

The Burden of Bread-winning in the Bread Basket of Europe: Gender dimension of rural poverty, unemployment and labour migration in Ukraine

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Introduction

The years following the demise of the USSR in 1991 were marked by multiple transformations, a hallmark of which was a changing attitude towards the role and status of women in society, accompanied by democratization of gender relations in all domains of life. It is generally admitted that under the socialist era the basic elements of social welfare were guaranteed to women, while the subsequent period of transition from state socialism to market capitalism had a negative effect on the position of women throughout the region, because it led to the feminization of poverty, increase of violence and trafficking in women, dwindling of female representation in the labour force and in decision-making, and decline of the social security system (ILO, 2003; UNICEF, 1999; WB, 2002). Although increasing poverty, unemployment and declining social welfare affected both genders, the impact on women was more dramatic because of their reproductive roles and family responsibilities. It is noteworthy that in Ukraine and in Russia earning inequalities were the most pronounced and grew especially rapidly as compared to other CIS, which made the most negative impact on women's wages (Rokicka, 2008; 18, 37). Yet, despite the gender gaps were augmenting in all transitional societies, their closure was not among the highest priorities of economic reforms.

Conceptual framework: getting to grips with gender and agriculture

A **research problem**, hardly addressed by Ukrainian scholars and policy-makers is a gender dimension of agricultural and rural development. Most studies in this field are gender-blind and equal opportunities promotion for rural women and men is absent from the political agenda. Thereby, current paper emphasizes the necessity to develop greater awareness of and interest in the social and political factors underlying agricultural reforms in Ukraine, with focus on gender realities and arrangements. To this end, a *gender-sensitive analysis* should be implemented at macro-, meso- and micro-levels as a valuable tool to identify the differential effects of economic transformations on lives of women and men as well as the effect of gender biases in agricultural institutions on results of reform policies.

The concept of *gender* refers to “*economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities, associated with being male and female*” (OECD, 1998). Yet, it is often interpreted erroneously, either as referring only to women or representing men homogeneously as the “pathological others” or “custodians of patriarchy” (McIlwaine and Datta, 2004). However, gender is not synonymous with women, nor it is a zero-sum game implying loss for men. It is a

two-sided coin and is, or at least it should be, as much an issue for men as for women, referring to their status, relative to each other (World Economic Forum, 2005; 1). Thereby, in this paper a *relational understanding of gender* will be used as an analytical concept, implying symmetry, interdependency and complementarity between women and men.

An innovative policy strategy for the advancement of equal rights and opportunities of the sexes is “*gender mainstreaming*” (further GM), endorsed by the Platform for Action adopted at the UN 4th World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995). In the European Union (further EU) program documents GM has been also recognized as an essential tool for progress in achieving equality between women and men. Current paper adopts the definition of GM, offered by the European Commission (further EC), whereby GM is understood as “*mobilizing all general policies and measures specifically for the purpose of achieving equality by actively and openly taking into account at the planning stage their possible effects on the respective situation of men and women (gender perspective)*” (European Commission, 1996). GM begins with the acknowledgement that gender equality is a key and inalienable aspect of sustainable human development and the achievement of human rights (UNDP RBEC, 2007). The *main instruments* for GM offered by EC, include: gender-disaggregated statistics, gender impact assessment (GIA); gender budget/audit assessment; involvement of social partners (European Commission, 2007a).

However, GM cannot stand alone efficiently. Women-specific programmes and projects should also be implemented, but they should be used as a supplement to GM, rather than the only strategy. Thereby, current paper will use a combination of GM with specific actions, known as a “*dual-track approach*”, enshrined into the European Pact for Gender Equality (2006) and grounded on *3 priority principles*: 1) promotion of women’s employment, reduction of gender gaps and making welfare system more women’s employment friendly; 2) adoption of measures to promote a better work-life balance for all (Barcelona targets in childcare, care facilities for other dependents, promotion of parental leave); 3) reinforcement of governance through gender mainstreaming.

GM in employment policies is seen by the EU authorities as a prerequisite for eliminating poverty and social exclusion as well as ensuring decent work, employability and job security for women and men. Current paper will offer policy proposals for GM in the Ukrainian rural employment departing from the EC theoretical framework (European Commission, 2007a), grounded on *four main pillars for GM strategies in employment policies*:

Policy pillars	Objectives	GM strategies and instruments
<i>Active labour market policies (ALMPs)</i>	Intensify efforts of the state to improve the position of groups and individuals at the margins of the	1) Integrate equal opportunities principle into the operation of the public employment service;

	labour market through training, job rotation and job sharing, creating employment incentives, etc.	2) open labour marker programs to all the inactive people to ensure that men and women have equitable access to ALPM; 3) address needs of specific groups, such as lone parents and women returning from long-term care.
<i>Gender pay gap (GPGⁱ) and career policies</i>	1) Implement equal pay policy aiming at tackling direct or indirect gender wage discrimination; 2) reduce GPG; 3) mainstream “general” wage policies aimed at reducing wage inequality and improving the remuneration of low-paid and/or female-dominated jobs.	1) Equal pay legislation; 2) establishment of gender specific institutions (e.g. Equal Pay Working Groups). 3) availability and dissemination of information on wages and staff earnings, employment conditions, job entitlements, enterprise statistics. 4) job evaluation and reduction of vertical and horizontal discrimination on the labour market.
<i>Reconciliation policies (RPs)</i>	1) Direct support to the combination of professional, family and private life; 2) involvement of a variety of instruments ranging from childcare and leave facilities, flexible working arrangements, allowances for working parents, etc.	1) Enhance opportunities for part-time employment; 2) promote parental leave facilities and entitlements; 3) facilitate their combination with paid employment; 4) recognize the role of men in care and domestic responsibilities.
<i>“Flexicurity policies (FPs)”</i>	1) Promote the flexibility of labour markets, work organization and labor relations; 2) enhance employment and social security, notably for weaker groups and those outside the labour market.	1) Recognize the role of gender in reinforcing inequalities associated with flexible working; 2) address the reconciliation needs of employees with care commitments; 3) acknowledge the risks of extending working hours or unsocial work schedules; 4) support pathways out of non-standard work and working times to avoid the risks for women in disadvantaged employment forms.

