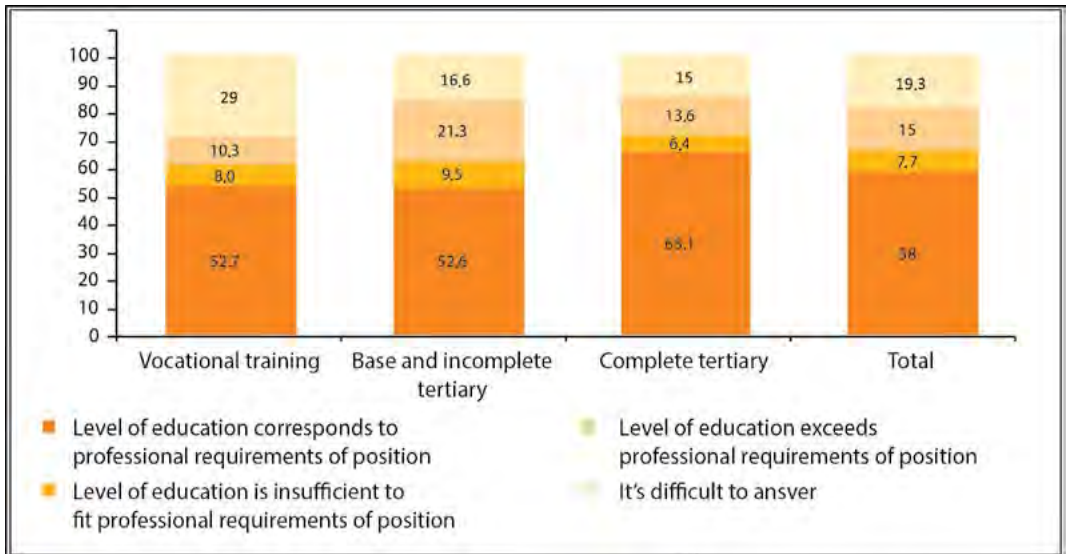


Fig. 1.19. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'How would you estimate a correlation between your education and professional requirement of your position?' by educational levels of respondents

(answers of employed women who have education level higher than secondary)

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

A narrowing of regional differences in women's involvement in employment was seen during 2000-2011 (Fig. 1.20), which can indicate certain success in overcoming the territorial development disparities and in creating more equal conditions for labour market access. However, factors of regional female employment behaviour are not so obvious and require more in-depth examination. For example, Volyn, Zakarpattya and Rivne oblasts, historically having the country's highest birth rates (crude birth rate being more than 10 births per 1,000), demonstrated absolutely different behaviour in terms of female employment rates in the period under study: substantial decrease in Volyn oblast, almost no change in Zakarpattya oblast, and considerable rise in Rivne oblast. Unfortunately, the available reliability degree of the regional data on labour force survey does not allow finding what age cohorts and what employment segments caused the above-mentioned changes, and why such regions, rather similar in all natural, economic and social attributes, have such differently directed dynamics in female employment rates. It may well be that the above-stated shifts were determined by fluctuations of informal employment where more than one-third of employment residents of the three oblasts were working¹⁷.

¹⁷ Economic activity of population of Ukraine 2011: Statistical Yearbook / Edited by I.V. Senyk. - K.: State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2012. — P. 90.

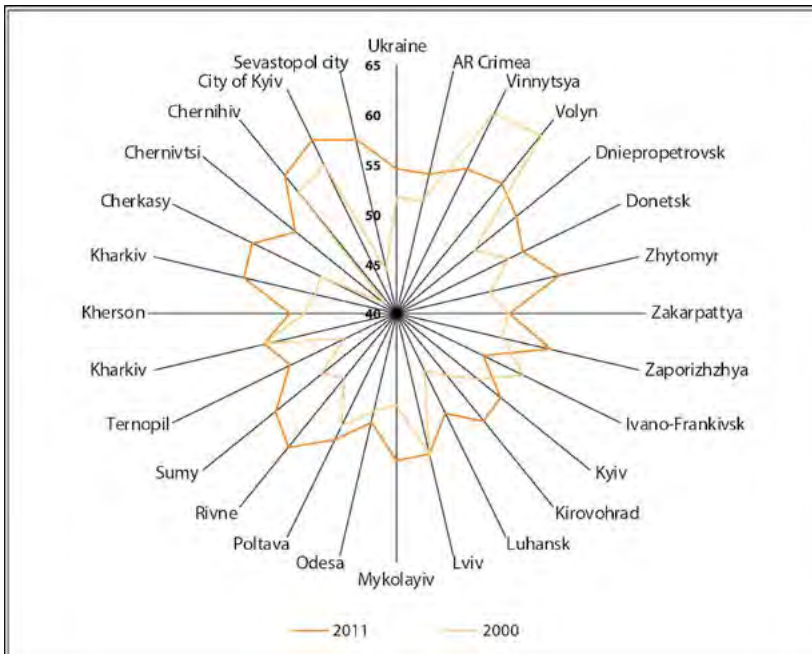


Fig. 1.20. Female employment rates by regions of Ukraine, 2000 and 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

Comparison of regional female and male employment rates is of great importance to gender analysis of employment opportunities. Breakdown of the regions in terms of the ratios between these indicators (Table 1.1) indicates that high employment rates both for women and men can be ensured by large cities or industrial regions with a relatively balanced industry structure (both extractive and manufacturing sub-sectors are developed) and a developed service sector.

Donetsk oblast, with extractive and heavy industries prevailing, provides a high male employment rate but a narrower choice of jobs for women. Another factor causing a low female employment rate in this oblast consists of a low economic activity level among women. Perhaps, the latter factor is also true for seaside regions (AR of Crimea, Odessa oblast, Kherson oblast) where seasonal employment and contract work are more available (including for seamen) and where there is an opportunity of generating considerable revenue by renting housing space during the holiday season.

The group of regions with low employment rates both among women and men consists mainly of the oblasts having highly intensive external labour migrations, including cross-border commuting migrations (Zakarpattya, Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, and Luhansk oblasts)¹⁸.

Combination of a relatively high female employment rate with a low male employment rate is more characteristic of depressed agrarian regions with low migration activity. Most likely, the high female employment rate there is caused by the activities of personal subsidiary farms.

¹⁸ External labour migrations of population of Ukraine. – K.: Ukrainian center for social reforms, State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2009. – P. 63–64.

Table 1.1. Regions of Ukraine by gender gap in employment rate, 2011*

<p>Low female employment rate and high male employment rate: Autonomous Republic of Crimea; Donetsk, Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv and Kherson oblasts</p> <p>Regional characteristics: extractive or heavy industries, higher availability of seasonal employment and contract work</p>	<p>High female employment rate and high male employment rate: City of Kyiv; Sevastopol agglomeration; Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhya and Mykolayiv oblasts</p> <p>Regional characteristics: large cities or industrial regions with a relatively balanced industry structure (both extractive and manufacturing sub-sectors are developed) and a developed service sector</p>
<p>Low female employment rate and low male employment rate: Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kirovohrad, Luhansk, Poltava, Ternopil and Chernivtsi oblasts</p> <p>Regional characteristics: highly intensive external labour migrations, including cross-border commuting migrations</p>	<p>High female employment rate and low male employment rate: Vinnytsya, Volyn, Zhytomyr, Lviv, Rivne, Sumy, Khmelnytskyi, Cherkasy and Chernihiv oblasts</p> <p>Regional characteristics: agrarian regions with low migration activity, with potential high subsistent farming activities</p>

Source: Labour Force Survey

*'Low' means lower than the country's average for the respective sex; 'high' means higher than the country's average for the respective sex.

Gender related features of placement in jobs

Despite higher male unemployment figures from the perspective of real labour supply, women traditionally prevail among the unemployed registered with the State Employment Service (905.1 thousand males against 949.9 thousand females in 2011). It can be assumed that such distribution is caused by women's greater inclination to apply to relevant services for help in job placement, their more passive behaviour, and their less confident situation in the labour market. On the other hand, men are more inclined to search for a job by themselves rather than rely upon assistance from the State.

In total, the male job placement rate is higher than female both in absolute and relative terms. According to 2011 results, 353.3 thousand women and 409.4 thousand men were placed in jobs in Ukraine (respective job placement rates were 37% and 45%). Problems in this field are also confirmed by the fact that the job placement rate of unemployed women registered in 2011 was lower than the male job placement rate actually in all regions of Ukraine, except for Kyiv (Annex A - Table A. 4). Whereas women were mainly placed in jobs due to provision of new job creation subsidies to employers (almost 21 thousand women against 14.5 thousand men in 2011), men made a greater use of the opportunity of receiving one-off unemployment benefits (9.7 thousand men against 7.2 thousand women). Although actually the entire population registered with the State Employment Service was covered by vocational guidance services, the rate of vocational training coverage was rather high among unemployed men whereas women were more engaged in paid public works (Fig. 1.21).

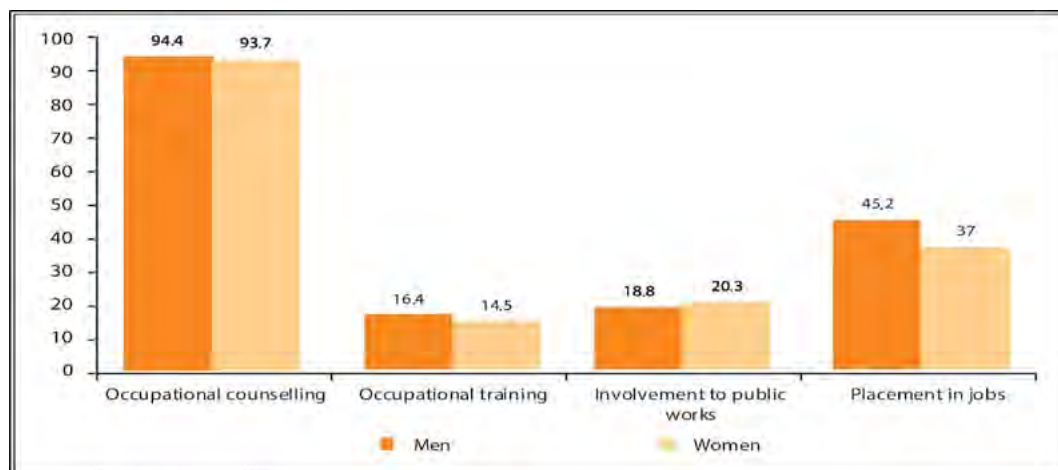


Fig. 1.21. Placement in jobs and coverage with measures of active employment policy, Ukraine, 2011

(proportion of unemployed covered with respective measures)

Source: State Employment Service

The lower job placement rate for unemployed women is accompanied also by smaller-scope engagement in advanced training and vocational retraining. According to 2011 results, 424.8 thousand women (7.2% of the registered number of employed women) and 553.6 thousand men (11.3%) underwent advanced training. The number of men trained in new professions during the year exceeded the number of women more than 3 times, reaching 174.6 thousand (3.6% of the registered number of employed men) against 55.4 thousand women (0.9%). More than a half of men who underwent advanced training were employed in various industries (up to 20% of the registered number of employed workers in mining industry); a rather high share of employed men took part in advanced training programmes in transport and communications. As to the employed women who underwent advanced training during 2011, almost one-third of them worked in education, and a rather high share was employed in health and social work. Such peculiarities of gender distribution of the employees who used the advanced training opportunity completely reproduce the structure of gender segregation of employment by economic activity, which will be studied in the next paragraph.

Analysis of general employment and unemployment indicators and their socio-demographic profiles indicates that rather wide employment opportunities for women exist in Ukraine, and these opportunities are dynamically growing. At the same time, not only availability of a job as such, but also qualitative characteristics of that job are important from a labour market gender analysis perspective. First of all, one needs to know where women are working – in what positions and sectors of the economy.

1.2. Gender segregation in the labour market of Ukraine

Gender analysis of the employed population's breakdown by occupation group is aimed at detecting the effect of so-called 'glass ceiling', i.e. unpublicized rules and practices removing women (or other vulnerable groups) from access to the top levels of management¹⁹.

No less important is the gender analysis of the employed population by sectors of economic activity, since an economic sector greatly determines employment performance, including earnings, and such qualitative characteristics as job prestige and stability.

Gender segregation occurs when female employment is concentrated in a limited range of occupations/economic sectors. To detect and evaluate the level of segregation, one uses integral indices (Karmel and MacLachlan index, Duncan index of dissimilarity) and a three-dimensional classification distinguishing three occupation/sector groups: 1) female-dominated; 2) mixed; 3) male-dominated²⁰.

Unfortunately, the reliability degree of labour force survey data limits detailed analysis specification to two classification code digits: subsections of the Classification of Occupations (harmonized with the International Standard Classification of Occupations, ISCO-88)²¹ and sections of the Classification of Economic Activities (harmonized with the EU Statistical Classification of Economic Activities, NACE Rev. 1.1, and with the UN International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities, ISIC Rev. 3.1 (1989))²².

Occupational segregation by gender

The two most widespread female occupations in Ukraine include subsistence agricultural workers (16.3% of the total female employment) and models, salespersons and demonstrators (12.8%) (Table 1.2; Fig. 1.22). The third position (8% each) is shared by personal and protective services workers, and other professionals (in areas such as civil service, audit, accounting, labour and employment, marketing, business performance, rationalization of production, intellectual property). The top 5 occupations also include teaching professionals (6.8% of the total female employment). Almost 52% of the total female employment is concentrated in these five most widespread occupations/professions.

As far as men are concerned, the list of the most widespread occupations is headed by drivers and mobile-plant operators (14.0% of the total male employment); the second position is occupied by subsistence agricultural workers (12.2%). The next three positions are occupied also by worker professions: metal, machinery and related trades workers (10.2%), extraction and building trades workers (8.0%), and labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport (6.8%). Overall, 51.2% of the employed men are concentrated in these five occupations, i.e. the level of occupational concentration for women and men is actually the same. Besides, the male top-5 list includes no occupation representing the segment of mainly intellectual labour (the female list includes as many as two groups of professionals).

19 Women in labour markets: measuring progress and identifying challenges / International Labour Office. Geneva: ILO, 2010, P. 44.

20 Gender segregation in the labour market: root causes, implications and policy responses in the EU / European Commission. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2009, 111 pp.; here: p. 30–31.

21 National Classificatory of Ukraine «Classificatory of occupations DK003:2010': Approved by Decree of Derzhspozhivstandard of Ukraine from 28.07.2010 №327.

22 National Classificatory of Ukraine 'Classificatory of types of economic activity' (NACE, Rev. 1.1 – 2002) ДК 009:2005': Approved by Decree of Derzhspozhivstandard of Ukraine from 26.15.2005 №375.

Table 1.2. 'Top-10' ISCO-88 sub-major groups (two-digit code) of concentration of employment by gender, Ukraine, 2011.

Women		Men	
ISCO-88 occupation codes	% of total employed	ISCO-88 occupation codes	% of total employed
62: subsistence agricultural	16.3	83: drivers and mobile-plant operators	14.0
52: models, salespersons and demonstrators	12.8	62: subsistence agricultural	12.2
51: personal and protective services workers*	8.0	72: metal, machinery and related trades workers	10.2
24: other professionals**	8.0	71: extraction and building trades workers	8.0
23: teaching professionals	6.8	93: labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport	6.8
32: life science and health associate professionals	6.0	51: personal and protective services workers	5.6
34: other associate professionals	5.6	12: directors and chief executives	5.5
91: sales and services elementary occupations	5.2	21: physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals	4.9
12: directors and chief executives	4.1	31: physical and engineering science associate professionals	4.3
41: office clerks	3.0	52: models, salespersons and demonstrators	3.9
<i>Total in 'Top-5' groups</i>	<i>51.9</i>	<i>Total in 'Top-5' groups</i>	<i>51.2</i>
<i>Total in 'Top-10' groups</i>	<i>75.8</i>	<i>Total in 'Top-10' groups</i>	<i>75.5</i>

Source: calculations based on micro-data of the Labour Force Survey

*including travel attendants and related service workers, housekeeping and restaurant service workers, personal care workers, etc.

** including business professionals (accountants, personnel professionals), legal professionals, archivists, librarians and other related professionals, social work professional, etc.

When comparing the second (lower, i.e. positions 6-10) part of the 'top-10' list of female and male occupations, the situation is more equal. In particular, directors and chief executives have 4.1% among employed women and 5.5% among men. Another 6.0% of women are life science and health associate professionals; 5.6% are professionals in the field of management, finance and trade, commercial service agents, public inspectors or social workers; 3.0% are office clerks.

Among men, creative intellectual labour occupations are represented by physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals (4.9% of the total male employment), and physical and engineering science associate professionals (4.3%). Overall in the top 10, the employment concentration level is also almost the same (75.8% for women and 75.5% for men).

We should point out a rather considerable number of 'intersections' in the female and male 'top-10' lists, and that's not just subsistence agricultural workers. Men, like women, also rather often work as salespersons or in personal and protective services. The chief executive position is also 'common'. In the EU countries, the 'top-6' lists of female and male occupations had no similarities at all, and the female concentration level was much higher than male²³ (however, analysis for the EU countries was conducted on the three-digit code basis).

²³ The life of women and men in Europe – A statistical portrait / European Commission. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2008, 243 p.; here: pp. 58–60.

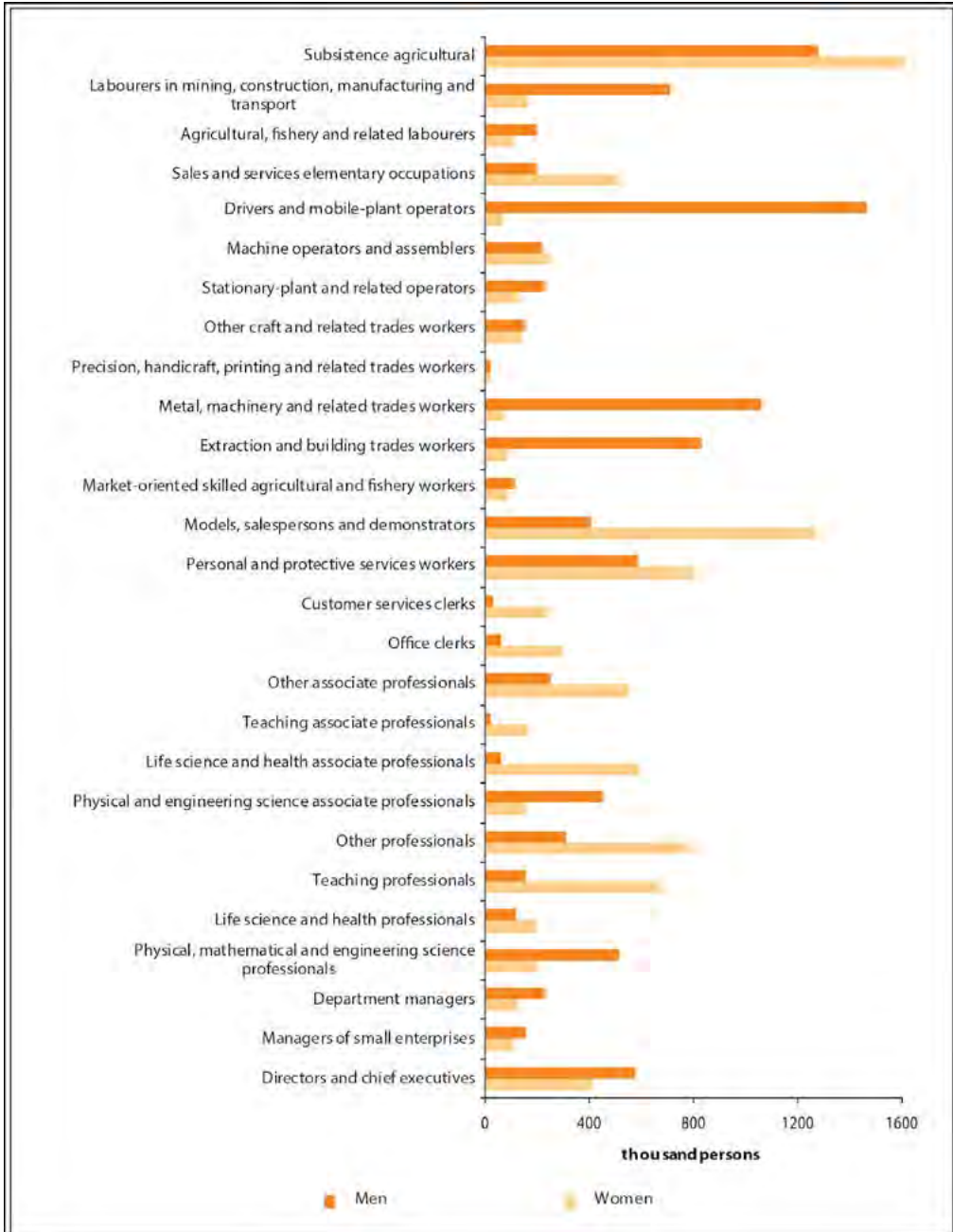


Fig. 1.22. Employment by the ISCO-88 sub-major groups and gender, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey, micro-data

As far as female-dominated occupations are concerned (i.e. those where women account for more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of total employment in those professions), they include: professionals in biology, agronomy and medicine; education professionals; employees providing services to clients; infor-

mation-related employees (office clerks); teaching professionals; models, salespersons and demonstrators (Fig. 1.23). That is, female employment dominates mainly the middle level of intellectual labour, being directly related to their educational advantages, as already mentioned above.

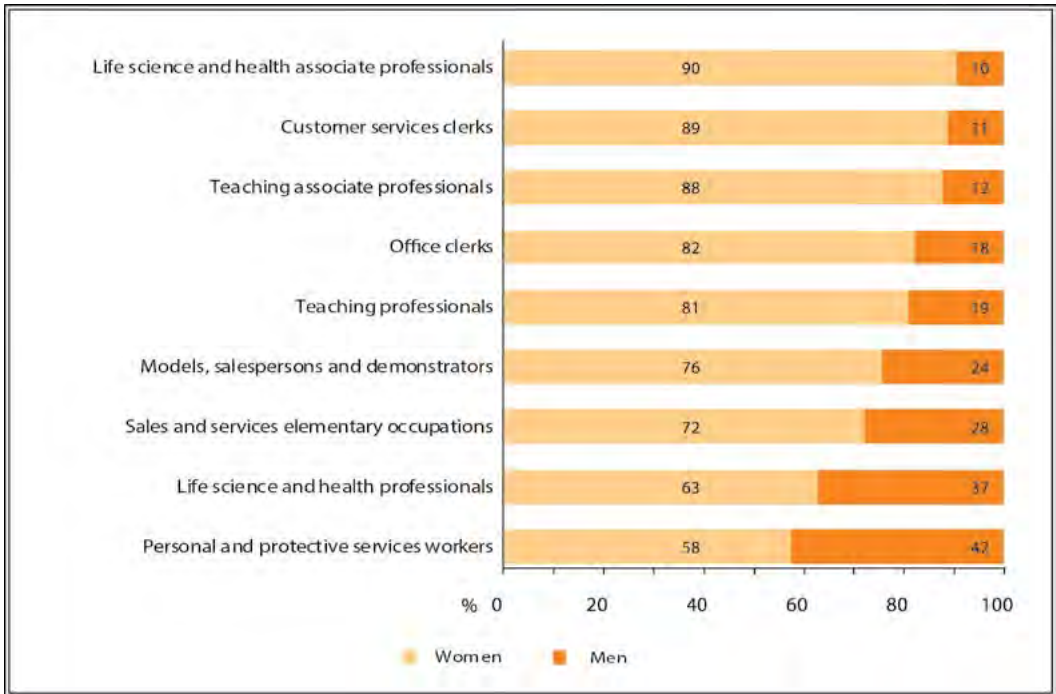


Fig. 1.23. Gender segregation at the labour market of Ukraine: occupations with prevailing female employment

Source: Labour Force Survey, micro-data

Male domination (i.e. where men account for more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of total employment in those professions), on the contrary, is distinct mainly in worker professions: drivers and mobile-plant operators; metal, machinery and related trades workers; extraction and building trades workers; labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport (Fig. 1.24). The legislators and senior officials, and chief executives of non-governmental and self-governing organizations are the only occupation related to intellectual labour where male domination is obvious.

A close-to-parity gender composition (each sex's percentage within 40-60%) can be seen in the following professions/occupations: precision, handicraft, craft printing and related trades workers; other craft and related trades workers; plant and machine operators and assemblers; skilled agricultural and fishery workers; subsistence agricultural and fishery workers; corporate managers and department managers.

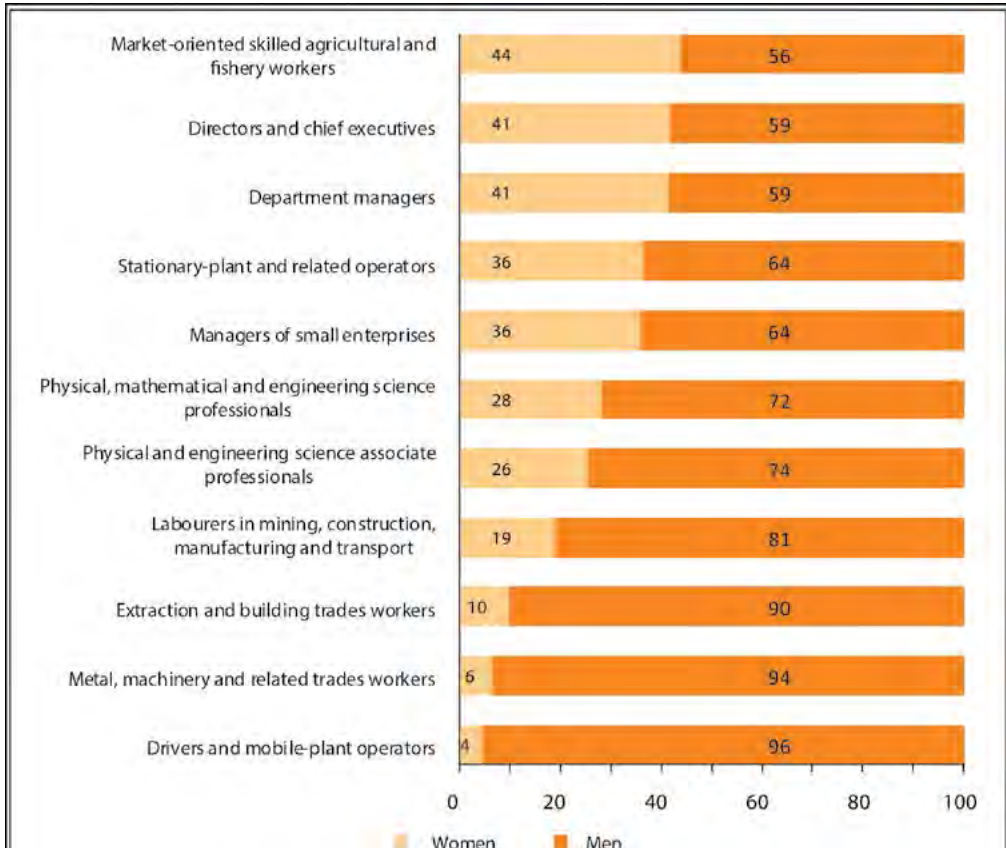


Fig. 1.24. Gender segregation at the labour market of Ukraine: occupations with prevailing male employment

Source: Labour Force Survey, micro-data

'Vertical' gender segregation in the labour market

The results of the sociological questioning *'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine'* taken in September 2012 in order to examine the peculiarities of public opinion on gender-based discrimination in employment, contained a rather adequate representation of women in the professional group of managers. Though the results obtained should be viewed with caution, due to the limited size of the sample and specific features of a sample, developed with a primary purpose to study discrimination problems²⁴. The survey's results provide quite reliable estimates of general tendencies of female representation in managerial positions depending on certain organizational characteristics of the enterprises and organizations represented by the respondents. In particular, a direct dependence between the general rate of 'feminization' of enterprise staff, i.e. the share of women in the staff overall, and female representation among its managers appears quite convincing (Fig. 1.25). The highest share of female managers naturally occurs in economic entities where the majority of the workforce is female. This figure decreases

²⁴ The target groups of the survey were represented by women working as employees and employer, who were divided into equal number of men and women to provide a comparison of their views on gender problems in the labour market. Respectively, an increased 'feminization' of the sample, which happened when observing certain labour market conditions associated with female work resulted in some 'overstating' of qualitative parameters by the respondents. The detailed descriptions of the tasks; programme and target groups of the questioning are presented in Section 3.

in proportion to the decline in female share of the overall workforce head count.

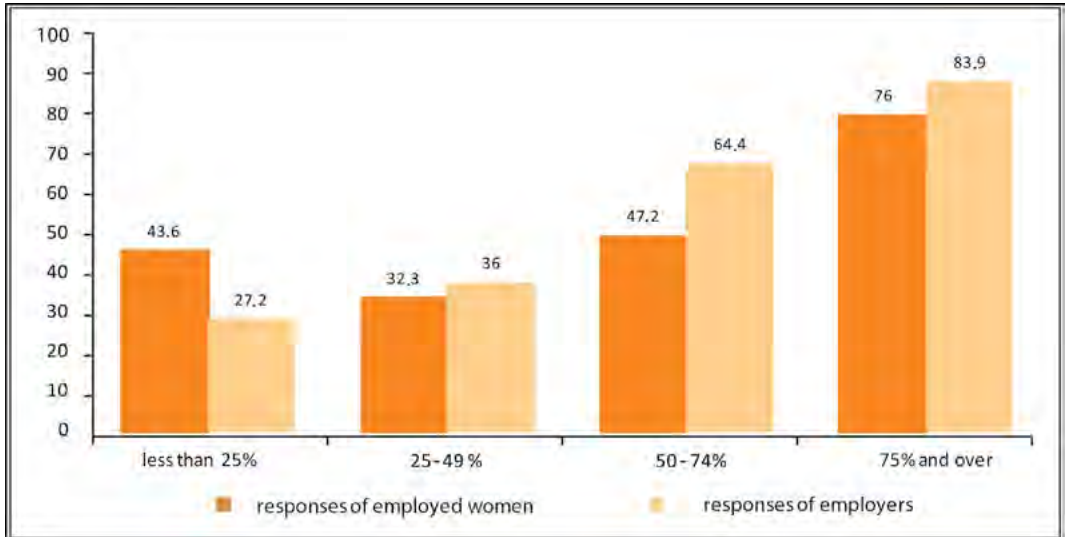


Fig. 1.25. Proportion of women among managers of enterprises by rate of 'feminization' or share of women among staff (distribution of answers of employed women and employers)

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

The size of the business seems to determine the extent of female representation at a managerial level (Fig. 1.26). For example, women are much better represented in managerial positions in small business, particularly in enterprises/organizations with a total staff number of 50 and less. As the enterprise/organization size increases, the female managerial share decreases: both employers themselves and employees indicated that the lowest female representation among managers is found at the enterprises with total staff number of more than 1,000.

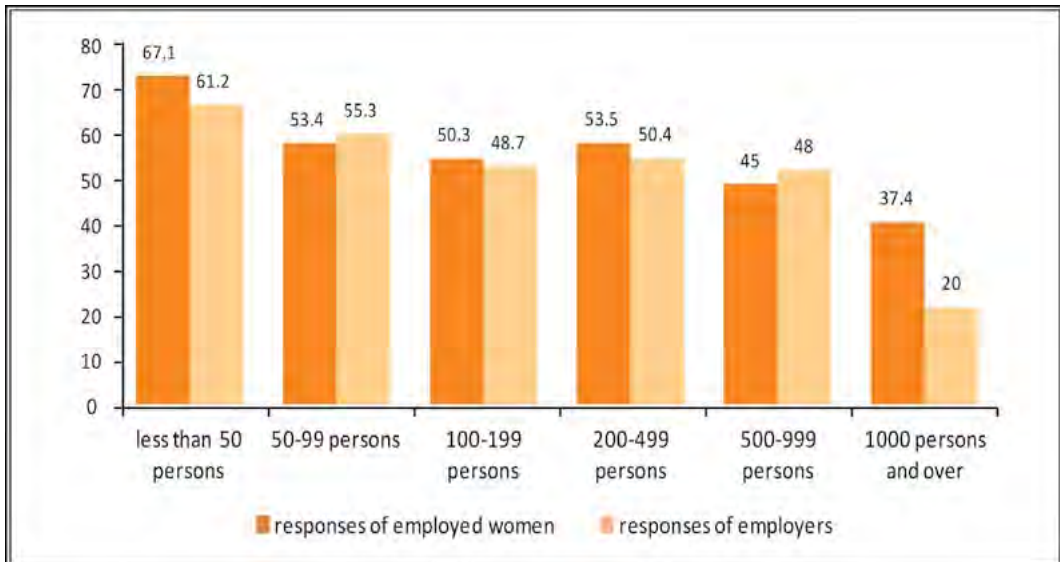


Fig. 1.26. Proportion of women among managers of enterprises depending on a size of enterprise (distribution of answers of employed women and employers)

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Certain regulations also determine the peculiarities of female participation in management depending on the organizational and legal form of economic entities (Fig. 1.27). According to the questionnaire results, the highest share of women (in the total number of managers) is characteristic of state-owned and municipal enterprise whereas a somewhat lower figure is found in private enterprises; female representation is the lowest in the management of joint-stock companies, limited liability companies, branches and other stand-alone units that are aggregated into a separate group because they can feature 'mixed' forms of ownership. Note that these survey results generally confirm the findings of earlier studies that female-run enterprises on average remain smaller in size and less profitable regardless of their sector, size and turnover²⁵.

²⁵ Report of IFC 'Investment climate in Ukraine: how the business perceives it' / International Financial Corporation. – K.: IFC, 2011: [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: ifc.org/Ukraine/ifc.

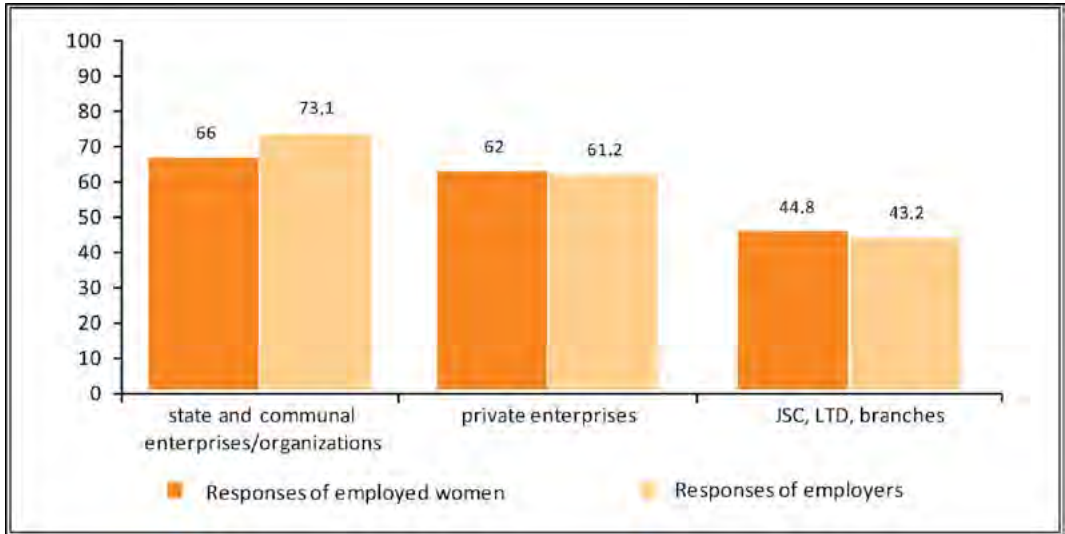


Fig. 1.27. Proportion of women among managers of enterprises depending on legal and organizational form of entities (distribution of answers of employed women and employers)

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Though gender analysis of the employed population's breakdown by profession/occupation indicates that women in Ukraine have access to executive positions at the corporate manager or certain structural department manager level, top-management in private sector, as well as positions of legislators and senior government officials remain almost out of reach. At present, the most reliable data is available for analysis of women's representation at the top executive positions in Ukraine's civil service system; it is the civil service system where the 'vertical' occupational segregation tendency manifests itself most strikingly: according to 2011 results, female share among Category 1 civil servants, i.e. at the level of responsible state decision-making, was only 14%, indicating extremely limited representation among the top executive officials of women. Meanwhile, the female share among Category 2 and 3 executive civil servants was 30% and 42%, respectively, and it was more than two-thirds at lower levels where an experienced skill pool of civil servants is usually formed (Fig. 1.28). Even more eloquent trends can be seen among local self-governance executives: there were no women at all among the Category 1 executives as of early 2011; women's share was only 6% in Category 2 and 13% in Category 3. Only at the level of executives in the fourth position category, female share was close to one-third whereas women amounted up to 80% of the staff at lower levels of self-governance executives. It should be noted that such patterns in the gender structure of high-ranking officials have remained rather stable during the entire period of Ukraine's independence, which indicates that public authorities are 'closed' to women and that the latter are artificially excluded from this domain. Along with violation of the democratic governance principle, women's restricted access to state decision-making acts as an important determinant in hindering of the general process of gender quality achievement in the Ukrainian society and as a factor constraining any expansion of women's opportunities and powers in other areas of life.

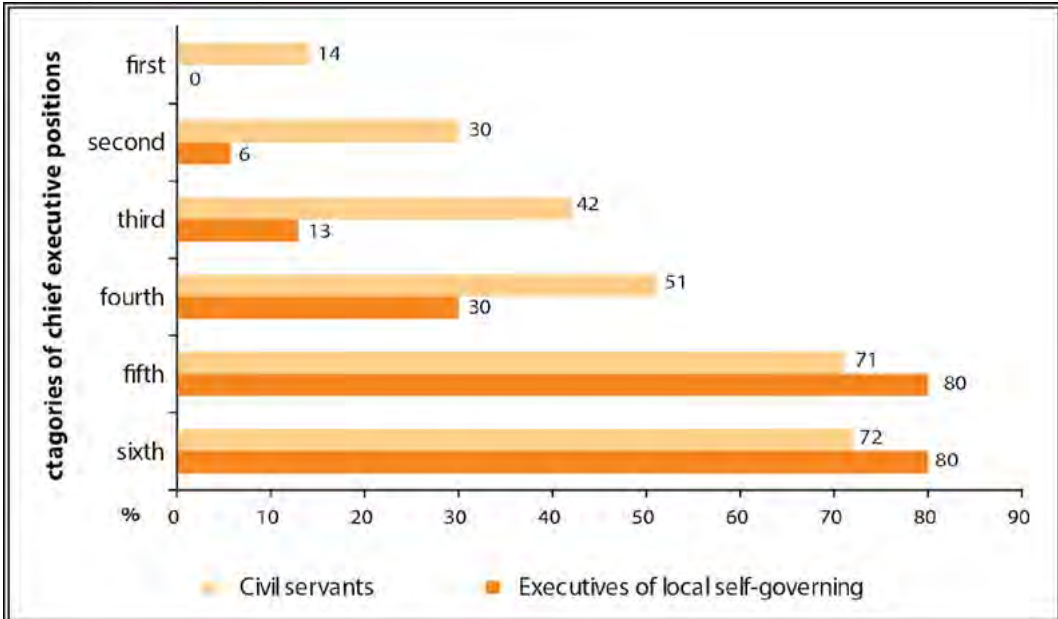


Fig. 1.28. 'Vertical' form of gender segregation: distribution of women and men by managerial positions of senior officials in Ukraine, 2011

(as % of the total number of employees of the corresponding category)

Source: *Work in Ukraine in 2011: Statistics Yearbook / State Statistics Service of Ukraine*. – K.: Derzhanalitinform, 2012. – 343 p.

Sectorial segregation of employment by gender

Gender-based segregation by economic activity is much more pronounced than occupational segregation. Although the 'top-10' lists of male and female economic activities intersect with each other to a great extent, like in case of occupations (the 'top-5' lists even have coincidence in three activities), male employment is much more diversified (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3. Employment in 'Top-10' ISIC-Rev. 3 divisions (two-digit codes) by sex, 2011

Women		Men	
NACE two-digit codes	% of employed	NACE two-digit codes	% of employed
01. Agriculture, Hunting and related service activities	19.4	01. Agriculture, Hunting and related service activities	19.6
52. Retail Trade; Repair of Personal and Household Goods	16.9	45. Construction	11.1
80. Education	12.0	52. Retail Trade; Repair of Personal and Household Goods	9.7
85. Health and Social Work	10.6	60. Land Transport; Transport via Pipelines	6.7
75. Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security	4.7	75. Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security	5.3
99. Extra-Territorial Organizations and Bodies	4.6	80. Education	3.2
15. Manufacture of Food Products and Beverages	2.6	15. Manufacture of Food Products and Beverages	3.1
55. Hotels and Restaurants	2.5	40. Electricity, Gas, Steam and Hot Water Supply	2.9
60. Land Transport; Transport via Pipelines	1.8	10. Mining of Coal and Lignite; Extraction of Peat	2.8
65. Financial Intermediation, except Insurance and Pension Funding	1.7	85. Health and Social Work	2.5
<i>Total in 'Top-5' groups</i>	<i>63.6</i>	<i>Total in 'Top-5' groups</i>	<i>52.4</i>
<i>Total in 'Top-10' groups</i>	<i>76.8</i>	<i>Total in 'Top-10' groups</i>	<i>66.9</i>

Source: Labour Force Survey, micro-data

Agriculture is the most common economic activity both for women and men, which can be explained by forced 'popularity' of subsistence agricultural farms (see Fig. 1.17) among residents of rural areas and small towns where the job choice is quite limited. In 2011, subsistence agricultural farms making products for sale employed almost 2.9 million people, or 14.2% of the entire employed population of the country and almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of all those employed in agriculture.

Another 'common' economic activity in terms of mass scale consists of retail trade that ranks second in the female top list (16.9% of the total female employment) and third in the male top list (9.7% of the total male employment). For men, construction ranks second with 11.1% of the total male employment.

Public administration is another economic activity that ranks fifth in terms of prevalence both in the female and male top lists (4.7% and 5.3% of the employed of respective sex).

Education and health care rank third and fourth in the female top list of economic activities (12.0% and 16.0% of employed women, respectively). The male top-5 list also includes land transport (the fourth position).

Overall, 63.6% of female employment is concentrated in the five above-mentioned most common activities whereas the male concentration rate is much lower, 52.4%.

The lower part of the top-10 list of economic activities also includes several coincidences: education ranks 6th for men (3rd for women), health care ranks 10th (4th for women), land transport ranks 9th for women (4th for men), manufacture of food products and beverages ranks 7th both for women and men.

Overall, 76.8% of female employment and 66.9% of male employment is concentrated in the top 10 economic activities, i.e. male employment is more 'dispersed', more diversified in terms of economic activities.

Women work mainly in the service sector, and the share of knowledge-intensive services, i.e. those requiring high educational and occupational qualifications (education, health care, public administration, financial intermediation), is much greater than the share of those assuming mainly worker skills (retail trade, hotels and restaurants, land transport). It's quite logical, considering the employed women's educational attainments and their breakdown by occupation group.

Men are much more represented in industrial activities (particularly in mining) and in the service types needing black-collar workers. That is to say that diversification of their employment by economic sector by no means implies higher quality of that employment (except perhaps in terms of earnings – this point is elaborated in more detail in the next section, which is devoted to analysis of the gender gap in employment-related income).

If we disregard agricultural employment (as already mentioned above, its weight is caused by palliative employment in subsistence farms), the employment concentration rate and the 'rating' of the most common economic activities for men in women in Ukraine are actually the same as many EU countries. The key difference of the Ukrainian rating is that it does not include 'business services' that account for 7% of female and 6% of male employment in the EU countries. This activity is considered to be one of the most promising both in terms of new jobs creation and in terms of its contribution to gross added value. In Ukraine, however, this sector is underdeveloped, that being a consequence and indication of the domestic market infrastructure's backwardness.

Female domination (over $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total employment) is seen in enterprises in the following economic sectors: manufacturing of clothing, dressing and dyeing of fur; personal services; extra-territorial organizations and bodies; health and social work; education.

The range of male-dominated economic activities is much wider: construction; fishing; forestry; all mining activities and some manufacturing activities (wood products, furniture, coke, refined petroleum products and nuclear fuel, manufacture of tobacco products, motor vehicles, trailers and semi-trailers, fabricated metal products); sale, maintenance and repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles; land and water transport; computer and related activities.

Gender parity (share of each sex within 40-60%) is recorded in agriculture (including subsistence farms), most machine-building branches (manufacture of office, accounting and computing machinery, medical, precision and optical instruments, radio, television and communication equipment, electrical machinery and apparatus), some other manufacturing activities (manufacture of food products and beverages; publishing, printing and reproduction

of recorded media), and the following services: real estate activities; research and development; public administration; activities of membership organizations; post and telecommunications; air transport; sewage and refuse disposal, sanitation and similar activities.

Working conditions and occupational injuries: a gender analysis

Use of outdated technology and unsatisfactory workplace organization cause spreading of unfavourable and hazardous production factors as well as result in worse working conditions. The workplace security deficit, related to dissemination of low-technology occupations, is a leading driver of the extremely high mortality at working age, especially among men whose employment in harmful conditions is much more common (Fig. 1.29). Currently in Ukraine, more than one-third (36.1%) of male workers and 17% of female workers are employed in conditions failing to meet legislated standards for sanitary and hygiene.

Attention should be paid to the fact that, during 2000-2011, the percentage of those employed in conditions failing to meet legislated standards for sanitary and hygiene among the total number of employees has increased continuously: it has grown from 23.9% to 28.9% during that period. Thus, we have to state that a steady deterioration of healthy and hygienic working conditions is observed in Ukraine.

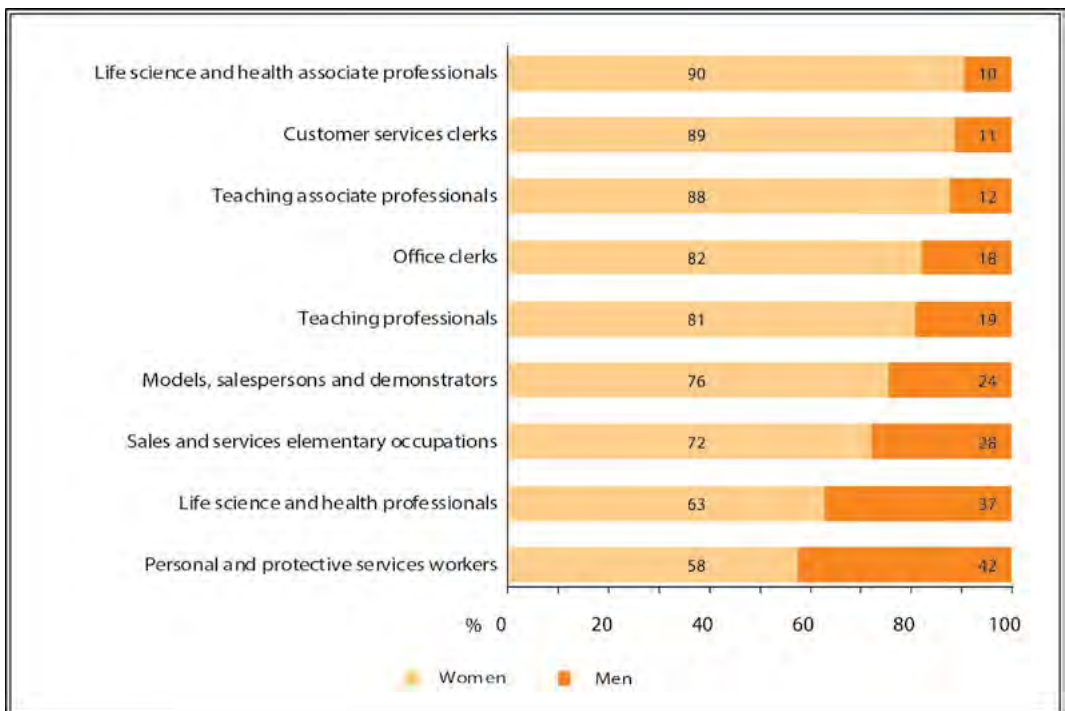


Fig. 1.29. Proportion of workers, employed in conditions failing to meet sanitary and hygienic standards (as % of the regular staff number at the end of a year)

Source: Statistical Yearbooks «Work in Ukraine» for the corresponding years

The worst conditions exist in mining where 69.5% of staff is employed in conditions not compliant with sanitary and hygiene standards. 28.3% and 33.1% of staff are employed in

unfavourable conditions in manufacturing and in the production of electricity, gas and water, respectively; the figure for petroleum refineries and metallurgical enterprises is more than a half (55.9% and 54.6%, respectively); chemical industry has 37.5%. In construction, transport and communications, about 20% of staff is employed in conditions not compliant with sanitary and hygiene standards, whereas agriculture has 8.7% of such workers.

The total number of women employed in conditions not compliant with legislated standards for sanitary and hygiene, according to the Form 1-ПВ (working conditions) data, is 282.8 thousand, that of men being 1 million. The list of hazardous factors of production, which provide the most frequent impact for women, includes: noise, infrasound, ultrasound (almost a half of the mentioned number of women), microclimate in a room, inconvenient working position, intensity of work and hazardous chemical substances (about a third of cases for each of the mentioned factors).

As already pointed out above, female employment is to a greater extent concentrated in the service sector while enterprises engaged in these economic activities (except transport and communications) do not submit such reports. Staff employed at small enterprises also remains uncovered. It is obviously necessary to expand the information base on this aspect of working conditions. A relevant set of questions, including workplace location (enterprise, office, street, home, etc.) and other important characteristics, can be included in the form of a modular poll within the framework of the economic activity survey.

Segregation of female employment in the sector of services results a smaller number of hazardous factors and respectively lower rate of occupational injuries. In 2011, the total number of injured at a workplace was 13,009 persons (1.3 persons per 1,000 employed), including 2,596 women (0.5 persons per 1,000 of employed females). Of the total number of injured, 1,337 persons died, including 117 women. The highest rate of occupational injuries is common for mining industries, in particular for coal mining – 2.6 injured per 1,000 employed women.

The most frequent cases of work-related injuries result from a falling (53.8% injured women). Also, more prevalent causes of occupational injuries are found in organisational factors, related to violation of labour and productive discipline, ignoring the safety requirements when using equipment, violation of driving rules. However, such factors related to ignoring the rules of health and safety in the workplace, provide a much lower contribution to the structure of causes of female trauma, which could be proof of better discipline and organization amongst women.

Assessment of gender segregation: Duncan Index of Dissimilarity

A summary indicator of the gender occupational and sectorial segregation degree can be provided by the Duncan Index of Dissimilarity recommended by the ILO to measure equality of opportunities and treatment in the decent work indicator system. The Index is calculated by the formula:

$$ID = \frac{1}{2} \sum |d_i^f - d_i^m|$$

where d_i^f is the female share of employment in the certain i th occupation/economic activity in the total number of employed females;

d_i^m – is the male share of employment in the certain i th occupation/economic activity in the total number of employed males.

The Duncan Index ranges between 0 and 1; the higher its value, the greater the segregation

degree.

The calculated Index values for the recent five years are presented in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4. Duncan Index of Dissimilarity.

Type of segregation	2007	2009	2011
Occupational segregation (ISCO-88)	0.324	0.342	0.341
Sectoral segregation (NACE Rev. 1)	0.447	0.457	0.452

Source: calculated based on micro-data of the Labour Force Survey

The Duncan Index values confirm the conclusion that gender segregation by economic activity is much higher than by occupation group. Interestingly, the 2008-2009 financial and economic crisis resulted in substantially growing segregation by both attributes (occupational from 0.324 to 0.342; sectorial from 0.447 to 0.457). The level of segregation by occupation group has almost not changed in 2011 as compared to 2009, and that by economic activity has markedly declined but remains considerably higher than in 2007.

Recent features of female employment restructuring in Ukraine

As a whole, structural shifts in employment observed in 2007–2011 provide evidence of increase in gender segregation.

As to occupations (Table 1.5), the largest increase in women's employment between 2007-2011 took place in positions that belong to the list of most widespread female occupations, in particular in female-dominated ones (teachers; models, salespersons and demonstrators). As to professions, which are characterized by a notable decline in women's employment, only office clerks form a feminized group, while the rest of them belong to occupations with almost parity gender composition.

As a whole, structural shifts in occupational structure of employed women reveal a clear trend of increasing their educational level and skills, in particular a transition from a level of technical specialists and other associate professionals to a level of professionals and department managers.

