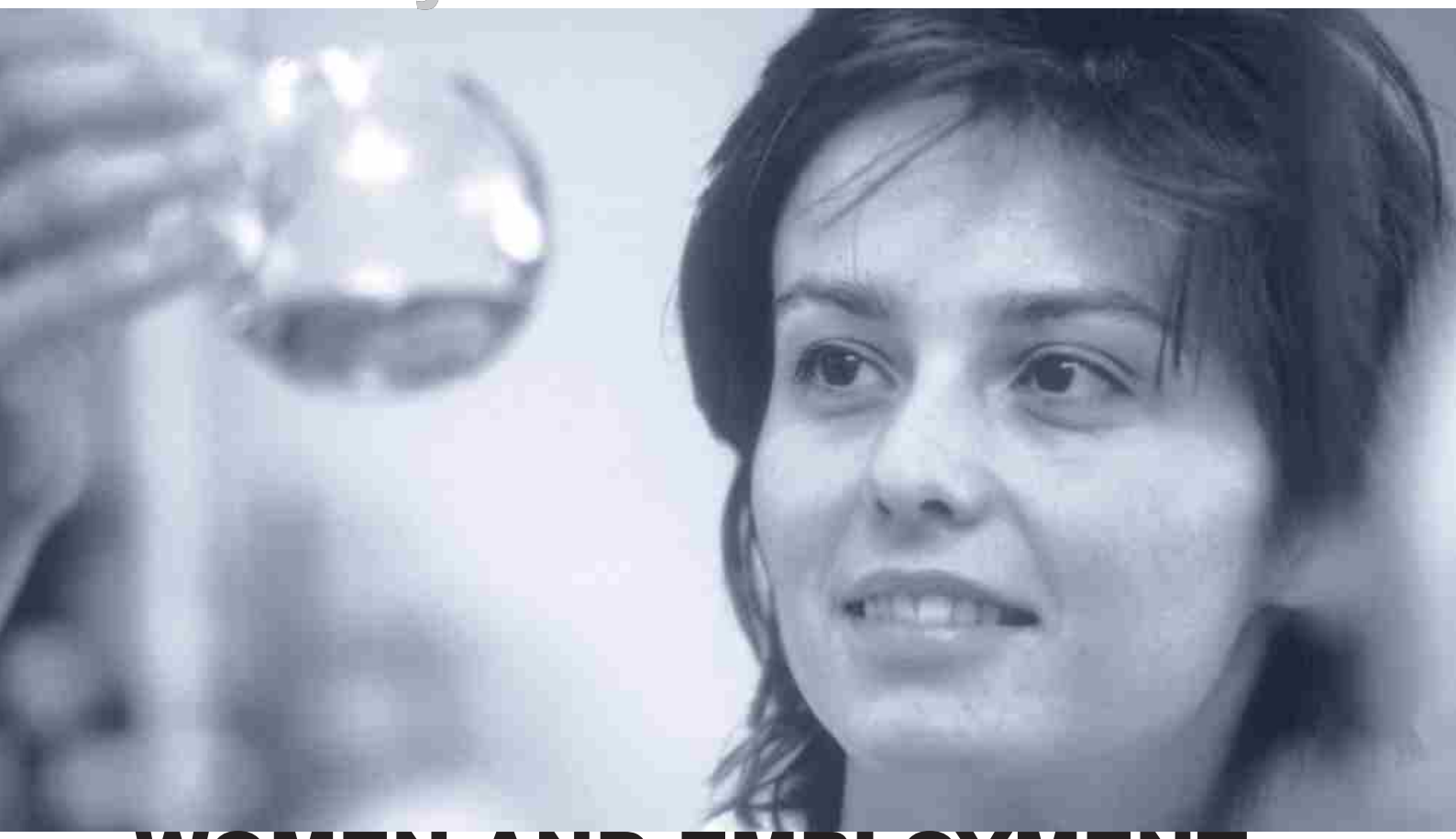
The Story Behind the Numbers:



WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND THE WESTERN COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

United Nations
Development Fund for Women
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The Story Behind the Numbers: Women and Employment in Central and Eastern Europe and the Western Commonwealth of Independent States

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United Nations Development Fund for Women
Grosslingova 35
Bratislava 811 09
Slovak Republic
E-mail: Bratislava.unifem@undp.org
Website: www.unifem.sk

On the cover: Woman working in Hungary's chemical industry. Photo: J. Maillard /ILO
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PUBLICATION TEAM AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE

COORDINATOR: **Asya Varbanova**

BACKGROUND PAPER: **Eva Fodor**

CONSULTANTS
Eva Fodor
Silke Steinhilber
Joann Vanek
Elizabeth Villagoméz

UNIFEM
Karen Judd
Joanne Sandler

EDITOR: **Gloria Jacobs**

DESIGNER: **atelier2**

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Erin Barkley
Network of East West Women
Lilia Dimova
Agency for Social Analysis, Bulgaria
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Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
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United Nations Development Programme Bratislava Regional Center
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KARAT Coalition
Angela Me
United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
Joann Vanek
Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)
Petra Ulshoefer
International Labour Organization

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PREFACE

How did women and men adjust to the collapse of the state socialist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, especially in terms of work and livelihoods? What has been the legacy of the state socialist emancipation project in the region: Did women manage to retain their relatively advantageous positions in the labour markets or did gender inequality increase significantly? These are the key questions this report seeks to answer, utilizing data from the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) Gender Statistics database. Its objective is not only to interpret the numbers but also to critically evaluate the dataset as a source of information on gender inequality in an international context.

The answers the report's findings provide to the questions above are interesting both theoretically and from the point of view of policy making. One of the conclusions is that the legacy of the state socialist emancipation project lives on, although in a different context. Vast numbers of women have suffered economic setbacks since the collapse of the state socialist planned economies: Unemployment and poverty emerged on a large scale, economic insecurity and exploitation increased, and anxiety about their precarious economic position, often accompanied by a real decline in social and health status, became the daily experience of significant portions of the population. Yet, it seems that amidst all these social upheavals, women did not fare worse than men did. Labour market gender inequality had existed in state socialist societies - official propaganda notwithstanding. But in the decades before the collapse of these regimes women had acquired useful resources in educational institutions and the labour force which allowed them - in most if not all of the countries included in this report - to retain their positions *relative* to men after 1989. According to the data collected through quantitative surveys (the UNECE dataset) and a series of qualitative studies (described in the boxes of this report) gender inequality did not increase significantly, but remained at a pre-transition high level.

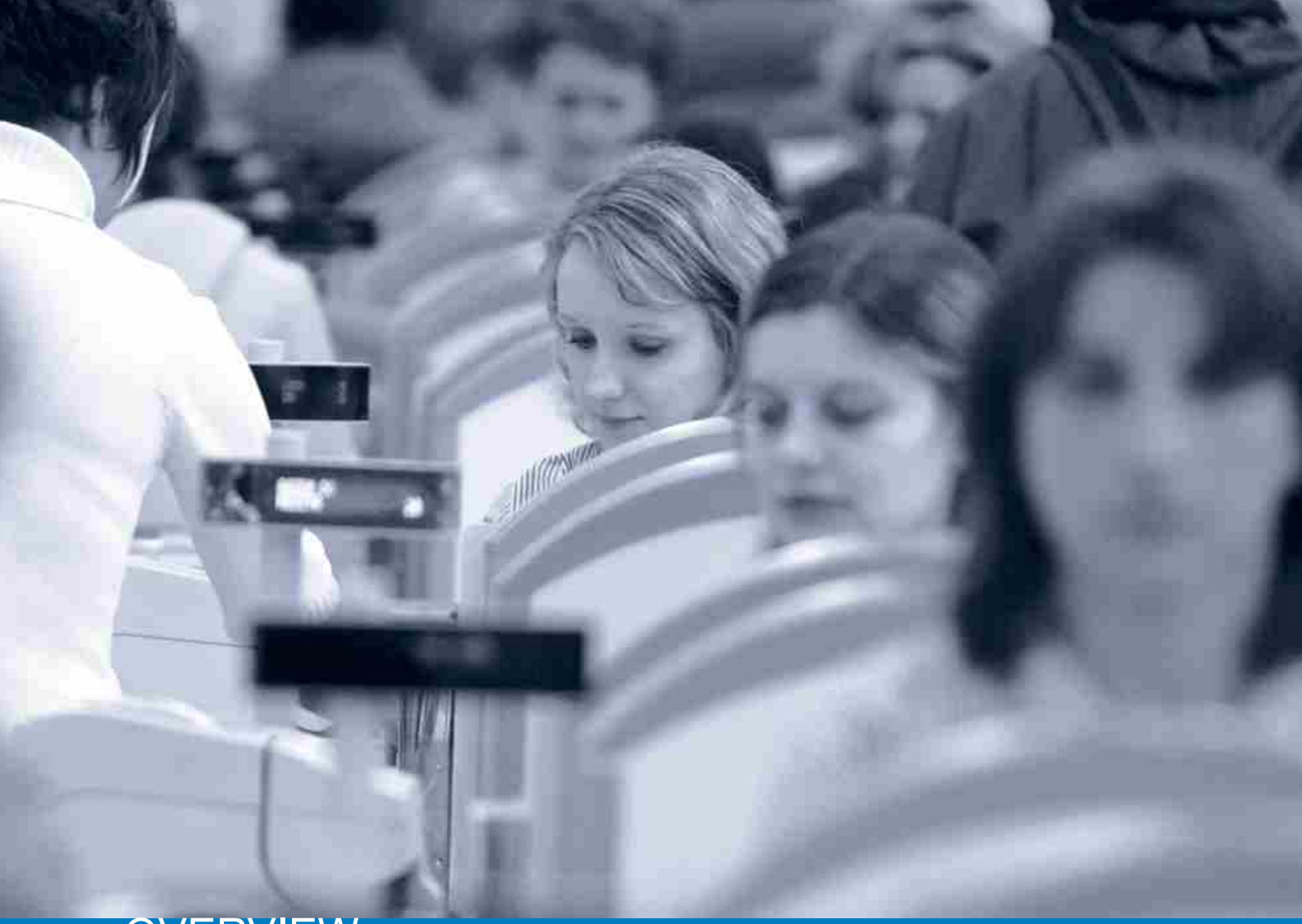
This report analyses women's position over time as well as across countries within the region. One comparison, however, was not explored explicitly, namely: how the current labour market opportunities of women in post-state socialist countries compare to those living in developed Western capitalist ones. This issue has assumed increasing importance in the context of the European Union and the EU accession process, which will affect economic policymaking in all countries of the region.

Since the early 1980s women's lives in the eastern and western part of the European continent have become increasingly similar. Immediately after World War II, a sharp and politically buttressed contrast existed between the worlds of the female Communist factory worker and her Western counterpart, the stereotypically suburban stay-at-home mother. By the 1980s, however, women in most developed Western capitalist countries began to acquire paid jobs and demand equal treatment inside and outside the labour force, while women in state socialist societies were granted long maternity leaves and started to drop out of paid work for lengthy periods in their prime career years. These trends may have started decades earlier, but their convergence became even more pronounced in the 1990s after the collapse of state socialism and the related escalation in economic globalization. Most strikingly, as this report shows, East European women were forced out of the labour force in unprecedented numbers, exactly at the time when their Western counterparts started to take up paid employment in earnest at the encouragement of national and transnational governments as well as corporate employers. The connection between these two processes - for example, through the supply of cheap careworkers migrating West - should not be ignored.

As a result of these twin processes, in recent years the level and shape of gender inequality in most areas of the labour market seem comparable in post-state socialist and in developed capitalist societies: Roughly the same percentage of women are employed, in similarly segregated jobs, and for similarly lower pay than received by their male colleagues. Yet, while the outcome may be similar, the lived experience differs in at least one important dimension: While the labour market position of women in Western Europe has improved over the past generation, that of women in Eastern Europe has declined to reach this point. These differences have very different implications for policy makers in each of the regions, which the report sheds light on.

Perhaps the most interesting and strongest part of this report is that it not only describes the data, but it also allows us to gain a better understanding of the experience of gender inequality after state socialism through pointing to these and to similar stories behind the numbers.

Eva Fodor
Budapest



OVERVIEW

The social and economic changes that transformed Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in the last decade of the 20th century had an enormous impact on the lives of the women and men living in the region. While the process of economic restructuring that followed the collapse of the state socialist regimes has brought new opportunities and benefits for some, it has also led to a dramatic increase in unemployment, poverty and social inequality, all of which have negatively affected the economic security of large numbers of women and men. One aspect of the restructuring has involved labour market shifts, and the ways they have impacted different groups of people.

Determining what precisely this impact has been is complicated, however, and at least in the case of women, is subject to a continuing debate among experts and policy makers. While analysts agree that labour markets throughout the region have changed radically since 1990, they have produced different evaluations of how these changes affected women's occupational chances and work opportunities. This is partly due to inadequate data but partly also to differences in the way the existing data are interpreted.

The Story Behind the Numbers explores the position of women in the labour market in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Western Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)[1]. The analysis is based on data from the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) Gender Statistics Database, which contains comprehensive sex-disaggregated statistics for the region. The goals of this report are threefold:

> To understand the impact of recent political, economic and social changes in the region on women's economic well-being and thereby shed light on the differing evaluations offered by recent reports on women in the region.

> To show the utility of the UNECE dataset as a source of comparable data on women and men in the region and to highlight needed improvements in the availability and quality of data on women and men in the region.

> To identify directions for policies to improve the economic situation of women in the region.

In recent years, two major reports have assessed women's labour market situation in transition economies: a World Bank report, entitled Gender in Transition (World Bank 2002a), and the final report to the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, entitled Working Conditions and Gender in an Enlarged Europe (European Foundation 2005). Although both survey the same region, the scope of the World Bank report is broader, covering all countries in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, while the European Foundation report focuses only on new member states and acceding countries of the European Union (EU). Both rely on similar data sources - labour force surveys and qualitative studies from each country, supplemented by information from well-known international databases. Seemingly, the two reports come to different conclusions about the trends in women's labour force conditions as well as the level of gender inequality in paid work.

The European Foundation finds that '[a]lthough women continue to constitute around 45 per cent of employed people, female labour force participation rates have gone down, and women have dropped out of the labour market to work in household and informal economies, or when still present are overrepresented among unemployed people' (2005: 66). The World Bank report, on the other hand, states that 'there appears to be no empirical evidence that the treatment of women in the labour market has systematically deteriorated across the region' (2002a: xi). These conflicting findings echo the ongoing debate in the academic world, where some analysts argue that women's labour force position has been harmed by the transformations in Eastern Europe, and that they are bearing the burden of social changes to a disproportionate extent (e.g., Funk 2004; LaFont 2001; Einhorn 1993), while others focus on the gains women have made, such as in narrowing the wage gap (Brainerd 2000; Fodor 1997).

The Story Behind the Numbers

This report shows that it is not easy to assess what has happened over the past 15 years to women's economic position in the region. It requires more than simply comparing data over time. Other important elements of such a study are: the basic questions being asked, the comprehensiveness and detail of the data being used and the social and economic context used in interpreting the data.

The primary reason why analysts evaluate women's positions differently is that they ask and answer slightly different questions. This report highlights the implications of these differences and explores the social and economic conditions that provide the context in which they must be viewed. It also considers the limitations and gaps in existing data that prevent us from drawing a fully reliable and complete picture of women's labour market position.

[1] CEE countries analysed in this report are: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, FYR Macedonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovenia, and Slovakia; Western CIS consists of Belarus, Moldova, Russian Federation and Ukraine.

The questions examined are: 1) Did women's labour market position and overall living standards deteriorate during the transition? 2) Did women's labour market position deteriorate relative to that of men?

The answer to the first question is a resounding 'yes'. Millions of women lost their jobs; many of them became unemployed, and others became discouraged and dropped out of the labour force. Poverty rates have skyrocketed as the scope and real value of state subsidies have declined at the same time that jobs have disappeared. Only a small number of women can take advantage of the new opportunities offered by international companies or domestic private sector firms. Economic activity rates for women declined significantly over the transition period, particularly among younger women. Female unemployment rates have increased to double-digit numbers in most transition countries. More than 40 per cent of the unemployed women are long-term unemployed in nearly all of the countries examined here. Already high levels of job segmentation continue and women are increasingly crowded into less prestigious, underpaid public sector jobs. As a result, women (as well as men) have become active participants in the growing informal economy, where many receive minimum wages in unstable jobs that offer no benefits at all (Renoy et al.). In addition, women, on average better educated than men, are paid significantly less no matter what sector or occupation they work in. In sum, there is currently significant gender inequality in the job market and the position of most women has undoubtedly deteriorated across Eastern Europe. The long-term consequences of this trend for women will mean greater impoverishment in their later years and greater dependency on state benefits.

The answer to the second question is less clear-cut and varies widely across the transition countries. On the surface, in most countries gender inequality has remained stable over the course of the transition. Women's labour market position has declined, but so has men's. Millions of men have also lost their jobs, become unemployed, discouraged, impoverished - even depressed and suicidal. In only five of 13 countries with sex-disaggregated data on employment do women have significantly higher unemployment than men. The share of women vis a vis men in the labour force has not declined significantly since 1995. The current situation is one in which women and men have roughly equal opportunities - that is, equally few of them. In addition, some aspects of labour force segregation such as occupational segregation have not deteriorated and the gender pay gap - for workers in wage employment - appears to have narrowed in the new EU member states[2] (but not in other, less developed countries).

The differences between the different political/regional groupings of countries are not significant - in part because only limited data are available for the western CIS and some of the countries in Southeastern Europe (SEE). The main difference is employment in the public and private sectors. Generally, with the exception of Moldova, the share of women relative to men in public sector employment in the eight new member states of the EU is higher (from 55% to 64%) than in either the SEE or the CIS countries (from 40% to 52%). In the latter set of countries with less private sector development, public sector positions are likely to be relatively advantageous, making them more attractive to men than is true in the EU member states.

Fuller understanding of regional labour market trends requires a more detailed examination of occupational and other categories behind the basic labour market indicators, including their terms and conditions, as well as an analysis of the social and economic context in which indicators must be interpreted - in other words the story behind the numbers. Underlying the stability in basic indicators of gender inequality is a great deal of change. The rate of workforce participation of younger women relative to younger men has fallen sharply, while the opposite trend has occurred in the older age groups, particularly for the 55-59 age group. Women now comprise a larger share of public sector employees than they did in the early years of the transition while the vast majority of male employees, particularly in the EU countries, currently work in the private sphere. The consequences for women of segregation in low paid public sector jobs are strikingly different in a market economy than they are in a centrally-planned economy. When income differences are relatively small and people can make ends meet on average wages - as they could in the state-socialist period - a 30 per cent gender wage gap is more tolerable than when inequalities are large and women's wages do not meet a family's or even a single person's needs. Similarly, the conditions underpinning gender segregation are different in labour markets that are fully state-regulated compared to those dominated by private ownership, considering that the private sector offers not only higher wages but also much better in-kind benefits, such as contributions to pension funds, access to higher quality medical and childcare and travel allowances.

It is also important to stress that work conditions in the same employment categories (according to occupation, status, or sector) differ among countries depending on the specific national context and they also differ between women and men. The fact that women are over-represented

[2] The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia

in a specific category or that their share has increased does not necessarily mean that women are faring well. For example, the large share of women employed in the private sector or as own-account workers in Moldova could either be the result of scarce opportunities in the state sector or an indication of better opportunities and conditions of work for women elsewhere; any conclusion in this regard requires additional data.

The current analysis shows that quantitative measures of gender inequality presented without sufficient detail and outside the broader social and economic context may lead to inaccurate conclusions about the situation of women. In the case of Eastern Europe, ignoring the context masks the economic hardship, discrimination and declining living standards many women experience. Moreover, even with regard to those aspects of the labour market that have seen no change, a situation where women continue to be employed in positions of lower pay, with lower monetary and non-monetary benefits and overall inferior job quality, is by no means satisfactory. The fact that gender gaps have remained broadly stable is not a gain by itself; it should rather ring a bell, encouraging an inquiry into the reasons behind the lack of improvements and the policy changes necessary to contribute to more equitable work opportunities for women and men.

Along most dimensions, patterns of Eastern European women's labour force participation are starting to look more and more like that of women in the western parts of Europe, despite some differences, such as the level of participation in part-time work. This convergence is due in part to deterioration in the labour market status of Eastern European women over the past 15 years and in part to some improvement in the position of women in the West.

Some important aspects of women's engagement in economic life remain unexplored, as they are not included in the UNECE database. There is no systematic information on the level and quality of informal work done by men and women, which is crucial for understanding trends in women's labour market position; nor is there data on the multitude of unexplored differences among women, such as class, nationality, race/ethnicity and geography, which intersect with gender to make women's economic position precarious. These are all important factors to consider when evaluating women's labour market position, as is the impact of the increase in women's labour migration and trafficking, which has been reported for some countries.

To improve the labour market situation of women and, indirectly, men in the CEE/CIS region, this report points to several needed policy measures. First, in light of the drastic fall in women's labour force participation, alongside that of men, targeted efforts to improve access to paid work for both women and men is critical. For women, this requires access to affordable childcare, along with wider availability of flexible work schedule arrangements that would allow them to stay in formal employment and avoid seeking unreliable and badly paid jobs in the informal economy. Second, the system of tax-benefits and the length, conditions and targeting of parental leave should be reconsidered in order to create more equitable work conditions and allow parents to better balance work and family obligations. Finally, transparent job evaluation and wage setting mechanisms that will help create standards for equal pay for comparable work should be adopted.

The social and economic transformations that have swept across Eastern Europe in the past decade and a half pose many challenges to men and women in transition countries, but also create new opportunities. Public policies should now be put to work to reduce gender inequalities, not through a 'leveling down' process, but by directly improving women's economic position and allowing women to achieve their full potential.

CHAPTER 1:
FROM REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION

Revolutionary changes swept through Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s, transforming the economies, political systems, and social structures of societies that had been ruled by Communist parties since the end of World War II.

The Legacy of State Socialism

The Eastern European state socialist regimes[3] proclaimed women's emancipation in the late 1940s, following an ideological blueprint imported from the Soviet Union. In doing so, the countries of the region were responding as well to the economic imperatives of the post-war period, an era of extensive industrialization, and to the political requirements of authoritarian regimes (Molyneux 1982). As part of the women's emancipation campaign, legislation was passed that radically altered women's position in the societies of Eastern Europe. New laws guaranteed women's equality in society and marriage (Wolchik and Meyer 1985; Molyneux 1982), and women as well as men were required to become productive members of society by working for wages and engaging in political activism. Political leaders viewed women's presence in the work force as providing an opportunity to inculcate Communist ideology that could then be passed on to the new generations women were responsible for.

To ensure that women would seek out paid work, the wage structure was altered; wage setting was centralized and state controlled, and the family wage was abolished. The social security system was modified to make it more difficult for women to claim benefits through their husbands' entitlements. In the early years of this transformation, women were expected to do the same jobs as men, receive the same training and wages, and take on the same leadership responsibilities. Children were to spend their time in public day care institutions, while other domestic activities, such as cooking and laundry, would be taken care of in communal facilities.

Women were also encouraged to attain high levels of education - perhaps the most successful part of the state socialist emancipation campaign. By the mid-1980s women's share in secondary and tertiary education equaled men's, producing a labour force where women's human capital was also equal to men's, despite significant gender differences in the types of skills men and women acquired (Szelenyi 1998).

Despite efforts at standardization, cross-country variations in enforcement of legislation were common, which led to significant differences in women's labour force participation rates. Another factor contributing to the differences across countries in the measured rates of labour force participation was that in countries with a large agricultural sector, many women worked as unpaid household members on family plots and were often not identified as in the labour force. Nevertheless, the economic incentives and ideological emphasis produced a visible rise in women's labour force participation in each country in the region.

By the early 1960s, however, it became clear that the system was not working as planned. The socialization of household chores proved too expensive, particularly in a Cold War era of high military expenditures. Secondly, the birth rate declined sharply at a time when all hands were needed to support industrialization and Cold War efforts. Finally, there was significant public resistance to at least some aspects of women's emancipation, even among party members. Men who in their capacity as local party leaders passed regulations to promote women to political positions, were less happy when their own wives returned home from work late with pre-cooked dinners purchased from the factory canteen (Fodor 2003; Corrin 1994).

As a result, Communist governments began to acknowledge women's significant role in managing domestic responsibilities, insisting, however, that these responsibilities should not release women from paid jobs, but ought to qualify them for lower quality ones. This solution offered women some reduction in the multiple demands on their time at the expense of promotion to top managerial positions or increases in their wages vis a vis that of men.