In this paper the *feminization of poverty* is understood in compliance with a UNDP definition (UNDP, IPC, 2008.) as a change in poverty levels that is biased against women or female-headed households and refers mainly to feminization of the *causes of poverty*. Measuring poverty from a gender perspective requires a range of gender-sensitive indicators spotlighting gender arrangements at the level of both the household and society at large. Such indicators include gender-sensitive poverty and well-being self-assessments and a “*time poverty*” concept, useful to measure women’s unpaid care work (UNDP, BRIDGE, 2007).

Drawing upon the above theoretical framework, current paper aims at the four **main objectives**:

- 1) to analyze a gender dimension of rural poverty and more specifically, the key factors leading to its feminization;
- 2) to gender inequalities on the labour market
- 3) to identify current gaps in research on a gender dimension of rural poverty and unemployment in Ukraine;
- 4) to offer relevant policy proposals for mainstreaming a gender perspective into agricultural employment policy aimed at elimination of rural poverty in Ukraine.

The **main argument** of the paper is that feminization of rural poverty in Ukraine is caused by structural gender inequalities on the Ukrainian labour market, earning inequalities, career differences between women and men, which serve as push-off factors and principle incentives out-migration of women from rural areas.

Given that a gender dimension of rural unemployment and poverty is a relatively under researched area in the Ukrainian scholarship, the paper uses disparate information available from various secondary sources to draw a comprehensive picture of rural labour market as seen through gender lenses.

A gender dimension of rural poverty: a burden born by women in the bread basket of Europe

A significant component of transition to market economy was the emergence of socio-economic inequalities and unprecedented increase in extreme poverty rates, bolstering the creation of a class of the so-called “new poor”. As is demonstrated in table 1, poverty gap was increasing over last 7 years primarily for the account of growing rural poverty. In 2005 in peasant households it acceded the national average poverty rate (28,7%) in 1,3 times and that in urban areas (24,7%) in 1,5 times.

Table 1. Poverty rate by the type of settlement (%)

<i>Type of settlement</i>	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<i>Urban settlements</i>	27,1	25,4	24,7	23,6	21,5	23,5	24,7
<i>Rural settlements</i>	29,2	28,7	32,3	34,3	36,7	35,0	36,8
<i>National average</i>	27,8	26,4	27,2	27,2	26,6	27,3	28,7

Source: MUFFYS, 2007 b; 25.

Yet, the costs of transition were not evenly distributed among the population. Impoverishment had a clear gender and age dimension inasmuch as women, young and the elderly turned to be more vulnerable and more affected by the consequences of economic reforms and therefore faced a higher poverty risk than others. Grouping of the population by economic activity rate and material wellbeing for 1999 (Libanova, 2003; 157) showed that poverty rate was highest among the unemployed (21,5% of all members of the group), women-home-makers (17%) and students (13%).

According to a EC standpoint, gender differences and inequalities are a fundamental feature of poverty and social exclusion, primarily because women are less likely to secure a decent individual income through employment. Gender inequalities in employment combined with design inadequacies in social welfare systems produce a situation whereby poverty is disproportionately borne by women, i.e. it is “*feminized*” (European Commission, 2006a).

Research shows that in Ukraine the problem of feminization of poverty is gaining currency given that the number of single-parent families headed by women is increasing for the account of growing divorce rates and out-of-wedlock births. Children in the family increase poverty vulnerability especially for single mothers and thereby motherhood entails economic risks. Lone mothers and mothers with many children face greater poverty risk not only because of their vulnerable position on the labour market and scarce welfare benefits, but primarily because they bear the major burden of child-care expenses. Thus, the highest incidence of poverty was marked among such groups: single women with young children, especially mentally disabled – 70 % of such households are headed by lone mothers; single women caring for elderly family members – 90% of these households are headed by females; families with many children - by 80% are mother-headed (UNDP, SIDA, 2003; 47).

It is generally acknowledged that the household is a key site of gender discrimination and subordination, and thus is an important focus for examining gender and poverty issues. However, poverty estimates based on household surveys, including income or food availability indicators, usually assume that household resources are equally shared (UNDP, BRIDGE, 2007). Empirical research shows that this assumption is practically ungrounded. For example, a sociological survey among rural youth as of 2005 revealed a strong stereotyped belief that men work more than women and thereby require more and better quality food. This belief was shared in average by 62,6% of young rural males and 43,5% of young peasant women, with considerable variations of this ratio between main geographical regions in Ukraine (see table 2). Hence, lower wellbeing and higher poverty vulnerability among women may have an intra-household nature. It may be accounted by the fact that traditional gender stereotypes attribute to women a lower consumption status in the family. They receive a lower share of household resources, because they are being assigned a lower value as providers and respectively, as consumers.

Table 2. Ratio of positive responses to the statement: “Males require more food because they work more than females” %

<i>Region</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>
<i>East</i>	46,6	71,1
<i>West</i>	46,6	62,2
<i>Centre</i>	35,5	62,2
<i>North</i>	44,4	68,8
<i>South</i>	44,4	48,8
<i>Median</i>	43,5	62,6

Source: MUFFYS, 2007b, 62.

Another factor contributing to feminization of poverty in Ukraine is the predomination of females among senior age groups (over 60% of people over 55 years) and among retired persons. Because of low pension benefits and the loss of savings during the years of “shock therapy”, they are most vulnerable to poverty. Senior rural women constitute a group of particular poverty risk primarily because many of them (40%) live alone, without any family support. Sociologic survey as of 1998 evidenced that only 6% of them received retirement allowances in due time, while 57% experienced chronic suspense in their delivery. It comes as no surprise, then, that 82% of senior farm women estimated their wellbeing as below average, low or very low, 19% - as very low and mere 1,3% - as above average (MUFFY, 1998a; 25).

Gender-based conceptualization of poverty over the transitional period allowed to identify the following *key factors* in its feminization (Ovcharova and Prokofjeva, 2002):

- gender inequality on the labour market;
- differential professional careers of women and men;
- gender gaps in wages and income rates.

Therefore, a gender-sensitive analysis of these factors is a precondition for understanding the gendered nature of the phenomenon of poverty and its increasing feminization.

Gendered dangers : women and men on the rural marketplace

Employment opportunities: private problem or public policy?

Gender-sensitive analysis showed a discernable gender gap in employment possibilities for Ukrainian women and men in favor of men (see table 3). The gap is especially pronounced in small towns and villages with total population below 50.000, wherein reside over 11 mln inhabitants, i.e. around 22% of Ukrainian population. Unemployment rate there is far beyond the national average, while the share of females is around 6 mln, half of them in their working age. Currently, economically active population in such settlements amounts 6394,2 thousand persons, by 46,7% constituted by women. Ratios of female and male employment rates across a spectrum of sectors in the rural marketplace is reflected in table 4.

