

## GENDER-BASED DISCRIMINATION IN UKRAINIAN ENTERPRISES: COMPARISON OF THE VIEWS OF EXPERTS, TOP-MANAGERS, AND PERSONNEL

*The paper objective is to compare the perception of gender-based discrimination in Ukrainian enterprises from the perspectives of employers, employees and experts. The gender-based discrimination is analyzed in three dimensions: remuneration and workload, occurrence and acceptance of gender threatening situation that might happen in the enterprise, and overall evaluation of discrimination that is absent or present in the Ukrainian labour market. The empirical data provides the recent evidences of the prevalence of gender stereotypes, the horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market in Ukraine, as well as some discrepancies in the perception of the discriminative practices among employers and employees.*

**Keywords:** gender-based discrimination, labour market, vertical and horizontal segregation.

### Introduction

As proved in a range of studies [4; 5; 8–11], the labour market is gendered, and Ukraine is not an exception. An international project “Gender Equality in the Labour Market in Ukraine” in 2010 [16] as well as other studies before and after it explored various aspects of the gendered character of the Ukrainian labour market, using official statistical data, population surveys and expert interviews. There are some recent studies focused on developing economic spheres in Ukraine, such IT [2]. However, none of the mentioned studies were based on a complex survey of employees and employers (top-managers of the enterprises), and this paper aims to fill in this gap suggesting the comparison of views on gender equality on the labour market among these two categories. Moreover, the experts’ opinions are given for additional qualitative illustration of the quantitative survey findings.

Several dimensions are explored in the paper for the evaluation of gender (in)equality in the enterprise:

- 1) remuneration and workload (self-assessment by top-managers and employees);
- 2) the level of gender discrimination in the company (assessed by managers and by employees, for employees – reassessment after the discussion of gender threatening situations);
- 3) occurrence and acceptance of gender threatening situation in the enterprise.

The paper is structured according to these dimensions. The survey was initiated and supported by the Embassy of Canada in Ukraine, and

implemented by the research team of “GfK Ukraine” research company together with sociologists Tamara Martsenyuk and Tetiana Kostiuchenko during January-March 2017. The paper describes major findings suggesting the complex picture of the gender equality perception by top-managers and personnel in the Ukrainian enterprises.

### Survey methodology

The survey was conducted in three steps:

1. Firstly, the semi-structured expert interviews were conducted in order to draw the scope of issues for the employers’ and employees’ questionnaires – three experts were interviewed (see Appendix A for details).

2. Secondly, the survey of employees was conducted using computer-assisted web-based interviewing (CAWI) – 416 interviews with employees in cities with the population of 100,000 and more residents were conducted.

The data on employees’ survey can be analyzed by the following splits:

- by gender (male/female);
- by settlement size (Kyiv, large cities (cities with 1 million and more residents: Dnipro, Lviv, Odesa, Kharkiv), smaller towns (towns with the population from 100 thousand residents and <1,000 thousand residents)).

3. Thirdly, the survey of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) owners and chief-executive officers (CEOs) of large companies were conducted using computer-assisted telephone interviewing tools (CATI) – overall, 251 telephone interviews with employers were conducted.

The sample of employers' survey was designed to represent five industries specified by the survey initiator (such as agriculture, food, textile, HoReCa, and IT): about 50 interviews per industry, also there was about 50/50 distribution by gender (48 % male, 52 % female). Therefore the data can be analyzed by the following groups of respondents:

- by gender (male/female);
- by industry.

### Survey framework and the experts' views on gender (in)equality

According to the official state statistics as of 2015, approximately 61 % of women and 69 % of men of employment age (meaning aged 15–58 y.o. for women and 15–59 y.o. for men) were employed in Ukraine [1], and the difference in wages by gender was 26 % in the 1st quarter of 2016 (meaning that women received 74 % of men's salary, on average) [15].

The gendered character of the labour market is resulted in the co-existing of two polarized spheres of economic activity for men and women – productive and reproductive spheres [12, p. 77–96], where productive sphere assumes financial benefit and is related to the production of goods or services while reproductive sphere is mostly unpaid and related to house-keeping, childcare and care about family members. Women are expected to handle over the second sphere in patriarchal societies, even when they are allowed to work and when no legal constraints exist for women engagement into the labour market. Such situation leads to the double burden on women in Ukrainian society. The experts mentioned about this traditional role of a woman in the Ukrainian family in when she “must” take care of her family and it actually becomes one of her occupational spheres. It is seen as the main reason of why employed women do not develop their potential to full extent.