By the late 1980s all the countries in this study had introduced measures that allowed women who were mothers to make social welfare claims on the state (Haney 2002). Typically this meant a paid maternity leave with job guarantees, and paid days off in case of an illness or other care responsibilities. Women, and in rare cases men, came to rely on these provisions, which were introduced several decades earlier than similar efforts in most developed countries. But responsibility for the household, especially in an economy

[3] The terms 'state socialist' and 'transition' are used to refer to the countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia and their successor countries before and after the collapse of state socialism in the late 1980s and early 1990s. When referring to political ideologies, the term 'Communist' is used. The term 'CEE and Western CIS' or simply 'Eastern Europe' with a capital 'E' are used to refer to the countries studied in this report in general, without suggesting that they constitute a homogenous region or ignoring the vast differences among them. In the tables presented, CEE countries are divided into two categories based on membership in the European Union: EU-8 and Southeast Europe (SEE). The EU-8 countries include the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. SEE countries are at different stages in preparation for membership in the EU. They include Bulgaria and Romania (acceding countries) and Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, FYR Macedonia, and Serbia & Montenegro. The Western CIS countries comprise a third category in the tables and consist of Belarus, Moldova, Russian Federation, and Ukraine.

suffering from severe shortages of consumer goods, meant that generations of women carried a heavy double burden throughout their productive and reproductive lives.

Despite its limitations, the emancipation campaign continues to have consequences for women's labour market position today. First, for nearly half a century women grew up expecting life-long, full-time paid work, with only brief interruptions for mothering. Second, working age women in Eastern Europe are by and large better educated than men of a similar age, and thus bring significant human capital to the labour market. Third, the belief that the government should offer a variety of social provisions has been ingrained in men and women. Meeting these expectations has grown ever more difficult in the market economies that have evolved in the region.

Upheaval and Transformation

During 1989-1991, economic crises, international pressure and popular protests set in motion historic transformations that resulted in closer integration of Eastern European countries with the global capitalist market.

Political changes. In the political arena, Communist parties were forced to subject themselves to multi-party elections. The degree to which popular democracy was achieved varies among countries. The World Bank classifies political systems in the region according to a four-part scheme based on the presence or absence of political rights and civil liberties, and bases its analysis on rankings developed by Freedom House, a U.S.-based non-governmental organization (NGO)[4]. According to the World Bank ranking, in 2002 seven countries analysed in the current report (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovenia) received the highest ranking of 'competitive democracies'. Another seven countries were ranked as 'concentrated political regimes' (Bulgaria, Croatia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Slovak Republic and Ukraine), meaning that they conduct multiparty elections but have curtailed full rights to participate in elections or have placed constraints on civil liberties. FYR Macedonia and Albania were ranked as war-torn regimes in which conflicts have impeded access to political and civil liberties. Belarus was ranked as a 'noncompetitive political regime', which sharply restricts political participation and civil liberties. (World Bank 2002b).

Economic changes. State-owned productive assets were privatized and the countries adopted structural adjustment policies, combining international blueprints with local variations. Some moved slowly to adopt and implement structural reforms, while others plunged in quickly, utilizing a 'shock therapy' approach. Foreign direct investment (FDI), the injection of private foreign capital into the local economies, played a significant role in the process. FDI rates vary by country, with the Czech Republic, Hungary and Estonia having the highest rates in the early 2000s, followed by other new EU member states. Direct investment in poorer countries (see Table 1.1) - where it is generally most needed - has been much lower and started later. For example, in 2001, FDI stock represented 47 per cent of GDP in the Czech Republic, compared to only 19 per cent of GDP in Albania. This translated into $478 per capita FDI inflow in the Czech Republic versus $58 in Albania (Hunya 2000).

Along with privatization came price and wage liberalization. Previously, Communist governments had guaranteed work for all able-bodied citizens, set wages and prices centrally and subsidized socially important goods. Economic restructuring changed all this, leading to a decline in real wages, an increase in prices, and the disappearance of approximately 10 per cent to 30 per cent of the jobs in the region. The result was mass unemployment, poverty and dramatic new levels of social inequalities.

The differences in how the countries weathered these transformations are evident in Table 1.1, which describes changes in per capita GDP. The most obvious distinction is between the EU and the non-EU countries. In May 2004, eight of the East European countries examined here (herein referred to as EU-8) joined the European Union. Slovenia has the highest per capita GDP ($20,801 at PPP), while Moldova, the poorest country in Europe, has the lowest ($1,742 at PPP)[5]. All the EU-8 countries have per capita GDPs over $10,000, while only one of the other countries does. Judging from this basic economic indicator, countries in SEE, such as Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and FYR Macedonia and in the Western CIS, such as Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus are significantly less developed than the EU-8.

[4] The World Bank established these ratings to measure the correlation of political and civil liberties with market-oriented economic reforms - and found that competitive democracies were the most likely to adopt and sustain these reforms. While the benefits of these reforms have been mixed at best, it is true that political and civil liberties have been a positive and important aspect of the transformation for those who are living in these highly ranked democracies.

[5] Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) is a method of measuring the relative purchasing power of different countries' currencies for the same types of goods and services. Since the costs of goods and services differ in every country, PPP adjusts the official exchange rates for cost-of-living differences and allows for more accurate comparisons of standards of living across countries.

Table 1.1 GDP Per Capita, PPP (current international $)

	1990	1995	2000	2004
EU-8				
Czech Republic	..	12,819	15,395	19,381
Estonia	7,296	6,306	9,779	13,802
Hungary	9,637	9,715	13,344	16,639
Latvia	7,767	5,288	7,922	12,045
Lithuania	9,362	6,251	8,766	13,021
Poland	6,325	7,524	10,411	12,881
Slovakia	8,950	8,595	11,315	14,519
Slovenia	..	12,556	16,897	20,801
SEE				
Albania	2,567	2,556	3,689	4,947
Bosnia & Herzegovina	..	2,058	5,695	7,101
Bulgaria	5,700	5,566	5,990	8,007
Croatia	8,225	6,843	9,565	12,156
FYR Macedonia	5,778	4,957	6,067	6,563
Romania	5,606	5,879	5,965	8,342
Western CIS				
Belarus	4,345	3,201	4,802	6,906
Moldova	3,063	1,417	1,290	1,742
Russian Federation	8,232	5,814	7,086	9,863
Ukraine	6,983	3,962	4,109	6,317

Source: World Development Indicators Online, http://www.worldbank.org/data/onlinedatabases/onlinedatabases.html

Table 1.2 GDP Growth (annual %)

	1990	1995	2000	2004
EU-8				
Czech Republic	..	5.9	3.9	4.0
Estonia	-7.1	4.5	7.8	6.2
Hungary	-3.5	1.5	5.2	4.0
Latvia	-7.9	-0.9	6.9	8.5
Lithuania	..	3.3	3.9	6.7
Poland	..	7.0	4.0	5.3
Slovakia	-2.7	5.8	2.0	5.5
Slovenia	..	4.1	3.9	4.6
SEE				
Albania	-9.6	8.9	7.3	6.2
Bosnia & Herzegovina	..	20.8	5.6	4.7
Bulgaria	-9.1	2.9	5.4	5.6
Croatia	..	6.8	2.9	3.7
FYR Macedonia	..	-1.1	4.5	2.5
Romania	-5.6	7.2	0.6	8.3
Serbia & Montenegro	..	6.1	5.0	7.2
Western CIS				
Belarus	..	-10.4	5.8	11.0
Moldova	-2.4	-1.4	2.1	7.3
Russian Federation	-3.0	-4.1	10.0	7.2
Ukraine	-6.3	-12.2	5.9	12.1

Source: World Development Indicators Online, http://www.worldbank.org/data/onlinedatabases/onlinedatabases.html

The trends in GDP growth (Table 1.2) also indicate the direction and timing of economic change. In some countries, especially in the former Soviet Union[6], there was a sharp decline in GDP after 1990. For example, in Latvia, per capita GDP was registered at $7,767 in 1990, and dropped to $5,288 in 1995. Several countries that had not been part of the Soviet Union, such as Hungary, Poland, Romania, or Albania fared slightly better, experiencing either stagnant or very slow growth. In all the countries GDP growth picked up significantly in 1995. Except for Moldova, Russia and Ukraine, all the countries reached their 1990 per capita GDP level by 2001.

Social change. The transition from state socialism also had a profound effect on social and ethnic relations. Ethnic tensions were exacerbated for political ends, as emerging leaders sought to mobilize support on narrow nationalist or ethnic grounds, and even in countries that did not experience extended violence, hatred against ethnic or religious minorities (e.g., the Roma, Jews) grew. Class inequalities also intensified (Eyal et al. 1998) as the number of newly rich and newly poor increased - with most of the increase among the newly poor.

The trend in life expectancy (Table 1.3) and the differences in the life expectancy of women and men are useful indicators of economic and social wellbeing. In the CIS countries, men's life expectancy declined sharply between 1990 and 1995; women's also declined, but not as sharply. By 2003, life expectancy no longer dropped in this set of countries and even improved slightly. However in the Russian Federation, life expectancy for men had fallen to 60 years of age, with women living 12 years longer on average - still lower than in 1990. Although worldwide, women live longer than men, in this region the difference between the life expectancies of women and men tends to be larger. In all but four of the countries studied here the gap in life expectancy was at least 7 years in 2003. Figure 1.1 compares the life expectancy of men and women in the Russian Federation and Slovenia, which has had the highest level of economic growth in the region. Even with the large differences in the economy of the two countries, women in the Russian Federation had higher life expectancies than men in Slovenia until 2000; since then, the rates have converged.

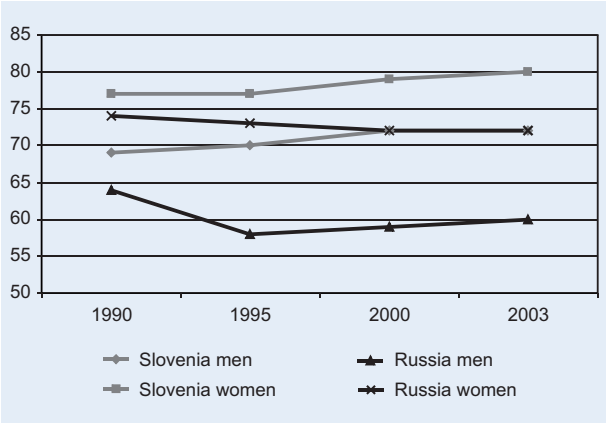
Table 1.3 Life Expectancy at Birth (years)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2003	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
EU-8								
Czech Republic	68	75	70	77	72	78	72	79
Estonia	65	75	62	74	66	76	65	77
Hungary	65	74	65	75	67	76	69	77
Latvia	64	75	60	73	65	76	66	76
Lithuania	66	76	63	75	68	77	66	78
Poland	67	76	68	76	70	78	71	79
Slovakia	67	75	68	76	..	..	69	78
Slovenia	69	77	70	77	72	79	72	80
SEE								
Albania	69	75	69	74	..	..	72	77
Bosnia & Herzegovina	69	74	..	..	..	..	71	77
Bulgaria	68	75	67	75	68	75	69	76
Croatia	69	76	68	77	..	..	70	78
FYR Macedonia	70	74	70	74	..	..	71	76
Romania	67	73	66	73	..	..	66	74
Serbia & Montenegro	69	74	70	75	..	..	70	75
Western CIS								
Belarus	66	76	63	74	..	..	62	74
Moldova	65	72	62	70	..	..	63	71
Russian Federation	64	74	58	73	59	72	60	72
Ukraine	66	75	62	73	62	74	63	74

Source: World Development Indicators Online, http://www.worldbank.org/data/onlinedatabases/onlinedatabases.html

[6] The former Soviet Union includes all CIS countries and the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania)

Figure 1.1 Life Expectancy at Birth in the Russian Federation and Slovenia



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

According to the latest World Bank report on the health status of Russia's adult population, 'two major factors behind this big gender gap are smoking and alcohol consumption, as these behaviors are very different between men and women - even those living in the same households. Although Russian women outlive Russian men, they are generally in worse health than women in Eastern and Western Europe' (2005a: 7). Men's declining life expectancy has a direct effect on women even if their own health is somewhat better. Women are losing husbands, fathers and, in some cases, a family's only breadwinners. They are caring for increasingly ill male family members. And they are enduring the violence that alcoholism often generates (see Box 1).

Sewing factory worker in Gotse Delchev, Bulgaria. Photo: Boris Missirkov/UNDP

Box 1:
The Consequences for Women of Men's Declining Status in CEE

Several assessments based on gender-disaggregated data from CEE[a] and the CIS have concluded that men are faring worse than women in areas of human development such as health, education and, to some extent, employment. While the evidence of men's deteriorating social and economic position is clear, it is also important to examine the ways in which women are negatively affected by declines in men's situation. In the CEE and CIS regions, traditional gender role expectations, particularly the 'male breadwinner' model, are as powerful as ever. In the absence of socially endorsed alternatives, such as participating in housework and child care, many unemployed and poor men respond to the situation by drinking; many become depressed and even suicidal. These tragic consequences for men create additional challenges for women and children, who experience deepening poverty, social exclusion and increased gender-based violence.

There are very few data analyses of the relationship between men's unemployment and alcohol abuse with violence against women and deepening poverty among women in the region. The few studies that exist suggest a strong correlation.

Albania

Researchers at the University of Tirana surveyed 1039 married women aged 25-65 living in Tirana. The women were asked about their experience of being hit, slapped, kicked or otherwise physically hurt by their husbands. The study found that the prevalence of violence was highest among women aged 25-34, those with more than 12 years of education, those employed in white-collar positions, those who were more educated than their spouse, in couples where the wife was the only one employed and in households where there were more children and more household members. A multiple logistic regression model of factors associated with physical violence showed that increased risk was associated with men being unemployed. Overall, less powerful men (those less educated and/or unemployed) were more likely to be violent. The authors conclude that violence is used to enforce gender hierarchies, particularly when men feel they have lost status or are powerless.

Source: Genc Burazeri, Enver Roshi, Rachel Jewkes, Susanne Jordan, Vesna Bjegovic, Ulrich Laaser. 2005. 'Factors Associated with Spousal Physical Violence in Albania: Cross-sectional Study.' British Medical Journal 331:197-201.

Poland

One of the few analyses in the CEE countries to provide a picture of poverty at the intra-household level shows that in Poland men's alcoholism and the unequal gender division of domestic work (even in households where men are unemployed) qualitatively worsen women's poverty. The data collected from micro-level research with 44 impoverished families between 1997 and 2000 show that under conditions of poverty, women's responsibility for meeting family needs increases. Women become the 'managers of poverty', the ones who maintain the household, manage scarce money and try to find additional sources of income. The ability of households to make ends meet is exacerbated by men's drinking, since spending on alcohol becomes a priority over spending on other family needs.

Source: Elzbieta Tarkowska. 2002. 'Intra-household Gender Inequality: Hidden Dimensions of Poverty among Polish Women.' Communist and Post-Communist Studies 35 (4).

Romania

In 2003, a team of researchers supported by the Center for Partnership and Equality in Bucharest surveyed three groups of women on issues related to violence in the family and the workplace. The findings showed that alcoholism and poverty are significant factors associated with women's risk of suffering intimate partner violence, both physical and psychological.

> 38 per cent of women who are victims of domestic violence live in extremely poor families (that, according to them, suffer from hunger and frequently 'have nothing to eat').

> 48 per cent of women who declare having experienced physical domestic violence live in families that cannot afford to buy basic necessities.

> 24 per cent of victims of domestic violence live in households where at least one member has recently become unemployed.

> In 69 per cent of declared cases of physical domestic violence, the man who became violent was drunk.

> One in every two women who live with an alcoholic male family member is a victim of physical violence. Alcoholism is the single most important factor leading to sexual abuse.

In addition to these factors, a partner's socialization growing up in a violent family environment, unequal power relations in the household and poor housing conditions further increased women's risk of domestic violence.

Source: Center for Partnership and Equality. 2003. Cercetarea nationala privind violenta in familie si la locul de munca (National Research on Violence in the Family and the Workplace). The research is available in Romanian at: www.cpe.ro

Slovakia

Researchers at Slovakia's Center for Work and Family Studies surveyed a representative sample of adults on issues related to violence against women. When asked their opinions on the causes of such violence, 88 per cent blamed alcoholism, 68 per cent an inappropriate education during childhood, 63 per cent the perpetrator's violent nature, 62 per cent the influence of addictions such as drug abuse, 56 per cent the family's poor socio-economic situation, and 55 per cent unemployment.

When women who stated they had experienced violence were asked the same question, 68 per cent blamed alcoholism, 62 per cent traditional views of gender roles in the family, 56 per cent a partner's violent nature, and 48 per cent the poor socio-economic situation of their families.

Source: Bernardina Bodnarova and Jarmila Filadelfiova. 2002. Domace nasilie a nasilie pachane na zenach v SR (Domestic Violence and Violence against Women in Slovakia). Center for Work and Family Studies, Bratislava.

Studies such as these point to the need for further research on the consequences for women when men's status declines. Such research should be conducted through a comprehensive gender lens that does not pit men's issues against women's issues and recognizes their concerns as intertwined and responsive to shared solutions.

[a] See, for example, UNDP's Human Development Report 1999 and World Bank 2002a

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI), a summary measure of the level of social development in a given country, shows that the HDI rank of many countries in the region declined markedly between 1992 and 2005 (Table 1.4). A particularly sharp decline is noticeable during the period prior to 2000. In CIS countries while the pace of economic growth has picked up since the late 1990s, the social wellbeing of the populations captured in the HDI deteriorated significantly in the course of the transition. According to the 2005 Human Development Report, the EU-8 together with Bulgaria and Croatia are in the category of countries with 'high human development' while the others are considered as having 'medium human development' (UNDP).

Table 1.4 Human Development Index Ranks (UNDP)[7]

	1992	1995	1997	2000	2002	2004	2005
EU-8							
Czech Republic*	..	38	39	34	33	32	31
Estonia**	..	43	71	46	42	36	38
Hungary	28	50	48	43	35	38	35
Latvia**	..	48	92	63	53	50	48
Lithuania**	..	71	76	52	49	41	39
Poland	32	51	58	44	37	37	36
Slovakia*	..	40	42	40	36	42	42
Slovenia***	..	..	35	29	29	27	26
SEE							
Albania	49	82	102	94	92	65	72
Bosnia & Herzegovina***	..	..	..	..	..	66	68
Bulgaria	35	65	69	60	62	56	55
Croatia***	..	..	77	49	48	48	45
FYR Macedonia***	..	..	80	69	65	60	59
Romania	60	98	79	64	63	69	64
Western CIS							
Belarus**	..	..	62	57	56	62	67
Moldova**	..	81	110	102	105	113	115
Russian Federation**	..	52	67	62	60	57	62
Ukraine**	..	54	95	78	80	70	78

** In the 1992 HDR, there are no separate indicators for these countries. HDI rank for Czechoslovakia is 27.*

***In the 1992 HDR, there are no separate indicators for these countries. HDI rank for the Soviet Union is 33.*

**** In the 1992 HDR, there are no separate indicators for these countries. HDI rank for Yugoslavia is 37.*

Source: UNDP Human Development Reports http://hdr.undp.org/reports/view_reports.cfm

Changes in women's position. Many indicators show that women's participation in the new political and economic systems of Eastern Europe is lower than that of men. Politically, women all but disappeared from parliamentary office during the first democratic elections with the abolition of the quota system, which had become discredited as a means by which the Communist Party had controlled the selection of candidates. While the decline had been reversed in three countries in the region - Poland, FYR Macedonia and Bulgaria - by 2002 women's representation continues to be low (UNIFEM 2002). The Millennium Development Goals Report 2005 gives an overall figure of 11 per cent share of women in single or lower houses of parliament in the Western CIS (UN 2005). In many countries less than 10 per cent of elected officials are women, and even fewer are promoted to high-level public office. This is well below the European average. Only a few of the countries have established quotas or women-friendly electoral systems to ensure better representation (Matland and Montgomery 2003). Yet, as UNIFEM's Progress of the World's Women 2000 notes, 'greater equality in the numbers of women holding political office is important not only in its own right, but also because it may give women more of a voice in determining the laws and policies which regulate women's progress in other areas, such as the economy' (UNIFEM 2000).

In addition, an ideological backlash against women's emancipation and gender equality has made it difficult for women's organizations to fight effectively on behalf of equal opportunities for women. In the public mind gender equality is part of the ideology imposed by the Communist parties. Women's organizations and feminist groups of all stripes exist in many of the countries, but they are often weak and have little influence. Equal opportunity legislation is in effect in all EU countries and in many others as well, but enforcement is rare and haphazard, and gender discrimination is rampant, unchecked and often unquestioned.

[7] The human development indicators for a specific year are usually based on data estimated two years earlier. Because of periodic revisions of data or changes in methodology by international agencies, statistics presented in different editions of the Human Development Report (HDR) may not be comparable. Countries are ranked in terms of their achievements in various areas of human development, with 1 being the highest ranking. The 2005 HDR includes data for 175 UN member countries.

State policies no longer try to assist women in balancing work and family. Instead, they have reinforced the tradition of women's sole responsibility for reproductive work and have cut (or allowed the devaluation of) state subsidies for childcare institutions, maternity leave and parental sick leave. This makes it increasingly difficult for mothers and would-be mothers to participate in the labour force on an equal footing with men.

Box 2:
Single Mothers' Poverty in Russia

Among the countries studied here, Russia has the highest proportion of women living in single-parent households. Nearly 15 per cent of the female population over 18 live in households which consist only of women and children (Fodor 2002).

Research on Russian single mothers reveals that female-headed households, where 19.1 per cent of all Russian children live, have the highest poverty rate among all Russian households, according to the 2000 Labour Market Survey. The child poverty rate in single-mother households is 35.2 per cent, compared to 23.8 per cent in two-parent households.[a] Children living with a mother who has never been married have the highest poverty rate, at 41.4 per cent. Other findings include:

> The percentage of working-age women who hold jobs is slightly higher among women in single-mother households (71%) than in two-parent households (67%).

> Women in single-mother households on average work longer hours for wages than women in two-parent households.

> Single mothers are disadvantaged in obtaining better-paid private-sector jobs because of their need for work flexibility and their inability to work long hours.

> Single mothers suffer doubly - as women and as single mothers - from Russia's vertical and horizontal job segregation and pay discrimination (Russian women earned only 56% of the average male salary in 2000).

> Child benefits are inadequate and the number of childcare facilities is insufficient.

Source: Shireen Kanji. 2004. "The Route Matters: Poverty and Inequality among Lone-Mother Households In Russia." Feminist Economics 10(2): 207-25.

[a] The child poverty rate is the proportion of children living in households with expenditures below the poverty line.

Families have responded to difficult economic and social conditions by having fewer children. Table 1.5 presents fertility rates in the countries in this study. It shows that between 1990 and 1995 there was a decline, often a steep one, in the total number of births per woman everywhere. By 2003, fertility rates had stabilized, but at an all-time low, well under replacement rates.

Resurgent gender discrimination, a withdrawal of state support for child care and parental leave, weak feminist movements, and the low levels of women's participation in parliament all suggest a decline in women's position. Not all experts agree that this is the case. This report will explore in which countries and in what areas women suffered setbacks, using the Gender Statistics Database developed by UNECE in collaboration with the UNDP Regional Support Centre in Bratislava (Box 3). The report focuses on women's labour market position in the region. Chapters 2 and 3 review labour force participation. The patterns and quality of women's and men's employment are considered in chapter 4. Chapter 5 provides a brief summary and policy recommendations. Throughout, the analysis goes beyond the standard numbers and raises questions that available statistics cannot adequately answer. In addition, it frames the data within the social, political and economic context, thereby providing a more accurate and comprehensive picture of the economic lives of women in transition economies.

Box 3:
UNECE Gender Statistics Website and Database

The Beijing Platform for Action[a] (BPfA) helped set the stage for the growth in gender disaggregated data, calling on nations to 'generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation' (Strategic objective H.3). This objective has helped increase awareness among national, regional and international organizations about the need to develop systems for acquiring and analyzing gender statistics that make it possible to monitor changes in the situation of women compared to men.