Table 3. Employment rate of rural females and males (% ratio of women to men)

1999		2000		2001	
<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>
42,0	58,1	42,5	57,5	42,9	57,1

Source: UNDP, SIDA, 2003; 39.

Table 4. Distribution of rural females and males by different sectors of the labour market (% ratio of women to men)

	<i>Agriculture and forestry,</i>	<i>Rural industrial enterprises</i>	<i>Transport and public communications</i>	<i>Catering and services</i>	<i>Healthcare, education and culture</i>
<i>Females</i>	40%	12%	4,1%	7,3%	27,5%

Males	60%	88%	95,9%	92,7%	72,5%
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Source: UNDP, 2004; 35.

Calculations of employment rate traditionally consider the age limits of laborers, which in Ukraine makes 15-55 years for females and 15-60 years for males. The proportion of officially employed rural population of the working age is 71% for men and 59% for women, of non-working age peasants (i.e. seniors) 6% for females and 10% for males, which may partly account for higher poverty rate of older women, predominating among rural seniors.

Employment and economic activity of rural population often depends on family composition, i.e. number of family members and generations living in the family. Analysis showed that employment rate of both sexes correlates with the degree of their family responsibilities (see table 5). More involved in formal employment are family members with highest family status and highest share of family responsibilities, while informal employment is more associated with family members who secure their “minimal living rate” due to help of older relatives.

Table 5. Employment rate as defined by the family status and roles of rural youth (%)

	Heads of the family	Wives	Sons/daughters	In-laws	Grand-sons/daughters
Females	67	52	35	40	35
Males	72	-	48	65	54

Source: MUFFY, 1998a; 21-22.

At the same time experts argue that in reference to rural laborers the opposition “employment vs unemployment” has but a relative character, given that the duration of a working day of the officially employed rural population of all age groups is higher than of the officially unemployed population. Calculations of time allocation for official employment and work in the private farm household shows that the working day of officially employed rural males comprises 7,5 hours in formal employment and 4,0 hours in private farm household, i.e. total 11,5 hours per day (hpd). For formally unemployed males the average working time spent in paid work and in private household reaches 11,8 hpd. For females the correlation is as follows: for formally employed – 11,3 hpd, for formally unemployed – 12,1 hpd. These figures confirm that unemployed rural residents of both sexes are heavier loaded by work than officially unemployed population (MUFFY, 1998b; 19).

Throughout the transition new types of rural enterprises emerged, both privately owned and corporate. Statistics evidences that the highest share of Ukrainian villagers still work at corporate enterprises, while mere 6% are employed in the private sector of the agricultural economy (see table 6). Yet, the actual opportunities for the choice of employment are very limited for agricultural workers. In effect most people did not have a possibility to choose freely between enterprises of various forms of property. By and large, socialist collective farms have been reorganized into new forms of agricultural enterprises and their laborers were automatically re-

employed at these reinvented enterprises. However, there were some gender specificities in preferences to enterprises of a particular form of property. Thus, at corporate agricultural enterprises and farms males account for fully 56%, while females - 47%. At the same time fully 31% of women work in public services, which is around twice as high as compared to men, whose share runs at 16% (MUFFY, 1998a; 25). These figures signify that rural males are more involved in better paid enterprises of agricultural production (corporate and private farms and enterprises, rural cooperatives, joint stock ventures), while women are more engaged in low-income services, like education, health- and social-care, public administration, etc., scarcely financed from the state budget. Furthermore, the process of privatization and creation of family-based-farming in many cases redefined women as unpaid family workers without the social benefits they were entitled to at hired jobs, which exacerbated their financial status and contributed to feminization of poverty.

Table 6. Employment rate of rural residents across different kinds of enterprises (%)

	Private farms	Private rural enterprises	Corporate enterprises	Joint Stock Ventures	State/Municipal enterprises	Public Services Sector
<i>Females</i>	1	2	47	3	16	31
<i>Males</i>	2	5	56	5	16	16

Source: MUFFY, 1998a; 25.

Additionally, employment centers evidence that recruiters are reluctant to hire young females, because at early stages of careers they lack professional experience and because employers fear their prospective marriages, followed by pregnancies and child-bearing, requiring additional expenses for maternity leaves and child-care allowances. A common belief is that in conditions of a dynamic knowledge economy interrupted work histories of women due to a maternity leave (in Ukraine it is up to three years) lead to deskilling, which makes women less competitive on the labour market (Tolstokorova, 2007; 102) and accounts for persisting GPG. Therefore, findings of this study are consistent with the results of a EU research project (European Commission, 2007b; 15) showing that it is motherhood rather than being a woman that gives rise to most inequalities, particularly income inequalities.

Unemployment: where have all the women's jobs gone?

Rural unemployment is a relatively new issue for Ukraine, given that no more than a decade ago agricultural enterprises suffered from a chronic lack of the workforce. Nowadays unemployment is common for a Ukrainian village. Officially, the status of an unemployed may be allocated to a job-seeker, formally registered at state employment centers and ready to accept an offered position. According to Ukrainian legislation jobless people who are not actively seeking for job can not acquire a status of officially unemployed persons. Yet, it is sometimes argued that this regulation is ungrounded in reference to rural residents and should not be applied

to them since job seeking is possible only in conditions of availability of vacancies, which are practically absent in the agricultural sector. Search for employment in other places, which entails commuting, is limited by poor transportation services. In effect, there are no grounds to blame Ukrainian villagers in low internal mobility, because practically there are no conditions for it: there is neither accessible agricultural labour market, nor transport infrastructure in the countryside. For women wanting to enter the labour market an extra hurdle is the fact that male unemployment is seen as a bigger problem than female unemployment.

One of key factors in unemployment is the correlation between the quality of the labour force and existing demand in it, which is often reflected in gender-specific advertising, specifying the sex of required workers (Tolstokorova, 2006). Table 7 shows that the demand in male workforce for vacancies in agricultural economy, registered by employment centers, significantly accedes that in female labour personnel, especially in fishery. Furthermore, in agriculture and forestry between 2003 and 2005 the demand for females was steadily decreasing, while the number of vacancies which required male workforce in this sector of economy was augmenting in a similar proportion.