*“It seems to me that this is the first role of a woman. I do not like to say that but a woman has a family, which she has to take care of and she has to combine this with her work” [Expert #3].*

*“When I talk to women, mainly younger ones, I start to advocate for some actions... and they reply, ‘I am married’. This remains in people's mentality” [Expert #2].*

According to I. Maltseva and S. Roshchyn, the gender stereotypes influence on gender segregation in the labour market, specifically the job applicants experience discrimination by gender and at the same time are affected by the gender stereotypes they have and are guided with [10, p. 7–50]. So, on the one

hand, the employer might discriminate the employee or job applicant (when assuming that the female applicant or employee would be less efficient in work and less seeking career promotion due to family obligations), on the other hand, the female employee is led by stereotypes when choosing less demanding job position or avoiding competition with male colleagues due to lower self-confidence or lower self-assessment. Similarly, the surveyed experts emphasize that in Ukraine female employees tend to be less self-confident in own capabilities than male ones, and this problem is relevant to all industries:

*“A woman and a man apply for the same position [in IT sector]. The woman has a better experience but she will always claim for lower salary than a man will” [Expert #3].*

*“In other words, it is not like she does not believe in her strengths, she believes in her strengths but in a role of a woman, in a life plan traditional for a woman” [Expert #1].*

The surveyed experts also indicated that there were far less women in top management of Ukrainian enterprises than men, so they had to think as a majority did in their environment. The second one is that women anyway fail while they try to copy the behaviour or orientation of the male top management, because they do not have access to the majority of “male business clubs,” so they always have to prove that they are “insiders” in this informal “clubs”.

*“That is why networking plays a huge role in our business. If you want everything to be OK, you have to make friends with someone. What does it mean to make friends in our circumstances? It means to have a drink together, to go to sauna together, this is about male culture” [Expert #1].*

*“We do not have the same conditions as men do. Because something that men are allowed to do, women are not allowed to do from the very beginning” [Expert #2].*

*“It was observed in big law firms: men have own jokes, woman is outsider here” [Expert #3].*

Those women who managed to break through the “glass ceiling” and become a head of the company “forget” about the problems, which their female colleagues face and associate themselves with male top management.

*“It is where such metamorphosis occurs, when a woman becomes a head of a company, she should have less female and more male image” [Expert #1].*

The legislation ensuring gender equality is another angle, coexisting with the gender stereotypes and forming the framework of the (in)equality in the labour market in Ukraine. The range of legal documents is aimed to ensure principles of

non-discrimination in Ukraine, including the employment sphere:

1) Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) contains the Article 11 regarding the discrimination at work place and during job search, emphasizing that women should have the same employment opportunities as men do, the same remuneration level, and the same criteria for being approved for particular position, etc. [7].

2) The Article 17 of Law of Ukraine “Providing equal rights and opportunities for women and men” (2005) set a range of obligation on the employers with regard to ensuring equality and non-discrimination principles [14].

3) The Labour Code of Ukraine, Article 2 guarantees that the state ensures equality in labour rights “despite the origin, social or financial status, race, nationality, gender, language, political views, religious beliefs, occupation and place of residence, or other circumstances” [6].

Experts suppose that top-managers and SMEs owners are aware of the legislation on prevention of discrimination (and the employers’ survey proves this idea partly); however, implementation of the equality principles in everyday business processes fall behind formal awareness:

*“When you ask businesses they answer that they have equal opportunities for recruitment. In other words, they all understand how it should be arranged. Everybody knows that it is a must, however, there is a question about how it is implemented and followed” [Expert #3].*

However, experts notice the shift in awareness of gender inequality problem: it gets lower depending on how far people live from Kyiv, and it is higher when people faced with something different personally, i.e. foreign, “western” lifestyle and business operations.

*“The share of population who came across other western stereotypes, western behavior, women and men are aware of gender inequality problem” [Expert #1].*

The survey results displayed in the next section of the paper partly prove this statement; although it is hard to forecast drastic changes in the perception of gender (in)equality in the labour market in the short-term perspective without considerable efforts / policies targeted on the employers in particular.

