

Labour conditions at Furshet supermarkets in Ukraine

How employee rights have been shaping up since the start of EBRD financial support



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Introduction

2007 the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (hereafter, the EBRD) provided a USD 90 million loan to the second largest supermarket operator in Ukraine - the "Furshet Group" - for the regional expansion of its chain in Ukraine and Moldova¹. With 58 supermarkets in 2007, the retail network has grown to to 98, with 4 new stores to be opened in the nearest future2 in Ukraine, and 9 in Moldova. The retail network thus covers the majority of the regions in Ukraine.

The aim of this research was to examine labour/gender conditions at supermarkets in respect of employee rights and discrimination at work. Two regions were chosen for the research – the Kyiv and Donets'k regions, comprising of Donets'k and Makiyivka supermarkets. The retail chain started in Kyiv, so there are supermarkets in Kyiv that have been in operation since 1998 and also new ones, while in Donets'k the expansion of Furshet started only in 2007 and the supermarket chain is a relative newcomer.

The regions of focus are economically different - Kyiv as the capital hosts the

majority of the companies offices, has the full variety of industries (light industries, food and beverage, construction, hightech), and is highly advanced in services, while the economy of the Donets'k region relies mostly on coal mining, metallurgy and the chemical industry. Donets'k is the leading Ukrainian region for Gross regional product (GRP) figures, while it lags behind the country's integral Development Index (HDI) that includes life expectancy, education and health care indicators. Kyiv is on the average level in terms of HDI. 4 000 UAH is the average Ukrainian index for yearly tax payments per person; in Donets'k this stands at 4 300 UAH while in Kyiv it reaches 19 700 UAH3. Overall unemployment levels are much higher in Donets'k than in Kyiv.

The purpose of this research is to cover the issues related to working conditions at Furshet supermarkets such as labour conditions in general, employment conditions, working hours and the rewards system, discrimination practices (including gender discrimination), labour safety and occupational health, and trade unions at supermarkets.

^{1 &}lt;a href="http://ebrd.org/new/pressrel/2007/071220c.htm">http://ebrd.org/new/pressrel/2007/071220c.htm and http://ebrd.org/projects/psd/psd2006/34819.htm

² Furshet Group official website: http://www.furshet.ua/index.php?modules=33

³ Interview with A. Tkachuk, Deputy Minister for the Regional Development and Construction. http://www.ukrinform.ua/ukr/order/?id=870836

An overview of the legislation and the situation vis-a-vis gender relations within the labour market in Ukraine was carried out. Most of the findings resulted from observation, focus-group discussions in the Kyiv and Donets'k regions (January-February 2010), and then verification by interviews with the supermarkets' management, trade union representatives and labour inspection.

While there is no trade union in the Furshet supermarket chain, we interviewed the trade union representatives who have work experience in the retail chains as well as the head of the Auchan trade union. Taking into account that Furshet Group is a shareholder of Auchan Ukraine (with 19 percent of the shares), both chains might possibly have common organisational features and have influence on their developments.

The most positive finding in respect to employee rights at the researched supermarkets was the observance of basic labour rights: the right to work and right to be paid for the work done. Salary is paid on a more or less regular basis and respondents believe it is an advantage of the available work at the supermarket (compared to other options).

However, even the right to receive a salary is often not fully observed: 1) the level of salaries is equal or differs slightly, not taking into account the level of responsibility of the position and the workload; 2) overtime hours, work on days off, and extra work that is not included in the job description are not compensated at

a satisfactory level, as required by law; 3) the widely used system of internal penalties (fines) is not transparent, not regulated by collective agreement and allows space for management manipulation of salaries.

The level of the respondents' satisfaction with employment conditions (total assessment of emotional atmosphere, workload and salary) can be assessed as "minimum sufficient" level of satisfaction of basic needs.

Satisfaction with employment conditions differs in the regions, as the supermarkets' personnel in Kyiv are much more satisfied with their jobs (and salaries) than the personnel of the supermarkets in Donets'k and Makiyivka.

At the same time, the right to have a collective agreement with the employer and to obtain full and correct information about duties at work is significantly violated.

It is important to note that, in general, employee rights in Donets'k are much more abused than in Kyiv.

Gender discrimination: rights are equally abused in respect of both men and women who work at the researched supermarkets. First of all, this concerns occupational health and standard rules applicable to heavy lifting. Most supermarket employees are females⁴.

The general deficiency of personnel in Donets'k/Makiyivka due to the low salary

⁴ FGD data are not official statistics.

level mentioned during Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), including loaders, results in an excessive load of lifting heavy objects both for women and men who have other positions.

There is age discrimination in employment related to the reluctance of the supermarkets to employ workers 2–3 years below the retirement age in Kyiv, with less discrimination in Donets'k and Makiyivka (due to low salaries and less competition for the proposed positions).

Employee rights violations revealed in the research are caused by several factors, as revealed by the FGDs:

- Employees are poorly aware of their own rights that are protected under Ukrainian laws;
- The management neglect their obligation to duly inform the employees about their duties and often violate employee rights using this ignorance and lack of resistance;
- Informal connections in the team are an important factor that regulates work relations. Employees avoid "spoiling relations" with the management as it may worsen work conditions and/or decrease salaries;
- Constant lack of personnel and personnel turnover policy supported by the management increases the vulnerability of

personnel and the number of violations. The consequences of such policy include an excessive workload and the absence of the possibility/desire to protect the employees own rights.

Supermarket teams do not have formal possibilities to protect employee rights, as there are no trade unions or other relevant unions – at least, employees have no information about such unions. On the other hand, the formation of such unions is hampered by personnel turnover and a fear of losing jobs.

No sexual harassment cases were mentioned, but it is evident that there is no procedure and department/person appointed to appeal in case there is such a necessity.

The personnel are not aware of the Best Practices Code and do not have information about the company's Corporate Social Responsibility policy, and they do not see their impact on their conditions of work at the supermarket.

Chapter 1

Background

First of all, all projects financed by the EBRD must be socially and environmentally friendly, protect the rights of employees and local people, and be developed and enforced pursuant to international practices and national laws.

The EBRD's policies and priorities are based on environmental and social development aspects. Special focus should be given to a just and non-discriminative attitude towards employees and their equal rights and opportunities. The EBRD's documents insist on avoiding "making employment decisions on the basis of personal characteristics, such as gender, race, nationality, ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, unrelated to inherent job requirements"⁵.

Thus, the EBRD requires compliance with the principles of equality and a just attitude to personnel in all aspects of work relations (recruiting and employment, recurrent training, career-making, resignation, retirement, and occupational discipline).

1.1 International laws on gender equality and labour rights

Ukraine has ratified key international documents that provide for equal rights and opportunities for men and women and has defined gender equality as an important step for further development and one of the priorities of the state policy. Gender equality is a component of equality and equal opportunities. A democratic society must provide equal opportunities for both men and women to be involved in all spheres of life.

A range of international legal documents that are intended to protect the equality of gender rights and opportunities should also be enforceable in Ukraine. Within the international scope, gender relations are governed by documents that prohibit any actions of the state and the people that limit human rights and opportunities in all spheres of social life, including the labour market.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the

⁵ The EBRD Environmental and Social Policy (Performance Requirements of May 12, 2008 valid from November 12, 2008). [Electronic source]. – Page 29.

European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the ILO's Discrimination Convention – all of these insist on human equality irrespective of gender, ethnic or social origin, income, language, religion, political or other beliefs.

Ukraine has acceded to the Convention on Elimination of ΑII the Forms οf Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and thereby committed to gradually establishing gender equality in Ukrainian society. Article 11 of the Convention covers employment discrimination against women and emphasises that women and men must have the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment, the right to egual remuneration and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work, the right to social security, and to safety in working conditions. The article puts a separate focus on preventing discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity.

As Ukraine has also joined the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, it is required to file reports on its progress in eliminating discrimination against women every four years. The last reports from Ukraine (State Report and Alternative Report filed by NGOs) were submitted in 2007–2008. Both reports acknowledge that employment problems are still pressing in Ukraine, and that the country needs to improve its mechanisms to provide equal rights and

opportunities. The State Report says that "one of the key problems is unemployment of people that are able to work, where 70% are women; women's average salary is almost three times lower; scientists expect that after 20 to 30 years women's pension will be 40–45% of men's pension"⁶. The Alternative Report prepared by NGOs focuses on⁷:

- employment discrimination against women on the basis of age, marital status, and physical status;
- 2. low salary, if compared to men;
- the limited range of jobs where employers specify the desired employee's gender;
- 4. the absence of penalty for the above forms of discrimination;
- 5. the existence of "male" and "female" occupational areas etc.

Pursuant to the Millennium Development Goals defined at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000 and expected to be achieved by 2015, one of Ukraine's six goals was "to ensure gender equality"⁸.

- 6 Report of Execution of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in Ukraine / [L.E. Leontyeva, A.V. Tolstokorova et al]. - Kharkov: Folio, 2007. - 79 pages.
- 7 Alternative Report of Execution of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in Ukraine / [Consortium of Ukrainian Women; edited by O. Yarosh]. K., 2008. Pages 32-35.
- 8 Execution of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in Ukraine / [V. Tantsyura, L. Kobelyanska, A. Taran et al.]. K.: Ukrainian State Committee on Family and Youth, Un Development Program, 2003. 189 pages.