Table 7. Demand in female/male laborers for available vacancies, by sector (% ratio to the total stock of required laborers)

<i>Sectors of agricultural economy</i>	2003		2004		2005	
	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>
<i>Agriculture and forestry</i>	20,7	79,3	16,3	83,7	11,0	89,0
<i>Fishery</i>	5,0	95,0	1,6	98,4	3,7	96,3

Source: SCFSU, 2007a; 56.

Statistically, the average unemployment period among women accedes that of men and an average job-seeking period extended from 22 months in 1999 to 24 months in 2001. By 2007 the gender gap in the average unemployment duration dropped down and scored 13 months for males vs 15 months for females (SCFSU, 2007b). This may lead to a lower competitiveness of females on the labour market and create disincentives for further professional advancement.

Differences in careers between women and men: a world apart?

Gender inequalities in career opportunities of farm women and men result from “horizontal gender discrimination” in the agrarian sector of economy. A sociologic survey among 65.000 persons carried out in mid 1990s explicitly acknowledged that the burden of hard physical labour was almost entirely born by women. Particularly, the share of females in major sectors of rural labour market with highest share of manual labour was as follows: crop cultivation -85%, calf and pig staking - 86.9%, milking - 95.7%. At the same time men worked mainly in more technically advanced professions, like drivers, technicians, fitters, horse herders (UNDP, SIDA, 2003, 49), which may account for GPG of rural women and men.

Furthermore, gender asymmetries in careers owe to the so-called “triple burden” born by rural women as long as they have to combine hired jobs with private farming and domestic /care work, which leaves no possibilities for professional advancement. Traditionally, poverty measurement assign no economic value to unpaid domestic work and overlook the high opportunity costs associated with it: girls are withdrawn from school to care for sick relatives or look after children, while women have less time to devote to productive work – confining them to low-paid jobs with few prospects (UNDP, BRIDGE. 2007). As was confirmed by the above sociologic survey, farm women contribute to private household about twice as much as men, their “second shift” lasting 3-3,5 hpd, so that their average working day reaches 16,9 hpd, which acceded any physiological norms (see table 8). The total daily time budget of rural females constitutes 25 hpd (without the time allocated for sleep). This means that women have to do several jobs at a time, experiencing high time pressure, and therefore, permanent psychological overloading. Private farming constitutes additional 160 working days of women’s yearly contribution into the private household. Hence, if to put together rural women’s loading in both on- and off-farm work, the aggregate loading will accede a physiologically accessible norm by 15-20%, and this is without the consideration of time allocated for domestic and family responsibilities. National researchers qualify this situation as “inhuman and socially unjustified” (MUFFY, 1998b; 14). These figures also signify that rural women experience extreme “time poverty”, not only limiting their opportunities to be involved in gainful employment and career promotion, but also depriving them of possibilities to meet even the most essential human needs, like night sleep, leave alone care for themselves.

Table 8. Gender gap in time budgeting for rural females and males (hours-minutes)

<i>Indices</i>	Hours per day	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
<i>Paid work (employment)</i>	7.6	6.9
<i>Commuting</i>	0.8	0.7
<i>Work in private household</i>	7.7	10
<i>Domestic responsibilities</i>	2,3	3,2
<i>Child-care</i>	1,9	2,6
<i>Leisure</i>	2.5	2.3
<i>Total</i>	22.8	25.7

Source: MUFFY, 1998b; 10.

Consideration of poverty also depends on differentials between men and women in terms of their access to resources and services. Thus, the “triple burden” of farm women is exacerbated by differentials in the quality of life between urban and rural areas, determined by unequal access to public services and their capacity to provide for the basic needs of the population. Although the provision of housing amenities in both urban and rural areas improved over the last decade, generally living standards are considerably lower in the country-side. This affects

women more than men because domestic work is still seen to be a woman's job. Taking into account bad lack of washing machines, low supply or even absence of running water, centralized gas supply and heating (see tables 9, 10) the load of daily housework routine is harder for farm women. Thus, poverty rate by the so-called "criteria of life conditions", reflected in the lack of basic household amenities and durable use commodities, access to social services, healthcare, etc. recoils primarily on women as main users of these services. For example, centers of social services are concentrated largely in capitals of administrative districts and for that reason are hardly attainable for residents of distant villages. This creates disadvantages primarily for farm women, who are heavier overloaded with domestic work as compared to urban women. Even such wide-spread facilities as public laundries, cleaners, ready-made food, barbers, house maintenance and repairs are accessible to no more than 4% of rural women (UNDP, SIDA, 2003; 50).

Table 9. Share of rural households equipped with durable use commodities (by the type of settlement), %

<i>Indices</i>	Ukraine overall		Urban settlements		Rural settlements	
	2000	2005	2000	2005	2000	2005
<i>Refrigerator</i>	89,0	93,5	94,7	96,5	76,5	87,1
<i>Washing machine</i>	71,7	75,9	77,5	80,0	59,0	67,2
<i>Vacuum cleaner</i>	54,5	61,6	64,0	71,7	33,6	39,8
<i>Color TV</i>	65,9	85,8	74,9	90,9	45,9	74,8
<i>Bicycle</i>	35,0	35,7	28,0	25,9	50,5	57,1
<i>Motorcycle</i>	6,4	4,2	4,3	2,1	11,1	8,9
<i>Automobile</i>	16,8	16,0	16,0	15,9	18,5	16,1
<i>Mobile phone</i>	-	30,2	-	35,6	-	18,7

Source: MUFFYS, 2007 b; 27.

Table 10. Communal services supply in rural households (by the type of settlement), %

<i>Indices</i>	Urban settlements		Rural settlements		Ukraine overall	
	1999	9 months. 2005	1999	9 months 2005	1999	9 months 2005
<i>Central heating</i>	65,9	63,8	4,0	1,3	46,6	44,1
<i>Private heating system</i>	27,0	23,7	48,9	37,8	33,8	28,2
<i>Water supply</i>	84,9	84,3	24,6	20,4	66,1	64,1
<i>Sewage</i>	79,6	83,3	17,7	19,2	60,3	63,1
<i>Private gas supply</i>	53,1	9,3	17,0	52,5	41,8	22,9
<i>Centralized gas supply</i>	74,3	79,5	14,9	38,0	55,8	66,5
<i>Indoors bathroom and shower</i>	65,9	77,0	4,0	14,5	46,6	57,3
<i>Landline telephone</i>	27,0	60,1	48,9	21,9	33,8	48,1

Source: MUFFYS, 2007 b; 30.

