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LABOUR MARKET INEQUALITY AND EXCLUSION AS FACTORS OF FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY IN UKRAINE

This paper examines the nature of labour market inequality and exclusion in Ukraine and how they increase women's chances to go into poverty. Inequality and segregation based on gender exists in all spheres of the labour market and these are caused by multiple factors which sometimes interplay to the disadvantage of the female folks in Ukraine. For this paper, interviews were conducted with some experts in the field of gender studies and labour market relations to gather expert information. Based on the interviews, it is deduced that the existent poor economic situation in the country creates hardship which affects both genders thereby making the discriminations against women unobvious. It is also gathered that the Ukrainian crisis has created steeper competition in the market with employers wanting to maximize profit by placing priority on efficiency which goes hand in glove with longer working hours and more flexible itineraries which sometimes places women at disadvantaged positions due to their maternity roles. Women's labour are therefore priced cheaper leading to about 30% wage gap between men and women in Ukraine. Other factors such as unequal domestic obligations, traditional patriarchal culture, unpaid domestic labour, attitude towards low wages, vertical and horizontal segregation and gendered educational career path were found as causes of gender inequality in the labour market. For the full harnessing and exploitation of the Ukrainian human resource, stereotypes and gender discriminations in the economic spheres need to be dismantled to the barest minimum.

Key words: Labour market inequality, Employment, Segregation, Gender stereotype, Poverty, Feminisation of poverty, Wage gap, Glass ceiling.

INTRODUCTION

Social inequality refers to the ways in which socially-defined categories of persons (according to characteristics such as gender, age, 'class' and ethnicity) are differentially positioned with regard to access to a variety of social 'goods', such as the labour market and other sources of income, the education and healthcare systems, and forms of political representation and participation [Walker, 2009]. While social exclusion is a concept used in many parts of the world to characterize forms of social disadvantage. It refers to processes through which individuals and entire communities of people are systematically blocked from rights, opportunities, and resources that are normally available to members of society and are key to social integration. These include housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation, and legal due process [Boundless.com]. For [Hilary Silver, 1994] Social exclusion, or social marginalization, is the social disadvantage and relegation to the fringe of society. It is a term used widely in Europe and was first used in France.

Labour market inequality and exclusion therefore refers to the uneven distribution of resources and positions, the denial and hampering of participation and right to use opportunities in the workplace.

A study on inequality and exclusion in the labour market of Ukraine is important due to the presence; persistence and increase in rate of poverty among a large number of the Ukrainians, most people including women do not recognize or acknowledge the gender aspect or implication of these injustices. In Ukraine, Older women of pension age, Single mothers with two or more child and those with disabilities bear the most brunt of these marginalization and deprivations.

This article aims to x-ray the gender dimension of workplace disparity and segregation and how it makes women in Ukraine more susceptible to poverty due to lower income. It investigates if labour market inequality and exclusion is a cause of feminine susceptibility to poverty in Ukraine; the dimensions of this process; its effects and how it can be limited.

It seeks to find out if the labour market inequality is a cause of feminization of poverty; if education is gendered in Ukraine and how this affects women's entry and participation in the labour market and if it leads to wage gap; If glass ceiling and glass escalators exists and how.

The data used for this paper was gotten from experts who are knowledgeable, experienced and have researched

previously and currently in inequality and labour market relations, poverty studies and gender studies through in-depth interview. These experts include: Dr Tamara Martsenyuk of the department of sociology, National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy; Dr. Natalia Lavrinenko of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; Dr. Olga Ivaschenko of the Department of Social Structure, Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; Professor Olga Kutsenko, Head of Social Structure and Social Relations Department, Faculty of Sociology, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv and Maria Dmriyeva a gender expert who has been involved in gender studies for about twenty years. Other supporting data are gotten from previously done surveys on the subject matter.

According to [Ashley Crossman, 2016] In-depth interviewing is a method of qualitative research in which the researcher asks open-ended questions orally and records the respondent's answers, sometimes by hand, but more commonly with a digital audio recording device. This research method is useful for collecting data that reveals the values, perspectives, experiences and world views of the population under study, and is often paired with other research methods including survey research, focus group and ethnographic observation. Typically in-depth interviews are conducted face-to-face, but they can also be done via telephone or video chat. While [Beate Littig, 2013] defines it as an interaction between an interviewed person and one or two interviewers; expert interviews are about a person's special knowledge and experiences which result from the actions, responsibilities, obligations of the specific functional status within an organisation/institution; researchers are not interested in individual biographies, not single cases, but in the expert as a representative of an organisation/institution, insofar as he/she (re-)presents the (re)solutions or decision-making structures.