Target 2 of this goal is to "Halve the gap in incomes between men and women" by 2015. The goals include ten indicators – the key indicators are referenced in Table 1 (see Appendix).

The goals are aimed at gender quality in the political sphere and in the labour market in Ukraine. Thus, Ukraine has defined two specific problems in gender relations and established specific solution indicators.

1.2 National laws on gender equality, labour rights and trade unions in Ukraine

The Constitution of Ukraine (of June 28, 1996), Title II "Human and Citizen's Rights, Freedoms and Duties", article guarantees equal rights and freedoms to all citizens, and says that "there shall be no privileges or restrictions based on race, skin color, political, religious, and other beliefs, gender, ethnic and social origin, property status, place of residence, linguistic or other characteristics"9. The equality of gender rights is achieved by "providing women with opportunities equal to those of men ... in work and remuneration for it; by taking special measures for the protection of work

Article 36 of the Ukrainian Constitution says that "Citizens shall have the right to take

part in trade unions with the purpose of protecting their labour and socio-economic rights and interests. Trade unions shall be public organisations uniting citizens bound by common interests in accordance with the nature of their professional activity. Trade unions shall be formed without prior permission on the basis of the free choice of their members. All trade unions shall have equal rights". 10

The Ukrainian Labour Code, article 2-1, specifies that the state "ensures the equality of labour rights of all citizens irrespective of their origin, social status and income, race and nationality, gender, language, political religious beliefs, views, occupation, residence and other characteristics"11. The Ukrainian Labour Code also defines the general rights of trade unions to represent employee rights, and defines the applicable areas, i.e. production, work, everyday life and culture. 12 Ukraine has also approved some legal acts to achieve equal rights and opportunities for men and women, including the Law of Ukraine on Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men (of September 8, 2005)¹³, and the State Program of Gender Equality in Ukrainian Society till 2010.14

⁹ Constitution of Ukraine dated June 28, 1996 [Electronic source] / Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. -Mode of access: http://portal.rada.gov.ua

¹⁰ See above.

¹¹ Code of Labour Laws of Ukraine dated 10.12.71 BBP N 322-VIII [Electronic source] / Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. - Mode of access: http://portal.rada.gov.ua

¹² See above.

¹³ Law of Ukraine on Equal Rights for Women and Men dated September 8, 2005. No 2866-IV [Electronic source] / Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. - Mode of access: http://portal.rada.gov.ua

¹⁴ Ruling of Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers On Approval of the State Program of Gender Equality in Ukrainian Society till 2012, dated December 27, 2006 No.

The Law of Ukraine on Equal Rights for Women and Men, Section IV "Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men in Social and Economic Area", regulates the gender aspects of the establishment of equal rights and opportunities and the labour market. Article 17 of this Law begins with the following: "women and men shall have equal rights and opportunities in respect of employment, promotion and recurrent training". This part is followed by a list of employer's obligations to ensure gender equality in the labour market.

Employers shall:

- create working conditions that would establish equal labour grounds for women and men;
- allow women and men to combine work with family duties;
- provide equal remuneration to women and men who have the same qualifications and working conditions:
- take necessary actions to create working conditions that are safe for life and health;
- take necessary actions to prevent sexual harassment.

Article 17 of the Law of Ukraine on Equal Rights for Women and Men says that "employers may not advertise jobs for

1834 [Electronic source] / Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. - Mode of access: http://portal.rada.gov.ua

women only or men only, except specific jobs that can only be done by specific gender representatives, or apply different requirement with preference to one of the genders, or demand that the employed persons disclosed any information about their private life or maternity plans". Instead, many job adverts include a gender requirement. Employers break the Law of Ukraine on Equal Rights for Women and Men and there is no penalty for such illegal behaviour. In this case, Ukraine fails to comply with the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Ukraine ratified the above document in 1980), including its article 2 containing a requirement that States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms.15

The State Program of Gender Equality in Ukrainian Society till 2010 includes a range of steps intended to achieve gender equality. Step 18 refers to "promotion to inclusion of provisions focused on gender equality to Master Agreement made by and between the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, Ukrainian associations of employers and businesspeople and Ukrainian trade unions and trade associations, as well as regional and area agreements and collective agreements" 16. The Ministry of Labour and

¹⁵ Martsenyuk T.O. Gender Discrimination in Ukrainian labour Market (case study: sexual harassment) // Scientific records, NaUKMA. Sociology. – 2008. – T. 83. – Pages 50–55.

¹⁶ Ruling of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on approval of State Program of Gender Equality in Ukrainian Society till 2010 dated December 27, 2006. No 1834 [Electronic source] / Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. – Mode of access: http://portal.rada.gov.ua

central and local executive authorities are responsible for executing this ruling with the involvement of employer associations and trade unions.

And, finally, a document that describes the legal governance, creation, rights and guarantees of Ukrainian trade unions is the Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees of September 15, 1999. This document defines a trade union as "a voluntary non-profitable public organizations that unites people who have common interests in nature of their professional occupation (work or studies)"17. Pursuant to article 2 of this Law, "trade unions are established in purposes of representation and protection of the labour, social and economic rights and interests of their members".

Section II of the Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees gives a full list of rights and duties of trade unions and associations that includes a right to represent and protect the rights and interests of trade union members; a right to collective talks and collective agreements; powers of trade unions and associations to protect people's right to work and to exercise public control of compliance with labour laws, etc.¹⁸

In theory, a trade union can be an efficient instrument to protect employee rights, as the same Law specifies that "Ukrainian citizens are free and do not need a permission to establish, join or leave any trade unions on terms and conditions set forth in their respective articles of association, or to be involved in trade unions"19. Another important feature of trade unions in Ukraine (see article 12 of the Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees) is that "trade unions and associations operate independently from and are not accountable to or controlled by any state and local authorities, employers, other civic organizations or political parties".

Responsibility for any breach of trade union laws is laid out in article 46 of the Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees: "Any person who impedes the exercise of people's right to establish trade unions, or any officers or other persons who break trade union laws or whose actions or failure to act impede legal operations of trade unions or associations, shall bear disciplinary, administrative or criminal responsibility pursuant to relevant laws".

Thus, Ukraine's legal framework provides equal rights and opportunities for men and women in all spheres of life, including - but not limited to - work. Such equality, however, is mostly on paper only, as the relevant laws do not describe any punishment for the abuse of such rights. Although it is important that such laws do

¹⁷ Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees dated September 15, 1999 article 1[Electronic source] / Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. -Mode of access: http://zakon.rada.gov.ua

Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees dated September 15, 1999, articles 19– 36 [Electronic source] / Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.
 Mode of access: http://zakon.rada.gov.ua

¹⁹ Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees dated September 15, 1999, article 36 – http://zakon.rada.gov.ua

exist, they require improvement and more attention from the state authorities.

1.3 Gender relations in the Ukrainian labour market

Although both national and international laws do exist, statistical records provide evidence of the unequal opportunities available to men and women. Such evidence includes international reports that evaluate gender relations in various spheres of social life.

First, the Global Gender Gap Report 2009 provided by the World Economic Forum²⁰ ranks Ukraine 61 out of 134 countries in its evaluation of the gender gap in four key spheres of inequality between men and women: economic participation, education, political empowerment, and health. The Global Gender Gap Report 2009 put Ukraine behind a number of other ex-USSR countries including Latvia (14th place), Lithuania (30th place), Belarus (34th place), Moldova (36th place), Estonia (37th place), Kyrgyz Republic (41st place), Kazakhstan (47th place), and the Russian Federation (51st place).

In evaluation of economic participation and economic possibilities, Ukraine scored

0.720 (out of 1,000) and ranked 33rd out of 134 countries. Such a relatively high score (compared to the political empowerment score) is caused by the last component of this ranking, the percentage of women among professional and technical workers (1.80 for Ukraine). At the same time, other parameters showed quite average results (0.5 to 0.6). Hence in Ukraine women, as opposed to men, have lower salaries and occupy lower positions.

Second, the gender gap in employment is used to measure the **Social Watch Gender Equity Index 2009**. If there is no gap between women and men, the index is scored at 100%. In Ukraine, it is 66.9% in the economic area, which is better than in politics (44.0%) but still worse than in education (97.4%)²¹.

UNDP Third, the annual Human Development Report also contains several indexes that evaluate gender relations in the world. The Development index, together with the gender-related development index (GDI), is a composite index that measures average achievement in the following three directions: average life expectancy, educational and attainment living standards, including gender inequality. Pursuant to the last report (2009), in 2007 Ukraine ranked 69 out of 155 countries, with a GDI score of 0.793 (out of a maximum of 1). The Gender empowerment measure (GEM) index shows how actively women participate in economic and political life. It includes the number of parliamentary

²⁰ Hausmann R. The Global Gender Gap Report 2009 / Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson, Saadia Zahidi. – Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2009. – Mode of access:

http://www.weforum.org/pdf/gendergap/report200 9.pdf

²¹ Social Watch Gender Equity Index 2009. – Mode of access: http://www.socialwatch.org/node/11760

seats held by women; the percentage of women who are legislators, senior officials, and managers; professionals; and gender inequality in salary. Here Ukraine is ranked even lower, coming 87th out of 109 countries (GEM = 0.461).²²

Since statistical records included into reports and international monitoring statements show unequal rights and opportunities for men and women, including in respect of employment, it is appropriate and necessary to research cases of discrimination in Ukrainian society, including within the labour market.