In the decade since the BPfA was introduced, the collection of sex-disaggregated data has improved, and gender issues are more often taken into account when collecting social and demographic statistics. However, the process of mainstreaming gender into the entire process of producing, analysing and disseminating official statistics is far from complete. Challenges still remain in the

Table 1.5 Total Fertility Rates

Country	1990	1995	2000	2003
EU-8				
Czech Republic	1.89	1.28	1.14	1.18
Estonia	2.04	1.32	1.34	1.35
Hungary	1.84	1.57	1.32	1.3
Latvia	2.02	1.25	1.24	1.29
Lithuania	2.03	1.49	1.27	1.25
Poland	2.04	1.61	1.34	1.24
Slovakia	2.09	1.52	1.3	1.17
Slovenia	1.46	1.29	1.21	1.22
SEE				
Albania	3.03	2.64	..	2.23
Bosnia & Herzegovina	1.7	1.6	..	1.3
Bulgaria	1.81	1.23	1.27	1.23
Croatia	1.63	1.58	1.39	1.45
FYR Macedonia	2.06	1.97	..	1.75*
Romania	1.84	1.34	1.31	1.27
Serbia & Montenegro	2.08	1.88	..	1.74
Western CIS				
Belarus	1.91	1.39	..	1.25
Moldova	2.39	1.93	..	1.4
Russian Federation	1.89	1.34	..	1.28
Ukraine	1.85	1.4	..	1.2

**Data refer to 2002.*

Source: World Development Indicators Online, http://www.worldbank.org/data/onlinedatabases/onlinedatabases.html

collection and production of data and in the analysis of issues related to women and men in society.

The Website created by UNECE was developed in collaboration with the UNDP Regional Support Centre in Bratislava to provide a tool for monitoring the situation of women and men in UNECE member countries[b] and to evaluate the effectiveness of policies. It focuses on the production, dissemination and use of gender-related data. In addition to statistics, the site elaborates on some of the main gender issues relevant to the UNECE region and links these issues to a statistical indicators framework developed by the UNECE/UNDP Gender Statistics Task Force. The UNECE Gender Statistics Database,[c] which is available on the Website, provides data for the years 1980, 1990, 1995, and from 2000 onwards on an annual basis.

Source: UNECE Statistical Division

[a] Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration, Chapter 4, United Nations, New York, 1996

[b] UNECE countries include EU countries, CIS countries, SEE countries, Canada, Iceland, Israel, Norway, Switzerland, and the United States.

[c] http://w3.unece.org/stat/gender.asp

CHAPTER 2:
WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

During the state socialist era all able-bodied citizens of working age were, by law, obligated to be employed in paid occupations. As a result of these policies, women in Eastern European countries had higher rates of economic activity than in any other part of the world (UN 1991, p. 84). Indeed, one of the major differences between the gender regimes of state socialist and capitalist societies was in the level of women's representation in paid work. In the immediate post-war era, women's rapid inclusion in the labour force stood in sharp contrast to patterns in most Western capitalist societies just as women's rapidly declining labour force participation rates in the early 1990s presented a stark contrast to the increasing numbers of working women in the more developed regions of Europe during the same period. One of the most sudden and painful phenomena of the transition processes in each Eastern European country has been the massive disappearance of jobs as a result of restructuring and privatization. This has had important consequences on the labour force participation of women and on women's rates of participation relative to those of men.

The economic activity rate is the ratio of the economically active population (the labour force, which includes those in paid employment and the unemployed) in a specific age group to the total population of the corresponding age group. Eurostat and EU Labour Force Surveys and National Accounts normally define the working age population as those between the ages of 15 and 64, which coincides with the legal employment age and the retirement age in many countries. However, until very recently, the retirement age has been much lower for both men and women in most of the countries analysed.

Table 2.1 shows that in the early 1990s, 60 per cent or more women were economically active in more than half of the countries for which there are data. Men's rates were higher than women's - in most of the countries about 70 per cent or more of men aged 15+ were in the labour force. By 1995, rates of economic activity dropped significantly for both women and men. For women the rate dropped to around 50 per cent in most countries. The exceptions are Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Serbia and Montenegro where these

Table 2.1 Economic Activity Rates for Women and Men (aged 15+)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2004	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	60.8*	72.9	52.3	71.4	51.6	69.5	50.5	68.3
Estonia[1]	60.6	77.1	53.6	71.3	51.8	67.1	52.5	66.3
Hungary	46.3	64.5	40.3	57.1	41.9	58.7	42.5	57.9
Latvia	64.1*	77.5	-	-	49.4	64.4	51.4	65.8
Lithuania	60.2*	74.7	55.1**	72.0	54.4	66	51.7	64.2
Poland	-	-	51.1	66.5	49.7	64.1	47.7	62.3
Slovakia	59.7	73.0	51.2	68.5	52.6	68.2	52.5	68.4
Slovenia	54.1*	67.7	52.1	65.8	51.5	64.2	52.5	65.9
SEE								
Albania	66.5	75.6	47.5	73.6	44.3	67.8	-	-
Bulgaria	50.3*	59.7	47.9	56.8	44	54.9	45.4	56.1
Croatia	46.1*	68.6	-	-	-	-	43.6	59.7
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	40.7	62.7	-	-
Romania	54.9	67.2	60.4	74.4	56.4	70.2	48.7	63
Serbia & Montenegro	-	-	47.5	62.9	39	50.6	-	-
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	54.9	59	52.4***	65.2	-	-
Moldova	61.6*	74.9	-	-	55.8	63.2	-	-
Russian Federation[2]	61*	77.4	48.4	63.3	48.3	61.1	-	-
Ukraine	-	-	57.1	69.1	50.7	64.4	-	-

**Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), population census of 1991 (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Croatia), population census of 1989 (Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Russian Federation). **Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania). ***Data for 2000 come from a population census in 1999 (Belarus).*

[1]1990, 1995: population aged 15-69; 2000, 2001: population aged 15-74.

[2]Data refer to persons aged 15-72.

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

percentages were between 40 and 45 per cent. A similar pattern is shown for 2000 and 2004. Thus, activity rates for women in SEE were generally lower than in the EU-8 and Western CIS countries, with the exception of Hungary, where male and female activity rates were significantly lower than in other EU states. Romania, with generally higher activity rates compared to other countries through 2000, appeared to be an exception; however, there was a drop of more than 7 percentage points for both sexes in the 2000-2004 period.

Men's activity rates are generally 10-20 percentage points higher than those of women in both 2000 and 2004. Despite men's higher rates, it is significant that in most countries where women's activity rates are low, men's rates are also low. This suggests a sluggish labour market rather than merely overt gender discrimination.

The change in rates of participation of women and men and women relative to men for the period 1990-2004 can be seen more easily in Table 2.2 and Figure 2.1. The table presents changes in the early transition period (between 1990 or the earliest available year and 1995) and since 1995 (usually between 1995 and 2004; where 2004 data are not available, the latest available data are used).

Another way to examine trends in gender differences is to consider the female/male activity rates ratios at the beginning of transition (the earliest available year) and for the most recent year with data (Figure 2.1). Change in the ratio can be due to changes in female activity rates, male activity rates, or both.

The last two columns of Table 2.2 show that both women's and men's activity rates have declined significantly over the 1990-2004 period. The decline for women ranges from 1.6 percentage points in Slovenia to 22.2 percentage points in Albania, and for men from 1.8 percentage points in Slovenia to 16.3 percentage points in Russia. Romania is the only country where activity rates increased in the early 1990s and where significant decline since 1995 is observed for both women and men. Generally, a sharper decline for women is observed in the early transition period, before 1995. In six of the 13 countries with data, women's rates fell more than men's between the early 1990s and 2004 (the change in Slovenia is minor). Consequently, the ratio of female to male activity rates has fallen in six countries, with the largest decrease observed in Albania (Figure 2.1). Only in Croatia and Moldova have noticeable increases in the female to male activity ratio occurred, due to a sharper fall in male activity.

Table 2.2 Changes in Female and Male Activity Rates

Country	1990-1995 women	1990-1995 men	1995-2004 women	1995-2004 men	1990-2004 women	1990-2004 men
EU-8						
Czech Republic	-8.5	-1.5	-1.8	-3.1	-10.3	-4.6
Estonia	-7	-5.8	-1.1	-5	-8.1	-10.8
Hungary	-6	-7.4	2.2	0.8	-3.8	-6.6
Latvia					-12.7	-11.7
Lithuania	-5.1	-2.7	-3.4	-7.8	-8.5	-10.5
Poland			-3.4	-4.2		
Slovakia	-8.5	-4.5	1.3	-0.1	-7.2	-4.6
Slovenia	-2	-1.9	0.4	0.1	-1.6	-1.8
SEE						
Albania	-19	-2	-3.2	-5.8	-22.2	-7.8
Bulgaria	-2.4	-2.9	-2.5	-0.7	-4.9	-3.6
Croatia					-2.5	-8.9
Romania	5.5	7.2	-11.7	-11.4	-6.2	-4.2
Serbia & Montenegro			-8.5	-12.3		
Western CIS						
Belarus			-2.5	6.2		
Moldova					-5.8	-11.7
Russian Federation	-12.6	-14.1	-0.1	-2.2	-12.7	-16.3
Ukraine			-6.4	-4.7		

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

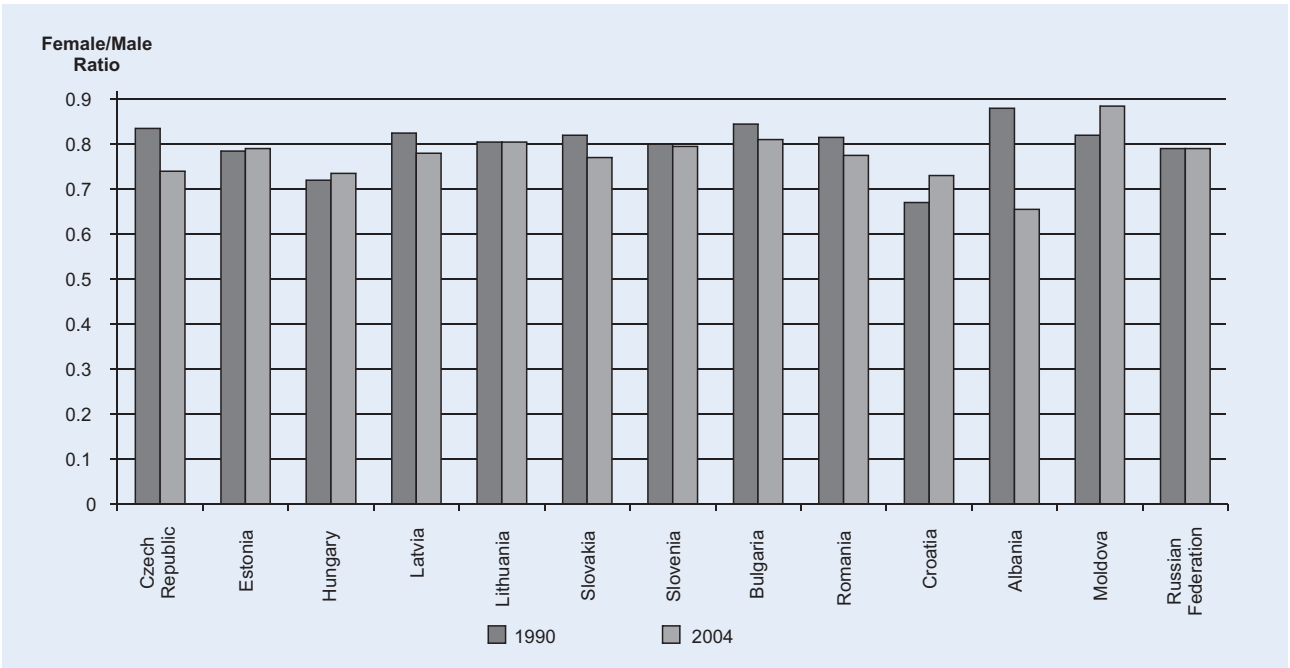
The decline in economic activity for women and men has not resulted in a significant change in the 'share' of economically active women relative to men (Table 2.3). The greatest change occurred in Albania, where women's share declined from 46 per cent to 41 per cent between 1990 and 2000. In all countries examined, women represent approximately 45 to 49 per cent of the labour force in 2000, except for FYR Macedonia and Albania where their share is 40 to 41 per cent. The greatest equality in the share of women and men in the labour force occurs in the Baltics and the CIS countries, which suggests the importance of the legacy of the Soviet Union's policy of women's emancipation and its long-term influence on gender equality.

Economic Participation at Different Ages

Significant changes have occurred in the region in age-specific patterns of economic activity. For young women and men, aged 20-24, economic activity rates have decreased significantly for all countries (Table 2.4a). For every country, with the exception of Hungary, the declines for women have been greater than for men. Nevertheless, the drop in activity has been sharp for both sexes: in Latvia from 81 to 52 per cent for women and 82 to 73 per cent for men from 1990 to 2004; in Moldova from 80 to 45 percent for women and 82 to 49 per cent for men from 1990 to 2000. In the 25-29 age group, women's rates have fallen more than men's in 9 out of the 13 countries (Table 2.4b).

The low activity rates of younger women can be attributed to their high level of school enrollment, their difficulty in finding jobs and their tendency to drop out of work to bear children. The problem young women have in finding jobs in the new market economies can lead to migration and situations which put them in grave danger, as shown in Box 4.

Figure 2.1 Trends in Gender Differences in Activity Rates



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Table 2.3 Share of Women and Men in the Labour Force (aged 15+)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2003	
	women	men	women	men	Women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	47.6*	52.4	44.2	55.8	44.8	55.2	44.5	55.5
Estonia	48.4	51.6	47.8	52.2	48.6	51.4	49.0	51.0
Hungary	44.5	55.5	44.2	55.8	44.7	55.3	45.6	54.4
Latvia	50.0*	50.0	47.4**	52.6	48.4	51.5	48.6	51.3
Lithuania	48.3*	51.7	47.2**	52.8	49.5	50.5	49.4	50.6
Poland	45.8*	54.2	45.9	54.1	46.0	54.0	45.9	54.1
Slovakia	46.9	53.1	44.8	55.2	-	-	-	-
Slovenia	46.7*	53.3	46.2	53.8	46.1	53.9	45.6	54.4
SEE								
Albania	45.7	54.2	40.8	59.2	41.2	58.8	-	-
Bulgaria	47.0*	53.0	47.3	52.7	46.6	53.4	46.8	53.2
Croatia	42.9*	57.1	-	-	46.0	54.0	-	-
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	39.8	60.2	-	-
Romania	46.1	53.9	46.3	53.7	46.5	53.5	45.2	54.8
Serbia & Montenegro	-	-	43.9	56.1	44.5	55.5	-	-
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	52.5	47.5	48.6***	51.4	-	-
Moldova	48.8*	51.2	-	-	50.0	50.0	50.1	49.9
Russian Federation	48.5*	51.5	47.4	52.6	48.2	51.8	-	-
Ukraine	49.2*	50.8	49.9	50.1	48.6	51.4	-	-

**Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), 1992 (Poland), 1991 (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Croatia), or 1989 (Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Russian Federation, Ukraine). **Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia). ***Data from 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus). Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Box 4:
Migration and Trafficking: Albania Case Study

In the early and mid-1990s, after the overthrow of the Communist regime in Albania, migration was perceived to be one of the main ways to escape poverty, especially in the rural areas of the country. People moved from less to more developed areas, from villages to towns where they expected to find better living conditions. Albanians also migrated abroad, especially towards the countries of Western Europe. Despite its potential for economic advantage, migration often had devastating consequences. Some migrants fell prey to organized crime and trafficking, especially young women and children, who were trafficked for sexual exploitation. In view of this problem, UNIFEM supported a study to better understand the issue of women and trafficking and to suggest strategies for increasing employment opportunities for women as a prevention strategy. The study was based on two types of data: 1) in-depth interviews with women who had been trafficked and were living in shelters, as well as with key informants who worked in the main institutions that deal with issues of trafficking in Albania; and 2) government statistics and administrative information on the social and economic situation of women in the country, particularly in regions most affected by trafficking, as well as reports by NGOs that work with victims of trafficking.

The study found that the groups most vulnerable to trafficking were young women and girls, particularly of Roma and Egyptian ethnic background[a]; poorly educated, rural residents; and members of large households. These groups usually had high incidences of poverty and domestic violence, and few opportunities for employment:

Gender and age:
All trafficking victims referred by police to one of the shelters studied (Vatra) in 2004 were young women: 20 per cent were 14-18 years old, and nearly half were 18-25 years old.

Employment situation:
Of the victims interviewed for this study, only a few were employed prior to being trafficked.
Over the period 2002-2005 a low percentage (around 20-30%) of the 200 victims assisted by one shelter were employed before being trafficked. Moreover, the few who

were employed worked under very difficult conditions, subject to long hours of work (around 16 hours per day) and low wages. Tailoring and hairdressing were mentioned often as the only income-generating activities for women living in rural and small urban areas and these activities were low-paid.

Ethnicity and poverty:
More than half of trafficking victims in one shelter (Vatra) in 2003 were of Roma and Egyptian origin. Roma and Egyptian household incomes are less than half of national urban household incomes in Albania (World Bank 2005b); almost 80 per cent of the Roma families in the Fieri district (one of the main source areas for trafficking) are poor or very poor.

Education:
Victims assisted in the International Organization for Migration (IOM) shelter in Tirana had on average only 5 to 6 years of schooling.
In 2004, 9 per cent of victims assisted in the shelter in Vatra were illiterate and 64 per cent had completed 4 to 8 years of schooling.
At all levels of education, enrolment rates for the poor are significantly lower than for the non-poor. Among the poor and extreme poor, only about 2 children in 10 enrol in secondary school, versus 5 in 10 among the non-poor.
Among the poor, the share of men with higher and vocational education is greater than women's, while the share of female poor with no education is greater than the corresponding share of male poor (World Bank 2003).

Interviews with women in the study illustrate how these factors - in particular the lack of economic opportunities - 'push' women into a situation where they can be trafficked:

'We were seven: my parents, my brothers and my sisters. The relationship with my father was not so good, and the same with my brothers…The reason why my father, my brothers and I didn't get along was that when I was 15, I was raped and my family, especially my father blamed me for that. In my city, if you get raped, it is considered a disgrace for the family…When I escaped from home I was unemployed and without a possibility to find a job or to live a decent life (I had only primary education, 8 years). I went voluntarily away from home, because I couldn't endure maltreatment by my father. He used to close me in my room, leave me without food, and in many cases my body was full of marks - signs of his violence on me….'
E. 23 years old

'My father died several years ago, and I used to live with my mother, my sister and my little brother. Only my mother used to work as a cleaner and we were at school. I was 17 when I left my home, seeking a new and worthy life with my boyfriend. I thought he loved me, but after leaving home, he sold me to some unknown persons. Firstly we went in Tirana and then together with two other people (a man and a woman) we went to Kukësi (northeast Albania). Afterwards, I left Albania through Morina (on the border with Kosovo) with a false passport. I didn't have any kind of information about the place or country I would go.'
A. 19 years old

Source: Gender Alliance for Development Center and National Institute of Statistics Albania. Milva Ekonomi, Eglantina Gjermeni, Ermira Danaj, and Elvana Lula. Unpublished paper. "Creating Economic Opportunities for Women in Albania: A Strategy for Prevention of Trafficking."

[a] The official statistics, provided in all population censuses conducted in Albania since World War II, do not give separate figures for the Roma and Egyptian communities. Local governments in some districts, Roma and Egyptian associations, as well as several non-Albanian authors, have made their own estimates at the district and national level. There are striking differences among these assessments: Roma, for example, are estimated at anywhere between 10,000 and 150,000 (World Bank 2005b).

The effect of childbearing on women's economic activity varies by country, however. In Slovenia, for example, women of prime reproductive age (25-29) are only marginally less likely to be in the labour force than men of similar ages, while in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Estonia, women are much less likely to be active than men in the same age group. These differences are partly due to variations in maternity and parental leave arrangements as well as to whether those on short-term maternity and parental leaves are classified as 'active' or 'inactive'.

However, for older cohorts the trends are different. Among women and men aged 50-54, in 6 of the 12 countries examined, women's activity rates have increased while men's rates have fallen from the early 1990s to 2004 (Table 2.4c). In Slovenia, women's activity rate increased drastically while there was an only a minor rise in male activity; in Estonia and Moldova, rates for men fell more than rates for women. For the 55-59 age group, women's economic activity rates increased in all countries but Russia and Poland, while men's rates fell in seven of the countries

Table 2.4a Economic Activity Rate for Women and Men (% of population aged 20-24)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2004	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	87.5*	88.3	59.1	85.5	61.7	77.9	53.2	66.5
Estonia	59.9	77.8	58.6	88.3	55.3	77.2	49.3	73.4
Hungary	59.3	84.5	49.3	61.0	50.4	66.8	43.0	53.9
Latvia	81.1*	82.0	-	-	54.4	73.8	52.4	73.1
Lithuania	73.1*	79.3	57.4**	78.8	56.2	70.0	36.8	61.3
Poland	-	-	60.0	77.2	58.6	68.6	53.8	65.6
Slovakia	85.1	88.1	58.3	81.0	62.9	79.6	60.5	73.7
Slovenia	73.5*	76.4	70.5	81.6	56.9	65.1	54.2	66.9
SEE								
Bulgaria	62.3*	75.8	47.7	62.9	39.4	57.4	46.7	62.6
Croatia	64.4*	76.9	-	-	-	-	54.4	68.2
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	47.0	65.6	-	-
Romania	68.5	76.1	63.9	80.8	54.5	67.0	50.1	59.8
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	-	-	67.8***	76.3	-	-
Moldova	80.5*	82.4	-	-	45.2	49.2	-	-
Russian Federation	78.6*	81.1	62.8	70.9	54.0	59.8	-	-
Ukraine	79.1*	80.0	69.8	71.1	62.7	73.9	-	-

**Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), 1991 (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Croatia), 1989 (Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Russian Federation, Ukraine). **Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania). ***Data for 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Table 2.4b Economic Activity Rate for Women and Men (% of population aged 25-29)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2004	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	94.5*	98.0	64.6	96.9	65.0	95.0	64.1	93.6
Estonia	73.2	99.1	75.5	96.5	72.7	93.8	70.4	92.3
Hungary	62.9	93.3	51.5	83.3	60.4	89.2	64.9	88.1
Latvia	91.9*	97.3	-	-	73.8	91.0	75.4	91.8
Lithuania	88.2*	96.7	77.7**	93.7	86.8	90.1	78.7	88.9
Poland	-	-	71.1	94.4	74.4	93.1	76.5	92.8
Slovakia	92.8	98.0	70.5	95.2	72.0	94.7	72.9	94.5
Slovenia	91.3*	91.6	85.3	85.1	86.0	88.9	86.9	90.2
SEE								
Bulgaria	68.8*	81.5	67.4	79.9	64.4	79.1	68.0	81.1
Croatia	79.3*	92.8	-	-	-	-	74.4	91.3
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	56.9	82.8	-	-
Romania	81.8	92.2	73.6	89.8	74.0	88.9	71.9	85.5
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	-	-	81.6***	87.4	-	-
Moldova	90.3*	96.0	-	-	58.2	59.4	-	-
Russian Federation	90.7*	96.4	71.5	83.2	72.1	81.4	-	-
Ukraine	90.3*	96.2	82.0	88.4	78.9	89.7	-	-

**Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), 1991 (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Croatia), 1989 (Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Russian Federation, Ukraine). **Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania). ***Data for 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

(Table 2.4d). The largest increase for women is observed in Hungary where 41 per cent of women aged 55-59 were economically active in 2004 compared to only 6 per cent in 1990 (men's rate fell from 60% to 56%). Slovenia and Romania are the only countries where economic activity rates for men increased more than for women. Between 2000 and 2004 activity rates for women in this age group have gone up in nearly all countries. The rise in activity for older women at least in part reflects changes in retirement age to bring it closer to that of men, while the fall in activity for men (and for women in the early years of the transition) is most likely due to industrial restructuring and the use of early retirement schemes.

Despite the significant increase in older women's activity during the transition, women in the 55+ age group are still significantly less likely than men to be economically active. The fact that women tend to retire at an earlier age than men is partly a legacy of the state socialist era, when women's retirement age was set lower as a way to 'free' them for domestic duties and to reduce the labour supply. Current policies also affect the trend: in Estonia or Lithuania, where the state now encourages people to remain economically active as long as possible, the gender gap in activity rates in this age group is small but in countries with policies that continue to promote early retirement for women, such as the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the gap is wider.

According to most recent data, women's activity rates are highest among those aged 35-49, with 80-90 per cent of women economically active in most countries (Tables 2.4e-f in Appendix). This is close to the percentage of men who are economically active. The high rates for women in this age group are linked to the fact that women over 35 are generally past their prime childbearing years and are likely to have returned to work after maternity leave. There is, therefore, a much greater similarity between men's and women's activity rates for this age group than for young women (aged 20-29) and older women (over 55).

In terms of their active participation in the labour force, women's overall position in most of the Eastern European region is not worse than that of women in Western Europe and is better in some notable cases (such as in many of the Baltic countries) Most of the current age patterns in Eastern Europe also correspond to averages in Western Europe (EC 2005). However, variations across countries and among women of different ages within a country are significant.