This is attributed to the fact that the time allocated for domestic responsibilities like washing, sewing, closing and foot-ware mending on working-days is 14 times longer for women than for men and on weekends it is 12 times longer (see table 11). Time allocated for these

responsibilities denies women a possibility to pay sufficient time and attention to minors. In average, a rural woman can afford to spend for her children no more than 16 minutes per day. Nonetheless, despite these time budget limitations for women, gender misbalance in child-care is most striking. Men usually spend only 5 minutes with children per day during the week and 9 minutes during the weekend. This signifies that childcare becomes a self-responsibility of children themselves (UNDP, SIDA, 2003; 48-50).

Table 11. Gender gap in the time allocated for household duties for rural residents (*hours-minutes*)

<i>Indices</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	Working day	Weekend	Working day	Weekend
<i>Average time allocated for household work by one able bodied person per day</i>	0.47	1.47	3.47	6.01
<i>Domestic work overall</i>	0.35	1.07	3.17	4.58
<i>Cooking</i>	0.09	0.13	1.40	2.15
<i>Maintenance of premises, furniture, domestic appliances</i>	0.04	0.14	0.29	0.53
<i>Laundry, sewing, mending</i>	0.03	0.05	0.43	1.03
<i>Child care</i>	0.05	0.09	0.16	0.31
<i>Shopping and use of services</i>	0.12	0.40	0.30	1.03
<i>Other kinds of domestic work</i>	0.14	0.26	0.07	0.16

Source: UNDP, SIDA, 2003; 50.

Nowadays, economically advanced agricultural businesses more and more often implement high technologies not requiring manual work. This process demands new knowledge and upgraded skills of agricultural workers. Yet, rural men have more possibilities to leave their households for a time necessary for studies in cities, while opportunities for that of rural women are far lower in view of their domestic responsibilities, poor transportation infrastructure and restricted possibilities for public child-care. That is why they most often have no access to technical and economic innovations and thus are denied possibilities for decent employment and career advancement and therefore, decent income. Furthermore, many women decide to quit their jobs because of low wages. Thus, the triple burden of rural women-villagers leads to a higher degree of their social exclusion as compared to men. This is why males in rural households are said to hold the status of a “privileged class”, while women - that of slaves.

Gender pay gap: putting the price on the powerless

Gender differences in careers in turn lead to unequal wages and revenues. EC experts argue that because males and females tend to be engaged in different occupations and hold different places in the professional hierarchy, they receive different remuneration for their work. In other words, the GPG seems to be more related to the degree of gender segregation on the labour market and differences in the structure of wages (European Commission, 2006b; 7-8) i.e. by “vertical discrimination”, than to differences in individual characteristics (age, education,

professional experience) as explained in the framework of the human capital theory. Nonetheless, national experts contend that human capital differences between women and men may contribute to bridging the GPG given that women in Ukraine surpass men in the level of educational attainment and indices of health condition.

The GPG of around 10% in agriculture, forestry and related services is the smallest as compared to other sectors of rural economy: the largest GPG of 15% is observed in fishery, retail trade, healthcare and social care. Yet, it is the former sectors that have the lowest wage rates for both sexes, with but insignificant gender bifurcations. Therefore, the conclusion is that the smallest GPG exists in the most low-paid sectors of economy and the increase of wage rates is accompanied by the GPG growth in favour of men.

Statistics shows that between 1993 and 2003 GPG in agriculture and related services was gradually growing, whereas by 2004 it was somewhat softened. Thus, in 1993 Ukrainian females employed in this sector received 79 % of males' earnings, in 2000 - 91% (Rokicka, 2008; 37), in 2002- 93,0%, in 2003 -93,7% and in 2004 - 89,9% (SCFSU, 2007a) (see table 12). The GPG between female and male villagers correlates with the aforementioned differences in their careers, as long as women are largely employed in such sectors of low-paid agricultural production as crop cultivation and cattle rearing, which rely on manual labour and low technologies not requiring high skills, and are respectively poorly paid. As acknowledged by sociologic surveys, around 30% of farm women hold jobs with high share of manual labour, among them fully 40% are in their 50-s and older (MUFFY, 1998b; 13). At the same time males are more often involved in a better remunerated (high-)skilled technical work.

Table 12. Gender pay gap (% ratios of average female wage to average male wage, by sector)

<i>Sectors of agricultural economy</i>	2002	2003	2004
<i>Agricultural production and related services</i>	93,0	93,7	89,9
<i>Forestry and related services</i>	89,0	90,5	88,7
<i>Fishery</i>	92,2	91,2	90,2

Source: SCFSU, 2007a.

Yet, the GPG can not be attributed solely to the impact of direct gender discrimination in the economic sector. Presumably, gender misbalance in wages and income rates results not only from the “vertical gender discrimination”, but also from the “positive discrimination”, i.e. from the fact that Ukrainian legislation prohibits female employment in health-hazardous and life-jeopardy jobs. Males who hold such jobs more often, receive allowances, wage benefits and cash compensations which increase their income rates (MUFFYS, 2007a; 51) (see tables 13, 14). Specifically, in 2005 alone 76% of laborers working in health-unfavorable work environment were men (1598,5 thousand males vs 384,5 thousand females). This explains why fully 65% of those who received at least one kind of allowances for the work in life- jeopardy conditions were

men. In 2005 supplementary remuneration for the work in health-hazardous labour was paid to 238 000 males and 44 000 females (84% vs 16% among all those who received compensations for employment in health-unfavorable work environment) (NASU, IFDSR. 2007).

Table 13. Laborers of the agricultural sector and related services, working in health-unfavorable work environment, by gender (% ratios to total registered laborers)

2002		2003		2004	
<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>
7,8	10,6	7,3	10,3	7,0	9,5

Source: SCFSU, 2007a; 57.

Table 14: Laborers of the agricultural sector and related services, receiving at least one wage benefit/compensation, by gender (% ratios to total registered laborers)

2002		2003		2004	
<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>
7,5	10,2	7,1	9,7	8,1	10,6

Source: SCFSU, 2007a; 57.

It is generally acknowledged that material wellbeing of rural families depends on the one hand, on the aggregate family income, constituted by joint cash and livelihoods inputs of all family members, and on the other hand, on household participation in both on-farm and off-farm employment. Off-farm incomes of Ukrainian peasant women are decidedly low, the key share of female-villagers' earnings coming from private farming, the most physically arduous, least technologically equipped and poorly respected field of agricultural labour. Over late 1990-s private farming was the principal income source for as many as 2/3s of rural women, whereas only every fourth female had an off-farm income in the public sector.