The expert interview method suits this research/topic because it is flexible and continuous and allows as many related questions as possible which provide as much necessary information as possible from the wealth of knowledge of the experts. This may have been lacking had questionnaires been used. It gives an in-depth and specific knowledge about the topic of research. It served to shorten time-consuming data gathering processes, particularly as the experts used in the research were seen to be "crystallization points" for practical insider knowledge and were interviewed as substitutes for a wider circle of

participants. It is also evident that this expert interview offered an effective means of quickly obtaining results and, indeed, of quickly obtaining good results.

Eleven comprehensive open-ended interview questions were formulated and administered on five experts. Selection of these experts was done based on their expertise. Three face to face interviews were conducted and data was gotten by audio recording and hand written notes, one electronic interview was done by email correspondence and the last electronic interview was conducted by Skype. Each of these interview sessions lasted about one hour thirty minutes.

The Structuration theory of Anthony Giddens propounded by Anthony Giddens in his book *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration* (1984) proffers a reasonable explanation for the presence and persistence of labour market inequality as a factor of feminization of poverty as it highlights both the structural and the agency factors that necessitate it. Anthony Giddens used the term Structuration to express mutual dependency of human agency and social structure without giving primacy to either based on a synthesis of structure and agency effects known as the "duality of structure." Instead of describing the capacity of human action as being constrained by powerful stable societal structures (such as the labour market and its forces) or as a function of the individual expression of will (agency- will, choice and discretion), Structuration theory acknowledges the interaction of meaning, standards and values, and power and posits a dynamic relationship between these different facets of society. Giddens argues that just as an individual's autonomy is influenced by structure, structures are maintained and adapted through the exercise of agency. The interface at which an actor meets a structure is termed "Structuration." This clearly explains the case of Ukraine where structural factors to the problem under study abound, yet the women also play their role to encourage it by playing along with societal stereotypes such as trooping to study courses acclaimed to be feminine, seeking jobs in feminine fields in other to meet maternal obligations, and accepting status quo in terms of unequal wages and unequal hours on domestic responsibilities as their partner.

CAUSES LIKELY TO MAKE WOMEN POORER IN UKRAINE

There is no gain saying that a large proportion of Ukrainians are currently living in poverty. In this section, this paper is actually interested in finding out the factors likely to make women in particular poorer than they were/are and than men are.

For Kutsenko, the factors likely to make women poorer in Ukraine are: first unequal home obligations; second, reproduction of traditional patrimonial culture in less educated families, especially in rural areas- ("a man is a master / owner in a family"). One of the major factors according to Martsenyuk is that all reproductive labour such as maintaining households, caring for children, elderly and disabled people are not paid for (unpaid domestic labour). This demands a lot of time resource and is stereotypically attached to women. In Scandinavian countries which happen to be leading in gender equality, men are encouraged to participate in this unpaid caring work to make their societies more equal and egalitarian. A lot of women in Ukraine engage in caring services at home and abroad to make money but these services don't attract a lot of income at home. The poorer households are, the more these unpaid labours are attached to women. This is because from research results, unemployed/ low income men are less eager to help their partners in domestic chores. They are usually under stress and are not willing to

engage in less prestigious work. From the standpoint of British Sociologist Valerie Bryson time is a resource which is important to build one's career. This time women don't have, due to their domestic activities and it affects their involvements and income in the labour market. This exists especially when they have small children and do not have family members to assist them in caring for the children (mother or grandmother or elderly relative).

Official statistics show that, of all the people with Higher education in Ukraine, women constitute 56 %. The problem is that education (especially higher education) offered in Ukraine does not influence a person's access to social elevation. Even if you have the best university education, you may not be successful in your career opportunity. You have to be in a place that offers job or have connections that make you available to those who make the decision. Men are more socially mobile, they are encouraged by the environment to look for profitable jobs which pay more money while women are supported to get married early and have children. The current trends demand that women work and have children (Dmytriyeva).

For Ivaschenko low wages and attitude towards low wages by men, women and government are also factors likely that make women poorer. Dmytriyeva Supports this view by stating that there is strong horizontal segregation in Ukraine, there are occupations dominated by women such as education. About 85 % of school teachers are women and in the healthcare women constitute majority. In these spheres salaries are quite low.

She further states that, women are still believed to play second fiddle roles. This can be seen in the mass media. The Institute of Mass Information has been conducting gender based monitoring of press and this shows that 70 % of materials are about men while about 30 % are about women, both in the print media and online media. Same goes for experts, 22 % of female expert's opinion are sort about issue. The advertisement media also engages in sexism/ sexualisation of women as Barbie on bill boards, TV, radio and rarely do they talk about women who have excelled in their jobs/ career path. This limits career advancement and women believing in themselves.