Table 1.5. 'Top-5' occupations (ISCO-88 classification codes) with largest changes in the number of employed women in Ukraine during 2007–2011.

'Top-5' occupations of female employment increase		'Top-5' occupations of female employment decline	
Occupational groups by ISCO-88	thousand persons	Occupational groups by ISCO-88	thousand persons
Other professionals*	+103.7	Subsistence agricultural	-178.5
Models, salespersons and demonstrators	+59.7	Office clerks	-112.2
Personal and protective services workers**	+53.5	Physical and engineering science professionals	-70.8
Department managers	+50.0	Machine operators and assemblers	-60.4
Teaching professionals	+44.4	Other associate professionals	-58.8
<i>Total in the 'Top-5' group</i>	<i>+311.3</i>	<i>Total in the 'Top-5' group</i>	<i>-480.7</i>

Source: calculated based on micro-data of the Labour Force Survey

**including business professionals (accountants, personnel professionals), legal professionals, archivists, librarians and other related professionals, social work professional, etc.*

*** including travel attendants and related service workers, housekeeping and restaurant service workers, personal care workers, etc.*

As to types of economic activities (Table 1.6), an increase in female employment took place mostly in already feminized spheres, while the respective decline was observed in the spheres of prevailing male employment (construction) or activities which are characterized by parity gender representation of employed (agriculture – mostly due to the prevalence of subsistence agricultural; manufacture of food products and beverages; manufacture of and equipment and practically all other types of industrial branches). Education is the only type of economic activity with prevailing female employment, which is characterized by a decline in the number of employed women during the last five years. It is considered as a result of the decline in the number of pupils and students due to impacts of demographic factors (a rapid decline in birth rates in the 1990-s).

Table 1.6. 'Top-5' types of economic activities (ISIC-Rev.3 classification) with the largest changes in the number of employed women during 2007–2011.

'Top-5' economic activities of female employment increase		'Top-5' economic activities of female employment decline	
ISIC-Rev. 3 types of economic activities	thousand persons	ISIC-Rev. 3 types of economic activities	thousand persons
Retail trade; repair of household and personal good	+104.3	Agriculture, hunting and related services	-210.6
Extra-Territorial Organizations and Bodies	+36.1	Education	-67.3
Additional transport services and operations	+27.6	Construction	-66.3
Personal service activities	+25.2	Manufacture of Food Products and Beverages	-56.2
Manufacture of wearing apparel; Dressing and Dyeing of Fur	+12.4	Manufacture of Machinery and Equipment	-47.4
<i>Total in 'Top-5' group</i>	+205.6	<i>Total in 'Top-5' group</i>	-447.9

Source: calculated based on micro-data of the Labour Force Survey

It is not quite correct to make a direct comparison of the structure of employment by occupation and types of economic activities, as occupations are related to the immediate work of an individual, while a type of activity pertains to the whole enterprise (moreover, it concerns only its main type activity). But, structural shifts by both features definitely show evidence of the process of a further concentration of female employment in the service sector. The female labour force is declining in the areas of construction, as well as in the sectors of agriculture and industry (except in some sub-industries). To some degree, it could be related to technological advances in production, which provide an opportunity for a reduction of staff (which is formed by women more often). However, it could also be considered as a conscious choice of women for the benefit of service sector, which does not always provide high income, but suggests better conditions of work, more comfortable working conditions, a more diverse and creative type of work and more flexible working hours.

Gender features of part-time employment and time-related underemployment

As in other European countries²⁶, Ukrainian women are employed on a part-time basis more often than men. In 2011, more than one million women (13.6% of the total number of employed women without those employed in subsistence farming and temporarily absent from work) were employed for less than 40 hours per week (which is the maximum weekly working hours before overtime needs to be paid in accordance with Ukrainian legislation).

Regarding indicators of the actual length of working hours, 7.5% of women worked less than 30 hours a week, 10.2% of them – from 30 to 39 hours (Fig. 1.30). The corresponding figures for men were 3.0% and 8.9% respectively.

²⁶ The life of women and men in Europe – A statistical portrait / European Commission. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2008, 243 pp.; here: p. 84–85.

At the same time, more than 850 thousand women (10.9% of the total number of employed women without women employed in subsistence farming and temporary absent from work) worked more than 40 hours per week. For men, it was 16.0%. The largest percentage of this number were the self-employed, which are not controlled by the same legislation regarding a maximum working week.

The average length of hours actually worked was 39 hours per week among women and 41 hours per week among men.

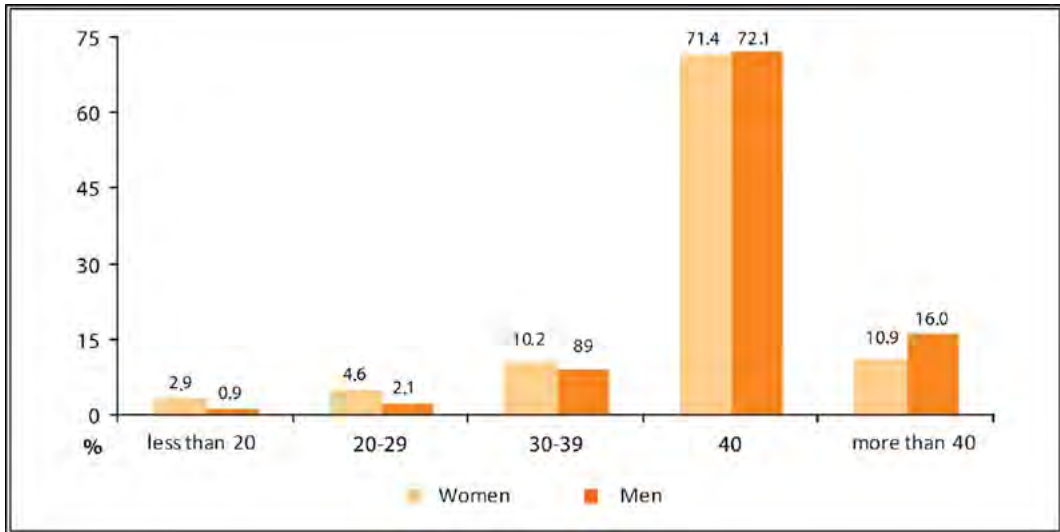


Fig. 1.30. Distribution of labour by working time length by gender (not including subsistence farming and those temporarily absent from work), Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

A comparison of the average length of actual hours worked by types of economic activity provides an insight into the reasons for the concentration of women into certain economic activities. In the industries of agriculture, construction, transport, the average length of the working week 40 hours among women, reaching 40-42 for men. At the same time, the number of actual hours worked is much smaller in education and healthcare: 36 hours per week among women and 37 hours per week among men. As to financial intermediation, real estate operations and other types of services, the length of a female working week is shorter than the standard, 39 hours (40 hours amongst men). The only sector of economic activity where the actual hours worked by women exceed the 40 hour limit is in trade, hotels and restaurants. This results from the prevalence of the self-employment and other forms of small entrepreneurship in this sector.

Thus, a conclusion can be made that a shorter working week is among the important determinants attracting women to this sector. A reduction of a mere one or two hours a week, is possibly deemed important for women when choosing a job and balancing family responsibilities.

To work part-time is usually a voluntary and an independent choice by women. This has been shown by data (a statistical audit of enterprises related to the level of use of the working time fund). Data also shows that there is practically no administrative leave (unpaid leave initiated by

the employer) in business with women comprising the majority of the workforce. Forced part-time employment is also rarer in such cases. For instance, the working time losses resulting from administrative leave were respectively 44 and 102 hours (averaged per employee) in construction in 2011. In contrast, the working time losses related to administrative leaves in education were 0 hours (1 hour in healthcare), while the losses related to a reduced working time due to economic reasons – 1 hour (3 hours in public health)²⁷.

The phenomenon of underemployment is not common for Ukraine. According to the Resolution concerning 'the measurement of underemployment and inadequate employment situations', adopted by the 16th International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 1998, individuals in time-related underemployment comprise all persons in employment, who satisfy the following three criteria during the reference period used to define employment²⁸:

- 1) willing to work additional hours;
- 2) available to work more hours;
- 3) worked less than the working week threshold limit.

Calculations based on micro-data from the Labour Force Survey reveals that the total number of underemployed was 52.2 thousand in 2011, of this figure 20.2 thousand were women. Some increase in the scales of underemployment was observed in the crisis year of 2009, as there were 187.1 thousand persons underemployed, including 70.1 thousand women. However, these figures are statistically insignificant when comparing with the total number of employed population.

In total, taking women's prevalence in tertiary education into account, we can assume that the occupational segregation rate will not change considerably, at least in the near future, and will keep the present peculiarities. The sectorial segregation rate will depend to a greater extent on how purposefully the structural economic reforms, as announced by the Programme of Economic Reforms and other government documents, will be implemented.

1.3. Gender gap in employment-related income: assessment and analysis of determinants in Ukraine

Gender gap in wages: methodology and statistical difficulties in assessments

The problem of gender inequality in terms of income is regarded as a key issue as it causes a high risk of poverty for women and restricts opportunities for the realization of all vital needs. Labour market participation is the main source of regular current income, therefore the UNDP uses the economic activity by sex as an indicator of access to well-being sources for the calculation of the Gender Inequality Index²⁹.

A great number of studies have examined the causes of this pay gap and have led to the identification of two sets of factors. The first concerns the characteristics of individuals and of the organizations in which they work. The following are among the most important of these factors:

- educational level and field of study;
- work experience in the labour market and seniority in organization or in the job held;
- number of working hours;

²⁷ Work in Ukraine in 2011 : Statistics Yearbook / Edited by I.V. Senyk. – K.: State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2012. — p. 133.

²⁸ Resolution concerning the measurement of underemployment and inadequate employment situations // ILO official website: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/dgreports/stat/documents/normativeinstrument/wcms_087487.pdf

²⁹ Human Development Report 2011. Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All / United Nations Development Programme. – New York, 2011. – 185 p.

- size of organization and sector of activity.

Part of the pay gap could thus be abolished through policies aimed directly at these dimensions such as, for example, adopting flexible working hours in the workplace so as to allow parents to balance work and family responsibilities, making it possible for mothers to continue in their careers without interruption, thus gaining more work experience and seniority. Even when this first set of factors is taken into account, however, econometric studies have repeatedly found an unexplained residual gap between the average wages of women and men. The residual gap reflects wage discrimination based on gender resulting from a second set of factors, reflecting the existence of

- stereotypes and prejudices with regard to the work of women;
- traditional job evaluation methods designed on the basis of the requirements of male dominated roles;
- weaker bargaining power on the part of female workers who are less often unionized and hold a disproportionate number of precarious jobs.

At the same time, part of this residual gap can be attributed to direct discrimination between a man and a woman performing the same job, for example, a male computer specialist and a female computer specialist or a male nurse and a female nurse³⁰.

Unfortunately, the available statistical base does not allow for conducting a thorough gender analysis for all employment income categories, or a break down of the gender wage gap. The only source of regular statistical information on this subject is provided by the enterprises survey on labour statistics (form No. 1-ПВ Labour Report)³¹ that contains data on average monthly wages by gender for corporate bodies and their stand-alone units having 10 or more employees. The surveys have been implemented as total for the set of reporting units having 50 or more employees, and as sample for the set of units having between 10 and 49 employees inclusive (the sample size is about 10 thousand reporting units representing all the regions of Ukraine and all the economic activities). Taking extrapolation of sample data into account, the survey covers about 10.5 million employees, that being slightly more than a half of the total employed population.

A special Household Survey carried out by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine on a regular basis is designed to observe the amounts and structure of household expenses and income. Data in the individual questionnaires contained in the survey toolkit have no proper reliability degree for the purposes of gender analysis of employment income. Besides, the very fact of employment and the employment status in this survey are established by means of a respondent's self-determination, without applying the ILO standard criteria and definitions.

Administrative resources, such as the State Register of Natural Persons - Taxpayers and Other Compulsory Charge Payers (administered by the State Tax Service of Ukraine) and the State Register of General Compulsory State Social Insurance (administered by the Pension Fund of Ukraine), are actually unavailable for statistical analysis. Besides, the fiscal nature of these resources stipulates substantial gaps in terms of employed population coverage (only formal employment) and in terms of income size (only legalized income from which taxes/contributions are paid). That is to say that these sources also do not contain full information.

³⁰ Chicha, M., 2008. *Promoting equity: Gender-neutral job evaluation for equal pay: A step-by-step guide*, Geneva, ILO

³¹ See a more detailed description of this and other state statistical surveys on the website of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (<http://ukrstat.gov.ua/>) under 'Meta descriptions of state statistical surveys'.

Therefore, gender analysis of wages in this section uses data of the enterprises survey on labour statistics that provides information concerning the bulk of employees, rather adequately describing wage sizes and differentiation in the official economic sector.

It is advisable to carry out gender (and any other) comparisons of wage rates with due account of working hours, i.e. according to hourly wage indicators³². Unfortunately, however, the enterprises survey on labour statistics envisages no gender aspect of working time observation. Therefore, analysis was conducted with average monthly data.

The wage rate difference between women and men in Ukraine has traditionally been rather high. In the last decade, behaviour of this ratio was rather contradictory (Fig. 1.31). During 2000-2004, a 'lag' of female wages from male ones was growing slowly (from 29.1% to 31.4%). Since 2005, a positive tendency towards a narrower gender wage gap emerged; in 2010, it reached its historical peak of 22.2%. However, gap decrease factors were clearly different even in that short time interval.

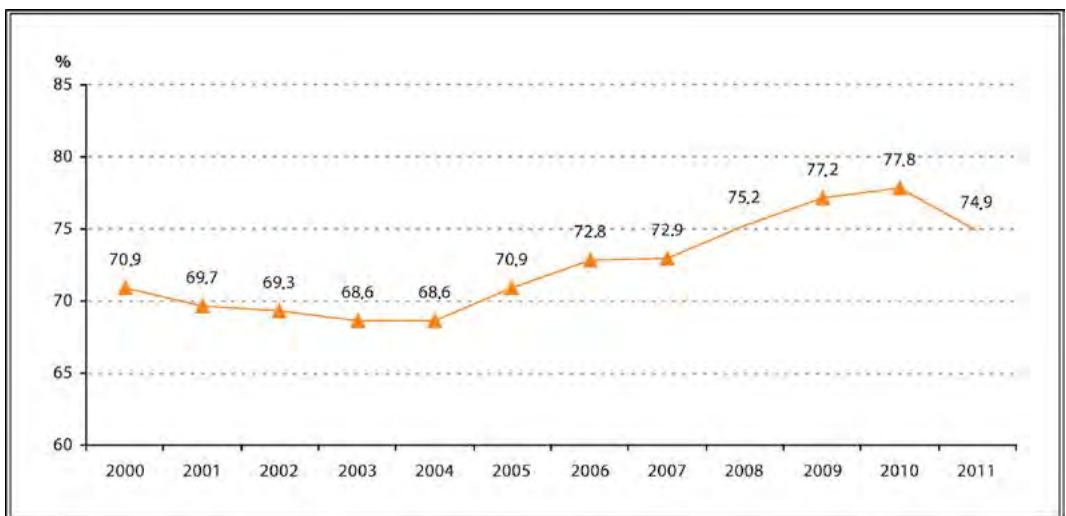


Fig. 1.31. Average women's wage to average men's wage ratio in the economy of Ukraine as a whole, 2000-2011

Source: Enterprises Survey of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine

In 2005, a push to a gradual decline in the gender gap in average wages was provided by the start of the phased implementation of the Unified Tariff System in the state-financed sector the 'core' of which is made up of education, health care and culture institutions – the most feminized economic activities. In late 2008, when Ukraine was 'enveloped' by a financial and economic crisis, the salary (tariff rate) of a tariff grade 1 employee, which is the underlying value for determining the basic wage according to an employee's position/qualification, was frozen at the October 2008 level (UAH 545). That provision was in force until as long as middle 2011, due to which almost complete levelling in wages of tariff grade 1-7 workers occurred (they were all paid a minimum wage).

³² Decent work indicators: concepts and definitions: ILO manual/ International Labour Office – First edition. Geneva: ILO, 2012. – 174 p.; here: p. 130.

The financial and economic crisis also caused wage freeze or even decrease in the non-state-financed sector of economy. As already mentioned above, the crisis affected 'male' activities to a considerably greater extent – construction, mining, 'heavy' manufacturing, and transport. That is, wage gender gap reduction occurred in 2008-2010 not due to any outstripping growth of female wages but because of slower growth rates in male wages.

Remarkably in 2011, when the Government started restoring the Unified Tariff System (raising a tariff grade 1 employee's salary regularly; establishing temporary wage differentiation for tariff grade 2-6 employees)³³, wage gender gap widened again (25.1%). The renewal of economic growth generally causes a faster wage increase in the market sector compared to the state-financed sector. Overall, it appears that economic growth benefits women in terms of wider employment opportunities and men in terms of wage rise.

At the same time, one needs to realize that the substantially lower wage of women, compared to that of men in the economy as a whole gives no direct grounds to argue that this gap is caused exclusively by direct discrimination in labour remuneration, i.e. by payment of different wages to women and men for work of the same value at the same positions, as is sometimes the case³⁴. In reality, the determinants of the gap accumulation are of more complicated, complex character. The wage difference is greatly stipulated by the system of gender division of labour, and, as gender segregation analysis shows, this division is quite rigid in Ukraine. Female employment is concentrated in the activities and occupations that require rather advanced education and skills, including intellectual and creative labour; however, most of these employment segments do not deliver high wages, and are usually concentrated in the public sector. Male employment seems to have two poles – either worker professions in low-technology industries (usually in harmful working conditions) and simple services, or top management and new information technologies. It is clear that these employment segments are able to provide the wage level much higher than average. Stagnation of such a rigid labour division indicates recession in gender development and even certain renaissance of the patriarchy, the man seen as the 'breadwinner'³⁵.

To 'diagnose' the phenomenon of gender discrimination in labour remuneration, analysis should be conducted at the micro-level, for as homogenous employed populations as possible, to detect any facts of unequal pay for work of equal value and quality. This analysis needs to consider, to the greatest possible extent, all the factors able to affect wage rates objectively. Enterprise characteristics of great importance: organizational and legal form of business management, economic activity, location, period of stay in the market, etc. In addition to professions/occupations, staff socio-demographic characteristics should also be taken into account. For example, an employee's 'older age' usually assumes a longer service record and certain 'regalia' that are rewarded with bonuses and stipulate a higher wage. That is to say that making a comparison is rather difficult even within one production unit.

As mentioned above, the statistical base for such detailed comparisons in Ukraine is quite limited. Wage information broken down by profession/occupation is not available at all. The State Statistics Service of Ukraine initiated a sample survey of enterprises on this subject; a relevant tool was developed and approved – form No. 7-ПВ 'Report on wages broken down by professions of individual employees'. The survey should provide combined information on the wage rate and structure broken down by organizational and economic characteristics of enterprises and

33 Decree of the Government of Ukraine 'Issues of payment to employees in establishments, institutions and organizations of some branches of the budgetary sphere' from 21.05.2011 № 524.

34 See for example: New social inequalities / Edited by S. Makeev. – K.: Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine, 2006. – P. 236.

35 Kalabikhina I.E. Gender factor in economic development of Russia: Monograph. – M.: MAKSS Press, 2009. – pp. 173–175.

staff socio-economic attributes (sex, age, length of service at the enterprise, education, form of pay: hourly – piecework payment, working time conditions (full-time – part-time), type of employment agreement (open-end – fixed-term – probation), profession (position), time paid including time worked). However, regrettably the dates of the survey have been postponed for organizational and administrative reasons.

Gender wage gap by economic activity

The only available source for more in-depth analysis of wage gender gap exists in the data from the enterprises survey on labour statistics disaggregated to the third digit of the Classifier of Economic Activities (KVED) (Fig. 1.32; due to a great quantity of industry groups, they are presented separately). This data generally confirms the existence of a significant wage gap; however, it is not possible to draw unambiguous conclusions on the reasons behind the gender pay gap without controlling for the productivity variables (such as education, fields of study, hours of work, work experience, size of firm) between men and women. We can only observe that the gender pay gap is significant, despite the fact that women enter the labour market with more education than men; in 2011, 56% of employed women had tertiary education (including complete, basic and incomplete), while the same for men was 41.2% (see Fig. 1.17).

In most economic segments where gender composition of staff is close to parity, the female wage rate is not much lower, but even higher, than the male wage rate. For example, the average wage in pre-school facilities for women is 13.4% higher than men's (correspondingly UAH 1,568 against 1,382); in general secondary education institutions, it is 5.2% higher (UAH 2,039 against 1,938 in 2011). In higher education, women's wage is 15.3% lower than men's (UAH 2,499 against 2,949) but even here the gender gap is much less than in the entire economy. For example, in construction where male employment prevails, women's wage falls 17.8% behind men's (correspondingly UAH 1,918 against 2,331).

In services generally, there are few activities with a wide wage gender gap. Exceptions include sea transport (25.1%), personal services (25.5%), financial intermediation (30.6%), show business and sports (36.6%), post and telecommunications (40.6%). Detailed data on average wages of women and men by types of economic activities (without industries) are presented in Annex A - Table A.5.

In industrial activities, however, the situation is quite different (see Annex A - Table A.6). Women's wages are not higher than men's in any of them. The most 'close' (gap of less than 25%) wage rates are seen in light and food industries, and publishing. Actually in all sub-sectors of the mining industry, instead, women's wages are 30-35% lower compared to men's wages (in mining of coal and lignite – by more than a half). It is assumed that this is connected with statutory restrictions on female employment in harmful working conditions, particularly in underground works. Therefore, women employed by mining enterprises are mainly done so in auxiliary and maintenance capacities.

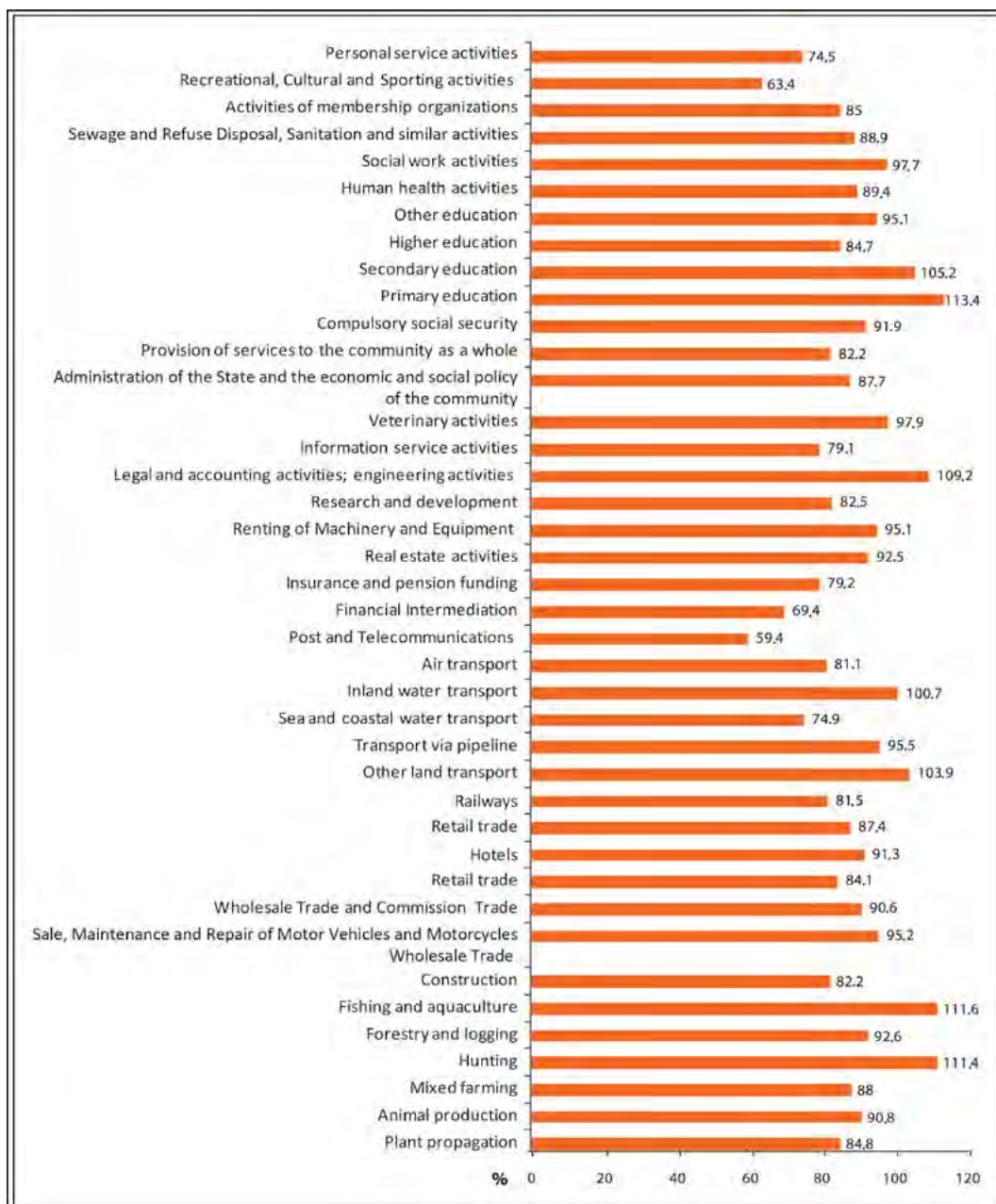


Fig. 1.32. Average women's to men's wage ratio in various types of economic activities, Ukraine, 2011, % (without mining and quarrying, manufacturing, electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply)

Source: Enterprises Survey of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, micro-data



Fig. 1.32 (continuation). Average women's to men's wage ratio in mining and quarrying, manufacturing, electricity, gas and water supply, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Enterprises Survey of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, micro-data

In general, a rather close direct relationship exists between the gender gap and absolute wage rates: economic activities featuring a higher wage level have a wider gap than low-paid ones. This is explained by the equalizing effect of minimum wage, which becomes more apparent amid relatively low payment standards.

Gender discrimination in pay for work of equal value: results of sociological questioning

Beside other questions, the program of sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine – 2012' included questions on personal experience of respondents related to such manifestations of discrimination and payment of lower wage, as compared with other workers, for work of equal value. On average, only 10.7% of the respondents of the sociological surveysaid that they had personally encountered such an instant of discrimination in the labour market as payment of a lower wage, as compared to other employees, for work of equal value. However, a certain variation in positive reply frequency can be seen depending on the organizational and legal form of the enterprises represented by the respondents (Fig. 1.33). This situation was the least common in enterprises, institutions and organizations of state or municipal ownership forms, which can be explained by the application of a unified system of salaries at this type of enterprises, due to which labour remuneration differences can only be created by additional bonuses, increments, overtime employment, etc. At private enterprises, the share of employees who encountered payment of a lower wage for work of equal value, as compared to their colleagues, was somewhat higher because labour relations at such enterprises are more determined by individual contracts and depend on employers' preferences to a greater extent. The highest share of employees reporting personal experience of this form of biased treatment is typical for joint-stock companies, limited liabilities companies, branches or other stand-alone departments that are characterized by a greater size, turnover and scope of operations and, hence, by higher competition in the field of employment.

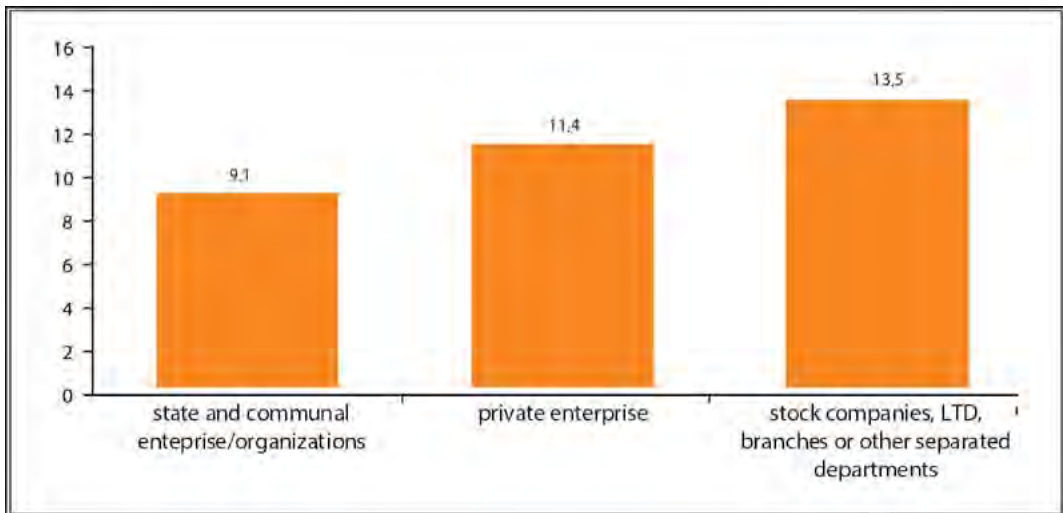


Fig. 1.33. Distribution of answers of respondents who mentioned that they faced payment of a lower wage, as compared to other employees, for work of equal value, depending on the organizational and legal form of the enterprises

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

The distribution of respondent answers shows: it is the gender factor that acts as one of the major factors of inequality in payment for work of equal value (Fig. 1.34). Although almost a half of the respondents reporting personal experience of this phenomenon believed that age had been the main factor of biased treatment (32% mentioned their youth whereas 17% noted pre-retirement, old age), the second frequently mentioned factor was female sex that had caused lower wages for almost one-third of the female respondents. And if we take into account that one-fifth of the respondents believe that family responsibilities, which are mainly regarded exactly as a 'female' prerogative, constitute a factor of biased treatment against them in calculation of wages, we see that the gender aspect's impact upon this manifestation of discrimination in employment substantially grows.

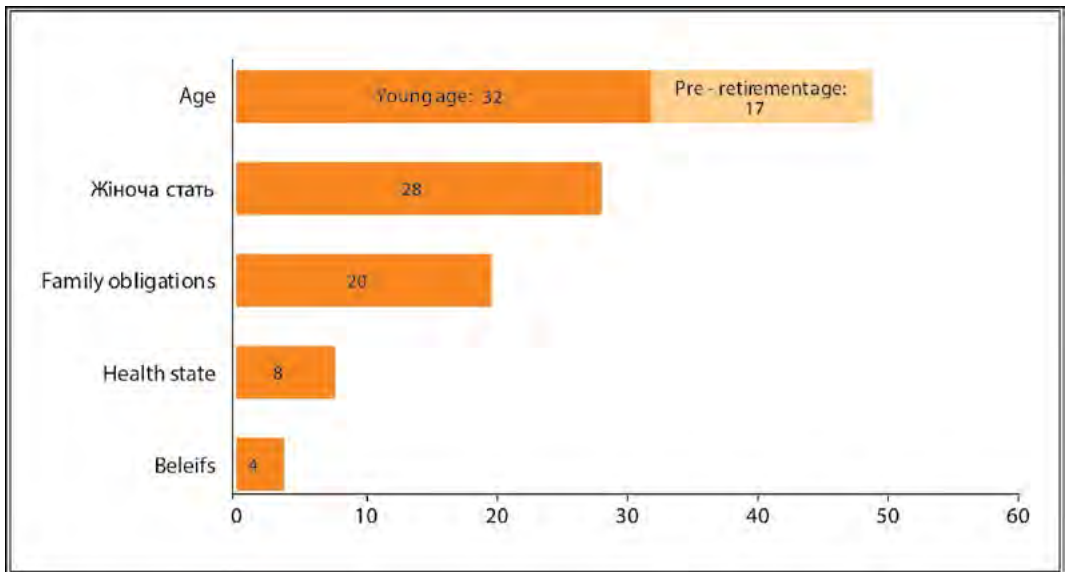


Fig. 1.34. Factors of discrimination in the form of payment of lower wage for work of the same value

(answers of employed women who mentioned that they personally faced this manifestation of a bias at a workplace; respondents could select all relevant options)

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Gender gap in pensions

The employment income rate stipulates the level of well-being not only in the period of life when one is actively working, but also after retirement because the pension payment amount is determined with account of labour participation.

The formula to calculate a basic old-age pension rate according to the Law of Ukraine on General Compulsory State Pension Insurance (in force since 1 January 2004) can be written as follows:

$$P = \bar{W} \times W_i \times 1,35 S_i \quad ,$$

Where \overline{W} is national average monthly wage (income) from which pension contributions were paid in previous three years;

W_i is the individual earnings factor calculated as an average monthly ratio between the wage of the person whom pension is assigned and the national average wage (income) from which pension contributions were paid; it is calculated for the entire working period;

S_i is the individual pensionable service factor calculated as the sum of pensionable service months multiplied by the value of one service year and divided by 12. A full month of service is included provided that the sum of contributions paid for that month is no less than the minimum insurance contribution (the latter is calculated on the basis of minimum wage and the employer's contribution rate). Otherwise, the service is included in proportion to the paid part of minimum contribution. In 2008, the value of one service year was increased from 1% to 1.35%.

If the calculation result is lower than the minimum pension (established equal to the minimum of subsistence for persons who lost working capacity), a subsidy is granted to 'pull up' the pension amount to the minimum. For every complete year of pensionable service over and above the required service (30 years for women, 35 years for men), the pension rate is increased by 1% of the pension calculated according to the formula given above but no more than by 1% of the minimum pension.

Before 2004, the old-age pension subject to required pensionable service was calculated as 50% of the individual's wage over the recent 5 years of work, and was increased by 1% for every year over and above the required service. Under such conditions, total pensionable service affected only an allowance for over-the-norm service whereas wage difference was levelled to some extent with the aid of various mechanisms of artificial wage increase in pre-retirement years. Besides, there was a strict limitation of the maximum pension payment. Due to that, a pension gender gap was considerably narrower than in wages (see Fig. 1.35 and Fig. 1.31).

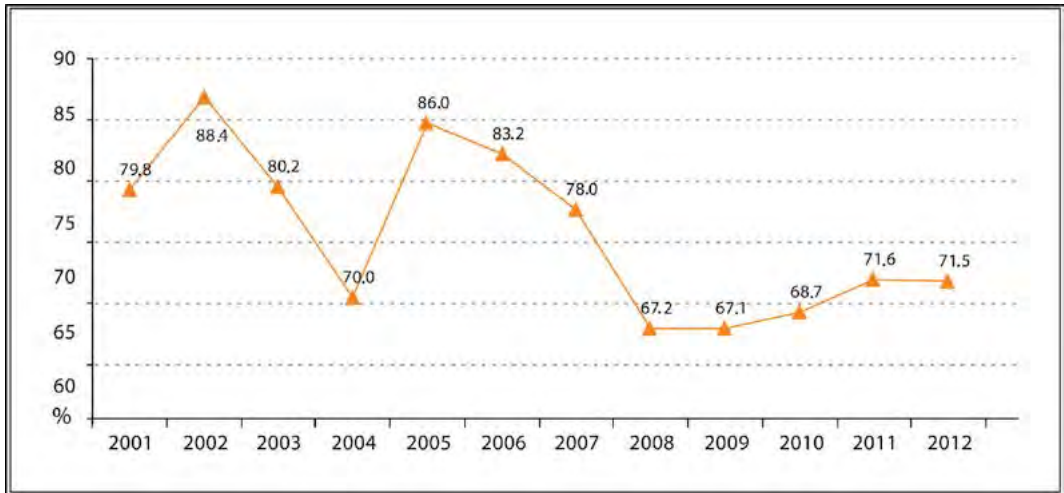


Fig. 1.35. Average women's to average men's pension ratio in Ukraine, 2001-2012, % (as the beginning of January, without pensions of military servicemen)

Source: Pension Fund of Ukraine

Implementation of a new pension calculation procedure in 2004 resulted in a considerable gender impact because pensionable service and earnings for the entire working life period began to be included for calculation. Whereas the average female pension was mostly over 80% of the male pension in 2001-2003, it dropped to 70% in 2004, which generally corresponds to the gender ratio of wages in the respective year.

Fixing the minimum old-age pension at the minimum of subsistence for persons who lost working capacity resulted in a considerable narrowing of the gap in 2005-2007. However, recalculations made in 2008 (in particular, updating the wage base for calculation of pensions, and raising the value of one service year from 1% to 1.35%) resulted in a widening of the gender gap (67.2% whereas gender wage ratio was 75.2% that year).

Due to a financial and economic crisis, the minimum pension was frozen at the level of December 2008. That provision was actually in force until May 2010 and caused some slowdown of pension growth rates. However, unlike the trend of the gender wage gap narrowing that could be related to a general decline in wages during the crisis period, no substantial narrowing of the pension gender gap occurred at that time. Since pensions belong to social transfers, their amounts depend on the current situation in the entire economy or some of its sectors to a lesser extent.

A gender gap in pension rates is currently shaped by two factors: shorter pensionable service, first of all because of lower retirement age, and generally lower wages for women owing to employment segregation in the low-paid economic sectors. Due to a combination of these factors, the pension gender gap has been much wider than in wages since 2008.

If the basic pension rates (i.e. calculated by the formula with no subsidy and additional payment) are compared, the gender gap turns out to be considerably wider (Table 1.5). Overall for old-age pensioners it reaches 50% whereas the highest gap values can be found in the group of persons enjoying privileges who take early retirement (the female pension is only 38% that of a male pension) and among persons aged 80 and older (47%).

Table 1.5. Average size of pensions on age by gender and age groups in Ukraine, as on January of 2012

Pensioners on age – women			Pensioners on age - men		
Age, years	Pension size, UAH		Age, years	Pension size, UAH	
	basic (by formula)	total (with subsidies and additional payments)		basic (by formula)	total (with subsidies and additional payments)
less than 55	661	1,083	less than 60	1,738	2,111
55-59	706	1,065	60-64	1,218	1,506
60-69	595	1,037	65-69	1,007	1,393
70-79	545	1,069	70-79	1,005	1,435
80 and older	417	1,087	80 and older	893	1,501
Total	580	1,061	Total	1,161	1,553

Source: Pension Fund of Ukraine

Gradual lifting of retirement age for women, commenced since October 2011, will promote equalization of pensionable service duration and, accordingly, of pension rates. However, it is a rather remote prospect – retirement age limits for women and men will only become the same in 2021. The gender gaps in pension rates indicate the multiple disadvantage women face in employment and income through her life-cycle. The lower earnings during women's working life translate into lower pensionable rate, which is made even more disadvantaged by the shorter years in service due to the lower retirement age. This has considerable impact on the quality of life at old age, especially given women's higher life expectancy compared to males. Measures are needed to address the gender pay gap, and to eliminate labour market barriers to skilled and highly paid occupations and economic sectors.

SECTION 2. GENDER-RELATED FEATURES IN POPULATION INCOME GENERATION IN UKRAINE. WOMEN'S UNACCOUNTED WORK AND CONTRIBUTION

2.1. The size and structure of the personal income gender gap in Ukraine

Gender inequality problems manifest themselves not only in the labour market; they can dictate the population's general income capacities, the differences in the access of men and women to economic resources and the division of their economic power within a household. This manifestation of gender inequality not only affects the material well-being of women but also adversely affects the equality of their rights and opportunities in other realms of life, hindering full-fledged participation in society and restricting personal development prospects. Therefore gender analysis of the nation's standard of living, assessment of the disparities shown not only in the income ratio between genders but also in gender-based differences of the income generation structure, household-level resource allocation, and contribution of both male and female partners to the material welfare of the family, is important.

Statistical analysis of the nation's income is a difficult task, especially amid the widespread practice of unregistered incomes. In Ukraine, the estimation of the nation's income is based on the data from the sample Household Survey (HHS) on resource generation and use carried out by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine on a quarterly basis since 1999. The survey respondent network covers about 13 thousand households, which are replaced each year. The sample survey findings are extended to all Ukrainian households by a statistical weighing method that allows for the reliability level of indicator estimates to be improved. However, there is still an important shortcoming, namely insufficient survey coverage amongst the poorest, marginal population strata and well-off households that mainly refuse to take part in the survey. As a result, data reliability is inferior to that of administrative statistics; on the whole, however, the HHS result is reliable. It has a high level of representativeness and allows for an adequate understanding of the households' level of resource generation and use. Despite certain difficulties of a methodological nature accompanying the gender analysis of the HHS data (a household is a statistical analysis object in this survey, hence, data on sex-based intra-familial income distribution is actually inaccessible), survey information arrays allow us to make estimated calculations of gender-disaggregated indicators for the entire population, providing a certain illustrative 'snapshot' of society.

According to the HHS data, a women's average individual income was only 65.3% of men's in 2011 (UAH 1,122.9 against UAH 1,720.2 per month, respectively³⁶), demonstrating a substantial gap in the population's income capacities. Despite actually linear income growth over 2001-2011 (see Fig. 2.1), the gender gap in incomes remained actually unchanged, featuring a considerably higher differentiation rate than the women-to-men average wage ratio. Such a pattern reflects the contribution of other income sources to the emergence of gender inequality in access to economic resources: according to 2011 data, average female income through own account work was only 22% of the corresponding 'male' indicator whereas women's average income among employers equalled to 34.7% of men's average income.

³⁶ We emphasize that the HHS-based population's income level estimates should be viewed without linkage to official wage statistics calculated from enterprise reports, because respondents generally specify the 'net' income received after payment of all mandatory deductions.

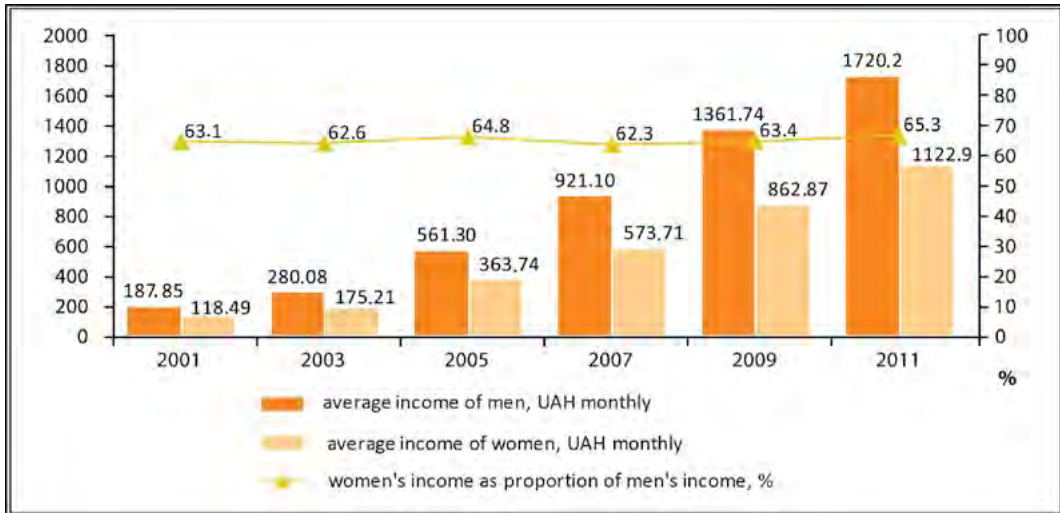


Fig. 2.1. Average individual incomes of population by gender, Ukraine, 2001-2011, UAH monthly

Source: Household Survey

Gender disparities in structure of population's total incomes

Gender analysis of the nation's income level not only reveals a substantial gap favourable to men but also indicates the existence of certain differences in the structure of male and female income generation by earnings (Fig. 2.2). When considering the total population of the country, attention is drawn to the considerably higher contribution of pension benefits in the structure of women's total income generation as compared to men (36.8% against 22.1%) as well as by the role of other 'non-labour' sources that include scholarships, various social benefits, assistance from relatives, etc. On the other hand, men have a higher general share of employment-related income: more than two-thirds of their income is generated by wages (68.8% of total income), 6.6% is provided by earnings from self-employment, and 1.8% arrives from business activity. As far as 'female' income is concerned, the contribution of these earning items is much more moderate: wages provide only 58.8% of total income, income of business activity gives 2.2%, and income of self-employment generates only 1% of total income. Overall, such patterns in the generation of the male and female income structure are quite expected, considering peculiarities of the Ukrainian population's sex and age composition which includes the overrepresentation of women among old-age pensioners. At the same time, the weaker dependence of a women's total income on paid employment reflects also lower indicators of female economic activity and employment when compared to male counterparts, that being traditional for the country's labour market.

Gender features of the working-age population's total income structure demonstrates somewhat different trends: the pension income's percentage is slightly higher for men (perhaps, owing to a contribution of non-age-related pension payments) whereas women have a little higher share of wage income (Fig. 2.3). The latter fact emphasizes women's stronger vulnerability in terms of access to economic resources: despite women's substantially lower average wage, it is this source of earnings that determines 86.8% of the total income of working-age women. Economic risks are aggravated also by the persistence of high differentiation in earnings from

employer's activity and own-account work; their percentage in working-age men's total income is two times higher than the corresponding share in women's income.

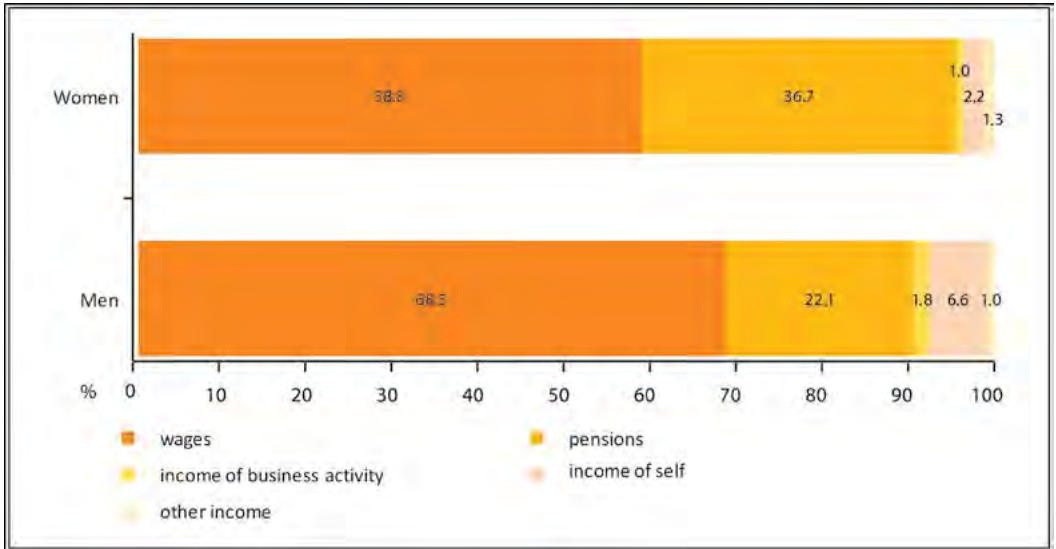


Fig. 2.2. Structure of individual incomes of women and men (total population), Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

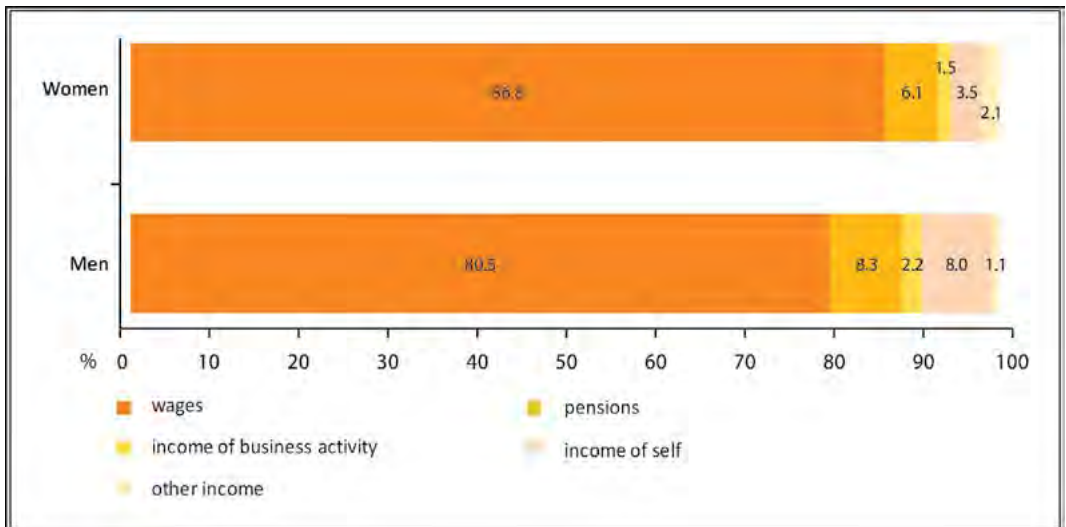


Fig. 2.3. Structure of individual incomes of women and men in the working age, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

Along with differentiation of earning sources, gender inequality in individual income levels can be aggravated by the impact of some social and demographic factors including age, marital status, education level, socio-economic status in the labour market, form of employment in the main job, the respondent's settlement type, etc. The HHS micro-data allow the assessing of peculiarities of male and female income distribution with account of the above-mentioned characteristics and tracing certain differences between various population categories (Annex B, Tables B.1-B.10).

Gender gap in population's incomes by age groups

Essential gender differences in the individual income level in men's favour can be seen in all age groups above 18 years (Fig. 2.4). As compared to youth, the income level increases with age in both gender groups; however, the highest values of income levels are observed among women and men in different ages. In particular, the highest individual income is typical for men aged 40-44 whereas age-specific total income figures for members of older groups decrease gradually. The female income peak is towards an older age: according to 2011 data, the highest total income was received by women aged 55-59. The peaking of income close to retirement is generally believed to be due to the possibility to obtain simultaneously pensions and wages while having a lower retirement age (55 for women against 60 for men before the beginning of the pension reform in Ukraine). Due thereto, it is this age group that demonstrated the lowest gender gap in incomes, that being at 10% level. However, it is likely that the gender gap in individual income of this age group will somewhat grow upon final equalization of the male and female retirement age.

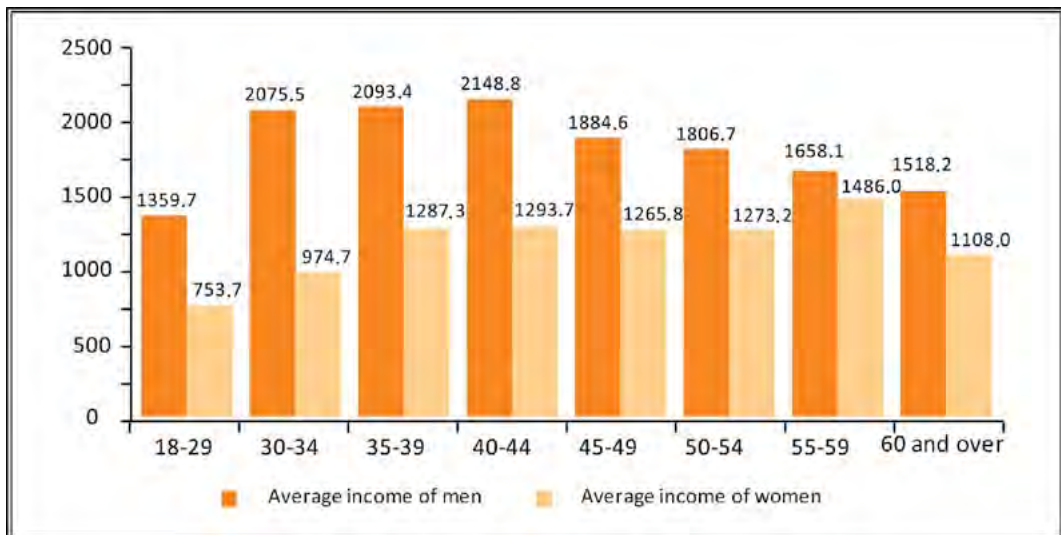


Fig. 2.4. Total individual incomes of women and men by age groups, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

Generally, the highest income level gender gap is observed in younger age groups: average income of women aged 18-29 is about 50% of average income of men of this age whereas average income of women aged 30-34 is even less, only 47% of their 'male' counterparts. Since foundations of the population's occupational activities are built exactly in a younger age, young

women's lower income indicates their less favourable situation in the labour market and their limited access to decent employment and wages. Considering that these age groups account for the highest age-specific birth rates (89.9 births per 1,000 women aged 20-24, 89.2 per 1,000 women aged 25-29, and 58.0 per 1,000 women aged 30-34 in 2011), it would be natural to assume that younger women's reproductive activity is the main deterrent of their income capacity. The break in occupational activity related to childbirth and to the need for taking care of infants not only affects decrease in current income of women in this age category but, given the weak institutionalized support to reconcile work and family responsibilities in the country, has long-term implications on their long-term labour market outcome, in many instances restricting career development and leading to qualification loss and knowledge and skills obsolescence in the contemporary dynamic world.