Small numbers of women in the CEE and CIS have found work in the construction trades. These women are building a drainage channel in Kosovo. Photo:Ky Chung/UNMIK/DPI

Table 2.4c Economic Activity Rate for Women and Men (% of population aged 50-54)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2004	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	85.7*	91.5	79.5	88.7	82.1	89.8	86.1	90.6
Estonia	89.6	93.7	86.1	90.2	83.8	84.8	86.2	84.0
Hungary	67.8	80.5	54.4	71.1	65.3	73.1	68.8	72.8
Latvia	89.9*	92.8	-	-	80.9	82.5	81.1	85.5
Lithuania	84.2*	92.4	79.5**	84.4	84.8	82.7	86.2	86.7
Poland	-	-	61.3	76.1	60.6	72.8	56.4	71.8
Slovakia	75.4	90.2	66.8	88.1	72.1	87.7	81.4	87.9
Slovenia	42.2*	80.1	47.0	79.1	54.8	82.4	67.9	81.4
SEE								
Bulgaria	68.4*	79.4	77.9	80.2	73.7	77.3	73.7	77.8
Croatia	41.5*	84.5	-	-	-	-	57.0	79.6
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	44.0	79.1	-	-
Romania	-	-	73.7	87.3	63.6	80.2	57.9	75.8
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	-	-	70.6***	74.4	-	-
Moldova	75.7*	92.4	-	-	70.7	81.6	-	-
Russian Federation	83.8*	91.7	57.3	66.3	74.5	82.8	-	-
Ukraine	86.0*	89.9	82.7	88.5	72.3	78.8	-	-

**Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), 1991 (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Croatia), 1989 (Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Russian Federation, Ukraine). **Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania). ***Data for 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Table 2.4d Economic Activity Rate for Women and Men (% of population aged 55-59)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2004	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	31.1*	80.0	29.7	75.8	32.6	75.8	45.5	81.4
Estonia	56.2	84.9	44.0	78.9	57.8	78.2	70.0	73.5
Hungary	5.9	60.3	14.6	44.7	20.7	51.8	40.9	56.2
Latvia	51.3*	86.2	-	-	41.9	72.6	64.8	77.8
Lithuania	42.5*	85.6	41.0**	80.0	53.8	76.0	66.8	74.8
Poland	-	-	32.3	53.0	31.7	51.4	27.3	48.4
Slovakia	19.3	78.4	14.1	66.8	17.2	65.4	23.0	78.8
Slovenia	21.1*	46.6	17.6	51.1	17.9	47.6	25.0	59.8
SEE								
Bulgaria	15.9*	52.6	11.1	61.8	19.4	61.1	43.9	61.5
Croatia	21.3*	57.9	-	-	-	-	31.4	60.2
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	21.5	66.6	-	-
Romania	35.2	44.1	49.5	68.1	47.6	63.2	38.8	54.6
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	-	-	31.7***	82.7	-	-
Moldova	21.3*	84.6	-	-	48.3	73.0	-	-
Russian Federation	34.8*	79.3	28.5	65.1	33.9	65.2	-	-
Ukraine	29.5*	78.2	45.8	82.2	36.6	73.9	-	-

**Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), 1991 (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Croatia), or 1989 (Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Russian Federation, Ukraine). **Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania). ***Data for 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Difficulties in Assessing Trends in Economic Activity in the Region

An important part of the 'story behind the numbers' concerns the very numbers or statistics that serve as the foundation for this analysis. The unique history of countries in the region has affected the availability and comparability of the required statistics.

One set of problems relates to data at the starting point of the transition, that is, the baseline, generally regarded as 1989-1990. The political changes in the region led to the creation of many new countries, for which baseline information is generally not available and only a shorter time period can be examined. In addition, the data in the UNECE database for the baseline often dates from a few years later; for example, 1992 or 1993. Considering that the sharpest decline in economic activity happened in the very first years of the transition, the full impact of the social and economic changes on economic activity in such cases cannot be captured.

A second set of problems concerns the comparability of concepts used by countries of the region to measure economic activity. Under the socialist system, labour was regulated by the state and supported by social policies that in turn affected the definition of the economically active population. Definitions of such key concepts as 'working age' and 'economically active' varied somewhat from country to country. Moreover, as economies changed and countries more closely adopted international guidelines, additional differences were introduced. For example, in Hungary, until the mid-1990s, working age was defined as the population aged 15-54 for women and 15-59 for men. Further, in Hungary, women on maternity leave were classified as economically active, since they kept their jobs and were expected to return to work after one to three years. Data on economic activity and employment for Estonia in the UNECE database for 1990 and 1995 includes the population aged 15-69 but since 2000 it has included those aged 15-74. Until the mid-1990s, national statistical offices in the region did not collect data that were comparable to the harmonized measures of the EU's Labour Force Survey (which defines the working population as aged 15-64). Harmonized concepts were introduced with new labour force surveys; however these new concepts also affect the comparability of the more recent and the earlier data. As in Western European countries, data across countries, data over longer stretches of time for a single country and even data for men and women are not entirely comparable.

In sum, according to the latest available data, men's activity rates are generally 10-20 percentage points higher than women's activity rates. The gap is highest for women in the younger and older cohorts. Women's lower labour force participation means that they, more often than men, are dependent on their families and/or on state subsidies for support. Men, on the other hand, are more dependent than women on the whims of the labour market for their livelihood. This difference leads to gender-specific economic vulnerabilities.

Data from the UNECE database allows for some broad assessments of the impact of the transition on economic activity. Both women and men have experienced a significant decline in economic activity since the early 1990s. In 6 of the 13 countries with relevant data, women's rates fell more than men's rates between the early 1990s and 2004. However, a significant decline is observed only in Albania. The rate of participation of younger women relative to younger men has fallen sharply while an opposite trend is observed among the older age groups. Although the decline in activity experienced by women is stark, their relative position compared to that of men, i.e., the gender gap in participation, has not deteriorated significantly in most countries.

Even though the statistics in the UNECE database are an essential component of this analysis, an additional component is the information required to understand the meaning of these numbers in the context of the enormous changes that have occurred in Eastern Europe. Assessing the full impact of social and economic transformations on women's labour force participation is difficult considering the lack of comparable data over time for most countries.

CHAPTER 3:
WOMEN WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT

Millions of women are not engaged in paid work in Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS. These women are either considered unemployed by international statistical definitions or not currently active. The economically inactive population includes discouraged workers who have stopped looking for jobs, women who have retired early, gone on long-term sick or maternity leave, withdrawn from the labour force voluntarily or who have never been in the labour force due to care responsibilities, disability, personal choice, etc. Unemployment data[8] are available for the region for more recent years, but the population that is not economically active is a residual category that has not been given much attention in labour market statistics.

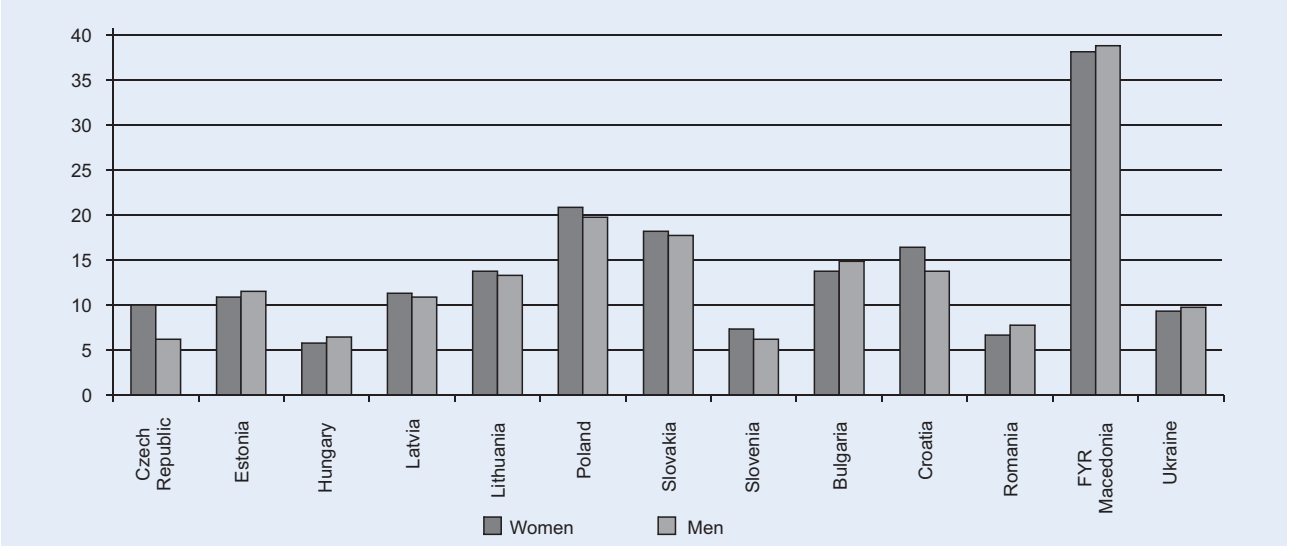
Table 3.1 Unemployment Rates by Sex (% of labour force 15+)

Country	1995		2000		2003	
	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8						
Czech Republic	4.8	3.4	10.5	7.3	9.6	5.9
Estonia	8.9	10.5	11.5	14.6	10.4	11.0
Hungary	-	-	5.8	7.2	5.4	6.1
Latvia	19.8*	20.7	13.4	15.0	10.8	10.4
Lithuania	13.9*	14.2	13.6	18.2	13.2	12.6
Poland	14.7	12.1	18.3	14.6	19.9	18.9
Slovakia	13.8	12.6	18.6	19.4	17.3	17.0
Slovenia	7.0	7.7	7.1	6.8	7.0	6.0
SEE						
Albania[1]	15.0	11.7	19.3	15.0	-	-
Bulgaria	15.8	15.5	15.8	16.6	13.2	14.2
Croatia	-	-	11.9	10.8	15.6	13.1
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	36.3	37.0
Romania	8.6	7.5	6.4	7.5	6.4	7.4
Western CIS						
Belarus[1]	3.5	2.2	2.4	1.7	-	-
Moldova	-	-	7.2	9.7	-	-
Russian Federation	9.2	9.7	9.4	10.2	-	-
Ukraine	4.9	6.3	11.7	11.7	8.8	9.4

**Data for 1995 refer to 1996 (Latvia) or 1997 (Lithuania).*

[1] Data refer to registered unemployment. Source: Data for Hungary from European Foundation 2005. Remainder of data from UNECE Gender Statistics Database.

Figure 3.1 Unemployment Rates by Sex (15+ years old), 2003



Sources: UNECE Gender Statistics Database; European Foundation 2005

It is not possible to analyse changes in unemployment over the entire period 1990-2003. Only a few countries in the region have unemployment data for the years around 1990. Data for the years beginning in 1995 do not show a clear pattern: Unemployment increased in about half of the countries, decreased in slightly less than half and no change occurred in the remaining countries (see Table 3.1). Further, there were no sharp shifts in women's rates of unemployment relative to men's.

Figure 3.1 shows the unemployment rates for men and women in 13 countries in 2003. Unemployment rates for women exceed those of men in 5 of the 13 countries: Croatia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland and Slovenia. However, in the remainder of the countries men's rates are either similar to or higher than women's rates. Figure 3.1 also shows that unemployment rates vary within a wide range, from almost 37 per cent in FYR Macedonia to less than 6 per cent in Hungary.

There is no obvious pattern that would describe the variations in male and female unemployment across the countries. In both groups there are more and less economically developed countries, countries with high and low overall unemployment rates, or high and low rates of women's overall activity. This is one reason why it is important to consider differences in the context and meaning of unemployment for men and women.

The fact that men outnumber women among the unemployed in some countries does not mean that women are more successful than men in finding employment. This is clear from the activity rates described in Chapter 2. Women's seeming under-representation among the unemployed may be an artifact of the data-gathering process. When asked about their employment status, it is more acceptable for women than for men to define themselves as 'homemakers', even though they might prefer to work outside the home if a reasonable employment opportunity existed. In the context of the political backlash that emphasizes women's roles in the family over their participation in the paid work force, women who cannot find employment after having been laid off might be willing to claim that their main occupation is 'keeping house', while men in a similar situation would have to admit to being unemployed. In addition, since being classified as unemployed requires being immediately available for work, many women looking for work are not classified as such because they lack available or affordable child care. Moreover, as discussed in the World Bank's *Gender in Transition* report, 'in times of limited availability of job opportunities and less generous family and social policies to assist women with their family responsibilities, women may have become more easily discouraged than men in their job search' (World Bank 2002a:19). Thus, the line between 'unemployed' and 'inactive' is more fluid in the case of women than in that of men.

Finally, in most transition countries the prevalence of small-scale informal work activity is also quite high, with the participation of large numbers of women, usually at the bottom rungs of this economy. In order to avoid the tax authorities, women working off the books may classify themselves as keeping house rather than working, and thus not show up as economically active in labour market statistics. This of course is true for men as well and no reliable data exists that would provide information on gender differences.

Long-Term Unemployment

As defined in the UNECE database, the long-term unemployment rate refers to the share of the unemployed who have been unemployed for 12 months or more. It is important to examine long-term unemployment because human capital depreciates and the chances of finding a job decline as unemployment duration lengthens (OECD).

Table 3.2 indicates that from 1995 to 2003 long-term unemployment for both women and men increased in all countries but Hungary, Latvia and Belarus (between 1995 and 2000). Women's rate declined slightly also in Bulgaria. Poland and Slovakia experienced a decline in women's rates between 1995 and 2000, but a sharp rise from 2000 to 2003 and the same trend is observed for the two acceding countries, Bulgaria and Romania. In the rest of the region's EU member states, long-term unemployment rates for men and women declined between 2000 and 2003.

Overall a substantial part of the unemployment in the region is long term. Over half of the countries have rates of long-term unemployment at 50 percent or higher in 2000 and in 2003. Data for 2003 indicate that once unemployed, women's chances of finding a job within 12 months are lower than those of men in most countries (Figure 3.2). In six out of ten countries women's long-term unemployment rates are higher than men's (though the difference is not substantial); in one they are the same and in three they exhibit the opposite pattern. The gap between women and

[8] The unemployed comprise all persons above a specific age who, during the reference period, were without work, currently available for work, and seeking work. The unemployment rate is calculated by relating the number of workers who are unemployed during the reference period to the labour force at the same date. This definition is based on sample surveys and applies to all countries covered in the report, with the exception of Albania and Belarus where data refer to registered unemployed.

Table 3.2 Long-term Unemployment Rates by Sex (% of all unemployed)

Country	1995		2000		2003	
	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8						
Czech Republic	34.1*	30.4	50.7	49.2	50.3	47.0
Estonia	35.3*	42.5	46.5	47.6	40.7	43.6
Hungary	50.8	57.4	43.6	50.6	42.9	38.7
Latvia	58.3*	58.4	57.1	57.3	42.9	47.4
Lithuania	-	-	45.9	53.7	44.2	44.0
Poland	50.6*	40.8	48.7	40.4	57.7	52.7
Slovakia	55.2	51.4	54.9	54.5	66.9	65.6
Slovenia	48.2*	51.4	60.3	64.9	54.1	59.0
SEE						
Albania[1]	74.7	71.0	90.7	88.6	-	-
Bulgaria	68.6	63.2	58.7	58.6	67.7	66.3
Croatia	-	-	51.1	56.0	-	-
FYR Macedonia[2]	-	-	29.2	25.4	-	-
Romania	51.3*	44.6	48.0	50.2	64.8	59.1
Western CIS						
Belarus[1]	17.9	11.7	16.7	6.2	-	-
Moldova	-	-	74.0	80.7	-	-
Russian Federation	-	-	48.8	37.1	-	-
Serbia & Montenegro	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ukraine	-	-	66.3	61.0	-	-

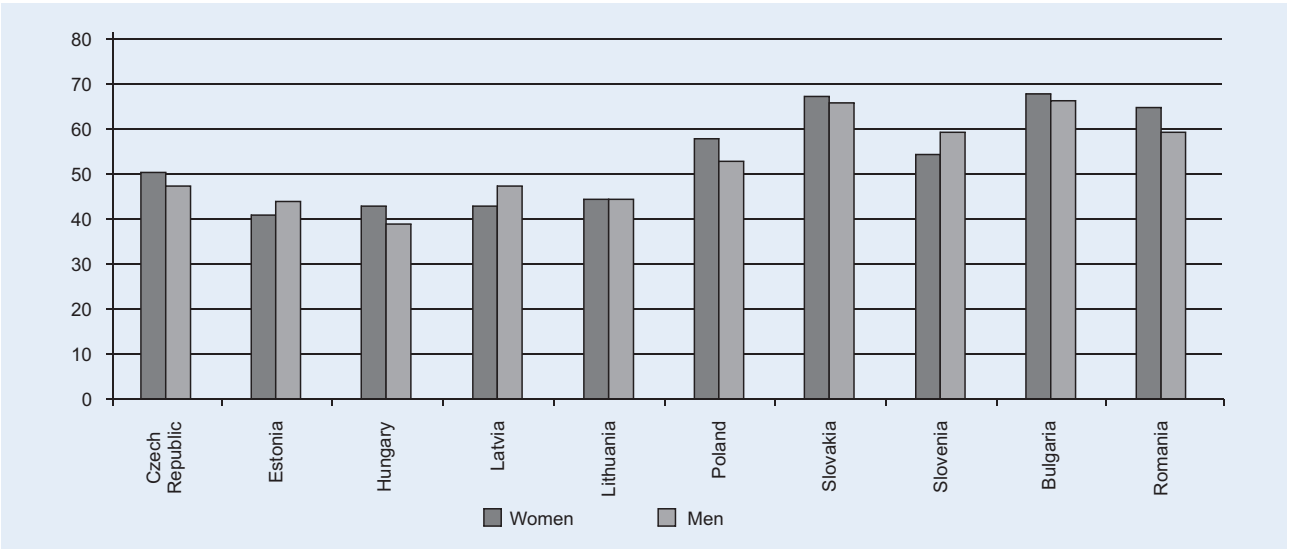
**Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland, Romania), or 1996 (Latvia, Slovenia).*

[1] Data refer to long-term registered unemployment.

[2] The long-term unemployment rate is calculated by relating the number of workers who are long-term unemployed during the reference period to the labour force at the same date.

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Figure 3.2 Long-term Unemployment Rates by Sex, 2003



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

men is especially high in the CIS countries Belarus, Moldova and Russia. The largest gap is in Russia, with a rate of long-term unemployment for women at 49 per cent in comparison to 37 per cent for men in 2000. Women's long-term rates were higher even in some countries where their unemployment rates are lower than men's; for example, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Finally, it is important to note that the size of the population which is classified as long-term unemployed has been linked to the pattern of unemployment benefit distributions. Reforms in the length of the receipt of unemployment benefits has very marked effects on this indicator, as does sectoral restructuring, which is occasionally used as a bridge for early retirement.

In order to fully understand patterns of employment, activity rates and unemployment rates (as well as, ideally, indicators on informal work, subsistence production and unpaid care work) should be considered simultaneously for similar age groups. Alternatively, employment rates (the proportion of those with paid jobs to the total number of people in the labour force) broken down by sex and age groups should be examined. Even though such information is not currently available in the UNECE dataset at the level of detail that would be necessary, efforts to include it are ongoing.

Women outside the Labour Force: Retirement, Parental Leave and Homemaking

Labour market statistics hide the extent to which the line between economic activity and inactivity is especially volatile for women in the region. Many women who are classified as inactive are on the brink of economic activity. For example, in Eastern Europe as in Western countries, about a third of those classified as 'inactive' are students, who will be seeking jobs within a few years. Two other groups of 'inactive' adults are worthy of special attention: pensioners and women on maternity and parental leave.

Pensioners. Retirement age, as noted earlier, was significantly lower in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union than it was in Western countries during the Communist era, particularly in the case of women. Table 3.3 shows the legal retirement age for 12 countries in the region and the average exit age for the 15 longer term EU member states from Western Europe (herein referred to as EU-15).

In the early 1990s, women could retire with full pension after the age of 55 in most of the countries, while men had to wait until at least age 60. By the mid-1990s, governments in countries striving for EU accession began raising the official retirement age and eliminating the differences between

Table 3.3 Legal Retirement Age for Women and Men

Country	1990		1995		2000		2001	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Estonia	55	60	56	61	57.5	62.5	58	63
Latvia	55	60	55	60	58	60	58	61
Lithuania	55	60	55	60	57	61	57	61
SEE								
Albania	55	60	55	60	55	60	55	60
Bulgaria	55	60	55	60	55.5	60.5	56	61
Croatia	60	65	60	65	60	65	60	65
Romania	57	62	57	62	57	62	57	62
Serbia & Montenegro	-	-	55	60	55	60	58	63
Western CIS								
Belarus	55	60	55	60	55	60	55	60
Moldova	-	-	-	-	56	61	57	62
Russian Federation	-	-	55	60	55	60	55	60
Ukraine	55	60	55	60	55	60	55	60
EU-15	-	-	-	-	-	-	59.9	60.7

Note: For EU-15 the data represent average exit age from the labour force.

Sources: UNECE Gender Statistics Database, EUROSTAT

Older woman often are pushed into retirement with little means of support. Orava, Slovakia. Photo: Alan Hyza

men's and women's retirement threshold in accordance with EU expectations. Yet, in 2001 the official retirement age was still lower in most new EU and non-EU member countries in the region than the average age for the EU-15 and women in these countries still left the work force significantly earlier than men. While pensions and social insurance provide a safe, if limited, source of income, pension payments are often low and do not keep up with inflation rates in several countries. Many retirees spend their remaining years in poverty and social isolation (especially in the rural areas) and social exclusion (especially in the urban areas), including many who are eager to work for pay and capable of doing so. This is especially true for women, who live longer than men and yet are expected to retire earlier (Box 5).

Although official retirement ages increased during the 1990s, in the early years of the decade many transition countries pushed older workers out of the work force in an attempt to solve their unemployment crises. Workers who were close to the legal retirement age were encouraged and pressured to stop working. However in more recent years, the economic activity rates of older women have increased and those for men in most countries have increased or not declined significantly (Table 2.4d). Although more women aged 55-59 are in the labour force, in many countries the activity rate for men is two to three times the rate for women (Belarus, Croatia, FYR Macedonia, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia and Ukraine). Women in their late 50s are much less likely to be economically active than are men, even though their general health is better and life expectancy longer than it is for men. While some of these women find limited employment, including in the informal economy, or help younger female relatives with childrearing, early retirement is a form of hidden unemployment for a large number of people.

Box 5:
Gender and Pension Reform in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland

Considered as a group, women lost significantly more old-age protection than men as a result of pension reforms adopted in the mid- and late 1990s in three CEE countries. The extent of their losses varied, depending on the type of reform. In general, gender inequalities were greatest when social insurance was replaced with mandatory individual savings accounts and/or when countries maintained the differential between women's and men's retirement ages. In the former case, individual savings put women at a disadvantage because of their lower average wages, while in the latter, women had a shorter average work career for calculating their pension benefits. The most severe gender inequalities occurred when both these policies were adopted.

These are the findings of a gender study sponsored by the Budapest Subregional Office of the International Labour Organization, with financial support from the Government of France. The study focused on the pension reform strategies of three CEE countries: the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. The latter two countries adopted slightly different forms of privatized pensions, while the Czech Republic maintained its public pension benefit, supplemented by a voluntary system of individual savings accounts.

In addition to the gender inequalities associated with individual savings and a lower retirement age for women, the study pinpointed two other problematic reforms. One was the reduction of 'caring credits', which are used in calculating benefits provided to parents who withdrew from the work force temporarily to care for a child. Cuts in these credits in Hungary and Poland have had the effect of reducing pensions for those who choose the childcare option, overwhelmingly women. The second problematic area involves private pension funds' practice of using separate estimates of life expectancies of men and women when calculating pensions. This is contrary to public pension systems, where men and women who make equal contributions during their working lives receive equal benefits in retirement. On average, women's private benefits are reduced by 20 per cent when governments base pension payout on gender-specific life expectancy rather than an overall average for women and men. While Hungary has resisted pension industry pressure for separate life expectancy estimates, the issue has not been settled in Poland, nor in a number of other CEE countries with partially privatized systems. The study concludes that this practice poses a major threat of poverty in old age for women as a group.