From a sociological perspective only structural reasons (Macro level) cannot be used to explain the reason why women's responsibility for most unpaid labour is maintained, the individual reason (Micro) can as well be used. At the Macro level, the state maintains this because it is more convenient for women to engage in unpaid labour instead of social policies which are child-friendly and cost intensive to be enacted (Martsenyuk). "Social services had been destroyed after the 1990(s) and private services are very expensive" (Dr. Lavrinenko). The state also creates moral panics; they blame population reduction on women and reinforce the image of an ideal good woman/mother, who happens to be one who is responsible for the home front. This makes the women strive to be good mothers to their economic detriment Martsenyuk further stated.

On the other hand (Micro level), women are responsible for this persistence because they do not fight to change the status quo. They sometimes do not negotiate the sharing of responsibilities as they want to be the ideal good mothers and superwomen, who do career, have children and takes care of them, engage in emotional labour by being a psychotherapist to their husbands/partners and children and are also activists among others. The women do not find it easy to challenge existing stereotypes. Institutionalized ways of how things are done have maintained the patterns of gendering labour sectors. Women are less competitive with men unless they

absolutely have to and because they are highly educated when they decide to, they succeed.

FEATURES OF LABOUR MARKET INEQUALITY AND EXCLUSION IN UKRAINE

For Martsenyuk, there are individual/ personal issues, structural (the policies of state towards women), organizational/cooperation factors to gender pay gap. When trying to analyze the difference in gender pay gap, it is better to look at it from the Macro level (Institutional/ state level), Meso level (enterprises/companies/group) micro level (personal level: a situation where women are responsible for negotiating for better or equal pay). While for Ivaschenko factors to consider for the existence of inequality in wages in Ukraine are patriarchal culture, Soviet ideology (historical), social policies, poor economic situation in general and economic situation in the family in particular from previous times to current times. These place women in second place. Feminisation of jobs/ low jobs has maintained the wage gap and may not change soon.

Dmytriyeva and Martsenyuk are of the view that vertical and horizontal segregations as well as gendered educational career paths are likely to make women poorer in the work place. The education sector is one sector that needs to be changed. The higher education is highly segregated with courses like pedagogy being perceived to be a women's course of study. Pedagogic educations, Medicine (pay between \$100-200 monthly), and secretarial fields for instance have lower wages and which make men reluctant to work in such areas while information technology and other technical education taken mostly by men offer good salaries. Decision making positions are usually held by men as well.

In schools for example, 80 % of school teachers are women but they have 50 % chance of being headmistresses while 20 % male teachers have 50 % chance of being headmasters. Lavrinenko stated that, in 2013 the wages of women was 88.5 % of the wages of men. The smallest gender difference in payment was in Health Care (90 %) and the largest in the Industry. "In my opinion, the main reason that works against women is patriarchal gender stereotype" says Lavrinenko. Monitoring population surveys in Ukraine, produced by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine from 2002 to the present, showed that 18 % of respondents think that "Women should hold executive positions", 69 % – do not agree, and 13 % do not know what they think about this (survey 2010). Interestingly, this stereotype is prevalent among older men (over 55 years) and among male leaders (They see women as strong competitors).

The economic activity of women and men, according to recent statistics in 2014 were respectively 56.1 % and 69.3 %. The employment rate of women of working age was 61.1 % and men 67.7 %. The unemployment rate for women and men were respectively 7.5 % and 10.8 % reflects the trend of economic activities. It should also be noted that at present level of Ukrainian unemployment among women is lower than the average in the EU. But on the other hand, we must consider the employment of men and women according to age groups. The comparison of structural shares of individual age groups for men and women showed two fundamentally important features that clearly reflect the age dynamics, social roles and economic activity of men and women in the labour market.

The share of employed men selected for the first four age groups (15-24, 25- 29, 30-34 and from 35-39 years) are stable and higher than in women but the next three selected age groups (40-49 years, 50-59 years and 60-70 years) have a similar stability typical for the female

segment of the labour market. "Young" age groups in men are clearly higher than the female segment but after 35 years the situation undergoes reversible and irreversible changes up to 70 years.