Gender gap in population's incomes by marital status

Male individual income exceeds female individual income regardless of their marital status; however, the size of the gap is significantly affected by marital status. Both among women and men, the lowest income level is recorded among the un-married; the income level increases for the persons in registered or unregistered marriage (labelled 'married') (Fig. 2.5). However, it is the 'married' category that features the greatest gender differences in individual income levels (for example, married women's average income in 2011 was 57.8% of married men's average income). This is a striking example of the strong impact of the traditional gender distribution of social roles in the family. The prioritising of the female as the caretaker of the family diminishes their ability to financially 'take care' of the very same people. Therefore the traditional role of 'breadwinner' assigned to the man of the house and subsequently motivates them to maximize income.

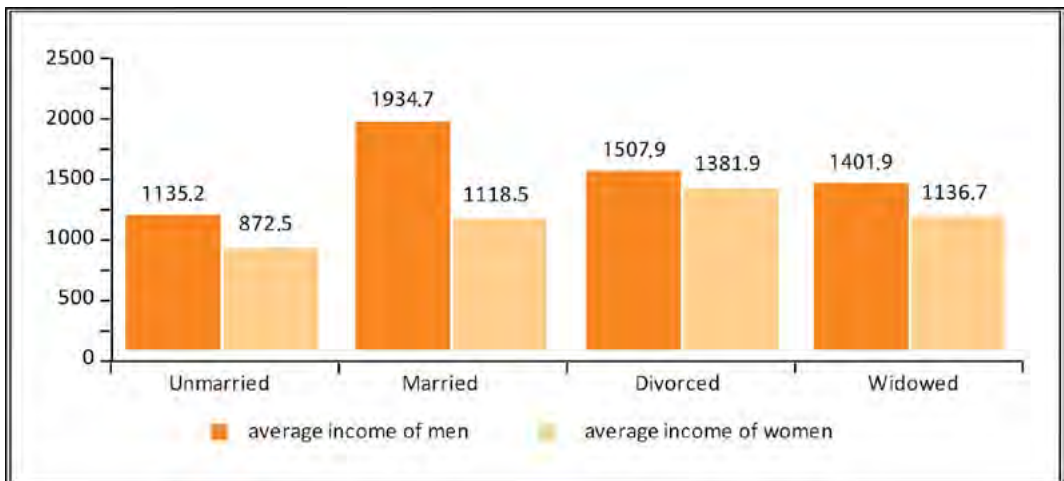


Fig. 2.5. Total individual income of men and women by marital status, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

The economic dependency of married women upon their husbands is confirmed by peculiarities of the gender-based distribution among the divorced percentage of the population. This category of women features the highest individual income figures, actually equal to those of the corresponding male category. On the one hand, the increase in divorced women's income can be treated as a result of 'release' from the domain of housewife upon termination of the marital

relationships, changes in their life priorities, and targeting of their potential towards career path development. On the other hand, the increase can be a consequence of forced activation of the women in the labour market after the dissolution of marriage as they have to secure the well-being of their family without a husband.

Gender gap in population's incomes by level of education

Overall, persons having higher educational attainments also have higher individual income levels but this pattern is more strikingly visible among men (Fig. 2.6). In particular, the average income of men with a complete tertiary education is more than 2 times higher than that of men with the lowest education levels. As far as women are concerned, their income differentiation due to educational level is not as high. Certain patterns also exist in income level gender gap peculiarities depending on the population's educational level. The least educated contingents including illiterate individuals and persons having no education (mostly older age groups and students) have rather small income level gender differences. In this population category, female average income is about 78% of male. The income level gender gap is substantially wider among the population having complete general secondary, incomplete tertiary or basic tertiary education. The ratio between 'female' and 'male' incomes in this population group was at 66% level in 2011, indicating greater impact of the gender factor upon differentiation of income from payment for skilled labour.

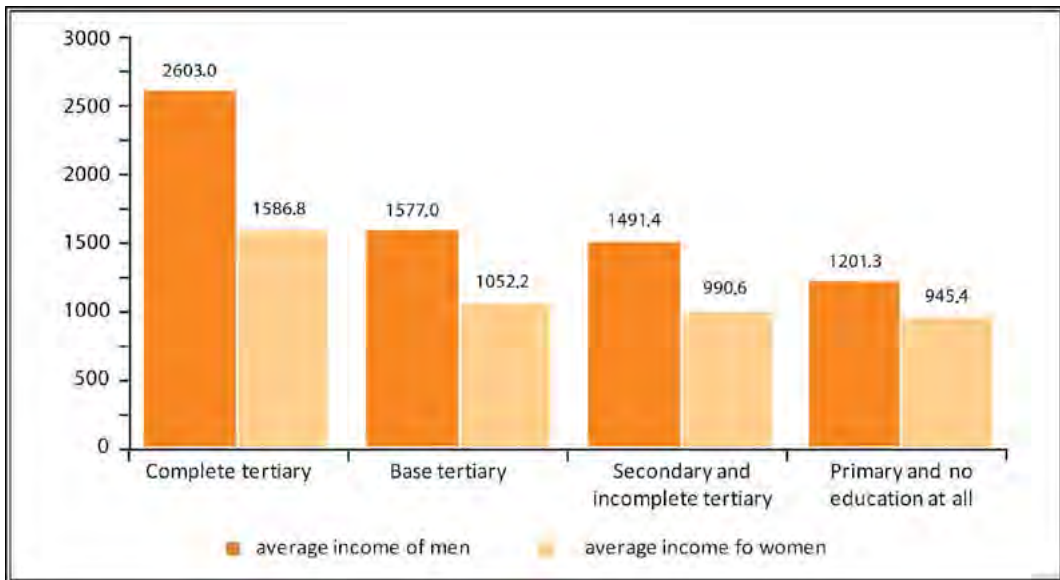


Fig. 2.6. Total individual incomes of women and men by education levels, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

Paradoxically, the largest gender gap in individual income levels is typical for persons with a complete tertiary education. In Ukraine on average in 2011, individual income of this female category was 61% of that of men of the same educational level. In other words, the return on tertiary education for women appears to be lower than among men, due possibly to barriers to higher level work due to perceived or real work and family tension, mismatch between

the acquired degrees and market demand. Another factor reducing the efficiency of tertiary education as a tool for increasing incomes consists of a widespread gender-based occupational segregation in Ukraine's labour market, which results in female employment concentration in the occupations and economic activities offering lower salaries or at lower positions. As a result, the women having a tertiary or vocational education rather often cannot unlock their potential in full.

Gender gap in population's income by socioeconomic status of employment

Male individual income exceeds female individual income in all population groups specified by their socio-economic status in the labour market. Overall, the highest income level is typical for persons having the status of employer; average incomes of employees and own-account workers are almost two times lower. The lowest income level is typical for pensioners or the unemployed as well as students (Fig. 2.7).

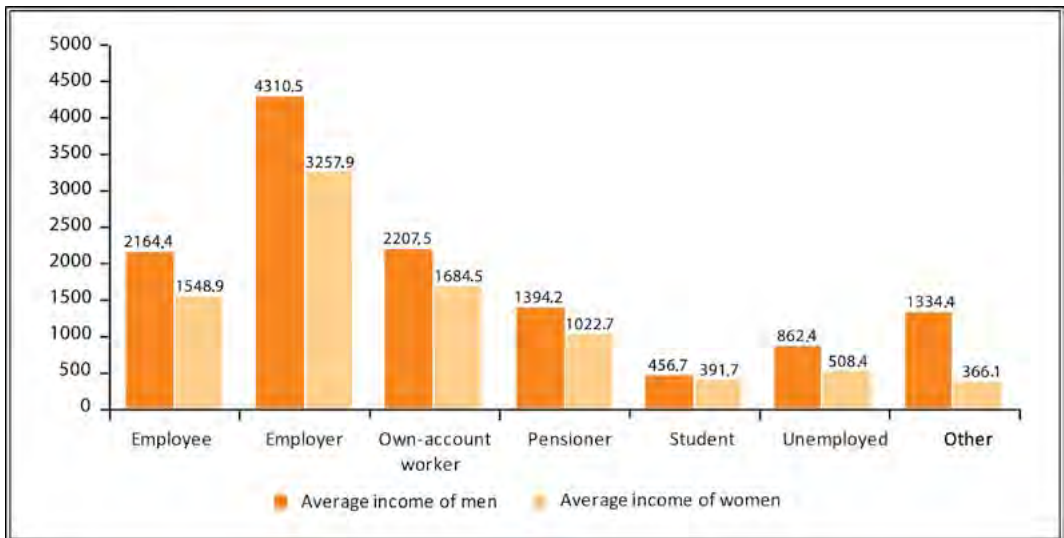


Fig. 2.7. Total individual income of men and women by social-economic status in the labour market, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

The gender gap in income levels of representatives of various socio-economic groups becomes wider as overall income increases: the least differences in the women-to-men income ratio are observed in the group of students and pupils having overall low incomes. For the population groups whose income is generated by working activities (employees, employers, own-account workers), more substantial gender differentiation of income capacity is typical. Female average income in these categories is at 71-75% of male average income; the greatest gender gap in individual income levels is characteristic of the unemployed: up to 40% in 2009-2011, and more than 50% in 2007. It can be supposed to be connected with the unemployed male's more active stand in looking for work, in addition to unemployment social support benefits, as compared to women. It is worth paying special attention to a positive tendency towards narrower gender gaps in income levels of the individuals having the employer status, seen during some recent years: whereas female employers' average income in 2007 was only 58.9% of male employers'

figure, it was as high as 63.5% in 2009 and even 75.6% in 2011. The available statistical data gives grounds to conclude that the economic power of women in Ukraine is gradually becoming stronger, with better access to entrepreneurial activities and business.

This assumption is supported also by peculiarities of the gender ratio of the population's incomes depending on the form of employment at the main job (Fig. 2.8). The highest individual income levels are traditionally seen in the population categories engaged in employer's activity with involvement of own employees, and the gender gap in this indicator decreased substantially in 2011 (respective monthly income figures were UAH 4,461 for men and UAH 4,072 for women). At the same time, average income of female employees and own-account workers was at 73-77% of the corresponding 'male' indicator. The greatest gender inequalities are typical for income capacity of the population categories engaged in unpaid work at a family enterprise or farm: against the background of a scanty level of this group's overall income (UAH 264 per month on average in 2011), women's income is only a half of the corresponding 'male' indicator (UAH 196 against UAH 335 per month, respectively).

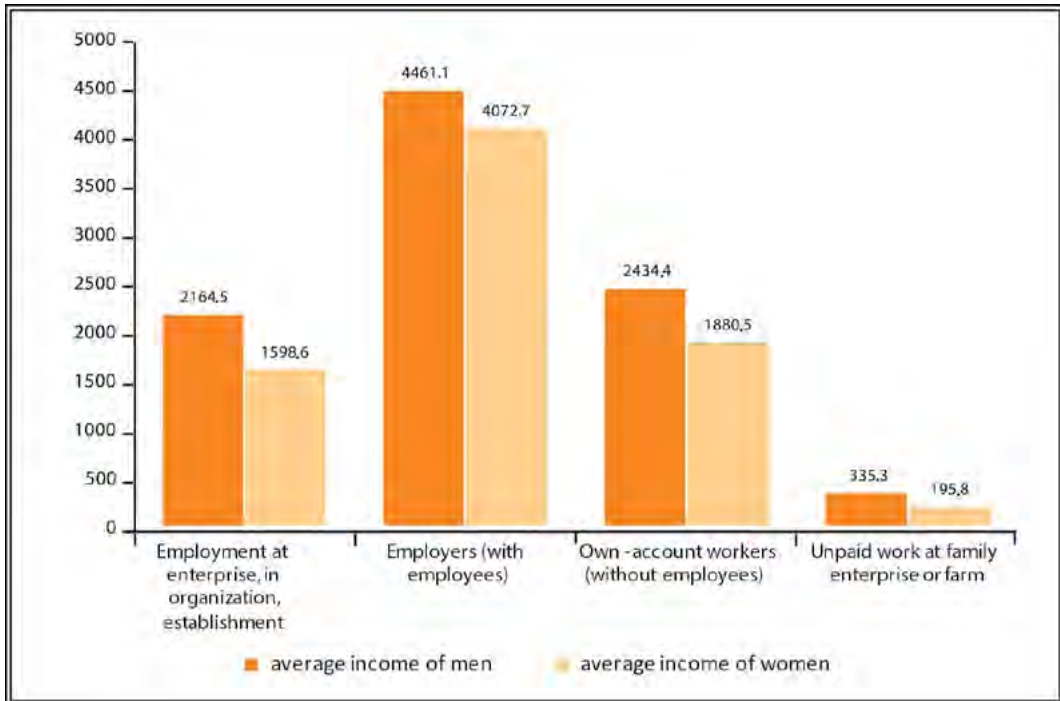


Fig. 2.8. Total individual incomes of men and women by form of employment from their main job, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

Moreover, such peculiarities of the gender-based distribution of the nation's income depending on the form of employment has remained stable in recent years, which indicates an extremely unfavourable situation for the group of women whose economic activity is associated solely with a family enterprise's work, limited access of such women to economic resources and powers, their 'minor' role in securing family well-being and, accordingly, in household decision-

making.

Gender gap in population's income by geographical location (type of settlement).

A weighty factor affecting gender differentiation of the population's income levels is the type of 'settlement' that the persons in question lives in. Overall, the gender-based income misbalance weakens as the settlement size decreases (see Fig. 2.9). The narrowest gender gap is seen in rural areas, with their generally low income capacities: in particular, a rural woman's average income in 2011 was 72.4% of a rural man's. In small towns, the growth of the population's average income is accompanied by corresponding growth of gender differences: average income of women residing in settlements of this type is 66% of the corresponding male category's average income. The highest gender gap exists in large cities where women's average individual income is only 61% of men's income.

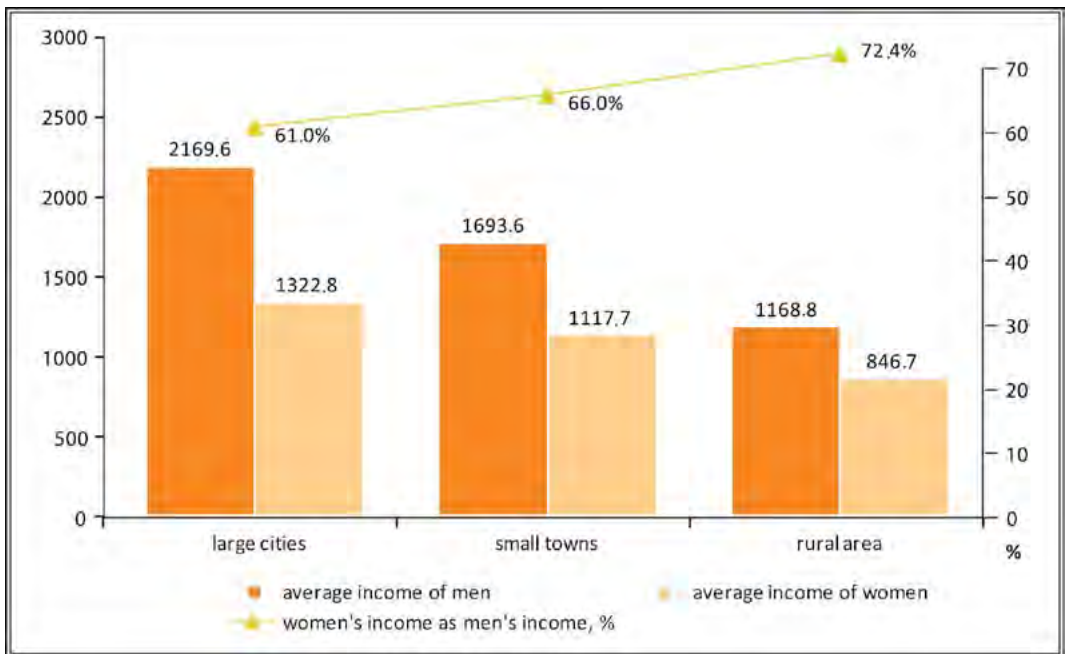


Fig. 2.9. Total individual income of men and women by settlement types, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

It is the large cities, namely settlements with a population above 100 thousand persons, that feature the highest income figures, which is stipulated by a better developed labour market, wider employment opportunities, concentration of both highly-paid enterprises of various industries and services, and the top management of all economic sectors, and the administration of national and regional levels. Accordingly, competition appears to be higher in the labour markets of large cities, due to which women often find themselves in a less favourable situation. This is reflected in the tendencies of gender-based occupational segregation by employment sector and level of position. However, it is the large cities where high gender differences in income levels look the most groundless, considering that the urban way of life provides better living conditions, wider access to infrastructure and public services, leaving more time for urban

women for occupational activities, acquisition of tertiary education and skills, involvement in social life, etc. Besides, women in large cities are less engaged in such activities as working in their gardens which takes up a large share of the rural women's daily work. This leaving them no opportunity for personal development and social realization.

2.2. 'Feminization' of poverty: approaches to assessment and status quo

Having a generally lower individual income level, women naturally encounter a higher risk of poverty. It is women that account for the majority of the low-income population which applied to the State for social assistance (Table 2.1). The number of women who are children's allowance recipients is 1.2 times greater than the number of men, 1.4 times greater among social benefit recipients and as much as 2.1 times greater among subsidy recipients. If we compare the numbers of men and women within Ukrainian households receiving all three types of social assistance, women are overrepresented to the numerical tune of 2.2.

Table 2.1. Adult (aged 18+) men to women ratio in households, receiving social benefits and allowances, Ukraine, 2010

Categories of social benefit recipients	Number of households, thousand	Number of women in these households, thousand	Number of men in these households, thousand	Higher ratio of women compared to men
Receive at least one type of social benefits	9,432.8	11,525.8	8,420.2	1.4
Receive children's allowances	2,199.7	3,087.7	2,531.1	1.2
Receive privileges	7,657.9	9,349.3	6,560.6	1.4
Receive subsidies	680.6	723.9	355.3	2.1
Receive all three types of social benefits	16.4	30.2	13.5	2.2

Source: Household Survey

In this light, the feminization of poverty becomes more relevant, requiring more detailed study. Assessment of the poverty rate in Ukraine is grounded on the application of a few scientific approaches, absolute and relative criteria being key ones among them. The minimum of subsistence is generally used as an absolute poverty rate criterion while the use of a relative criterion assumes calculation of the national poverty line that corresponds to the value of 75% of median total equivalent household expenditures based on HHS data. The relative poverty rate acts as a kind of economic inequality measure because it outlines the population categories living in worse conditions than the rest of society. Although in numerical terms women prevail among the low-income population regardless of the poverty criterion chosen, both in absolute and proportional figures (Fig 2.10.), women's higher percentage in the poor population may not in itself be regarded as a reliable manifestation of poverty feminization because such distribution corresponds to the general gender composition of the Ukrainian population featuring women's numerical superiority.

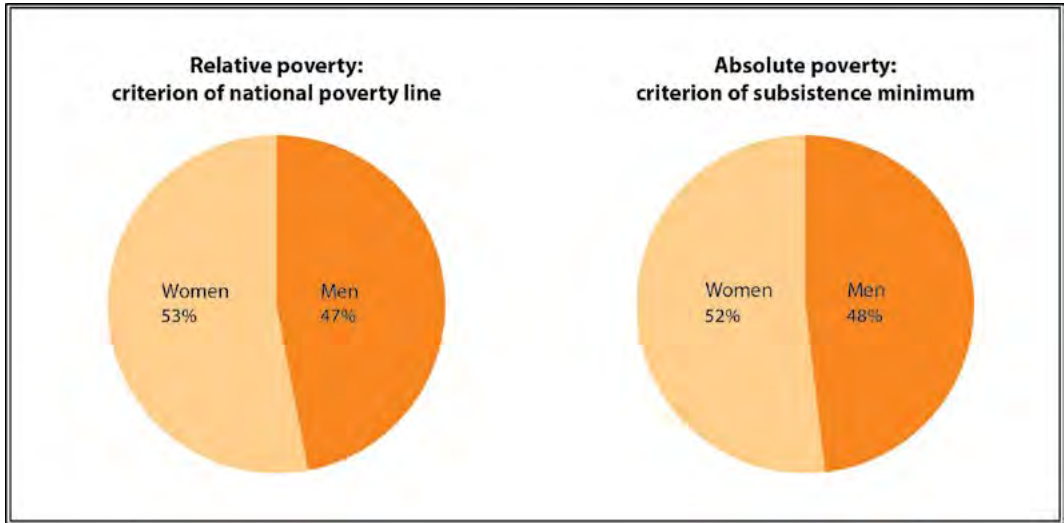


Fig. 2.10. Structure of low income households in Ukraine by gender of household head and selected poverty criterion, 2011

Source: Household Survey

Assessing gender indicators of the Ukrainian population's low-income situation, one should consider certain information limitations in the national methodology of poverty assessment grounded on the HHS data. Since the object of such assessment consists of a household, not its members, it does not seem possible to disaggregate poverty indicators within the individual family framework. Theoretically, differences in household poverty indicators depending on the household head's gender can be a subject of gender analysis but in practice reliability of this data remains low because identification of the household head during an interview is often random. The most reliable results of gender-related poverty assessment can be expected for single-person households; it is this level where the greatest gender misbalance becomes apparent. Gender differences in poverty indicators manifest themselves most strikingly among the older age population groups having attained retirement age and living separately. The HHS-2009 findings are remarkable in this regard (Table 2.2): whereas the poverty rate of single women's households was slightly higher than the poverty rate of single men (19.7% against 19.3%), the single women's poverty figure in the 60+ age group jumped to 23%. In the 80+ age group, the single women's poverty rate was 29.2% and that of single men was 20.8% whereas Ukraine's average poverty rate was 26.4%.

However, it is rather difficult to argue that mass female poverty exists in Ukraine based on the NNS data because even this household category demonstrates multidirectional fluctuations in gender poverty indicators. For example, while the poverty rate among single female households was higher than that of single male households in 2009, the results based on 2007 and 2011 revealed the opposite situation: the poverty rate of single male households was slightly higher than that of single female households. The group that consistently showed higher poverty rates was the female single-person households in the 80+ age group.

Table 2.2. Poverty rates in single-person households by gender, Ukraine, 2007-2011

Categories of households	2007			2009			2011		
	Total population	Population aged 60+	Population aged 80+	Total population	Population aged 60+	Population aged 80+	Total population	Population aged 60+	Population aged 80+
Poverty rates in households of single men, %	19.5	23.8	18.5	19.3	19.3	20.8	16.5	18.3	14.5
Poverty rates in households of single women, %	19.1	23.1	29.4	19.7	23.0	29.2	13.9	16.8	23.3
Poverty rates in all households, %	27.3			26.4			24.3		

Source: Household Survey

Peculiarities of the sex-age composition of the population classified as 'poor' based on the national poverty line (the total poor population aggregate, without correlation to households) also confirm that elder women shape a specific poverty 'profile' in Ukraine (Fig. 2.11). It is this age group that shows the greatest gender imbalance in poverty indicators: the poverty rate reaches 28% among women aged 75+ while Ukraine's average figure is 24.3%. Compared to men, a higher poverty rate among women in the 60-64 age group is also noticeable. It can be assumed that women in this group of the retirement-age population more often exit from the labour market whereas men keep working and receiving earnings from two sources – pension provision and labour remuneration – at the same time.

If we disaggregate the total sample of population classified as 'poor' by gender and age (without correlation to their households), in most age groups of the economically active population, the male poverty rate is clearly higher than the female, except for the 20-29 age group. Since the highest birth rates among Ukrainian women are recorded exactly in this age, it can be assumed that women having small children shape another 'profile' of national poverty because they sacrifice employment for reproductive activity in this period of their life. Poverty risks in this female group are clearly higher in the single-parent families with children that do not receive proper male support in securing their well-being. Special vulnerability of single mothers is proved by the fact that wage earnings provide only 45% of the total income of this population category (compare with 86.8% of the total income of working-age women as a whole; see Fig. 2.3) whereas various benefits, including both social payments and aid from relatives and other persons, account for up to 10% of the total income (respectively, only about 2% in the working-age women's income structure).

Although HHS data demonstrates a comparatively low poverty rate in the families of single mothers with children under three (21.3% in 2011), it is caused by low statistical representation of this family category that accounts for only 0.3% of the households covered by the survey. Overall, families with young children are the most vulnerable socio-demographic population group in Ukraine in terms of the low-income situation: the poverty rate of the households having children

under three was 36% in 2011, and the poverty risk traditionally grows as the number of children in a family increases. Hence, it is quite natural that high poverty rates in the youngest population group at the sex-age pyramid of the poor population do not show any gender differentiation because children are fully maintained by their families and have no income source of their own.

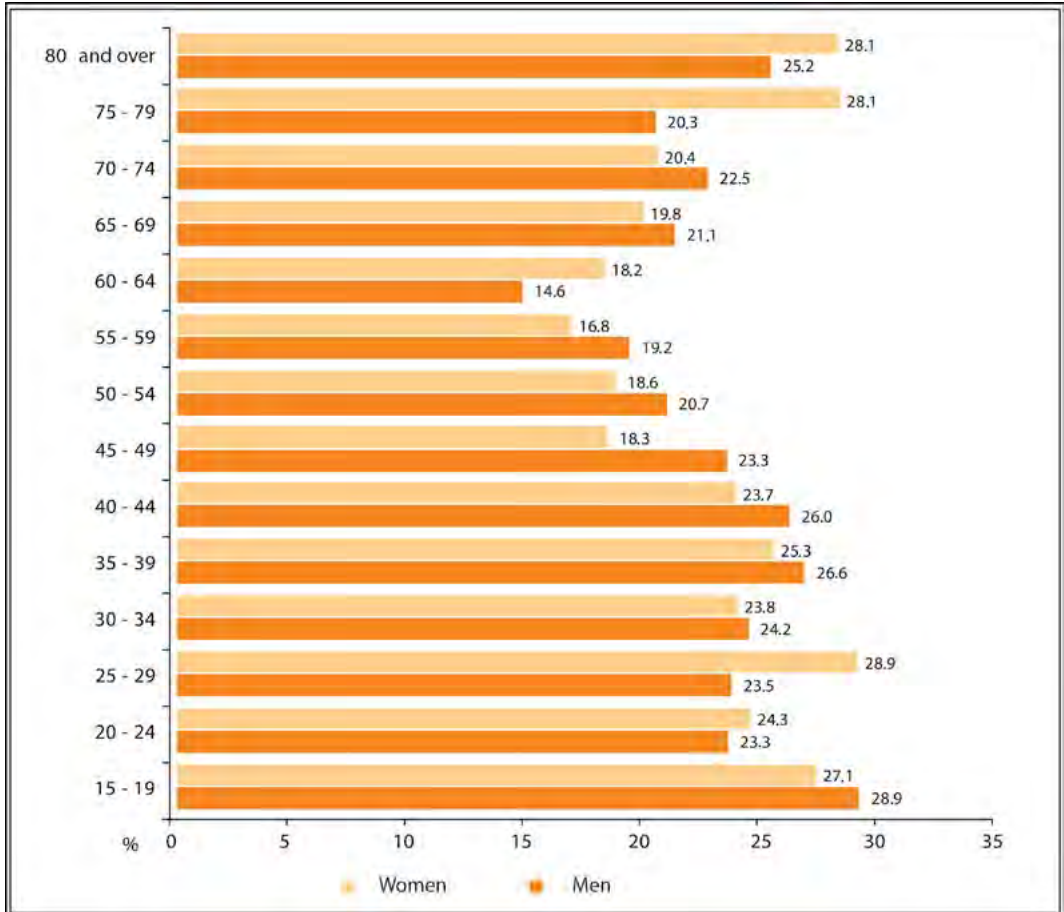


Fig. 2.11. Sex-age composition of the poor population (among persons aged 15 and over) in Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

One of the approaches to poverty rate assessment in Ukraine is a subjective method based on the population's self-assessment data. As HHS findings show, women are more disposed to include their own households in the poor category: according to 2011 data, 60.5% of the woman-headed households described themselves as poor, against 52.7% of the men-headed ones (Table 2.3). At the same time, a greater share of 'male' households classified themselves as not poor but not yet middle class (44.5%) compared to female-headed households (37.9%). Finally, despite very insignificant shares of the households describing themselves as well-to-do and middle class, it is salient that men are still more represented among heads of such households.

Table 2.3. Distribution of households by gender of the head of the household based on self-assessment in terms of identification among broad income groups, Ukraine, 2011

Household's head by sex	Distribution of households by income groups (%):			
	well-off and representatives of the middle class	non-poor, but not representatives of the middle class yet	poor	total
Men	2.8	44.5	52.7	100.0
Women	1.6	37.9	60.5	100.0
Total	2.3	41.3	56.4	100.0

Source: Household Survey

Along with poverty characteristics, a study on the population's material well-being level must rely upon analysis of income differentiation and wealth inequality as a whole. In the world practice, the most common indicator used to analyse economic inequality is the Gini coefficient describing the population's income concentration level in the form of dispersion of actual income distribution from absolute equality. Estimates of gender-disaggregated Gini coefficients based on HHS data indicate women's higher inequality in terms of labour remuneration but lower general inequality in terms of total income (Fig. 2.12). It can be assumed that the higher differentiation of 'female' income of employment results from greater inequality in employment opportunities and from sex-based occupational segregation impact of which becomes somewhat more even in total income generated by other, non-labour income sources – pensions, social benefits, etc. Overall, higher values of men's income inequality show that men are to a greater extent represented both among the richest and the poorest, marginal strata whereas women constitute a more homogenous population from the property status perspective. This considered, any gender-sensitive social policy must be targeted and may not be aimed solely at overcoming negative socio-economic consequences for women.

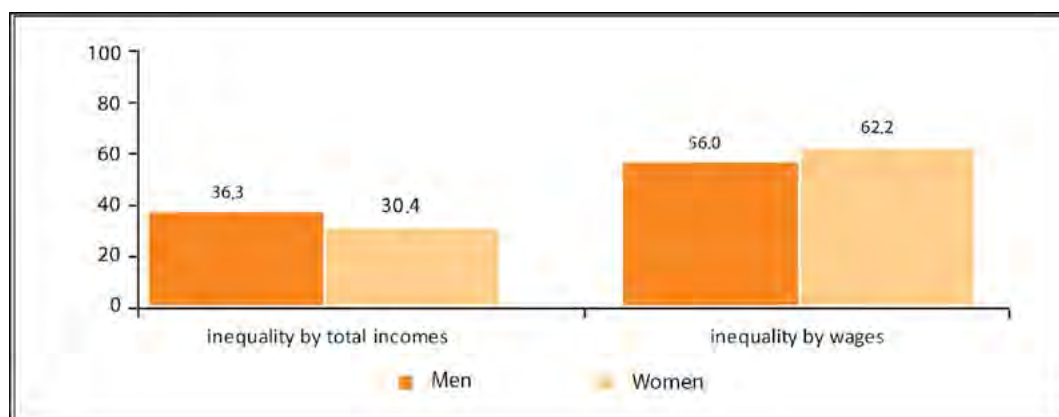


Fig. 2.12. Income inequality among men and women based on Gini coefficients in Ukraine, 2011

Source: Household Survey

Gender disparities in households possession of consumer goods

An individual's material well-being is characterized not only by income indicators but also by the income's real purchasing power, a possibility of meeting the needs for various consumer goods and services, and a family's living conditions. That's why assessment of the population's property status is also determined by the households' possession of a basic set of durable goods that are regarded as an attribute of one's customary way of life typical of society at large, and that determinate general life comfort. Since obtaining reliable data on gender property distribution within an individual household is impossible – because the property is usually used by all the family members – certain differences can only be traced between incomplete households headed by men or women (Table 2.4). Remarkably, more than 95% of female-headed households possess refrigerators, colour TVs, irons; about 80% of them have a washing machine and a vacuum cleaner. The rates of provision with these goods for incomplete households headed by men are much lower.

Table 2.4. Distribution of 'incomplete households' by gender of a head and possession of some durable goods, Ukraine, 2011

Categories of durable goods	Proportion of incomplete households, which have some goods in possession, of them:	
	headed by men, %	headed by women, %
refrigerator	74.1	96.1
washing machine	55.6	83.6
vacuum cleaner	58.8	77.0
colour TV	69.9	95.1
iron	69.9	96.3
car	13.0	4.3

Source: Household Survey

A car remains to be the only durable commodity in possessing which 'male' incomplete households undoubtedly prevail. Although the general rate of the provision of Ukrainian people with cars is rather low, 13% of incomplete households headed by a man had a car in 2011 whereas the corresponding indicator for woman-headed incomplete households was only 4.3%. Especially considerable gender differences in terms of having a car can be seen between households depending on the type of settlement they live in. Overall, the largest share of incomplete households using a private car is typical for small towns: more than a third of 'male' households (34.3% in 2011) have transport means of their own against 6.3% of 'female' households. In large cities, gender differences in the provision of single-parent families with cars are lesser; there are actually no such differences in rural areas where having a private car is often a necessary pre-requisite of existence amid low availability of public transport.

Distribution of economic power in Ukrainian households

Another question closely related to the nation's economic standing concerns household-level resource allocation. Although the Household Survey data enables analysis of female income weight compared to male, gender assessment of allocation and use of the earnings within a family remains an unsolved problem. Assessment of such data, being an important characteristic

of the female influence level in a family, is only possible on the basis of results of special surveys the programme of which contains appropriate questions. One of such studies is the 2007 Ukraine Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS-2007) carried out in 2007 by the Ukrainian Centre for Social Reforms and the State Statistics Service of Ukraine with Macro International Inc. support³⁷. In order to collect information on birth rates, sexual orientation, maternal and child health, nutrition, and other relevant aspects of the demographic and health situation in the country, 6,481 women and 3,178 men aged 15-49 were interviewed, thereby ensuring national representativity of the survey results.

The Ukraine Demographic and Health Survey programme contained questions not only concerning the magnitude of female cash earnings as compared to those of their husbands but also concerning women's control over the use of their own earnings and decision-making on their spending. As the survey results showed, women's economic empowerment in the family changes depending on respondent characteristics. Among married women receiving cash earnings, more than one-third (35%) mainly decide themselves how to use the money, while slightly less than two-thirds decide jointly with their husband/partner. Only 1 percent of women say that mainly their husband decides on the allocation of their earnings. Overall, women without children and urban women more often decided themselves how to use their earnings than representatives of other socio-demographic population categories (Table 2.5). The level of married women's independence concerning control over their own income also increases as well-being grows: in the group of the best-off households, more than 42% of married women say that they make relevant decisions mainly themselves whereas the share of such women in the household group with below-average income levels is only 28.9%, and in the households with the average income level it is 29.4%. Interestingly, the education factor has no considerable impact upon the married women's empowerment concerning control over their own earnings in marriage.

³⁷ Ukrainian Centre for Social Reforms, State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, Ministry of Health of Ukraine, Macro International Inc. 2008. *The 2007 Ukraine Demographic and Health Survey*. Calverton, Maryland, USA: UCSR and Macro International.

Table 2.5. Control over women's cash earning in households of Ukraine

(distribution of responses of married women aged 15-49, who received employment-related cash earning during some time within the last 12 months)

Characteristics of respondents	Persons, who make a decision how to use women's earnings (%):			
	Mostly a wife	A wife and a husband together	Mostly a husband	Difficult to answer
Presence of children				
no children at all	41.7	54.3	1.5	2.6
1-2 children	34.6	63.9	1.0	0.6
3 children and more	32.4	66.1	1.1	0.4
Type of settlement				
Urban	37.1	60.9	1.1	0.8
Rural	30.2	68.5	0.8	0.4
Education				
Secondary or lower	36.1	62.1	1.1	0.8
Higher than secondary	35.0	63.2	1.0	0.8
Material well-being level				
The lowest	33.6	65.1	0.9	0.4
Lower than an average	28.9	69.3	1.2	0.6
Average	29.4	68.5	1.0	1.1
Higher than an average	37.3	61.7	0.2	0.8
The highest	42.3	55.4	1.5	0.8
Total	35.3	62.8	1.0	0.7

Source: UHDS-2007 [38, p. 187]

Within the framework of the Ukraine Demographic and Health Survey, the questions of control over male cash earnings in the family were considered. Among married men receiving cash earnings, only one in ten said he decided himself on how to use the money earned whereas the absolute majority of the male respondents (78%) decided the question jointly with their wife. Moreover, 12% of married men pointed out that it was their wives who mainly controlled the use of their earnings, which indicates Ukrainian women's high influence in marriage. The UDHS-2007 results also showed that men's independence in decision-making on spending of earnings in a family goes down with age (Table 2.6): among married men aged 20-24 only 4.1% said that decisions on spending of their earnings were mainly made by their wife whereas this percentage increases among men in older age groups, reaching 20% among married men aged 45-49. Interestingly, women's greater economic empowerment in marriage was reported by men from the best-off household group: 15.7% of men in this category said that the decisions on the use of their earnings were mainly made by their wives.

38 Ukrainian Centre for Social Reforms, State Statistical Committee of Ukraine, Ministry of Health of Ukraine, Macro International Inc. 2008. *The 2007 Ukraine Demographic and Health Survey*. Calverton, Maryland, USA.

Table 2.6. Control over men's cash earnings in households of Ukraine
(distribution of responses of married men aged 15-49, who received cash earnings during some period within the last 12 months)

Characteristics of respondents	Persons, who make a decision how to use women's earnings (%):			
	Mostly a wife	A wife and a husband together	Mostly a husband	Difficult to answer
Age group				
20-24	4.1	86.3	9.5	0.0
25-29	9.5	78.0	11.9	0.6
30-34	8.1	80.7	9.6	1.7
35-39	11.7	78.8	8.1	1.5
40-44	10.8	78.8	10.0	0.4
45-49	20.9	71.0	7.4	0.7
Type of settlement				
Urban	12.9	76.6	9.4	1.1
Rural	9.8	80.3	9.6	0.3
Education				
Secondary or lower	12.9	75.5	10.5	1.1
Higher than secondary	11.4	79.3	8.5	0.8
Material well-being level				
The lowest	10.6	79.6	9.1	0.4
Lower than an average	12.1	77.1	10.7	0.0
Average	10.7	78.9	9.7	0.8
Higher than an average	9.0	77.2	11.6	2.2
The highest	15.7	76.3	7.1	0.9
Total	12.1	77.5	9.5	0.9

Source: UDHS-2007 [39, p. 187]

2.3. Unaccounted work and contribution of women: a case of Ukraine

Unfortunately, all the analytical data presented above relies only upon indicators of the population's declared incomes, not including results of women's unaccounted work connected with performing unpaid work in a household. In broad sense, the notion of reproductive activity covers not only child birth and rearing but also types of work connected with reproduction of generations and maintenance of the family's vital activities – housekeeping, care for sick, incapacitated and elderly family members, purchase of everyday goods, etc. In most societies, these works are performed mainly by women. However, in Ukraine this trend appears to be especially striking. For example, according to the sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine - 2012', more than three-fourths of women said that it was mainly they

39 Ukrainian Centre for Social Reforms, State Statistical Committee of Ukraine, Ministry of Health of Ukraine, Macro International Inc. 2008. *The 2007 Ukraine Demographic and Health Survey*. Calverton, Maryland, USA.

who cleaned up the house (78.4% of the respondents) and made meals (75.3%). About two-thirds of women having children or family members in need of continuous care said that care for such persons belonged particularly to their duties (Fig. 2.13). Most women also stated that it was they who are responsible in the family for purchase of foodstuffs and everyday goods.

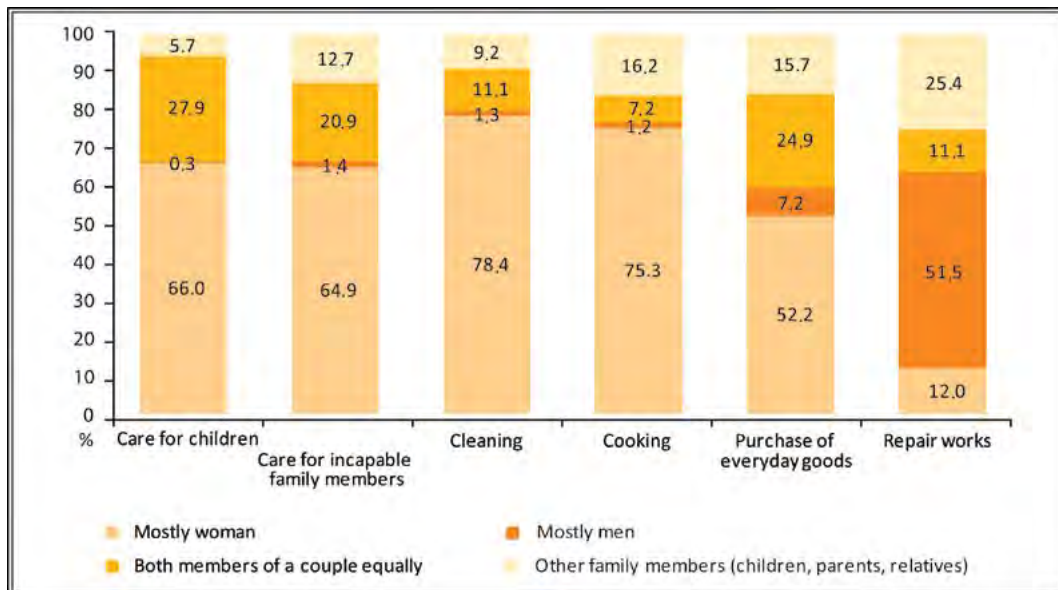


Fig. 2.13. Distribution of home duties in households of Ukraine

(based on responses of employed women, who mentioned the corresponding types of home duties as relevant for their households)

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

A small share of respondents said both partners were equally engaged in doing certain work in the household (between 7% and 27% depending on the household work type); to the greatest extent it concerns the purchase of foodstuffs and everyday goods, child rearing, and care for incapacitated family members. In addition, some women said that certain household works were done by other family members (parents, children, etc.); most common were the respondent answers on their parents' help in procurement of everyday goods and cooking. Only few percent of the respondents said that mainly men were engaged in performing such duties in their families. The only type of household work remaining a 'male' prerogative in most domestic households consists of minor repair, as more than a half of female respondents reported.

Clearly, such distribution of responsibilities in a family results in greater time spending for women. According to global estimates⁴⁰, women use up to two-thirds of their working time for household works whereas men spend on those purposes on average up to one-fourth of their working time on average. One should consider that working in a household rather often requires even greater physical efforts and time expenditure than paid employment, thereby substantially limiting women's life choice opportunities and development prospects. That's why contemporary scientific studies describe gender features in working time distribution in terms of women's 'double burden' or 'second shift'. Moreover, according to findings of the sociological

40 UNDP (1995). Human Development Report, New York.

study carried out by the Institute of Sociology, NAS of Ukraine, in 2007⁴¹, an overwhelming majority of Ukrainian men (60% of respondents) were busy with household work for within 1-15 hours a week (34% of them – from 5 to 15 hours) whereas an overwhelming majority of women (60% of respondents) spent 5-30 hours (30% of them – from 15 to 30 hours). The percentage of those engaged in housework for between 30 and 60 hours a week was considerably less among men (13% against 25% among women).

Results of the sociological survey '*Women's labour force participation in Ukraine - 2012*' demonstrated yet more substantial disparity in time distribution (Table 2.7): two-thirds of women reported that their husbands were engaged in housework for only 1-10 hours a week, and about a half said that their husbands spent the same amount of time caring for family members needing continuous attendance (children, elderly persons, persons with disabilities). Less than 10% of female respondents stated that their husbands on average spent more than 20 hours a week on housework or on care for incapacitated family members. On the other hand, more than one-fourth of the interviewed women spent more than 20 hours a week on housework, and 15% of respondents spent the same amount on care for family members.

Table 2.7. Distribution of time spent on housework by men and women in Ukraine

(based on responses of married employed women on a question 'How much time do you and your husband spend for household work a week?')

Types of home duties	Women, %	Men, %
Housework		
less than 5 hours a week	11.6	31.7
from 5 to 10 hours a week	29.7	33.0
from 10 to 20 hours a week	31.8	19.5
more than 20 hours a week	25.5	9.2
<i>do not spend time at all</i>	1.5	6.6
Care for family members needing continuous attendance		
less than 5 hours a week	13.7	29.1
from 5 to 10 hours a week	18.9	26.1
from 10 to 20 hours a week	22.8	11.3
more than 20 hours a week	15.7	6.0
<i>do not spend time at all</i>	29.0	27.5

Source: sociological questioning '*Women's labour force participation in Ukraine*', 2012

Excessive workload of the Ukrainian women in terms of housework is associated with the absence of the tradition of using paid household services in Ukrainian society, which are wide-spread in Western Europe. As the results of the sociological survey '*Women's labour force participation in Ukraine*' revealed, the overwhelming majority of respondents have never used paid services related to the carrying out of some types of household and care works (Fig. 2.14). A share of women, who mentioned that they use paid services for cleaning, cooking and caring for

⁴¹ Gender stereotypes and public attitude to gender problems in the Ukrainian society : collective monograph / Yu. Sayenko, L.Amdzhanin, G. Gerasymenko and others. – K. : UNDP ; Centre for Social Expertise of the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine, 2007. – P. 70.

the children and disabled family members permanently or rather often (at least once a week), was smaller than 8% for both employees and employers. Services of dry cleaning and laundry were among the most widespread type of household services used by the respondents; however, this type of services was also used only by about 10% of respondents on a regular basis.

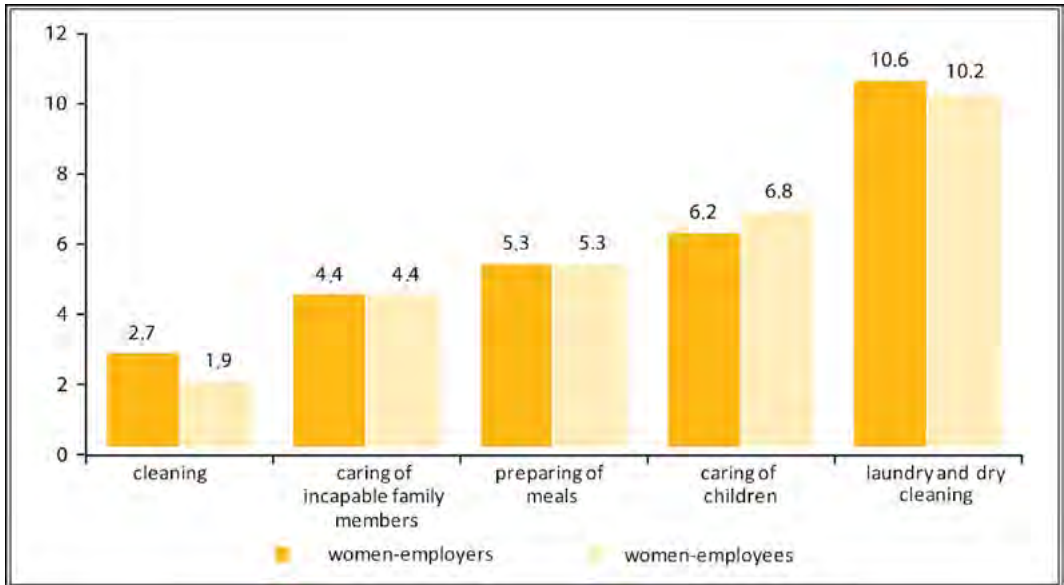


Fig. 2.14. Distribution of positive answers of respondents, saying that they use paid services in the household regularly or quite often

Source: sociological survey 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

The need for assessing female unpaid work and reproductive activity has long since been discussed by economists within the context of national income calculation or estimation of a country's economic growth rates. As American scientist S. Kuznets pointed out as far back as 1941, 'exclusion of the products of the family economy, characteristic of virtually all national income estimates, seriously limits their validity as measures of all scarce and disposable goods produced by the nation'⁴². Since the 1970s, feminist researchers have emphasized limitations of the existing systems of national accounts in terms of capacity for estimation of the population's economic activity and material well-being because of their inability of taking account of the goods and services produced outside the labour market, within a household^{43, 44, 45}. Underestimation of unpaid work appears in various sectors, including production for internal consumption by households, domestic economy, informal sector, and volunteer work. It is obvious that lack of relevant data complicates also the development of policy goals and objectives, monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation progress. Exclusion of unpaid work value from the calculation of gross domestic product (GDP) leads to inadequate estimation of a country's national income, labour supply or economic growth rates.

42 Kuznets, S. (1941). *National Income and Its Composition 1919-1938*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research: 10.

43 Nordhaus, W., Tobin J. (1971). 'Is Growth Obsolete?' Cowles Foundation Discussion Paper No 319. National Bureau of Economic Research, New York.

44 Mamalakis, M. (1996). Misuse and Use of National Accounts as a Welfare Indicator: Selected Analytical and Measurement Issues. *In: Review of Income and Wealth* 42(3): 293- 320.

45 Waring, M. (1988). *Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and What Women Are Worth*. Wellington, New Zealand: Allen & Unwin.

In response to criticism, certain improvements have occurred in statistical systems of some countries of the world that started preparation of official estimates of unpaid work value; such initiatives have become especially common in Australia and the United States^{46, 47}. Due to the UN Statistics Division's efforts for expansion of the productive framework of the system of national accounts, household production outputs of goods for internal consumption were included in the GDP calculation in 1993. At the same time, provision of services within a household, including care for children and elderly persons, cooking and cleaning, is still regarded as 'non-economic' activities and remain excluded from the system of national accounts.

The world statistical practice has acknowledged that working time budget surveys remain to be the most relevant tool to obtain reliable information on unpaid work because such surveys allow estimating the ratio of time spent by women and men on labour market employment and on unpaid work in households. Some countries have launched the practice of preparation of 'satellite' national accounts that consider household work depending on the time spent or on the market value of the services provided. According to estimates, added value of the production not included in the systems of national accounts is between 20% and 60% of GDP in various countries, describing a substantial role of this hidden economic sector and especially of the women's contribution to economic well-being. In particular, estimated contribution of unpaid work amounted to over 45% of GDP in Canada⁴⁸, 42% of GDP in the United States, up to 23% of GDP in Japan, and 38% of GDP in the Philippines in 1997⁴⁹. That's why the cost estimate of contribution of these activities to national income should become a subject of future special studies in order to secure an adequate estimate of a country's economic development.

2.4. Informal employment in the Ukrainian labour market: a gender analysis

Approaches to the estimation of unaccounted and undeclared work contribution become especially relevant as a result of the spread of informal employment; gender analysis of this segment in Ukraine is made possible on the basis of the Labour Force Survey (LFS) carried out by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine on the regular basis⁵⁰. According to the national methodology, the informal sector includes all the persons employed at unregistered enterprises that belong to the household sector in terms of their size; with account of national peculiarities concerning the spread of informal labour relations, the criteria for calculation of the number of persons employed in this sector are expanded by including the persons who worked under an oral agreement with the employer in the official sector, i.e. without entering into an official employment contract⁵¹. Overall, men prevail in the composition of the population employed in informal Ukrainian economy; according to the 2011 results, informally unemployed persons included 2,511 thousand men (24.1% of the total number of employed of this sex) against 2,193 thousand women (22.2% of the total number of employed of this sex). It is owing to male workers that increase in the informal employment prevalence during 2005-2011 was mainly taking place (Fig. 2.15).

46 Nordhaus, W. (2000). New Directions in National Economic Accounting. In: *American Economic Review* 90(2): 259-63.

47 Boskin, M. J. (2000). Economic Measurement: Progress and Challenges. In: *American Economic Review* 90(2): 247-52.

48 Harvey, A.S., Mukhopadhyay, A. (2007). When Twenty-Four Hours is not Enough: Time Poverty of Working Parents. In: *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 82, No. 1, pp. 57-77.

49 APEC (1999), 'Time for Work: Linkages between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy', Report of the APEC Human Resource Development Working Group : [Electronic recourse]. - Access mode: www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/time.pdf.

50 Economic activity of population of Ukraine - 2011: Statistical Yearbook / State Statistics Service of Ukraine. - K.: Derzhanalytinform, 2012. - 203 p.

51 The methodology for calculation of employment in the informal economic sector was approved by the Order of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine No. 73 of 29.02.2000 based on the provisions of the Resolution concerning Statistics of Employment in the Informal Sector adopted by the 15th International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 1993.