As mentioned above, Ukraine has a Law on equal rights and opportunities of men and women, but there are no efficient enforcement mechanisms. Several research reports indicate that **labour discrimination** is widespread.

according to research For instance, conducted in 2002 by the Ukrainian Social Research Institute jointly with the Canada-Ukraine Gender Fund as a part of the project "Formation of Gender Parity in Context of Modern Social and Economic Transformations", 23% of women and 15% believe that employment discrimination is very common, while 43% of women and 41% of men believe that it may take place23.

It is evident that the pay gap between men and women is one of the key problems running through international documents and domestic laws. According to the State Statistics Committee²⁴, the average monthly pay gap between men and women is about 30%. Recent regional payroll records (beginning of 2010, see Table 3 in Appendix) show that significant differences do exist in Ukraine at the regional level. Salaries are highest in the capital and stand at UAH 3,000 on average. In the other researched region, Donets'k, salaries are also higher than the average of UAH 2,000, standing at UAH 2,200.

The minimum monthly subsistence level per person is considered to be UAH 861²⁵, and the minimum wage is set at the level UAH 907 (after taxes – approx. 740 UAH, from October 2010). These two indicators are used as a minimum guarantee for payment, social security and pension assignments, yet they do not objectively reflect the price of the current consumer basket that is

Research conducted in 2005, where the respondents (or their friends) experienced discrimination against women (see Table 2 in Appendix), revealed that most respondents suffered from discrimination in the Ukrainian labour market in employment (18.6%), promotion (13%) and remuneration (11.8%)

²² Gender Development Index, Gender Empowerment Measure // Human Development Report. - Accessed from: http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/

²³ Gender Parity in Time of Development of Modern Ukrainian Society. - K.: Ukrainian Institute of Social Research, 2002. - Pages 99-100.

²⁴ http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/

²⁵ The Law on the minimum subsistence level and minimum salary level from October 20, 2009. http://search.ligazakon.ua/l_doc2.nsf/link1/T09164 6.html

considered to be even three times higher than the minimum wage²⁶.

Finally, labour discrimination in Ukraine causes the **feminisation of poverty**: single mothers (which, incidentally, make up one third of all mothers in Ukraine) and retired women mostly live below the poverty line²⁷. To find jobs and support their families, these women are actively involved in secondary and unofficial employment²⁸. Even though it is much more difficult for women to find a well-paid job, they do adapt to the new social and economic conditions.

The age-related aspects of employment are especially important for women reproductive age who plan to have children and women of pre-retirement age. First of all, this is due to the recently adopted economic reform programme "Wealthy society, competitive economy, effective state", that envisages a gradual levelling of the retirement age of men and women (for whom the retirement age is now 60 and 55 respectively) to 60 years. Thus, extension of the working age will lead to a situation where women will have even more difficulties in finding jobs in pre-retirement age, taking into account the general discrimination patterns in the labour market today.

The amendments to the Law of Ukraine On Compulsory State Pension Insurance (which will take effect from 1 January 2011) do not foresee inclusion of the time for pregnancy leave and child care into the duration of employment experience. This may affect parental behaviour and duration of child care leave for women/men, taking into account their ability and desire not to lose this time of insurance/employment period.

Table 4 (see Appendix) shows that unemployed Ukrainians are more often men than women. On the one hand, it proves the earlier mentioned assumption that women show a greater tendency to find a job in tough conditions. On the other hand, men do not always register with the relevant authorities. As of 2009, 10% of economically active people in Ukraine were unemployed.

If we look at the regional unemployment statistics (see Table 5 in Appendix), the situation is much worse in the Donets'k region (as of the end of 2009, nearly 10% of people able to work were unemployed), if compared to Kyiv, where only 7% of people able to work were unemployed, which is much better than the average for Ukraine (9.5%)²⁹.

²⁶ http://mojazarplata.com.ua/ru/main/minimumwage/potrebotelskyi-budget-i-korzina

²⁷ Lavrinenko N.V. Woman: Self-Actualization in Family and Society (Gender Aspect). - Kiev: VIPOL, 1999. - Page 121; Vlasenko N.S. Gender Statistics For Monitoring of Equality Between Men and Women / N.S. Vlasenko, L.D. Vinogradova, I.V. Kalachova. - K.: V.M. Koretskiy State and Law Institute, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 2000. - 56 pages.

²⁸ Zhurzhenko T. Y. Social Reproduction and Gender Policy in Ukraine. - Kharkov: Folio, 2001. - 240 pages.

²⁹ Level of unemployment (based on ILO's methodology) in regions in 2009. State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua

General conclusions

Ukraine is in the process of transition to a democratic society. Although a number of steps have already been taken to improve gender relations (including the approval of the Law of Ukraine On Equal Rights and Opportunities for Men and Women, State Program of Gender Equality in Ukrainian Society till 2010 etc), international and domestic research has shown that the regulation of gender relations in Ukraine cannot be regarded as successful. Successful regulation of gender relations involves acknowledgement of the value of gender equality both in society in general and in its individual institutions, including the prevention of gender discrimination, the equal participation of men and women in making socially important decisions (first of all, on the labour market and in politics), and providing equal opportunities for men and women when it comes to combining professional and family duties.

However, the new state regulations on women's retirement age extension and exception of pregnancy and child care period from the employment period may have negative effects on worsening the situation with women's pre-retirement employment and parental behaviour.

The outcomes of the research into the Furshet supermarket chain allowed us to use this case to prove and illustrate the poor gender relations existing in the labour market and violations of labour rights.

Chapter 2

MAIN CONCLUSIONS OF THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Focus Groups' methodology

The purpose of this research was to cover the following issues related to working conditions at supermarkets:

- · Labour conditions in general
- · Employment conditions
- Working hours and awarding system
- Discrimination practices (including gender discrimination)
- Labour safety and occupational health
- · Trade unions at supermarkets.

Focus group discussions (FGD) were the method used in Kyiv, Donets'k and Makiyivka.

Sampling:

- Women and men (50\50)
- Basic employees of Furshet supermarkets (non-managerial level)

 Employees who have been working at the respective supermarket for at least one year (Kyiv) and at least 6 months (Donets'k).

During the field stage of the research we conducted 4 FGDs with supermarket personnel (1 FGD with men and women in each city). In total, 30 respondents were involved (16 men and 14 women). On average, a single FGD lasted 1 hour 40 minutes.

It was quite difficult to involve (recruit) respondents in the Donets'k region as the supermarket personnel were afraid to participate, even though the main principles of independence and anonymous participation were explained. The invited people refused to be involved without approval from the supermarket managers.

So, Bankwatch and the Social Indicators Center sent letters requesting the shops' management to support and at least not to prohibit employees from participating. Out of three supermarkets in the Donets'k region (two supermarkets in Makiyivka and one supermarket in Donets'k), only two supermarkets Makiyivka approved the interviews with personnel. The management of the supermarket in Donets'k agreed, but later declined claiming that the recruiters interrupt the regular work of the supermarket. Therefore, only one person was involved in the Donets'k supermarket out of 10 people who initially agreed to participate before management prohibited this. Some of the respondents from the Makivivka supermarkets had to work on the day of the interview, although it was their holiday week. As a result, out of 24 invited respondents in Donets'k and Makiyivka, 10 people (6 men and 4 women) took part in the focus groups.

Similar problems did not appear in Kyiv, as the people were not afraid to be involved in focus groups on their days off, and they did not need management approval.

Results and conclusions

The most positive finding in terms of employee rights at the researched supermarkets was the observance of basic labour rights: the right to work and right to be paid for the work done. Salaries are paid on a more or less regular basis and the respondents believe it is an advantage of the work at the supermarket (compared to other options).

However, even the right to receive a salary is often not fully observed: 1) the level of salaries is equal or differs slightly, not taking into account the level of responsibility of the position and the workload; 2) overtime hours, working on

days-off, extra work that is not included in the job description are not compensated at a satisfactory level, as required by law; 3) the widely used system of internal penalties (fines) is not transparent, not regulated by collective agreement and allows space for management manipulation of salaries.

The level of respondents' satisfaction with their employment conditions (total assessment of emotional atmosphere, work load and salary) can be assessed as a "minimum sufficient" level of satisfaction of basic needs.

Satisfaction with employment conditions differs in the regions, as the supermarket personnel in Kyiv are much more satisfied with their jobs (and salaries) than the personnel of supermarkets in Donets'k and Makiyivka.

At the same time, the right to have a collective agreement with employer and to obtain full and correct information about duties at work is significantly violated.

It is important to note that in general employee rights in Donets'k are much more abused than in Kyiv.

Gender discrimination: rights are equally abused in respect of both men and women who work at the researched supermarkets. First of all, this concerns occupational health and standard rules applicable to heavy lifting. Most supermarket employees are females.

There is a general deficiency of personnel in Donets'k/Makiyivka due to the low salary level mentioned during the FGDs, including loaders, results in excessive load of lifting heavy objects both for women and men who have other positions.