For (Ivaschenko O), the current situation of the economy has generally increased hardship for all citizens without reference to any particular gender hence employers are more interested in optimization of profit therefore, in her opinion there are no peculiar factors that are likely to make women poorer. While (Kutsenko O.) differs by stating that "the main factor is the closed access to higher administrative/managerial positions in organizational hierarchy – especially in public sector". Age, marital status and location work together for and against women when it comes to eligibility for employment. For most private sector jobs- a young, unmarried and attractive woman is expected. In this sector, sexism, ageism and look-ism exist. Older women before pension or around pension ages are also really affected/ discriminated against when searching for jobs. They are perceived as less eager to learn new skills and technologies like using computers and applications unlike men. Young women for employers are "potentially pregnant" and this affects their eligibility. Those who have young children are also disadvantaged despite the fact that asking of marital status and number of children at the point of employment are violations of the labour law (Martsenyuk). The more children especially at young age the more problematic for women because they are assumed to lead to interruptions in career. For men, these factors are secondary or tertiary issues. Despite these, employers are generally looking for qualified persons men or women (Ivaschenko). (Lavrinenko) was of a divergent view, 'when an employer hires a woman to work, her personal data is not really taken into account but preference will be given to a man, if he also wants to get this job. For her, there are no significant regional differences'.

For rural people in general, getting jobs is a problem but rural women are more disadvantaged, they hardly access state supports like kindergartens, they are more attached to domestic responsibilities, they are less mobile, rural men are more likely to have cars. To find jobs outside their villages is even more difficulty due to mobility. For them it is easier to engage in farming and this is in small scales. These problems are less in public sector, worse in private and worst in informal sector. In informal sector the motivation for women to go to work is lower since they do not have anyone to report to. They can afford to go only when it's convenient, and when the cost of transportation is not affordable they just don't go. Unlike the private or public where they may be lucky to have a means provided for going to work. Family responsibilities keep them at home more, than if they had a formal job to go to (Martsenyuk).

For Dmytriyeva, number or age of children if not an issue, but whether local infrastructures allow for kindergartens and after school activities so that women can safely keep their children while they work elsewhere during the day. In villages kindergartens are closing down as well as schools. This makes it more difficult for families with children to provide their education.

The impacts of each of listed above factor can be crossed. The intersectional theories and methodologies explain such multi-factor models. Each of the listed factors above itself could have a significant contribution in employment status and poverty. Their intersection (crossing) can produce the special effects (better or worse situation on labour market, professional career or in general social status for women) (Kutsenko).

Patriarchal gender stereotypes operate in all areas of labour, both in the public and in the private sector. The

woman is a less desirable employee; because she gives birth to children, she may not work for up to 9 hours per day like a man would, in the evening she has to go to the children and so on. An example of this undesirability is in the fact that Men are invited for the position of top managers six times more likely than women are. The analysis of the International HR portal shows that demand in the labour market of Ukraine, as well as in the EU is gender-segregated, both horizontally and vertically. Thus, conventional "male" professional areas are "security" (4 % of women), "installation and service" (5 % of women), "automobile business" (9 % of women), "mining of raw materials" (9 % of women), "working hours" (15 % of women) and "information technology" (16 % of women). Less than a third of women seek for work in the areas of "production" (21 % of women), "top management" (24 % of women), "transport and logistics" (24 % of women), and "real estate" (25 % of women). The most traditionally "female" sectors are "administrative staff" (19 % men), "personnel management, training" (23 % men), "science education" (25 % men), "accounting, managerial accounting" and "finance companies" (27 % men). These data confirm the presence of established gender stereotypes of traditional "female" and "male" professions and the fact that men engage in highly paid profession, while women engage in professions with less income. However, none of the professional areas is not just a "female". In all professional fields the percentage of men is at least five parts (Lavrinenko).

There are several kinds of jobs associated strongly as "men's" or "women's", the teaching of languages, literature; babysitting (are mostly women's); in contrast: a public transport driver or constructor (are mostly men's) (Kutsenko). For (Dmytriyeva), it is believed for instance that men should not be working with children. While women should not be in decision making positions because they are too emotional. Women should not be drivers although during Soviet times, a lot of women drove trolley buses. These stereotypes are obsolete and do not tally with what we see in everyday life she says. Women are on another hand perceived as Barbie and mothers while men as professionals and providers by both employers and the society generally. Men are bold and believe in themselves and this improves their chances/bargaining power in the labour market. This exists in all sectors and causes wage gap. Socialization from young ages creates and reinforces these beliefs. The media encourages these stereotypes by how men and women are positioned in it (Martsenyuk).