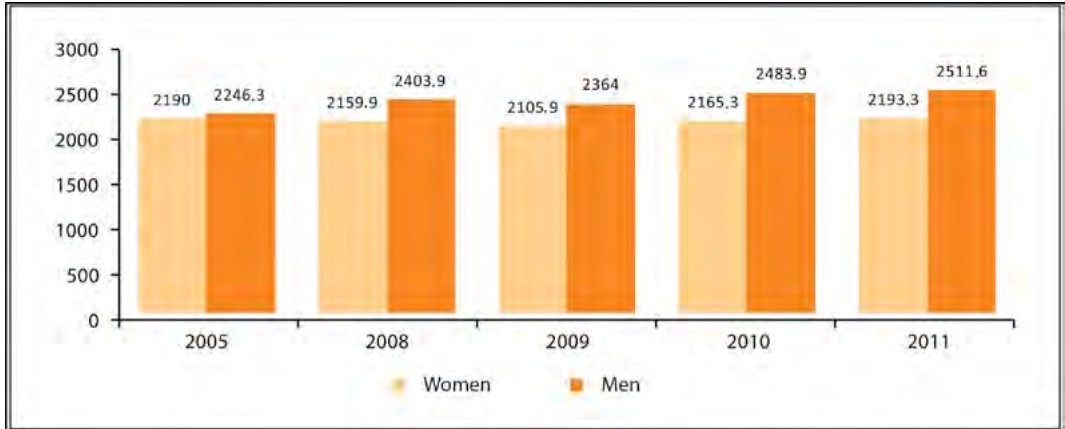


Fig. 2.15. Number of population employed in the informal economy by gender, Ukraine, 2005-2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

Gender analysis of employment statuses demonstrates that more than three-quarters of women working in the informal sector belong to self-employed category whereas 'male' informal employment is to a greater extent generated by working as employees (Fig. 2.16). It is the quantity of the latter category, working without official contracts with employers, that has been going up in recent years, determining the shadow economy's operation in Ukraine: whereas 1,260 thousand people worked as employees in the informal sector in 2005, their number increased to 1,586 thousand in 2011 (Annex B – Table B.11).

Certain gender differences can also be seen in the peculiarities of informal employment depending on economic activity. Three-quarters of women working in the informal economic sector are employed in agriculture and forestry; trade, the repair of cars, domestic appliances and articles of personal use rank second in terms of importance (14.7% of employed). Among other economic activities where women's informal employment is concentrated, hotel and restaurant business also stands out. In the structure of male informal employment, leading positions are occupied, alongside agriculture (56% of the informally employed men), by construction (more than 20%), trade, processing industry, transport and communications.

At the same time, the breakdown of employment in the informal sector by gender and working hours does not demonstrate considerable differences: a major part of workers (about 60%) works for between 25 and 40 hours a week. However, among informally employed men, the share of those working more than 40 hours a week is a few percent higher (30.3% of such men against 27% of women); among women, on the other hand, the share of those working less than 25 hours a week on average is a little higher (11.9% against 8.1% of men).

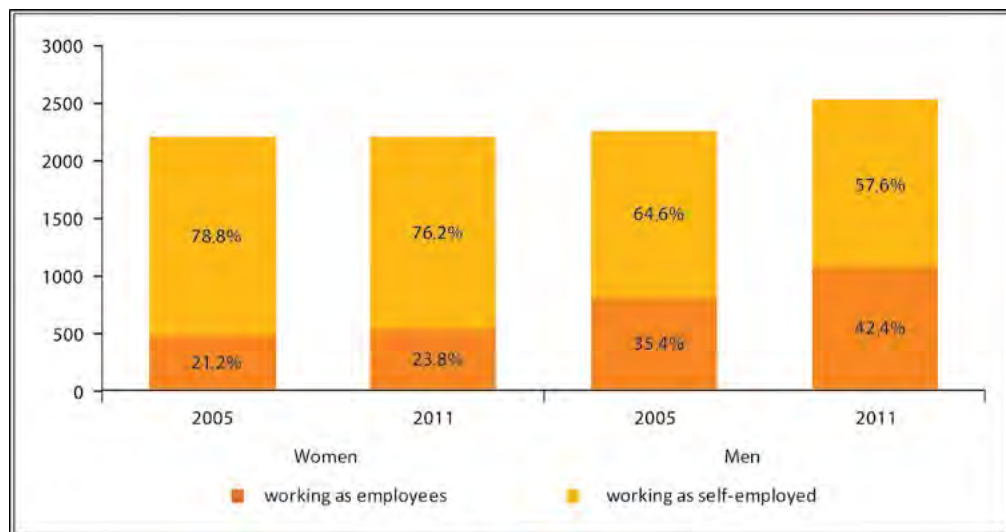


Fig. 2.16. Population employed in the informal economy by gender and status of employment, Ukraine, 2005 and 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

A more detailed analysis of informal employment patterns depending on socio-demographic characteristics of the population reveals certain gender imbalances. As seen from a comparison of age structures of the women and men employed in the informal economic sector, the share of young persons is substantially higher among the respective male contingent (about 30% are under 30 years of age) whereas older age groups prevail among women (Fig. 2.17). For example, about 40% of the women employed in informal economy are represented by the population older than 50 years of age, and almost a half of them are in the age of 60-70 years.

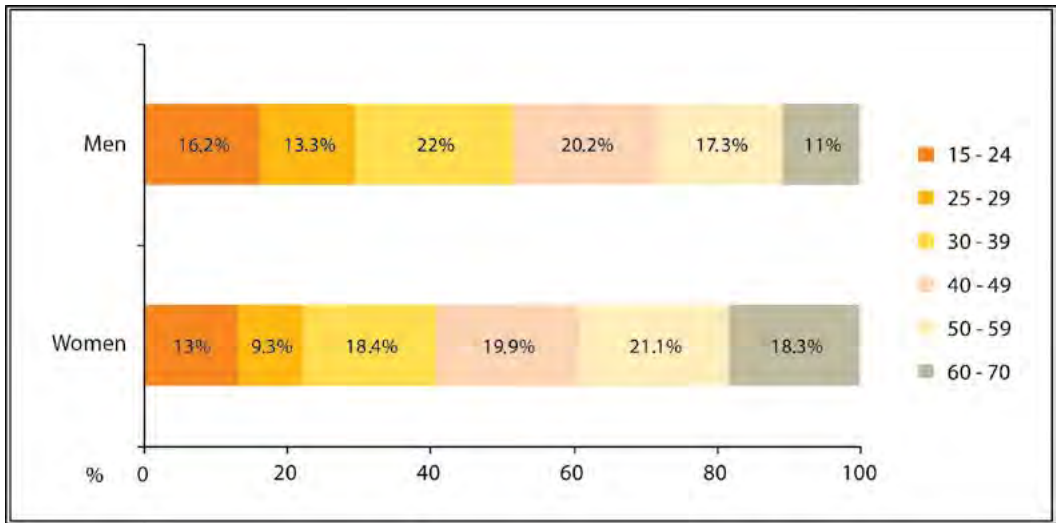


Fig. 2.17. Population employed in the informal economy by gender and age groups, Ukraine, 2011

Source: Labour Force Survey

The employment rate in the informal sector is closely related to educational attainments: the lowest figures are seen among those having tertiary education whereas fast growth of involvement in informal employment takes place as the educational level decreases (Fig. 2.19). However, this pattern is much more striking among women: among employed women having education lower than secondary, involvement in the informal sector exceeds 90%, thereby creating special social dangers in the context of low income capacity of this population category.

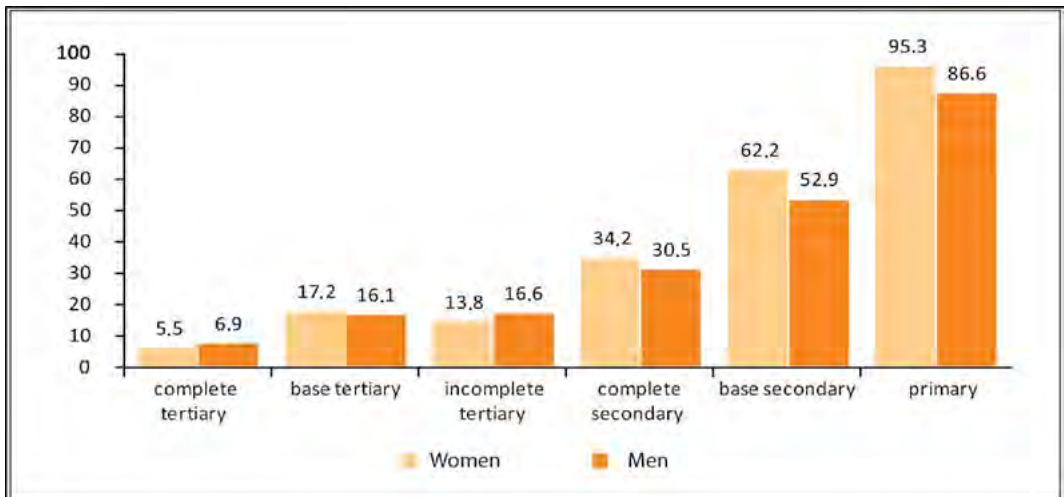


Fig. 2.18. Population employed in the informal economy by gender and education level, Ukraine, 2011

(as percentage of employed population of the respective education level)

Source: Labour Force Survey

The informal employment problem becomes more acute also due to contemporary globalization processes and intensification of labour migrations. Labour migrants usually fill certain marginal niches in the labour supply, and agree to work at workplaces that do not attract local residents. As a rule, they are employed in jobs requiring low occupational qualification levels, agree to low payment and unfavourable employment conditions, and their job placement is not properly legalized, leaving them in the informal employment sector. According to findings of a special survey of the Ukrainian population on labour migrations⁵², only 51.5% of domestic labour migrants were covered by social insurance programmes when staying abroad whereas 21.1% of them had no right to any kind of social security or benefits (including paid leave).

International migrations are increasingly shaped by a growing demand for household services, which include domestic work and care for incapacitated family members and among which women traditionally prevail. Indeed, working as a domestic servant is the most common activity of female Ukrainian labour migrants abroad: more than 36% of their total number is employed in this field (Table 2.9), and their absolute majority work with no proper legalization. This form of informal employment of Ukrainian women is most common in Italy and Portugal. Other activities of female labour migrants include construction (besides, it is the most common form of employment of male labour migrants), wholesale and retail trade.

Table 2.9. Distribution of the Ukrainian labour migrants by types of economic activity and gender, 2007-2008 (in thousand persons and percent proportion)

	Total	Women	Men
Total number of labour migrants, thousand persons	1,264.3	424,0	840.3
of them by types of economic activities, %			
agriculture	8.5	8.5	8.4
industries	5.4	5.1	5.7
construction	51.6	19.8	67.6
wholesale and retail trade	8.1	14.6	4.8
hotels and restaurants	2.9	6.8	0.9
transport	2.9	0.9	3.9
other types of economic activities	4.3	8.2	2.3
domestic work	16.3	36.1	6.4

Source: special survey on labour migration⁵³, p. 40

According to results of a survey on labour migration, average monthly earnings of a Ukrainian labour migrant amounted to USD 817; women's earnings were somewhat higher than men's (USD 852 against 801, respectively). 40.2% of female migrants had income in excess of USD 1,000 per month whereas the share of men with such earnings was lower, 30.5% (Table 2.10). It can be assumed that women's higher earnings were caused by two factors: first of all, a larger share of female migrants works in higher-income countries, and, secondly, women's work is more stable,

⁵² External labour migration of population of Ukraine / Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms, Derzhkomstat of Ukraine. – K.: DP «Information-analytical agency», 2009, 120 p.

⁵³ External labour migration of population of Ukraine / Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms, Derzhkomstat of Ukraine. – K.: DP «Information-analytical agency», 2009, 120 p.

which is proved by longer duration of their stay abroad.

Table 2.10. Ukrainian labour migrants by gender and size of average monthly earnings, 2007–2008

	Total, thousand persons	of them by a size of average monthly earnings (in USD), %				Average monthly earnings of a labour migrant, in USD
		up to 250	251-500	501-1,000	over 1,000	
Number of migrants, responding on a size of their average monthly earnings, of them:	1,185.8	3.9	20.5	41.9	33.7	817
Women	390.1	4.6	18.8	36.4	40.2	852
Men	795.7	3.5	21.3	44.7	30.5	801

Source: special survey on labour migration⁵⁴

Overall, an individual's economic situation is the background determining not only patterns of current consumption and general living standards but also opportunities for the individual's further development and realization in society. The fact that women have lower average incomes than men and that female income depends on labour activity to a lesser extent can result in other manifestation of women's social exclusion or restriction of their opportunities in other realms of life, particularly in access to basic public services (e.g. education or health care), full-fledged recreation and leisure, cultural and physical development, etc. Of great importance in this context is also economic empowerment of household members concerning distribution of common resources and relevant decision-making on the directions of the family's spending. Having limited 'start-up' opportunities, women will be increasingly falling behind in the access to economic resources and property in the future, encountering new financial barriers for starting their own business or expanding their entrepreneurial activities. Moreover, property status can adversely affect equality of rights and opportunities between women and men also from the perspective of ensuring equal political representation and access to decision-making, which are key tools in shaping a general gender policy in community.

⁵⁴ External labour migration of population of Ukraine / Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms, Derzhkomstat of Ukraine. – K.: DP 'Information-analytical agency', 2009, 120 p.

SECTION 3. WHAT IS LABOUR MARKET DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN? RESULTS OF SOCIOLOGICAL QUESTIONING

3.1. Gender discrimination in employment: prevalence, determinants and forms in Ukraine

Problems of discrimination in the labour market are a little-studied section in social science because attempts to obtain reliable results run across a number of informational and methodological complications, dependence of results on respondents' subjective attitudes in the course of worker surveys, and employers' partiality when interviewed on these matters. At the same time, sociological survey remain one of the most reliable sources to obtain relevant information from, because they secure anonymity of respondent answers due to result generalization in the course of statistical processing whereas the individual interview method ensures a deeper understanding of problematic issues, providing as complete answers as possible and mutual contact between an interviewer and a respondent.

During the last decade, some sociological studies have been realized in Ukraine, proving importance of a problem of gender discrimination as in the country as a whole^{55, 56, 57}, as in its separate regions⁵⁸. Prevalence of facts of gender-biased treatment of employed persons at the national labour market is emphasized by independent experts⁵⁹; these data are also supported by target thematic questionings of job-seekers at specialized internet-portals⁶⁰.

That is why the issues related to problems of gender discrimination in employment were the centrepiece of the programme of the sociological questioning '*Women's labour force participation in Ukraine*' that was conducted by experts of the Ukrainian Centre for Social Reforms and M. Ptoukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies of NAS of Ukraine in cooperation with the Centre 'Sociological Monitoring' in September 2012. Two categories of population have been selected as target groups, including employed women and employers, providing an opportunity to obtain a 'double-sided' vision on existence of discrimination in the field of employment - and to compare views of these labour market participants on this phenomenon, to obtain information of personal experience of respondents related to cases of unequal or biased treatment at a workplace, as well as a sense of respondents' awareness about what constitutes discrimination. Individual interviews were realized with 1,001 employed women and 206 employers (of them: 93 men and 113 women), representing various types of settlements. Calculating of a population sample and quota tasks were carried out for 26 territorial-administrative units of Ukraine⁶¹. More detailed social-demographical characteristics of respondents are provided in Annex C.

Findings of the study suggest not only existence of discriminatory manifestations against

55 Gender-sensitive services in the field of HIV/AIDS: Analytical report based on the survey results, Kyiv, Engineering, 2011, 62 p.

56 Gender stereotypes and public attitude to gender problems in the Ukrainian society, Kyiv, UNDP, Institute of sociology of NAS of Ukraine, 2007, 144 p.

57 Women's and men's occupations or several figures on gender equality in Ukrainian way. Sociological group «Rating», April 2013 : [Electronic resource] – Access mode: http://www.ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Gender_042013.pdf.

58 Gender portrait of the Crimea: challenges and prospects. Results of sociological survey, Zaporizhzhya, Drukarskyi svit, 2011, 188 p.

59 Ukraine: women are discriminated at labour market. Human Rights Watch 2003 : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: http://www.hrw.org/russian/press/ukraine/2003/270803_ukraine.html.

60 According to results of questioning carried out by internet-portal *rabota.ua* in August of 2012, 23% of women and 14% of men in Ukraine personally encountered a problem of gender discrimination at employment : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: http://it.rabota.ua/post/2012/08/20/resultaty_issledovania_gendernaja_diskriminacija.aspx.

61 Standard deviations at reliable 95 percent and ratio of variables from 0.1 : 0.9 to 0.5 : 0.5 were within 1.90 – 3.16 percent for answers of employed women and 4.24 – 7.07 percent for answers of employers.

women in the Ukrainian labour market but also rather high prevalence of this phenomenon. In the employed women environment, only one-third of the female respondents (34.1%) never encountered any manifestation of biased or unequal treatment at the workplace and never heard about such situations from other persons around them (we should emphasize that this could also indicate a lack of awareness of what constitutes discrimination or when the respondent considers discriminatory treatment was justified). The great majority of them experienced certain discriminatory manifestations in employment in some or other way, which indicates an extremely unfavourable tendency in the domestic labour market.

Employers' attitude to the problem of discrimination in the labour market demonstrates rather peculiar features: when they speak of the general situation in Ukraine as a whole, most of them agree that such problem exists but when it comes to their own enterprise, the great majority of them are convinced that discrimination cases have never happened there. Comparing answers of two respondent groups (women and employers), what is noticed is the fact that when employers estimate the rate of manifestations of biased and unequal treatment in the labour market, proceeding from experiences of their relatives, acquaintances and friends, their answers almost concur with the information obtained from women (Fig. 3.1). However, when employers describe the situation existing at their own enterprises, their answers are the opposite. Hence, we can state that the employers' answers on the general situation in the Ukrainian labour market (rather than in their own 'territory') are closer to the real situation, since most managers may simply overlook manifestations of biased and unequal treatment of their workers in their own establishments. Perhaps, such 'blindness' can be explained by several considerations:

- first of all, Ukrainian workers are not in the habit of initiating complaint procedures with relevant authorities in the area of discrimination, hence top managers may not know about many cases of unequal treatment at their own enterprise;
- secondly, some cases of unequal treatment may not be perceived by managers as discrimination but rather explained by corporate culture of the enterprise, by the fact that such a situation has existed at their enterprise since its foundation;
- thirdly, people are not always disposed to self-criticism, therefore some employers may have stretched the real situation (consciously or subconsciously).

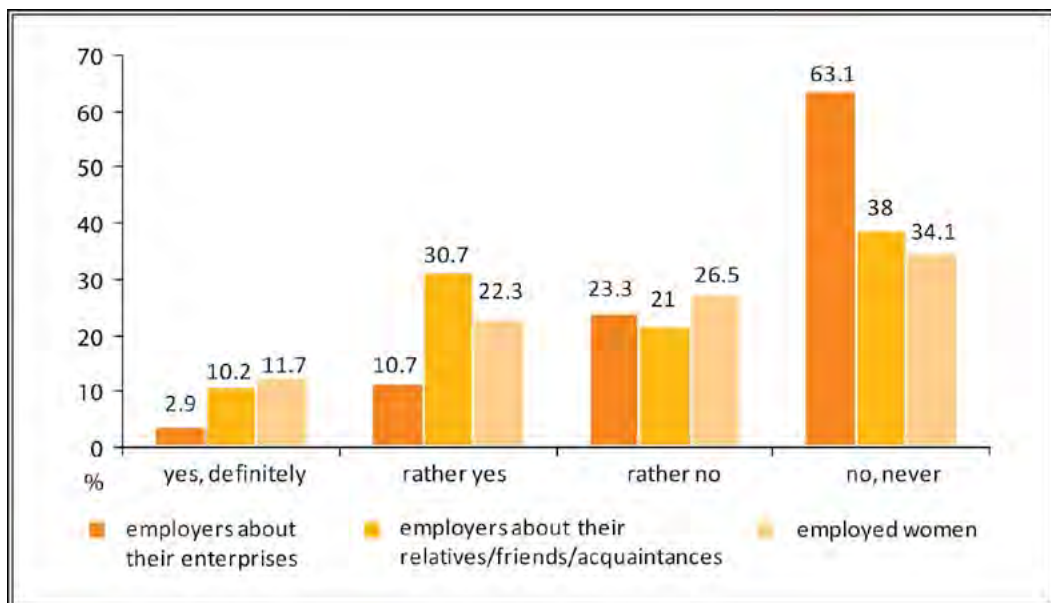


Fig. 3.1. Frequency of manifestations of discrimination in employment in Ukraine
(distribution of responses of employers and employed women on a question if they faced any discrimination at the workplace)⁶²

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

According to the sociological questioning results, manifestations of discrimination happen more frequently in large enterprises than small ones. For example, the women interviewed who definitely claimed examples of biased treatment worked at enterprises where the average number of workers was 186; the respondents likely to tend towards such an answer were employed in organizations with 144 workers on average; the women who never encountered such facts worked in organizations with 71 persons on average (Fig. 3.2).

⁶² Women answered a question about their own experience: 'Have you ever encountered any instances of biased, unequal treatment at the workplace?' Employers assessed the situation at their enterprises and reported on relevant experiences of their acquaintances, answering the questions 'Are you aware of any complaint from workers on instances of biased, unequal treatment at the workplace in your enterprise/organization?' and 'Are you aware of any instances of biased or unequal treatment among your relatives, acquaintances and friends?'

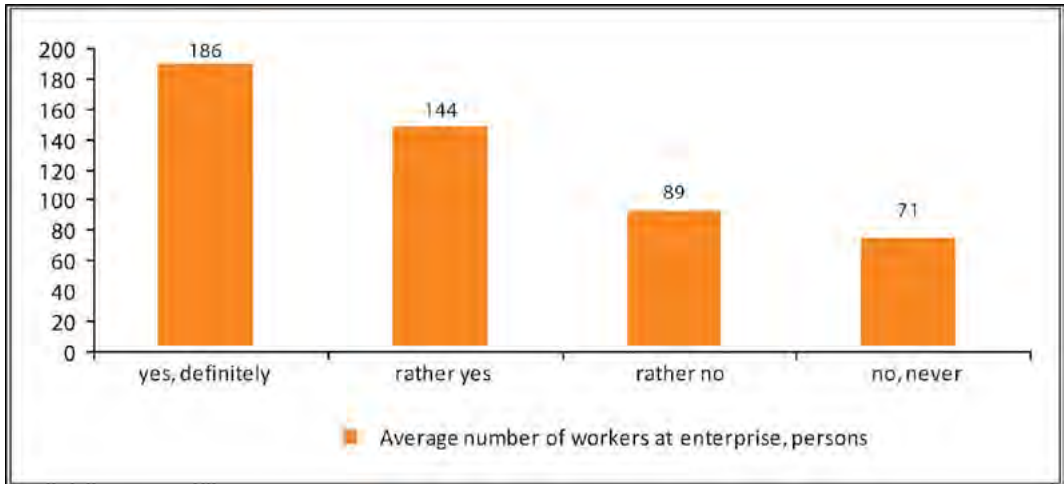


Fig. 3.2. Distribution of responses of employed women on a question 'Have you ever encountered any instances of biased, unequal treatment at the workplace?' depending on an average number of workers at their enterprise

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

In small organizations employing less than 5 people, 44.1% of women never encountered discrimination in the workplace (Table 3.1) whereas this percentage was almost twice less – 23.3% - among the respondents employed at large enterprises with more than 100 workers. It can be assumed that interpersonal relations among workers at small enterprises are based not only on work-related contacts but also on comradely, friendly or even family relationships. Accordingly, in the conditions when workers communicate not only from the 'manager-subordinate' perspective, a specific microclimate develops, leaving much less room for discrimination.

Table 3.1. Distribution of employed womens' responses to the question 'Have you ever encountered any manifestation of biased, unequal treatment at the workplace?' depending on a number of workers at their enterprises, %

Number of workers at an enterprise	Distribution of responses, %:				
	Yes, definitely	Rather yes	Rather no	No, never	No answer/difficult to answer
1 - 5 workers	8.0	18.1	22.9	44.1	6.9
6 - 10 workers	12.9	19.6	27.6	36.2	3.7
11 - 20 workers	12.4	19.0	32.0	34.0	2.6
21 - 50 workers	11.0	22.5	25.5	33.5	7.5
51 - 100 workers	10.5	24.2	30.5	28.4	6.4
101 workers and more	16.1	31.1	23.9	23.3	5.6

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

It should be noted that the frequency of women's reporting on the existence of biased or unequal treatment at the workplace depended neither on socio-demographic characteristics, including age and education of respondents, nor on the form of the employment agreement entered into by the interviewed women. The latter fact appears quite disappointing, for in a rule-of-law state existence of a formal employment agreement clearly indicating in written the parties' rights and responsibilities should promote observance of a worker's rights at the workplace. Unfortunately, as results of the given research show, under current conditions the women having a written employment agreement with their employer turn out to be protected against discrimination in the domestic labour market to the same extent as those only having oral agreement.

Frequency of the female respondents' encountering with discriminatory manifestations depends in some way on the personality of their immediate workplace supervisor, particularly on the manager's sex. For example, among the interviewed women working under men's supervision, there were more persons who definitely claimed existence of biased or unequal treatment towards them in the working process. Likewise in this group, women who never encountered discrimination were somewhat less often found (Fig. 3.3.).

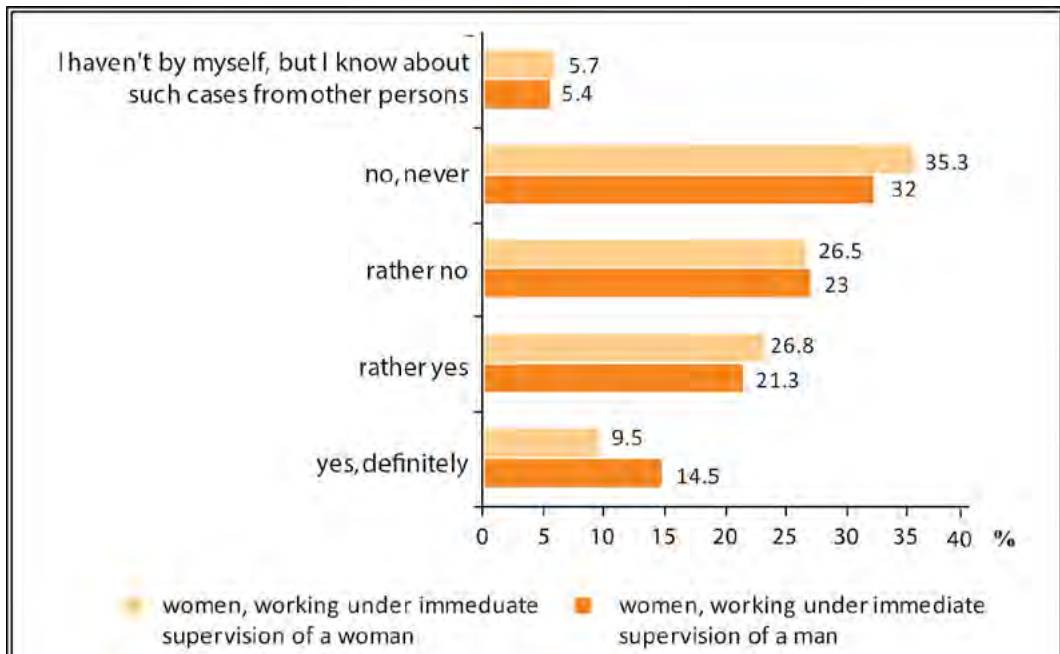


Fig. 3.3. Distribution of responses of women to the question 'Have you ever encountered any manifestation of biased, unequal treatment at the workplace?' depending on the gender of the immediately manager, %

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Forms and dimensions of gender discrimination in employment

As experience shows, biased and unequal treatment of workers can acquire a variety of forms in the labour market. Most often, the interviewed women encountered psychological pressure: this was reported by 15.1% of respondents (Table 3.2). Another important point, becoming especially important to women often combining employment with family responsibilities,

consists of the proper provision of social protection measures. However, personal experience of almost every seventh woman (14.8%) contains negative facts of denying regular or additional leave, or of the employer's failure to provide other social protection measures to workers with family responsibilities.

Table 3.2. Distribution of responses of employed women to the question 'Which manifestation of a biased, unequal treatment have encountered personally you, your colleagues and acquaintances?', %

Manifestations of discriminative attitude	Employed women by themselves	Their colleagues at work	Their friends, acquaintances
Refusal of employment	14.4	10.5	29.5
Unreasonable dismissal	4.5	10.8	19.4
Lower wage, as compared with other workers, for work of the same value	10.7	8.5	13.5
Denial in skills upgrading	5.0	8.1	9.7
Denial in career promotion	7.1	9.1	11.6
A bias of administration in assigning some work or its evaluation	11.2	10.9	12.4
Absence of the proper measures of social protection (e.g. denying regular of additional leave, etc.)	14.8	10.6	15.6
Psychological pressure	15.1	14.5	17.7

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

According to the questioning results, women's access to the labour market appears rather limited because 14.4% of the working female respondents personally encountered refusal of employment. Even more threatening is the fact that, according to almost one-third of the respondents (29.5%), their friends, acquaintances or relatives ran across such a situation. Generally, based on the interviewed women's answers, it can be stated that, with some exceptions, respondents encounter various manifestations of discriminatory treatment almost as often as their fellow workers do. That's quite logical because the answers to both questions describe the situation in the same working collective. The answers to the question on biased treatment of the respondents' friends instead reflect accumulated experience of a few persons working at different enterprises, which impacts on quantitative results of the survey.

Proper labour remuneration is the most important factor in work for most women interviewed. However, every tenth respondent (10.7%) feels that her pay is lower as compared to that of other workers performing similar types of work or works of equal value. This state of affairs is clearly attributed to unfair evaluation of the job assignments performed, because the respondent group of approximately the same size (11.2%) reported having personal experience of the management's biased treatment towards them in assignment of a certain job or in its evaluation.

Denying workers career advancement is one of the forms of discrimination in the labour market. According to the questioning results, 7.1% of employed women personally encountered

such facts in their working process. The share of employers who admitted that such cases do happen at their enterprises was almost two times less, 3.9%. The share of managers whose relatives and acquaintances encountered such denial was notably greater (13.1%).

Existence of unequal conditions for women's career growth in the Ukrainian labour market is also confirmed by gender composition peculiarities of the management of the enterprises the interviewed women worked at. The enterprises covered by the study clearly demonstrate a 'pyramidal' structure of women's employment. It means that the higher the governing body's level the smaller the women's percentage among those employed⁶³.

International experience offers a number of examples of legislative intervention aimed at ensuring sex equality in representation in managerial staff of large enterprises. For example, France passed a law in 2011 envisaging that by 2017 women must occupy 40% of seats in the boards of directors of large companies with more than USD 50 million annual capital turnover. In cases of failure to comply with this provision, the board of directors in question will be regarded as illegitimate, and it will be prohibited to receive pay for its work. Spain and Norway paid attention to the problem of women's under-representation in managerial staff even earlier, and the reforms implemented in those countries led to positive results: they are currently leaders in terms of the female managers' percentage in companies. Vietnam's legislation envisages that an entrepreneur is required to prefer women meeting the criteria of professional selection for a vacant job if both women and men apply for it and have equal qualification and performance⁶⁴. In practice, however, the latter provision discriminates against men instead of guaranteeing equal treatment to all workers.

Female employers reported 3.6 times more often that their friends and relatives had encountered denial of career growth than male employers (19.5% and 5.4%, respectively) (Table 4.3). The female part of the interviewed managers also much more often (1.6 times) informed about their acquaintances receiving lower wages than other workers for the work of equal value. As far as dismissal without a valid reason is concerned, it was more often encountered by friends of male employers. If we take as a basis the assumption that representatives of the same sex prevail among close acquaintances and friends of both men and women, we can say that Ukrainian women more often encounter career advancement denials and lower labour remuneration whereas Ukrainian men more often face dismissal without a valid reason. However, it must be emphasized that this observation is anecdotal in nature as the underlying assumption is grounded on the respondents' perception, and of a limited respondent set.

63 Bases of the theory of gender: a training handbook. – K.: «K.I.C.», 2004. – 536 p.; here: p. 341.

64 Davidova A. Modern problems of women's placement in jobs in Ukraine [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: http://legalactivity.com.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=60%3A2011-09-28-13-33-25&catid=15%3A-3&Itemid=11&lang=ru.

Table 3.3. Gender distribution of responses of employers to the question 'Which manifestation of biased, unequal treatment have encountered personally you, your colleagues and acquaintances?', %

Manifestations of discriminative attitude	Men	Women
Refusal of employment	20.4	24.8
Unreasonable dismissal	17.2	12.4
Lower wage, as compared with other workers, for work of the same value	10.8	17.7
Denial in skills upgrading	6.5	5.3
Denial in career advancement	5.4	19.5
A bias of administration in assigning some work or its evaluation	16.1	15.0
Absence of the proper measures of social protection (e.g. denying regular of additional leave, etc.)	18.3	18.6

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

A study of employed women responses records a difference, although minor, in the frequency of manifestations of biased and unequal treatment at the workplace depending on the type of settlement the respondents live in. Interestingly, urban female residents more often encountered all the discriminatory manifestations specified in the questionnaire (Fig. 3.4). However, this fact should be analysed with account of peculiarities of urban and rural labour markets in Ukraine. The latter's development level is rather low: rural residents often work in agriculture, doing low-skilled jobs; under such conditions, rural women less often complain of their lower, compared to other workers, wages because all the employed individuals are paid equally little money. Career growth in rural areas features limited opportunities and remains equally inaccessible to all. On the other hand, women working in cities are more exacting as to working conditions. Besides, the urban labour market offers certain opportunities concerning decent wages, career growth, and qualification advancement. However, access to these opportunities is clearly not enough transparent and fair, therefore a notable share of urban women pointed to existence of corresponding discriminatory manifestations.

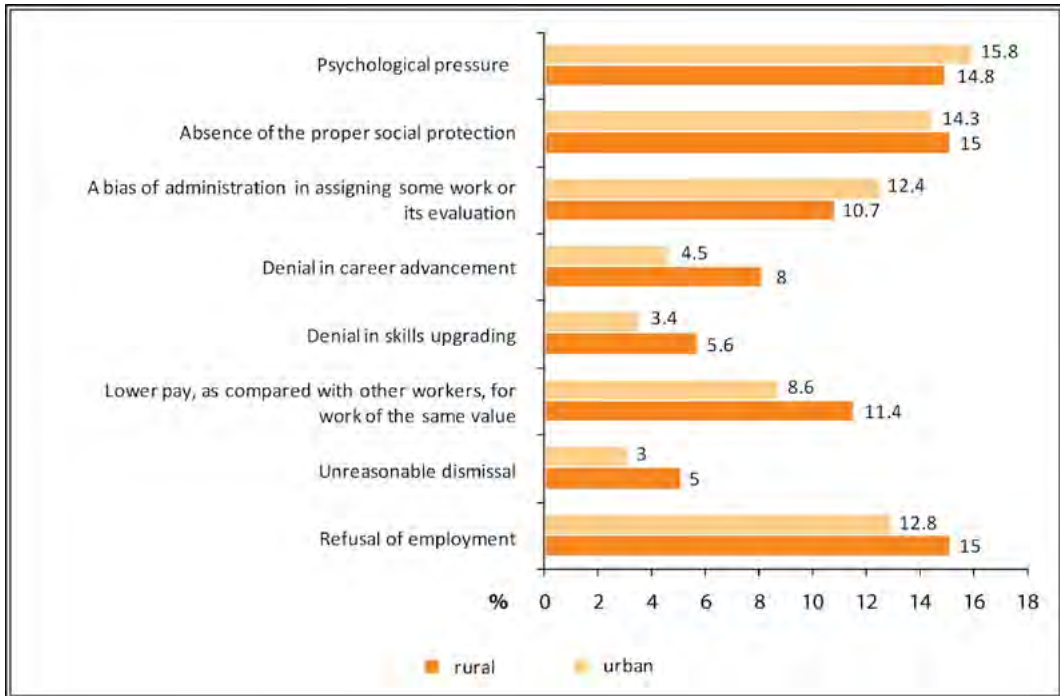


Fig. 3.4. Distribution of responses of employed women to the question 'Which manifestation of a biased, unequal treatment have encountered personally you, your colleagues and acquaintances?' by a type of their settlement, %

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Some part of the women interviewed believe that the list of manifestations of biased and unequal treatment provided in the questionnaire was not quite complete. The respondents supplemented it based on their own experience and on that of their colleagues and friends. The women mentioned, inter alia, the following other manifestations of discrimination:

- untimely and/or incomplete wage payment (delay of payment, failure to pay certain benefits);
- violation of job descriptions (staying overtime, assignment of a job not included in functional responsibilities, etc.);
- sexual harassment;
- moral or psychological load, lack of social protection.

Determinants of discrimination in employment. The questioning results give grounds to state that discrimination in the Ukrainian labour market is caused by a number of factors. Describing their personal experience, the interviewed women most often said that they had encountered manifestations of biased treatment because of their age (Table 3.4). The second position in terms of frequency belongs to such factors as female sex and family responsibilities (need to care for children, persons with disabilities, sick or elderly relatives). It should be pointed out, however, that in most families it is women who carry out such responsibilities, therefore these two items can with high probability be combined. In such a case this combined factor would be the first in ranking. It would be followed in the list by pre-retirement, old age, then by

state of health, opinions, and ethnicity.

Table 3.4. Ranking of factors, which cause biased treatment to employed women, based on their responses⁶⁵

Ranking number	Factor of a biased treatment	Proportion of women, selecting the respective factor, %
1 (selected most often)	Age (too young)	15.8
2.5	Female sex	9.8
2.5	Family responsibilities (presence of children, disabled, sick or elderly family members)	9.8
4	Pre-retirement, old age	5.9
5	Health state or disability	4.3
6	Beliefs (religious, political, language, etc.)	1.3
7 (selected most random)	Ethnicity or nationality	0.5

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

In the process of questioning, women also informed on other biased treatment factors that they had encountered personally or that they had heard about from their relatives and acquaintances in Ukraine. Such factors include a manager's personal likes and dislikes, lack of work experience, personal factors (such as pregnancy, having relations, etc.), and appearance. Some female respondents reported facts of biased treatment on managers' part in the hiring process, which were explained by the manager's desire of taking some of the manager's acquaintances to fill the vacancy.

The questioning showed that Ukrainian women run into a number of difficulties when they combine maternity with work. For example, women having children encountered biased treatment almost two times more often due to being female and owing to their health, and four times more often due to the need for performing family responsibilities (Fig. 3.5). Hence, pregnant women are of the most vulnerable groups in the Ukrainian labour market, and a woman's exercise of her maternal functions enters into a conflict with her work responsibilities. Perhaps, this is the reason why many present-day female Ukrainians, especially working for prosperous companies with high wages, reduce their maternity leave. For example, at the 'life:) mobile communications company 16% of women return to work from their maternity leave within six months of giving birth, and 20% start before the child's first birthday. At 'Kraft Foods Ukraine', most female workers return to work from their maternity leave four months after giving birth. The management of the company puts this down to the desire of the employees to return to work as soon as possible to avoid losing skills, but the women themselves admit that they have to do so because long

⁶⁵ Ranking is the procedure of putting values in a certain order by their importance and significance. In this case, it is putting biased treatment factors by the frequency of their mentioning by respondents. The factor mentioned by respondents most often was assigned the lowest rank (No. 1) whereas that mentioned least often was given the highest rank (No. 7). The 'female sex' and 'family responsibilities' factors were mentioned by respondents with the same frequency, therefore they were assigned, according to ranking rules, the rank calculated as the average value of those ranks they would have been assigned if they had had different values.

absence

of a worker who gave birth to a child is not welcomed by the company⁶⁶. **Fig. 3.5. Factors of a biased, unequal treatment faced by employed women depending on presence of children (distribution of positive responses), %**

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012.

In Russia in 2006, a survey was conducted among representatives of the National Union of HR Specialists in order to identify what 'worker categories' were the most 'unwanted' by employers. The study revealed three groups of 'unwanted' workers:

- childless women in the first years of marriage;
- single mothers;
- divorced women with two or more children.

Obviously, women only constitute each of these groups, and the reason for potential unwillingness to deal with these female workers is due to their potential to take or actual maternity leave. In most cases, employers prefer to refuse these types of female candidates without stating the true reason for the decision. Almost every tenth HR manager pointed out that they would consider such candidates only provided that their experience and skills were an order of magnitude higher than those of other candidates⁶⁷. It is interesting to note that the most 'acceptable' female workers are those in a marriage (with or without children) with no 'breadwinner' responsibilities, hence indicating these women may accept to work for less than the 'family wage'.

Childless female respondents claimed personal experience of biased treatment towards them because of their young age three times more often than those having children. Explanation of this situation can be found in analysis of socio-demographic characteristics of this group of persons whose average age is 26.4 years, which obviously results from an impact of self-selection factor. For comparison: the interviewed women having children were 14.1 years older on average. The childless respondents are young women making their first steps in the labour market, and the biased treatment they encounter is caused most often just by their age characteristics.

In various periods of her working career, the same woman may encounter biased or unequal treatment at the workplace caused by different factors. In the initial working years, her youth acts as a factor of biased treatment towards her most often, however, as time goes by and the woman acquires working experience, this factor is relegated to the background. On the contrary, marital status change and childbirth are the factors due to which women more often encounter discrimination on the grounds of their sex and their family responsibilities.

Ranking of the biased and unequal treatment factors pointed out by employers and employed women gave almost identical results when they mentioned experience of their friends and acquaintances. Both respondents groups noted most often that workers' maturity (old age) was a factor of their biased treatment; youth was mentioned second in terms of frequency (Table 3.5). Family responsibilities as an unequal treatment factor were mentioned by more than one-third of employers and almost every fifth woman. When determining the frequency of encountering factors such as state of health and female sex, the interviewed women more often noted the latter whereas managers pointed out the former more often. Such biased treatment factors as

⁶⁶ Ukrainian women do not value maternity leave : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/events/423464-ukrainki-ne-cenyat-dekretnyj-otpusk>.

⁶⁷ Discrimination of women at the labour market : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://planetahr.ru/publication/4705>.

religious, political and other opinions as well as ethnicity were mentioned by the respondents least often: frequency of mentioning them was an order of magnitude lower than of other factors.

Table 3.5. Ranking of factors of biased, unequal treatment at the labour market of Ukraine (*distribution of responses of employed women and employers*)

Factors of biased, unequal treatment	Proportion of employers, selecting the corresponding factor, %	Ranking No. for responses of employers	Proportion of employed women, selecting the corresponding factor, %	Ranking No. for responses of employed women
Pre-retirement, old age	49.0	1 (selected most often)	31.6	1 (selected most often)
Young age (youth)	35.0	2	26.6	2
Family obligations (e.g. children, disabled, sick or elderly family members)	34.5	3	18.2	3
Health state or disability	27.2	4	13.6	5
Female sex	21.4	5	13.9	4
Beliefs (religious, political, language, etc.)	2.9	6	4.7	6
Ethnicity or nationality	2.4	7 (selected most random)	3.4	7 (selected most random)

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Thus, the questionnaire results give grounds to state that age-based discrimination is the most widespread manifestation of biased treatment in the Ukrainian labour market. Discrimination on the grounds of sex also occurs rather often but does not occupy a leading position. At the same time, as already mentioned above, in the Ukrainian society it is women who take care of children, sick or elderly relatives traditionally more often, therefore family responsibilities should be seen to a great extent as an additional factor of biased treatment of women at the workplace.

Employers' answers concerning the most prevalent discrimination factors almost did not differ depending on their sex (Fig. 3.6), with one exception: more than one-fourth (28.3%) of female management staff reported existence of sex-based discrimination. Among men, the percentage of persons mentioning this factor was two times less (12.9%). Hence, it can be concluded that male managers more often 'fail to notice' sex-based discrimination against women at their enterprises than their female colleagues do. It can be assumed that male employers to a greater extent adhere to a traditional view on sex-based distribution of functional responsibilities in society, so they carry over such a model to relations among workers in their enterprises. Under such conditions, distribution of responsibilities in organizations takes place not only based on

job descriptions but also on their management's world outlook reference points. The situation can be improved by means of carrying out information campaign among employers.

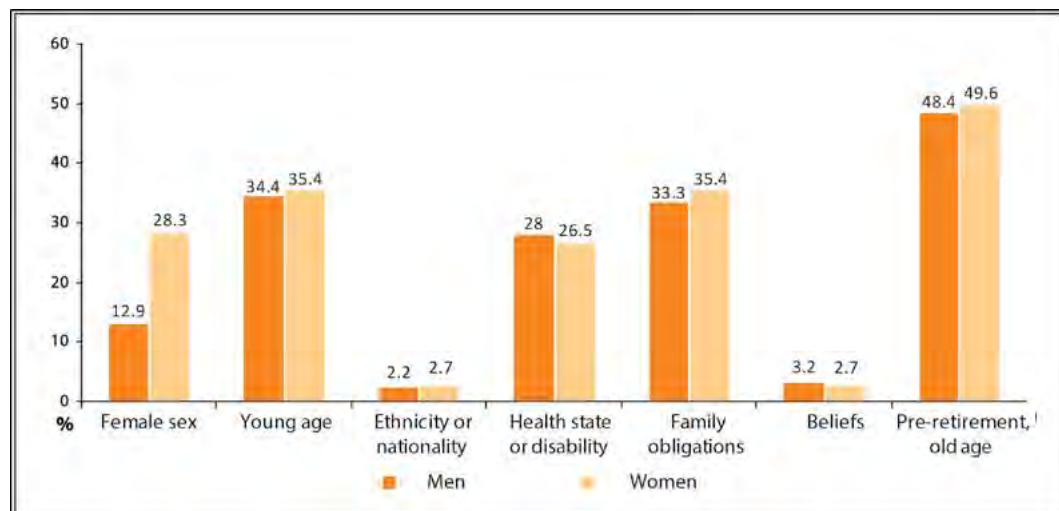


Fig. 3.6. Distribution of employers' responses to the question 'Which factors cause the cases of a biased, unequal treatment of workers?' by respondents' gender groups, %

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Protection of rights in case of gender discrimination in employment. In the great majority of cases, women encountering discrimination in the labour market do not even try to uphold their labour rights. Only a little more than one-fourth (27.1%) of the interviewed women encountering biased treatment attempted to do so. Moreover, 13.2% of them initially intended to restore justice but then gave up such intentions. On the other hand, more than a half of the women (59.7%) not only did not take any measure to restore equal treatment towards them but even dismissed any thought that they could do something to recover the situation.

Thus, Ukraine presently has the situation when employed women, encountering instances of discrimination, rather agree to accept the situation than to uphold their rights. There are isolated positive cases when Ukrainian women successfully defended their labour rights in court but these cases happened outside our country; human rights experts cannot recall successful court cases on these matters in Ukraine. Instead, the story of the Ukrainian woman Oksana Denysenko became an example to follow for many employed women in Great Britain. Oksana won a lawsuit against her employer, Credit Suisse investment bank. The court sitting in London judged that the bank had discriminated the Ukrainian woman on the ground of her being female. Oksana sued the bank for £13.5 million, but the court has not yet decided about the amount of compensation⁶⁸.

Among women living in urban areas, the percentage of individuals who tried to uphold their rights in cases of biased treatment was a little higher than among rural female residents (28.7% and 22.6%, respectively). On the other hand, in the latter respondent group slightly more persons gave up their initial intentions of defending their labour rights (19.4% and 11.1%, respectively). Hence, the share of women taking an active stand to uphold their rights to equal treatment at

⁶⁸ Borisova I. Gender discrimination at the labour market : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.civicua.org/news/view.html?q=1534762>.

the workplace shows no substantial difference between urban and rural areas. However, there are obviously less opportunities to protect the rights in rural areas, therefore why rural women give up their initial intentions more often.

Obviously, Ukrainian women in many cases take manifestations of their biased or unequal treatment in the labour market for granted; this is why they do not even try to take any active measure to remedy the situation. More than a half (56.1%) of the female respondents who did not make any attempt to defend their right to equal treatment at the workplace, explained their passive stand by their seeing no sense in such actions. Every tenth woman (10.4%) did not uphold her rights because of being afraid to make her situation even worse; about the same number of respondents (12.6%) just did not believe it was possible to get a positive result. Every twentieth women (5.3%) explained her inactivity by being unaware of the possible methods of upholding her rights.

Overall, the questioning found that Ukrainian women are rather aware of the methods of upholding their labour rights. More than one-third of female respondents (34.4%) claimed knowing for sure where they can apply for help in case of violation of their rights at the workplace. 42.8% of women do not possess such information but will be able to find it easily if required. However, the group of uninformed women not knowing where they should apply in cases of biased treatment and having no possibility of finding such information still remains considerable, 22.9%.

Women living in urban areas are better informed on the possibilities of defending their rights in case of their biased or unequal treatment, as compared to rural women. The respondents in the former group answered that they knew where they can apply for help in case of biased treatment (Table 3.6) 8.9 percentage points more often (Table 4.6). Hence, when conducting information campaigns to raise women's awareness on the possibilities for defence of their rights, special attention should be paid to rural areas. Rural women's lower awareness can be explained not only by limited penetration of information to Ukrainian villages or limited access to modern communication technologies. Of great importance can also be geographical location of the entities providing legal assistance in the fight against discrimination, most of which are situated in cities. Hence, urban women have greater chances to become recipients of services of relevant organizations, institutions or private individuals, whereof they can tell their friends and acquaintances who are also most likely to live in cities.

Table 3.6. Distribution of responses of employed women to the question 'Presently, do you know where to apply in case of violation of your rights at a workplace?' by a type of their settlement, %

	Urban women	Rural women
Yes, I know for sure	36.7	27.8
No, but I can find this information in case of a need	41.4	46.6
No and I don't know where to find this information	21.9	25.6

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Hence, the study revealed a discrepancy between the women's high awareness on the possibilities for defence of their labour rights and the women's low activity in upholding their right to equal treatment at the workplace. Given such conditions, we can conclude that the key

reason for women's inactivity in upholding their rights consists not of their low awareness but of their world-outlook reference points, according to which most women do not even think about reasonability of active measures for protecting their rights in case of biased treatment but rather perceive such cases as, perhaps, unpleasant but eligible to occur.

An overwhelming majority (86.1%) of those female respondents who did try to uphold their rights in case of biased treatment acted themselves. Among those respondents who applied for help to uphold their rights to equal treatment, the most popular were trade unions and executives at the enterprise: 10.9% of the interviewed women secured their support. Private individuals and companies providing legal assistance enjoyed the same confidence among the female respondents as public institutions did. Women resorted to both types of mediation with equal frequency (in 5.0% of cases).

Sexual harassment as form of gender discrimination in the labour market. Sexual harassment in the workplace is one of the most pernicious manifestations of discriminations. According to the survey results, only 2.9% of the female respondents admitted having encountered this phenomenon in person; approximately the same respondent group (2.8%) could not answer with absolute certainty but believes that they rather encountered this phenomenon. Another 2.5% of women know about such cases not from their own experience but from stories of their acquaintances and friends. Hence, overall 8.2% of the respondents (almost every tenth woman) encountered sexual harassment in the workplace in some way or another. However, when analysing these figures, one should consider possible impact of women's distrust of interviewers (and their unwillingness to inform them about such intimate issues), as well as insufficient level of awareness of the Ukrainian women on forms of sexual harassment.

Rural women and female urban residents answered the question on sexual harassment at the workplace somewhat differently. Among the rural women, there were 8.9 percentage points more persons who definitely claimed never encountering sexual harassment (Table 3.7). However, describing their own experience of encountering this phenomenon, rural women used wordings that reflect some uncertainty on this matter, namely 'rather yes than no', 'rather no than yes', whereas urban residents were more categorical.

Table 3.7. Distribution of responses of employed women to the question 'Have you ever encountered sexual harassment at a workplace?' by a type of their settlement, %

	Rural women	Urban women
Yes, I have	2.3	3.1
Rather yes than no	4.5	2.2
Rather no than yes	16.5	8.8
No, never	74.4	83.3
I haven't by myself, but I know about such cases	2.3	2.6

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Young women are exposed to sexual harassment at the workplace more often than their older colleagues. Whereas among those aged 20-29, every thirteenth women answered affirmatively with high probability (i.e. she chose answers 'yes' and 'rather yes than no') to the question on her personal experience of exposure to sexual harassment at the workplace, such an answer among those aged 46-60 was given only by every 36th woman (Fig. 3.7).