There is age discrimination in employment related to the reluctance of the supermarkets to employ workers 2–3 years below the retirement age in Kyiv, with less discrimination in Donets'k and Makiyivka (due to low salaries and less competition for the proposed positions).

Employee rights violations revealed in the FGD research are caused by several factors:

- Employees are insufficiently aware of their own rights protected under Ukrainian laws;
- The management neglect their obligation to duly inform the employees about their duties and often violate the employee rights, using this ignorance and lack of resistance:
- Informal connections in the team are an important factor that regulates work relations. Employees avoid "spoiling relations" with the management as it may worsen work conditions and/or decrease the salary;
- The constant lack of personnel and personnel turnover policy supported by the management

increases the number of violations. The consequences of such policy include excessive workload and the absence of possibility / desire to protect the employees own rights

Supermarket teams do not have organisation possibilities to protect employee rights, as there are no trade unions or other relevant unions – at least, employees have no information about such unions. On the other hand, the formation of such unions is hampered by personnel turnover and a fear of losing jobs.

No sexual harassment cases were mentioned, but it is evident that there is no procedure and department/person appointed to appeal should there be such a necessity.

The personnel are not aware of the Best Practices Code and do not have information about the company's Corporate Social Responsibility policy, and they do not see their impact on conditions of their work at the supermarket.

Chapter 3

RESULTS OF FIELD
RESEARCH OF LABOUR
CONDITIONS AT THE EBRDFINANCED SUPERMARKETS
(CASE STUDY: FURSHET
SUPERMARKET CHAIN)

3.1 Research at Furshet supermarkets

The research into the Furshet supermarket chain aimed at defining the employment structure in this chain and its subdivisions and existing labour conditions. In general, the research covered nine different Furshet supermarkets in Kyiv.

The research has shown that the general employment structure in respect of age and gender is the same at all Furshet supermarkets, although they differ in location, area, number of employees, and range of products. The supermarkets employ significantly more women than men. This bears out the Ukrainian tendency for

the service sector (including supermarkets) to employ many more women than men.

Furthermore, the research has shown a clear differentiation between men and women by positions and duties imposed by the same position, which is a display of the horizontal segregation of the labour market.

Men mostly serve as loaders and guards (one female guard was noticed during one of the conducted visits). The position of consultant is the most balanced from the gender point of view, but still it is more female-dominated. The position consultant shows the very clear division of duties between men and women, i.e. men mostly work in beverage (including alcohol) departments. Male salesmen are also involved in other departments where they do physical work, including shifting boxes with products and the arrangement of heavy items on shelves (water bottles, vegetables).

The researchers noticed few male cashiers, which shows a clear gender imbalance and evidences that a male cashier is an exception. No male cleaner or administrator was seen. This is normal for the Ukrainian labour market, as we have seen that, in this situation, women occupy the highest positions of the lowest positions available.

Table 6 (see Appendix) shows that the age structure of employees of the researched supermarkets in general covers all age categories and is differentiated depending on the position. However, the age was evaluated approximately, and therefore the collected data may differ from the real situation.

Representatives of ethnic minorities, immigrants, pregnant women, or people with visible physical disability were not seen at any of the researched supermarkets, which leads to the conclusion that these categories of people may be discriminated against in the researched supermarket chain.

All employees wore the Furshet supermarket uniform: a bright jacket or T-shirt, trousers and downy waistcoat with a corporate logo. People who worked in colder areas (e.g. near refrigerators or on cash desks) also wore fleece jackets. Therefore, clothes are comfortable, the same for both genders and are not noticeably determined along sexual lines.

No evident non-compliance with occupational health and safety regulations (except those cases listed in the Appendix) was detected: where necessary, people worked in polyethylene gloves and caps, and shelves were not too high. Lighting was sufficient, and the ambient temperature was comfortable. Employees possess all the required tools needed for work.

However, during the FGDs in Donets'k, draughts and - as a result - illnesses were

more pronounced. Moreover, it was mentioned that due to the general lack of employees in Makiyivka supermarkets, workers from other departments can serve the customers - without proper clothing, sanitary-hygienic basics and exposing themselves to the dangers connected with the use of slicing-machines and other equipment.

No quarrels, rude behaviour or any displays of violence were seen among workers during the researchers' observations.

3.2 Results of the research of supermarket management

The senior management of the Furshet supermarkets was a target for the research. It was planned to make at least 3 nonstructured interviews with the management of shops, the head of the human resources or public relations department, and a member of the board of directors of Furshet Group. Interviews with such a range of respondents should have given us a picture of the organisational and managerial structure of Furshet Group, as during the FGDs we learned that there is certain independence in some areas of decisionmaking the regional company departments (subsidiary enterprise, eg. Region Market in Kyiv and Donets'k) and each supermarket separate from the Central Furshet Group office (in Kyiv).

All necessary steps were taken to reach the respondents in Kyiv and Donets'k/ Makiyivka. However, unfortunately, the management of the supermarkets was not keen to participate in the interviews: directors of the supermarkets in Kyiv refused to give meaningful reasons - not long in the position, no responsibility to give interviews, very busy work schedule; in the main office the marketing department officially refused; in Donets'k, the manager had only been in the position for 3 months; the Makiyivka management refused, saying that they did not have the authority to give interviews.

As a result, after a direct inquiry to the supermarket administration with an offer to conduct anonymous interviewing, we received one consent to complete a questionnaire and only one consent to be interviewed from employees of the supermarket that did not accept our call from the very beginning. Therefore we do not mention information about the respondents (including their gender, age, position etc).

When we talk about gender discrimination, we mean "actions or omissions to act that express any gender difference, exception or privilege if they limit or prevent equal recognition, use or exercise of human rights and freedoms for women and men"30, so displays of discrimination are hereinafter conceptualised from this point of view

(Figure 1 - see Appendix). We will examine these notions closer in the further analysis.

3.3 Analysis of focus group survey, interviews, questionnaires and observations

Employment structure

Employment structure is one component of gender employment analysis. The employment structure contains many aspects, but here we will focus on gender and age division at Furshet supermarkets.

Significant female prevalence in supermarket chain is evidenced by all information sources used in the research: the focus group report that involved the supermarket workforce, observations, an interview with the deputy director of one of the supermarkets, and the questionnaire. This situation might be caused by, first of all, the existence of certain gender stereotypes in respect of certain positions. For example, the positions of consultant and cashier are commonly regarded as "female", and few men accept such job offers. Secondly, prestige and salary are an important factor too. To a large extent women tend to accept worse working conditions and lower salaries than men.

The research provided almost no information about **vertical gender**

³⁰ Law of Ukraine On Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men dated September 8, 2005 No. 2866-IV [Electronic source] / Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. - Mode of access: http://portal.rada.gov.ua

segregation at Furshet supermarkets. Information about the ratio of men and women who occupy management positions was only obtained from an interview with a deputy director of one supermarket who said that "management positions are occupied by women mostly" (Respondent I). However, this is not a rule for other supermarkets.

In contrast, we have collected much more information about **horizontal gender segregation at work**. The FGD report says that men mostly work in the alcohol and beverage departments, or do heavy work in other departments³¹.

A deputy director of a Furshet supermarket said that in general both men and women may hold any positions, but there are two positions for which men only are eligible - loader and shopping trolley pusher - because they involve intense physical efforts.

"Loaders - they are men, for sure, we do not accept women for this position; and trolley pushers are men, as it is heavy work..."(Respondent I).

Also, in the interview Respondent I confirmed the FGD data that men mostly work with water and alcohol.

"It depends on department, but some departments require intense physical labour ... like the water and alcohol departments. I don't remember women working in these departments. It is heavy work" (Respondent I)

In addition, the deputy director mentioned that the position of cashier is femaledominated, as "very few males apply for the position of cashier. I remember only 2 or 3 male cashiers. It's mostly a female position" (Respondent I).

This coincides with our observations, as we have seen few male cashiers in the researched supermarkets - but more men worked as consultants, including one person in the elite alcohol and cigar department and one person unloading water bottles; it was not clear in which departments other men worked in.

Age structure of people working at Furshet supermarkets.

At the time of observation we noticed that employees range from 25 to 40 years (at least they appear so). We did not notice minors, and saw few women of preretirement age. The authors of the FGD report say that age discrimination is the most expressed form of discrimination at this supermarket chain. In particular, they point to the significant prevalence of young men and women among the supermarket employees, and the reluctance of the management to hire people of preretirement age, as well as the existence of psychological pressure when it comes to their insufficient physical strength.

³¹ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 14.

"If you have 2 or 3 years to retirement, you will not be hired, I know it for sure" (FGD2, man, Kyiv)

However, the interview with the deputy director of the supermarket provided no indication οf discrimination. age Respondent I reported that (few) retired people are employed, but "they are mostly women, we do not have retired men working at our supermarket". The deputy director explained that this is not because of any reluctance to hire retired people, stressing that they just rarely accept such job offers: "They do not accept it usually. Retired people usually do not take such jobs. It is not very easy" (Respondent I). However, if elderly people do accept such job offers, the respondent pointed to the proposed working conditions.