## Survey results

### *Staff structure*

The proof of the *vertical segregation* is obtained: according to the **employees’ survey** results, men

prevail in the companies’ top management. The proportion of women among the top-managers is 20 % which corresponds with the data obtained in the other surveys of employers (in particular, those conducted by recruiting agencies, for example, by Head Hunter Ukraine). The proportion of women among the deputy top-managers is slightly higher (36 %) among the enterprises where employees work. Interestingly, female employees more often mentioned that their enterprises were managed by a woman (29 %) while male employees more often work under men supervision (only 13 % of male employees said that female director leads their enterprise). The situation is similar with first deputy heads – women tend to work under women supervision more often than men do (47 % vs. 23 %, respectively). Such situation is an illustration of the formation of rather homosocial working environment when women in business are trying to unite basing on their gender: female top managers hire women more often, and female employees are more willing to work under women supervision. On the other hand, it illustrates self-segregation when women might prefer working in the female-led enterprise rather than under the supervision of men; working in female-led firm might be preferred even in case of worse conditions or lower salary, in order to feel more comfortable or to avoid potential harassment at work.

The survey of top managers shows similar finding: female top managers of the companies mention higher female representation in companies’ top management (69 % vs. 33 % among male top managers). According to employers, the highest level of female representation in companies’ top management appears in traditionally “female” sectors (among the sectors where top-managers were surveyed), specifically in textile industry, hotels and catering business. Thus, the evidence of the *horizontal segregation* is obtained in the employers’ survey.

### *Direct assessment of the discrimination through remuneration and workload*

The definition “at companies similar to yours” was used in both surveys (of employers and employees) to evaluate the level of discrimination. This question wording allowed avoiding the effect of socially acceptable answers when respondents are asked about their own company and provide answers that are, as they suppose, expected from them.

Among female employees, only about 40 % believe that there is no discrimination, and this is the lowest score among all categories of respondents (see Table). The proportion of male employees who

believe that there is no discrimination in companies similar to theirs is significantly higher (55 %). Similarly, male top-managers indicated about no gender discrimination in companies like theirs significantly more often than their female colleagues (79 % vs. 68 %, respectively). One in five (21 %) female top managers reported about the existence of discrimination against women “at companies similar to theirs”, and 17 % of male top-managers acknowledged that.

masculine aggressiveness, etc.). This situation is described by T. Zhurzhenko [4] who defines two new identities of post-Soviet women – house-keeper and business-lady, and neither of them, according to Zhurzhenko, can be fulfilled in Ukrainian realities to a full extent. To overcome this tension between neo-liberal and patriarchal value orientations, Zhurzhenko concludes, there is a need in reconsidering the reproductive labour as well as designing the state policies targeted at working mothers.

**Table. Perception of the (in)equality in the remuneration and workload among men and women according to employees and employers (% in the category of respondents)**

	Category of respondents			
	Female employees	Male employees	Female employers	Male employers
Men and women among <i>top managers</i> receive approximately equal <i>salaries</i>	75 %	80 %	89 %	84 %
Men and women among <i>employees</i> receive approximately equal <i>salaries</i>	77 %	78 %	85 %	87 %
Men and women among <i>top managers</i> have approximately the same <i>workload</i>	60 %	60 %	61 %	63 %
Men and women among <i>employees</i> have approximately the same <i>workload</i>	63 %	58 %	68 %	66 %
<b>No gender discrimination in similar companies</b>	<b>39 %</b>	<b>55 %*</b>	<b>68 %</b>	<b>79 %*</b>
<i>N</i>	220	196	131	120

\* The difference is statistically significant with the probability 0.95.

Thus, there is a gap in the perception of the absence of gender-based discrimination in companies according to top-managers and employees, on the one hand, and according to women and men disregard their role in the enterprise, on the other hand.

If to look in the perception of the fair remuneration and equal workload in more details, some other differences in the opinion of employees and employers as well as of men and women can be revealed. For example, male employees tend to think that men (top-managers or employees) work more than women (top-managers or employees) while female employees believe in the opposite. As for the employers, no significant difference is observed in the assessment of the personnel workload by male and female top-managers; however, female top-manager significantly more often believe that women as top-manager have higher workload than male top-managers (10 % of female top-managers believe in that, comparing to 1 % of male top-managers). Such discrepancy among male and female top-manager in the perception of female and male top-managers’ workload has the potential for the situation of the double burden (when a woman who is a director is expected to be a ‘good mother and wife’). Or alternatively, it might lead to the adaption of the male practices in business (when woman in business has to act like a man, i.e. demonstrating traditionally

As for the remuneration, the difference between the answers of top-managers and employees is more visible than between the male and female respondents. Both female and male top managers believe that the remuneration of personnel is fair, unlike the employees who tend to suppose that male employees earn more than female ones (15 % of employees vs. 5 % of top management believe in that with regard to personnel salaries). That corresponds with the result of the nationally representative poll in 2014 where about 13 % of women reported about facing (personally, or through relatives or friends) the situations when women were paid less than men for doing similar job [13, p. 78].