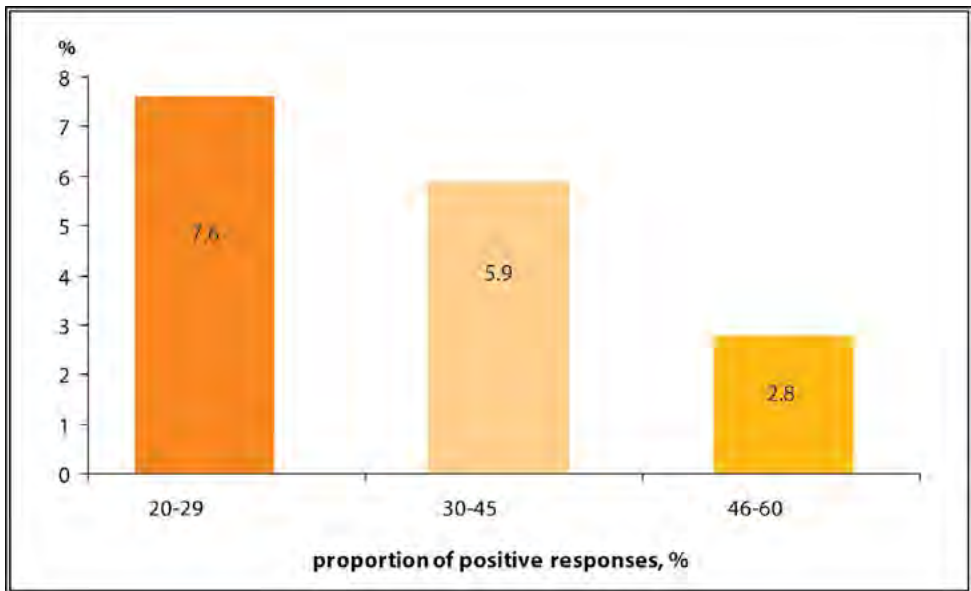


Fig. 3.7. A share of employed women, responding 'yes' and 'rather yes than no' to the question 'Have you ever encountered sexual harassment at a workplace?', by their age groups, %

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Most often, the term 'sexual harassment' is understood as sexual violence or request for intimate relations, however such actions are actually only one of the manifestation form of harassment because it also includes a whole range of verbal forms. The Law of Ukraine on Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men defines sexual harassment as verbally expressed sexual actions (threats, intimidation, scurrilities) or physical actions (touching, patting) which humiliate or offend persons in the state of work, service, material or other subordination⁶⁹. The most common form of sexual harassment encountered by the interviewed women consisted of unwelcome behaviour (e.g. looks, 'accidental' touches, etc.); a noticeable share of women encountered request for intimate relations and some respondents were even exposed to sexual violence (Table 3.8). Ranking of the mentioning frequency of various sexual harassment forms encountered by the interviewed women's friends and acquaintances gave similar results. On the other hand, when the women described manifestations of sexual harassment encountered by their fellow workers, unwelcome behaviour ranked first in terms of manifestation frequency.

⁶⁹ The Law of Ukraine on Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://zakon1.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2866-15>.

Table 3.8. Ranking of forms of sexual harassment based on respondents' responses on their frequency

Forms of sexual harassment	Personal experience of respondents		Experience of respondents' colleagues		Experience of respondents' acquaintances outside of work	
	ranking No.	%	ranking No.	%	ranking No.	%
Sexual joking or sexist words	1	56.1	2	29.3	1	48.8
Sexual advances or sexist behavior (e.g. looks, 'accidental' touching, etc.)	2	46.3	1	32.9	2	40.2
Requests for sex	3	17.1	3	12.2	3	37.8
Sexual violence	4	1.2	4	1.2	4	1.2

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Rural women somewhat less often encounter verbal manifestations of sexual harassment and request for intimate relations. They complained of sexual jokes and sayings at work in 66.7% of cases, that being 15.0 percent more than the share of urban women with similar answers (Fig. 3.8). Every fifth (20.8%) case of sexual harassment towards rural women was connected with request for intimate relations (for urban women the figure was 15.5%). On the other hand, the latter encountered offensive language and unwelcome behaviour.

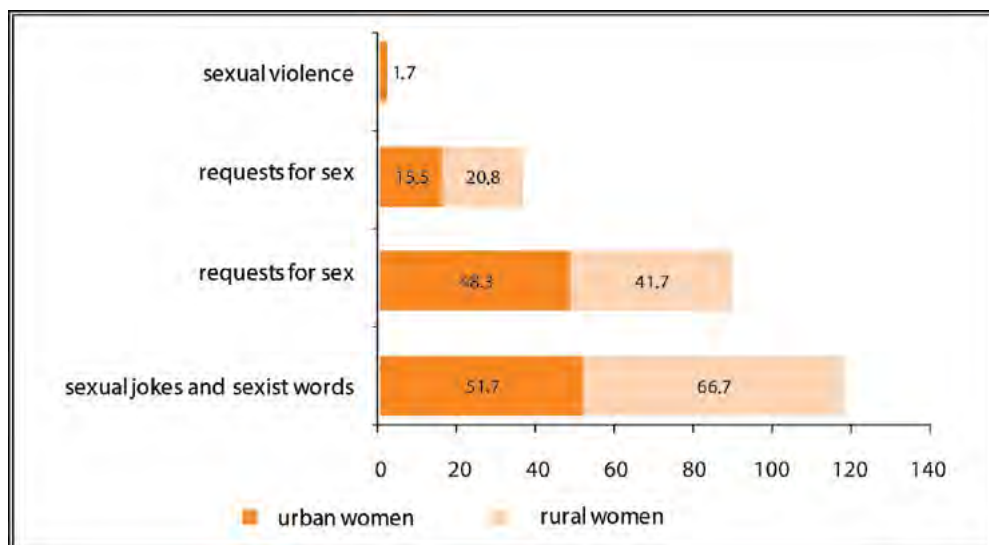


Fig. 3.8. Distribution of responses of employed women to the question 'What form of sexual harassment have you encountered at your workplace?' (among those which mentioned that they have such experience) by a type of settlement, %

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

3.2. Gender stereotypes in employment as preconditions of gender discrimination at the labour market

Besides the presence of direct manifestations of a biased treatment of workers depending on their sex, an impact of persistent stereotypes determining general attitude to social roles of women and men in a society cannot be understated. In combination, these two factors create some kind of a 'reserved circle': being under the influence of public opinion of gender distribution of spheres of activity, employers are taking women as less valuable workers beforehand, providing this way a further reproduction of these stereotypes. As it has been revealed by distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'How do you estimate a status of women and men in the Ukrainian society?', only about a half of respondents believe that these gender groups are characterized by equal status in a society (Fig. 3.9). Obviously, the largest proportion of answers proving the gender parity in a society was common for women who have a status of employer at the labour market, e.g. they have already succeeded in professional sphere. However, underestimation of a general status of women by female employees is striking – as compared with representatives of other groups of respondents, this category of workers was characterized by the largest per cent of respondents, thinking that men have a greater status in a society (more than 40% of respondents) and the smallest per cent of persons, believing that women and men have the same status in a society.

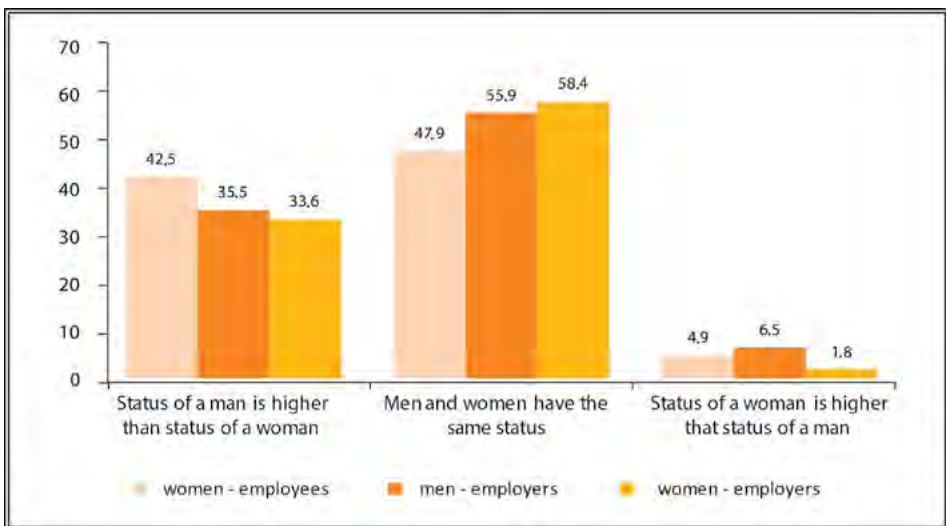


Fig. 3.9. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'How do you estimate a status of women and men in the Ukrainian society?';

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Sex-based discrimination can exist in the labour market if employers prefer workers of certain sexual identity. According to Maud de Boer-Buquicchio, the first woman ever elected as a Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe, 'so long as gender stereotypes persist, discrimination will also remain because it is currently they, not laws and regulations, that pose a key obstacle for women's empowerment'⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Pashaeva G. Glass ceiling : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://wcu-network.org.ua/ua/possessing-equal-rights/article/>

Results of the questioning of enterprise top managers show that, unfortunately, unequal treatment of workers of different sexes is rather common in Ukraine. Almost one-fourth (24.1%) of the interviewed employers believe that male workers and female workers are not of equal 'value' at the workplace; besides, such a viewpoint occurs among male employers almost three times more often than among female managers (28.0% against 9.7%). Most (78.7%) of managers who believe in unequal value of workers of different genders, are sure that men are more valuable workers than women. Information obtained in the course of the survey coincides with findings of some other studies conducted earlier⁷¹.

Priorities of the employers considering workers of a certain sex to be better for some or other types of work can easily be seen by analysing the content of job ads published in mass media. Monitoring of information and advertising publications conducted in 2011 by Zhinochi Perspektyvy (*Women's Prospects*) West Ukrainian Centre showed that more than two-thirds (69.6%) of the ads containing requirements to sex discriminate against women, and a little less than one-third discriminate (30.4%) against men. In 74.3% of such ads, only women were invited to work as secretaries, office managers, or assistants whose job is low-paid. In other categories, men were preferred: workers, service staff – 86.1%; managers of all levels and administrative staff – 79.5%; skilled specialists – 66%; advertisement managers, sales managers, etc. – 54.3%⁷².

Shocking is the fact that the interviewed women hold the views, according to which workers of different sex are of no equal value to employers, more often than the employers themselves (Table 3.9). Three-fourths (75.9%) of the interviewed managers pointed out that a worker's 'value' does not depend on sex; among the interviewed women, the share of those giving such an answer was 9.5 percentage points less. In the group of women who described the value of workers of different sex for production differently, 81.9% believe that men are 'more valuable' workers than women. Such questioning findings illustrate the mechanisms of women's self-selection in the labour market that, acting simultaneously with discrimination, prevent women from being on equal positions with men. Self-selection means that women think a priori that an employer's attitude to them must be partial because of their lower working efficiency, therefore they decide voluntarily to not apply for the jobs for which they would have to compete with men⁷³.

Table 3.9. Distribution of responses of employers and employed women to the question 'Do you think that men and women have the same 'value' as workers?', %

	Employers	Employed women
Yes, they have the same value	75.9	66.4
No, men are more «valuable» workers	19.0	27.5
No, women are more «valuable» workers	5.1	6.1

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Hence, the questionnaire results show a low level of self-appraisal by the employed women of their own work. Perhaps, it is this fact that explains why most women do not uphold their rights when facing biased treatment. They avoid any active action because they themselves are

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71 Gerasymenko G.V. Gender problems at the labour market of Ukraine // Demography and Social Economics. – 2005. – № 1. – Pp.138–145.

72 Borisova I. Gender discrimination at the labour market : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.civicua.org/news/view.html?q=1534762>.

73 Kolenda N.V. Forms, types and sources of discrimination of the labour force // Economic forum. – 2012. – №1.

not completely sure of their own rights and of the value and importance of their work outputs.

Rural women hold the views on unequal value of men and women for production more often. Every third person (32.2%) in this respondent category voiced the opinion about the male workers' greater 'value' while every fourth (25.8%) urban female respondent adhere to such philosophy (Fig. 3.10). Since more frequent consideration of workers' sex in appraisal of their significance is typical for rural women, answers on a greater value of employed women as compared to men can be found among them more often as well.

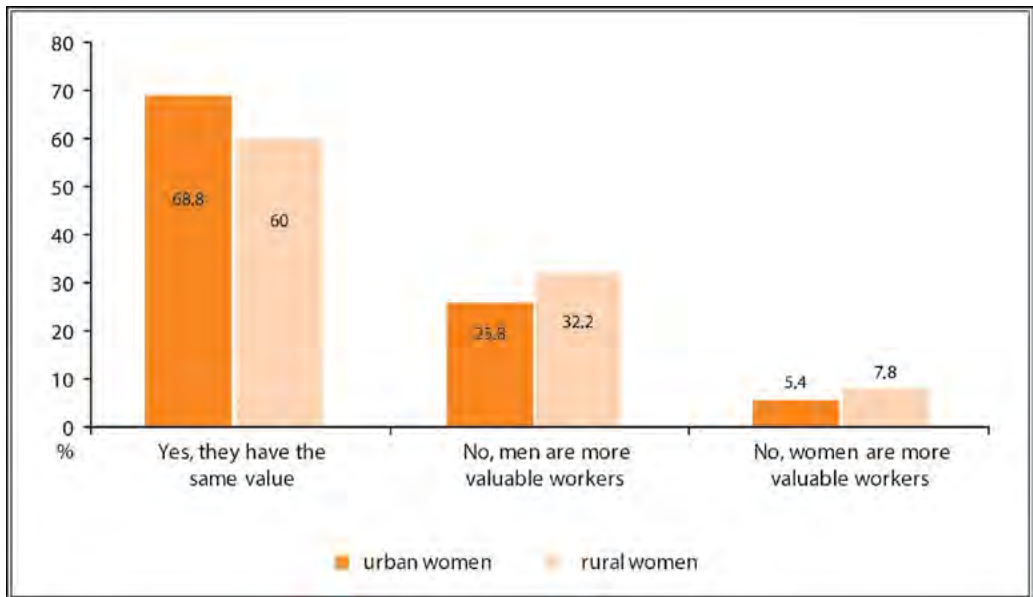


Fig. 3.10. Distribution of responses of employed women to the question 'Do men and women have the same value for employers as workers?' depending on a type of their settlement, %

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

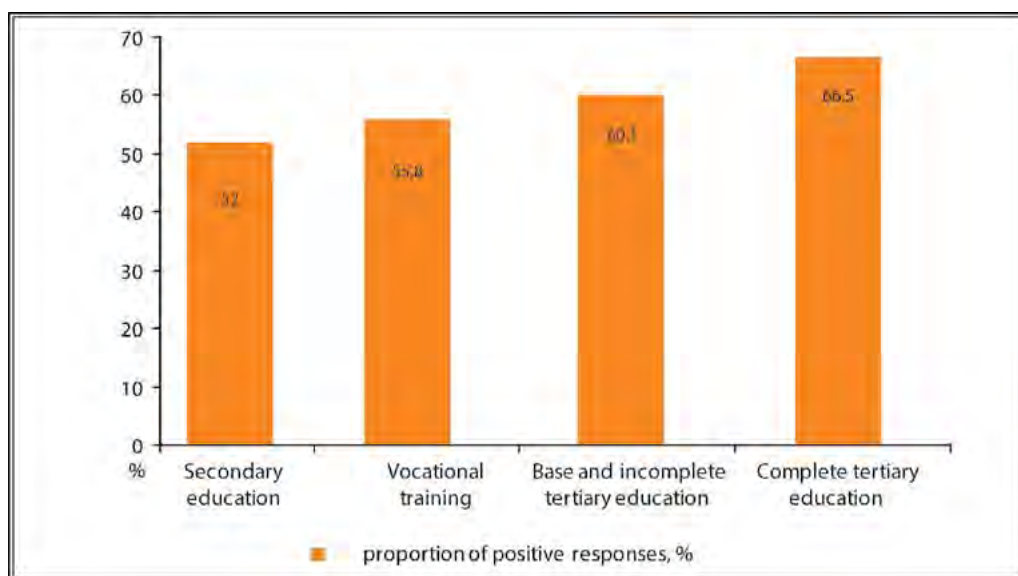
Younger women more often share the opinion that a worker's value depends on his/her professional competences rather than sex. Workers in older age groups agree with that less frequently. For example, among the 20-29-aged female respondents 64.4% mentioned equal value of workers of different sexes; the figure for those aged 30-45 is 58.5%; and among women aged 46-60 it is even lower, 57.4% (Table 3.10). Age characteristics of male workers influence prevalence of such views in a similar fashion: the younger the employers, the more often they evaluate workers of different sexes equally. On the other hand, among female managers, the opinion about equal value of employed men and women is equally common among the youngest and oldest categories whereas middle-age female employers shared such views somewhat less often.

Table 3.10. A share of respondents, believing that men and women have the same value as workers, depending on their age⁷⁴, %

Age group	Proportion of positive responses by age groups, %		
	22-35	36-50	51-75
employers, of them:			
men	71.0	62.9	59.3
women	80.6	74.0	81.3
Age group	20-29	30-45	46-60
employed women	64.4	58.8	57.4

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

The respondents' education level substantially influences their worker evaluation criteria. Highly educated individuals less often share the opinion that a worker's sex affects his/her importance for work. For example, among the interviewed women having general secondary education, only a little more than a half (52.0%) think that male and female workers are of equal value to employers (Fig. 3.11). The percentage of persons having such views grows as the education level increases. This figure is 66.5% among persons with complete tertiary education.

**Fig. 3.11. Proportion of employed women, believing that women and men have the same value as workers, depending on their education level, %**

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Thus, the idea of unequal value of workers of different sexes, providing a foundation on which

⁷⁴ Age groups of employers and employed women are not the same because age characteristics of these two respondent categories are not identical: employers are older, age of many of them being greater than retirement age, whereas among employed women the sample covered persons up to 60. The table aims at demonstrating tendencies of changing views on equality of workers of different sexes depending on their age, rather than at comparing specific figures.

biased and unequal treatment of workers – most often women – rests, finds most of its adherents among persons having lower education levels. In this context, in order to improve the situation concerning perception of employed women at the workplace, one can implement educational campaigns to depict positive examples and working results of female labour collectives and individual female workers.

We should note that the way the female respondents appraise importance of workers of different sexes to employers is a little illustration of a broader picture of how the interviewed women perceive the roles and positions of men and women in the present-day Ukrainian society. Those women who consider men to be better workers are most often carriers of traditional patriarchal views and values. This category of persons more often assure that men's social status in Ukraine is higher than women's; leading functions in their families most often also belong to men.

The research interest was focused on ranking of factors, which cause a lower 'value' of women as workers for employers. The variants of respective responses, proposed to respondents, has intentionally provocative character, were targeted at evaluation of respondents' opinion on some gender-biased theses (such as '*some features of character, common for women, could hinder from working (e.g. high emotionality, sensibility, etc.)*'). Most often, the employers regarding women as less valuable workers compared to men explain their opinion by women's lower physical capabilities and endurance (Table 3.11). The persons marking this factor were mainly managers of construction and industrial enterprises where a worker's endurance is an important feature indeed. Under such conditions, improvement of women's employment in these industries can be associated with their general development, better working conditions, use of modern technology and equipment, a smaller share of manual labour, etc.

Table 3.11. Ranking of factors, determining women as less 'valuable' workers compared with men, based on estimations of employers and employed women

Factors	Ranking based on employer's responses	Ranking based on women's responses
Maternity and related break in employment	2	1
Lower women's physical capabilities and endurance	1	2
Inconvenience of hiring women due to restrictions on the use of their labour or due to a need to provide additional measures of social protection (e.g. provide additional leaves for women with 2 children under 14, sick leaves to care for sick family members, etc.)	3	3
Priority of family over career for women	6	4
Unpreparedness to work extra time and on days off	5	5
Some features of character, common for women, which could hinder from working (e.g. emotional ensibility, etc.)	4	6
Unpreparedness to go to business trips	7	7
Restricted abilities to use women for signing the contracts with partners/customers due to a stereotypical, insufficiently serious/respectful attitude to women	8	8

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

In 2010, experts of the Ministry of Justice conducted gender legal expert examination of the Code of Labour Laws of Ukraine and found signs of sex-based discrimination covering men in a number of its provisions⁷⁵. The experts believe that the Code does not provide equal opportunities to men, compared with women, for combining work and family responsibilities. In particular, the experts advise to extend the provisions of the Code on shorter working hours, more flexible working, and paternity leave. The Ministry of Justice experts pointed out that the other gender-misbalanced provisions of the Code could not be regarded as discriminatory because they deal with the special protection of women during pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding.

Hence, the Ukrainian legislation guarantees women a rather wide range of rights aimed at promoting their increased employment; in practice such measures however often result in employers' preferring male workers to avoid incurring the additional obligations concerning the provision of working conditions for working mothers. A noticeable percent of the employers interviewed preferring male workers, explaining their preference due to the inconvenience of hiring women because of the existence of restrictions on the use of their labour, the need for securing additional social protection measures, and maternity and related employment leaves of absence.

⁷⁵ The Ministry of Justice recommends to eliminate gender discrimination from some Articles of the Labour Code : [Electronic resource]. – Access mode: <http://www.minjust.gov.ua/0/33456>.

Another opinion widespread among employers is that women are less conscientious workers than men. Many of the respondents interviewed regard women as unwilling to work overtime and on holidays or go on business trips, and emphasize that family is a higher priority to women than a career. In the eyes of such employers, factors like that diminish the value of female workers.

The women interviewed were asked why they believed that women were viewed as less valuable workers than men. They mostly explained this opinion by mentioning maternity, physical endurance and lastly (and in their opinion the least important) obligations on women's social protection in the work place.

Although employment in rural areas is more often connected with physical labour, which places more importance on a worker's physical strength and endurance, the 'rural women' questioned mentioned this factor in increasing male workers' importance significantly less often than female urban residents (Fig. 3.12). Importantly, this finding could become good grounds for overcoming the stereotype of the 'lower physical abilities and endurance of women'. In addition to this, rural women more often mentioned such factors as the priority of family to women, maternity, or the need for additional social protection measures. Urban women more often pointed to specific female character features and the unwillingness to go on business trips.

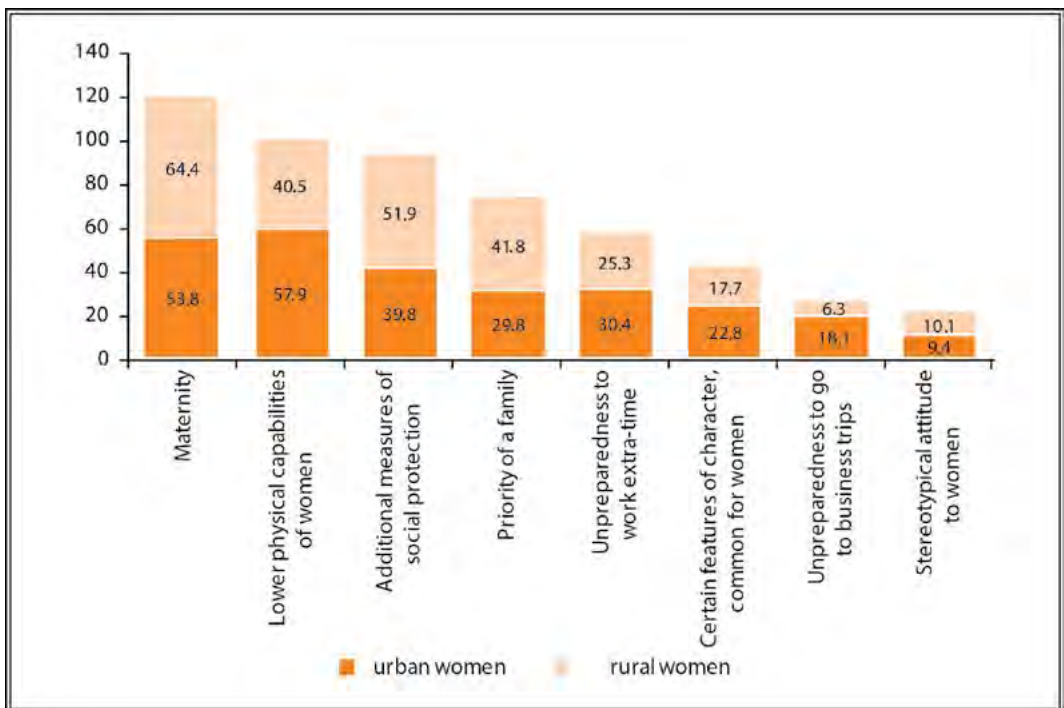


Fig. 3.12. Determinants of a lower 'value' of female workers for employers based on estimations of employed women by type of settlement, %

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

3.3. Public opinion on the gender segregation of the labour market in Ukraine

Segregation of occupations into 'female' and 'male' roles exist in the Ukrainian labour market – this is the opinion of two-thirds of the employers (70.7%) and almost the same number of women in employment (67.1%) (Table 3.12). The share of employers who gave an affirmative answer to this question does not significantly differ by sex, but men more often chose the categorical answer option, 'undoubtedly exists', whereas women were disposed to the 'rather exists' answer one and a half times more often.

Table 3.12. Distribution of responses on a question 'What do you think, is there a division of occupations into 'male' and 'female' ones at the labour market of Ukraine?', %

	Employers			Employed women		
	men	women	total	urban	rural	total
Yes, definitely	52.7	44.1	48.0	44.2	33.3	41.3
Rather yes	18.7	27.9	23.8	26.4	24.3	25.8
Rather no	22.0	17.2	19.3	24.0	37.0	27.5
No, definitely	6.6	10.8	8.9	5.4	5.4	5.4

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Urban women believe that there is gender-based occupational segregation in Ukraine in 13.0 percent more cases than their rural counterparts do. In the latter group of respondents, the largest share is constituted by women believing that segregation of occupations into 'male' and 'female' ones rather does not exist in Ukraine. On the other hand, the age characteristics of the women interviewed in no way affects their view of the situation concerning sex-based occupational segregation.

Among occupations typical to men, the female respondents most often mentioned transport occupations (such as driver, long-distance trucker, seaman, pilot, machinist) (Table 3.13). The same popularity was enjoyed by a whole range of occupations in the construction sector: welder, turner, bricklayer, plasterer, stonecutter, locksmith, electrician, fitter, asphalt layer. In women's opinion, men in manufacturing and extractive industries also typically work as miners, steel makers, metallurgists, millers, or casters. They also mentioned historical occupations, now having lost their prevalence, e.g. blacksmith. Describing 'male' occupations, women often mentioned those associated in public opinion with courage and bravery, such as firemen, soldiers, law-enforcement officers, guards, rescue workers, stunt men, or bomb disposal expert.

Describing typically 'female' occupations, the female respondents mentioned occupations in education (head-teacher, kindergarten teacher, nurse, governess) and trade (saleswoman, cashier). Occupations related to manufacture of clothes were often mentioned – seamstress, fashion designer. A whole range of female occupations are present in the beauty industry: hairdresser, cosmetologist, make-up artist, manicurist and pedicurist. Cleaning is also regarded as a typical work for women by many respondents.

Table 3.13. «Male» and «female» occupations, which have been mentioned most often by the respondents (employed women)

'Male' occupations	'Female' occupations
Driver	Saleswoman
Builder	Teacher
Miner	Kindergarten teacher
Loader	Seamstress
Mechanic, locksmith	Nurse
Guard	Hairdresser
Electrician	Nurse, governess
Soldier	Cleaner
Law-enforcement officer	Accountant
Top manager, director	Secretary

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

When talking about medicine, the female respondents only assigned men the role of a physician. In the respondents' opinion, women, in addition to this occupation, typically work also as nurses, pharmacists, and hospital aides. Different occupational roles for representatives of different sexes were mentioned by the female respondents for the agricultural sector: typical occupations for men here, in their opinion, include tractor driver, agronomist, combine harvester driver, and wood cutter, whereas female occupations were milkmaid and 'pig tender'. In air transport the respondents think a man's correct place is in the cockpit, whereas working as stewardesses suits women. Among office occupations typical for men, the female respondents mentioned computer programmers and financial experts whereas book-keepers and secretaries were named as female occupations.

The structure of female employment in Ukraine is not as advanced as the male one. The percentage of women employed in the 'elite' group of legislators, among top civil servants and managers⁷⁶ is much, much less. Such data is confirmed by information obtained from surveys of working women. Rather often, the women interviewed said that male occupations included manager, director, sometimes they even referred to the top state leaders – parliament member, President, or Prime Minister. Remarkably, when describing typically 'female' occupations, they never mentioned such positions.

The key factor causing sex-based occupational segregation consists of physiological differences typical of women and men – this is the opinion of the overwhelming majority of employers (85.5%) and women (71.1%) (Fig. 3.13). Restrictions on the use of women's labour in certain occupations were the second factor in terms of mentioning frequency, pointed out by both respondent categories. Almost one-third of the women interviewed explained sex-based occupational segregation by the existence of stereotypes concerning male and female roles in society; the share of employers agreeing with this stance was lower because of male employers who shared this opinion 10.7 percent less often than female managers (23.1% and 33.8%,

⁷⁶ Boychenko E.B. Gender aspects of employment and wage remuneration on the economy of Ukraine // Demography and Social Economics. – 2007. – № 2. – Pp.198–208; here: p. 205

respectively). This point was the only one on which opinions of employers of different sexes did not coincide; on the other hand, views of working women and women occupying managerial positions turned out the same on this point.

Both employers and working women least often explain sex-based occupational segregation by differences in the professional level, and employers shared this opinion two times less often than employed women. Although the great majority of managers believe that a worker's professional level does not depend on sex, one male employer does explain sex-based occupational segregation by the fact that men are cleverer than women.

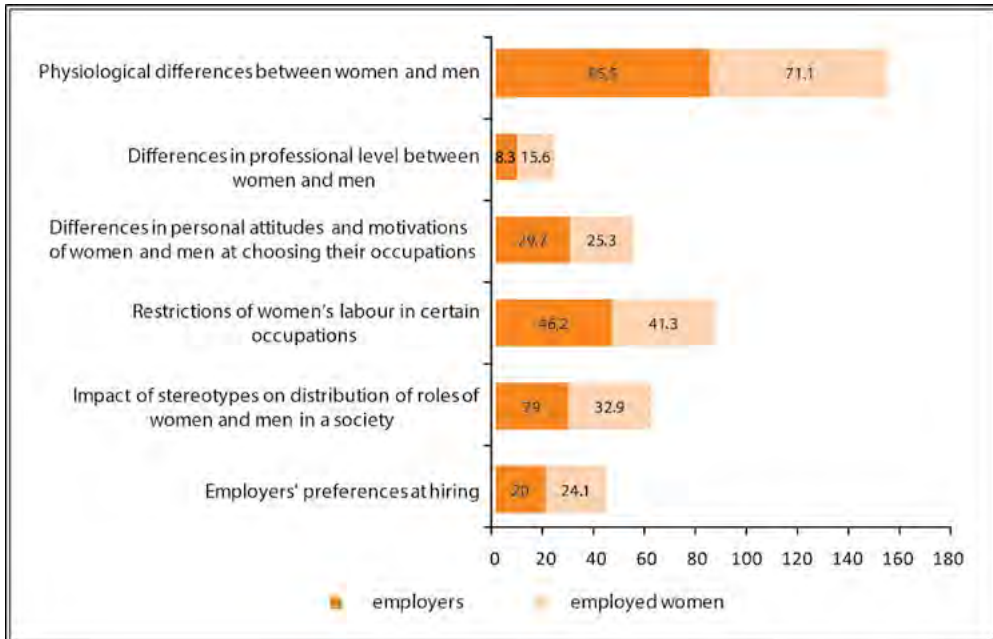


Fig. 3.13. Determinants of the gender segregation of labour based on responses of employers and employed women, %

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Despite Ukraine having ratified the fundamental ILO Conventions on gender equality, including the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value, Ukrainian statistics show from year to year that women's wages are on average lower than men's. Both working women and employers most often associate such a situation with a women's additional workload due to family responsibilities, which hinders female professional realization (Table 3.14). More than one-third in both respondent groups explained lower female earnings by the fact that they are mainly concentrated in the occupations and activities offering low wages. Almost one-third of working women believe that the implementation of equal remuneration for men and women is hindered by biased treatment on the part of employers (e.g. denial of career growth, unwillingness to raise wages, etc.); employers themselves point to this factor less often – in one-fourth of cases (men gave such this answer only in 20.4% of cases while women did so in 30.1%).

Table 3.14. Distribution of responses of employed women on a question 'What are the causes of a division of occupations into 'female' and 'male' ones?' depending on a type of respondent's settlement, %

Factors of occupational segregation	Urban women	Rural women
Physiological differences between women and men (e.g. in physical power and endurance, etc.)	73.7	63.9
Differences in professional level between women and men (education, qualification, experience)	13.7	19.9
Differences in personal attitudes and motivations of men and women in choosing their occupations	23.5	30.1
Restrictions of women's labour in certain occupations	41.6	25.9
Impact of stereotypes on distribution of roles of men and women in society (for instance, family/work)	29.7	41.7

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Women from different settlement types mentioned various factors of segregation of occupations into 'male' and 'female' ones with different frequency. In both female groups, a leading position was occupied by physiological differences but urban women mentioned this factor in 73.7% of cases, that being 10.2 percent less than the frequency of its mentioning by rural women (Table 3.15). The second position in terms of frequency of mentioning by rural female residents belonged to sex stereotypes, followed by differences in personal attitudes, restrictions on the use of women's labour, and differences in professional levels. Woman living in urban areas paid attention more often to restrictions on the use of women's labour and less often to all other factors.

The employers believe more often than the employed women that female workers are themselves guilty of their low wages because they are not willing to earn more for a variety of reasons (e.g. having no interest in career growth, willing to work part-time, etc.). Like in the explanation of the reasons of sex-based occupational segregation, differences in the professional level of men and women were mentioned concerning reasons of wage gap least often.

Rural women pointed to additional workload due to family responsibilities somewhat more often whereas urban women mentioned employers' biased treatment more often.

As a whole, discrimination against women can be regarded as a rather widespread phenomenon in the Ukrainian labour market. Only one-third of the female respondents never encountered biased and unequal treatment in the workplace. At the same time, employers, though agreeing that discrimination in Ukraine generally exists, are disposed to deny existence of biased treatment cases at their own enterprises. Discrimination cases become most common in large enterprises, which is obviously related to the peculiarities of the development of interpersonal relationships in industrial collectives of different sizes.

Table 3.15. Distribution of responses on employers and employed women on a question 'As on average, women's wages are lower than men's ones. What do you think are the causes of such a gap?'; %

Factors of lower wages	Employers	Employed women		
		total	urban	rural
Difference in professional level of women and men (education, qualification and experience)	20.9	22.2	21.4	24.4
Concentration of employed women in the occupations and economic activities, offering lower wages (horizontal segregation)	38.3	37.1	38.8	32.3
Concentration of women at lower positions, as compared to men (vertical segregation)	23.3	29.6	28.4	32.7
Low career aspiration of women (no interest in the career promotion, preference to work at not very responsible positions or to work part-time, etc.)	34.5	26.9	26.4	28.2
Additional burden of family obligations, which hinders women's professional realization	62.1	61.1	58.1	69.5
A bias of employers (e.g. denial of career growth, unequal payment for work of the same value, unwillingness to raise wages, etc.)	25.7	30.1	31.7	25.6

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Most often, the women interviewed encountered biased treatment due to their relatively young age; factors such as gender and family responsibilities occurred equally often and ranked second in terms of frequency. However, considering that discharge of most family responsibilities in Ukrainian families lies just on women's shoulders, the latter two factors can be combined, in which case the joint factor would become the leading one in the explanation of biased treatment of women in the workplace.

The Ukrainian labour market offers no sufficiently good opportunities for a woman to be able to combine maternity and work responsibilities successfully; under such conditions, working mothers encounter biased and unequal treatment at the work place more frequently. The maternity factor is also a main reason that, in the respondents' opinion, is responsible for female workers' lesser value compared to their male counterparts. The latter in its turn accounts for lower remuneration of women's labour.

Although women are sufficiently well informed on where they can apply to for help in case of infringement of their rights at the workplace, Ukrainian women most often take a passive stand to upholding their rights. More than a half of the female respondents who personally encountered manifestations of biased and unequal treatment did not even try to uphold their own rights because they deemed such actions as unreasonable. Under such conditions, measures should be taken to increase the employed women's activity level, to turn them from objects of discrimination into subjects of defense of their rights and upholding of fair treatment of all the employed individuals.

Global experience shows that the views, according to which women are regarded as minor players in the labour market, are outdated and failing to meet real capabilities of working women and preventing the realization of their full work potential. Converting female and male employed individuals into equal partners will occur as a result of fostering the psychology of equality of all workers in employers' minds and provided that the practice of labour evaluation based solely on workers' professionalism and quality of final work results has become common.

SECTION 4. IN-DEPTH LOOK AT WORKERS WITH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

4.1. Gender stereotypes in family relations: the Ukrainian experience

Theoretic discourse on gender roles in family and society. We should note that the problem of reconciling work and family responsibilities is generally viewed solely as a women's problem. Putting the question this way itself contains certain signs of a discriminatory attitude to women because there are no full-fledged large-scale studies aimed at finding ways of reconciling occupational activities and performance of the role of a father. Even the women's aspiration for economic independence (and, hence, their understanding of their dependence in many areas of society's vital activity) indicates their low status in society.

It is generally recognized that housework distribution is not equal: a woman does a disproportionately large part of it. The scientific approaches trying to explain this situation can conventionally be divided into three groups: those focusing on the value of financial support (an exchange theory, or a relative resources theory, or a gender ideology); those using gender ideology (a gender display model or a gender role socialization theory) for explanation; and approaches accentuated on time value (time availability theories).

Within the economic approach framework, it is assumed that one of the spouses having a higher income level (a high-resource one or a breadwinner, the role most often played by the husband) does a smaller share of housework or avoids doing it at all, while the one whose financial contribution to the family budget is much less compensates his/her low earnings with a larger amount of everyday household work. Hence, housework is done as though in exchange for economic support whereas intra-familial allocation of responsibilities is taken as a fair and rather logical phenomenon.

The housework amount under the gender display model is determined by the standards and values usually associated with gender. Economic dependence and performance of everyday work are perceived mainly as femininity features while economic independence and avoidance of housework are associated with masculinity.

According to the approach centred on the time value, a partner spending more time on paid employment is less engaged in household chores than the one spending less time on paid work. Besides, the gender ideology affects perception of the labour division character: the women disposed in a more egalitarian way are more sensitive to no justice in labour division as compared to the women holding traditional views⁷⁷.

A study by Russian sociologists found an interrelationship between the large amount of housework and the respondents' lack of socio-economic rights in their families: in 15-20% of families, partners use their personal resources or possibilities outside the family as tools of pressure for to strengthen their power and justify their 'exemption' from household duties; under such conditions, economically dependent women have to do the largest amount of housework whereas the latter is solely associated with female gender identity.

The study authors concluded that the illusion of 'rationality' of unequal allocation of household responsibilities (within the exchange theory framework) creates a vicious circle of women's cumulative economic deprivation: women's considerable liability for doing housework reduces their earning capability, causes worse career prospects and lower mobility, and hence

⁷⁷ Dadaeva T.M. Who is taking the garbage away or the paradoxes of gender division of labour // Sociological Studies, 2005. - № 6. - Pp. 120-126; here: p. 124.

consolidates women's economic dependence on men⁷⁸.

We should point out that 'new times' present a woman with new requirements. The scope of family responsibilities is continuously expanding, and the workload is growing. Modern domestic appliances make daily household work easier but they are not able to address the tasks which are related to family welfare and dealing with which is attributed just to a woman – according to some stereotypes formed in an unknown way. We would like to recall a rhetorical question by well-known feminist Betty Friedan: '...isn't a modern woman entrapped by excessive demands to playing a housekeeper's role: being a wife, a sweetheart, a mother, an educator, a buyer, a cook, a driver, an interior designer, a specialist in child rearing and education, an expert in using domestic appliance, being familiar with all novelties, organizing correct nutrition, etc...'⁷⁹.

A Russian researcher, sociologist T.M. Dadaeva also made an attempt of verifying the exchange theory on findings of the sociological study '*Social status of a modern urban family*' conducted in the Republic of Mordovia (Russia) in 2003. The study showed that in the families where the husband had a higher income than his wife, a 'traditional' allocation of family responsibilities (with a greater burden on the woman) was seen indeed; however, where the wife earned much more than her husband, no re-allocation of housework in the egalitarian way took place in the families⁸⁰. An explanation to such a paradox can be found in an article by Julie Braines: '...wives, being women, encounter legislative, political and economic structures that aggravate their dependant status and its negative consequences from the perspective of their life chances; social chances of being independent are lower for women due to which it is more probable that they will be agreeing to unequal exchange conditions in marriage...'⁸¹.

A view, opposite to those mentioned above, on women's considerable engagement in housework was presented by Russian sociologist T.S. Lytkina on the basis of in-depth analysis of results of a longitudinal study conducted in 1994–2002. First of all, the survey showed that resources are disposed of and controlled not by the one earning them but by the one having access to their direct utilization and, hence, thereby providing oneself with more advantageous conditions as compared to the one earning the money. Women mainly appropriate their husbands' income as breadwinners whereas men appropriate the familial convenience created by women as housewives. A woman's performance of family responsibilities becomes for the woman a resource for gradual expansion of responsibilities, for transition from physical to organizational labour and then into the scope of responsibility for household keeping, with subsequent reinforcement of the woman's power position⁸². As a result, men begin to play minor roles and become an instrument of female strategies⁸³. But still, the question remains unaddressed: does men's inactivity in the household domain and their avoidance of housework force women to take an active stand in the family and establish certain orders and familial norms in the family; or, on the contrary, is it just the women's activity and unwillingness to share their power in the household field that leads to men's exclusion out of engagement in domestic cares work?

One of the findings of a sociological study conducted by the Labour Market Research Centre (Institute of Economy, Russian Academy of Sciences) in 1999 as part of the Russian-Canadian project 'Improving women's competitiveness in the Russian labour market' consists of the fact

78 Balabanova E.S. Domestic work as a symbol of gender and power // *Social Studies*, 2005, Pp. 109–120.

79 Friedan B. Enigma of femininity / Translation from English. - M.: Editorials 'Progress', 'Litera', 1993. – 496 p.

80 Dadaeva T.M. Who is taking the garbage away or the patadoxes of gender division of labour // *Sociological Studies*, 2005. - № 6. - Pp. 120-126; here: p. 124.

81 Brains J. Economic dependency, gender and division of domestic work / *Gender and economy: global experience and expertise of the Russian practice*. Ed. by E. Mezentsseva. M.: ISEPN RAS - MSGS, 2002, p. 352.

82 Lytkina T.S. Domestic work and gender division of power in a family // *Social Studies*, 2004, p. 85–90.

83 Ibid.

that a possibility of manipulating a worker – changing his/her working schedule and functions, engaging him/her in overtime work, sending him/her on urgent business trips – is a factor considerably increasing the worker's value for an employer⁸⁴. Family responsibilities restrict the flexibility and use of female labour considerably. Results of the above-mentioned study partially confirm – but also partially challenge – the assumption on employers' greater costs related to female labour force. However, a factor of decreasing female labour force's value consists of not so much employers' costs related to women's family responsibilities as the employers' expectation of such costs.

In a modern society, due to increase in women's occupational employment and education, an egalitarian type of family relations is increasingly spreading: dramatic sex differentiation of labour in the family and public life disappears being gradually replaced by integration of marital roles and their ability to interchange⁸⁵. We understand the egalitarian character of housework gender division as equal participation of the husband and wife in doing housekeeping work provided that both members of the couple are engaged in paid employment.

Most gender stereotypes rest upon the perception of the role of a housewife, a mother as the woman's most significant social roles. Being in the private realm of life – house and home, childbirth, responsibility for relationships in the family – is attributed to women; men are assigned the affiliation with public life – professional success, career, responsibility for provision of the family. One cannot deny the importance of the marital status for shaping a woman's life agenda as well as the fact of its providing a ground to build a prospect. However, one should also consider that satisfaction with life depends more on subjective assessment of marriage rather than on the very fact of its conclusion⁸⁶.

Using the 'gender contract' notion to find out characteristics of marital relations is becoming increasingly popular. A gender contract includes institutional support, practices and symbolic representations of gender relations, roles and identities in specific cultural and historical contexts; it also envisages social regulation and representation of sexuality⁸⁷. The gender contract determines who, and from which resources, organizes housekeeping and care for children in and outside the family: a mother not engaged in paid employment; employees whose work is paid for by the spouses from their wages; relatives, the State⁸⁸.

A women's position in society was for a long period of time determined by a 'working mother's contract' that belongs to the most inconsistent contracts. A mechanism of emergence of inconsistency, in our opinion, is most vividly described in S. Aivazova's work 'Russian women in an equality labyrinth'. The scientist points out that girls, graduating from secondary or high schools and acquiring vocational training, adopt the principle of equality between men and women but founding a family changes the situation radically. The husband and the wife in a married couple, with both having university diplomas, distribute housework equally, work in similar positions and have equal capabilities in the beginning of their career and family life. When a baby is born, the wife stays at home to care for the baby whereas the husband keeps working. The woman's professional career is forcedly broken. For that period of time, she is responsible

84 Moskovskaya A.A. Stereotypes or competitiveness? (Analysis of some gender preferences of employers) // Social Studies. - № 3. - 2002. - Pp. 52–61.

85 Dadaeva T.M. Who is taking the garbage away or the paradoxes of gender division of labour // Sociological Studies, 2005. - № 6. - Pp. 120-126; here: p. 124.

86 Tregubenko I. A. Subjective picture of life ways of women with various family status // Modern problems of family psychology: phenomena, methods, concepts. Issue. 4. – St. Petersburg.: Editorial ANO «ИПП», 2010. – 86 p.; here: pp. 72-77.

87 Temkina A.A., Rotkirkh A. Soviet gender contracts and their transformation in the modern Russia // Sociological Studies, 2002. – M., pp. 4–15.

88 Ibid.

for the care for her child and the entire housekeeping burden. The husband on his part works more intensely to compensate for his wife's housework load and for her wage shortage as well as to support his family financially, which positively affects his career and earnings. The man's *time* becomes more 'expensive' than the woman's *time*. As the child grows up and the woman comes back to work, the burden of household responsibilities remains on her shoulders – for her time is 'cheaper'. The gap between the husband and the wife deepens and consolidates: career is for him whereas domestic cares, child rearing and occupational work 'in passing' are for her⁸⁹. Such an order was typical in the Soviet era under the planned economy; under market relations, such development of events in a family mainly occur as well and become even more problematic because the woman not only fails to 'build up' her vocational abilities in the period of intense care for her young child but, on the contrary, decreases her competitiveness in the labour market considerably. However, very much depends on the woman herself, on the way she feels in the family and outside it. If the allocation of responsibilities set forth in a family (an intra-familial gender contract) suits all its members, then that allocation has the right to exist, even if such allocation would look to society unacceptable or however archaic it might seem. The State must secure conditions for the free choice of a model of relations that would be acceptable to all members in each family, without infringing the right of any of them.

Full-time employment and parenthood. The third round of the programme of the European Social Survey⁹⁰ (2006–2007) for the first time included a module aimed at reaching a deeper understanding of the views, widespread among the Europeans, on the organization of an individual's 'life course' and personal life planning strategies. It was found during the survey how much the life course is perceived as a structural sequence of certain stages, what life events mark a transition from one stage to another, whether there are social norms on the development of events in life, and how much certain stereotypes are widespread in society. All the respondents were divided into two populations: the first was asked questions on certain events in the life of women whereas the second was asked about similar cases in the life of men. For example, the respondents were invited to express their opinion on the situation when *a woman has a full-time job while she has children aged under 3*. Other respondents were asked about the similar situation for men. The following answer options were provided for: '*strongly disapprove*;', '*disapprove*;', '*neither approve nor disapprove*;', '*approve*;', '*strongly approve*'. In our opinion, it is the extreme options ('*strongly disapprove*' and '*strongly approve*'), which bear certain flatness of the respondents' answers, most of all reflect the society's willingness to implement the measures that would promote or instead hinder development of certain tendencies. In particular, the approving attitude to the women who decided to combine their maternal responsibilities and occupational employment on the full-time basis to remain competitive in the labour market will promote shaping a policy aimed to support such intentions of women having little children. Categorical disapproval of such behaviour of women will, on the contrary, hinder addressing the problem on the state level for, as already proved by scientists. Gender stereotypes prevent adequate solution of many pressing social problems by making an impact on the examination of such problems⁹¹.

Among European countries, Ukraine stands out due its largest percentage of respondents who strongly disapproved of a woman having a full-time job whilst here child was under the

89 Ayvazova S. Russian women in the labyrinth of equal rights: Essays of political theory and history. Documental materials. – M., 1998 : [Electronic recourse]. – Access mode: <http://www.owl.ru/win/books/rw/index.htm>.

90 The European Social Survey (the ESS) is a biennial multi-country survey covering over 30 nations. The project is funded jointly by the European Commission, the European Science Foundation and academic funding bodies in each participating country, and is designed and carried out to exceptionally high standards (<http://ess.nsd.uib.no/ess/>).

91 Klichko O. I. Gender stereotypes in studying of relevant social problems // Social sciences and modernity, № 6, 2008, p. 160-169.

age of 3. Every fourth respondent from Ukraine shared this opinion. The stereotype claiming that maternity is a woman's top-priority and she must 'sacrifice' her professional and career interests for her child's sake is also more widespread in Ukraine than in other European countries. However, attention is drawn also to the fact that the share of those supporting this view among the respondents invited to express their opinion concerning men was rather low: only 3.8% of them said that they strongly disapprove if a man has a full-time job while he has children under 3 (Fig. 4.1); instead, the share of those who strongly approve such behaviour was one of the highest among the countries involved in the third round of the survey (over 40%). The decision by women with pre-school children to work full time was strongly approved by 5.4% of the respondents. The gender-related tone of judgments on the same question demonstrates 'viability' of perception as a norm of the family model where the husband is the breadwinner and the wife is the homemaker, a keeper responsible for family comfort.