"The working conditions at the department could be the only age limitation. If he or she is an elderly person, I always think about the difficulty of work in this or that department. If it is a department that involves heavy labour, it is clear that I will prefer younger people doing this kind of job, as elderly people will just not cope with it" (Respondent I).

From time to time, especially during summer holidays, supermarkets accept school and university students for work. "In summer time, we have many school or university students who do not have classes. We accept people aged 16 to work in the trade area as consultants, and people aged 18 to work as cashiers" (Respondent I).

Age discrimination does not exist in Donets'k and Makiyivka according to the FGDs, and the objective reasons for this may be that the employer does not have many applicants for the positions due to the low level of salaries and does not, therefore, apply age criteria for selection. At the same time, women are more willing to apply for work, while men prefer to stay voluntarily unemployed rather than get a low-paid job.

A director of the supermarket (Kyiv) believes that age discrimination does not exist in his supermarket, and age might become a reason why a person is not eligible only if it reasonably impedes doing relevant work. However, during the FGDs, employees mentioned that the 12-hour working day (one of the possible working shifts) is also burdening for young employees.

Discrimination practices in employment

The next step is to analyse the gender aspects of employment. This aspect is not covered in the focus group surveys. We can rely on the interview to conclude that gender prevalence practice does exist: "...It is very heavy... No matter how enduring a woman might be, it is a very heavy work. Standing on your feet and carrying heavy things all day long" (Respondent I).

This practice is explained by the fact that positions such as loader or trolley pusher involve the lifting and carrying of heavy things, and therefore young men are preferred. However, the respondent said

that specific job requirements do not contain a gender requirement. According to the questionnaire, the deputy director at other supermarkets does not participate in the formation of job requirements.

Discrimination practices at work

Working conditions

The report of the Social Indicators Centre on the FGDs with people working at Furshet supermarkets details that men and women do not have equal rights, first of all, in occupational health area, including weight-lifting norms. According to this report³², the supermarkets suffer from a continued lack of workforce, especially in Donets'k and Makiyivka, including loaders, which results in involving other employees in the unloading process. Acceptable weight-lifting limits are often exceeded both for men and women.

However, the interviewed deputy director of one of Furshet supermarkets (Kyiv) had a different opinion. According to the person, women may not lift items that are heavier than 5 kg: "all boxes, water packages, heavy items, tableware etc. are lifted by men" (Respondent I). But weight-lifting limitations also exist for men. All items that are heavier than acceptable must be lifted using special equipment. Importantly, during the FGDs employees mentioned the lack or absence of equipment for lifting

Respondent I did not object that sometimes the existing limitations are neglected in case there is too much work or because of lack of workforce, though Respondent I emphasised that such cases are not common: "It is possible in the trade area, but these cases are not systematic" (Respondent I).

Respondent I also stated that in the case of an employee absence, his/her job can be done by people who have the same or similar duties. On the other hand, Respondent I stated that there is no lack of personnel (in Kyiv) to date and hence no need to do the additional work of other people, including loaders: "Of course, the crisis contributed to it... Personnel turnover has stopped and there were many people who wanted a job, because many people lost their job..." (Respondent I).

We could not disprove the assumption that the supermarket suffers from a general lack of people which makes employees do the job of people whose positions are vacant (including loaders) mentioned during the FGDs, as the supermarket management in Donets'k and Makiyivka refused to participate in the interviews.

Compliance with occupational safety regulations is another parameter that is related to occupational health. The FGD

heavy goods. An administrator at another Furshet supermarket said that the maximum weight of items that may be lifted manually by loaders is 50 kg (Respondent A).

³² Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 3, 23.

report mentions that non-compliance with occupational safety rules is mostly a threat for men, as they work with high shelves that may fall and cause injuries³³. Injuries also may become a result of work with specific machinery, e.g. cutting machines³⁴. In the latter case both men and women can suffer as both men and women work in cheese and sausage departments.

In contrast to this, two respondents involved in this research did not remember any case of occupational injury: "I don't remember any accidents. It hasn't happened since I've been working here" (Respondent I).

However, employees who participated in focus groups mentioned that the management is reluctant to disclose cases of occupational injuries, as in such cases they must pay compensation to the injured employee as well as governmental fines. Therefore it is common that occupational injuries are not only undisclosed, but also denied:

"A girl fell on the icy stairs... She's paying for treatment herself. – He said: "If you claim it an occupational injury, I'll just say you fell somewhere else and went to work", FG3, women, Donets'k 35

Focus group participants mentioned that the necessary equipment required by occupational health and safety rules is not always available. However, Respondent I also emphasised that all occupational health and safety rules are observed, and that all employees – irrespective of gender – have the required protective clothing and accessories:

"People who work with refrigerating chambers have special clothes and gloves... Special hand cleaning products, e.g. Panaderm or Septodo, are available in the toilets... But no other special products are available... People who work in fish and meat departments must wear special clothes and footwear" (Respondent I.).

The working conditions of pregnant women is a separate aspect that must be covered by this research.

As seen from the focus group research report, it is common that pregnant women work until the seventh month of pregnancy, the legally established time when a woman can go on maternity leave³⁶. Supermarket managers also confirmed that pregnant women work at the supermarkets.

"Cashiers are working in their last months of pregnancy. Cashier's work is not difficult, it does not require any weight-lifting. So cashiers continue to work, but consultants rarely. If it is possible, we give them a vacation or just let them go on

³³ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 23.

³⁴ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 23.

³⁵ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 23.

³⁶ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 20.

maternity leave, because it is a heavy work, and it is not advisable to work in such a position during the last months of pregnancy" (Respondent I.).

This situation is evaluated positively, as women in Ukraine are often dismissed without any reasons as soon as their pregnancy becomes noticeable, in order "not to pay for maternity leave".

However. the employees of Furshet supermarkets who participated in the FGDs pointed to one abuse of the rights of pregnant women. Sometimes women in their last months of pregnancy had to do the same amount of work, not simplified or to the shortened schedule: "I had a colleague, she was pregnant. It was very difficult for her to endure a 12-hour shift. She was doing her best, but the management showed no indulgence. They could have let her go home an hour earlier because she was pregnant, but they didn't. You must work, so do your work", FGD2, men, Kyiv³⁷

Respondent I could not say if pregnant women are offered easier tasks to do, but did mention that the management tries not to load pregnant women with work too much, helps them and lets them go on maternity leave as soon as possible: "...Of course, we do try to give them less work and tasks. We try to understand" (Respondent I.).

Certainly such an attitude towards pregnant women is a positive aspect. However, it is based on good personal relations and is not covered by job descriptions. Reduced amounts of work for pregnant women is informal and not documented. Such attitudes might be changed with the changes in the management.

Salary, qualification upgrade and careers

Another aspect of working conditions from the point of view of gender discrimination is the absence or existence of displays of discrimination in salary, qualification upgrade and promotion. The above aspects are not covered by answers in the questionnaires. Focus group research showed that respondents do not face gender inequality in salary, promotion or other aspects of work. Salary is calculated on the fixed working day-hours basis. These conclusions are confirmed by the interviewed respondent: "Training and qualification improvement courses are offered for everyone irrespective of gender, age and experience of work at Furshet. The same applies to salary" (Respondent I). This absence of evidences the gender discrimination in the above aspects.

An important aspect of the salary (mentioned during the FGDs) is the equal or not sufficient differences in the levels of salaries for all employees (non-managerial, low management) with no attention to the responsibility of the position and workload. The only factor that influences the salary amount is the term a person works in the supermarket and it was confirmed by

³⁷ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 20.

respondent I: after a half year on the position, a person receives UAH 50 in addition, 1 year = UAH 100. The respondent mentioned that "...there is a necessity to change completely the motivation structure in the company. The salary system needs to be reviewed for all employees, for all levels of employees".

During the interview it came up that the levels of salary in the Furshet supermarkets in Kviv can be lower than in similar retail chains. Unfortunately, there was no direct information on this from the Makiyivka and Donets'k management, but the FGDs mentioned that the salary level can be even two times lower than at competitor supermarkets. In Kyiv the mentioned wage level can reach UAH 1600 (after taxes) that is lower than the average salary range in Kyiv, but higher than the minimum wage. While in Donets'k region the actual salary may be UAH 760-900 (after taxes)38, that is minimum level and almost at the than the regional significantly lower average.

Respondent I also confirmed that the three days of the probation period are not paid days.

The FGD results revealed that there can be problems with payments for overtime hours, working on days-off, and extra work that is not included into the job description. As was stated, these are not compensated at a satisfactory level, as required by law (Labour Code, Art 106).

Work-life balance

A separate issue is how employees balance their work with their family life. In this aspect, focus is on maternity leave and child care leave. The FGDs showed no problem with paid maternity leaves. Respondents also reported that after the end of the maternity leave (3 years) women often return to work, especially in Kyiv.39 stated in Respondent I also questionnaire that women mostly return to work after maternity leave. The interview with the deputy director of the supermarket shows that sometimes women return to work earlier than the the complete 3-year term of their maternity leave.

"In the last 3 months, 3 people returned to work earlier. They had filed an application for maternity leave for 126 days, and they do not want to take a 3-year long leave, they want to return to work" (Respondent I).