In the government sector, women usually work in low positions and rarely make it to the top. This is not an institutionalized obstacle but a function of glass ceiling. There are areas like Military or Private security firms who don't officially say that they don't hire women; but they add clauses such as the applicants must have served in the army.....which disqualify women. In the Ukrainian Army until recently, there was official conscription for men but not for women. In the ongoing fight in the East, women were not initially employed as combatants but they ended up doing combatant works. They were Snipers, Scouts; they ran tanks although they were registered as tailors and secretaries. This raised a lot of dust and the ministry of defence revised some of its guidelines so that these women were registered for the job they do so that they can enjoy all the benefits the military has after they retire from the front. Dmytriyeva supports Martsenyuk by stating that... "In the mines for instance, women forbidden from going underground but they can work on surface which is as dangerous to health as working underground but with less pay". For Kutsenko, there generally isn't glass ceiling but

however there are some differences between genders in getting a job within certain professions. But these differences are becoming less visible (e.g. in politics, police, law which recently have had 'men's faces'). Similarly, we can say that inequality in the workplace exists within the unskilled/heavy physical labour sector in Ukraine. Very often, women want to go to work in these jobs, because they want to have good salary, and then to have good pension. Women even agree to work in the mines and at the manufacturing sector where there are harmful working conditions but they have low presence in the areas of labour where there is high pay and a lot of power. Another example is the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine which consists of 24 people as at 2016 – only three are women and two of these positions have traditionally been for women: Minister of Education and Science and the Minister of Health care (Lavrinenko).

It should also be noted that there are some changes in perception of labour force recruitment. The younger generation of employers are not very concerned about gender; they are more concerned about productivity. The younger generation of men are less patriarchal than the older generation of men. Some also tend to embrace the feminist ideas which help the lot of women. Despite these, young women still face obstacles from their likelihood to go on optional 3years maternity leave if they have a child and other social benefits that go along with motherhood as a reason for not being hired or being hired with lower wages and/or special conditions (Ivaschenko).

Gender pay gap is a large problem in Ukraine and according to different expert estimations this pay gap difference is around 30-40 %. This wage gap is quite high and it translates to a large amount of money despite the declaration of equality in all spheres between men and women in Ukraine. It is note-worthy that this exists in all countries in the world in varying degrees. In the state jobs, women earn less because they are employed in less prestigious jobs and their resource is not properly used. For instance going by education level, majority of those who receive higher education (55-60 %) are women but they end up being employed in jobs that do not require such high level of education. Men are more likely to receive awards, extra allowances or bonuses, they are perceived as major breadwinners although in Ukraine almost all women work. There is very small percentage of women referred to as housewives who fully sit at home. The levels of income in most families require that women also work to make ends meet.

There exists vertical and horizontal segregation in the labour sphere of Ukraine. Vertical segregation is a situation where men receive higher income and have better position while for women encounter glass ceiling which is an unseen barrier that prevents them from rising to top positions on their jobs. For horizontal segregation, there are traditional stereotypes of male and female jobs leading to the concentration of one gender in particular occupations. For the state, parenthood is first of all motherhood. Men as perceived as wallets, those who provide resources for the family while women provide care. The problem the state has paternalist policy towards women, that by trying to over protect women and their reproductive function. Labour codes reinforce this paternalist tendency because women are not allowed to work in hazardous jobs like in mines and so on. These hazardous jobs tend to pay better while women tend to take less prestigious jobs in the care and service sectors (cleaning, secretarial, reception, cashing, selling food stuff, teaching, Nanning, nursing, subsistent agriculture and

more) which are low paid. Horizontal and vertical gender segregation have encouraged pay gap.

In business when women negotiate their salaries, they usually expect less than men. This is another factor. Dr Martsenyuk participated about three years ago in a research on headhunters website where she analysed resumes for job search, women in general expected much less salaries than men. In 2012, men in general expected about 5100 Hryvnia while women expected 3700. (Dmtriyeva) supported this view by stating that, one of the largest online recruitment website reported that at entry level, women were offered about 70 % salaries of what men were offered while at the Executive positions the difference was 50 %. Even from the beginning women with the same qualifications and skills are offered less money. This practice is wide spread among employers who say that they prefer men; this gives them excuse to pay women less. A lot of people believe that such salaries are way too good for women and even women themselves say this. The State is trying to remedy the situation through their employment centres. They even give training on gender sensitivity but every job announcement specifies whether they want men or women and of what age. This is a contradiction to the state legislation which prohibits specifying a person's gender to be employed. Women are more likely to be employed at low paying position, to do nails and run barber shops. Men are referred to jobs that pay more. This gender based inequality is systemic and not properly addressed by the state.

In the informal sector, women are less secure because they invest more time to taking care of their child or children and other family members. They engage in agriculture at subsistence level just to make food for their family and sell very little. They also ask for less than men, men rely on their physical strength and get more money from this. Single mothers and elderly women are worse off in the informal sectors. In pension women who happen to be majority, end up earning less allowance since they earned less income during active service. State support could help women in the informal sector to improve on their earnings.