In the course of the all-Ukrainian sociologic survey "Rural women" responders were offered to self-assess their material wellbeing compared to the village average (see table 15). The number of those who identified their status as high was mere 0,1%, the same for women and for men. Yet, while only 2,5% admitted that they lived better than average in their village, whole 72% of all the interviewed defined their wellbeing to be below the average in their settlement, low or very low. Although no significant gender differences were marked between those who identified their material status as low (32,2% women vs 31,2% men) and below average (26,3% women vs 27,4% men), women predominated among those who consider their level of wellbeing to be very low (18,1% women vs 7,8% men), while males constitute the majority of those who find their material situation to be equal to average or somewhat over average.

Table 15. Peasants' self estimates of their material wellbeing as compared to village average (%)

	High	Over average	Average	Below average	Low	Very low	No answer
<i>Females</i>	0,1	1,8	20,9	26,3	32,2	18,1	0,7
<i>Males</i>	0,1	3,3	29,0	27,4	31,2	7,8	1,3

Median	0,1	2,5	24,9	26,8	31,7	12,9	1,0
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Source: MUFFY, 1998b; 97.

The major prerequisite for decent employment, financial independence and high status of women in the family, community and society is education and professional training. However, analysis of educational attainments of rural women as of 1998 showed that no more than 4% of them had higher education and incomplete higher education, 11,6% - specialized secondary education, 22,9% - secondary education, 21,5% - unfinished secondary education, while whole 40% had only elementary school training (MUFFY, 1998b; 82). Absence of motivation for training in high-skilled professions may be attributed to the legacy of the socialist past. A policy of lumpenization carried out by the communist regime fostered a negative attitude to intellectual labour among general public. Furthermore, gender inequalities in wages, income rates, employment possibilities and conditions of work as well absence of feasible perspectives for professional advancement for village women discourage them from making efforts to acquire higher education and professional training. Thus, fully 71% of responders of the above sociologic survey answered negatively to the question whether they would like to obtain higher education, another 29% did not see any practical sense in it. These figures may signify that high-skilled training does not guarantee a decent employment to rural women, because they do not regard the work in high-skilled professions as a solution to economic and material problems in their households.

Labour migration as a pathway out of poverty: gendered character of economic mobility in rural areasⁱⁱ

Poor salaries in traditionally female occupations, higher unemployment rate and its longer average duration, vulnerability to poverty and low demand in female labor together with high degree of social exclusion and glass ceiling in careers – all these factors induce females to seek supplementary sources of employment, including internal and trans-border labour migration. Because more and more women see no future for themselves living in the countryside, they are increasingly leaving to shadow economy in urban areas or even behind the state borders. Gender-sensitive statistics shows that while the coefficients of females and males departures from rural areas in 2000 was about the same, in 2006 females out-migration already acceded that of males (see table 16). For this reason researchers speak of a “female drain” from villages and a “silent female revolt” (UNDP, SIDA, 2003; 49).

Table 16. Arrivals and departures coefficients for rural population, by gender (%)

Years	Coefficients of arrival		Coefficients of departure	
	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>
2000	15,6	18,0	15,9	16,0
2006	14,3	14,7	17,5	16,2

Source: NASU, IFDSR, 2007; 177.

According to statistics, in 2001 females constituted 35,4% of the total migrant stock. The rate of female out-migration was higher in rural areas: 2,8% vs 1,5% of total population in urban settlements. A presence of gender gap was confirmed in 2001 by the Regional Employment Centre (REC) in Ternopil region, severely affected by migration. Among rural labor migrants the ratio was 40,7% of females vs 59,3% of males. By 2004 the stock of male migrants increased but insufficiently – only by 4,8%, whereas the number of female migrants raised up by 47,5% (whilst the total migrant stock augmented by 23,5%). In rural areas the total of female migrants reached 52,1%, while the total of male migrants dwindled to 47,9%. Feminization of migration was accompanied by acceleration of labour force outflow to Italy and Spain, at the same time the flows of migration to Poland and Portugal had been declining.

There is a growing body of evidence that in CCE there are localities, marked by especially high external demand in female work force, required for care economy in Western Europe, which leads to outflows of women from these localities, lack of female members in families and creates marked gender disparities in the demographic structure of respective economic regions. Such gender disparities exist in Southern Slovakia, in Eastern Germany and in Western Ukraine, resulting from out-migration of women to domestic/care work in the EU countries. This development can be attributed to crucial recent changes in the international division of reproductive labour and emergence of globalized industries built upon work and “care services” traditionally provided by women. Over the last decades postindustrial nations had been experiencing lack of care labour, known as “care deficit” (Hochschild, 1997) caused by a range of factors, such as increasing women’s participation in the work force, aging of the European population that requires care services, deconstruction of extended families, which usually provided these services, unequal distribution of domestic responsibilities between the sexes and the decline of the welfare state, accompanied by degradation of the public system of care provision. Thereby, a large informal “care economy” emerged”, created by a demand for care services. It developed into the so-called “global care chains” (Yeates, 2005), based on “care migration”, seen by women from developing and transitional societies as a pathway out of poverty and unemployment. It enabled impoverished peasant women from West Ukrainian villages to find employment as domestic and care workers in EU countries, primarily in the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, males from these regions can afford to find only less profitable seasonal employment in agriculture or in construction sites in Russia, Poland, Portugal or Spain and there is a growing demand for builders in big industrial centers in Ukraine too. That is why males prefer to stay at home. However, media sources evidence that they refuse to accept even available employment possibilities, despite that the wages offered to them accede average

salaries in the capital city of Kyiv, where income rates are generally higher than national average. Public hearings organized by local administrations jointly with private business, revealed that males were reluctant to work, because remittances send by their wives employed abroad tangibly acceded wages offered by local employers. So, men openly demonstrated negligence of traditional distribution of gender role models in the family by assuming the subordinate function in the household and accepting their wives as bread winners and manages of family economy, although mainly for the period of their absence abroad.

Thus, while women actively seek pathways out of poverty and unemployment and find jobs via labour migration abroad, their husbands (often unemployed) and adult sons left behind at home, live on remittances and develop symptoms of social misadaptation. They are reported by media to be involved in various kinds of antisocial behavior, like alcoholism, drug-taking, fatal road accidents, domestic and street violence, unprotected sex, ensuing sexually transmitted diseases and dramatic increase of male mortality.