Source: Elaine Fultz, Silke Steinhilber and Markus Ruck, eds. 2003. The Gender Dimensions of Social Security Reform in Central and Eastern Europe: Case Studies of Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic. Budapest: ILO

Parental Leave. A second important category of 'inactive' adults is home-makers and women on maternity and parental leave.[9] There are two types of such leave: short- and long-term. In many countries, new parents, in the vast majority of cases mothers, receive 3-12 months' paid leave from their jobs at full or almost full salary (World Bank 2002a). Their jobs are guaranteed after their return. Since the labour market attachment of women on these short-term leaves is obvious, they are generally counted as economically active. But in many transition countries the majority of women take a longer leave following (or instead of) their official short leave immediately after maternity. They often remain out of the work force until their child's third or fourth birthday. This longer leave is paid in some countries and unpaid in others and the eligibility criteria and length also vary (see Fultz and Steinhilber 2004). The women's jobs are protected in some cases in principle and for at least a short period after their return and not in others. In most cases limited pension entitlements accumulate during the leave. Some parents on leave are even allowed to find part-time or full-time work. Women on this form of leave, unless they do engage in some form of paid work, are considered 'inactive, keeping house'. By contrast, these lengthy leaves exist in only a handful of EU-15 countries. In Eastern Europe they are best seen as a legacy of state socialism that helped reduce the labour force and limited the need for government-supported childcare. The potential negative consequences of long-term parental leaves for women's labour force opportunities have been identified by a number of researchers (see Jaumotte 2003 for a recent review).

Box 6:
Reforming Family Benefits in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland

According to an ILO analysis of the gender dimensions of family benefit reform in three countries in Central and Eastern Europe, there was a major drop in public support for families with children in the first decade after the transition. In Hungary, spending on family benefits declined from 3.8 to 2.0 per cent of GDP (1990-2000); in Poland, it dropped from 1.7 to 1.06 per cent (1990-98); and in the Czech Republic, from 1.64 to 1.21 per cent (1996-2002). These reductions occurred while all three countries maintained overall levels of social spending, suggesting that families with children were less well protected than other groups, such as pensioners.

The ILO report focuses on three types of family benefit: maternity allowances, general allowances paid to families to compensate for the costs of rearing children, and childcare benefits paid to parents who temporarily withdraw from the work force to care for a child. Previously, these benefits were widely provided and offered relatively generous support in all three countries. In addition to the decline in spending, the study identifies three broad trends.
> Benefits were targeted towards families with low incomes in all three countries. As women are disproportionately represented in this group, this targeting no doubt benefited them, but it also created work disincentives for those with low skills.

[9] In most countries only women who have spent a pre-specified time in the labour force are eligible to receive parental leave. In a few countries, it is a universal right and yet in others it is a means-tested benefit. It is important to note that non-transferable paternity leave provisions exist only in Slovenia. Fathers in most countries are allowed but not encouraged to take the leave.

> Greater support was provided for large families, owing to pressure from religious groups and conservative political parties, both of which favoured traditional family values and hoped to redress stagnant or declining population growth. While the benefits were a significant source of support for large families, there was no evidence that the effort to boost birth rates succeeded.
> Childcare benefits were reformed in all three countries so that both fathers and mothers could utilize them on an equal basis. However, the study found no increase in the use of these benefits by men. In Hungary and the Czech Republic only about one percent of parents on leave are men, the same percentage as before the reform. In Poland where there are no statistics on the use of these benefits by gender, researchers were unable to find even anecdotal evidence of fathers taking childcare leave.

The researchers give these reforms a mixed score. On the one hand, they have targeted benefits to low-income families, aiding women as a group. On the other hand, means-testing has changed the status of beneficiaries from holders of personal rights to petitioners of the state. Family benefits are no longer a work-related benefit. In addition, the cuts in family benefits mean that those responsible for the family, still overwhelmingly women have less support than before the transition for balancing the competing demands of home and the work place. The authors endorse strengthening employment-related family benefits and urge consideration of 'use or lose' childcare benefits for fathers, as in the Nordic countries.

Source: Elaine Fultz and Silke Steinhilber. 2004. "Social Security Reform and Gender Equality: Recent Experience in Central Europe." International Labour Review 143 (3).

Government support to help combine family and work responsibilities is an essential component for achieving gender equality in the work place. Yet in many of the countries in this study, women on parental leave constitute a group of women whose inactive status is sponsored by state policies that have been fueled by pro-natalist, nationalistic ideologies. By focusing on maternity rather than parental leave, ignoring working families' childcare needs, and encouraging women to leave the work force for extended periods of time, parental leaves in many of these countries have contributed to employers' reluctance to hire and invest in training younger women who may drop out of the work force for extended periods. In some cases, women themselves find it difficult to reintegrate into the workplace and may lose job-market skills during their long absences. An example of the interaction between parental leave and job opportunities can be seen in Hungary, where

Mother and child in front of their home in Northern Moldova. Photo: UNICEF

parental leave policies are among the most generous. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of births in Hungary declined by about 30 per cent, yet the proportion of women on parental leave actually increased by at least 20 per cent, an indication that as job market opportunities disappear, women are turning to government subsidies as a form of income and are no longer classified as unemployed, looking for work. Parental benefits are hardly a satisfactory means of producing income: A 2002 survey found that male-headed families with children and a wife on parental leave are the typical poor households in many East European countries (Fodor et al. 2002).

Thus, two groups of inactive women stand out as possibly differing in status from their Western counterparts: retired women in their 50s and mothers on lengthy parental leave. Many of these 'inactives' actually comprise the hidden unemployed, who are out of the work force because job or childcare opportunities do not exist for them.

Homemaking vs. Paid Work

Are women in Eastern Europe inclined to choose homemaking over paid work? There is no clear answer to this question. The ideological backlash against gender equality that has swept many of the countries in this study following the fall of Communist regimes was endorsed by some women, who embraced what they perceived to be the life style of Western housewives. Many of these women were tired of carrying the double burden of work and reproductive responsibilities, and life at home seemed attractive. Surveys from the early 1990s show that women in Eastern European countries gave more conservative answers than Western women when asked to evaluate women's role in society and were more likely than Western women to argue that raising children and looking after the household could be just as fulfilling as having a career outside the home (The Hungarian Labour Market 2003; Einhorn 1993).

Conversely, statistical data indicate that in some countries, women are less likely to leave their jobs voluntarily than men (The Hungarian Labour Market 2003, for Hungary; Ashwin and Bowers1997, for Russia). Ashwin and Bowers' qualitative study in Russia found a number of non-economic reasons why women might want to remain in the labour force. The authors argue that Russian women gain social status and self-confidence from working and have a sense of responsibility for their families. In this context, women struggle to retain their jobs, rather than willingly giving them up.

Public evaluation of women's role in the economy varies by the availability of jobs. Ideological support for women's withdrawal from work is more popular when jobs are hard to come by. Yet in times of economic crisis when jobs are scarce but desperately needed for survival, more and more families find it impossible to make ends meet without two salaries or without women's critical contribution of unpaid care and other unpaid work, such as agricultural production for self-consumption.

Ultimately, most women in Eastern Europe have no choice about whether to join the labour market or to remain at home. Wage levels in almost all countries in this study make it financially impossible for all but those at the highest income levels to leave paid employment. Thus the question of choice is superseded by the reality that, as in most other parts of the world, women must work.

CHAPTER 4:
PATTERNS AND CONDITIONS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Throughout the world, men and women tend to cluster in different types of jobs, in different types of enterprises, at different levels of the hierarchy, and in different sectors of industry. In Eastern Europe, even among women who have paid work, many are unable to rise out of poverty, often because the terms and conditions of their work, including low wages, prevent them from earning enough to support a family or to contribute sufficiently to the family budget. Nor is the situation improving: Indicators for gender inequality in the labour market, such as occupational segregation, do not show a great deal of change over the past decade within Eastern Europe and exhibit patterns broadly similar to those found in Western European countries. Indeed, gender inequality in most transition countries nowadays does not systematically differ from gender inequality in developed capitalist societies in the early 21st century. What have changed are the impact and implications of gender inequality for women's lives.

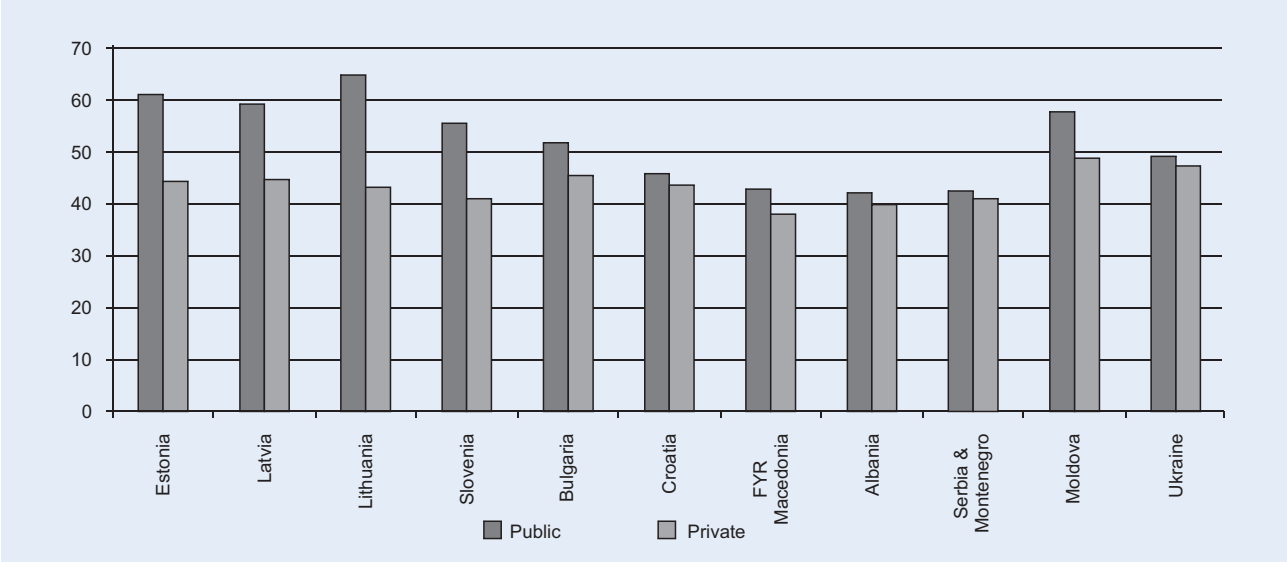
Employment Segregation by Sector

Dividing the labour force into public and private sector employment and type of industry, specifically into agriculture, industry and services, provides a picture of basic differences and changes in women's and men's employment in the region. It shows that in Eastern Europe, as elsewhere, the gender segregation between those who work in the public sector (mostly women) and those who are in the private sector also contributes to the wage gap. While public sector jobs are often more secure, better regulated and demand fewer hours than those in the private sector, they usually pay less and are less prestigious.

Since the early 1990s there has been a sharp decline for both women and men in public sector employment, mainly due to the privatization of state enterprises and cuts in public services (see Appendix Tables 4.1a and 4.1b). This decline is larger for men than for women: For example in the Czech Republic, between 1990 and 2000 employment in the public sector dropped from 77 per cent to 15 per cent for men and from 83 per cent to 30 per cent for women.

As shown in Appendix Table 4.1c, women's share of public sector employment increased in all countries, with the result that in 2001 women outnumbered men in public sector jobs in most of the countries, specifically the EU-8, Bulgaria and Moldova. Generally women have a higher share of public sector employment in the EU member states (55%-64%) than they do in either the SEE or the CIS countries (40%-52%). The exception is Moldova, where women represent 58 per cent of those in public sector employment (Figure 4.1). In terms of private sector employment, women's share is generally much lower than that of men. In some countries, however, the growth in private sector employment was so great that women's share of private sector employment also increased slightly, specifically in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia and Romania. In the other countries it either stayed the same or dropped slightly. Women represent less than 45 per cent of private sector employees in all countries but Moldova and Ukraine. The data suggest that men were more likely than women to have been working in companies that were later privatized, and were better able to switch from public positions into the private sector.

Figure 4.1 Women as % of All Public and Private Sector Employees, 2001



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

As mentioned above, in less developed nations such as Albania, FYR Macedonia, Serbia, and Ukraine there is a smaller gender difference, with almost the same proportion of women and men in public sector jobs. Privatization is still ongoing in these countries, and public sector positions may have less relative disadvantage, making them more attractive to men than they are in countries where the process is more advanced. Thus, an important context behind the numbers is that the meaning of 'private sector' work is quite different in more developed countries such as the Czech Republic than it is in less developed countries such as Moldova. In the former, a private sector employee is most likely a man with a well-paid white-collar position in a domestic or international company. In Moldova, the worker is more often a woman engaged in petty trading or providing personal services in an informal, underpaid and insecure setting. This is a prime example of the way in which the gender content of occupational segregation is responsive to labour market conditions in a given society.

Another important aspect of the gender segregation of the labour force is type of industry. The labour force distribution among agriculture, industry and the service sectors is unequal between women and men everywhere. Within this region, the general pattern of differences between women and men is also affected by the economic development of a country. This type of segregation also contributes to the pay gap, since jobs in certain industries are likely to pay more.

Overall, employment has declined in the agricultural sector, remained stable in the industrial sector and increased in the service sector (Appendix Tables 4.2a-b). Despite the decline, the continuing significance of agricultural work in some less developed regions of Eastern Europe is noteworthy: In 2003 it accounted for 37 per cent of women's employment and 35 per cent of men's in Romania and 42 per cent of women's employment and 44 per cent of men's in Moldova. These patterns reflect structural differences in the economies of these countries. In countries where agricultural employment is still high, women are more likely than men to work in this sector, usually on private family plots rather than in larger agricultural cooperatives.[10]

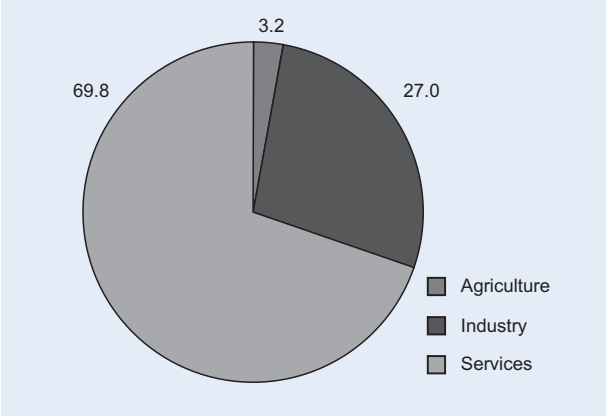
The increase in the service sector is also notable. Both men and women were more likely to work in services in 2000 than they were in 1990, with the increase since 1995 seemingly a bit sharper for women. In recent years, 60 to 70 per cent of all employed women have held service sector jobs in many Eastern European countries. The growth in this sector, which is expected to continue, could mean a proliferation of work opportunities for women in the near future. But these opportunities are not a panacea for unemployment and social mobility, since the quality of the jobs varies widely from work in highly prestigious institutions to underpaid jobs that offer little hope of advancement. The financial sector, for example, pays significantly higher salaries all over Eastern Europe than public administration, health or education. Indicators show that women are crowded into the latter type of secure, yet underpaid positions (Ruminska-Zimny 1999; European Foundation 2005), although this trend cannot be confirmed using the UNECE database because of its high level of aggregation.

Overall changes in the sectoral distribution of jobs since 1990 are due mainly to structural changes in the economies across the region, resulting in an expansion of the service sector in all countries, with variations corresponding to the level and type of the countries' economic development. Figures 4.2a-d show the percentage distribution of female and male employment among agricultural, industrial and service sectors in two countries at the opposite ends of economic development: the Czech Republic and Moldova. In the Czech Republic, almost 70 per cent of employed women work in the service sector while only 46 per cent

Nurse in a hospital maternity ward in Bacau, Romania. Photo: Jeremy Hartley/Panos

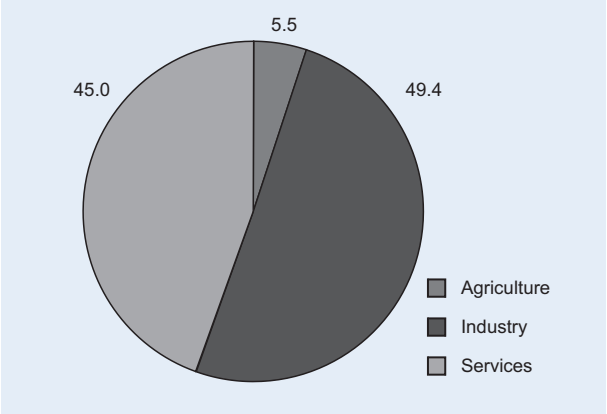
[10] Those classified as 'helping family members' working on household plots are technically considered to be economically active, but the problem of undercount is often significant in this category. In some countries, such as Albania, the ownership of land allows an individual to be considered as employed in official statistics. The actual ownership might be changing hands from men to women depending on tax rules.

Figure 4.2a
Sectoral Distribution of Women's Employment, Czech Republic 2003



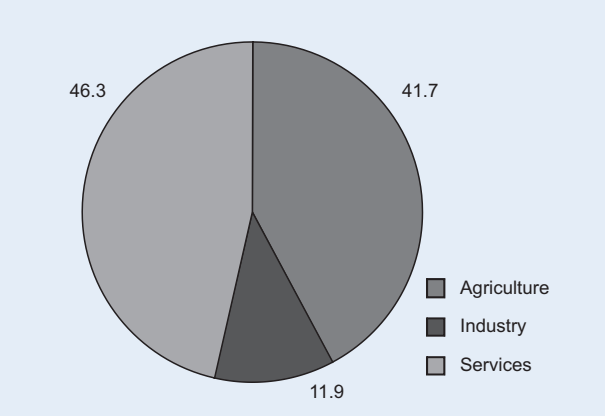
Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Figure 4.2b
Sectoral Distribution of Men's Employment, Czech Republic 2003



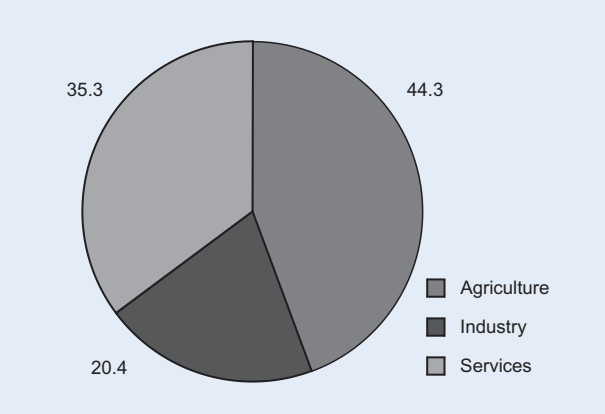
Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Figure 4.2c
Sectoral Distribution of Women's Employment, Moldova 2003



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Figure 4.2d
Sectoral Distribution of Men's Employment, Moldova 2003



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

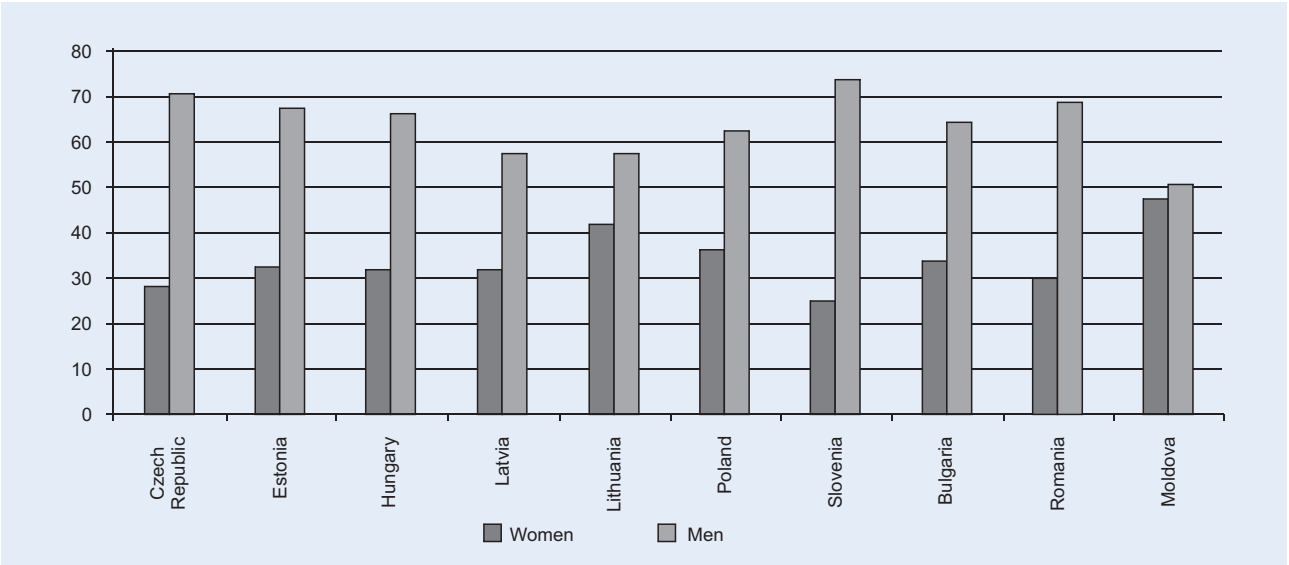
work in this sector in Moldova; in both countries many fewer men work in services (45% for the Czech Republic vs. 35% in Moldova). Yet, even if the pace or degree of change varies, service sector occupations are attracting more female workers, as is the case elsewhere in the world.

In sum, the emergence of private enterprises in the region has allowed more men than women to take advantage of better paid work opportunities, but public sector jobs provide a more secure and more family friendly work environment for many women. When women do work in the private sector, the jobs they hold are generally lower quality, informal and do not offer many benefits or long-term security.

Segregation by Employment Status and Occupation

Employment status and occupation are two further dimensions of the gender segregation of the labour force. There are more men than women among 'employers' and 'own-account workers' and in higher paid, more prestigious jobs (legislators, senior officials and managers) (see Appendix Tables 4.3a-b and 4.4c). Among own-account workers, men outnumber women by dramatic margins: In 2003, they comprise between 58 per cent and 75 per cent of all workers with such status in the EU-8 and acceding countries (Figure 4.3). The share of women among own-account workers has decreased since the mid-1990s in most countries. Only in Estonia, Latvia and the Russian Federation has it increased, even though the direction reversed between 2000 and 2003 in the two EU countries. (See Appendix Table 4.3b)

Figure 4.3 Own-account Workers by Sex, as % of Total, 2003



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Women's share among own-account workers is generally much higher in less developed countries in the CIS, such as Moldova (it is also high in Latvia). Looking behind these numbers, however, reveals that this difference may not be related to any labour market advantage for women in the CIS countries. The presence of women among own-account workers in these countries is generally an indication of scarce work opportunities in the formal public or private sectors. For example, data from the 2003 Moldova Labour Force Survey which included a set of questions on informal employment, show that within own-account employment, a larger proportion of women (67%) than men (61%) were in informal enterprises, and of these a larger proportion of women (49%) than men (35%) were in households producing agricultural goods for their own consumption (ILO Bureau of Statistics and Department for Statistics and Sociology of the Republic of Moldova 2005).[11] Women's small businesses and activities in informal employment tend to provide an insecure and unstable living, without health insurance, pension schemes or other benefits. These types of employment are generally a tool for survival rather than an avenue for upward mobility (Box 7). [12]

[11] Calculated from Table 1 of the report

[12] According to the report Employment in Europe 2004 as well as research sponsored by the EU, there is an emerging phenomenon in Europe referred to as 'pseudo self-employment' or 'dependent self-employment'. It encompasses hybrid forms of contractual arrangements where workers appear as self-employed in the statistics, but work for a firm and act like salaried workers for all intents and purposes (firms save on social security contributions as a result). The category includes characteristics of dependent employment, such as primarily personal work, continuity over time, single client, tasks subject to direction, and of self-employment proper, such as pay related to results and no social security. Such forms of employment are 'open to potential abuse' (EC 2004:2). Since they are used primarily in the service sector, we can expect women to be particularly affected. More research is needed to assess the prevalence and gender aspects of this phenomenon in Eastern Europe.

Box 7:
Informal Employment: *Progress of the World's Women 2005: Women, Work and Poverty* and Case Study of Informal Work in Bulgaria

Informal employment refers to employment that takes place in small unregistered enterprises as well as certain types of wage employment that are outside of informal enterprises. Workers in the informal economy generally are without formal contracts, worker benefits or social protection and therefore have little economic security. UNIFEM's *Progress of the World's Women 2005* provides data on these workers that show:

- the proportion of women workers engaged in informal employment is generally greater than the proportion of men workers;
- women are concentrated in the more precarious types of informal employment; and
- the average earnings from these types of informal employment are low, generally lower than men's in a given employment and not sufficient in the absence of other sources of income to raise households out of poverty (UNIFEM 2005).