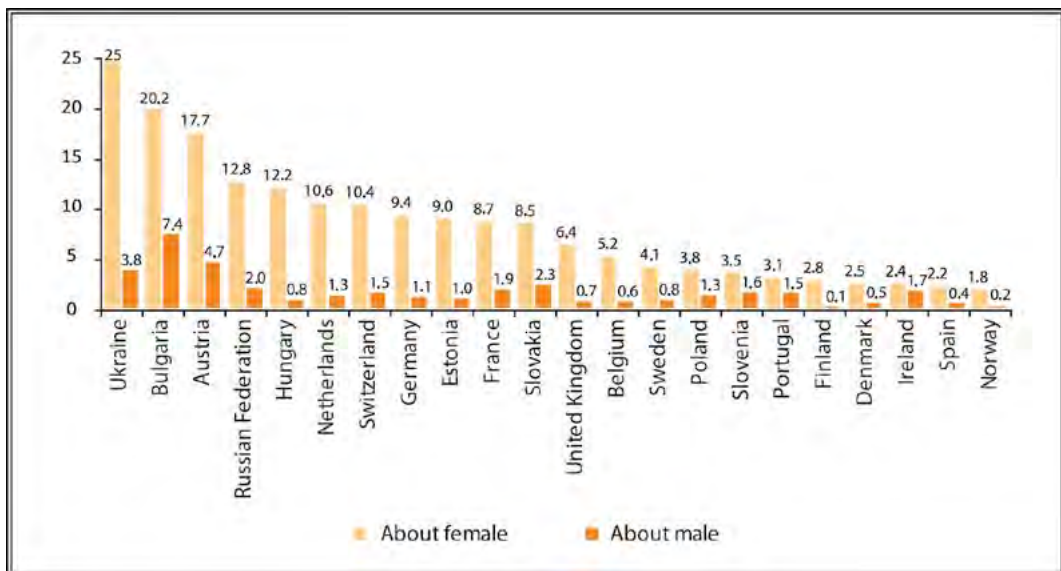


Fig. 4.1. Proportion of respondents, who answered that they 'strongly disapprove', when a woman / man has a full-time job, while having children aged under 3

Source: data of the European Social Survey (<http://ess.nsd.uib.no/ess/round3/>)

In Round 4 of the European Social Survey, the question was formulated in a different way: 'Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: ...A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family'. Here again, it is Ukraine that draws the greatest attention because the share of the respondents who agreed strongly with this statement was the highest among the countries involved in the survey. We decided to consider the answers given by female respondents separately. Unfortunately, the answer breakdown indicates prevalence of women's sacrificial perception of their 'feminine' role in the family: 38% of the women *agreed strongly* that a woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family (another 34% agreed with this view but somewhat less strongly). For comparison: the percentage of women agreeing strongly with this statement in Sweden was only 2%; the figure in Norway was approximately the same; in Germany 6% of the female respondents unquestioningly accepted that a married woman's behaviour must be

precisely that; in Russia, a country with very similar mentality, the percentage of women agreeing strongly that a woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family was 1.5 times less than in Ukraine (Fig. 4.2). The opposite extreme view (*disagree strongly*) on the statement suggested for consideration was only indicated by 3% of women in Ukraine whereas it was chosen by every fourth interviewed woman in the Scandinavian countries, and by every fifth in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

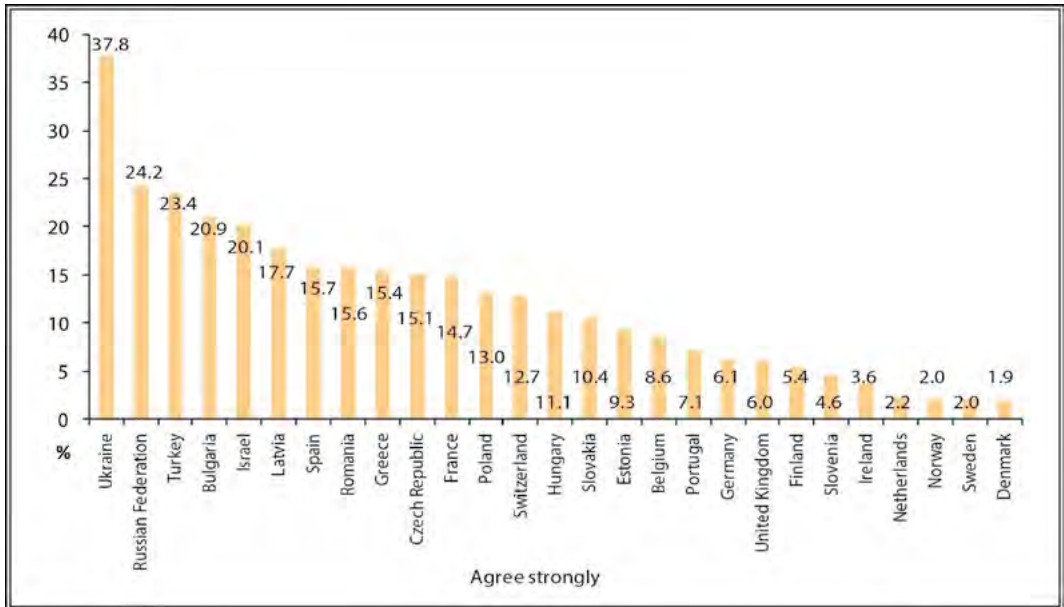


Fig. 4.2. Proportion of respondents (women), answering that they 'strongly agree' with a thesis that a woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family

Source: data of the European Sociological Survey (<http://ess.nsd.uib.no/ess/round4/>)

Among the male respondents in Ukraine, almost 43% agreed strongly that that a woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family. On the other hand, men in the northern European countries did not like such women's behaviour: more than 60% pointed out that they disagree (including strongly) with this statement. In Ukraine, less than 8% of the interviewed men completely gave up the 'female destiny' stereotype.

Who's 'Best in business'? The sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine - 2012', along with other objectives, intended to examine prevalence of some gender-related stereotypes. In particular, respondents were to answer if they agree or disagree with the opinion that '*men generally do business better than women do*'. It was somewhat unexpected that male employers were divided into two almost equal groups: those agreeing (strongly and rather) with this statement and those disagreeing (strongly and rather), although the number of male employers thinking that men generally do business better than women do was considerably greater compared with female ones.

Breakdown of answers given by female employees also differed from that of answers given by

female employers. The latter were more disposed to object to the above-mentioned statement: almost a half of the interviewed female employers said that they *disagree strongly* that men are better than women in business. Most likely, these women's own persistence, purposefulness and ardour convince them that it is these human character features, regardless of sex, that foster successful business. Among the female employees, 40% *disagree strongly* that men are better in business. At the same time, among these women there were considerably more respondents who *agree strongly* or *rather agree* that men generally do business better than women do (Fig. 4.3).

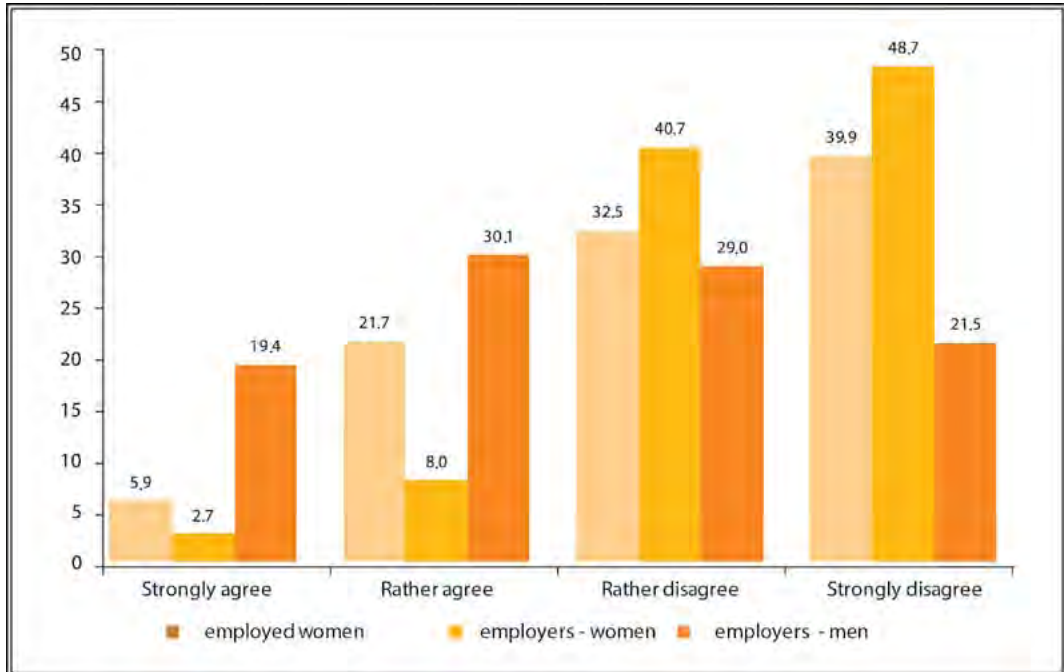


Fig. 4.3. Distribution of answers of respondents related to a thesis that 'men generally do business better than women do',

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological survey 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Jobs – whose priority? Another question had to find out how much women are ready to yield to men in the situation when there is tension in the labour market and there are not enough jobs to meet the whole demand. Difference between answers given by female employees and female employers was minor. Greater divergences were seen in the opinions of female and male employers. The men agreed more often than women that in cases when *there are not enough jobs* it is *men that must have more rights to work than women* (Fig. 4.4).

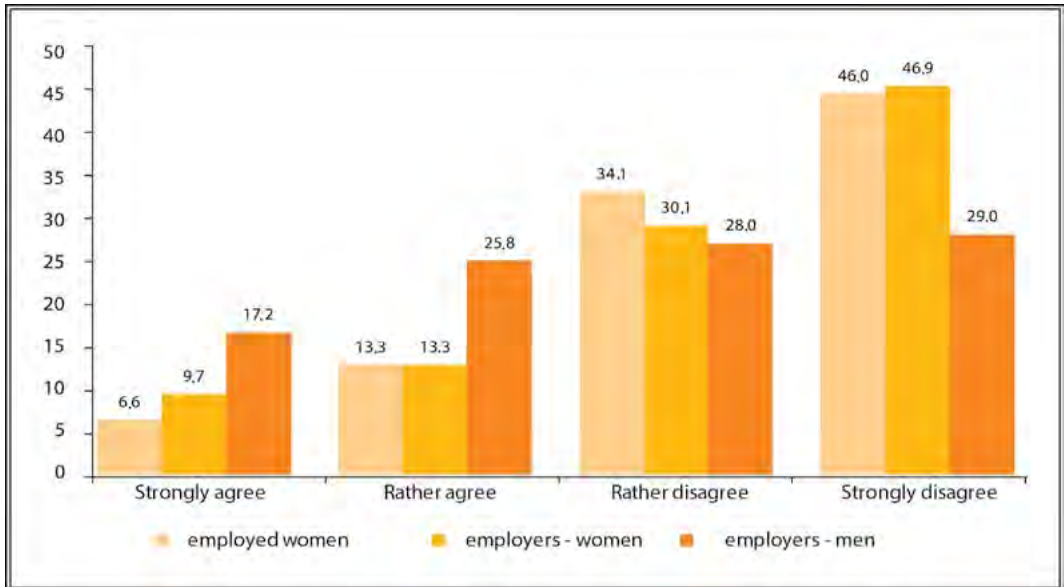


Fig. 4.4. Distribution of answers of respondents to the thesis that 'when there are not enough jobs it is men that must have more rights to work than women';

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological survey 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Attention is drawn to breakdown of answers of the female employees who divorced, separated from, or otherwise ended relationships with their partners. They more often were in complete disagreement with the opinion that the labour market priority in crisis situations must belong to men. Married women were less categorical (Fig. 4.5).

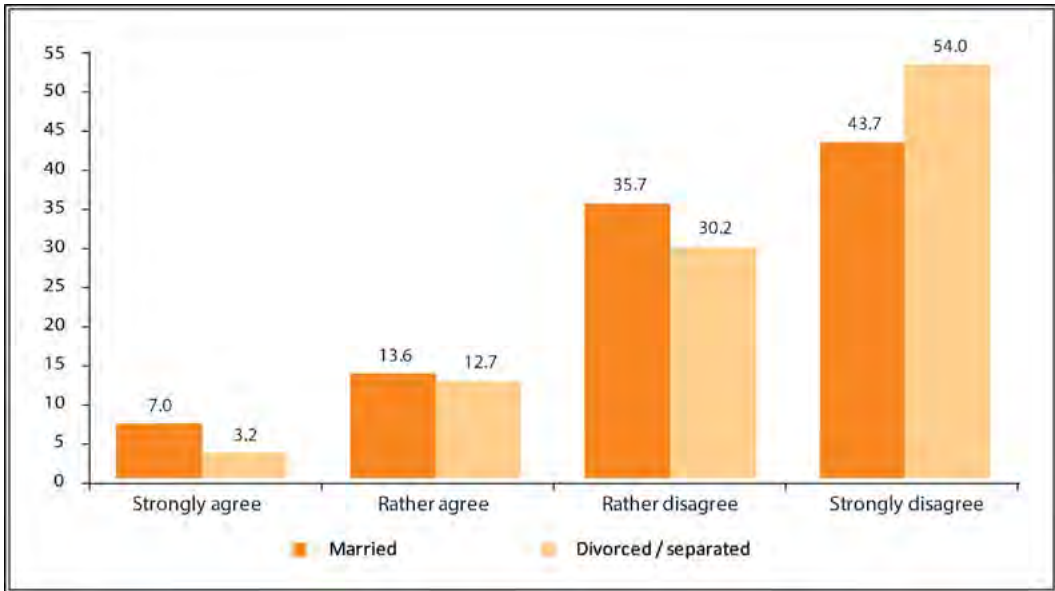


Fig. 4.5. Distribution of answers of employed women with different marital status to the thesis that 'when there are not enough jobs it is men that must have more rights to work than women',

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological survey 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Gender stereotypes persist in marital relations as well. Half of the female employees named the husband as the head of the family, and it is very likely that such an answer was given mainly nodding to the traditions rather than because the husband actually makes all the important decisions in a family. To a certain extent, such an assumption explains the popularity of choosing the husband as the family head among women with a tertiary education. However, women having a tertiary education indicated that both spouses may be equally regarded as the family head somewhat more often than those without tertiary education. Still, the share of such women was considerably less than the share of educated women having patriarchal attitudes (29% and 48-49%, respectively) (Fig. 4.6).

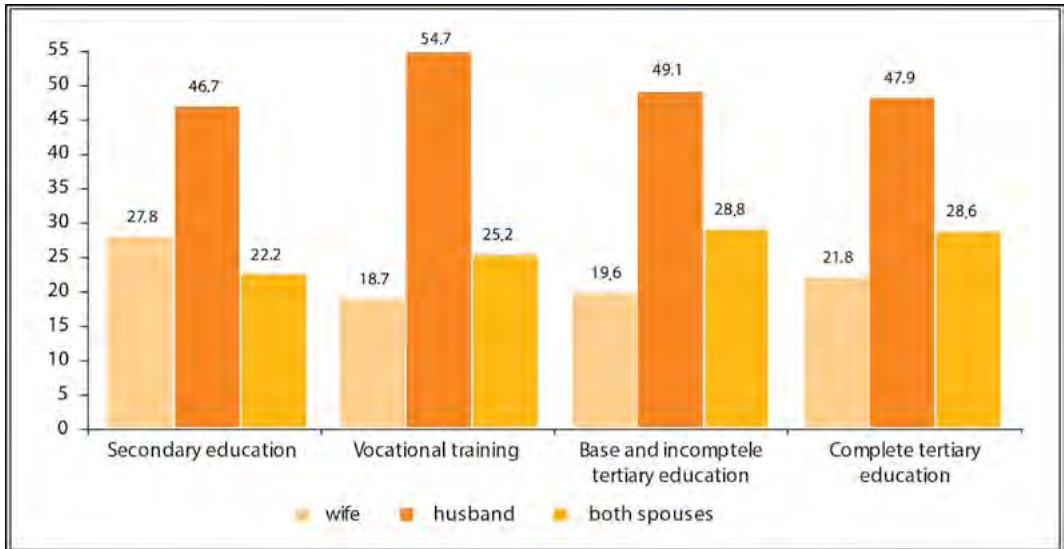


Fig. 4.6. Distribution of answers of employed women to the question 'Who can be considered to be the head in your family?' depending of their education level, % of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological survey 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

The answers given by the female employees to the question 'Who can be considered to be the head in your family?', broken down by the respondents' educational level, also draw attention by the fact that the woman having basic and complete secondary general education most often said it was they who were the family heads whereas they considered equality in the division of power relations in the family to a lesser extent.

It was also interesting to examine the breakdown of answers concerning who is the family head given by respondents with different forms of marital relations. For example, the women adhering to new tendencies in the marital relations development (e.g. living with a partner without official registration of marriage) most often named themselves as the family head. Meanwhile, the women observing public standards (e.g. mandatory registration of marriage) were also consistent in recognizing the model with the husband being the family head as a 'norm' (Fig. 4.7).

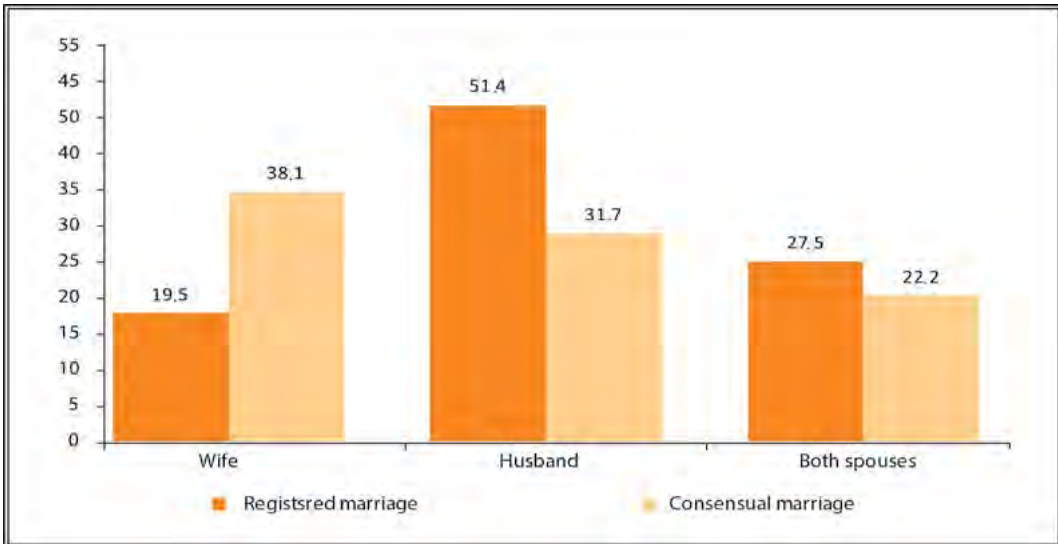


Fig. 4.7. Distribution of answers of employed women to the question 'Who can be considered to be the head in your family?' by their marital status,

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological survey 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Most attention in gender-related subjects is focused on the issues related to distribution of housework. Even in the first stage of a married couple's life cycle, when they don't yet have children, housework already does not come to simple self-servicing like young people having no family do. Sociological surveys among working women, conducted from time to time, show that already in the beginning of the family life the time devoted by a woman to housework increases considerably (compared to a pre-marriage period). Mastering the housekeeper's role in early family life is often treated as a pleasant responsibility, but examination of subsequent periods demonstrates that the growing volume of housework with time often turns into a heavy burden that reduces the time of rest and cultural leisure considerably⁹².

The sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine - 2012' aimed to find out how respondents treated doing housework. In particular, the respondents were invited to express their opinion concerning the statement 'Being a housewife is the same job as a job for money'. A half of female employees agreed with this statement; every fourth was disposed to rather agree than disagree; almost 12% rather disagreed, and another 14% strongly disagreed. Unlike the female employees, the female employers were less sure that the statement was true; they doubted to a greater extent than others that **being a housewife is the same job as a job for money**. Meanwhile, male employers, on the contrary, said more often that they strongly agreed with this view (Fig. 4.8). Unfortunately, it is still unknown how the respondents putting no equal sign between housework and paid work estimate the former: whether they regard unpaid housework as harder (routine, burdensome, uninspiring) than occupational activities, or, on the contrary they treat it as considerably easier, simpler and not demanding efforts.

⁹² Gordon L. Gruzdeva. Way of life of a young family // Young family. Issue. 18. – M.: Statistica, 1977. – p. 34–46.

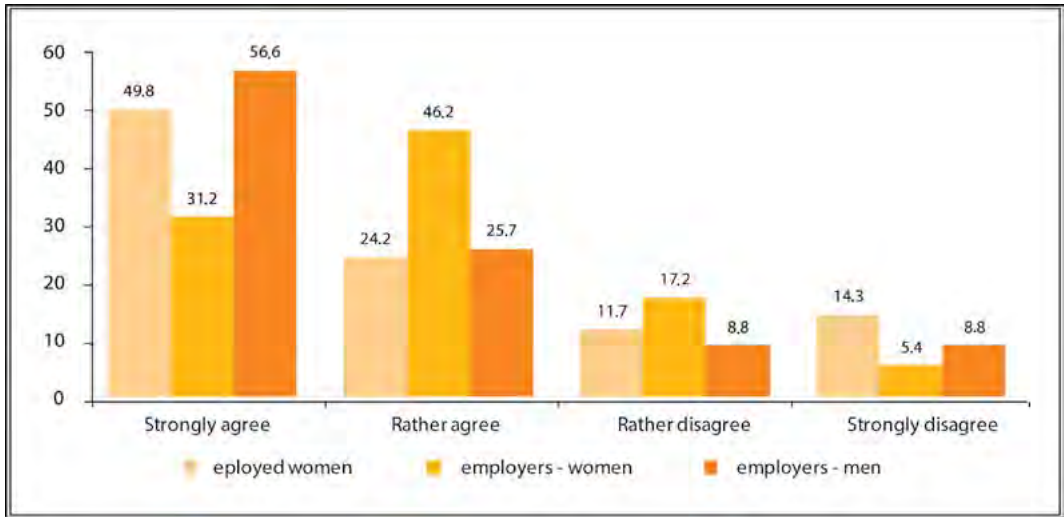


Fig. 4.8. Distribution of answers of respondents on a thesis that 'being a housewife is the same job as a job for money',

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological survey 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

In general, the study proved presence of close dependencies between peculiarities of matrimonial and reproductive activity of women and their behaviour at the labour market. On the one hand, as distribution of answers of respondents –women revealed, married women are characterized by more active position at the labour market than women, who have never been married. In turn, women with children spend more time on paid as compared with women, who have not realized their maternal duties yet; probably, it results from their intention to reach better living standards for their families. On the other side, presence of family responsibilities can be regarded as important barrier, limiting opportunities of women's professional growth and restricting their career aspirations and expectations. The results of sociological questioning proved this assumption, as they revealed excessive women's burden of household work and presence of unequal distribution of home duties between women and men. Moreover, gender stereotypes in the field of family relations are also more wide-spread in Ukraine in comparison with other countries of Europe.

4.2. Influence of family and parenthood on women's behaviour at the labour market

Peculiarities of women's employment depending on maternity. A characteristic feature of women's modern matrimonial and childbearing behaviour consists of a shift in the age of marriage and first child birth towards an older level. The most likely young women first of all try to acquire education, master an occupation, make certain steps in their professional career, prove themselves as experts, and then, feeling themselves competitive in the labour market, realize themselves in motherhood. Marriage and parenthood have an impact on men and women particularly in relation to labour market participation. The vector and strength of such impact are not univocal and sustainable, and they require special research.

Gender statistics on employment in the countries of Europe prove that having children for women results in their lower employment in the labour market, while it makes some kind of a stimulus of labour activity for men. Thus, the rate of employment of mothers is 12.1 percent lower than that of women without children, while the rate for fathers is 8.7 percent higher than that for men without children⁹³. Ukraine makes no exception, according to estimations based on the Labour Force Survey in 2011, employment of Ukrainian women without children was much higher than that of women with children. Regarding European countries, the largest gap in the rates of employment between women without children and women with children was observed in Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia (more than 25 percent); a large gap was also common for Estonia, Germany, United Kingdom (16–19 percent). The gap was relative small in Portugal, Lithuania, the Netherlands, while Slovenia was the only country, where mother's employment rate was higher than the rate of employment of women without children (Fig. 4.9). Regarding Ukraine, the gap in employment rates between women with children and women without children was 12.7 percent in 2011.

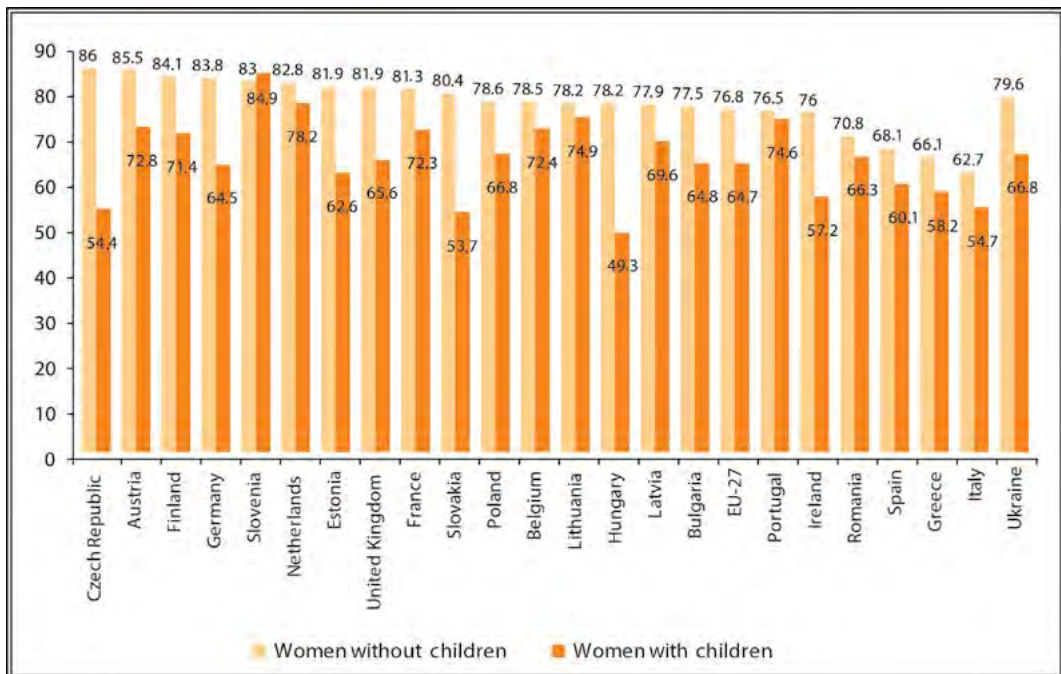


Fig. 4.9. Employment rates of women aged 25-49, depending on whether they have children (under 12 in the EU countries, under 15 in Ukraine)

Source: Reference by Progress on Equality between Women and Men in 2011. Accompanying the document Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions 2011, p. 54; for Ukraine: calculated based on the Labour Force Survey in 2011

Figure 4.10 clearly demonstrates a decline in the rate of employment of Ukrainian women dependant on the number of children: while the rate of employment of women aged 25-49,

⁹³ Progress on Equality between Women and Men in 2011. Accompanying the document Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions 2011. p. 54.

having only one child, is approaches 70%, the rate of employment of women of the same age group with four children or more was only about 40% in 2011. Moreover, the last group of women with children was characterized by the largest decline in employment rate in comparison with 2007; this probably reflects the echo of financial-economic crisis impact. It can be suggested that negative consequences for female employment were reflected on women with many children in the first turn.

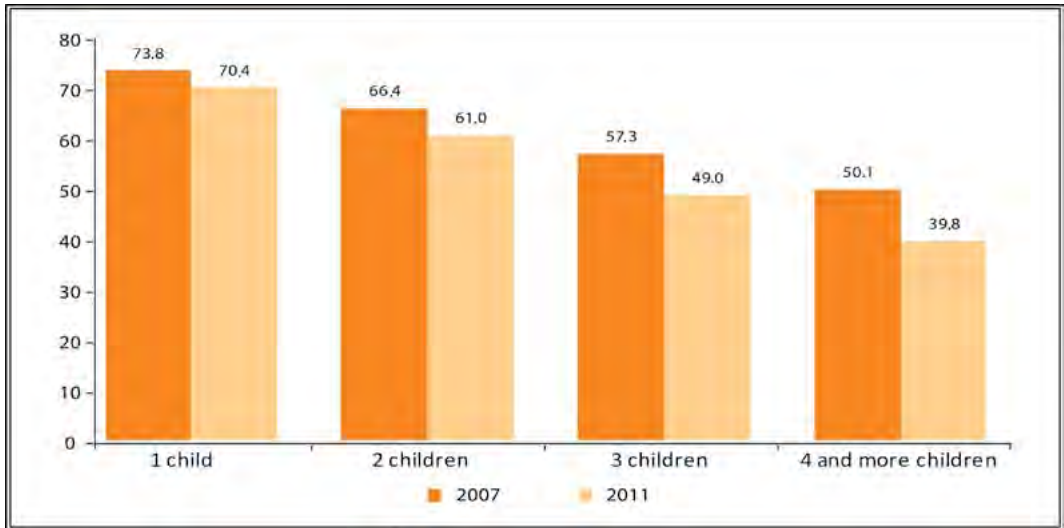


Fig. 4.10. Employment rate of women aged 25–49 dependant on the number of children, Ukraine, 2011, %

Source: Labour Force Survey

The program of sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine - 2012' also provided an opportunity to reveal some important peculiarities of this dependency: though women with children are characterized by generally lower rates of employment in the labour market, in the end, namely this group of women spends much more time on paid work, compared with women without children.

Time spent on paid work. First of all, it is important to find out how marriage or divorce affects women's employment, particularly time spent on occupational activities. Answers given by respondents with different marital statuses to the question 'How much time do you spend on paid work per week on average?' showed that a marriage is accompanied by an increase in the time spent on paid work: among women who had never been married, 48.3% worked for 40 and more hours per week whereas among those married, the same amount of time was spent by almost 56%; women in consensual marriage devoted to income-generating work even more time than those having formalized their relations with the husband. The largest share of those spending 40 and more hours per week on paid work was found among separated women (widows, divorced, or separated) – 64.6% (Fig. 4.11). It can be assumed that care for children (an overwhelming majority of such respondents had children), aspiration for securing their future, and minor assistance from ex-husbands – and sometimes even lack of any financial support from outside at all – force women to work for more time.

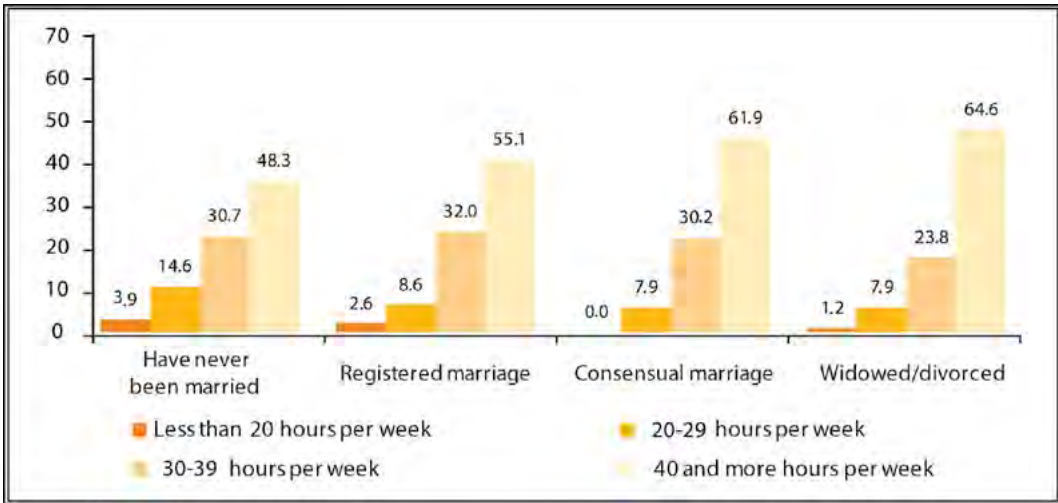


Fig. 4.11. Distribution of employed women with various marital status by answers on a question 'How much time do you spend on paid work as on average?,'

% of corresponding groups of respondents

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

The next step in the study was aimed at finding out how the presence and number of children affects women's time spent on paid work – whether it reduces this time (because of the need for allocating time to childcare) or if on the contrary, children are a kind of 'incentive' for greater time spent on work in order to increase earnings and better provide for the family. Analysis showed that female respondents with children spent more time on paid work than those without. In addition to this it was found that not only a 'qualitative shift' (assuming a mother's role) but also 'quantitative changes' (increase in the quantity of children) stipulate the need for greater earnings and, hence, for more time spent on paid work. It can be especially clearly seen in the set of the women interviewed having several children: two-thirds of them spent 40 and more hours per week on paid work (among women without children, this group made up less than a half) (Fig. 4.12).

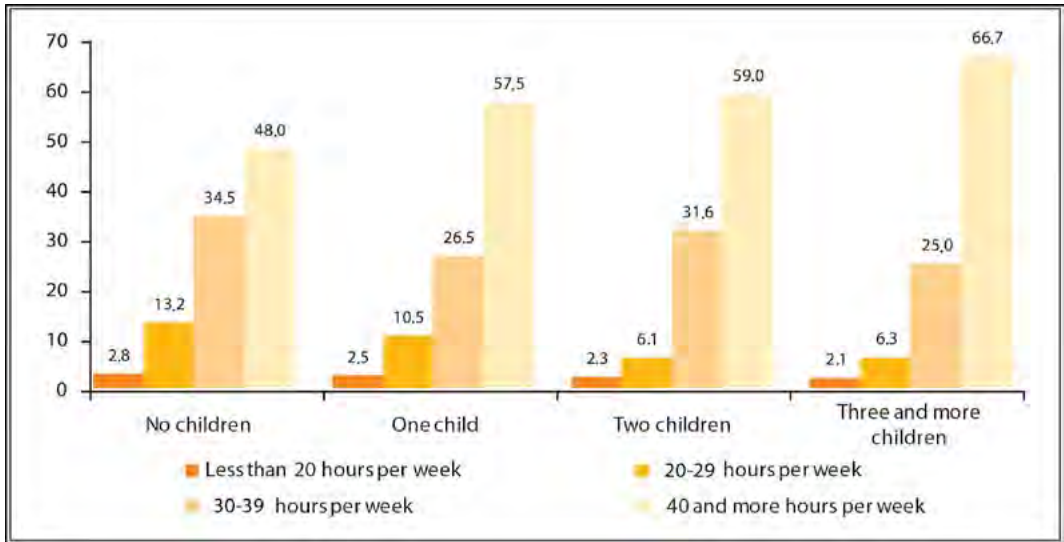


Fig. 4.12. Distribution of answers of employed women with different numbers of children on a question related to time spent on paid work, % of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Similar peculiarities in the time spent on paid work depending on marriage and family status were also seen among female employers: among the married respondents, the percentage of those spending 40 and more hours per week on occupational activities was greater than the figure for 'never-married' female employers but lower than that among widowed and divorced women. It should also be noted that in each case the share of those employed for 40 and more hours per week among the employers was greater than among the employees. For example, three of the four women-employers who were left without a husband for various reasons and never got married again spend 40 and more hours per week on paid work (Fig. 4.13).

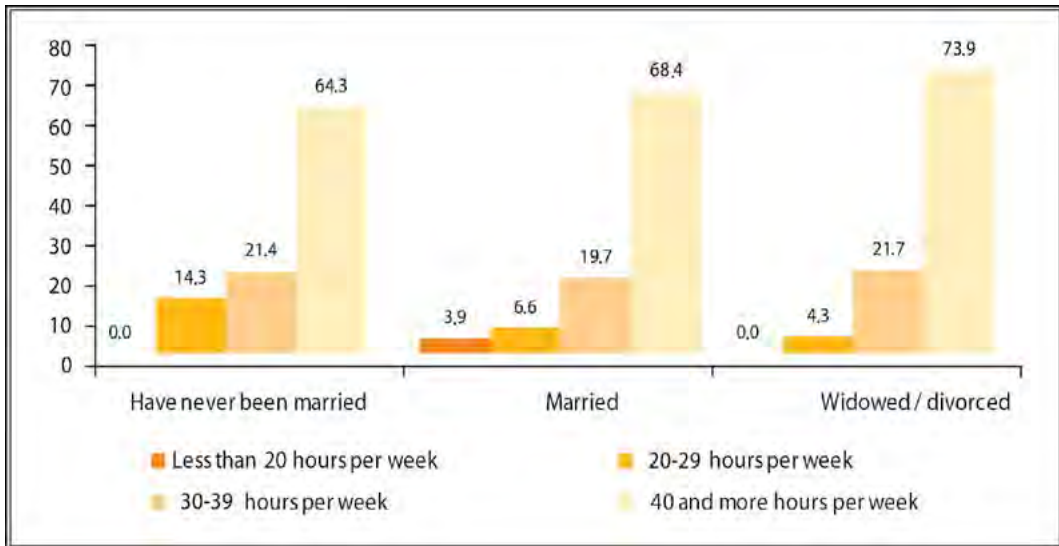


Fig. 4.13. Distribution of answers of employers-women with different marital status related to time spent on paid work,

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Answers given by the female employees to the question 'How much are you satisfied with your work as a whole?' varied depending on the number of their children. The respondents having no children were more disposed to say they were not satisfied whereas those having three or more children, on the contrary, more often indicated they were satisfied (even 'completely satisfied') with their work (Fig. 4.14). Among the mothers with three or more children satisfied with their work, 64% spent 40 and more hours per week on paid work; among those having two children and satisfied with their work, 60% were employed for 40 and more hours; the figure for the female respondents having one child was 57%. This illustration demonstrates once again that the links between a women's behaviour in the labour market and her generative activity (childbirth, care, education, socialization of children) cannot be described in terms of a simple model (because from the perspective of a women's 'principal mission' – maternity – it is more logical to expect that a greater quantity of children would result in less employment and lead to a lower level of satisfaction with paid work). It is necessary to examine how much women in Ukraine are satisfied with the conditions for reconciling their occupational activities and maternal responsibilities; what brings satisfaction with their work and what, on the contrary, prevents them from feeling it; whether the women satisfied with their work also feel the same satisfaction with performance of their maternal responsibilities; and other issues.

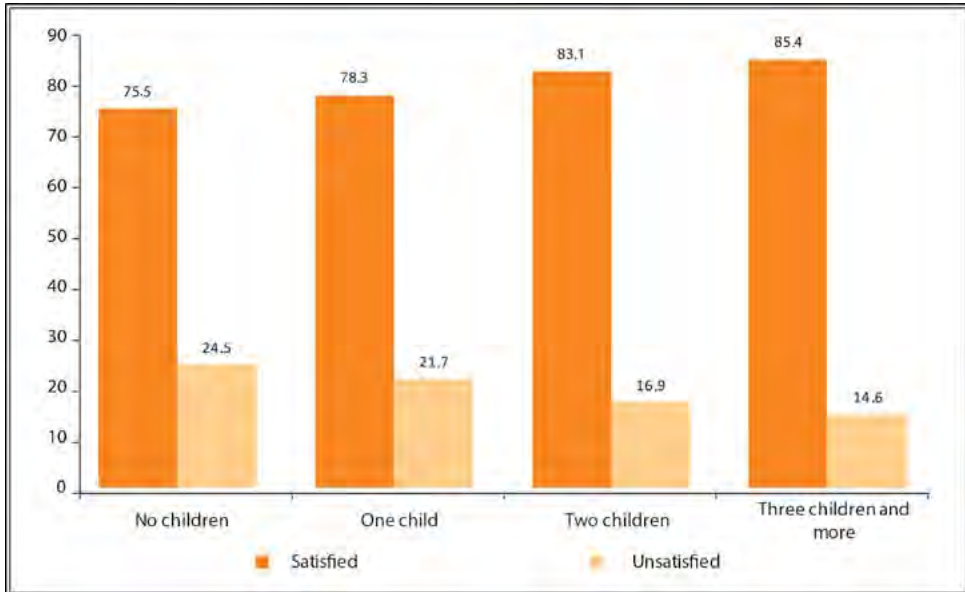


Fig. 4.14. Distribution of answers of employed women with different number of children on a question related to their satisfying with job,
% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

4.3. Family responsibilities of women as a disincentive for professional growth

Professional fulfilment. Working women were asked: 'Do you think that you realize your professional potential in your current position to the full extent?'. Almost 70% of the women described the situation positively: 32.3% were completely sure of that ('yes, completely' answers) and 37.4% were more disposed to agree than to object ('rather yes than no' answers). 26.6% of the respondents remained dissatisfied with the state of affairs in their professional realization in their current positions; 8.3% expressed extreme dissatisfaction ('no, I realize it to a very insignificant extent').

In the list of the reasons hindering women to realize themselves in the occupational field in their current positions to a greater extent, '**having children**' ranked fourth in terms of the frequency of choosing this reason by the respondents as the most important one (8.5%). Rather often the respondents indicated this reason when they described less important reasons for being dissatisfied with their professional realization.

In this connection, a need arises to analyze the opinions of the women engaged in labour activities and having different quantities of children as far as the extent of their realization is concerned. If we combine the answer options 'yes, completely' and 'rather yes than no' into the group of *positive* answers, and the options 'rather no than yes' and 'no, I realize it to a very insignificant extent', we will see that, as the number of respondents' children grows, the percentage of women disposed to believe that they realize their professional potential in full extent also increases (Fig. 4.15). The results obtained are rather logical if we take account of the time spent on paid work by women with different numbers of children: it is among the respondents having three

children that the percentage of those spending 40 and more hours per week on work was the largest, whereas more time spent on occupational activities can positively affect the realization of personal potentials in this realm of life. At the same time, one needs to take consideration of the older age of the said female group compared to those never married. Unfortunately, a small sample size does not allow determining a 'net' effect of the motherhood status on women's professional realization.

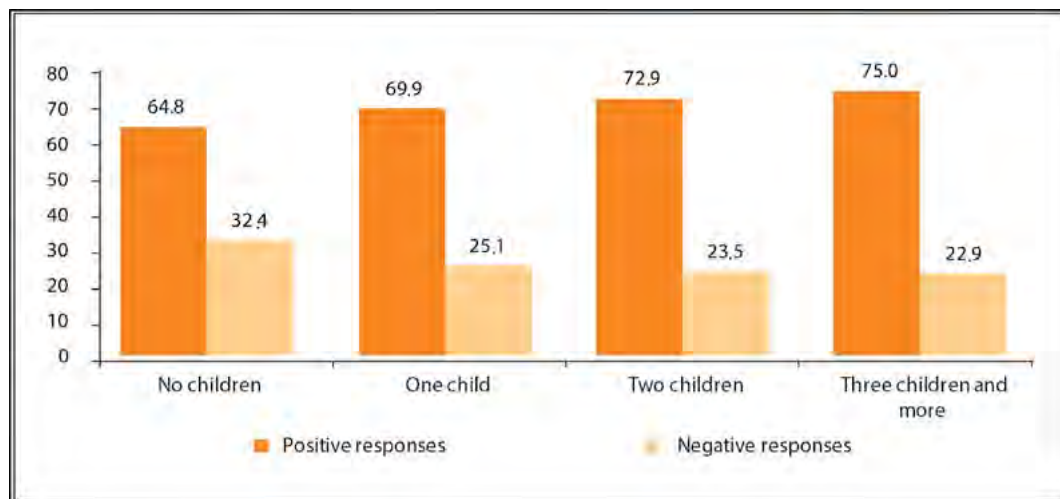


Fig. 4.15. Distribution of answers of employed women on questions related to full realization of their professional potential at the current position,

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Unrealized career aspirations. The respondents were also invited to express their opinion on opportunities for greater professional realization ('Do you currently have any unrealized career aspirations for greater professional realization?'). Every fifth interviewed woman was completely satisfied with her present situation; the same share of the respondents expressed an opposite stand: realization of career aspirations for greater professional realization was of top priority to them. 21.5% of the women pointed out that they had no career aspirations at that time because 'it is not very important' to them. One-third of the respondents reported having unrealized career aspirations for greater professional realization but mentioned at the same time that 'it is not very important' to them (thus, one should not count on any initiative on their part; most likely, they will only make use of favourable circumstances as chance offers but will not apply special efforts).

The aspirations for greater professional realization and the perception of unrealized career potential greatly varied among respondents with different numbers of children. For example, the respondents not yet having children most often indicated that greater professional realization was a top priority to them whereas the share of those satisfied with their current situation was the lowest. Since this group is mainly made up of young respondents aged 20-28, this confirms gradual transformation of the matrimonial and childbearing behaviour model according to which young people try to make certain steps in their professional realization first and then set about generative activities. Child birth changes a woman's system of priorities: children were specified as a very important value by 56% of the women not yet having children and 97% of

the respondents with children. However, as far as women having one child are concerned, career aspirations, though not of top priority (not very important compared to the value of the family and children), are taken into consideration. Birth of the second and every next child consolidates children's priority for the woman and shifts her career aspirations to the background, or even causes her to give up greater realization of her professional potential (this is proven by a growing choice frequency of such answers as 'rather no, it is not very important to me' and 'no, I am fully satisfied with my current situation') (Fig. 4.16).

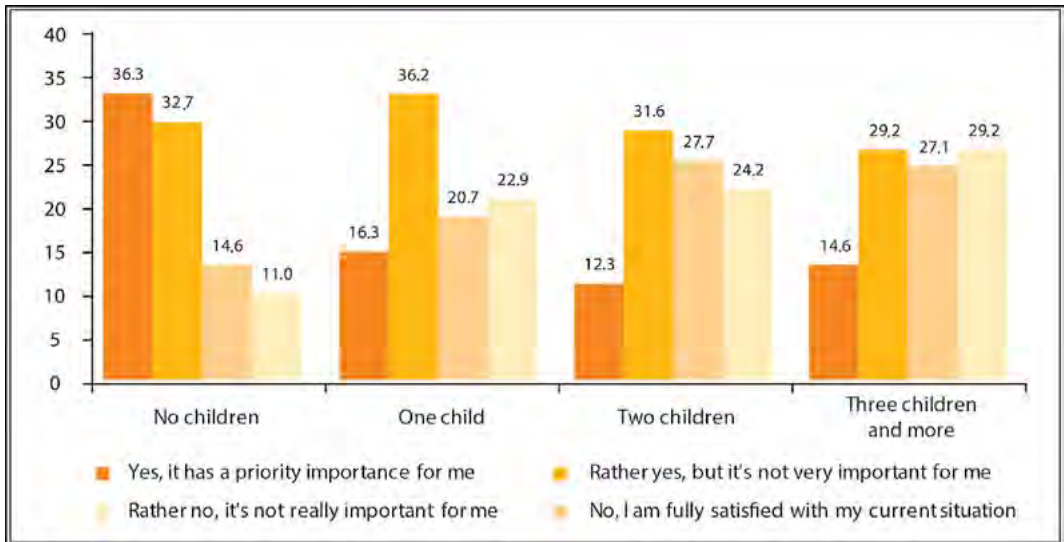


Fig. 4.16. Distribution of answers of respondents with various numbers of children on a question about importance of their unrealized career aspirations related to further professional realization,

% of the corresponding group of respondents

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Most important conditions for further professional fulfilment. Unrealized career aspirations indicate existence of certain obstacles or absence of conditions and motivation for active steps as regards further professional realization. The problem of low wages, often insufficient not only to maintain a family but also to reproduce one's own workforce, manifested itself in an extremely high percentage of the respondents to whom 'higher earnings' were the most important condition for further professional realization (the first option in answers to the question '**What exactly is important to you from the perspective of further professional realization**') – two-thirds of the interviewed women pointed to this option. However, there is a certain variation in answers between the respondents with parental experience and those not yet having such experience. For example, to the women bringing up children, the labour remuneration issues were of greater importance than to those not yet being mothers. As far as career growth aspirations are concerned ('a higher-level position, greater managerial powers'), this was more often reported by childless (as of the time of the questionnaire) respondents. Moreover, as the number of children increased, interest in a higher-level position and greater managerial powers decreased although generally the share of those viewing this condition as the most important one from the perspective of further professional realization is small (Fig. 4.17).

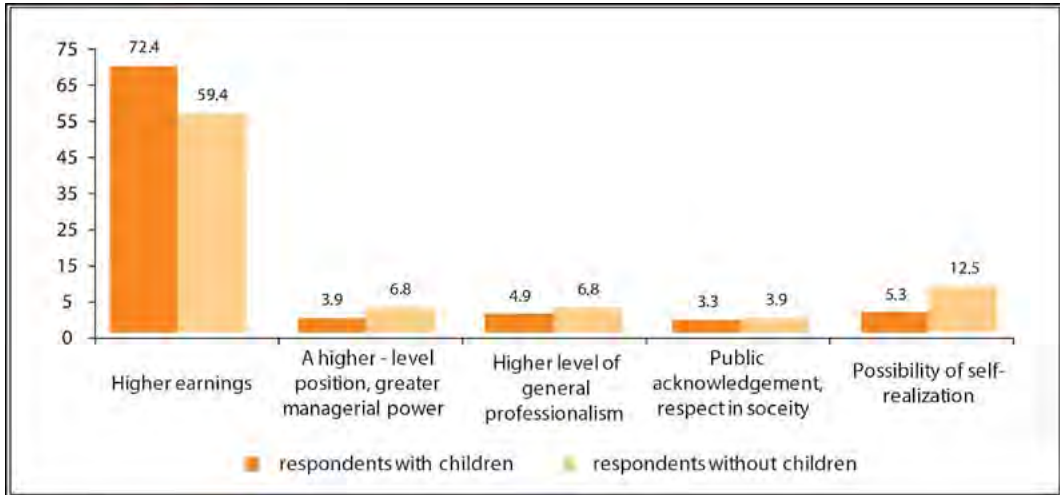


Fig. 4.17. Distribution of answers of respondents (employed women) with children and without children on a question 'What exactly is important to you from the perspective of further professional realization?', % of the corresponding group of respondents
 Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Gender features of reconciling paid work and housework. The greater engagement in housekeeping work among female respondents than among their male counterparts suggests that, perhaps, despite both women and men acted as employers, the female employers were less loaded with professional, paid work than the male employers. To verify this assumption, a population of respondents engaged in paid work for 40 and more hours per week was separately considered. However, in that case the gender-related features in the distribution of time spent on housekeeping (household work) remained as well. Among the female employers spending 40 and more hours per week on paid work, 16% spared in addition more than 20 hours per week for housework, and 36% spent between 10-20 hours per week on domestic cares while the shares of those with similar engagement among the men were 2% and 12%, respectively (Fig. 4.18).

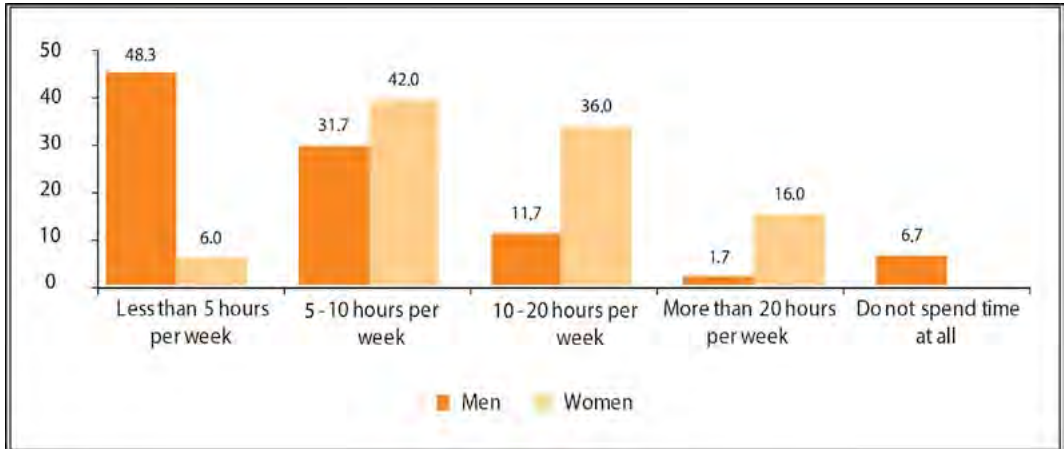


Fig. 4.18. Distribution of respondents (employers), who spend on paid work more than 40 hours a week as on average, by time spent on household work a week, % of the corresponding group

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Time spent on housework: gender differentiation among employers. Distribution of time spent on housekeeping or on household work greatly varies among the employer respondents depending on their gender. Among the interviewed male employers, almost a half (48.4%) informed that they spent less 5 hours per week on housekeeping; less than one-third (31.2%) of the men spend 5-10 hours per week on work related to setting up home; 11.8% are engaged in such work for 10-20 hours per week. Interesting is the fact that some male employers pointed out with certainty that they did not spend time on housekeeping (household work) whereas there were no such individuals among female respondents at all. The largest share of the female employers spends 5-10 hours per week on housework (37.2%); almost 30% are engaged in domestic cares for 10-20 hours per week (Fig. 4.19).