Glass ceiling is prevalent in all labour spheres in Ukraine, even in new industries like information technology a lot of people still believe that if you are a man trained in this sphere you should be a programmer while if you are a woman: a HR, tester, quality analyser and so on. These stereotypes prevent the harnessing of human resources at the society's disposal to their full capabilities thereby posing as an invisible ceil (Dmtriyeva). For Dr Martsenyuk she states in a more convinced tone that in fact "I will say baton ceiling exists". In the education sector, with reference to higher education, majority of those employed are women, but the highest positions are difficult to be attained by women. Women are in charge of lower skilled work, teachers are women, for the positions of Heads of departments there could be some women but for the highest positions of Rectors or Presidents of universities, out of the over 400 universities in Ukraine there are only very few. The same exists in politics; those who work in lower level politics are mostly women. The more power is involved the less representation of women, few women are heads of Oblasts; same has been mentioned of parliament. Dr Lavrinenko supported this view saying that "even political parties are more reluctant to promote women in elections to the Parliament (Verkhovna Rada). Now Verkhovna Rada has only 11.1 % of women. But there are 30-40 % of women in local government". In business, those who do more routine work are women, but at top management of businesses women are less than 20 %. 3 out 100 richest persons in Ukraine are women, according

to Forbes magazine. This goes a long way to show the huge gap between men and women. Most women who break grounds in business, politics and power usually have some relations to men who are rich or have strong family support and these are few cases. Women worldwide constitute about 22 % of world parliament and about 5 % percent of top businesses. Ukraine is not an exclusion of this low trend but the problem is that here women are very educated, almost all women have access to secondary education and most of those with higher education are women (Martsenyuk).

For Kutsenko, "the administrative/managerial sector is the only sector which reproduces the unequal chances for men and women in career". The responsibility of eliminating glass ceiling rests on women. First of all they seem satisfied or contented with the situation, they feel everything is okay, they can manage or they even sometimes feel they get more than they expect so they settle for less and are not really willing to challenge the status quo. Those who challenge the existing situation by working hard and not being deterred, successfully break through the glass ceil. Those who are held back are those who accept their low or middle positions and do not aspire more by working hard towards more. According to Catherine Hakim (a British Sociologist) in her article she stated that women are responsible for their choices. It has nothing to do with socio-political system- they want to stay home; they want to do part-time jobs and it's their choice. They have a right to choose to either build a career professionally or build their families. There are structural influences as well but they women choose to remain in the box and not break out of it. Even when there are new opportunities, most women won't want to use them especially older women. Younger women are trying to use opportunities available to them to ride over the obstacles created by the structure of society and work place (Ivaschenko).

There was 5 years retirement difference between men and women but currently it has been reduced to 3years. This difference is not perceived as discrimination, since women stay at home for about 3 years during maternity leave. This of course affects the pension of women since they go earlier. Another problem is that men have lower life expectancy of 62years while women have a life expectancy of 74years. Men retire and are expected to live averagely for a short period of 2years in pension while women end up staying for 19 years averagely with lower pension. Although they get some help from their children (for those who have children) they end up engaging in caring work either for their children or on paid term outside (Martsenyuk). Ivaschenko was of the same opinion. She asserted that, women have higher life expectancy and their pension depends on the positions they occupied while they worked. There are more women who are in the age bracket of 70-90 and the number of men drops drastically as the cohorts increase. Due to low pension women still have to work after entering pension. There are about 2million working pensioners in Ukraine. They work in education and medical spheres as well. They add their salaries to their pension to be able to survive. They all try to work so long as they have strength. Lavrinenko states that, about two-third of the pensioners are women and on average, their pension is 66 % of the pension of men and is equal to 55 Euro per month averagely. This is a very small income, even for Ukraine. Therefore, if we talk about the feminisation of poverty and exclusion any social group – it refers primarily to retired women. "My research has shown that:

1) Due to lack of financial resources for a normal life, most of the pensioners want to have another work. This possibility is not available to about a third of pensioners. The

experience of developed economies shows that, it is cost-effective to retain activities of elderly population of the country in various sectors. In Ukraine, a country with very low pensions, this approach can help old people to solve the problem of having a decent standard of living in old age.

2) In Ukraine there is an idea that lots adult children can financially assist their parents- retirees. In fact, when pensioners are living separately from their children, financial help is extremely rare (2-3 %). Some redistribution of resources in favour of the elderly is the case during cohabitation, but only relatively safe in terms of material well-being of families. These facts require that government should raise pensions of the elderly."

The discrepancy in retirement ages also has a negative effect on women in that, from age of 45 employers find it hard to employ them no matter how qualified they were because it was believed they would soon retire.