In the countries of Eastern Europe, the informal economy has grown as part of the transition from a centrally planned to a market economy. In the old centrally planned economy, informal activities were considered illegal. In the new market economy, as informal activities become more visible and widespread, some national statistical offices are beginning to collect data on the topic. These data have not been compiled and analysed for most countries of the region so it is not possible yet to quantify the role of women in informal employment in Eastern Europe. However a study supported by UNIFEM was undertaken

by the Women's Alliance for Development Foundation (WADF) and the Bulgarian Agency for Social Analyses that sheds light on why women work in informal employment as well as the benefits and negative impacts. Interviews were conduced with 100 women employed in the informal economy in cities, villages and rural areas. The study found that:

- Both women and men participate actively in the informal economy, but they perform different types of activities based on their physical ability and established gender role. Women are primarily occupied in activities demanding less manual strength but more precision and patience. Examples include sewing and knitting, care of children and old or disabled people, cleaning, teaching and tutoring, etc. However, women also are actively involved in home-based production and subsistence agriculture, often to a greater degree than men.
- The main reasons for women's participation in the informal economy in Bulgaria are economic hardship and thus the need to secure income for sustaining themselves and their families. Some use the work to supplement regular, formal income, while others rely on informal work as their only source of livelihood. This is especially true for areas where unemployment rates are high, border areas, or regions where there are no large-scale enterprises. It is also the case when women are the sole breadwinners in the family or household.

The study also documented the risks associated with employment in this sector.

- Informal employers rarely pay social security benefits; many women do not or will not have access to pension and health benefits.
- Work conditions are harsh and women are preferred because they are viewed as more 'compliant'.
- Few legal remedies against injury or discrimination are available, and women are often afraid to stand up for their rights.

Quotations from interviews conducted in the study bring out certain risks and problems associated with informal employment:

'[W]ho should we turn to… trade unions? Even if I were to turn to them, I'd be the one to suffer the consequences. Because if you complain about something your employer does, you'd be sacked in 24 hours; you won't even get your last paycheck'.
31-year-old seamstress

'It was different when I had a good job at a firm as a clerk. I was among people. Maintained myself… And now I do not see any reason to do that. I neither read nor am interested in anything… people pass by me and don't talk to me. Who talks to a cleaner?'
55-year-old college-educated domestic worker

Sources: UNIFEM, Progress of the World's Women 2005. Women, Work and Poverty. Martha Chen, Joann Vanek, Francie Lund, James Heintz, Renana Jhabvala, Christine Bonner. New York: UNIFEM; Women's Alliance for Development Foundation and Agency for Social Analysis, Women in the Informal Economy in Bulgaria 2004. Lilia Dimova and Polina Radeva. Bratislava: UNIFEM.

Considering the sex distribution among employers, in 2003 women's share was less than 30 per cent in all ten countries where data are available with the exception of Estonia (36%) and Moldova (34%). However in Moldova less than one per cent of employed persons were employers (ILO Bureau of Statistics and Department for Statistics and Sociology of the Republic of Moldova 2005; also UNECE Database). In half of the countries there has been an increase and in the rest a decrease in women's share among employers since 1995. (Appendix Table 4.3a)

Occupational segregation shows similar patterns in all countries. Women tend towards white collar jobs, men towards blue collar ones. Women outnumber men in all lower level white collar positions (professional, semi-professional and clerical worker), while men outnumber women in technical work, crafts and other blue collar positions.[13] The designation white collar does not say much about earnings, benefits or prestige, since it covers a broad swath. Figures 4.4a-b and Appendix Tables 4.4a-d provide a breakdown by sex of the top two ISCO-88 (International Standard Classification of Occupations) occupational categories for 2003. Legislators, senior officials and managers are at the top of the occupational hierarchy, followed by professionals, which include both high and low status jobs in fields such as teaching and health care.

Men in the group of legislators, senior officials and managers outnumber women by a factor of about two (Figure 4.4a, Appendix Table 4.4c). In 2003, women's representation in these leadership positions in SEE countries was lower compared to the EU-8 and the Western CIS countries (except for the Czech Republic, which had one of the lowest shares among all countries examined). The highest female share is found in the Baltics and CIS

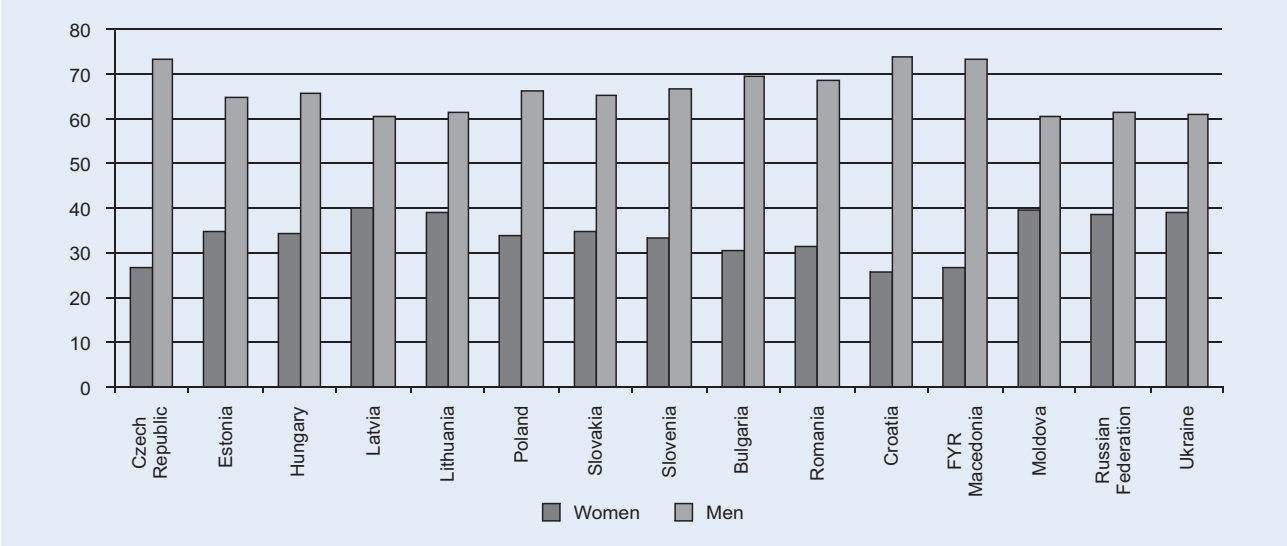
[13] Comprehensive data for the sex distribution in all categories of occupations according to the ISCO-88 are available at the UNECE Gender Statistics Database, http://w3.unece.org/stat/gender.asp

countries, peaking at 40 per cent in Latvia and Moldova. Between 1995 and 2003, the representation of women in Slovakia and Slovenia (and in Moldova between 2000 and 2003) increased significantly, while other countries experienced only minor changes. Both men's and women's employment in this category either remained stable or increased slightly in most countries across the region (Appendix Table 4.4a).

It is difficult to attribute much significance to the differences across countries, since variation may to some degree be due to differences in classification schemes and the distribution of positions: Managerial positions seem to be more abundant in some countries, and people are more generously classified as being managers in some than in others. Both factors have significant consequences for women's chances of making it to the first category of the ISCO classification, even though their actual labour market positions may not be very different (Wright et al. 1995). Nevertheless, on the basis of the UNECE database, women are obviously underrepresented among legislators, senior officials and managers.

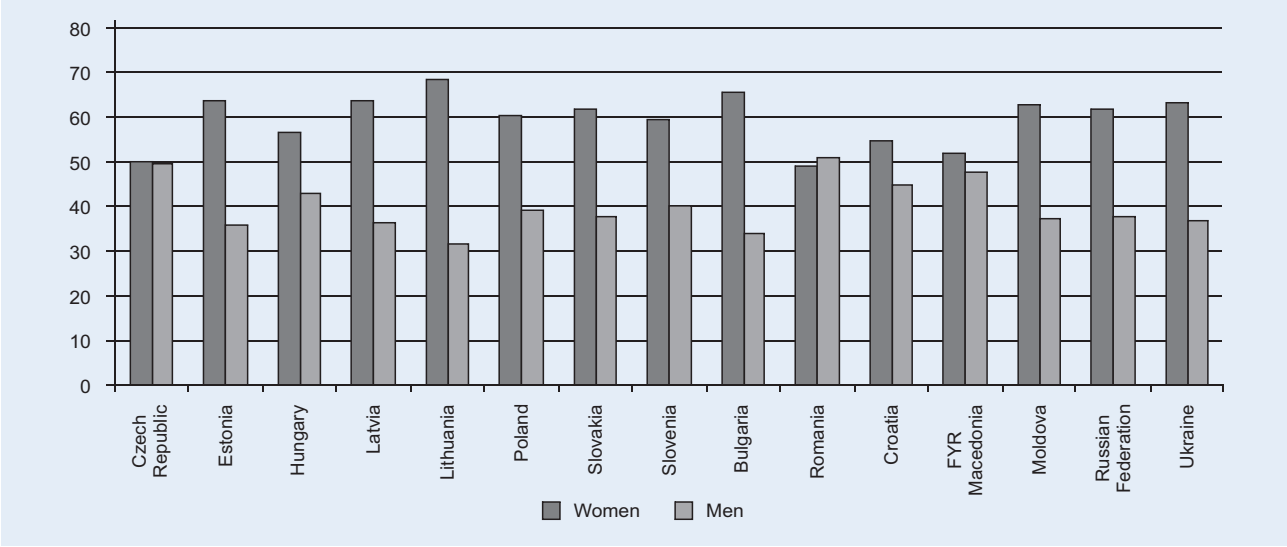
Women outnumber men in the professional group in all the countries to a varying degree (Figure 4.4b). In Bulgaria, Latvia and Lithuania about twice as many women as men worked as professionals in 2003. The Czech Republic, FYR Macedonia and Romania are the only countries where the proportion of women and men professionals was similar. Women's share among professionals has not changed

Figure 4.4a Legislators, Senior Officials, and Managers by Sex, as % of Total, 2003



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Figure 4.4b Professionals by Sex, as % of Total, 2003



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

significantly in most countries since the mid-1990s (only Bulgaria and Latvia have seen a more noticeable change, in opposite directions). The proportion of professional women within total female employment has slightly increased in most countries, ranging from 8 per cent to 21 per cent in 2003 (Appendix Table 4.4b).

The phenomenon of a relatively high female presence among professionals is a legacy of women's long history of attaining advanced degrees under state socialism. Yet, as elsewhere, there is more to these numbers than immediately meets the eye: Professional women more often than men hit glass ceilings or find themselves slotted into 'mommy-track' positions. As a result, the wage differences and promotion prospects of men and women in this educated group are possibly the largest (Box 8).

Box 8:
Women in the Sciences

The European Commission's report "Waste of Talents: Turning Private Struggles into a Public Issue: Women and Science in the Enwise Countries",[a] shows that in 2003 women were better represented in the scientific work force in new EU member states and candidate countries from CEE than in the EU-15, accounting for 38 per cent of total scientific researchers. The proportion ranges from 52 per cent in Latvia to 27 per cent in the Czech Republic, while the average for the EU-15 is 27 per cent.

Are these relatively high levels of participation good news for women scientists in the region? The EC report 'peels back the layers' and finds that the statistics 'conceal some bitter truths.' A large proportion of women scientists are employed in areas where research and development expenditures (R&D) are low and work conditions in terms of pay, infrastructure and advancement prospects are suboptimal.

> Looking at absolute numbers of women scientists, the countries where women tend to be better represented have the smallest research populations.
> The highest proportions of women are found in the countries and sectors with the lowest R&D expenditures. Overall, 83 per cent of all women scientists work in the government and higher education sectors, which receive about half of gross expenditure on R&D. The other half is allocated to the business sector, where only 17 per cent of women are employed.
> Women are under-represented at the top ranks in academies of sciences and universities. The majority of teaching staff (54%) is female, but men are three times more likely than women to reach senior academic positions.
> The prospects of young female scientists are bleak due to lack of funding, rigid patterns of promotion and lack of appropriate welfare policies.
> Data on the pay gap in science for the Enwise countries is scarce but available evidence for the Czech and Slovak Republics indicates that the pay gap increases along with the level of education. In the Czech Republic, for example, a graduate degree boosts women's earnings by about a quarter of the average salary, while men's earnings increase one and a half times the average.

The report asserts that 'the failure to recognize the importance of large numbers of highly qualified women scientists in the Enwise countries and the inadequacy of gender policies and public support, result in an unacceptable underutilization of intellectual potential and a waste of talents' (p. 15).

Source: European Commission. 2004. "Waste of Talents: Turning Private Struggles into a Public Issue: Women and Science in the Enwise Countries." Luxemburg: European Communities.

[a] The Enwise (Enlarge Women In Science to East) countries are Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia.

Tables 4.5a-b present data for women's share of specific leadership categories - high level civil servants and top executives - in countries where such data are available.

Table 4.5a Senior-Level Civil Servants, Women as % of Women and Men

Country	2000	2001
Croatia	20	21
Estonia	43	45
Lithuania	34	35

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Among the three countries with data on senior level civil servants, women's largest share, about 45 per cent, is in Estonia, followed by Lithuania at 35 per cent and Croatia at 21 per cent. However, in Estonia women's share of Central Bank board members dropped from 11 per cent in 1990 to no members for subsequent years; their share dropped in Slovenia from 27 per cent to 9 per cent between 1980 and 2001. Only in Moldova do women comprise a significant share of board members. Based on the limited available data, there does not seem to be much correlation between women's presence in those top positions and the general level of development or gender equality in other areas in

these countries. Therefore this measurement, although increasingly popular, is probably not a very reliable indicator of women's overall position in a society.

Patterns of labour force segregation in Eastern Europe are broadly similar to averages for the EU-15 countries (EC 2006, 2005; European Foundation 2005). There are a few exceptions, mostly owing to structural differences in the economies of the less-developed parts of Eastern Europe. These include the importance of female agricultural work in Romania and Moldova and female own-account work in Russia and Ukraine. Another difference is women's relatively high representation among professionals in Eastern Europe. Generally, women are increasingly working in white collar positions, especially in the services and in the public sector, rather than in the private sector. These positions offer lower salaries but allow many women to contribute to the family budget and still manage their 'second shift' of household management and childcare.

Even if aspects of labour force segregation do not show a great deal of change over time, a change becomes evident if we consider the consequences of segregation. In the state socialist period, women were (as they are now) crowded into low prestige service sector positions that paid less than jobs in the heavy industries, where men dominated. Yet, the differences in pay, fringe benefits, quality of life and career opportunities were smaller than they are now, due to an ideological commitment to a semblance of equality. Except for the highest ones, the majority of positions allowed relatively similar living standards and state-sponsored benefits provided a social safety net. Since the 1990s, the safety net has disappeared. Working in low-paid public sector jobs, it is almost impossible for a lot of women to support themselves or their families independently. At the same time, jobs in private companies or more elite parts of the economy offer a markedly higher level of pay and fringe benefits, increasing life style disparities. Thus even if the degree of segregation has not significantly changed, the changes in its consequences are sorely felt by women (and some men) in the region.

Part-time Employment

Part-time employment is a form of flexible employment which generally allows women to accommodate family obligations. Flexible forms of employment have been on the rise in the region and there is evidence that women tend to be disproportionately represented in them. This often means a lower quality of employment and insecurity, when such jobs do not offer adequate access to social protection (Box 9).

Box 9:
Balancing flexibility and security: the gender dimension

Flexibilization of employment relations and lowering of social protection have been widespread in Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltic States since the transition in the belief that higher employment and reduction in unemployment would result. There is growing evidence that reducing employment and social protection has not necessarily improved labour market performance, as argued by proponents. In some cases, it has even had adverse effects on employment and labour reallocation. The need to balance flexibility and security (the so-called flexicurity approach) has been advocated in the region by the International Labour Office as an alternative to pure deregulation.[a] Particular attention has been given to the gender dimension of the flexibilization process, as evidence from Western Europe suggests that women form a majority of the labour force in flexible work forms and are, to some extent, more vulnerable than men as far as the security dimension is concerned. Moreover, women have different work patterns over their life cycle as they give birth to children and provide childcare.

The gender dimensions of the flexibility-security nexus have been incorporated into a research and technical cooperation project in five countries of Eastern Europe, and strengthened through cross-country analysis and debate. The main findings from these countries indicate that women in the region tend to be disproportionately represented in flexible employment forms, which are often connected with lower quality of employment and insecurity, as they typically

Table 4.5b Central Bank Board Members, Women as % of Women and Men

Country	1980	1990	1995	2000	2001
Bulgaria		-	-	-	14
Croatia		0	0	8	7
Czech Republic		-	0	14	14
Estonia		11	0	0.0	0
Moldova		-	25	40	40
Slovenia	27	13	0	9	9

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

do not offer adequate access to social protection (eligibility or coverage by social security schemes, including unemployment benefit schemes, pensions, health care and other forms of social assistance). There is, for example, a much higher participation of women in part-time (very often involuntary) employment than among men; women appear also to be more frequently employed on fixed-term contracts. Data also indicate that labour force participation rates for women have been decreasing over the last years, suggesting that women have withdrawn from the labour market due to deteriorating conditions for combining family and work or increasing discrimination or prejudices against them on the side of employers. Moreover, because of their different life cycle women tend to have weaker links with the labour market than men: They generally have more individual transitions into and out of activity. In order to protect women from 'bad' transitions and ensure that 'flexicurity' options bring additional security to women on the labour market, it is crucial to enhance gender mainstreaming in the elaboration of labour market policies and institutions.

Source: Sandrine Cazes and Alena Nesporova, ILO Budapest and Geneva

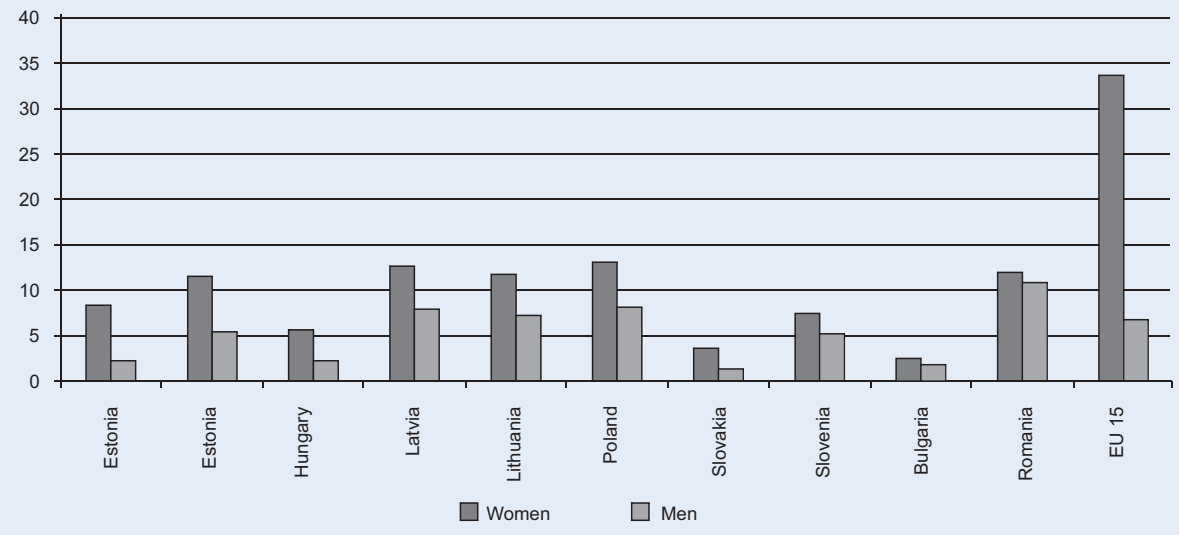
[a] ILO Flexicurity project carried out in Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania and Poland; it combines research, technical cooperation activities and advocacy among policy makers.

Part-time employment is much less popular in post-Communist countries than it is in the EU-15. Eastern European employers are reluctant to pay extra labour costs and reorganize the labour process to accommodate the demand for flexible or reduced work opportunities.[14] Figure 4.5 and Appendix Table 4.6 demonstrate the vast difference in the proportion of women who work part-time in EU-15 countries on average, as compared to in countries in transition. There are also significant differences among the countries studied here, with part-time employment ranging between 2.5 per cent of total female employment in Bulgaria to 13.2 per cent in Poland in 2003. While some governments have taken tentative steps to encourage employers to offer part-time work opportunities, the long-term advantages of this are questionable from the point of view of gender equality. In the short run, however, part-time work options would no doubt allow more employment opportunities for women (if even more inferior in quality than the ones available currently), and may provide an avenue back to full-time work should the family's circumstances allow or require this.

The Gender Gap in Wages

Aside from occupational segregation and direct discrimination, the crucial determinants of wages are skills and human capital, as well as actual hours worked. Women in Eastern Europe are on average similarly or better trained

Figure 4.5 Part-time Employment, as % of Female and Male Employment, 2003



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database; European Commission, Employment in Europe 2004, Statistical Annex Key Employment Indicators

[14] As a recent review of wage gap components has shown, the changes in work organization have important implications for the wage gap as work organization moves from a time-based scheme to a results-based organization of work (EC 2002).

[15] However, surveys on working conditions for EU-15 and EU-8 Member States show that single mothers work more hours. This is also confirmed by qualitative research within the EU (Villagómez et al., 2004).

than men (the UNECE database contains very scattered data on this, but more information is available elsewhere; for example, European Foundation 2005).

Among full-time workers, women's wages are still significantly lower than those of men. Table 4.7 and Figure 4.6 show differences in earnings between women and men employees. Data for one set of countries are based on hourly wages and for the other on monthly earnings, and for Serbia and Montenegro on annual earnings. Generally, the earnings gap based on monthly data is bigger than that based on hourly wages. One factor affecting this is that women tend to work fewer hours than men.[15] Thus comparison between countries in the first, second, and third segments of Table 4.7 is not possible. Women's hourly wages were 9 to 24 per cent less than men's in 2003. Slovenia had the smallest wage gap, and Estonia and Slovakia the largest. Among countries from which data are available on monthly earnings, the wage gap ranges from 17 per cent (FYR Macedonia) to 36 per cent (Russian Federation). Clearly, in each country of the region, women earn less than men. In addition to other factors, the exact gap depends on the level of discrimination, the way in which wages are defined and the data collection methods used.

Table 4.7 Earning Gaps between Women and Men Paid Employees (women's average gross earnings as % of men's)

Country	1995	2000	2003
Hourly earnings			
Czech Republic	...	22	19
Estonia	27	25	24
Hungary	22	21	14
Latvia	...	20	16
Lithuania	27	16	17
Poland	...	...	11
Slovenia	14	12	9***
Slovakia	...	22	23
Bulgaria	29*	24	18
Romania	21	17	18
Monthly earnings			
Albania	...	31**	...
FYR Macedonia	...	17	17***
Belarus	20	19	20
Moldova	...		28
Russian Federation	...	...	36
Ukraine	24	29	31
Annual earnings			
Serbia & Montenegro****	...	...	2

**Data refer to 1997. ** Data refer to 1998.*

**** Data refer to 2002. ****Data refer only to Serbia.*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Another factor in the earnings gap is that women spend fewer hours in remunerative labour on average than men. Table 4.8 shows that women in the region tend to work fewer hours for pay than do men. However, when women's unpaid work in the home is included, women work more hours than men, except in Lithuania.

Table 4.8 Hours per Week in Work, 2001

Country	Economic activity	Unpaid care work	Total work
Albania[1]			
Women	36	28	64
Men	41	21	62
Croatia[2]			
Women	39.3		
Men	41.6		
Czech Republic			
Women	35.7		
Men	40.6		
Estonia[3]			
Women	17.2	38	55.2
Men	25.1	23.2	48.3
Latvia[4]			
Women	45.2	28.8	74
Men	49.7	16.2	65.9
Lithuania			
Women	37.3	35.3	72.6
Men	40.3	36.8	77.1
Slovakia			
Women	40.9		
Men	42.9		
Slovenia[5]			
Women	22	35	57
Men	31	21	52

[1]Data refer to 1998 [2]Data refer to 2002 [3]Data refer to 2000 [4]Data refer to 1996 [5]Data as of April 2000-March 2000.