The fact that employers do not notice (or unwilling to admit) unfair remuneration with regard to employees’ gender contradicts with the official statistics of Ukraine showing that the average salary of male employees is higher than of female ones. Moreover, the fact that female applicant asks for significantly lower salary comparing to male applicant when seeking similar positions [11] might be advantageous for the employers who can hire the female candidate with similar qualification as a male one for lower cost. Vice versa, the position with higher salary would be allocated for male candidate rather than female one due to stereotypes that woman’s main life goal should be a family, not a career. Such evidences of discrimination in the

labour market as preference to the candidate of particular gender and other gender-sensitive situations at work are described in the next sections.

#### ***Awareness of legal regulations of gender equality principles at work place***

According to the Article 17 of Law of Ukraine “Providing equal rights and opportunities for women and men” approved in 2005 [6] each employer should:

- create such working conditions that would allow women and men to work on equal grounds;
- provide women and men with opportunities to combine career with family responsibilities;
- provide equal remuneration for women and men with the same qualification and the same working conditions;
- take measures in order to create safe working conditions for life and health;
- take measures in order to eliminate cases of sex-based harassment.

In job ads employers are prohibited to offer a job only to women or only to men, except specialized work, which can be done only by a person of a certain gender; to put forward various requirements, giving preferences to one gender; demand from a hired person to provide information on his/her personal life, plans for having children.

According to the nationally representative survey conducted in 2007, one in three adult Ukrainians reported about being aware of the Law of Ukraine “Providing equal rights and opportunities for women and men” [13, p. 73]. However, the comparison by gender shows the significant difference in awareness level: 38.2 % of men comparing to 33.6 % of women indicated that they were aware of this document in 2007. The nationally representative survey conducted in 2014 revealed a lower awareness level of the Ukrainian population about the legislation ensuring gender equality in the economic sphere [13, p. 75–76]:

- only 15 % of the population knew about the Ukrainian laws that forbid the employer to offer a job to people of particular gender;
- and only 14 % of the population knew about the Ukrainian laws that forbid the employer to pay lower salary to women comparing to men when doing similar job.

Basically, that might be an evidence of overestimated figures of awareness as of 2007 – when respondents were given the specific issue instead of the law title, they did not recognize it as easily, and gave more fair answers (instead of socially acceptable about being aware of a specific law).

Hence, it is possible to conclude about relatively low level of awareness on gender-equality legislation among the adult population of Ukraine; but when it comes to economically active population, the employers and employees demonstrate significantly better awareness of such legislation. Thus, one in three employees (and 41 % among female employees vs. 26 % among male employees) indicated that is well informed of the regulations ensuring fair recruitment regardless of gender, also one in three employees (and 34 % among female employees vs. 26 % among male employees) indicated that is well informed about gender equality in remuneration regulations, etc.<sup>1</sup>. Among the employers, the level of awareness (as self-assessed awareness) is much higher: i.e. 59 % of top-managers reported about having solid knowledge of the regulations regarding fair recruitment regardless gender (64 % among female top-managers vs. 53 % among male ones). About a half (53 %) believe to be well informed in the regulations on gender equality in remuneration (63 % among female top-managers vs. 43 % among male ones).

Therefore, the employees and employers are supposed to know well about the Law of Ukraine “Providing equal rights and opportunities for women and men” and about particular articles of the Labour Code. However, these principles have no mechanism of being followed as well as there are no sanctions for not following these regulations.

#### ***Facing gender-specific situations***

The discrimination at work place for employees is not limited to workload and remuneration women receive in comparison to men. The respondents – employers and employees – were offered the list of gender-sensitive situations and asked to assess how often these situations happen (according to the scale from “almost never” to “very often”), and how acceptable they are (according to the scale from “acceptable or desirable” to “unacceptable”).