For Martsenyuk, there are individual/ personal issues, structural (the policies of state towards women), organizational/cooperation factors to gender pay gap. When trying to analyze the difference in gender pay gap, it is better to look at it from the Macro level (Institutional state level), Meso level (enterprises/companies/group) micro level (personal level: a situation where women are responsible for negotiating for better or equal pay). While for Ivaschenko, factors to consider as to the existence of this inequality in wages in Ukraine are patriarchal culture, Soviet ideology (historical), social policies, poor economic situation in general and economic situation in the family in particular from previous times to current times. These place women in second place. Feminisation of jobs/ low jobs has maintained the wage gap and may not change soon.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

From the paper, the following findings were made:

Factors such as: Unequal domestic obligations- a situation where most women spend long hours tending the family unlike majority of men; Traditional patriarchal culture- which sees women as fragile and to be taken care of and emphasizes/promote their reproductive and nurturing abilities; Unpaid domestic labour- the bearing and rearing responsibility/function of women are rewarded monetarily; Attitude towards low wages- Most women see the segregations in the work place as normal, they accept do not negotiate for better pay as their male counterparts do, they also seem to go into feminized jobs which are obviously less paid; Vertical and horizontal segregation- which are unfavourable to women, and Gendered educational career path- a situation where certain career paths are dominated by one gender because it is perceived to be more suitable for the gender; usually favourable for the male gender, were found to be causes of gender inequality in the labour market. To fully harness human resources these stereotypes and gender discriminations in the economic spheres need to be dismantled to the barest minimum.

It is also gathered that the recent Ukrainian crisis economic problem has lead to the need to make profit by placing priority on efficiency. This requires more work input which is difficult for women to meet up with due to their maternity roles. Glass ceiling has also hampered women's optimum growth in the work place. In addition, the media has reinforced the motherhood role, and feminine nature which denotes frailty by portraying them from this light and talking less of their achievements and doggedness. Women's labour are therefore priced cheaper contributing to the wage gap.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Each of the expert gave opinions on how this problem could be minimized. For Lavrinenko, Addressing gender equality at work is heavily dependent on the general

economic situation in the country. Our surveys have shown that in 2013 the income per family member was \$ 194 per month, 42 % of households have only money to buy food. The fierce competition for jobs will remain in this condition, and in this fight, men will use the patriarchal stereotypes that the place for a woman is in the family to care for children, and that a woman should be engaged in administrative work and politics. Of course, the promotion of gender equality must be continued, particularly among young people, but the process will be very long. While Prof Kutsenko proffered creating sufficient labour market and labour regulation policies in Ukraine. While the government should put policies in place to reduce this factor, women need to change their value system, and the younger generation need to change the trends of inequality and exclusion of women and the perception that they deserve lower payments (Ivaschenko).

Education and media stereotypes should be dismantled to encourage women compete favourably in the market. Women should be encouraged to go into technical, engineering and other professional field which are male dominated and better paid. Gender neutral subjects should be taught to all students without the advice of girls going into care subjects and boys into technical subjects for the elective subjects. Again wages of female dominated sectors should be increased in other to have more men go into such sectors. Better social security should be provided for child care so men could be more interested in this process while women also try to build their careers. Stereotypically programs should be reduced in the media; instead programs that create gender balance should be promoted.

Women are sometimes conservative and want to maintain status quo. To reduce stereotypes against them, they should develop solidarity and involve men especially young men. Institutions such as education and politics should also work towards achieving gender balance. The state and society in general should try to create a balance by involving men and sharing the unpaid domestic labour (Martsenyuk). Stereotypes need to be dismantled, employment policies need to be adhered to strictly so that same wages can be offered for same jobs, the judiciary needs to be involved to mete out quick sanctions to erring parties (Dmtriyeva).

Dr. Martsenyuk added that, single mothers, elderly women, rural women, ethnic minorities like Roma women are usually vulnerable groups. Gender neutral policies should be implemented to help vulnerable people generally; because if men are not included, they can take to alcoholism, drug addiction and other social vices. Men find it more difficult to cope with psychological problems and pressure. So stereotypes about femininity and masculinity need to be removed to ease off the burden and pressures associated with meeting their expectations.

CONCLUSION

Ukrainian labour market is indeed segmented and women face some peculiar discrimination. From all the information gathered through the experts, it was generally agreed that there exists labour market inequality and exclusion in Ukraine. Differences in the occupations in which men and women engage in, that is occupational segregation have been identified as a major cause of the gender wage gap. Although the trends are changing, the economic situation in the country presents hard times for both men and women especially of the lower class which makes the work place gender discrimination have less effect and seem opaque.