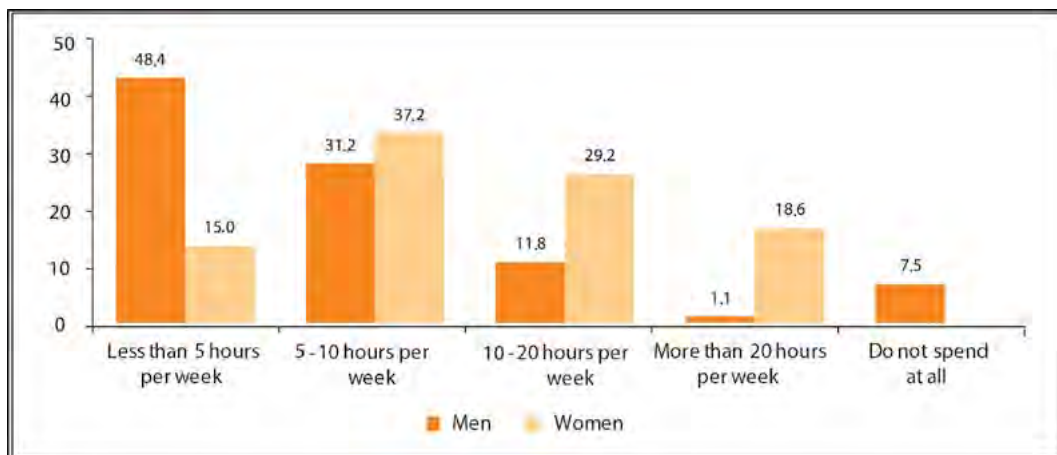


Fig. 4.19. Distribution of respondents (employers) by amount of time spent on housekeeping / household work a week, % of the corresponding group

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

Time spent on housework and power relations in family. According to the respondents' answers, among the working women officially and unofficially married, 30% indicated that they and their husbands spent the same time on housekeeping; 64% of the women reported spending considerably more time on housekeeping (household work) than their husbands; and only 6% admitted that the time they spend on housework is less than that spent by their husbands. In this regard, there is special interest arising in the distribution of roles in the families of those respondents whose time spent on housework is greater than that of their husbands, particularly the question is whom such women consider to be the head in their family. As results of analysis showed, the amount of time spent on domestic accomplishment has no impact upon the power position in a family: despite women spent much more time on housekeeping (household work) than their husbands, the overwhelming majority both among female employees and employers named just their husband as the family head. The rest of such women were ready to acknowledge that both spouses could be equally regarded as the family head. Only every fifth married woman combined considerable (greater than her husband's) time spent on housework with the leading position in the family (Fig. 4.20).

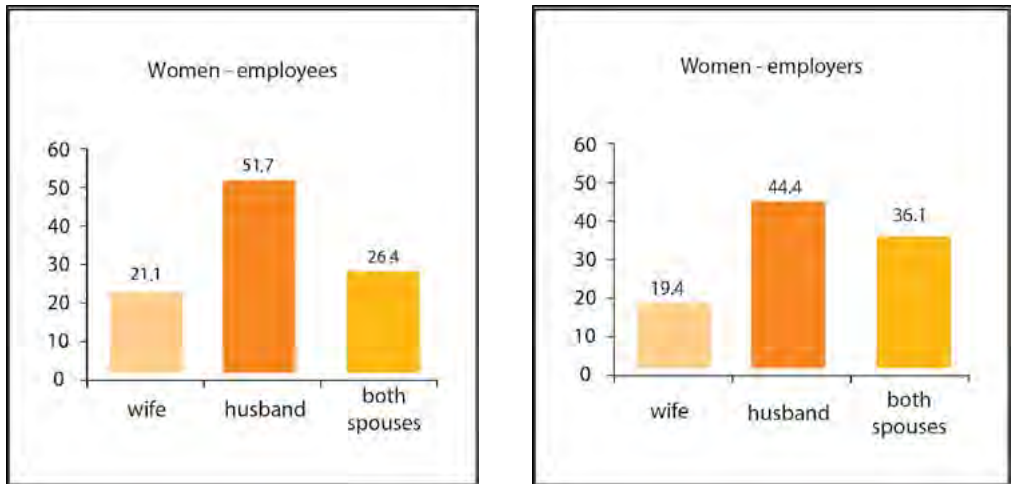


Fig. 4.20. Distribution of answers of married women, who spent much more time at household work in comparisons with their husbands, on a question, whom they consider a head of a family, % of the corresponding group

Source: sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine', 2012

4.4. Directions of harmonization of parenthood and professional interests of workers

Development of social services market. Development of the market of social services on care and education of children of the pre-school age is among directions, which would favour creation of conditions for non-painful combination of family obligations and professional interests. Its largest segment is provided by children's preschool institutions. Attendance of kindergartens facilitate development of communicative skills of children, creates and enriches their experience of collective work, but the work in groups usually does not favour to consideration of individual capacities of each child and his/her personal character. If we investigate other forms of children's education in details (for instance, exclusively home education by parents, involvement of grandparents or some outside persons, such as a nanny, to education, etc.), each of these forms can be characterized as some advantages, as some disadvantages at the same time. To reveal, which form of education is most acceptable for population, a special question was included to the program of a sample survey 'Family and family relations, 2009'⁹⁴; the respondents were proposed to think independently of their special family situations, when decisions are made under pressure of certain life circumstances such as financial opportunities of a family, presence of grandparents and relations with them, housing conditions, etc., and to answer with regard to their preferences only (the questions started with a specification 'if you had the opportunity to choose...'). The next variants of responses were proposed: to provide exclusively home education by parents / one of parents); to provide exclusively home education by a grandmother /grandfather; to provide home education together with part-time enrolment to a kindergarten; full-day in kindergarten and home education under supervising of a nanny/governess.

The majority of respondents answered that the best form of children's education is found in combining of home education of children and their socialization in the collective of the same

⁹⁴ A detailed description of the survey is presented in: 'Family and family relations in Ukraine: present state and trends of development.' - K.: 'Osнова-Print', 2009. - 248 p.

aged children during some part of a day, which could be provided by a flexible work hours of kindergartens. This opinion was supported by 43.3% of respondents (the question was asked only to respondents with children under 18). A group of women, who had paid work at the time of the survey, was separated in framework of the current research. Of them, almost a half responded that home education of children with a part-time attendance of kindergartens is the best form of education; one fourth of them responded that the best way is to leave children in kindergartens for the whole day (Fig. 4.21). Moreover, differentiation between distribution of answers of working women and women, who did not work at the time of the survey, as well as between women with tertiary education and women with lower education levels, turned out to be statistically insignificant.

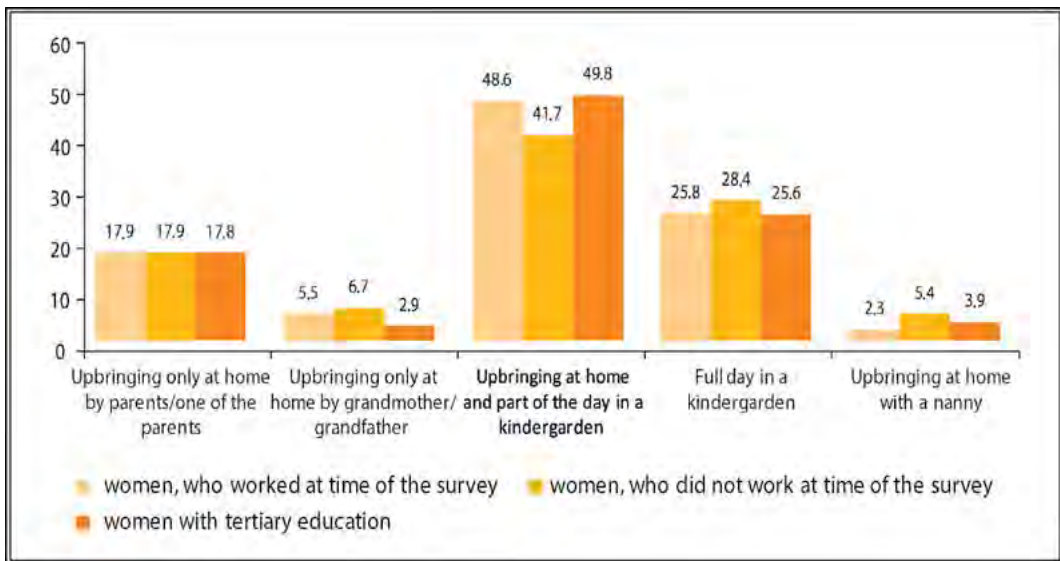


Fig. 4.21. Opinion of working and non-working women on the best form of educating of children of the preschool age,

% of respondents with children of the respective group.

Source: special sample population survey 'Family and family relations in Ukraine, 2009'

The answer, suggesting home education under supervising of a nanny/governess, received extremely low support of the respondents – only 2-3% of them selected this option. To some degree, it correlates with the results of sociological questioning 'Women's labour force participation in Ukraine - 2012', which revealed that only 2.6% of women, working a employees responded that they regularly or rather often use paid services of childcare. On the one side, this situation reflects poor development of this sphere at the market of social services, on the other hand, it can be regarded as a factor, hindering such development (a low level of demand on the paid services of nannies, governesses, educators). Thus, there is a need to find out why the Ukrainian women, who try to combine maternity duties and professional interests, do not use paid services on caring of children (at least, to define the determining factor: low quality of services, inconsistency between quality and price, problems with territorial access (or time access related to working time schedule of such firms); distrust; low level (or absence) of guarantees of security

and appropriate providing of services; insufficient legislative norms on protection of consumers in case of conflict situations, etc.).

Children's education at home with part-time attendance of kindergartens was chosen as the best form of education by 46.2% of urban respondents and 36.7% of rural respondents. A large share of rural respondents supported also full-time education of children in kindergartens (38.3% of respondents with children in rural area against 24.7% of respondents with children in urban settlements). Home education under supervising of an outside person (nanny/governess) had the smallest number of supporters as in rural area, as in urban settlements. But, education of children by grandmothers or grandfathers only was not regarded as optimal variant as well (Fig. 4.22).

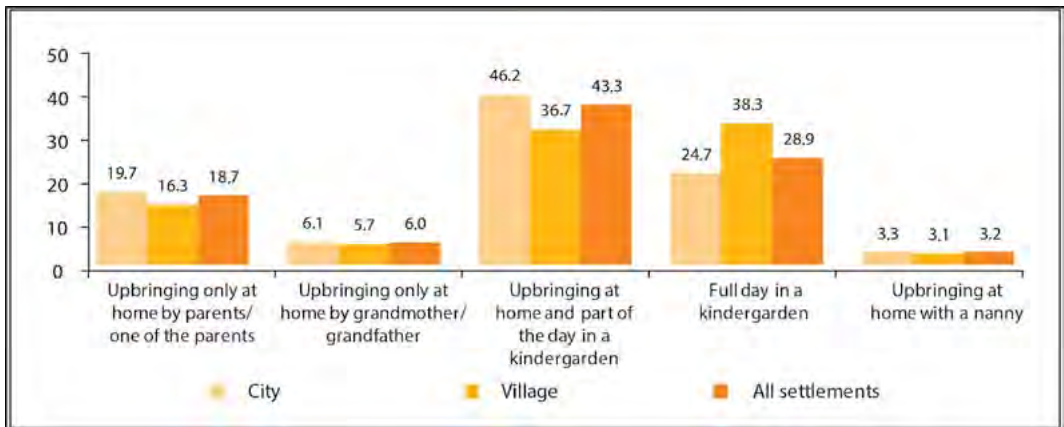


Fig. 4.22. Opinion of respondents from settlements of different types on the best form of education of children of the preschool age,

% of respondents with children of the respective groups.

Source: special sample population survey 'Family and family relations in Ukraine, 2009'

Large support of children's education in preschool institutions (as part-time, as full-time) by rural respondents proves a further demand in such institutions, which is currently unsatisfied in rural area. The official statistics show that rates of children's enrolment to preschool institutions still are twice lower than the rates in urban settlements, though they are characterized by a trend to a gradual increase (only 17% of rural children attended kindergartens in 2001, while this proportion increased to 27% in 2005 and to 36% in 2011) (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Some characteristics of children's preschool institutions in Ukraine

	1995	2001	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of institutions, thousand, of which	21.4	15.7	15.1	15.3	15.4	15.5	15.6	16.1
in urban settlements	10.5	7.1	6.7	6.6	6.7	6.7	6.7	6.8
in rural area	10.9	8.6	8.4	8.7	8.7	8.8	8.9	9.3
Children's coverage with preschool institutions, %, of which	44	41	51	54	54	53	53	57
in urban settlements	53	55	64	66	66	64	64	67
in rural area	28	17	27	31	32	31	32	36
Attendance rate of institutions, children per 100 places, of which	76	90	98	105	108	108	112	116
in urban settlements	84	100	109	116	119	119	123	126
in rural area	57	58	68	75	78	79	83	89

Source: *Preschool institutions in Ukraine in 2011. Statistical Bulletin.* – K., 2012

Rural kindergartens are also less full when compared with kindergartens in urban settlements (in 2011, the respective occupancy rates were 89 and 126 persons per 100 places). Low occupancy rate in rural kindergartens during a long period provided grounds for an assumption that rural residents prefer other forms of education, while kindergartens are in a low demand. The survey 'Family and family relations, 2009' changed this opinion, as rural respondents were interested in such a form of children's education even more than urban dwellers. Low enrolment rates in preschool institutions and low occupancy rates could be explained by complications with access, in particular with territorial one, to these institutions. This thesis is proved by statistics on the number preschool institutions, in which the number of children exceeds the number of places. Though there are much fewer such institutions in rural area in comparison with urban settlements, they still make up to 41.2% of the total rural kindergartens in 2011 (in urban settlements extra-high occupancy rates were observed in each three of four institutions). Moreover, if we look at the structure of preschool institutions, in which the number of children exceeds the number of places, the largest share is formed by institutions where there are more than 130 children per 100 places; the rural-urban gap is insignificant by this indicator (62% in urban settlements and 61% in rural area). A comparison of indicators, characterising extra-high occupancy rates in preschool institutions, during the recent years, demonstrates as an increase in the number of such institutions, as in their 'extra-occupancy' (a share of preschool institutions with more than 130 children per 100 places) (Fig. 4.23).

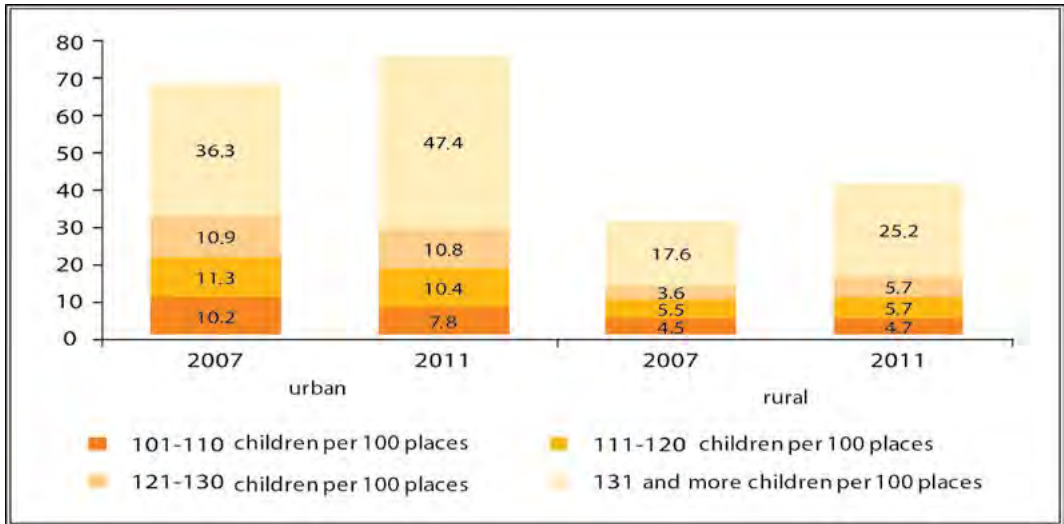


Fig. 4.23. Proportion of preschool institutions, in which the number of children exceeds the number of available places, % of the total institutions in respective settlements

Source: *Preschool institutions in Ukraine in 2007. Statistical Bulletin. Derzhstat, 2008; Preschool institutions in Ukraine in 2011. Statistical Bulletin. Derzhstat, 2012*

In general, 78.7% of children enrolled into the system of preschool education attended institutions, in which the number of children exceeded the number places. Considering a fact that the regime of flexible hours and shifting groups are not common for Ukrainian kindergartens, the problems of quality of services and safety of children's stay in preschool institutions with extra-high occupancy rates is getting more urgent⁹⁵.

Development of the system of preschool education is hindered with many factors. The most important one is formed by difficulties with arranging of a child to preschool institution of public or communal property form. An increase in the birth rates during 2002–2009 and its fluctuation around the same level aside with a large decline in the number of preschool institutions during the 1990's and slow expansion of their network in the first decade of the XXI century (Fig. 4.24) resulted in huge queues of families in urban settlements, trying to arrange a child in a kindergarten.

⁹⁵ State Budget and budget strategy in conditions of economic reforms: in 4 volumes / SSRI 'Academy of Financial Management', 2011. Vol. 4 : Public social expenditures: directions of rationalization and raising of efficiency, 2011, p. 128.

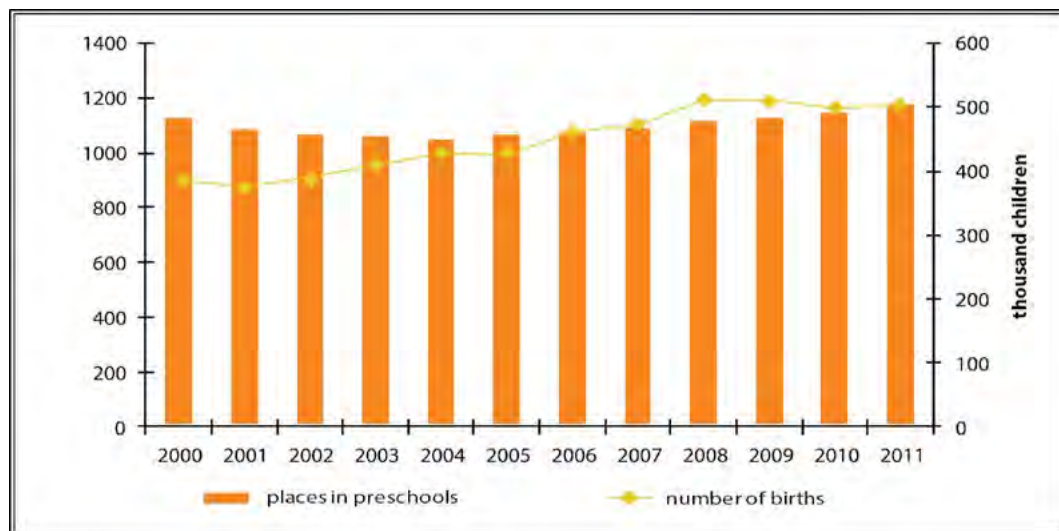


Fig. 4.24. Number of places in preschool institutions and number of births in Ukraine, 2000–2011

Source: State Statistics Service

In increase in occupancy rates (and corresponding pressure on teachers) are leading to deterioration in the quality of preschool services. Moreover, often refusals to arrange a child in kindergartens due to absence of free places and long-term waiting of such an opportunity result in a decline in parental requirements to the amount and structure of preschool services. Absence of competition between preschool institutions in attracting parents and their children does not facilitate improving of the quality of these services.

Pro-natal and family policy measures in Ukraine. Over the period of Ukraine's independence, many programmes have been implemented aiming to protect children and create favourable conditions for childbearing, maintenance and improvement of children's health. Among these programmes, we should mention first of all the Children of Ukraine National Programme (1996-2005), the Reproductive Health of the Nation State Programme (2006-2015), the National Programme for Children's Recreation and Health Improvement (2003-2008), the National Programme against Children's Homelessness and Neglect (2006-2010), etc.

The Law of Ukraine on the State Assistance to Families with Children specifies the following types of state-guaranteed material aid to families with children:

- 1) maternity assistance;
- 2) childbirth grant;
- 3) child adoption benefit;
- 4) benefit for children under 3 years old;
- 5) benefit for children under guardianship or care;
- 6) children's benefit for single mothers.

Special attention is drawn by a multiple increase in the child adoption benefit that is provided from the state budget funds. At present, such benefit is one of the highest in Europe. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine Resolution of the 21st of April 2005 No. 315 'Some matters concerning the

assignment and payment of benefits to families with children' envisaged assignment of a lump-sum benefit at childbirth in the amount equal to 22.6 times the minimum of subsistence for children under six. Hence, the amount of this benefit was increased from UAH 725 to UAH 8,500. Article 56 of the Law of Ukraine on the State Budget of Ukraine for 2007 specified that the childbirth benefit in 2007 would be paid in the amount of UAH 8,500. In 2008, according to Article 12 of the Law of Ukraine on the State Budget of Ukraine for 2008 and on Amending Some Legislative Acts of Ukraine, the benefit amount was substantially increased again and became differentiated depending on the order of the children born. In particular, the benefit amounted to UAH 12,400 for the first child, UAH 25,000 for the second child, and UAH 50,000 for the third and every next child. Since 2011, according to the Law of Ukraine on Amending the Law of Ukraine on the State Assistance to Families with Children concerning Payment of the Childbirth Benefit, such benefit has been calculated in multiples of the minimum of subsistence for children under six set as of the child's birthday: the amount equal to 22 times the minimum of subsistence is paid for the first child; 45 times the minimum is paid for the second child; 90 times the minimum is paid for the third and every next child. Payment timeframes have also been changed: lump-sum payment of the benefit is made in the amount of 9 times the minimum of subsistence at childbirth, the rest of the benefit for the first child is paid during the next 12 months, for the second child – during the next 24 months, and for the third and every next child – during the next 36 months.

The above-mentioned benefit was mainly aimed at stimulating the population's childbearing activity by means of improving material welfare of certain categories of families with children. However, according to results of the special socio-demographic survey 'Family and family relations in Ukraine 2009', which aimed at finding out respondent opinions about influence of the above-mentioned benefit payments directly upon their reproductive intentions, the influence was much less than expected, although some positive effect is undoubtedly present. The overwhelming majority of the respondents (87.4%) stated that the benefit had by no means affected their childbearing intentions. Among those actually influenced by the considerable material aid at childbirth, 5.8% already gave birth to a child during the period that expired since introduction of this benefit; 4.7% plan to have a child within 2-3 years; 1.1% expect to have a child next year; and 0.9% expect this event already in the current year. Overall, 12.6% of the respondents admitted that the significant material aid had influenced their childbearing intentions in some or other way.

According to the Law of Ukraine on the State Social Assistance to Low-income Families, the right to state social assistance is granted to low-income families, or single persons, or several persons living together and united by their legitimate rights and responsibilities concerning maintenance, whose average monthly cumulative income is, for valid reasons or reasons beyond their control, lower than the minimum of subsistence established by legislation for a family.

As a measure of state care for people's well-being, the childbirth benefit is an important and progressive step. However, it should be admitted that upon completion of the benefit payment, at most in three years, a family remains face to face with the problems of further proper maintenance and rearing of its child whose needs unceasingly grow with age, and meeting such needs in turn demands considerable financial resources. Therefore, one of the policy directions should consist of raising the age limit of monthly payments to families with children (ideally, until attainment of majority). Besides, it would be reasonable to adapt the payments to addressing housing problems by means of introducing appropriate grants, payments, loans or differentiating current housing payments depending on the number of children in a family. However, the central task in this realm is to raise the labour remuneration standards to the level that would secure both

reproduction of high-quality labour force and proper maintenance and rearing of children. Every family should feel sure that, relying on its own resources, it is able to bring up a desired number of children properly. Free and informed choice of the number of children that an individual would like to have and bring up and of time (as well as intervals between successive births) is actually the individual's inalienable right.

The issue of reconciling maternity and occupational activities by women has not lost its relevance. Depending on a family's specific circumstances, some or other form of employment is able to mitigate the conflict between women's employment in the labour market and child rearing. A flexible work schedule is the most acceptable form for women with children (according to the women themselves). However, even at those enterprises where introduction of such a form of employment does not hinder the manufacturing process, employers often reject women's requests to that effect. Development and spread of information technologies have raised significance of remote employment to a higher level but slow development of an information-based society in Ukraine, an unproven mechanism of regulatory legal provisions for remote employment, and a limited range of works where it can be introduced hinder its large-scale use in the country.

Less touched upon in Ukraine but nevertheless urgent is the need to look at the fathers' ability to reconcile occupational activities with parental responsibilities. Currently in Ukraine, there are no debates related to encouraging father's work-family reconciliation, for example through the organization of his working hours at an enterprise (workplace), which greatly hinders overcoming the dominating stereotype of perceiving a man solely as a breadwinner in his household. Nevertheless, modern men increasingly often voice the desire to allocate more time to bringing up their children and help their wives in household management.

Improvement is required in the market of social services for caring for, bringing up and teaching children; in particular, it is necessary to modernize the system of pre-school facilities, improve their operating conditions, increase quality and variety of their services, and improve their monetary and territorial availability. Special attention should be paid to the working hours of kindergartens that actually do not consider a variety of parents' work schedules (e.g. shift work). Sociological surveys have shown that a flexible work schedule of kindergartens is the most acceptable option because it would allow combining a child's education at home and his/her socialization in a team of peers. For example, a child could stay in a kindergarten only in the morning or afternoon, two or three days per week, with the childcare facility service fee calculated in proportion to the child's period of stay there. It is also reasonable to organize family-type kindergartens (especially in rural areas); group occupancy standards in pre-school facilities also need revision.

Over the last decades, the international community has proclaimed securing sexual and reproductive health and human rights as the principal development goal. In this context, it is reasonable to conduct scientific expert examination of pro-natal measures in order to find any cases when these measures can contradict guarantees concerning reproductive human rights. The most recent years in Ukraine were especially 'saturated' with proposals introduction of which, in their authors' opinion, would promote higher birth rates (discussions on the prohibition of abortions, increase in the tax on childless persons); such proposals, however, failed to take account of the circumstance that pursuing a policy of intrusion into privacy is not acceptable to a civilized state.

Concerns are increasingly voiced in the European countries that pro-natal measures may

hinder the gains already achieved on gender equality because increase in childbearing, and family responsibilities in the context of insufficiently developed work and family reconciliation support system, can prevent education and career growth opportunities for women, confining them to a traditional family role. In Ukraine, the aspiration for strengthening the image of motherhood often comes to cherishing of the idea that a woman's mission is to perform only familial roles: a mother, a wife, and a keeper. Demands of the contemporary stage of civilization development remain ignored.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of the analytical study on the peculiarities of women's participation in the Ukrainian labour market have not only confirmed the existence of gender inequality manifestation in employment but also provided a deeper insight into the causal relationships shaping the prerequisites of unequal opportunities of men and women in the world of work. A comprehensive vision of the problem based on using diverse information sources and estimates of public opinion on various gender inequality manifestations obtained from a special sociological survey has offered an opportunity to formulate general recommendations on gender policy priorities and outline possible directions and methods to achieve them.

The aim of the research was subordinated to a search an analysis of certain gender disparities related to quality characteristics of employment – its forms, statuses, sectorial and occupational structure, level of wages, etc. Respectively, the main problematic issues in the field of work which were in the focus of the research include:

- structural shifts in features of female and male employment;
- a phenomenon of gender segregation in the labour market; gender gap in wages and features of accumulation of total incomes of men and women;
- manifestation of gender discrimination in the labour market and existence of gender stereotypes in a society;
- impact of family obligations on position of workers;
- assessment of the poverty 'feminization' and risks of increased vulnerability of women;
- analysis of the role of 'unaccounted' work contribution of women and disparities in family duties and working time distribution.

The most evident manifestation and result of gender inequality in the world of work consists of a **CONSIDERABLE GENDER GAP IN EMPLOYMENT INCOME**, which accumulates and reflects the impact of all other inequality aspects – various forms of gender-based occupational segregation, manifestations of discriminatory practices on the employers' part, restricting influence of family responsibilities upon workers' professional realization opportunities, roles of prevailing gender stereotypes concerning distribution of social roles in society, etc.

Despite certain positive dynamics seen in the recent decade, the average male wage in Ukraine is more than one-fourth higher than the female. According to data from the enterprises survey on labour statistics held by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, a gender wage gap can be observed in all aggregate economic activities, reaching 30 percent in some of them. At the same time, in 27 European Union countries, this indicator was only 17.2 percent on average in 2011.

As more detailed disaggregation of statistical data shows, the greatest gender gaps in average wage are typical for economic segments with the highest labour remuneration levels – financial intermediation, information and communication technologies, various machine-building sub-sectors (e.g. manufacture of high-precision equipment and instruments), and extractive industry – where male employment dominates. On the contrary, low-paid economic activities feature a narrower gender wage gap: for example, the least differences are typical for budget-funded sector branches – health care and social assistance, education (in particular, in primary and secondary education, the average female wage is even somewhat higher than male wage), and agriculture sub-sectors that generally show the lowest labour remuneration rates. This is explained by the equalizing effect of minimum wage, which becomes more apparent amid relatively low payment

standards.

The most obvious way to narrow the gender gap in labour remuneration, which would secure an immediate effect from the perspective of average wage in economy, consists therefore of *accelerated wage growth in the state-financed sector* that includes the most feminized activities – education, health care, and social services. Outstripping wage increase in these segments as compared to wage growth in the private sector will ensure decline of intersectorial pay differences and, accordingly, reduction of their impact upon generation of the general gender gap. The national policy on wages in the state-financed sector is regulated by the Unified Tariff System of grades and coefficients for wages of employees of institutions, establishments and organizations of certain branches of the state-financed sector, which specifies salaries (tariff rates) of employees according to their positions in accordance with the Resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. This is why the need for the Government's activity towards further perfection of the Unified Tariff System and faster rates of salary increase in the state-financed sector must be realized not only in the context of growing general social standards in Ukraine but also as a way to reduce gender pay gap.

However, as proved by the study, the factors causing existence of gender inequalities in the population's income capacities are more complicated; this determines the need for additional measures of impact, some of which would ensure not such an evident and immediate effect. Average wage rate differences are to a great extent stipulated by the **SYSTEM OF GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR** that is expressed in concentration of working women and men in certain occupations and economic activities, at certain management levels and positions, and determines not only the amount of earnings but such qualitative characteristics of employment as job prestige and stability. This is why the high level of gender-based employment segregation not only promotes unequal income opportunities of the population but also adversely affects the labour market generally, decreasing its efficiency and flexibility, restricting worker mobility by means of excluding them from certain occupations, and narrowing down possibilities of labour application choice.

As outcomes of the study showed, the level of gender-based employment segregation in Ukraine remains rather high; moreover, a review of structural shifts bespeaks deepening of the division because female employment concentration during 2007-2011 was increasing mainly at the positions specified in the list of the most common female occupations. In the domestic labour market, this group includes activities requiring rather high skills, including intellectual and creative labour but securing no high wages.

Thus, women form more than three fourths of life science and health associate professionals; teaching professionals and associate professionals; personal and protective services workers; customer services clerks; office clerks. In the Ukrainian society, most of these occupational groups feature low prestige and recognition, and are pre-perceived as 'female' activities. Therefore, the main task of the policy to mitigate gender-based occupational segregation is to *improve the social status of traditionally 'female' employment segments, which would require implementation of large-scale social propaganda of these occupations in order to 'transfuse' male employment into them.*

Specific steps in this direction must be taken both in the activities of public employment centres that have done good groundwork on the implementation of social campaigns promoting blue-collar occupations, and in the work of educational institutions that train relevant specialists – medical, social, and educational professionals. Men's involvement in acquiring appropriate

qualifications would be fostered by gender-sensitive positioning of field-oriented educational institutions during entrance campaigns, however general coordination of activities and development of specific action plans must be in the competence of the Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine.

We should emphasize, however, that the top-priority condition for enhancing social prestige of 'female' occupations and activities and involving men therein still consists of *purposeful and appreciable labour remuneration increase in the state-financed sector*, as mentioned above.

As the results of study revealed, another important problem of high gender occupational segregation is found in features of male employment. In contrast to concentration of employed women at the middle level of intellectual work, prevailing of men (more than three fourths of employed in these occupations) is shown mostly in working occupations such as: drivers and mobile-plant operators; metal, machinery and related trades workers; extraction and building trades workers; labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport.

Obviously, this aspect of male employment does not provide grounds to argue about higher quality of their employment; moreover, these occupations are associated with hazardous or even dangerous works quite often, as well as with high rates of occupational injuries. Under conditions of the present medical-demographical crisis which is progressing in Ukraine, being characterized by higher death rates among men of the working age, this aspect should be taken into consideration as an important determinant of a need *in innovative restructuring of employment*. It envisages general reduction of jobs requiring physical work and featuring harmful conditions and high injury rates, in favour of creation of new 'knowledge-intensive' jobs, which would ensure not only modernization of economy but also mitigation of gender-based employment segregation effects. The role of the State in promoting this priority should consist both of directly creating new jobs of this kind and of subsidizing private enterprises that implement programmes aimed at technical re-equipment of production and introduction of innovative technologies.

Development of the sector of services, particularly information, finance, business, scientific and technological, social, and domestic services, appears especially promising in this context. It is this segment of the population's employment, being a key sector of labour application in post-industrial economies, which state and regional economic development programmes must focus on. An additional argument in favour of top-priority development of the sector of services in the gender policy context consists of expanding the range of jobs that provide the best conditions for female employment and offer positions where women can compete with men adequately as far as the professional aspect is concerned.

Another 'pole' of male employment concentration in Ukraine is a group of occupations related to top management. It is this level of occupational segregation that makes the greatest contribution to the general gender income gap and lays pre-requisites for a **GENDER-BASED 'VERTICAL DIVISION' OF EMPLOYMENT**. In international studies, this phenomenon is called 'a glass ceiling' as a range of hidden rules and practices which form barriers for women (or other vulnerable groups) from access to top managerial positions. Indeed, enjoying adequate access to occupational positions of lower and middle levels, women are not considerably represented in top management of private companies as well as among senior officials in the public administration system.

According to data from the sample economic activity questioning carried out by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine on the regular basis, women accounted for only 36 percent among

small business managers, 41 percent among corporation heads, and 41 percent among company department managers in 2011. More detailed data describing a relationship between certain characteristics of economic entities and women's representativeness in their management were obtained due to a special sociological questioning of employers and female employees, carried out within this study framework. The women's share in company management was found to go up as the company size (total staff number) decreases and the company 'feminization' (estimated as the women's share in total staff) increases.

Certain regularities are also seen to depend on an economic entity's organizational and legal form: compared to private companies, state-owned and municipal enterprises/organizations demonstrate women's better access to top positions. The lowest proportion of women among chiefs was observed at stock companies, limited liability companies (they were classified as a separate group with regard to a probability of the 'mixed' property forms) with their larger scales of activity, turnover, number of staff, and thus higher competition between employees.

Even more striking prevailing of men is observed in occupational group combining positions of legislators, senior executives in public administration and self-governing authorities: while prevailing in the total number of employed in these structures, women are minimally represented among heads of the 'first rank'. According to results of 2011, there were no women among such heads in self-governing authorities, while women made up only 15 percent of respective heads in the system of public administration.

Professional group of legislators is also practically unreachable for women – a share of women among the members of Verkhovna Rada (the Parliament of Ukraine) has not exceeded 8 percent during the whole period of independence, while the average percent of women's participation in the national parliaments around the globe is approaching 20 percent and exceeding 40 percent in some countries of the developed gender democracy. Along with violation of the democratic governance principle, women's restricted access to state decision-making acts as an important determinant in hindering of the general process of gender quality achievement and as a factor constraining women's empowerment in other areas of life.

At the present stage, however, increasing women's representativeness on top levels of public administration seems unlikely without direct support of female candidates for nomination to senior positions and without realization of certain protectionist measures. Global experience offers examples of successful '*affirmative actions*' including various forms of gender quotas or percentage targets for participation of representatives of both sexes in top positions. Some draft laws suggesting substantiated implementation of gender quotas in representative and executive authorities and during compilation of political party election lists were repeatedly submitted to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine but found no support from the parliament members. Considering women's considerable presence in the skilled labour pool, an active stand taken by non-governmental organizations, and international experts' support in promoting this issue, its solution is now directly dependent on *the parliament members' political will and the government officials' conscious position*.

Generally, the civil servants' awareness on gender equality remains rather low, which can be seen from some public statements by high-ranking officials and from the failure to understand the problem on the level of specialists and technical officers in the field. Accordingly, certain activities do not become irrelevant, such as *carrying out systemic awareness-raising work in the system of civil service and local authorities, and organizing seminars and trainings on cultivation of a gender-sensitive attitude in public administration staff*. So far, a great majority of such activities were

conducted upon the initiative of, and support from, international donors and non-governmental organizations, hence it is important to activate the stand of public authorities themselves in the generation of demand for such activities as well as in provision of resource support from budget funds. This matter belongs to direct organizational competence of the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine whereas the system of educational and scientific institutions subordinated to the Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine provides an opportunity to engage leading national-level experts in the drafting of programmes of necessary trainings and their actual implementation.

We should emphasize that achievement of parity representation of women and men on top levels of public administration is of principal importance for women's promotion to managerial positions, causing a kind of 'chain reaction' in the private sector as well. Indeed, *popularization of examples of women's high achievements in public administration and examples of successful career and family reconciliation by well-known public figures will act as nearly the best means of indirect influence* upon promotion of women's activity in decision-making. Specific steps in this direction can include implementation of targeted information campaigns, support for special publications like the Successful Women or the Country's Most Influential Women ratings, creation of series of mass media programmes and publications, or organization of competitions of the best female managers or the best companies adhering to the principle of gender equality in their human resources policy. A leading role in this stage belongs to mass media, however any financial, technical and organizational support for the respective activities calls for involvement of public institutions, commercial structures, and representatives of non-governmental organizations.

Whereas women's promotion to senior positions in the public sector is quite possible given proper political will to implement gender transformations, tools of influence in the private sector are not so evident. Although legislation in some countries contains provisions according to which employment preference may be given to women if applicants of different sexes with equal professional qualifications pretend to a vacancy, this tool seems rather debatable.

As seen from experience of relevant novelties in laws of some European states, implementation of gender quota standards for senior positions in top management of the business sector remains problematic (e.g. the provision on ensuring by 2017 women's representation at the rate of at least 40 percent in the boards of directors of public companies and companies with more than EUR 50 million annual capital turnover in France). That's why an alternative measure can consist of using a system of so-called '*soft*' quotas in promotion to executive positions, based on the principle of gender rotation, i.e. alternation of representatives of both sexes in appointment to a position, or at least providing for mandatory participation of both men and women in a competition to fill executive positions.

Other measures of normative influence can include *introducing mandatory measures for job reservation at the positions where women are underrepresented; observing requirements to ensure transparency of the staff selection procedure by means of distributing internal job advertisements, using a well-grounded and understandable system of ratings and criteria for applicant evaluation and selection, and publishing these approaches for staff and job seekers*. That would create preconditions for the counteraction to discrimination against women in promotion to senior posts because in practice it is harder to prove biased treatment in such cases than facts of gender discrimination in case of an employer's refusal to employ a woman to a new job.

The suggested policy directions for reduction of various forms of occupational segregation are obviously means of long-term influence because obtaining a quick result in addressing this

problem is impossible. Moreover, certain gender-based division of employment will persist under any conditions because women and men have different attitudes in occupational choice and prefer different activities in the labour market. The problem consists of estimating the factors affecting the choice of activity – whether it is determined by some external factors such as direct ‘pushing’ out of other professions or impact of prevailing social stereotypes, or whether it is grounded on informed self-determination of the professional realization field.

Therefore, policy objectives are to *eliminate impact of external factors of segregation, first of all legislative restrictions on women's possible employment in certain occupations and activities*. In particular, according to Article 174 of the Code of Labour Laws and Article 10 of the Law of Ukraine on Labour Protection, women cannot be allowed to be employed in work with ‘heavy conditions’, work with harmful or hazardous conditions, and underground work. Overall, the list of such work approved by the Order of the Ministry of Health of Ukraine No. 256 of 29.12.1993 includes more than 500 types of work in various industries that not always meet objective needs and that require regular revision. For example, the prohibitions to employ women in ‘work connected with permanent movement of loads of more than 7 kg during a working shift’ and to use women’s labour at night and overtime (the Order of the Ministry of Health of Ukraine No. 241 of 10.12.1993) seem questionable. In the current stage of society’s dynamic development, these requirements seem not only outdated but also discriminatory because they restrict possibilities for women’s individual choice of types and forms of employment in accordance with their own likings or physical capacity.

PREVAILING GENDER STEREOTYPES, which narrow down occupational choice opportunities both for women and men and pre-program their attitudes concerning labour application fields, remain to be an important driver for occupational segregation on the grounds of sex. According to results of a special sociological questioning held within the framework of this study, more than two-thirds of respondents (both employers and female employees) agree that division of occupations into ‘female’ and ‘male’ ones exists in the Ukrainian labour market. Moreover, the respondents easily suggested examples of the corresponding activities: the most widespread male occupations included driver, builder, miner, loader, locksmith, guard, electrician, and armed forces serviceman. The most popular in the female occupation category are shop assistant, teacher, kindergarten teacher, seamstress, nurse, hairdresser, babysitter, and cleaner.

In the ‘vertical’ segregation context, attention is drawn by contrasting of the director position as a male occupation to the secretary position identified as female. We should emphasize that the names of the most of occupations mentioned above have a gender-specific character, which is in some cases officially enshrined by the National Classifier of Occupations of Ukraine ДК 003:2010 (e.g. nurses and midwives, seamstresses etc.) Therefore, *further revision of the normative definitions of occupations and amendment of the National Classifier of Occupations in order to ensure their gender neutrality* is an indispensable condition for overcoming the sustainable stereotypes of gender-based labour division and for shaping pre-requisites for reduction of the sex-based employment segregation level.

The impact of gender-based labour division upon unequal earnings of men and women is determined not only by their affiliation with certain occupations that provide different income-generating opportunities. A certain contribution to accumulation of the gender wage gap is also provided by different features of employment: shorter length of women’s worked-out time, larger prevalence of voluntary part-time employment, conscious preference of positions with lower intensity of work, general workload or responsibility for the sake of having more free time.

However, along with the impact caused by the above-mentioned factors, there are still remaining 'unexplained' drivers of the gender wage gap emergence, caused by the **PREVALENCE OF DIRECT DISCRIMINATIVE PRACTICES IN THE LABOUR MARKET**, i.e. by the situations when women receive lower income than men although having equivalent characteristics from the skills and labour productivity perspective.

As can be seen from sociological questioning results, about one-tenth of women working as employees personally encountered the facts of paying a lower wage, as compared to other employees, for work of equal value; almost one-tenth of them also reported that they know such cases related to experience of their acquaintances out of work. According to the respondents' estimates, it is the female gender that mostly caused that manifestation of biased treatment at the workplace, lagging behind the age factor only.

The direct discrimination in remuneration of labour was less common in enterprises/institutions/organizations of public or municipal ownership forms; probably, it can be explained by application of a unified system of salaries there, whereas disparities in wages between workers with identical characteristics could be formed by additional bonuses and extra-charges. As to private enterprises, a share of workers who faced such discrimination was slightly larger, as a size of remuneration is determined by individual contracts and respectively depends on employers' personal preferences to a greater extent. This is the reason why it is private companies where the role of *preventive measures concerning gender discrimination of workers in pay for work of equal value* becomes stronger; one of such measures consists of abandoning a system of unregulated extra payments (arbitrary increments and bonuses assigned by the management) in favour of a system of performance-based labour remuneration based on clearly specified objective criteria for accrual, reduction or cancellation of concrete payments.

Besides, it can be assumed that *a policy of wage legitimization in the private sector* would not only promote stronger social protection of workers in the context of securing the social guarantees related to temporary incapacity for work, paternity and decent living standards post retirement age, but also foster the formation of a more transparent pay system and reduction of opportunities for violation of the principle of non-discrimination in payment for work of equal value.

On the whole, the issue of gender discrimination in the Ukrainian labour market does not lose its relevance, which is demonstrated by dissemination of gender-preferential job advertisements, inclusion into employment agreements of provisions on undesirability of maternity leaves, denial of job placement, or groundless dismissals caused by one's belong to female sex. Only about one-third of the interviewed female employees reported not having encountered any manifestation of unequal, biases treatment at the workplace whereas the overwhelming majority of the respondents said they had had such experience in some or other way.

Most often, the respondents mentioned experiences of biased treatment because of age; factors such as female sex and family responsibilities were mentioned equally often and ranked second in terms of frequency. Obviously, if aggregating the last two factors (as most part of family responsibilities belongs to women's prerogative in Ukrainian families), they would occupy the leading position in the system of determinants of discriminative treatment of women at work.

The results of the sociological survey demonstrated that frequency of discrimination in employment is declining in small enterprises, which is likely to be caused by specificity of interpersonal relations in working collectives of various sizes. It can be assumed that

interpersonal relations among workers at small enterprises are grounded not only on industrial relations but also on friendly, comradely or even family ties. Accordingly, under the conditions when communication among workers takes place not only from the 'supervisor-subordinate' perspective, a special microclimate develops leaving much less room for discrimination.

The attitude of employers to discrimination in the Ukrainian labour market was interesting: admitting the existence of this phenomenon from their acquaintances' experience outside work, the overwhelming majority of this respondent category denied cases of biased treatment when their own enterprises were meant. It can be assumed that, along with action of a subjective factor, it also affirms **an insufficient level of people's awareness on discrimination in the market and their inability of 'diagnosing' its manifestation and realizing its drivers**. Addressing this problem envisages simultaneous work in two directions:

- strengthening disciplinary and administrative liability of officials for discriminatory practices in employment, which will require additional work on the respective legislation under supervision of the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine; raising awareness of workers of law-enforcement bodies and the judicial system on forms and manifestations of gender discrimination; studying international experience in this field and elaborating arrangements for rapid response to people's relevant addresses. Special attention should be paid to regular monitoring of job advertisements containing discriminatory requirements to sex, age or appearance of a position applicant, which must belong to competence of appropriate bodies (e.g. public employment centres);

- advocacy work with enterprise managers on the individual level and on the level of associations, federations, and unions of employers and entrepreneurs. Trade union representatives, experts and trainers on gender equality must act as driving forces behind the relevant campaigns whereas resource support must be provided from mixed sources – both donor and budget funds. In this context, the task of developing and approving the *Corporate Social Responsibility Code* becomes more topical; a special section of the Code must deal with gender equality and non-discrimination, ensuring consideration of the gender non-discrimination principle in company-level collective agreements, promoting social dialogue and involving non-governmental organizations in the process, and expanding the public hearing practice.

However, **Ukrainian women's passive stand as to upholding their own labour rights** remains a more important problem. Although the women interviewed during the study demonstrated a rather high level of awareness on possible ways of their protection in case of discrimination at the workplace, more than a half of the respondents having such negative experience did not even try to uphold their own rights because they deemed such actions as unreasonable and took such cases for granted. Under such conditions, measures should be taken to increase the employed women's public activity level, to turn them from objects of discrimination into subjects of defence of their rights, and to uphold fair treatment of all the employed individuals.

Despite existence of appropriate mechanisms, particularly the institution of the Human Rights Commissioner of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, human rights non-governmental organizations, etc., cases when people appeal on workplace discrimination remain rather isolated and find no proper popularization among the public at large. A leading role in addressing this problem belongs to mass media whose extended coverage of examples of successful judicial processes, satisfaction of claims, indemnities and compensations for moral damage in case of discrimination on the grounds of sex would promote encouraging people to uphold their own labour rights.

Amid people's low legal awareness, information campaigns must also include preparation

of special explanation materials and their placement for free electronic access for the Internet users as well as their dissemination in printed versions in places accessible for target groups – public employment centres, private recruiting agencies, territorial centres for social protection of the population, etc. *Women living in rural areas must be a separate target group in awareness-raising campaigns* because modern information and communication technologies in such type of communities are less developed.

At the same time, the existing anti-discriminatory mechanism must be improved towards simpler appeal procedures, shorter decision-making time, transparency of the whole process, and supervision over compliance with the decisions.

According to results of the sociological questioning, the problem of being passive in upholding women's own rights is related to **women's generally low self-esteem from the viewpoint of competitiveness in the labour market**. Rather often, women themselves tend to regard themselves as less 'valuable' workers than men, whereas employers, including male ones, appreciate their working qualities more adequately. For example, three-fourths of the interviewed employers believe that men and women are of equal value from the perspective of their professional characteristics, whereas the share of such opinion among female employees was only two-thirds. Hence, the point of the greatest importance is to *activate the stands taken by women themselves, increase their self-esteem, strengthen their confidence in the labour market, and expand the freedom in choosing their own way of living and their own priorities of realization in society*.

Peculiarities of self-perception and goal-setting on the personal level, and basics of occupational preferences and career expectations take shape in childhood and are extremely sensitive to outside influences; that's why the role of family upbringing and early education stages, when grounds of an individual's gender self-identification are laid down, increases. Social institutions, including labour market ones, reproduce these stereotypes to a great extent in the system of gender segregation of activity areas whereas gender bias in labour relations emerges on the individual level of their parties. As a result, a sort of 'endless circle' takes shape: often, women do not try to pretend to certain positions, pre-perceiving themselves as non-competitive in those activity areas, which secures further reproduction of gender stereotypes in the labour market and their impact upon employers' attitude to women's possible employment in such occupations.

That's why the *policy of gender stereotypes transformation* in society is the most important task, though the most difficult one, because, alongside the above-outlined directions of awareness-raising campaigns and social advertising, it assumes overcoming the sexism in mass media and in advertising as well as expanding the practice of gender component inclusion in educational institutions' curricula. Although the public authorities exercising regulatory activities in these areas (the National Council of Ukraine for TV and Radio, the Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine) understand these problem subjects, progress in equalization of gender roles in society remains too slow.

Importantly, among the factors that determine women's lower 'value' as workers, the most frequent respondent's answers mentioned **a possibility of maternity and the need for maternity-related additional social protection of women, certain restrictions on using women's labour that cause inconveniences to employers**. Indeed, the Ukrainian legislation guarantees women a rather wide range of social safeguards that are aimed at protection of maternity: a lower production/service rate for pregnant women, or transferring them to an easier job that excludes

any impact of unfavourable production factors, according to a medical opinion, with retention of average earnings in the previous job; prohibition to employ pregnant women and women with children aged under 3 in night or overtime work, or work on holidays, and to send them on business trips; limited employment of women with children aged 3-14 or disabled children in overtime work and business trips; the right to additional paid leaves for women with two or more children; the right to additional paid breaks for child feeding for women with children under 18 months, etc.

Although these measures of additional social protection aim at improving women's working conditions, in practice they often turn into employment barriers. Employers give preference to male employees to avoid having additional obligations and discomfort with the need to provide proper conditions to working mothers although the latter may well have no need for or intention of using the above-mentioned measures. Like in the case of ban on female employment in certain occupations, some additional social protection requirements seem outdated and failing to meet real needs of both workers and employers. Therefore, addressing this problem calls for thorough gender expert examination of industrial laws by scientific institutions and experts of the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, and elaboration of an action plan aimed at *replacing the corresponding prohibitions, violation of which entails disciplinary, administrative or criminal liability of employers, with recommendatory standards*. That would ensure a legal possibility for acceptance of the most convenient employment regimes and forms depending on the workers' individual needs, which would be generally regulated by requirements specified in company-level collective agreements and labour legislation in force.

Obviously, realization of this task will be rather difficult and will not enjoy support from the general public in the beginning of reforms, hence it must be accompanied by explanatory work concerning influence of relevant additional protective measures upon the formation of pre-conditions for 'reverse' discrimination against women in the labour market and upon restriction of their job placement opportunities according to their own likings and attitudes.

On the whole, it is ***reproductive activity, which covers in broad sense not only child birth and rearing but also care for incapacitated family members (sick persons, persons with disabilities, and elderly ones), housekeeping, etc., acts as a main restricting factor deterring women's occupational and social realization opportunities***. This is confirmed by the lower female employment rate in the age group of 25-29 years that traditionally accounts for the highest fertility rates in Ukraine (the employment rate was 63.4 percent in 2011 whereas men of that age had 81.2 percent). On the other hand, a gender lag in terms of employment is minimized in the age of 40-49 because in that age the burden of family responsibilities upon women is decreased and more opportunities are open for their economic activities.

In general, a long break in women's occupational activity caused by child birth and by the need for caring for children in the first years of their life not only affects decrease in current income but also has long-term negative consequences for career growth, leading to loss of qualification and ageing of knowledge and skills in the contemporary dynamic world of work and restricting prospects of further occupational realization. That's why the role of *active employment policies aimed at reintegrating such female employees in working life*, developing special curricula on women's skills updating and advanced training during their maternity leave, encouraging employers to create remote jobs, and developing outwork opportunities for women having children of pre-school age, becomes more topical.

According to the Public Employment Service of Ukraine, female return to work is also more

difficult in case of unemployment: male job placement rates are substantially higher than female (in particular, 353.3 thousand women and 409.4 thousand men were placed in jobs in Ukraine in 2011 whereas respective job placement rates were 37% and 45%), and men are covered by occupational retraining and new occupation training activities to a greater extent.