Focus group participants also reported that they had no problems with paid child care leaves⁴⁰. Respondent I said that both women and men can apply for such leave, although she commented: "Men do not ask for child care leave, it's women, mostly" (Respondent I). At the same time, the authors of the focus group research report pointed out that in one case when a man took child care leave, people believed that the leave was

³⁸ Not official data, mentioned during FGDs

³⁹ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 13.

⁴⁰ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 13.

paid due to the man's informal relations with the management.

Both respondent I and respondent A said that a hospital reference is necessary for taking child care leave.

"We are accountable, and we require it because we cannot provide payment otherwise. But we do pay and register such leaves" (Respondent I)

Sexual harassment

Another issue in focus is sexual harassment at work. The interviewee said that no cases of sexual harassment were experienced. This is confirmed by the results of the focus group research. Respondents are not aware of any internal rules applicable to a relevant situation. Most respondents are convinced that such a problem can be solved in an informal ("explanations", suggested by women) or a formal (appeal to security, suggested by men) way⁴¹. This question is not answered in the questionnaire. But the clearest thing is that there is neither nor department/person procedure appointed to appeal in the case of sexual harassment.

Conclusions on the supermarket management

Analysis of the collected data shows that the information is not consistent, as data obtained in the course of FGDs with the

41 Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 22.

supermarket employees sometimes differs from data received from interviews with the supermarket administration.

Different explanations for this are available. First, an interview with one respondent and the questioning of another respondent do not represent the overall situation existing in the chain. Of course, it is rather a research of individual cases, which are not representative, but still showing a general tendency.

Second, according to Respondent I, all Furshet supermarkets are quite independent and differ even in salary, let alone individual conditions "Each and problems: supermarket has its own environment and supermarkets" differs from other (Respondent I). Therefore, it is possible that our respondents were senior managers of supermarkets that do not face significant employee rights' abuses.

Third, in view of the difficulty of contacting the managers and their reluctance to be interviewed, we can assume that the information provided during the interview is not completely reliable. This is supported by the fact that the questionnaire that respondent A completed without the presence of the interviewer was half empty, with many sensible questions – about gender discrimination, sexual harassment, age aspect in employment, health impacts on workers, accidents at work – missed.

However, the research does show that the employment structure is gender-differentiated and gender segregation does

exist. Furshet employs more women; women mostly work as consultants or cashiers; men usually work with alcohol, beverages and do heavy physical work.

Hidden discrimination is observed in the employment procedures, and age discrimination also.

Gender requirements are usually not included into a job advertisement, but, as mentioned above, young men are mostly taken for jobs associated with heavy physical labour. Some employee rights abuses occur in the work process. These include the failure to comply with weightlifting limitations, working conditions for pregnant women, occupational safety rules (occupational injuries in "female" and "male" sectors of work). However, both men and women are provided with special clothing. With regard to the combination of work and family life, the research has shown that maternity leaves are usually paid, and men taking child care leave is an exception. Sexual harassment is not observed, which is confirmed by all information sources. There are no complaints about discrimination in salary, but notification of its general low level and the following consequences women mostly work in the supermarkets and they often face the necessity of performing heavy lifting.

The structure of the Furshet Group remains a mystery as it is unclear to what extent the subsidiaries are autonomous. Through the FGDs and interviews we discovered that there are regional subsidiary enterprises (in our case Kyiv and Donets'k "Region—

market") that are subordinated to the Central (main) office in Kyiv. However, the deputy director of the supermarket in Kyiv emphasised that each supermarket can have its own procedures. Employees are recruited by the supermarket, but all official procedures – approval, contracts, etc. – are performed by the Central office. There is also a certain indication that salaries are calculated and sent from the Central office – at least in Makiyivka the management was referring to this issue when there were delays in payments.

3.4 Research on trade unions

As mentioned above, trade unions may be a real tool to protect people's rights at work. Trade unions are governed by the Constitution of Ukraine, Law of Ukraine On Public Associations⁴², Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees, Labour Code of Ukraine and other derivative regulations. ⁴³

In Ukraine, trade unions are mostly represented by labour associations that are members of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine (FITUU). To date there are no efficient alternatives to the FITUU that involve a part of employees from

⁴² Law of Ukraine On Public Associations - http://zakon.rada.gov.ua

⁴³ Law of Ukraine On Trade Unions, Their Rights and Guarantees - http://zakon.rada.gov.ua

various areas.44 Over the many years that trade unions have existed in Ukraine, a common opinion has developed that a trade union is a formal body aimed at mutual support and discounted tours. This opinion is caused by how Ukrainian trade unions function. First of all, we should take into account the legacy of Soviet times, when trade unions could not contradict governing authorities and had to turn a blind eye to the abuse of employee rights, and trade union leaders merged with company management, and in fact their functions were far from their original tasks. Trade union leaders received bonuses for the fulfillment of production schedules, and therefore were not associated with a force able to protect people's rights. On account of this, the trade unions partially lost their authority, and their protective function to a large extent became merely a declaration. This is the story of how Soviet trade unions disappeared.

However, the ongoing social and economic transformations have significantly changed the core of trade unions and their targets. Trade unions look for and apply new methods of work, and try to cooperate with the authorities and employers. However, although the functions of trade unions have changed during the time of the country's independence, people's attitude is changing very slowly.⁴⁵ More proof of this is offered

by research conducted in 2002–2003 by the Social Expertise Centre (at the Institute of Sociology of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences) on behalf of the ILO. It included comprehensive research of legal and practical aspects of operation of trade unions and employer associations and current status of collective talks, collective labour disputes and existing settlement procedures. 46

Trade unions are mostly focused on ways to secure the payment of delayed salaries, while other social and labour issues are mostly ignored. Most respondents reported that *inequality between men and women in labour relations*, which is common in Ukraine, is not a focus of the trade unions and associations⁴⁷. It is therefore reasonable to check the cited statements in our further research. We also considered research conducted seven to eight year agos, so it makes sense to check how the situation has changed during this time and define the

⁴⁴ Social Expertise Centre –
http://csep.org.ua/index.php?
option=com_content&view=article&id=103:200808-13-10-36-27&catid=44:-2003-<emid=70

⁴⁵ Brych V.Y., Dyakiv O.P., Nadvynychiy S.A. et al. labour Economy and Social and labour Relations. - Accessed from:

http://studentam.net.ua/content/category/42/220/ 132/

⁴⁶ Social Expertise Centre. Comprehensive research of legal and practical aspects of operation of trade unions and employer associations and current status of collective talks, collective labour disputes and existing settlement procedures (involved 1,802 respondents in 11 regions of Ukraine) – http://csep.org.ua/index.php?
option=com_content&view=article&id=103:2008-08-13-10-36-27&catid=44:-2003-<emid=70

⁴⁷ Social Expertise Centre. Comprehensive research of legal and practical aspects of operation of trade unions and employer associations and current status of collective talks, collective labour disputes and existing settlement procedures involved 1,802 respondents in 11 regions of Ukraine – http://csep.org.ua/index.php?
option=com_content&view=article&id=103:2008-08-13-10-36-27&catid=44:-2003-<emid=70

aspects of trade union transformations, if at all.

To better analyse the current status of Ukrainian trade unions, we should also focus on specific trade unions, trade associations and relevant companies where such unions and associations exist, and find which issues are usually solved by trade unions.

With this purpose, we decided to research the **trade association Labour Protection** and the trade union of the Furshet supermarket chain. However, previous analysis showed that **no trade unions ever existed at the Furshet supermarket chain**. This was also confirmed by FGD ("trade unions do not exist in the researched supermarkets"), which explained it as follows⁴⁸:

- 1. The short time of work for private capital in Ukraine (just after Ukraine's independence); the newly established teams did not gain the experience of Soviet-time trade unions. This, however, may be a positive aspect, as old trade unions were highly dependent on the company management.
- High personnel turnover supported by the management prevents attempts to establish any trade unions.

Moreover, FGDs revealed the differences in awareness about trade unions between various age aroups ٥f the researched respondents⁴⁹: "Respondents who started working in Soviet times have some ideas about the tasks and activities of trade unions. Younger respondents are not aware of it at all".

In 2008, an attempt to establish a trade Auchan union was made at the supermarket. Taking into account that the Furshet Group possesses 19% of the shares of Auchan Ukraine, and that therefore both chains might possibly have common organisational features, Furshet should have influence over Auchan in improving the situation and its employment policies when the trade union and the people who tried to establish and register it within the chain were oppressed.

Attempts to establish a trade union at Auchan hypermarket

A trade union within the Auchan supermarket chain was established, but in fact did not survive even for a short period of time. After plans to form a trade union were announced, the initiators faced repressive measures from the store's administration. A meeting to establish the trade union was held on May 6, 2008.

Poor awareness of employees about their own rights protected by labour laws and possible remedies, fear of losing jobs.

⁴⁸ Report on research of working conditions at Furshet supermarket chain. Social Indicators Centre. Kyiv 2010. Page 26.

⁴⁹ See above.