One contradiction that exists in the Ukrainian labour market is the fact that Ukrainian women are as educated as the men and even more educated yet they somehow

manage to go into lower paying careers; accept lower positions and troop into the informal sectors. It is also gathered that right from the education process, career paths are gendered and so women are mostly expected and actually end up concentrating on the education (pedagogy) courses, medical courses, secretarial studies and acquire skills related to hair dressing, catering and home economics/management. When they venture into the so called male careers, such as engineering, construction, Information Technology; they still find their ways to the service and support aspects of the job which pay less.

The process of recruitment is sensitive to women because of their motherhood tendencies which translate to disruption of service and maternity benefits, sick leaves and frequent needs to be absent due to family needs, inability to run night shifts often and non- flexibility to go on travel trips when necessary. This places women in a disadvantaged position and also affects their bargaining power especially in the private sector. In the state sector, women seem to be subtly excluded from certain position as the state by its paternalistic tendency want to protect the women from hard labour and hazards but in a lot of cases this also excludes them for better pays.

On the average, Ukrainian women earn less than men and this is true for both the formal and in the informal sectors. This discrimination does not take place through the segregation of women in the informal sector but more likely through different remunerations in the formal sector; different career opportunities and the exclusion of women from the better remunerated jobs at the top of the hierarchy. Yet in the informal sectors, women tend to follow stereotypical patterns of activities which they should engage in, and are also restrained by family responsibilities, leading to low incomes.

Generally in Ukraine, parenthood and motherhood seem synonymous. The women are expected to pay more attention to family than career. The absence of good public kindergartens slows women down as they have to look for ways to keep their children safe and engaged while they are at work or they have to resort to less working hours to be with the children. The responsibility of caring for children, sick family members, old family members and even their partner has affected the level of women's advancement in both the public and private sectors.

When it comes to understanding the cause and existence of this problem, some of the experts prefer to look at it from the Macro (structural), Meso (organizational), and Micro (individual/women) levels of analysis. While other experts recommend the analysis from the historical, cultural, attitudinal, economic situation in general and in the family in particular.

To reduce this problem the experts simply suggested that the government put in place better social policies that are child and maternal friendly such as establishing and funding more public kindergartens, increasing the wages of the so called feminized sectors so as to attract more men and balance the gender formation of these sectors. The private organization should be less gender bias and look at women from the point of their potentials rather than their maternal nature. The women are expected to push more for better/equal jobs and wages, defy career/specialization stereotypes and study more rewarding courses, demand more contributions from their partners in domestic activities and also be optimally productive at their jobs not enjoying the paternalist protection from the society. They younger generation should strive for equity, equality and fairness rather than propagate the existing inequality thereby depriving the society of maximization of human resource and capabilities.

Declaration: I Nwaoduh Ebere Oluchi declare that this paper is originality, does not contain statement of conflicts of interest, does not contain materials that infringe copyrights, I give consent to the placing of this material in the Public domain.

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1. Dmtriyeva Maria, Gender Expert, Activist and Leader of FB group Feminism.ua in Ukraine.
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3. Kutsenko Olga, Department Social Structure and Social Relations, faculty of Sociology, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.
4. Lavrinenko Natalia, Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.
5. Martsenyuk Tamara, Department Of Sociology, National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

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НЕРІВНІСТЬ ТА ЕКСКЛЮЗІЯ НА РИНКУ ПРАЦІ ЯК ФАКТОРИ ФЕМІНІЗАЦІЇ БІДНОСТІ В УКРАЇНІ

Розглянуто особливості нерівності на ринку праці та соціальної ізоляції в Україні, їхній вплив на збільшення ризиків жінок, що потрапити за межі бідності. Проінтерв'ювано фахівців у сфері гендерних досліджень і трудових відносин для отримання експертної інформації. Виявлено критичну економічну ситуацію в країні, що створює труднощі для обох статей і тому робить дискримінацію жінок неочевидною, а також зростання конкуренції на ринку праці між роботодавцями, які для максимізації прибутку збільшують кількість робочих годин, що ставить жінок у несприятливі умови, наприклад у зв'язку з материнством. Установлено, що в Україні жіноча праця дешевша приблизно на 30 % порівняно з чоловічою. Серед інших факторів гендерної нерівності на ринку праці зазначено нерівний розподіл домашніх обов'язків, традиційну патріархальну культуру, вертикальну та горизонтальну гендерну сегрегацію в освіті та кар'єрі.

Ключові слова: нерівність на ринку праці, зайнятість, сегрегація, гендерні стереотипи, бідність, фемінізація бідності, різниця в заробітній платі, "скляна стеля".