According to the results of both surveys, employees and top managers evaluate the situations of *sex-based harassment* towards women and men, and *emotional pressure* as the most unacceptable. Moreover, top management evaluates the situations as unacceptable while male employees are not so sure, and almost one in three among them would allow such a situation to happen at their workplaces). However, respondents believe that such situations happen rather rarely in comparison to other situations. While analyzing the assessments of different groups of respondents, we may observe

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that in the employees’ survey the level of awareness (as self-evaluated awareness) is significantly higher in Kyiv comparing to smaller settlements.

that one in four female employees say more often that the situations of sex-based harassment or psychological violence towards women happen at least sometimes (28 % and 25 %, respectively) while only 19 % and 16 % of male employees gave the similar answers, respectively. Companies' top managers are more confident that such situations do not happen, and only about 10 % of top managers admitted sex-based harassment (despite gender), 6 % of male and 11 % of female top managers admitted psychological pressure on a person at a workplace depending on her/his gender.

We observe the gap between assessments of top management and employees again even regarding the situations, which could be treated unambiguously. This gap becomes even more outrageous regarding other situations.

In particular, it concerns the situations, which are connected with such vulnerable state of a woman as pregnancy, having small children, including recruitment. The women consider that it is unacceptable that a pregnant woman or a woman with small children is not recruited or is denied in promotion; a woman is asked during recruitment what are her plans on marriage or having children; during recruitment, the employer specifies desirable gender and/or age of an employee and prefers men. Female employees evaluate all these situations as more unacceptable and specify that they happen more often than other groups of the respondents do.

Especially big gaps are observed in the situations when a pregnant woman is not recruited or is denied in promotion; and when a woman is asked during recruitment whether she is going to get married and/or to have children. Almost two thirds of female employees said that such situations happen at least sometimes, while the situation is the opposite for other respondents top managers of both genders – two thirds answered that such situations never happen.

In fact, female top management is rather on the same page with male top management, than with female employees, while assessing such gender threatening situations. Male employees take up middle ground – they have more rigid assessments than top managers of both genders do, but more lenient than female colleagues have.

### Conclusion

According to the survey results, the phenomenon of gender segregation of the labour market is typical for the business sector. In fact, it is necessary to mention the vertical gender segregation, which provides less access for women to the top management positions, as well as the horizontal gender segregation,

which means the division of business areas into traditionally “female” and “male”.

It is more comfortable for women in business to work in female environment: female top managers more often hire women; female-employees are more willing to work under female supervision.

The majority of the respondents, regardless of gender and job level, are sure that there is no gender pay gap. Top management of both genders are more confident that the remuneration is fair. In contrast, the employees consider to greater extent than top management do, that men receive more (approximately, 15 % of the employees vs. 5 % of top management).

Likewise, the majority considers that both women and men have the same working hours. If the views are different then they correspond the trend of horizontal gender segregation – it is considered that in traditionally “male” areas men work more than women, and in “female” – women.

In comparison with male employees and top management of both genders, female employees are the most sensitive for various aspects of gender discrimination, for example, sex-based harassments, necessity to combine job and family obligations.

Consequently, the main factor in implementation of gender equality in business could become women associations – the representatives of female top management (for example, via female “business clubs”), as well as the representatives of employees (for example, via trade unions or similar structures). In addition, new role models and innovative gender practices could be demonstrated. Among the latter, the experts mostly mentioned support programs of women while they give birth or bring up children, in particular, programs of female employees return to work after maternity leave (personnel skills improvement courses etc.), flexible working hours for women-mothers, opportunities to fulfil their needs outside an office (extreme measure – nursery rooms at workplace, an opportunity to be at work with a child), encouraging fathers to participate equally in parenting (paternity leave, leave to take care for sick child etc.).

Experts advise to start implementing some changes in the society in order to deal with the problem, from childhood, from kindergarten, from school. Therefore, gender analysis of the textbooks and reference books, which are offered to children, is so important. Training for women on how to believe in their own strengths can be the answer to situation. There are coaching programs (i.e. “Divchata STEM” and others) when girls are assisted in setting goals, and are offered different role models in building a career in “traditionally” male sectors, such as IT.

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## Appendix

## List of experts interviewed in the 1st stage of the survey

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1) Expert #1 – Oksana Kuzyakiv, the Chief Executive for The Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting (IER), Head of the Center for Contemporary Society Studies | 2) Expert #2 – Halyna Skarga, the Head of Union of Rural Women of Ukraine  |
|  | 3) Expert #3 – Maryna Saprykina, the Head of Centre of Corporate Social Responsibility Development, #GirlsSTEM founder |

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## ДИСКРИМІНАЦІЯ ЗА ОЗНАКОЮ СТАТІ НА УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ПІДПРИЄМСТВАХ: ПОРІВНЯННЯ ЕКСПЕРТНИХ ОЦІНОК ІЗ ДУМКАМИ КЕРІВНИЦТВА ТА ПЕРСОНАЛУ КОМПАНІЙ