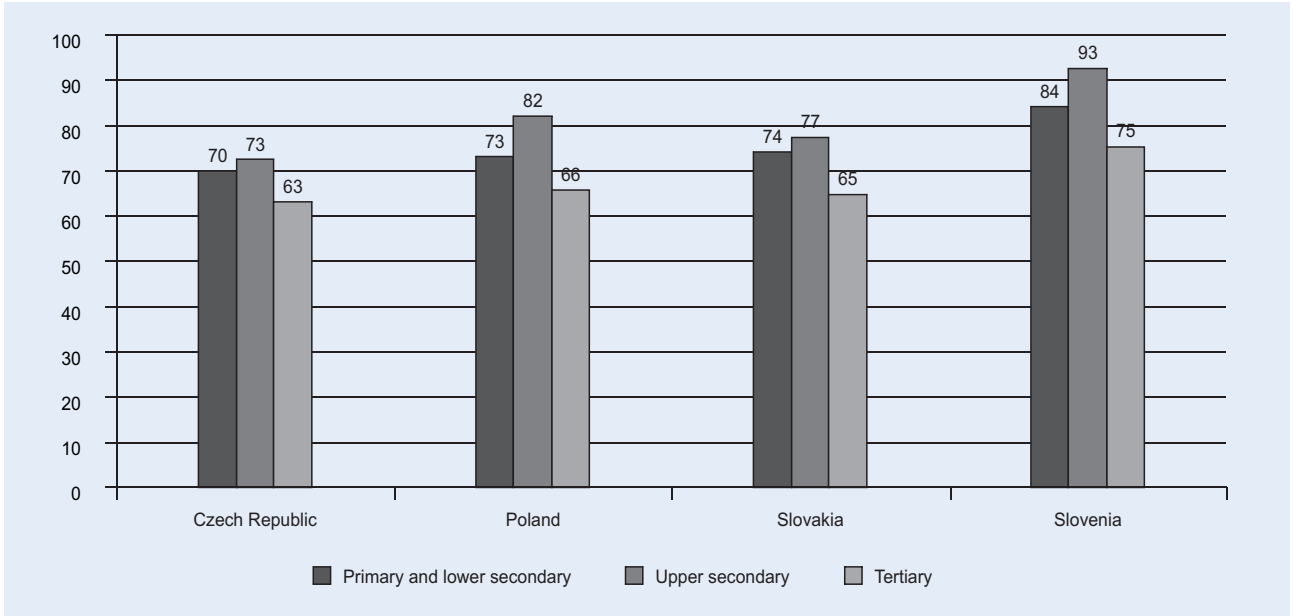
Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

The impact of education on the earnings gap between women and men is shown in Figure 4.6. Strikingly, the more educated women are, the larger the gap: Among women and men with upper secondary education, the gap in earnings is the smallest, between 7 per cent and 27 per cent; and in tertiary education the gap is the highest, between 25 per cent and 37 per cent. This further supports the point made earlier: Women are often found in lower prestige sectors and in positions with less pay and power, even if they have high level qualifications. Other studies have also shown that the gender gap is smallest in positions where very few men work, and that for positions in which both men and women are employed, women's disadvantage is clearly observable (European Foundation 2005).

School teacher in Ukraine. Photo: Peter Blakely/UNDP

Some researchers have argued that the wage gap would decrease over time due to a reduction in discrimination and selection bias (less qualified women were more likely to leave the labour force in the past decade and a half) (Brainerd 2000). Indeed, this is the trend among EU member and acceding countries, where there has been a gradual decline in the difference between men's and women's hourly earnings since 1995. Yet the same does not hold for the other countries with trend data (Belarus, FYR Macedonia and Ukraine), where the monthly wage gap did not diminish over the past decade at all, but remained stable or increased.

Figure 4.6 Earnings of Women as % of Men's by Educational Level, Annual Average, 2000



Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Wages for both women and men in this region are low, and with lower earnings women are especially disadvantaged. The inequality in wages affects all aspects of women's lives, curtailing their opportunities to move up the social and economic ladder or participate in public life, and increasing their social exclusion and risk of sinking into poverty. The consequences in the current economic and social context can be dire. Those at the bottom of the income distribution ladder find it increasingly difficult to support themselves on their income. A 30 per cent gap in wages may now mean the difference between economic self-sufficiency and dependence, whereas 15 years ago it may have represented a much less significant difference in living standards. This is especially so since benefits paid in kind used to be linked to citizenship status and were provided or at least regulated by the state, and rarely by companies. Men and women employed in any type of occupation could take advantage of these benefits. Nowadays, those in better paid, more elite positions, mostly men, have greater access to a wide range of benefits including health care, company-issued cars and cell phones, subsidized meals and vacations, and cheap mortgages. While technically these should be added to aggregate earnings figures, it is difficult to assess their value and they are thus rarely accounted for accurately. If they were included in statistics, the wage gap would be even greater than what the numbers currently suggest.

Labour Migration

Movements of people both within and away from countries of the region increased dramatically in the early 1990s, due primarily to the national and ethnic conflicts that accompanied the breakup of countries and to increasing economic disparities between countries and regions resulting from market liberalization and the reduction of state subsidies (UNICEF 2004).[16] By the late 1990s, economic factors became more important in decisions to migrate, as both women and men left areas of low wages and high unemployment for those with greater opportunities, primarily Russia and countries in the West. In 2001, remittances accounted for over a tenth of GDP in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova and Kosovo; in Albania, survey data indicated that over a quarter of households were receiving remittances, mostly from relatives abroad (ibid.).

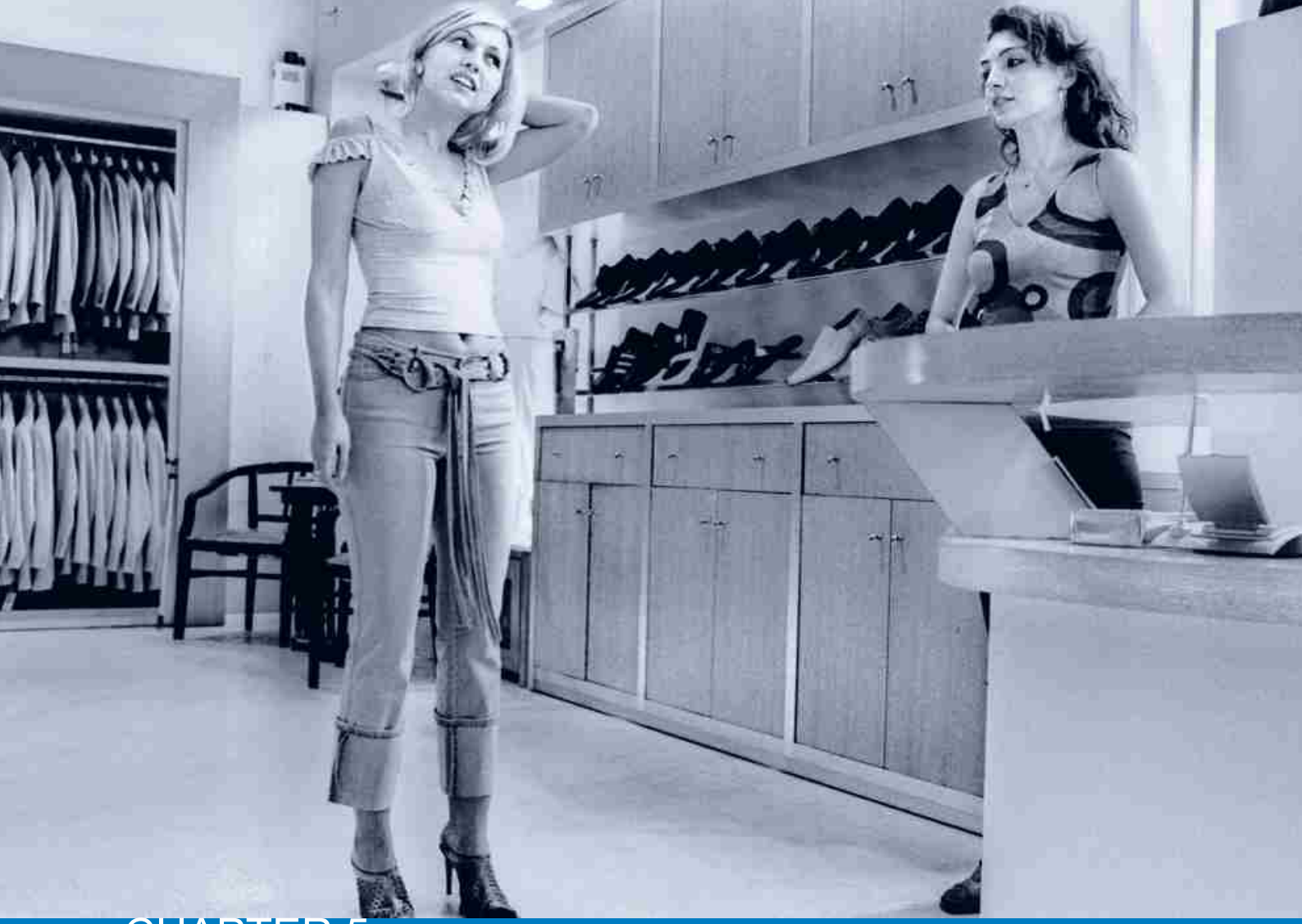
Migration streams are both legal and illegal, and the lines between them are often blurred, along with the lines between tourism and migration, forced and voluntary, and permanent and temporary migration. However, it is clear that illegal migration is now widespread in Eastern Europe and the CIS, primarily due to restrictive immigration policies in Western Europe and Russia (ibid).

Alongside illegal migration, trafficking has also increased, reaching alarming levels in a number of countries, especially in Southeast Europe (IOM 2005).[17] Those trafficked include women, men and minors of both sexes, but they are predominantly female. While the majority are exploited sexually, victims are typically trafficked for some combination of labour and sexual exploitation. The primary reason that trafficking victims leave home is for work abroad, owing either to the lack of employment opportunities at home or an urgent need for money because of illness or a family crisis (ibid). In this region as elsewhere, some women choose to migrate for work in the hope of being able to support their families and earn enough income to return home eventually. In a significant number of cases, however, women do not consent freely at various points in the migration process, but are forcibly trafficked into abusive and often unsafe work (US Department of State 2005). The case study of Albania discussed in Chapter 2 (Box 4) demonstrates some of the linkages between lack of decent employment opportunities and other factors that contribute to the increase in women's labour migration in poorer countries in the region, as well as their increased vulnerability to trafficking.

In sum, women tend to be segregated into lesser paid, lower prestige positions in most transition countries. Most indicators of labour force segregation have not changed significantly over the transition, even though women are now more heavily represented in public sector jobs and the wage gap has declined in most countries with data. Occupational, sectoral and vertical segregation all contribute to women's lower pay, as do the lower number of hours they work on average, discrimination and several other factors. In addition to examining various employment indicators, it is crucial to consider the changes in the consequences of labour market segregation and the wage gap. In the state socialist period, when social inequality was lower overall, the difference between highly and lesser paid, more prestigious and less valued jobs was a less significant predictor of a person's life chances and quality. This change remains hidden by the statistics but is a reality for generations of women in Eastern Europe.

[16] However, the lifting of travel restrictions in and to all countries was also an important factor (UNICEF 2004).

[17] Countries of origin are primarily the poorest in the region, including Albania, Moldova and Romania, and to a lesser extent Bulgaria and Kosovo.



CHAPTER 5:
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Coming back to the questions that began this report - Did women's labour market position in the region decline after 1990? Did it deteriorate relative to that of men? - an analysis of the UNECE database shows that in most instances the answer to the first question is yes. Women's employment opportunities and standard of living have deteriorated in all the countries covered by this study. Unemployment rates have increased, large numbers of women are not in the labour force, and job security and social benefits have declined. Women, on average better educated than men, are paid significantly less no matter what sector or occupation they work in. But the changes over the transition have not led to a large-scale increase in gender inequalities, since men's position also declined, and living standards and work conditions 'leveled down' for most people. Some measures of job segregation did not change significantly and the gender gap in wages actually narrowed in several countries.

At the same time, underlying the stability in basic indicators of gender inequality is a great deal of change. The rate of participation of younger women relative to younger men has fallen sharply, while the opposite trend is evident among the older age groups. Women now comprise a larger share of public sector employees than they did in the early years of the transition while the vast majority of male employees, particularly in the EU countries, currently work in the private sphere. The consequences of working in the public sphere, where jobs are generally low status and underpaid, have become more onerous in light of the socio-economic changes over the transition.

Along most dimensions Eastern European women's labour force patterns are starting to look more and more like those of women in the western parts of Europe, despite some differences such as the level of women's participation in part-time work. This convergence is due in part to deterioration in the labour market status of Eastern European women over the past 15 years and in part to some improvement in the position of women in the West.

Based on its analysis of trends and patterns of women's labour market status over the transition, this report recommends a number of measures needed to address women's labour market situation in the region. Before doing so, however, it also suggests some needed improvements in the availability and quality of the data.

Improving Statistics and Research

This report identified a number of difficulties and limitations with the data currently available on women's situation in the labour market. Needed improvements include those related to the development of the statistical systems of countries in the region and those related to the UNECE Database, as well as new data and analysis designed to understand and highlight gender differences.

National labour force surveys

As this report has shown, statistics on women's labour market situation are both important and useful in monitoring progress towards gender equality in the region, but must be placed in the wider context of change within the region. Despite a history of strong national statistical offices in many countries of Eastern Europe, the dramatic changes that have taken place in the region have had an impact both on the availability of data and on the consistency of the data over time. Analysing the economic position of women and men in the region over time and with respect to other countries requires that all countries harmonize their national statistical systems with international and EU frameworks.

With respect to the data requirements for what should be collected in labour force surveys, work in some countries has been undertaken in connection with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), in particular Goal 3 on women's empowerment and gender equality. In countries where the MDGs have become a driving force for development, the application of data needed to measure progress towards their achievement provide a useful starting point for determining the data needed for each indicator.[18] Employment is one of the dimensions used to assess progress towards Goal 3. However, the single indicator on employment - that is, the share of women in non-agricultural wage employment - is widely regarded as insufficient by itself to measure progress. As a result, an additional indicator, on gender gaps in earnings in wage employment and self-employment, has been proposed (Grown et al. 2005),[19] as well as a background indicator on gender differences in the 'structure of employment', which includes status in employment, employment in agriculture and non-agricultural sectors, and formal and informal

[18] Some countries in the region have more strongly endorsed the MDGs than others, and in the context of EU accession, the MDGs might lose some relevance as EU indicators to monitor progress are introduced.

[19] The problems with the indicators were highlighted by the Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality and taken up by the UN Inter-Agency and Expert Group (IAEG) on MDG Indicators. Owing to the complexity of the employment structure indicator, and the limited availability of data, it was proposed not as a new indicator for international monitoring but as a background indicator for monitoring at the national and regional levels.

employment (UNIFEM 2005). To facilitate preparation of the comprehensive set of data based on these indicators, labour force surveys in countries where the MDGs are relevant will need to obtain data on these topics.

With regard to gender gaps in earnings in wage employment and self-employment, the present report has found that the very limited earnings data that can be drawn on shows significant inequality between the earnings of women and those of men (though there has been a decline for some countries). Data on earnings not only for employees but also for the various categories of the self-employed would enhance understanding of the situation of women and men in the labour market and should be considered as a priority topic for data collection in the region.[20]

While the MDGs are an important platform for development, in the context of EU accession, many countries in the region will be aligning their employment and poverty reduction/social inclusion policies to EU legislation and policy as well to EU statistical standards. While this will allow governments to use the EU recommendations and targets, it also points to potential further challenges regarding the analysis of trends. In terms of employment and poverty there are a number of indicators (required to be sex-disaggregated) to measure progress and to allow comparisons between EU member states and countries aspiring for membership, including wage differentials, occupational segregation, undeclared work (informal market), and reconciliation of work and family life among others. In the fight against poverty and social exclusion, an Open Method of Coordination is being applied.[21] Some of the most relevant indicators relate to access of people in poverty and at risk of poverty to employment, health, education, justice, housing and basic services with a focus on ethnic minorities, immigrants, disabled persons, and other groups, among all of which women should be given special attention.

It is particularly important for this region to collect and present information on informal work. Conventional statistics of employment tend to omit or underestimate the number of persons engaged in the informal sector and evidence from this and other regions indicates that informal, like formal, work is highly gendered: women and men work in different segments of the informal economy and their conditions and opportunity structures vary accordingly (WADF and ASA 2005; UNIFEM 2005). Systematic and sex-disaggregated information on informal employment as well as on the conditions of informal work both inside and outside informal enterprises is crucial to fully understand women's economic and employment situation in Eastern Europe.

Data for the region also show gender-based segregation of occupations. While data on occupations are generally collected in labour force surveys, this analysis suggests that often but not always data are available only in highly aggregated categories which mask the full extent of segregation. Data need to be collected and tabulated with sufficient detail to allow for analysis not only of the different occupations that women and men hold but the difference in positions in the occupational hierarchy.

Special gender related topics.

Another set of recommendations suggested by this analysis concerns new data and tabulations on such topics as women and men in decision-making; time-use surveys and the links between work and family life; and migration and trafficking (further work on these topics was also recommended at the 2004 UNECE Work Session on Gender Statistics [ECE Secretariat 2004]). These generally go beyond that produced by national statistical offices and may require data produced by ad hoc statistical surveys (including but not restricted to pilot modules in labour force surveys) or qualitative studies. They may require the national statistical office to prepare new tabulations or they may involve new analysis by outside researchers.

- **Women and men in decision-making:** Studies of women and men in top positions in the economic and political spheres are especially important in this region, where women once were highly represented in public life - even if the positions held little power. The presence or lack of women in administration and management, at the top of large corporations, in banking, in elected or appointed office in government all are important dimensions for measuring how far women have progressed towards equality.
- **The links between employment and family life:** Time use surveys are a unique source of data concerning the links between employment and family life. While many countries in this region have a long history of carrying out time use surveys, both by national statistical offices and research institutions, some countries, particularly in Southeast Europe, have yet to undertake them. These should be done in

[20] However, this indicator should be used carefully as countries with very depressed economies will tend to show a high degree of equality in wages. In Kosovo, for example, a very small gap (5%) has been calculated from recent available data, included in a report supported by UNIFEM.

[21] A voluntary process adopted by EU member states which consists of establishing common objectives and indicators at Community level and translating them into national policies. Note that while employment has been included in the Treaty of the Union and given its own Title, the commitment to fight poverty is less formal and an Open Method of Coordination is used. For more information see http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/social_inclusion/index_en.htm

a way that facilitates analysis of the division of labour in a household and the links between market and unpaid care work performed by men and women.

In addition, labour market statistics should be disaggregated by variables on personal and family situations - age, educational background, marital status and family composition - in order to understand how these affect women's and men's labour force participation and patterns (ILO 2004). This approach has been taken in the European Employment Strategy, where an indicator - 'employment impact of parenthood by gender' - is now in place to monitor the reconciling of work and family life.[22] In 2000, as part of the follow-up to the Beijing Platform for Action, the French Presidency undertook a review of the indicators to monitor the links between employment and family life, on the basis of which nine indicators have been adopted by the Council of Ministers of the EU and will be monitored regularly by EU member states. It is notable that six of the nine suggested time use as a basic unit of measurement.[23] In the CEE and CIS region, data on the employment impact of parenthood is an important first step in identifying patterns, trends and directions for policy action.

- **Migration:** Labour migration became increasingly important in the latter half of the 1990s as increasing economic disparities among countries and regions caused large numbers of people to move from poorer to more prosperous areas. While women are an integral part of the migration streams, both within the region and to countries in the West, the lines between regular and irregular, permanent and temporary and internal and external migration are indistinct and frequently changing, resulting in limited data on migration trends (UNICEF 2004). Improved data on the nature and destination of migration for both women and men, as well as the level of remittances by each, can help provide a fuller understanding of changes in the economic status of women and men. Qualitative research should also be encouraged, particularly to shed light on reasons for migrating and the impact of migration, especially illegal migration, on women, men and children.
- **Trafficking:** As the case study on human trafficking in Albania cited in this report shows, there are clear linkages for women and girls between poverty, lack of economic opportunities, low level of education, domestic violence and increased risk of trafficking

More such studies are needed in order to better inform new strategies and policies to address the root causes and consequences of trafficking.[24]

- **Intersection of gender and other sources of disadvantage:** Class, religion, nationality, race/ethnicity, and geography all intersect with gender to position women in precarious forms of work. Even when sex-disaggregated data are collected on labour market issues, the vast differences that exist among women remain hidden behind aggregate figures. In Eastern Europe, a small percentage of women, mostly highly-qualified young women, managed to take advantage of the changes offered by the social and economic transformations. But many more women are suffering the consequences of privatization and cutbacks in public services and welfare spending. Among them, minorities, such as the Roma, have been particularly hard hit. Minority women's position has not been extensively explored through statistics, even though their social situation is often appallingly difficult, and their rates of poverty and unemployment are significantly higher than those of majority populations. The study of trafficking discussed in Chapter 2 found that many but not all victims of trafficking were rural women of Roma or Egyptian origin who had migrated to cities. Since national statistics often do not distinguish persons by ethnic origin, special surveys or qualitative studies may be needed to understand how these factors interact to affect the economic position of women.
- **The links between employment, gender inequality and poverty:** *Progress of the World's Women 2005* used a new analytic tool to examine the links between employment, gender inequality and poverty (UNIFEM 2005). This method assessed the 'poverty risk' of different employment statuses by sex, linking national labour force and household income surveys. This analysis would be useful in understanding the poverty risks faced by women in the region as compared to men.

The UNECE Gender Statistics Database

The ECE Gender Statistics Database, the main source of data used in preparing this report, proved to be an essential foundation for the analysis. Despite certain limitations and data problems noted earlier, the Database is an important resource for the CEE and CIS region and efforts to strengthen and improve it should continue. Data for the

[22] The latest report of EC's Expert Group on Gender and Employment noted that indicators on gender and employment in the European Employment Strategy, including indicators on reconciliation of work and family life, need to be improved and extended to include other indicators (Rubery et al. 2002).

[23] http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/employment_analysis/gender/indic_gender_equal_in_ees.pdf - p. 123

[24] A recent report noted a 'disconnect' between trafficking prevention strategies and poverty reduction or economic development plans as well as a general lack of focus on trafficking prevention on the part of donors and governments in Southeast Europe (Limanowska 2005).

early years of the transition period, particularly around 1990, need to be reviewed and presented with additional information that affect their comparability. Data on employment rates in general and for different age groups should be provided, especially considering that this is the basic indicator for the European Employment Strategy.[25] Attention should also be given to differences in definitions of who is considered employed as well as differences between rural and urban employment. To the extent to which they are available, data on new topics, such as informal work, poverty or other measurements of social exclusion should be included as well as more comprehensive data on topics such as time use and sectoral and occupational segregation. More also should be done to assess the quality of the data in the Database and to alert users to problems with data quality (recommended also at the 2004 UNECE Work Session on Gender Statistics).

Priorities for Policy and Action

Among the various policy measures that need to be taken to improve the labour market situation of women, three seem important in light of this analysis: improving women's access to decent paid work (affordable childcare and availability of flexible work arrangements that do not exacerbate gender inequality are important in this respect); encouraging women's employment and allowing women and men to better balance work and family life through the use of various tax-benefit schemes; and adopting transparent job evaluation and wage setting mechanisms that help create standards for equal pay for comparable work.

Improving access to decent paid work

Despite variations across countries covered in this report in terms of the level of women's labour force participation, in every country there are substantially fewer women in paid occupations now than before the beginning of transition. While working for pay is not by itself the path to gender equality, as the experience with state socialism showed, women's inability to work outside the home critically affects power relations and gender inequality throughout society. Even though work opportunities are scarce for everyone, there are a number of ways in which women's access to work can be improved and the proportion of 'discouraged workers' among women reduced. These include, but are not limited to:

- **Childcare:** As long as women are the primary caretakers of children, without widely available, quality and affordable childcare, their labour force participation will never approximate that of men, especially in poor households. Most countries in this report have attempted to provide some childcare services for children over three years of age, but services for younger children are scarce everywhere. This is partly due to the state-socialist legacy of long parental leaves, but it is also a financial issue: subsidizing care for small children is expensive. Not only are state subsidies scarce, public opinion usually frowns on mothers who put young children in care. There are many things policy-makers could do to improve childcare options, including increasing funding for childcare, lowering the age of public school entry, providing state incentives to companies for building and maintaining nursery schools and increasing the prestige and professional training of teachers of young children.
- **Flexibility:** Currently, very few women work part time in Eastern Europe, but this practice is about to change as more governments introduce incentives for employers to allow part-time work options. While researchers debate the long-term consequences of part-time work for gender equality, they all agree the conditions and quality of part-time work must be strictly regulated in a way that provides equal access to well-paid jobs and guarantees equal treatment with those working full-time in terms of pay, benefits and promotion, as well as the possibility of easily shifting from one arrangement to the other. Labour policies in Eastern European countries are currently at risk of encouraging part-time work options without these stipulations, and thus exacerbating gender inequality in the labour markets in both the long and short term. Other flexible working arrangements can be promoted that allow a better reconciliation of work and family life.