Research gaps: missing links in Ukrainian scholarship

Analysis of available research literature on gender dimension of rural poverty and unemployment in Ukraine showed the following challenging areas in the Ukrainian scholarship and policy-making in this area of expertise:

1) Lack of awareness in society at large and among experts involved (including FAO representatives in Ukraine) about rural development as both globally and locally gendered phenomenon. Therefore, there is a concomitant lack of research on a such burning problems, as gendered consequences of land reform, women's access to micro-crediting for small farming, women's rights to land, water and sanitation, feminization of rural poverty and unemployment, out-migration of females from villages and its social costs for families left behind and rural welfare, gender implications of agricultural investment policies and trade liberalization, gender bias of rural marketing systems, gendered impacts of global warming on rural population, etc. Accordingly, there is no public discussion in the media or any attempts to approach these issues on the level of state governance. Gender dimension of agriculture and farming is a matter of concern but of a small number of rural women's NGOs with very limited capacities and outreach and of occasional international projects.

2) Lack of reliable national database of gender-sensitive statistics on agricultural development as well of proven methodology for its accumulation, procession and interpretation. Information generated by different stakeholders is often contradictory, even incompatible, resulting from the closed character of their work, un-transparency of outcomes and absence of an integrated approach in sharing research data.

3) By and large budgets are seen as *gender-neutral* policy instruments, i.e. as not having different impact on the situations of women and men. However, due to the fact that women still have less access to recourses than men, public expenditures often have unbalanced gender effect. Therefore, the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) highlighted the importance of integrating a gender perspective and adequate financing of specific programmes into all financial arrangements (United Nations, 2001). However, in Ukraine, despite its commitment to Beijing decisions, gender-sensitive budget analysis and assessment is not yet imbedded into national programmes and strategies.

4) Gender Studies is but an emerging field in Ukrainian academia and therefore lacks its own tradition and research history, specifically on gender-sensitive research in rural development. There is a bad lack of qualitative research based on “soft” methods, especially in connection to agriculture and farming. There are practically no experts in the country who have professional training in this area. Those few with more or less adequate qualifications have majors in related fields, like social sciences, demography or economics, and received professional upgrading in the US and West European Universities.

5) Last, but not least, is lack of funding, either public or international, for gender-sensitive research generally and on agricultural labour market in particular. Neither there is any evidence of fund-raising efforts among key experts and policy-makers involved to attract the attention of national or international donors to secure funding for gender-sensitive research and policy design in the agricultural sector. This entails unequal, uncompetitive and un-transparent distribution of available frugal funding among stakeholders. Consequently, finances for gender-sensitive research are concentrated in narrow circles of researchers, close to the level of decision-making, state governance and international donors. Thus, development of national strategies for gender equitable policy and planning is the matter of concern of a narrow, closed circle of scholars, civil servants and administrators whose activity lacks transparency and accountability to academia, women’s movement, civil society and general public creating constraints to advancement of gender research in Ukraine.

Policy agenda: Priorities, possibilities and prospects

The imperative of the momentum for Ukraine in order to alleviate rural poverty and soften unemployment is to examine the international experience of GM in employment policies and on this background to develop viable strategies for its efficient implementation in national rural economy. To this end it is critical to consider the EC four main pillars for GM strategies in employment polices, listed in the beginning of this paper (ALMPs, GPG, RPs and FPs). This will enable the promotion of equal labour rights, job security and flexibility for women and men and

by these measures to counteract out-migration of the work force from villages, especially of younger generation and females.

Experience of advanced market economies combined with national legacy of research on the above issues allowed to identify the following priority areas for mainstreaming gender into rural employment policies, based DWA, proposed by ILO:

Although both rural women and men are vulnerable on the labour market, this area requires ALMPs and RPs aimed primarily at women, because they are more disadvantaged in terms of employment opportunities than men, as demonstrated earlier in this paper.

- As mentioned above, well-being of villagers depends on availability of both on-farm and off-farm revenues. Therefore, an asset in terms of employment generation specifically for female work force will be the implementation of ALMPs by way of the introduction of the system of investments funds for the start of small local agricultural enterprises and creation of new working places in corporate agricultural production like food-processing industry, tailoring industry etc.
- Development initiatives aimed at advancement of rural wellbeing in Ukraine traditionally focus on bolstering the private sector or the state, while ignoring organizations that combine for-profit activities with social aims. A new model for poverty reduction, recently introduced in Ukraine, is social enterpriseⁱⁱⁱ which provides an ideal framework for ALMPs, aimed at addressing unemployment and exclusion from the labour market. Social enterprises are private, autonomous, entrepreneurial organizations (often NGOs) providing goods or services with an explicit aim to benefit the community. They are implicitly directed towards women, who dominate in certain types of caring-focused NGOs (Phillips, 2005). It is thus important to further promote social entrepreneurship as a self-employment opportunity for rural women to empower them in Ukraine's emerging market economy.
- A key factor for rural employment policies is skilled workforce. Thereby, RPs in the form of organization of professional upgrading and training for unemployed work force in areas of residence are crucial for employment generation in agriculture, which is important for working parents and matters especially for women in view of their restricted mobility due to domestic duties and caring roles.

Promoting female entrepreneurship

- One of key factors in fostering rural employment is agricultural reform based on redistribution of property relationships, specifically in land reform. It is essential to develop such models of privatization, which safeguard rights and mirror interests of all groups of rural population, providing a possibility to most skilled and proactive women to become leaders in land reform and shareholders of new entrepreneurial structures in agribusiness.

- An important sector of employment possibilities for peasant families in the EU, especially for encouraging female entrepreneurship, is eco-tourism. In Ukraine with its rich forestry there are ample opportunities for this kind of rural employment. But it requires ALMP through the development of a respective legislative framework as well as the creation of a favorable economic space for this form of rural business.
- Using existing national experience of women's business centers and associations, like for instance, in Donek, special resource women's centers tailored for the needs of farmwoman should be better promoted, focusing specifically on economic literacy training, entrepreneurship skills development and education in small farming management. Particular attention should be paid to changing attitudes, underlying values and beliefs, family dynamics and women's self respect, as these are important obstacles to women wishing to become self employed entrepreneurs.
- European experience shows that an impetus for female entrepreneurship is special legislation for this sector (Wageninge, 2004). In Finland under such legislation, people who set up an enterprise with at least seven partners can still have their wage earner status with the social security, while owning and running an enterprise. There is also no minimum capital defined to establish a cooperative. This reduces the risk of starting a business. In Ireland a great stimulus for women is the tax-free incentive, stipulated by labor legislation. This experience is useful to forester GM in the Ukrainian ALMPs and reconciliation policies.