According to the web source Global Alternative, very soon, on May 13, one employee could no longer stand the psychological pressure of the management, and filed a "voluntary" resignation letter. Two days later, Auchan's administration recorded a false absence at work and fired the trade union head Oleksandr Ruzhynskyy for this. Using threats and blackmail, the head of the human resources department (Olga Vovk) made the other four founders of the trade union file "voluntary" withdrawal applications. Moreover, the wording of these four "voluntary" applications is exactly the same, each application containing the following sentence: "The reason of my withdrawal from the above union is my free will"50.

An important aspect of trade union establishment at Auchan is that it was established as a branch of the powerful primary trade union Labour Protection mentioned above.

Notably, the repressions of Auchan's trade union leaders received public attention. Articles with the following headlines appeared in the media:

"Trade union activists face repression at Kyiv's hypermarket Auchan" 51

"Stop anti-union repressions at Auchan hypermarket in Kyiv!!!" 52

Conclusions of the trade unions research

The case of Auchan exemplifies well the range of problems faced by Ukrainian trade unions. These include, firstly, the absence of a strong platform to develop a complex trade union network which is caused by the absence of a new trade union ideology based on awareness of existing legal rights and legally enforceable remedies. The existing situation is to a certain extent the result of a lack of massive support of trade unions by employees and a lack of incentives to join trade unions. This is caused by non-awareness of the existing problems, where the key problem is that there is no authority that could ensure the observance of employee rights. People are left unprotected and cannot defend their rights. "Yellow" trade unions are a significant threat to the free will of employees and the establishment of truly independent democratic trade unions.

Many companies also take anti-union steps. This is particularly so among business organisations, especially international companies (including the French management of Auchan) that enter the Ukrainian market with the deliberate intention of preventing any "bottom" public activity, with trade unions regarded as the major problem.

Gender aspects are another issue related to Ukrainian trade unions. Our research provides sufficient evidence that women are actively involved in trade unions, initiate the formation of trade union branches and take

⁵⁰ Trade union activists face repression at Kyiv's hypermarket Auchan - http://aglob.info/news.php?readmore=2031

^{51 &}lt;a href="http://aglob.info/news.php?readmore=2031">http://aglob.info/news.php?readmore=2031

⁵² http://www.liveinternet.ru/community/lj_punk_philo sophy/post81983954

leading positions, defending the rights of trade union members and preventing any displays of discrimination.

As the global experience shows, in general trade unions work as a catalyst of social balance only when and where employees take an active part in trade unions, and trade unions are well organised, strong and influential. As Ukraine has a great potential for uniting to reach a common aim, Ukrainian trade unions have good chances. The success of Ukrainian trade unions directly depends on the consolidation and unity of all structures that protect the social and economic rights and interests of their members.

3.5 Research of state department for labour complicance supervision (Labour inspection department)

The State Department for Labour Compliance Supervision, which is a part of and accountable to the Ministry of Labour, as well as the associated district state labour inspections in regions, Kyiv and Sevastopol, are governed by Regulations on State Department for Labour Compliance Supervision approved by Ruling of Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers No. 50 of 18.01.2003.

Articles 3 and 4 of the Regulations⁵³ include the following tasks of the inspection: protection of employee rights through state supervision of compliance with labour laws (with the exception of labour protection issues) and mandatory social insurance occupational accidents and occupational diseases.

The ruling of Cabinet of Ministers of August 2, 1996 No. 906, which is invalid for the time being but will give a better understanding of the scope of the labour inspection, specified the following issues that belonged to the competence of the labour inspection:

- labour agreement and work books;
- working and rest time;
- remuneration, guarantees and compensations;
- area, regional and collective agreements;
- labour relations in case of company bankruptcy and privatisation;
- indemnification of occupational damage or injury of employees;
- work of women, young people, disabled people or other categories of people who need social protection;
- labour discipline and material responsibility of employees;

⁵³ Regulations on State Department for labour
Compliance Supervision approved by Ruling of
Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers No. 50 of
18.01.2003. [Electronic source] / Cabinet of
Ministers of Ukraine. – Mode of access:
http://zakonl.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?
nreg=50-2003-%EF

 financial support provided to employees at the expense of state social insurance.

Labour inspection "works with employee and employer organisations to ensure compliance with labour laws and mandatory state social insurance and people's awareness".

According to Ruling No. 50 of 2003, there is no established procedure control compliance with labour laws and no schedule of inspections. Companies may be audited with the ruling of Chief State labour Inspector, Kyiv and Sevastopol Municipal State Administrations, and also if so suggested by law enforcement authorities, state tax authorities, local authorities, trade unions or other public associations, and individual Ukrainian citizens who are the relevant company's employees or former employees.

Therefore, the scope of the labour inspection includes only labour relations and their legal governance. Labour conditions (labour safety and protection) are governed by:

- the State Committee of Ukraine for Industrial Safety, Labour Protection and Mining Supervision⁵⁴,
- the Department of Labour and Social Protection of district state administration,
- the Department of Labour and Social Protection of executive committee of local council.

The National Office of Mediation and Reconciliation⁵⁵, among other things, is competent in the settlement of labour disputes, and provides consultations about how to file a lawsuit against an employer or to settle collective agreement issues.

Analysis of meeting with labour inspector

First of all, we sent official letters to the Head of the District State Labour Inspection in Kyiv, V.S. Andriyenkov, and to the Head of the District State Labour Inspection in Donets'k region, M.G. Gurtova.

A response from Donets'k said that "no company named Furshet supermarket is included in the list of inspected companies" (see the attached letter). A response from Kyiv office (see the attached letter) noted that one inspection of compliance with labour laws at Furshet supermarket was conducted at the end of 2009 at the request of A. S. Kikot. The inspection revealed violations of laws in respect of work remuneration, including articles 115 and 166 of the Labour Code. The director, I.V. Tartakovskiy, was instructed in writing to correct the revealed violations. A protocol concerning administrative violation was executed and filed at the court.

A personal meeting in the office of the District State Labour Inspection in Kyivprovided an opportunity to talk to the

⁵⁴ www.dnop.kiev.ua

^{55 &}lt;a href="http://www.nspp.gov.ua/">http://www.nspp.gov.ua/

inspector who conducted the requested inspection. The inspector confirmed the violation of articles 115 and 116 of the Labour Code by Furshet's management. In particular, article 116 "Settlement Terms for Dismissal Purposes" contains the following requirement: "All money due to the dismissed employee from the relevant company, institution or organisation, shall be paid on the day of dismissal. If such employee was not at work on the day of dismissal, any money due shall be paid not later than the following day after the dismissed employee requires such payment".

The inspector also pointed out that although the response letter refers to "inspection of Furshet supermarket" it actually means that the inspection covered a certain number of stores owned by Region–Market (a subsidiary of Furshet Group). The inspector further commented that the chain had a very complicated structure which is not clear even for him. Not all stores in Kyiv are managed by Region–Market, and other subsidiaries may exist.

The Director of Region-Market, I.V. Tartakovskiy, reported that all the findings were addressed and corrected, otherwise it would result in a repeated inspection.

We also managed to clarify the scope of the District State Labour Inspection. Among other things, the inspection checks the areas where violations were reported. The inspection does not visit the stores, but checks the company's documentation at the

office in respect of compliance with Ukrainian labour laws.

The inspector also mentioned that penalties which, according to the FGD participants, are common at Furshet, are a violation of Ukrainian laws, and no penalties may be deducted without a relevant person's consent. On the other hand, if any money is deducted, it is probably deducted from the so-called 'black' part of the salary. From the legal point of view, there are two forms of disciplinary penalties for late arrival, breach of internal rules etc: a reprimand (no bonus payment, in writing with a signature of the relevant employee attesting that he/she read and understood it) and dismissal.

Labour inspection also supervises the issues related to collective agreements between employers and employees, and the observance of such agreements.

The inspection does not supervise or check the operation of trade unions. However, it is entitled to check if the employer tried to avoid recognising a trade union and if there are any violations of collective agreement (articles 41.1 and 41.2 of the labour Code)⁵⁶.

http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?page=1&nreg=80731-10

⁵⁶ Administrative Offence Code of Ukraine of 07.12.1984 No. 8073-X,

Conclusion of research into labour inspections

To sum up, Furshet supermarket chain has a difficult structure which is not clear to the supervising authorities, which might impede the efficient control of compliance with labour laws. Formally, district labour inspections are an efficient authority that together with trade unions must ensure employees' rights to proper working conditions.

However, the employees of the Furshet supermarket chain in the Donets'k region did not report any cases of labour law violations to the district labour inspection. Only one case was recorded in Kyiv, when a woman filed a complaint with the district labour inspection that salary the payment procedure was not followed after her dismissal.

Collective agreements must be made and complied with by both parties. Unfortunately, our research shows that making collective agreements is not a common practice at Furshet.

Hence, the scanty number of people who address the supervising authorities on the one hand, and massive violations of labour laws and common discrimination practices (see above) are evidence that the supermarket employees are not aware of how to protect their rights and of legal requirements to penalties. On the other hand, it can be assumed that the management of supermarkets is not interested in providing employees with

complete and timely information of such opportunities.

Recommendations

The general conclusion of the whole study is that there are some labour and gender rights problems ongoing in the Furshet supermarkets. The following are recommendations to the Furshet Group and the EBRD.