Benefits

Tax-benefit systems in the region have various effects on women's labour market behaviour. On the one hand, income taxes are still assessed on individuals within marriage (which is positive in that it makes the decision to participate in the labour market independent of the conditions and income of one's partner or spouse), while at the same time access to childcare and other social services that support women's labour market participation have been reduced. In addition, lengthy parental leaves have been identified as one of the obstacles that continue to have a negative impact on female labour market participation from

[25] Available at http://europa.eu.int/growthandjobs/areas/fiche08_en.htm. The revamped Lisbon strategy employment targets include overall employment rate (2004: 63%, target 2010: 70%); female employment rate (2004: 55%, target 2010: 60%); employment rate for workers over 55 (2004: 40%, target 2010: 50%)

the demand side as employers are often dissatisfied with the additional burden that long leaves represent on their businesses. Using the tax-benefit system to compensate employers while also encouraging re-entry options, training and part-time or flexible work opportunities for those on lengthy leaves is one of the ways to address the potential negative impacts of such leaves. Another option is to use the tax-benefit system to create incentives for men to take paternity leaves and to make more use of leaves provided to parents to deal with children's care needs. While such benefits for caregivers are important for both women and men, the high level of informal employment in the region means that changes in the tax-benefit system may have limited effects. This underlines the importance of more extensive data on this type of work in order to better understand its context as well as to design specific policies to reduce its incidence.

Transparent job evaluation and wage-setting schemes

Job segregation is common all over Eastern Europe, and is a key reason for the sizeable wage gap between men and women. Women's jobs and skills are often valued less than men's and women's lower pay is seen as a natural consequence of their educational and career 'choices'. A mechanism for evaluating pay scales and job categories across the board can bring significant improvement for women in this regard, yet this has rarely been attempted in the countries studied. Studies are needed first to assess the potential of job evaluation and introduce the principle of 'comparable worth' in setting wages. These should be followed by state policies that offer incentives for private companies to abide by these mechanisms. Such measures could potentially lower the wage and status gap between male- and female-dominated occupations.

Eastern European women and men faced many challenges in the past decade and a half as their countries went through a second major social and economic transformation in less than half a century. Yet, the social upheavals also opened up space for new and creative policy making. In trying to bring about more equal opportunities policy makers in many transition countries have now had experience with policies that have and have not been successful. New resources as well as past experience should now be put to work to reduce gender inequalities not through a 'leveling down' process, but by directly improving women's positions, which will contribute to a healthier and more prosperous social and economic environment for all.

Sales clerk in Serbia and Montenegro. Photo:George Georgiou/Panos

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APPENDIX

Table 2.4e Economic Activity Rate for Women and Men (% of population aged 35-39)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2004	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	95.4*	98.0	89.0	97.4	86.7	97.3	86.7	96.6
Estonia	92.7	97.0	89.3	92.3	85.3	92.1	82.1	92.1
Hungary	85.2	93.6	87.3	99.1	75.2	88.2	74.4	90.3
Latvia	95.9*	98.1	-	-	86.8	91.3	85.6	91.3
Lithuania	93.7*	97.4	94.3**	99.3	89.4	92.3	89.3	93.1
Poland	-	-	83.3	93.8	82.4	94.1	83.3	93.8
Slovakia	93.1	97.9	89.8	97.2	88.7	96.2	88.7	96.6
Slovenia	88.9*	93.5	96.8	95.2	93.2	94.6	91.4	96.1
SEE								
Bulgaria	88.6*	85.3	91.4	90.5	82.9	87.0	83.2	87.5
Croatia	81.0*	96.4	-	-	-	-	80.3	90.6
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	67.1	87.8	-	-
Romania	73.7	82.6	87.0	97.1	81.4	92.9	78.9	92.4
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	-	-	93.9***	94.5	-	-
Moldova	94.5*	97.4	-	-	81.8	87.8	-	-
Russian Federation	95.6*	97.8	81.7	85.1	79.6	84.4	-	-
Ukraine	95.1*	97.8	90.1	89.5	87.6	93.2	-	-

**Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), 1991 (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Croatia), 1989 (Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Russian Federation, Ukraine). **Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania). ***Data for 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus). Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Table 2.4f Economic Activity Rate for Women and Men (% of population aged 45-49)

Country	1990		1995		2000		2004	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	93.4*	95.5	90.6	94.3	91.0	94.7	90.1	93.5
Estonia	97.8	98.0	91.2	91.0	87.6	85.1	92.0	86.1
Hungary	82.5	89.0	73.2	79.1	75.6	80.2	75.4	80.7
Latvia	94.9*	96.2	-	-	86.1	82.2	85.8	89.8
Lithuania	91.2*	95.3	99.8**	94.9	88.9	89.2	91.4	89.1
Poland	-	-	78.4	84.9	78.6	84.4	78.7	83.8
Slovakia	88.7	94.8	84.3	90.9	89.4	93.1	90.1	92.0
Slovenia	78.8*	86.5	89.5	98.3	82.3	89.3	86.2	89.7
SEE								
Bulgaria	96.8*	101.9	89.9	93.3	83.1	84.2	82.0	81.4
Croatia	66.0*	92.2	-	-	-	-	75.4	85.4
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	60.3	87.3	-	-
Romania	-	-	78.9	89.2	75.4	89.7	72.5	88.1
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	-	-	87.8***	86.4	-	-
Moldova	90.8*	95.2	-	-	91.1	93.7	-	-
Russian Federation	93.7*	95.8	97.2	99.1	81.4	83.4	-	-
Ukraine	93.3*	95.6	-	-	84.0	87.9	-	-

**Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), 1991 (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Croatia), 1989 (Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Russian Federation, Ukraine). **Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania). ***Data for 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus). Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Table 4.1a Women's Employment in Public and Private Sectors (as % of female employment)

Country	1990			1995			2000			2001		
	public sector	private sector	not stated	public sector	private sector	not stated	public sector	private sector	not stated	public sector	private sector	not stated
EU-8												
Czech Republic	83.4	16.6	0.0	30.9	69.1	0.0	29.8	70.2	0.0	-	-	-
Estonia	78.7	21.2	0.0	44.1	55.9	0.0	37.0	63.0	0.0	35.8	64.2	0.0
Latvia	-	-	-	59.5**	39.1	1.4	43.4	55.5	1.1	40.6	58.5	0.9
Lithuania	-	-	-	39.4**	60.6	0.0	42.1	57.9	0.0	43.2	56.8	0.0
Poland	51.7*	48.3	0.0	47.3	52.7	0.0	40.1	59.9	0.0	-	-	-
Slovakia	81.9	18.1	0.0	47.5	52.5	0.0	44.7	55.3	0.0	-	-	-
Slovenia	-	-	-	33.8	63.1	3.1	35.9	62.1	2.0	36.6	61.5	1.9
SEE												
Albania	-	-	-	-	-	-	18.0	82.0	0.0	18.5	81.5	0.0
Bulgaria	80.1*	19.8	0.1	75.1	24.6	0.3	49.9	49.6	0.5	43.1	56.3	0.7
Croatia	-	-	-	-	-	-	47.3	52.7	0.0	41.6	58.4	0.0
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.8	55.2	0.0	54.0	46.0	0.0
Romania	-	-	-	56.1	42.6	1.3	70.4	24.5	5.1	-	-	-
Serbia & Montenegro	-	-	-	57.7	32.0	10.3	51.8	34.4	13.8	49.7	36.3	14.0
Western CIS												
Moldova	-	-	-	-	-	-	29.1	70.9	0.0	26.0	74.0	0.0
Ukraine	-	-	-	-	-	-	79.7	20.2	0.1	76.8	23.1	0.1

** Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), or 1992 (Poland). ** Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Table 4.1b Men's Employment in Public and Privates Sectors (as % of male employment)

Country	1990			1995			2000			2001		
	public sector	private sector	not stated	public sector	private sector	not stated	public sector	private sector	not stated	public sector	private sector	not stated
EU-8												
Czech Republic	76.6	23.4	0.0	19.3	80.7	0.0	14.7	85.3	0.0	-	-	-
Estonia	70.1	29.9	0.0	34.3	65.7	0.0	21.0	79.0	0.0	22.0	78.0	0.0
Latvia	-	-	-	46.1**	51.9	2.0	28.9	69.5	1.6	27.4	71.5	1.2
Lithuania	-	-	-	28.2**	71.7	0.0	24.8	75.2	0.0	23.9	76.1	0.0
Poland	48.7*	51.3	0.0	42.0	58.0	0.0	29.8	70.2	0.0	-	-	-
Slovakia	76.5	23.5	0.0	29.4	70.6	0.0	24.9	75.1	0.0	-	-	-
Slovenia	-	-	-	29.6	66.6	3.9	24.7	72.4	2.9	24.2	73.1	2.7
SEE												
Albania	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.8	82.2	0.0	17.3	82.7	0.0
Bulgaria	75.1*	24.7	0.1	67.2	32.5	0.2	41.8	57.7	0.5	37.2	62.3	0.5
Croatia	-	-	-	-	-	-	41.3	58.7	0.0	39.5	60.5	0.0
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	-	-	43.4	56.6	0.0	48.8	51.2	0.0
Romania	-	-	-	41.5	56.7	1.8	64.2	28.0	7.8	-	-	-
Serbia & Montenegro	-	-	-	62.4	28.4	9.2	54.3	33.4	12.2	48.5	37.8	13.7
Western CIS												
Moldova	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.9	78.1	0.0	19.9	80.1	0.0
Ukraine	-	-	-	-	-	-	79.6	20.2	0.2	75.4	24.4	0.2

** Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), or 1992 (Poland). ** Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Table 4.1c Private/Public Sector Segregation, Proportion of Women in Total for Each Sector

Country	1990			1995			2000			2001		
	public sector	private sector	total	public sector	private sector	total	public sector	private sector	total	public sector	private sector	total
EU-8												
Czech Republic	46.3	36.1	44.3	56.3	40.7	44.5	62.1	40.0	44.8	-	-	-
Estonia	51.3	39.9	48.4	54.5	44.3	48.3	63.1	43.5	49.2	61.1	44.3	49.1
Latvia	-	-	-	54.1**	40.8	47.7	58.6	43.0	48.6	59.2	44.5	49.4
Lithuania	-	-	-	55.6**	43.2	47.4	62.8	43.5	49.9	64.8	43.1	50.3
Poland	46.6*	43.6	45.1	48.2	42.2	45.3	52.3	41.0	44.9	-	-	-
Slovakia	46.2	38.2	44.5	53.1	34.2	41.2	56.6	34.9	42.1	-	-	-
Slovenia	-	-	-	49.8	45.1	46.4	54.6	41.5	45.3	55.5	40.9	45.1
SEE												
Albania	-	-	-	-	-	-	40.2	39.9	40.0	42.0	39.9	40.3
Bulgaria	48.2*	41.1	46.6	50.0	40.4	47.2	51.1	42.9	46.7	51.7	45.4	48.0
Croatia	-	-	-	-	-	-	48.7	42.7	45.4	45.7	43.5	44.4
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	-	-	39.0	37.7	38.2	42.8	37.9	40.4
Romania	-	-	-	53.5	39.0	46.0	48.7	43.1	46.4	-	-	-
Serbia & Montenegro	-	-	-	40.6	45.5	42.5	42.0	43.8	43.2	42.4	40.8	41.8
Western CIS												
Moldova	-	-	-	-	-	-	57.7	48.2	50.7	57.6	48.9	50.9
Ukraine	-	-	-	-	-	-	48.6	48.6	48.6	49.2	47.4	48.7

** Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), or 1992 (Poland). ** Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Table 4.2a Employment by Sector of Activity, Women (as % of female employment)

Country	1995			2000			2003		
	agricultural sector	industrial sector	services sector	agricultural sector	industrial sector	services sector	agricultural sector	industrial sector	services sector
EU-8									
Czech Republic	5.5	30.8	63.7	3.7	27.5	68.7	3.2	27.0	69.8
Estonia	7.8	26.6	65.7	4.6	23.9	71.5	3.9	22.7	73.4
Hungary	4.7	24.8	70.6	3.3	25.0	71.7	2.6	23.5	73.9
Latvia	13.5*	20.2	66.3	12.5	18.2	69.3	10.0	18.0	72.0
Lithuania	17.9*	21.5	60.6	15.1	20.3	64.6	14.6	21.7	63.8
Poland	22.5	21.0	56.6	18.3	19.0	62.7	17.6	17.2	65.2
Slovakia	6.4	28.6	65.0	4.0	25.5	70.5	3.5	25.7	70.7
Slovenia	10.8	33.7	55.5	10.0	28.3	60.9	8.0	26.7	64.5
SEE									
Bulgaria	10.6*	30.5	58.8	8.1	28.2	63.3	7.6	28.6	63.8
Croatia	21.2*	21.1	57.7	15.3	19.9	64.6	17.6	18.8	63.5
Romania	46.2	24.3	29.5	45.6	21.1	33.4	37.3	24.9	37.8
Western CIS									
Belarus	14.4	33.4	52.2	11.4	30.1	58.5			
Moldova	-	-	-	49.8	10.2	40.0	41.7	11.9	46.3
Russian Federation	8.7	22.0	46.0	9.9	21.1	49.8	8.4	22.4	69.2
Ukraine	-	-	-	17.9	24.1	58.0	16.8	21.2	62.0

**Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Bulgaria, Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia, Croatia).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Table 4.2b Employment by Sector of Activity, Men (as % of male employment)

Country	1995			2000			2003		
	agricultural sector	industrial sector	services sector	agricultural sector	industrial sector	services sector	agricultural sector	industrial sector	services sector
EU-8									
Czech Republic	7.4	50.5	42.0	6.3	49.6	44.1	5.5	49.4	45.0
Estonia	12.5	41.4	46.2	9.7	42.4	47.9	8.5	41.8	49.7
Hungary	10.7	38.8	50.5	8.8	41.4	49.8	7.6	41.7	50.6
Latvia	20.3*	33.9	45.8	16.4	34.4	49.2	17.1	35.6	47.3
Lithuania	23.2*	34.8	42.1	22.4	33.6	44.0	21.2	34.5	44.2
Poland	22.7	41.0	36.2	19.1	40.5	40.4	19.1	38.0	42.8
Slovakia	11.4	47.1	41.4	8.9	47.2	43.8	7.7	49.0	43.2
Slovenia	10.4	51.4	38.3	9.7	45.8	43.3	8.7	46.5	44.0
SEE									
Bulgaria	13.9*	41.1	44.9	38.2	37.5	48.4	12.3	36.6	51.0
Croatia	18.8*	35.9	45.2	13.9	36.3	49.9	16.2	38.5	45.2
Romania	35.3	36.6	28.1	41.2	31.2	27.6	34.8	34.3	30.9
Western CIS									
Belarus	27.5	42.2	30.3	22.2	42.7	35.1	-	-	-
Moldova	-	-	-	52.0	17.7	30.3	44.3	20.4	35.3
Russian Federation	15.2	29.2	23.6	13.0	32.6	26.9	13.7	38.6	47.7
Ukraine	-	-	-	22.9	38.3	38.8	20.9	38.3	40.8

**Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Bulgaria, Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia, Croatia). Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Table 4.3a Employment Status: Employers Only

Country	1990		1995		2000		2003	
	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	-	-	24.1	75.9	23.1	76.8	22.4	77.6
Estonia	17.3	82.7	26.8	73.9	34.3	74.3	36.0	70.0
Hungary	31.1*	68.9	23.5	76.5	26.5	73.6	26.7	73.5
Latvia	-	-	27.4	72.6	29.1	70.9	29.3	71.7
Lithuania	-	-	37.9**	62.1	37.5	64.3	28.7	71.3
Poland	29.4*	70.8	31.3	68.7	31.5	68.6	29.8	70.2
Slovakia	-	-	24.5	75.5	-	-	-	-
Slovenia	-	-	65.9	34.1	24.0	76.0	26.1	73.9
SEE								
Bulgaria	20.5*	79.5	25.0	74.9	24.5	75.1	25.9	74.1
Croatia	-	-	28.5**	71.5	28.6	71.5	-	-
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	16.4	83.6	-	-
Romania	-	-	27.4	72.6	23.0	77.0	25.4	74.6
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	-	-	19.9***	80.1	-	-
Moldova	-	-	-	-	16.2	82.5	33.8	66.2
Russian Federation	-	-	19.3	80.7	26.3	73.7	-	-
Ukraine	-	-	-	-	25.6	74.4	-	-

Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria). Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Lithuania). ***Data for 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus). Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Table 4.3b Employment Status: Own-Account Workers Only

Country	1990		1995		2000		2003	
	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men
EU-8								
Czech Republic	-	-	29.8	70.2	29.4	70.6	28.5	71.5
Estonia	25.4	72.9	24.8	75.2	35.0	63.3	32.7	68.4
Hungary	35.7*	64.3	32.4	67.6	31.6	68.5	32.5	67.5
Latvia	-	-	38.5	61.5	47.7	52.3	42.5	58.1
Lithuania	-	-	-	-	38.9	60.2	38.6	61.2
Poland	41.7*	58.3	39.6	60.4	37.5	62.5	36.8	63.2
Slovakia	-	-	24.9	75.0	-	-	-	-
Slovenia	-	-	28.3	71.7	28.0	72.4	25.1	74.9
SEE								
Bulgaria	37.7*	62.3	36.3	63.7	34.7	65.3	34.4	65.3
Croatia	-	-	35.7**	64.3	34.6	65.4	-	-
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	21.6	78.4	-	-
Romania	-	-	43.1	56.9	32.4	67.6	30.3	69.7
Western CIS								
Belarus	-	-	-	-	37.1***	62.9	-	-
Moldova	-	-	-	-	50.1	49.9	48.4	51.6
Russian Federation	-	-	35.0	65.0	49.8	50.2	-	-
Ukraine	-	-	-	-	52.7	47.3	-	-

** Data for 1990 refer to 1993 (Bulgaria), or 1992 (Poland, Hungary). ** Data for 1995 refer to 1996 (Croatia).*

**** Data for 2000 refer to 1999 (Belarus). Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Table 4.4a Employment, ISCO 88_1, Legislators, Senior Officials, Managers, as % of Female/Male Employment

Country	1995		2000		2003	
	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment
EU-8						
Czech Republic	3.8	8.0	3.5	8.3	3.7	7.9
Estonia	8.7	14.1	9.5	15.7	8.4	15.0
Hungary	4.4	6.9	5.2	8.3	5.2	8.4
Latvia	6.7*	10.2	7.9	12.7	7.3	10.6
Lithuania	8.4*	13.4	7.0	9.7	5.9	9.1
Poland	4.7	7.3	4.4	7.5	4.5	7.3
Slovakia	3.2	6.9	4.2	7.7	4.5	7.1
Slovenia	2.6	6.0	4.7	9.2	4.5	7.6
SEE						
Bulgaria	3.2*	7.0	3.9	8.2	5.0	10.1
Croatia	3.4	9.5	3.6	9.3	3.2	7.3
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	3.2	5.8
Romania	1.5	3.2	1.2	3.1	1.7	3.1
Western CIS						
Moldova	-	-	2.2	4.5	3.7	5.9
Russian Federation	5.0*	7.5	3.0	5.1	5.3	8.0
Ukraine	-	-	5.3	8.9	5.7	8.5

** Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Bulgaria, Russian Federation, Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia). Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Table 4.4b Employment, ISCO 88_2, Professionals, as % of Female/Male Employment

Country	1995		2000		2003	
	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment
EU-8						
Czech Republic	11.3	8.0	12.8	9.1	11.8	9.0
Estonia	15.5	8.9	19.0	7.7	18.1	9.8
Hungary	13.5	8.6	15.2	9.0	15.7	10.1
Latvia	17.8*	6.6	16.3	6.6	14.5	7.8
Lithuania	17.6*	6.9	20.7	8.2	21.2	9.5
Poland	13.4	6.2	14.7	7.3	16.1	8.6
Slovakia	12.5	6.8	13.8	7.1	13.4	6.9
Slovenia	11.3	7.4	13.9	7.8	17.2	9.7
SEE						
Bulgaria	13.9*	8.0	16.2	8.5	16.6	7.6
Croatia	12.1	8.0	11.3	7.6	11.3	7.5
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	13.9	8.5
Romania	6.2	6.1	6.8	6.1	8.1	7.0
Western CIS						
Moldova	-	-	10.9	6.5	13.3	8.3
Russian Federation	20.3*	11.6	20.0	11.8	20.2	11.8
Ukraine	-	-	17.3	8.8	17.1	9.6

** Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Bulgaria, Russian Federation, Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia).Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Table 4.4c Employment, ISCO 88_2, Legislators, Senior Officials, Managers

Country	1995		2000		2003	
	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men
EU-8						
Czech Republic	26.8	73.2	24.9	75	26.9	73.1
Estonia	36.6	63.6	37	63	35	65
Hungary	33.8	66.2	33.8	66.1	34.4	65.8
Latvia	37.5	62.5	37.4	62.6	40	60.6
Lithuania	35.8*	64.2	43.3	57.6	38.9	61.3
Poland	34.7	65.3	32.5	67.4	33.9	66.1
Slovakia	27.4	72.6	31.6	68.2	34.8	65.4
Slovenia	27.2	72.8	30.4	69.6	33.3	66.7
SEE						
Bulgaria	28.5*	71.5	29.5	70.9	30.6	69.4
Croatia	22.6	77.4	24.7	75.4	25.9	74
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	26.8	73.2
Romania	28.2	71.8	26	74.1	31.2	68.8
Western CIS						
Moldova	-	-	33.2	66.8	39.5	60.7
Russian Federation	37.5*	62.5	35.2	64.8	38.7	61.4
Ukraine	-	-	36.1	63.9	39	61

** Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Bulgaria, Russian Federation, Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia).*

Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database

Table 4.4d Employment, ISCO 88_2, Professionals

Country	1995		2000		2003	
	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men	women as % of women and men	men as % of women and men
EU-8						
Czech Republic	52.4	47.6	52.3	47.7	50.2	49.8
Estonia	62	38	70.5	29.5	63.7	36
Hungary	55.4	44.6	58.1	41.9	56.8	43.1
Latvia	71.1*	29	70.4	29.6	64	36.3
Lithuania	69.6*	34	72.6	27.7	68.6	31.5
Poland	64.2	35.8	62.2	37.8	60.8	39.2
Slovakia	59.7	40.3	62	37.7	62.1	37.9
Slovenia	57	43	60.3	39.4	59.8	40.4
SEE						
Bulgaria	60.4*	39.6	62.7	37.3	66	34.1
Croatia	55.5	44.5	55.4	44.7	54.9	45.1
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	52.2	47.8
Romania	46.2	53.8	49.7	50.3	49	51.1
Western CIS						
Moldova	-	-	63.1	36.9	62.8	37.2
Russian Federation	61.1*	38.9	61.3	38.7	62	38
Ukraine	-	-	65	35	63.2	36.8

** Data for 1995 refer to 1997 (Bulgaria, Russian Federation, Lithuania), or 1996 (Latvia). Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database*

Table 4.6 Part-time Employment, as % of Female/Male Employment

Country	1995		2000		2003	
	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment	women as % of female employment	men as % of male employment
EU-8						
Czech Republic	10.3	3.0	9.1	2.2	8.5	2.3
Estonia	9.7	6.0	10.9	5.4	11.7	5.4
Hungary	4.3	1.6	4.9	1.7	5.8	2.4
Latvia	12.3*	11.8	12.9	9.7	12.7	7.9
Lithuania	11.5*	8.6	11.1	9.2	11.8	7.4
Poland	13.3	8.3	13.4	8.2	13.2	8.2
Slovakia	3.7	1.1	3.0	1.0	3.7	1.3
Slovenia	6.7	4.8	7.8	5.3	7.5	5.2
SEE						
Bulgaria	1.0	0.7	1.0	0.6	2.5	1.8
Croatia	-	-	11.4	7.4	-	-
FYR Macedonia	-	-	-	-	-	1.4
Romania	19.4	10.4	18.6	14.6	12.2	10.9
Serbia & Montenegro	2.2	1.2	0.5	0.4	-	-
Western CIS						
Moldova	-	-	2.6	1.3	-	-
Russian Federation	7.2	2.2	9.7	4.8	-	-
Ukraine	-	-	3.5	2.2	-	-
EU 15	31.0	5.2	33.2	6.1	33.9	6.7

**Data for 1995 refer to 1996 (Latvia) and 1997 (Lithuania) Source: UNECE Gender Statistics Database; European Commission, Employment in Europe 2005*