Targeting vulnerable groups

In the framework of this approach priority should be given to GM in ALMPs aimed at the young and retired people, lone parents, single-headed households, families with many children as social groups most vulnerable to deprivation and poverty.

- The process of privatization in the system of education creates disadvantages in access to quality education primarily for rural youth, and especially for young farm women (Tolstokorova, 2007; 100-101) because rural families have limited possibilities to cover fees and living expenses for studies at universities, concentrated mainly in big cities. This is why there is an imperative need to develop and adopt national programs, targeted specifically at creation of educational possibilities for rural residents with consideration of gender specificities in labour demand of agricultural labour market.
- One of priority issues in rural poverty alleviation is the development of models of social welfare for rural seniors, whereby 2/3 are women. A possible mechanism of social protection of this social group is a membership in new types of rural enterprises of corporate-private form of property as small shareholders which provides an opportunity to senior citizens to receive dividends.

Fostering employment flexibility and security

- Taking into account that 2010 is being envisaged by the EC as a European Year of Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion, it is a policy imperative for Ukraine to develop a coherent program for public policy responses to challenges created by increased labor mobility of the work force, aimed at enhancement of socio-economic security of Ukrainian citizens, working both at home and abroad, and at promotion of their social rights. This will allow to combat socioeconomic inequalities and foster social inclusion of vulnerable social groups. In this context it is important to ensure that in a highly mobile and flexible globalized world of today the principles of “security” and “flexibility” should be mutually complimentary and intertwined so that to enable the implementation of FPs, helping to modernize labour markets and make them better able to address the challenges and opportunities of globalization (Tolstokorova, 2007; 106).
- Learning from experiences in France (Wageninge, 2004), a useful concept to make employment more flexible is Corporate Alliances, where agricultural and small/medium sized businesses work together to create full-time jobs for their laborers. Forming alliances enables them to share employees, while pooling of resources allows partners to provide full-time employment that would otherwise be unaffordable. Under such schedule a worker has an opportunity to work flexibly for different enterprises throughout the year. This stops skilled employees moving out of the region, while at the same time creating attractive full-time jobs for less skilled and untrained people, which is especially favorable for women with family responsibilities, lone parents, both mothers and fathers, etc.
- Yet, there is a growing concern that flexicurity approach may carry the risk of deterioration of women's situation on the labour market and may bring up challenges to balance between paid and unpaid work. To this end, it is necessary to consider such burning issues as GPGs and equal pay principle, public pension schemes, care services provision and RPs. Furthermore, as was offered by the European Women’s Lobby, it is necessary to encourage men to take their share in unpaid work, and set the pace of reversing the male life-cycle approach to change the terms of reference for more qualitative social well-being and economic growth, which will undoubtedly benefit both women and men (EWL, 2006).

Facilitating work-life balance

- FPs may also be seen as an important precondition for RPs, allowing women and men to balance work and private life. Part-time work or flexible working hours as an alternative are the most wide-spread options. Yet, lone mothers who are sole bread-winners in the family and have no alternative revenues may be economically disadvantaged by lower earnings

from part-time employment. So, it is important they can have some child-care allowances together with remunerations from wages.

- Working parents need care facilities for their children before and after school. Before transition there were many child-care facilities in Ukrainian countryside. But the situation worsened due to unemployment, the out-migration of young families to the cities and because of a declining birth rate. Many day-care centers financed by the government were closed, having created new challenges for those who rely on such facilities. In approaching this problem the experience of Finland (Wageninge, 2004), would be useful, where attempts are being made to maintain facilities by organizing cooperative care institutions in rural communities. These initiatives are proper examples of dual-purpose solutions: they not only create care facilities, but at the same time stimulate employment and female entrepreneurship.
- An important element of RPs is leave facilities. Especially when children are young time-related provisions such as leave arrangements and career breaks are highly important for work-life balance. Clause 182 of the Ukrainian Labour Code stipulates conditions for the use of extended leaves and leave entitlements for laborers with children, both one's own and adopted. Yet, these entitlements are targeted only at women, but do not encompass men (MUFFYS, 2007; 25). Therefore, it is necessary to initiate public discussion of this issue and to lobby changes in the legislation to encourage involvement of males in child-minding.
- For a long time Ukrainian legislation, both Family Law and Labour Code, had been promoting social rights and guarantees for women-mothers. To date, advancement of the social status of women in society and encouragement of their more active participation in the labour market require increase in the involvement of men in child-care and domestic responsibilities (Tolstokorova, 2008b; 15). However, conservative gender stereotypes and strong patriarchal traditions in rural families discourage men-villagers from active involvement in family matters. This is why consciousness-raising programs aimed at both women and men are crucial to remove disincentives, develop awareness and create favorable family environment for fathers and husbands to follow egalitarian gender role models in the family.

Conclusion: And at the end of it all...

In conclusion it should be emphasized that the prerequisites for GM in agricultural employment generation and poverty alleviation are political will and unified efforts of all the stakeholders, starting with national rural governance, trade unions and agribusiness structures, to community groups, local municipalities, farm alliances, peasant families and individual farmers. However, these efforts might be futile without a broader organizational change, having gender

equality at the heart of societal transformations and aiming beyond mere adding women-specific projects at the margins. Gender has to be acknowledged as a cross-cutting issue, relevant to all areas of governance and policy-making. What is now required is a comprehensive context-specific gender-sensitive research which will enable the understanding of how and whether gender-based policy changes take effect in implementation, and what are the links between macro level changes and micro level responses. However, current political context should be considered realistically in policy design for gender equality promotion in rural employment. Particularly, in conditions of a durable and profound political and economic crises in Ukraine, exacerbated by global economic meltdown, when all sectors of society are pierced with corruption and state institutions are being transformed into a sort of business corporations promoting interests of the big capital, there no grounds for illusions about a possibility of the governmental support for the implementation of these tasks. Thereby, the focus should be on self-reliance and personal initiatives of individuals and groups, mainly on the grassroots level, aimed at fostering social justice in family, community and society at large.

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Notes

ⁱ Gender pay gap, also referred to as the wage gap, correlates with the notion of "comparable worth", implying that different jobs of purportedly equal value to employer call for compensation at the same level (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1985; 13).

ⁱⁱ This section is grounded on the materials of the author's earlier work (Tolstokorova, 2008a).

ⁱⁱⁱ It was a project implemented in Ukraine by Counterpart International between 1999-2002.