A possible way to address this problem is *to specify and expand the range of welfare works* that are currently more men-oriented (road works, construction works, etc.), with proper consideration of female capacities for work – care for sick and elderly persons, care for children, provision of domestic and individual services – and generating a social government order for provision of services in this field. Relevant measures should shape a ground for a gender-sensitive policy of employment that must be coordinated by the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine with account of peculiarities of life cycles and specifics of the following *targeted social and age groups of women encountering high vulnerability to and risks of direct discrimination in the labour market*: initial job seekers (women in this group may face difficulties in job placement due to employers' expectations concerning their possible maternity leave); pregnant women and nursing mothers; women having young children; women in a period of active career promotion; women of pre-retirement and early retirement age.

As far as concrete measures are concerned, experience of developed countries offers successful examples of implementation of targeted state programmes for promotion of small business development with consideration of gender components, support for activities or special funds for micro-lending of women's business projects, or organization of business training for women as a target group, etc. Until now, most initiatives of this kind in Ukraine have been implemented with support from international donors, but involvement of state authorities in their organization as well as allocation of targeted funds from various budget levels are pressing requirements of the state policy on employment.

A study of **THE POSITION OF WORKERS WITH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES** confirmed close links between the patterns of women's marital and generative behaviour (childbirth, care, education, socialization of children) and their activity in the labour market. Such links, however, are of a complicated and ambiguous nature. From the perspective of the traditional approach, which relates women's 'principal mission' in society with maternal roles, it can be expected that a larger number of children would result in less employment of women in the labour market. This assumption is confirmed by statistical data from European countries as well as by the labour force questioning realized by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine: employment rates for childless women by 12 percent exceeded employment rates for women with children under 15 in 2011. Moreover, Ukrainian women's employment rates decrease substantially depending on the number of children: whereas this figure was close to 70 percent among women aged 25-49 with one child, the employment rate in the same age group of women with four or more children was only about 40 percent.

On the other hand, the results of the sociological survey held within the framework of this study showed that the working respondents with children spent much more time on paid work than those with no children; the greatest share of female workers employed in paid work for 40 or more hours per week (i.e. above the statutory standard working week) was seen among the women with three or more children.

Perhaps, the higher activity of this female group, manifesting itself in longer duration of paid employment, is explained by financial motives, namely by the difficulties in maintaining a large family and the sense of responsibility for children. However, this thesis requires more detailed

verification in subsequent studies, considering impacts of psychological factors. As results of the questioning demonstrated, labour remuneration matters were of greater importance to employed women having children than to childless respondents, while interest in career promotion or empowerment decreased in direct proportion to the number of children.

Hence, the findings of the study confirmed the **presence of certain changes in the system of women's priorities depending on their life cycle stage (age, change in marital status, childbirth), which manifests itself in shifting career aspirations to the background compared to the priority of family and children** (and especially of the birth of the second and every next child): childless respondents were dissatisfied with their jobs to a greater extent than those having children; the highest levels of being 'completely satisfied' with their job were demonstrated by women having three or more children.

A research interest was caused by the group of women who found themselves without a husband because of different circumstances (widows, divorced, those having ended their relationship with a partner). It is these women who feature the largest share of those spending 40 or more hours per week on paid work (both among female employers and among employed women) and receiving the highest income among other female categories which are almost equal to income of the same marital group of men.

The overwhelming majority of these respondents have children, and, most likely, care for children, aspire to secure their future, on the one hand, and with minor assistance from ex-husbands – and sometimes even lack of any financial support from outside at all, on the other hand, are forced to be more active in the labour market. However, their larger employment could have also been encouraged by 'release' from the role of wife (and, accordingly, having more free time), aspiration for self-realization, greater ambitions, energy, etc.

Unfortunately, the limited sample size in this questionnaire did not allow for a more thorough analysis of behaviour of this specific female group in the labour market and of factors stipulating such behaviour (age, number of children, duration of a previous marriage, professional characteristics, reasons for divorce or end of relationships, level of personal income, availability and possibility of outside help, etc.), however amid the high divorce rate in Ukraine a further study of exactly this target group appears to be a topical scientific objective.

The study also confirmed **unequal distribution of home responsibilities among women and their husbands, excessive workload of most women with domestic work**. More than two thirds of the questionnaire participants responded that such obligations as cleaning, cooking, caring of children and incapable family members belong to a category of women's duties. DIY and maintenance turned out to be the only type of domestic works, associated with a leading role of men in households.

One should take into consideration that domestic work rather often needs even greater physical efforts and time spent than a paid work, thereby substantially limiting women's possibilities of life choice and development prospects. More than one-fourth of the interviewed women reported spending more than 20 hours a week on household work, and 15% of respondents spent the same amount on care for family members. On the other hand, almost two-thirds of the women reported that their husbands spent less than 10 hours a week on the same types of work. That's why contemporary research studies describe gender-related features of working time division in terms of women's 'double burden' or 'second shift'.

The excessive housework load on women is also aggravated by the fact that **the Ukrainian**

society has no traditions of using paid household services that are now widespread in developed countries. The share of respondents who reported using such services continuously or rather often was not greater than 10 percent both among female employees and employers. This fact shows domination among women of the attitude toward performing all family responsibilities by themselves regardless of their occupational activity burden and their labour market status.

The low demand for paid domestic services results in insufficient development of a respective market and in their concentration in the largest communities, lack of competition among providers of such services, and, accordingly, overstated prices. Decline of the social and domestic infrastructure in rural areas and small urban-type settlements, especially in remote areas, complicates access of residents of such settlements to domestic service establishments, pre-school childcare facilities, and centres of social care for elderly people or persons with disabilities. That's why *the issues of social infrastructure development must be in the focus of local authorities' attention* because budget support for a network of such facilities is provided from local budgets whereas the development of scientifically grounded long-term plans of settlements development considering demographic forecast data is a task for central executive authorities.

The problem of **proper quality of social domestic services provided by the public sector, excessive workload of respective institutions, and shortage of financial resources and skilled staff** does not lose its importance as well. Of almost the greatest significance to working women with family responsibilities is **accessibility of pre-school childcare facilities** that, according to sociological questioning data, are regarded by women themselves as the best means to bring up pre-school children (especially if a child attends such a facility on a part-time basis).

Official statistics show a low level of coverage of rural children with pre-school facilities, first of all because absence of such facilities within the territorial reach, and excessive workload of childcare facilities in urban areas. This problem can be addressed in several ways: 1) *direct expansion of the network of state-owned and municipal pre-school childcare facilities by means of putting new facilities into operation and integrating existing ones* (however, consideration of demographic forecast data in the country's regions must be an indispensable pre-condition); 2) *subsidization of the development of private kindergartens from targeted state resources or local budget funds*; 3) *creation of family-type kindergartens (or home-based kindergartens) in rural areas using a specially equipped room in large residential houses for that purpose*; 4) *introduction of a flexible working schedule in pre-school facilities that assumes children's stay in the facilities for only some part of the day or for few days per week, with proportional reduction of the facility service fee*. The latter way is the least expensive, allows coverage of the greatest possible quantity of children without failure to meet the child quantity standards in facilities, provides favourable conditions for parents working on a shift basis, to enhance their opportunities for communication with children, and will positively affect family budgets of the households having pre-school children.

As a whole, the sociological survey demonstrated the **'viability' of gender stereotypes in family relations**, according to which the model of a family, where the man acts as a breadwinner and the woman is perceived as a housewife, guardian, responsible for family comfort, is taken as a standard. Compared with population of other European countries, more common in Ukraine is also the opinion that a woman must 'sacrifice' her professional and career interests for the sake of children and family, be ready to give way to men in the situation when there is tension and not enough jobs in the labour market. Thus., almost one-fourth of the Ukrainian respondents participating in some rounds of the European Sociological Questioning, mentioned that they 'strongly disagree if a woman works full-time whilst her child is under the age of three'; one-third

of female respondents mentioned that they 'strongly agree that a woman should be ready to work less at a paid job to pay more attention to her family'. A half of working women referred to their husbands as 'head of the household'; there is also a high probability that such answers were given due to tradition mostly, not because husbands were responsible for all important decisions in a family.

A problematic issue in this context still consists of ***the insufficient attention paid in Ukraine to the problem of reconciling professional activity with paternal responsibilities***. The question on considering interests of a father (at least of a small child) in the organization of his working time at an enterprise (workplace) is not even raised, which considerably hinders overcoming the prevailing stereotype that perceives a man solely as a family breadwinner. Although Ukrainian legislation allows a father to take leave to care for a child aged under 3, this idea remains little acceptable both to most employers and employees themselves. Moreover, many men are still ill informed about their legislated rights related to parenthood. However, as the experience of the Scandinavian countries shows, it is *the policy of men's greater involvement in paternity to equalize distribution of family responsibilities* that is the most promising direction of not only gender equality promotion in society but also of increasing the fertility rate in the light of addressing demographic problems.

Thus, a study of mutual influence of paid activities and family responsibilities revealed some problematic areas. Pluralization of family life forms, which makes it possible to make more free choice of a lifestyle, marriage form, family size, division of responsibilities, at the same time reinforces and complicates the nature of links between professional and family careers. Depending on a family's specific circumstances, some or other employment form can mitigate a conflict between employment in the labour market and child rearing; according to the results of sociological questioning of working women, ***flexible working hours provide the most acceptable form of combining employment and family obligations for women with children***. That's why the role of the State in providing opportunities for harmonization of workers' professional employment and family roles should consist of creating the conditions where every women would have a really free (not forced) choice – whether to engage in a paid professional activity or to stay home to care for a child – as well as choose freely the form of employment they regard as optimal in view of their personal interests and family needs.

Existence of the outlined forms of gender inequality in social life results not only in women's lower earnings compared to men; according to results of the household survey carried out by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, **GENERAL INCOME OPPORTUNITIES OF THE POPULATION FEATURE AN EVEN HIGHER RATE OF GENDER DIFFERENTIATION**. It is obviously caused by the impact of other income sources for which the two sexes have different generation structures: the share of employment income is greater for men whereas significance of non-labour income – pensions, social transfers, private aid from relatives and acquaintances, etc. – is higher for women. It is indicative of the ***stronger dependence of women's well-being on social policy measures and on 'generosity' of the state social guarantees***. Accordingly, it is from the women's perspective that it becomes more urgent to *shift to a proactive type of social policy, i.e. to encourage people to search for a way out of the poverty situation by themselves, and to use a targeted approach to provision of most social benefits (including privileges)*, i.e. to consider an applicant's income level when deciding about the applicant's right to obtain a social benefit. The latter measure would allow targeting resources on support for the most vulnerable populations, with women prevailing among them, whereas saving of budget funds due to excluding non-poor categories from the list of benefit recipients would allow increasing the amounts of some benefits regularly.

The most acceptable way of improving the organizational mechanism to ensure targeting of social assistance consists of *using indirect methods of evaluating income of the individuals applying for the assistance*.

Along with differentiation of earning sources, gender inequality in individual income levels can be aggravated by the impact of some social and demographic factors including age, marital status, education level, socio-economic status, and type of the settlement where the individual lives.

Paradoxically, the greatest gender gap in individual income levels is typical for the population with complete tertiary education (almost 40 percent in 2011). This reflects impact of gender-based occupational segregation, particularly concerning opportunities for access to senior positions when higher educational attainments of the Ukrainian women who do not secure for themselves a proper status in the labour market and decent earning opportunities. The influence of the gender division of labour also determines inter-settlement differences in the women-to-men income ratio: the greatest disproportions take place in large cities, with better developed labour markets, broader employment opportunities and, hence, stronger competition whereas rural areas, with their generally little income capacities, have a narrower gender gap in income.

Personal income distribution depending on women's and men's age and marital status confirms high impact of the traditional social roles, which determine gender-based division of family responsibilities, upon personal well-being, economic powers of women and men and opportunities of their successful professional realization. The greatest gender differences in personal income can be seen among the population of the most active childbearing age (this gap is higher than 50 percent in the age group of 30-34 years), i.e. during the period when women mainly give up their occupational activities in their family's favour, as well as among married population groups. This conforms fully to peculiarities of the traditional family model in which a man acts as the main breadwinner where housekeeping remains the women's domain.

Having lower personal income, **women naturally face higher poverty risks prevailing among low-income population groups**. In particular, the number of adult women in households receiving various types of social benefits 1.2-2.1 times exceeds the number of men. However, there are currently no reliable grounds to ascertain mass feminization of poverty in Ukraine: firstly, the gender composition of the population belonging to the poor category as per an relative criterion (national poverty line) corresponds to the features of the general gender composition of the population, i.e. women's numerical superiority; secondly, gender indicators of poverty of single-member households demonstrate differently directed patterns during the 2000s (it is these statistical units that ensure the most relevant poverty estimates depending on the population because the current methodological approaches to poverty research do not allow for gender-based disaggregation of data within individual households). For example, whereas the poverty rate of single female households was higher than the poverty rate of single male in 2009 (19.7% against 19.3%), the opposite situation was observed in 2011 when the single male poverty rate was substantially higher than that of the corresponding female group (16.5 against 13.9 percent).

However, existence of the **gender dimension of poverty 'profiles'**, i.e. certain socio-demographic groups facing higher poverty risks, causes no doubt. Gender differences in poverty indicators manifest themselves especially strikingly in older age groups, particularly among those aged 80 or more who live alone. The poverty rate among single women of this age was almost 9 percent higher than that of the corresponding male category throughout the period under study, which causes the need for separating that category as a target group for stronger

attention in state social policy and for implementing special measures to support their standard of living.

We should emphasize that, due to the peculiarities of the gender and age composition of the Ukrainian population, the oldest age groups are dominated by women receiving lower pensions than men on average, because of the influence of the gender pay gap and shorter service record. Since personal incomes of the population older than 80 actually completely consist of pension benefits, it would be reasonable to assign a targeted increment (subsidy) to the pension for the individuals of that age. *Provision of direct monetary support to elderly people should be accompanied by increase in budget funding for the network of facilities of social, domestic and medical services for elderly people in order to enhance their coverage with necessary services and to improve quality of such services.*

Women having little children shape another national poverty 'profile' because they mainly sacrifice employment for fertile activity in this period of their life, and their income substantially depends on social transfers. Poverty risks in this female group are clearly higher in the single-parent families with children that do not receive proper male support in securing their well-being. Unfortunately, statistically insignificant representation of this population group among the respondents of the sample household questioning does not allow for a detailed analysis of their situation, however *the need for stronger state support for single women with children* causes no doubt. Along with greater social benefit payments, international experience offers a number of other tools to support single parents – vouchers to buy food and convenience goods, preferential coverage of children with health and education programmes, etc.

The realized research defined the most problematic aspects, which the characterize peculiarities of the access of men and women to the labour market and income, opportunities of combination of professional and family priorities. Though the majority of problems outlined are associated and interrelated, it is obvious that there is no universal instrument of their fast solution, as the grounds of gender inequality are developed at a level of social stereotypes, while their transformation is a complicated and gradual process, requiring a purposeful and permanent work. Respectively, the policy of ensuring gender equality in the world of work should be based on a complex approach, combining simultaneously various multi-vectoral measures: a final development of the institutional environment, which regulates the public gender policy, improving of the anti-discriminative mechanism and providing its accessibility to broad population groups, increasing the population's awareness on forms and manifestations of discrimination, incorporating gender approaches to active employment policy and social policy, realization of information campaigns targeted at transformation of dominating gender stereotypes on the division of the social roles of men and women in a society.

At the same time, information support for gender studies still has certain gaps that cause the need for ***further development of scientific research and improvement of the gender statistics system***. In this context, reasonable measures include both assistance in scheduled population questionings by the State Statistics Service, programmes of which have already been developed but which are postponed due to financial or organizational reasons (e.g. the Census, a sample enterprise questioning on wages by occupation, etc.), and support for special, 'thematic' sociological surveys.

The completed study has outlined a certain 'field' of scientific interests that determine priority directions of subsequent explorations (men's attitude to a possibility of their greater involvement in family and parental responsibilities, a large-scale study on gender time budgets, etc.), and

allowed separating targeted female groups whose situation calls for a more in-depth analysis (situation of elderly women shaping a special poverty profile in Ukraine; women who divorced or terminated relations with their partner and who considerably differ from other female groups in terms of their activity, income capacities and general attitude to life priorities; single mothers and their survival strategies, etc.).

STATISTICAL ANNEXES

ANNEX A. GENDER INDICATORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET SITUATION IN UKRAINE

Table. A.1. Inactive population by causes of inactivity and gender, Ukraine, 2005 and 2011.

	Economically inactive population, total, thousand persons	Pensioners	Pupils/Students	Housewife or husband	Incapacity due to ill health	Disillusioned in finding a job	Maintained by others	Do not know how and where to search for a job	Believe that there is no appropriate work	Seasonal worker	Hope to return to a previous job	Applied for early retirement	Other
		as percent of the total											
2011													
Women	7,511	49.9	20.3	25.6	0.8	0.7	1.5	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.5
Men	4,754	48.5	32.4	9.0	2.1	1.5	1.7	0.4	1.0	0.7	0.1	0.1	2.5
2005													
Women	8,147.5	49.4	22.5	19.6	1.5	1.7	1.5	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.1	1.6
Men	5,412.2	45.2	34.0	3.6	3.3	2.7	1.9	1.2	1.1	1.2	0.3	0.3	5.1

Source: Labour Force Survey.

Table A.2. Employed population aged 15-70 by gender and status of employment at the labour market, 2006-2011.

	2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
Total, survey population in thousands	10,675.6	10,054.8	10,764.8	10,139.9	10,849.7	10,122.6	10,217.2	9,974.3	10,300.4	9,965.6	10,442.9	9,881.3
<i>Total by status of employment as a percent</i>												
Employees	82.0	80.0	81.8	79.5	83.1	80.8	82.2	80.9	81.7	80.4	81.5	79.9
Employers	1.3	0.6	1.3	0.7	1.3	0.7	1.3	0.7	1.3	0.7	1.3	0.8
Own-account workers/sole-traders	16.2	19.1	16.5	19.5	15.2	18.2	16.0	18.1	16.5	18.5	16.8	18.9
Unpaid family workers (housewife/househusband)	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4

Source: Labour Force Survey.

Table A.3. Unemployed population (ILO methodology) aged 15-70 by gender and causes of unemployment, Ukraine, 2006-2011.

	2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
Total, population in thousands	804.1	710.9	770.7	646.9	768.9	656.2	1172.0	786.8	1,056.4	729.2	1,007.0	725.7
<i>as a percent of the total:</i>												
Dismissed due to economic causes	29.6	30.5	26.6	31.6	25.5	31.2	45.3	45.5	39.2	38.9	33.9	35.2
Voluntarily dismissed	36.6	38.3	38.0	38.5	38.9	38.3	25.4	29.6	28.4	30.1	32.2	31.9
Demobilized from regular military service	2.1	-	2.1	-	2.2	-	1.4	-	2.2	-	2.3	-
Not-placed in jobs after graduation from education institutions	16.0	18.0	17.2	17.6	19.1	17.4	13.6	14.7	14.7	18.2	16.7	21.6
Dismissed due to ill health	1.5	0.8	1.0	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.5	1.3
Dismissed due to contract expiry	11.0	9.5	11.5	8.9	11.6	10.0	10.5	6.7	11.7	8.3	11.1	7.3
Other causes of unemployment	3.2	2.9	3.6	2.8	2.0	2.4	3.2	2.5	3.0	3.4	3.3	2.7

Source: Labour Force Survey.

Table A.4. Number of unemployed persons covered with measures of active employment policy by gender and regions of Ukraine, 2011

	Number of persons placed in jobs, thousands		Rate of placement in jobs, %		Individuals provided with services of occupational counselling, thousands		Rate of covering with counselling services, %		Individuals covered with occupational training, thousands		Rate of covering with occupational training, %		Individuals participated in public works, thousands		Rate of covering with public works, %	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
Ukraine	409.4	353.2	45.2	37.0	854.1	889.7	94.4	93.7	106.7	108.8	16.4	14.5	170.3	192.6	18.8	20.3
AR Crimea	12.5	16.6	42.2	39.7	28.2	41.8	95.4	96.0	3.0	5.5	15.3	16.1	2.9	5.2	9.8	12.1
Vinnitsya	19.2	15.1	43.9	38.1	42.4	38.1	96.7	95.7	5.1	3.3	13.9	9.9	4.5	5.3	10.4	13.5
Volyn	13.2	10.9	51.2	42.6	22.8	23.6	88.0	89.0	2.6	2.6	16.1	13.9	6.5	4.6	25.4	17.5
Dnipropetrovsk	27.3	22.1	47.3	32.1	55.9	61.8	96.8	96.5	6.2	8.4	16.7	16.8	6.9	8.3	12.1	13.1
Donetsk	28.2	26.3	51.0	31.5	52.4	66.7	94.7	93.1	4.8	10.9	15.9	19.6	9.5	20.7	17.2	28.9
Zhytomyr	13.9	11.9	39.3	32.5	34.4	35.8	97.2	96.5	2.6	2.5	10.2	8.6	3.8	4.8	11.0	13.0
Zakarpattia	9.5	10.1	46.0	39.4	19.7	25.5	94.8	94.9	1.9	2.5	13.7	12.5	2.5	3.2	12.5	12.2
Zaporizhzhya	17.7	16.2	43.1	31.7	38.3	40.2	93.5	92.1	4.2	4.3	14.2	12.6	7.4	9.2	18.2	21.1
Ivano-Frankivsk	15.7	14.9	49.2	44.2	29.8	31.7	93.1	92.3	3.8	4.1	19.5	17.5	7.2	6.7	22.5	19.7
Kyiv	11.0	10.5	41.3	33.1	25.0	26.9	93.6	91.9	2.7	3.0	13.3	12.9	5.7	5.6	21.5	19.1
Kirovograd	14.3	10.5	47.2	36.6	28.7	27.1	94.4	93.2	4.5	3.3	19.0	13.4	7.3	9.6	24.1	33.3
Luhansk	21.2	15.2	55.4	38.8	37.0	37.7	96.3	96.8	4.7	4.8	21.2	16.3	8.3	12.5	21.8	32.2
Kviv	18.4	18.2	42.3	37.7	41.1	44.8	94.2	93.5	5.1	6.1	16.6	16.3	7.5	7.0	17.4	14.7
Mykolayiv	13.5	10.6	42.2	35.7	29.6	28.1	92.1	91.8	3.7	2.5	14.8	10.4	4.5	5.8	14.2	18.9
Odesa	13.7	11.6	40.7	34.0	31.1	29.6	92.2	91.2	4.4	3.5	16.3	13.4	5.9	5.8	17.6	18.0
Poltava	21.3	15.5	43.2	32.5	46.4	42.6	94.1	92.7	6.5	3.3	16.8	9.0	14.0	14.2	28.4	31.0
Rivne	15.4	12.6	44.8	37.6	33.0	32.0	95.9	95.2	5.0	4.5	20.2	17.1	6.7	6.9	19.6	20.6
Sumy	12.0	9.4	38.9	31.3	26.2	25.5	84.7	85.5	2.9	3.1	11.5	12.4	4.4	3.9	14.4	13.1
Ternopil	13.8	10.1	43.8	42.4	30.5	25.4	96.8	96.4	2.9	2.3	12.2	11.8	5.6	2.5	18.0	9.5
Kharkiv	26.5	24.7	48.5	40.5	53.1	57.1	96.8	95.9	8.1	7.8	21.3	17.8	11.4	14.7	20.9	24.7
Kherson	9.3	8.6	46.0	38.2	19.5	21.7	96.1	96.0	3.5	3.3	22.2	17.9	3.8	4.0	18.7	17.7
Khmelnytsky	19.5	14.4	52.0	44.4	36.0	30.7	95.9	94.2	4.5	3.7	16.7	15.1	6.9	5.8	18.6	18.1
Cherkasy	19.3	15.9	47.6	36.4	38.3	37.5	94.3	93.7	4.9	3.8	16.2	12.0	13.0	14.7	32.1	36.9
Chernivtsi	5.6	4.3	34.7	30.2	14.7	13.1	91.4	90.6	2.5	1.7	17.8	13.8	4.6	3.4	29.1	23.8
Chernihiv	10.8	8.8	40.3	33.1	26.3	26.0	97.9	97.4	3.0	2.1	13.5	9.1	5.7	4.5	21.3	17.1
City of Kyiv	4.4	5.7	35.5	63.6	10.6	14.1	84.4	82.8	2.4	4.3	31.2	37.4	2.2	2.3	18.0	13.5
City of Sevastopol	0.8	1.3	37.2	26.6	1.8	3.3	86.9	86.9	0.2	0.3	14.9	14.0	0.1	0.2	4.6	5.3

Source: State Employment Service of Ukraine.

ANNEX B.
GENDER DIMENSION OF POPULATION INCOME GENERATING IN UKRAINE
(based on Household Survey of Ukraine)

Table B.1. Average personal incomes of population by gender, 2001-2011

	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009	2011
Average male income, UAH monthly	187.9	280.1	561.3	921.1	1,361.7	1,720.2
Average female income, UAH monthly	118.5	175.2	363.7	573.7	862.9	1,122.9
Female to male income ratio, %	63.1	62.6	64.8	62.3	63.4	65.3
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	148.2	221.7	452.4	729.8	1,087.0	1,391.4

Table B.2. Average monthly income of population by gender and age groups, 2007-2011

Age groups	2007			2009			2011		
	Average male income, UAH monthly	Average female income, UAH monthly	Female to male income ratio, %	Average male income, UAH monthly	Average female income, UAH monthly	Female to male income ratio, %	Average male income, UAH monthly	Average female income, UAH monthly	Female to male income ratio, %
18-29	767.5	377.1	49.1	1023.9	552.0	53.9	1359.7	753.7	55.4
30-34	1159.2	561.3	48.4	1590.0	841.7	52.9	2075.5	974.7	47.0
35-39	1078.2	668.9	62.0	1804.7	937.4	51.9	2093.4	1287.3	61.5
40-44	1117.2	683.7	61.2	1555.8	1000.1	64.3	2148.8	1293.7	60.2
45-49	1085.8	669.1	61.6	1490.7	977.5	65.6	1884.6	1265.8	67.2
50-54	950.3	675.3	71.1	1456.1	980.8	67.4	1806.7	1273.2	70.5
55-59	922.4	735.9	79.8	1401.1	1151.9	82.2	1658.1	1486.0	89.6
60 and over	735.9	535.0	72.7	1243.9	849.1	68.3	1518.2	1108.0	73.0
Total	921.1	573.7	62.3	1361.7	862.9	63.4	1720.2	1122.9	65.3

Table B.3. Average monthly income of population by gender and educational level, Ukraine, 2007-2011

	2007				2009				2011			
	Complete tertiary	Base tertiary	Complete and incomplete tertiary	Lower than secondary	Complete tertiary	Base tertiary	Complete and incomplete tertiary	Lower than secondary	Complete tertiary	Base tertiary	Complete and incomplete tertiary	Lower than secondary
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	1180.9	656.7	642.1	502.2	1660.9	870.0	958.4	800.0	2030.8	1282.1	1222.0	1027.6
Average male income, UAH monthly	1478.3	810.9	810.6	578.7	2178.6	1082.2	1182.2	1005.0	2603.0	1577.0	1491.4	1201.3
Average female income, UAH monthly	932.3	526.7	499.0	465.5	1272.1	687.6	763.7	706.5	1586.8	1052.2	990.6	945.4
Female to male income ratio, %	63.1	65.0	61.6	80.4	58.4	63.5	64.6	70.3	61.0	66.7	66.4	78.7

Table B.4. Average monthly incomes of population by gender and marital status, Ukraine, 2007-2011

	2007				2009				2011			
	Unmarried	Married	Divorce	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Divorce	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Divorce	Widowed
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	547.0	801.6	735.7	576.8	783.5	1192.4	1104.3	917.9	1033.3	1522.1	1413.6	1173.8
Average male income, UAH monthly	603.0	1034.5	766.2	725.5	845.6	1539.4	1151.7	1222.8	1135.2	1934.7	1507.9	1401.9
Average female income, UAH monthly	458.8	576.7	725.5	552.3	691.4	853.2	1086.6	872.4	872.5	1118.5	1381.9	1136.7
Female to male income ratio, %	76.1	55.7	94.7	76.1	81.8	55.4	94.4	71.3	76.9	57.8	91.6	81.1

Table B.5. Average monthly incomes of population by gender and social-economic status at the labour market, Ukraine, 2007-2011

Gender	2011						
	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Pensioner	Student, Pupil	Unemployed	Other
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	1855.3	4035.9	2057.1	1151.3	424.8	748.4	461.3
Average male income, UAH monthly	2164.4	4310.5	2207.5	1394.2	456.7	862.4	1334.4
Average female income, UAH monthly	1548.9	3257.9	1684.5	1022.7	391.7	508.4	366.1
Female to male income ratio, %	71.6	75.6	76.3	73.4	85.8	59.0	27.4

Gender	2009						
	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Pensioner	Student, Pupil	Unemployed	Other
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	1415.7	2496.7	1585.3	908.8	338.3	569.2	406.8
Average male income, UAH monthly	1656.9	2797.3	1618.9	1141.5	366.0	668.9	1111.9
Average female income, UAH monthly	1164.5	1775.7	1509.2	789.9	309.8	399.4	304.8
Female to male income ratio, %	70.3	63.5	93.2	69.2	84.6	59.7	27.4

Gender	2007						
	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Pensioner	Student, Pupil	Unemployed	Other
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	995.2	2065.6	1196.7	557.0	202.3	394.6	263.8
Average male income, UAH monthly	1177.1	2399.4	1293.0	659.1	250.5	480.8	596.4
Average female income, UAH monthly	809.5	1414.3	951.8	502.4	146.6	233.0	212.6
Female to male income ratio, %	68.8	58.9	73.6	76.2	58.5	48.5	35.7

Table B.6. Average monthly incomes of population by gender and form of employment at the main job, Ukraine, 2007-2011

Gender	2011			
	Work as employee at enterprise or organization	Employer (with employees)	Own-account worker (without permanent employees)	Unpaid work at family farm
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	1,885.4	4,339.9	2,292.3	263.9
Average male income, UAH monthly	2,164.5	4,461.1	2,434.4	335.3
Average female income, UAH monthly	1,598.6	4,072.7	1,880.5	195.8
Female to male income ratio, %	73.9	91.3	77.2	58.4
Gender	2009			
	Work as employee at enterprise or organization	Employer (with employees)	Own-account worker (without permanent employees)	Unpaid work at family farm
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	1,466.5	2,924.3	1,698.5	78.2
Average male income, UAH monthly	1,698.8	3,182.3	1,759.2	...
Average female income, UAH monthly	1,224.4	2,429.6	1,547.0	229.7
Female to male income ratio, %	72.1	76.3	87.9	...
Gender	2007			
	Work as employee at enterprise or organization	Employer (with employees)	Own-account worker (without permanent employees)	Unpaid work at family farm
Average income of total population, UAH monthly	991.9	2,084.5	1,425.9	167.0
Average male income, UAH monthly	1,160.0	2,142.3	1,591.0	181.6
Average female income, UAH monthly	817.8	1,930.3	1,060.1	122.5
Female to male income ratio, %	70.5	90.1	66.6	67.5

Table B.7. Gender composition of the poor population, Ukraine, 2007-2011

Income groups	2007			2009			2011		
	Men, %	Women, %	Total, %	Men, %	Women, %	Total, %	Men, %	Women, %	Total, %
Poor by criterion of the national poverty line, %	46.5	53.5	100.0	45.9	54.1	100.0	47.1	52.9	100.0
Poor by criterion of the subsistence minimum, %	46.7	53.3	100.0	47.0	53.0	100.0	47.0	53.0	100.0

Table B.8. of the poor population by gender of household's head, Ukraine. 2007-2011

Poverty criteria	2007			2009			2011		
	Gender of household head		Total	Gender of household head		Total	Gender of household head		Total
	men	women		men	women		men	women	
Poor by national criteria, %	50.1	49.9	100.0	45.6	54.4	100.0	47.0	53.0	100
Poor by criterion of the subsistence minimum, %	50.4	49.6	100.0	46.0	54.0	100.0	48.1	51.9	100.0
Total, %	49.8	50.2	100.0	47.6	52.4	100.0	46.4	53.6	100.0

Table B.9. Sex-age composition of the poor population of Ukraine, 2007-2011

Age groups	Poverty rates in the corresponding age groups:					
	2007		2009		2011	
	Men, %	Women, %	Men, %	Women, %	Men, %	Women, %
0-4	40.3	34.0	37.0	39.4	34.2	34.2
5-9	37.2	36.7	35.6	31.5	34.5	33.6
10-14	37.3	35.3	36.1	32.7	31.1	28.8
15-19	30.0	32.4	30.9	24.8	28.9	27.1
20-24	24.6	26.7	23.9	29.0	23.3	24.3
25-29	23.9	28.8	25.4	26.4	23.5	28.9
30-34	26.3	32.3	27.3	31.4	24.2	23.8
35-39	32.5	28.6	29.6	26.2	26.6	25.3
40-44	28.3	22.9	24.9	22.6	26.0	23.7
45-49	22.5	22.9	23.5	20.8	23.3	18.3
50-54	23.5	19.4	21.1	21.0	20.7	18.6
55-59	17.8	17.7	19.6	19.0	19.2	16.8
60-64	19.0	17.7	19.5	20.9	14.6	18.2
65-69	22.7	25.0	21.1	24.1	21.1	19.8
70-74	24.5	27.4	23.7	27.5	22.5	20.4
75-79	31.4	32.3	25.9	28.2	20.3	28.1
80 and over	26.0	30.7	32.7	32.2	25.2	28.1

Table B.10. Proportion of incomplete households be gender of households' head and possession of the long-term use goods, Ukraine, 2007-2011

Categories of consumer goods	Proportion of incomplete households, which have the corresponding goods in possession (%):					
	2007		2009		2011	
	headed by men	headed by women	headed by men	headed by women	headed by men	headed by women
refrigerator	81.7	92.2	86.2	95.9	74.1	96.1
washing machine	62.1	73.3	79.2	83.2	55.6	83.6
vacuum cleaner	50.6	60.5	61.2	72.8	58.8	77.0
colour TV	82.3	90.8	85.5	95.3	69.9	95.1
iron	92.3	94.2	82.9	95.4	69.9	96.3
car	23.8	2.8	24.0	5.1	13.0	4.3

Table B.11. Number of population employed in the informal economy by gender and form of employment, Ukraine, 2005-2011

	Total, thousands	Women		Men	
		thousands	% of total employed	thousands	% of total employed
2005	4,436.3	2,190.0	21.2	2,246.3	21.2
2009	4,469.9	2,105.9	21.7	2,364.0	23.1
2011	4,704.9	2,193.3	22.2	2,511.6	24.1

Working as employees

	Total, thousands	thousands	% of total employed	thousands	% of total employed
2005	1,260.7	464.5	5.7	796.2	9.1
2009	1,506.2	500.9	6.2	1,005.3	12
2011	1,586.4	522.5	6.6	1,063.9	12.5

Working as self-employed

	Total, thousands	thousands	% of total employed	thousands	% of total employed
2005	3,175.6	1,725.5	88.4	1,450.1	79.9
2009	2,963.7	1,605.0	84.1	1,358.7	74.5
2011	3,118.5	1,670.8	84.2	1,447.7	74.9

Source: Labour Force Survey

ANNEX C. SOCIAL-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERSTICS OF RESPONDENTS OF SOCIOLOGICAL QUESTIONING

"WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN UKRAINE "

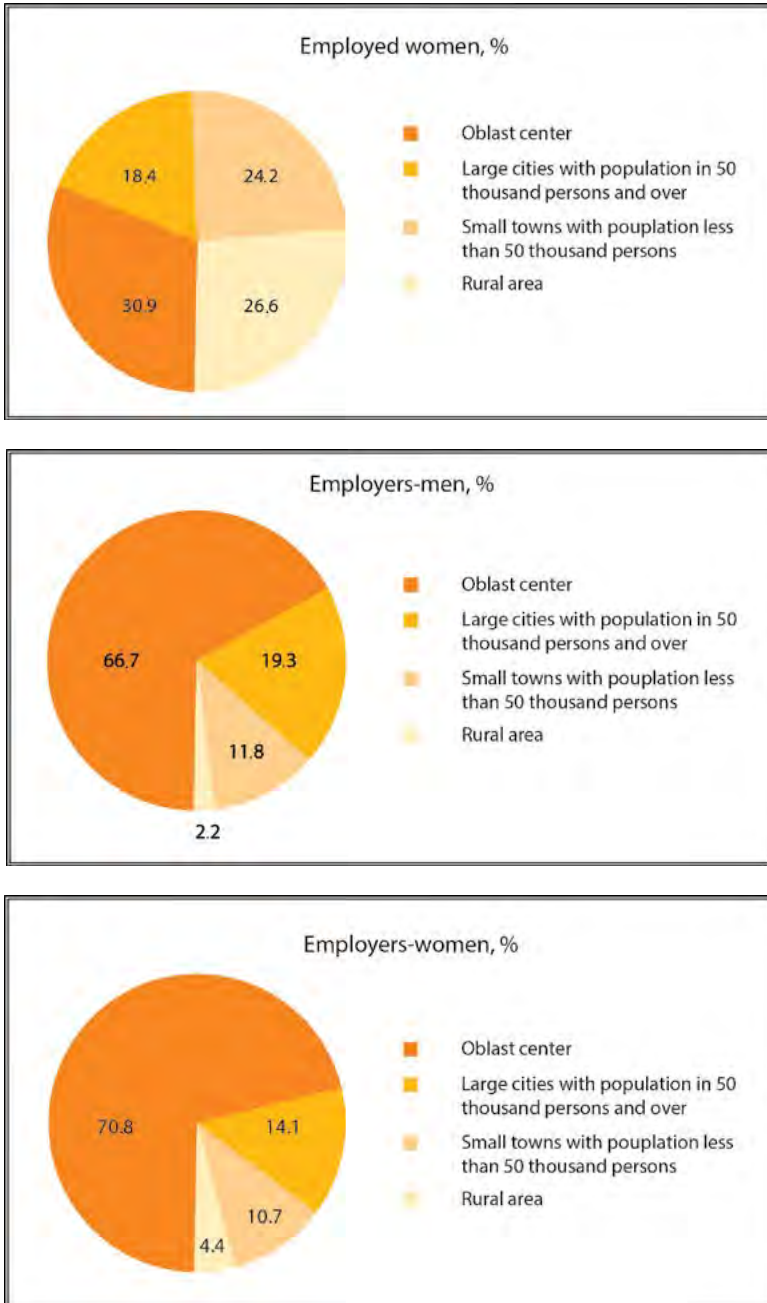


Fig. C.1. Distribution of respondents by type of settlements, %

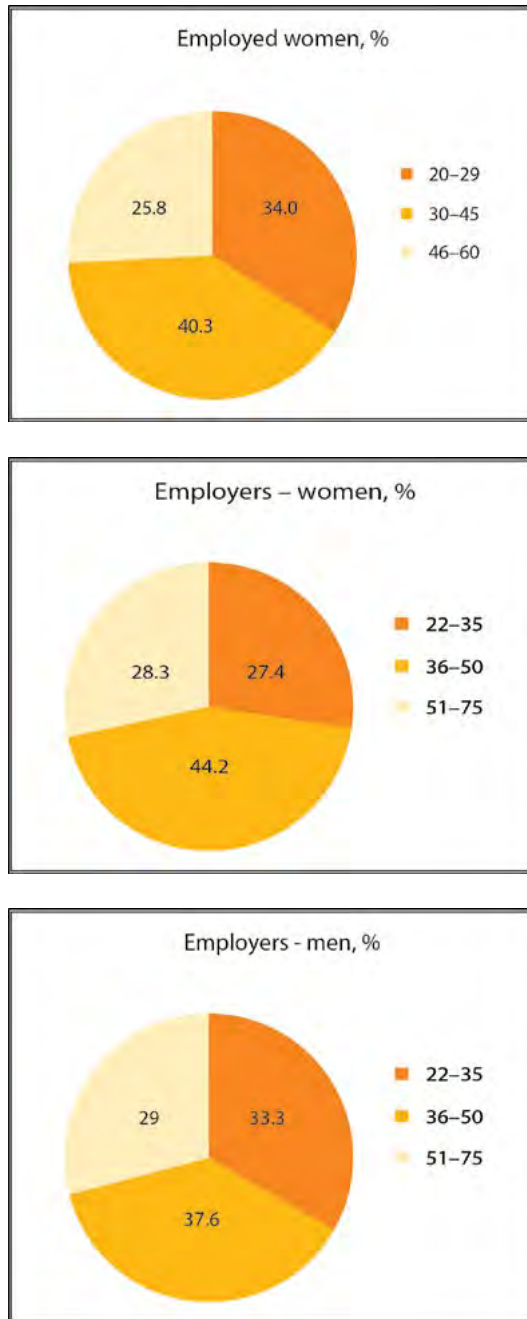


Fig. C.2. Distribution of respondents by aggregated age groups, %

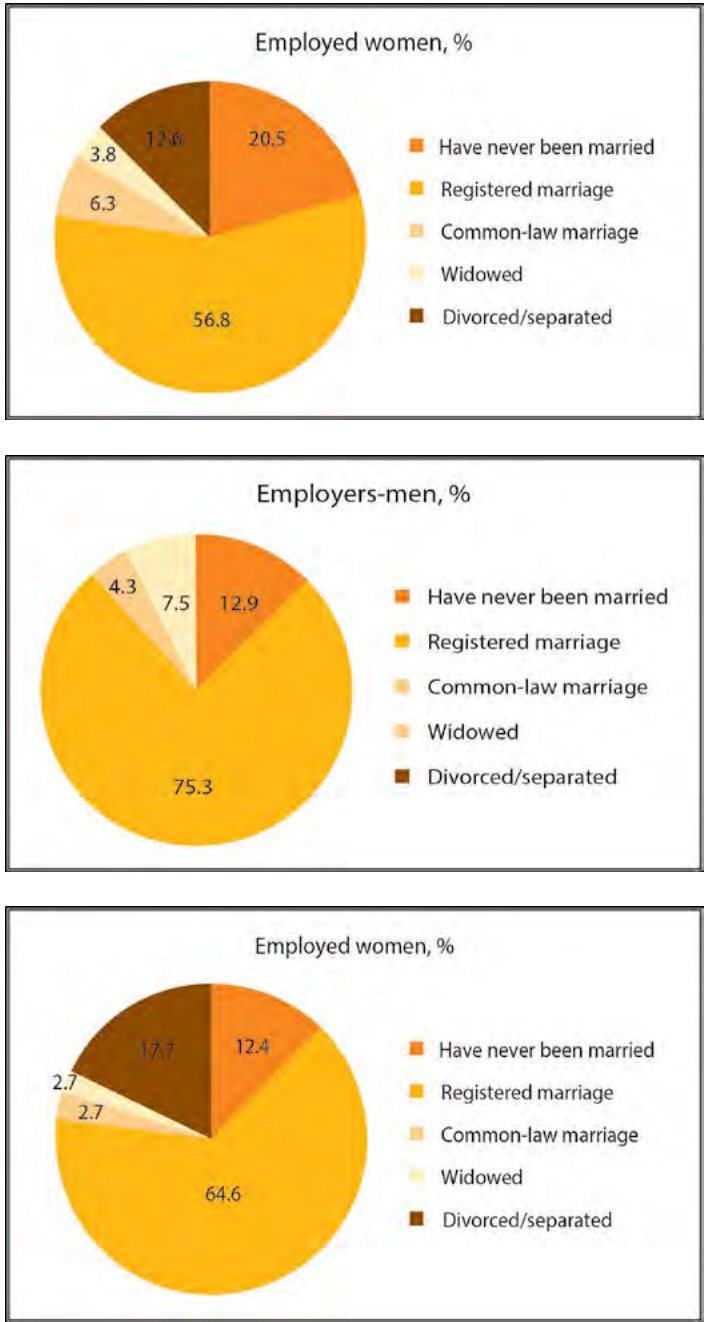


Fig. C.3. Distribution of respondents by marital status, %

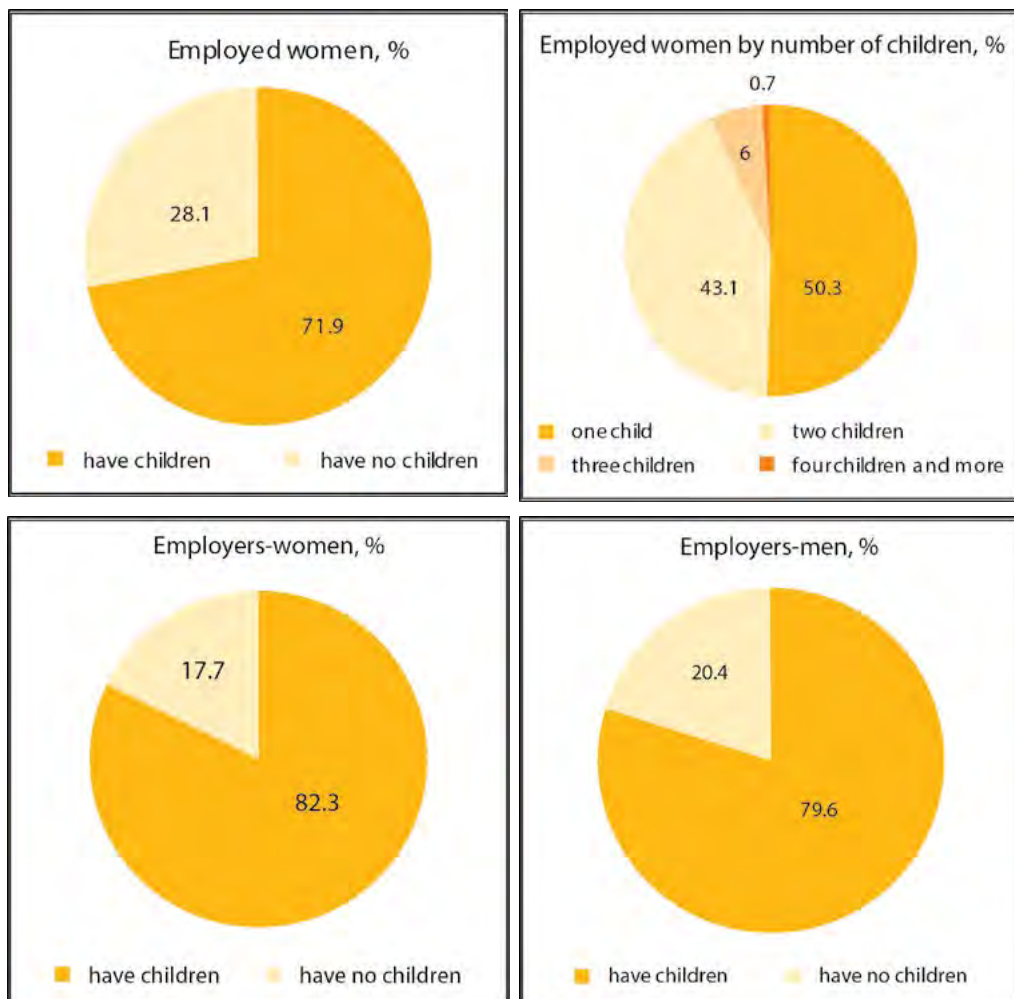


Fig.C.4. Distribution of respondents by number of children, %

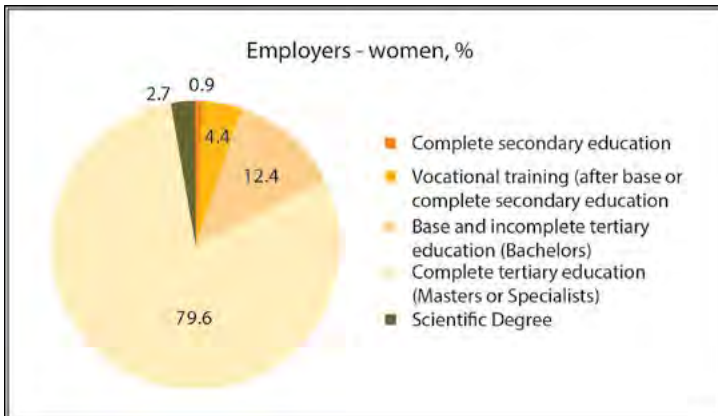
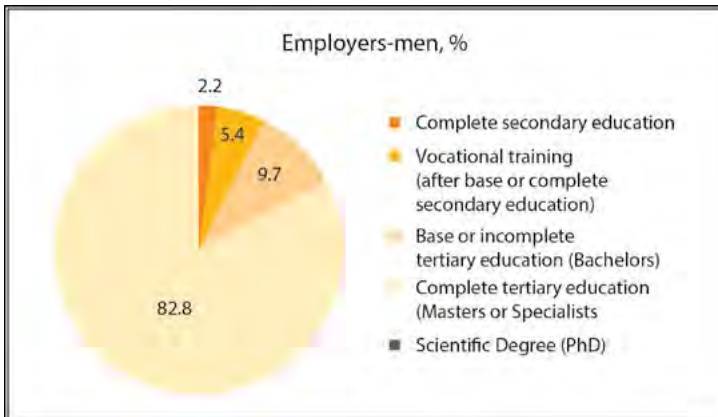
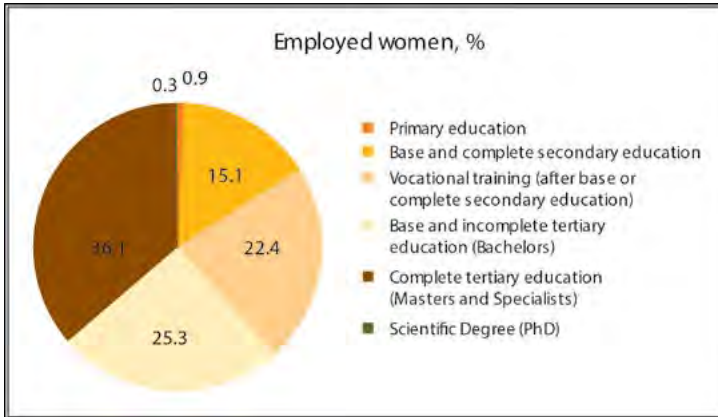


Fig. C.5. Distribution of respondents by education level, %

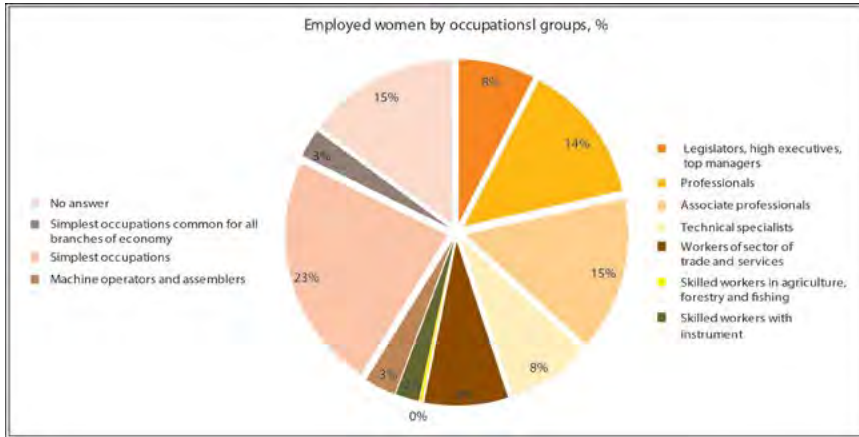


Fig. C.6. Distribution of respondents (employed women) by occupational groups, %

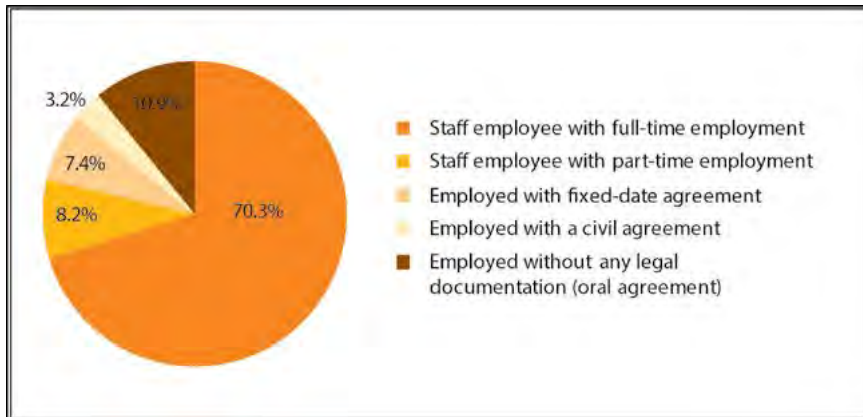


Fig. C.7. Distribution of respondents (employed women) by employment form, %



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