*Мета статті полягає в порівнянні сприйняття дискримінації за ознакою статі на українських підприємствах із точки зору працедавців, працівників та експертів. Дискримінацію за ознакою статі проаналізовано в трьох вимірах: оплата праці та робоче навантаження; випадки ситуацій, потенційно загрозливих для осіб певної статі, що можуть трапитися на підприємстві; та загальна оцінка дискримінації як наявної чи відсутньої на ринку праці в Україні. Емпіричною базою статті є опитування, проведене в січні – березні 2017 року для Посольства Канади в Україні командою «ГФК Юкрейн» разом із соціологинями Т. Марценюк і Т. Костюченко. Методологія опитування включає три компоненти: напівструктуровані експертні інтерв'ю, опитування найманих працівників і працівниць (416 онлайн-інтерв'ю за допомогою онлайн-панелі в містах із населенням понад 100 000) та опитування керівництва великих компаній та власників/ць малих і середніх бізнесів (251 телефонне інтерв'ю з респондент(к)ами 5 різних секторів). Загалом, серед найманого персоналу лише 40 % жінок не вірять в існування дискримінації в «таких компаніях, як їхня» – порівняно з 5 % чоловіків; серед керівництва компаній ці показники значно вищі – 79 % чоловіків та*

68 % жінок зазначили, що дискримінації немає. Розподіл робочого навантаження найманий персонал сприймає по-різному, залежно від статі опитаних: чоловіки вважають, що вони працюють більше за жінок, жінки – що працюють більше за чоловіків; серед керівництва жінки частіше за чоловіків сприймають навантаження на жінок у керівництві як таке, що більше за навантаження на чоловіків-керівників, але протилежної думки серед чоловіків-управлінців не зафіксовано. Щодо оплати праці керівництво загалом більш схильне вважати її рівною для підлеглих різної статі (так вважають 15 % серед керівництва і 5 % серед найманого персоналу); наймані працівниці частіше зазначали, що заробітна плата їхніх колег-чоловіків вища. Про ситуації гендерно зумовленого тиску / насильства (сексуального або психологічного) повідомили кожна четверта жінка і кожен п'ятий чоловік серед найманого персоналу, серед керівництва ці показники значно нижчі. Отже, дослідження вкотре доводить поширеність в Україні гендерних стереотипів, горизонтальної та вертикальної сегрегації на ринку праці, а також виявляє відмінності в оцінках, наданих працедавцями та найманим персоналом, щодо дискримінаційних практик на робочому місці.

**Ключові слова:** дискримінація за ознакою статі, ринок праці, вертикальна та горизонтальна сегрегація.

Матеріал надійшов 05.06.2017

УДК 05.054

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## СТИГМАТИЗАЦІЯ ПСИХІЧНО ХВОРИХ З ПОГЛЯДУ ЇХНІХ РОДИЧІВ НА ПРИКЛАДІ ФОКУС-ГРУПОВОГО ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ МАТЕРІВ ПСИХІЧНО ХВОРИХ

З огляду на незначну кількість в Україні емпіричних досліджень стигми психічно хворих осіб, для розширення цієї теми було проведено фокус-групове дослідження з матерями психічно хворих. Це важлива тема як для психіатрії, в контексті її практичних проблем, так і для соціології психічного здоров'я, що наразі представлена в Україні лише соціальною психіатрією. Дослідження показало, що стигма існує, проте іноді набуває неочікуваних значень. Також виявлено, що існує внутрішньо-сімейна стигма, якої зазнають психічно хворі в сім'ї.

**Ключові слова:** стигма, фокус-група, реплікація, родичі психічно хворих.

Темою цього дослідження є стигматизація психічно хворих з погляду їхніх родичів. Ця тема має два важливі аспекти: чому вивчення стигми є важливим для соціальних наук та соціології зокрема, а також які проблеми існують у вивченні стигми.

На перше питання дуже влучно відповіли І. Галецька та співавтори: «Люди із психічними розладами живуть під подвійним гнітом

обмежень і страждань, зумовлених власне розладами, та обмежень і страждань, зумовлених відчуттям затаврованості. Стигматизація психічних розладів є актуальною суспільною проблемою, оскільки суттєво впливає на якість життя психічно хворих та їхніх родин, а негативні стереотипи зумовлюють дискримінацію при працевлаштуванні та в суспільних стосунках» [3, с. 60].