Furshet Group:

- The complicated structure of the retail network leads to a varied and non-unified corporate policy, and the employees are not aware of it. There should be awareness-raising provided on the company's Corporate Policy and Social Responsibility Policy.
- As the research showed, the wage level and motivation incentives should be revised and this would lead to decreased personnel turnover.
- Informing of employees about their duties and responsibilities should be improved.
- The management should inform employees and educate them about their rights enshrined in the national labour legislation.

- Signing a collective agreement when getting a job in Furshet has to be in place. Should there be cases of discontent or the need to appeal, there should be a department/person appointed for receiving and addressing such requests, including possible sexual harassment cases.
- The best applicable corporate employee standards from across all the regions should be unified.
- There is a need to conduct training for the management of Furshet related to the Law on equal rights and opportunities and its application within the Furshet chain
- Attention should be paid to the age aspects of employment avoiding age discrimination, knowing the majority of Furshet employees are women.
- The promotion of responsible parenthood and a family-friendly working environment should be among the corporate values and included into employees' policies (considering legislation changes on pregnancy and child care leave, p.13). Eg., to propose flexible working hours for parents with small children, or if necessary, to create a kindergarten at the supermarket.
- As the shareholder of the "Auchan Ukraine" company (with 19% shareholding), the Furshet Group

should promote improvements of employment conditions in Auchan hypermarkets.

For the EBRD:

- The Furshet Group has to be informed about the EBRD's Social and Environmental policy requirements, and implement them.
- Training for Furshet management on the best labour and genderrelated practices needs to take place. Monitoring of the EBRD's policies and national labour legislation should be carried out in order to check on the fulfillment of both within Furshet's operations.

Appendix

Table 1. Forecast calculation of some indicators of Goal 6, Ensure Gender Equality, of the UN Millenium Development Goals for interim stages

Indicators	1990	2001	2004	2007	2011	2015
1.1. Gender ratio among deputies of Ukrainian Verlhovna Rada, women/men (or vice versa)	3/97	8/92	5/95	13/87	20/80	30/70
1.8. Gender ratio among members of Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, women/men (or vice versa)	No data	0/100	10/90	15/85	20/80	30/70
2.1. Ratio (percentage) of average salary, men and women, %	73	71	73	76	85	86

Table 2. Have you (or your friends) ever experienced discrimination against women? 2005, (%)

Area of discrimination	Yes	No
Employment	18.6%	81.4%
Salary	11.8%	88.2%
Promotion	13%	87%
Establishment of your own business	3.6%	96.4%
Applying for a position of a deputy at the Verkhovna Rada	1.8%	98.2%

Note. Research "Public Opinion of Ukrainians About Democracy" was conducted in spring 2005 by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology as a part of Democratic Education, joint Canadian and Ukrainian project (n=2019).

Table 3. Average monthly salary in regions, 2010 (for every full time employee, in UAH)

Region	January	February
Ukraine	1,916	1,955
Autonomous Republic of Crimea	1,656	1,693
Vinnytsya	1,501	1,531
Volyn	1,419	1,441
Dnipropetrovsk	2,023	2,033
Donets'k	2,183	2,224
Zhitomir	1,484	1,518
Zakarpattya	1,544	1,603
Zaporizhya	1,846	1,866
Ivano-Frankivsk	1,648	1,680
Kyiv	1,907	2,006
Kirovograd	1,550	1,593
Lugansk	1,963	1,975
Lviv	1,632	1,740
Mykolaiv	1,799	1,869
Odesa	1,863	1,807
Poltava	1,836	1,839
Rivne	1,612	1,663
Sumy	1,610	1,652
Ternopil	1,386	1,432
Kharkiv	1,757	1,837
Kherson	1,462	1,498
Khmelnitsk	1,480	1,521
Cherkasy	1,534	1,595
Chernivtsi	1,478	1,527
Chernigiv	1,423	1,453
Kyiv	2,969	3,022
Sevastopol	1,939	1,895

Note: The above data were collected at companies and their divisions that employ at least 10 people. Labour supervision changes and their impact on dynamic data comparison are described in the supplement to express issue "Quantity, working time and pay of employees in January 2010", No. 49 dated 26.02.2010.

Source: State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua

Table 4. Level of unemployment (based on ILO's methodology) by gender, age groups and residence in 2009

(average for the period, % to number of economically active people falling to the relevant age group)

1	Total		Age groups, years					
		15-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-70	
Total	8.8	17.8	10.4	8.2	8.0	5.8	0.1	9.6
Women	7.3	15.1	9.8	7.1	6.8	4.3	0.1	8.3
Men	10.3	19.8	10.9	9.3	9.3	7.3	0.1	10.8
Cities	9.6	20.3	11.1	8.6	8.4	6.1	0.3	10.2
rural areas	7.2	13.2	8.3	7.2	7.2	5.3	-	8.2

¹ Women aged 15 to 54, men aged 15 to 59

Source: State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua

Table 5. Level of unemployment (based on ILO's methodology) in regions in 2009 (based on sample study of people's economic activity, in % to economically active people of the relevant age)

	January-March		January-June		January-June		-	uary- ember	_	nuary– cember
	total, 15-70 years	including people able to work	Total, 15-70 years	including people able to work	total, 15–70 years	includin g people able to work	total, 15– 70 years	including people able to work		
Ukraine	9.5	10.3	9.1	9.9	8.6	9.4	8.8	9.6		
Autonomous Republic of Crimea	7.3	8.0	7.0	7.6	6.7	7.3	6.8	7.4		
Vinnytsya	11.4	12.6	10.9	12.1	10.5	11.7	10.6	11.9		
Volyn	10.1	10.9	9.4	10.2	9.0	9.8	9.4	10.2		
Dnipropetrovsk	8.1	8.6	7.8	8.3	7.6	8.1	7.8	8.2		
Donets'k	10.2	10.9	9.7	10.5	9.3	10.0	9.4	10.1		
Zhitomir	11.6	13.0	11.0	12.3	10.5	11.7	10.7	12.0		
Zakarpattya	10.4	11.0	10.2	10.8	9.9	10.5	9.9	10.6		
Zaporizhya	8.4	9.1	8.0	8.7	7.7	8.4	8.1	8.9		
Ivano-Frankivsk	9.5	10.3	8.9	9.7	8.8	9.6	9.0	9.7		
Kyiv	8.9	9.7	8.2	8.9	7.8	8.5	8.1	8.8		
Kirovograd	10.8	12.0	10.4	11.6	9.9	10.9	9.9	10.9		
Lugansk	8.4	9.1	7.8	8.5	7.4	8.0	7.7	8.4		
Lviv	8.8	9.6	8.5	9.3	8.3	9.0	8.5	9.2		
Mykolaiv	9.9	10.8	9.3	10.2	9.0	9.9	9.3	10.2		
Odesa	7.6	8.3	7.1	7.7	6.6	7.3	6.8	7.3		
Poltava	11.1	12.2	10.7	11.8	10.1	11.0	10.2	11.2		

Rivne	13.4	14.5	13.1	14.2	12.5	13.5	12.7	13.6
Sumy	11.9	12.7	11.6	12.7	10.9	12.2	11.1	12.4
Ternopil	12.2	13.3	11.7	12.9	11.0	12.2	11.3	12.4
Kharkiv	8.7	9.4	8.2	8.9	7.6	8.4	7.7	8.4
Kherson	10.3	11.2	9.8	10.6	9.4	10.2	9.5	10.3
Khmelnitsk	10.0	11.2	9.7	10.8	9.3	10.4	9.5	10.6
Cherkasy	11.4	12.3	11.1	12.0	10.6	11.6	10.8	11.7
Chernivtsi	9.9	11.5	9.2	10.8	8.9	10.5	9.4	10.9
Chernigiv	11.9	13.2	11.5	13.0	10.7	12.1	11.1	12.6
Kyiv	6.9	7.4	6.6	7.2	6.2	6.8	6.5	7.1
Sevastopol	6.9	7.8	6.8	7.6	6.5	7.2	6.7	7.3

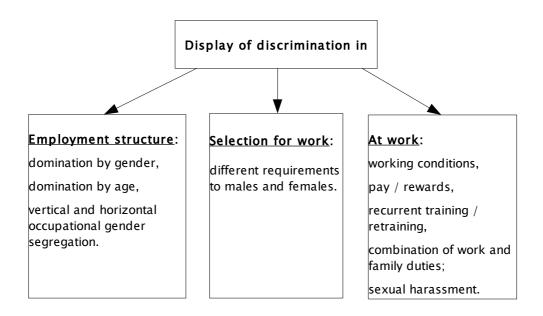
Source: State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua

Table 6. Age structure of people working at Furshet supermarkets (based on results of observations).

Position	Women	Men
Consultant	All age groups ⁵⁷ . Mostly 25 to 45 years old	All younger than 40. Mostly aged 25.
Cashier	All age groups. Mostly 25 to 40 years old.	Younger than 35.
Guard	25-35.	35-40.
Cleaner	Approximately 55	-
Administrator	Approximately 35	-
Loader	_	20 to 25. 40 to 45 60
Bag acceptance	50 to 65	-

 $^{\,}$ 57 $\,$ Hereinafter we also refer to people able to work, i.e. not minors or retired.

Figure 1. Conceptualisation of displays of discrimination in the labour market





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