3.5. DISCRIMINATION, BEHAVIOURAL AND SITUATIONAL PATTERNS

Apart from problems related to gender segregation, women's position in the labour market is affected by discrimination by employers.

Discrimination means unequal opportunities in the labour market for workers grouped by a certain criteria and demonstrating equal labour productivity (group discrimination), or else unequal opportuni– ties for individual workers as compared to workers with similar labour skills (individual discrimination).

According to ILO definition provided in the «Convention concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation» #111, discrimination means any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation».

Depending on the sphere of activity and expected outputs, several types of discrimination may be identified in the labour market.

- **1.** Discrimination during hire (or, vice versa, during fire), when one or another public category is hired last and fired first, other things being equal.
- **2.** Discrimination in access to certain professions or positions, when a certain group is prevented from or restricted in access to activities, occupations or positions despite their capacity to conduct these activities.
- **3.** Discrimination in labour remuneration, i.e. lower payment for similar type of work to certain workers as compared to others, when the gap in wages is not linked to different labour productivity.
- **4.** Discrimination in promotion or career development, i.e. limited vertical mobility of the discriminated group.
- **5.** Discrimination in receiving education or professional training, i.e. limited access to education and professional training, or else provision of low quality education services. This type of discrimination does not fully relate to discrimination in the labour market, as education usually precedes labour activity. But despite the "pre-labour" character, causes and effects of such discrimination are closely connected to the labour market (Table 10).

Numerous research of gender discrimination by employees and employers shows that discrimination during hire and fire is most acute in the Russian labour market.

Thus, according to the RLMS data, in 2000 majority of men and women were unanimous in stating that men have better chances at employment (Fig 5, 6).

The research carried out in 1998–2001 demonstrated that up to 30% of advertised vacancies were not gender neutral.²¹ This did not relate to occupations, requiring professional skills connected to biological differences between male and female labour force. Within four years, the number of such advertisements increased by 40%, in spite of the fact that the Russian legislation forbids gender discrimina—

tion in employment. Distribution of gender preferences by occupational groups reveals employers' stable stereotypes about professional preferences for men or women.

Thus, hidden (not open) discrimination in the labour market is revealed in employment and promotion policy and reflects employers' gender preferences regarding certain jobs and types of activity. Such hidden discrimination contributes to horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market.

In the labour market, two stereotypes behavioural and situational support gender inequality and discrimination.

Situational stereotypes are employers' stereotypes. Employers perceive women as less useful labour force. This stereotype originates from assumptions about necessity for women to combine labour activities and household duties, due to which one should not expect from them to work extra hours or to plan career growth. Such behaviour of employers is, undoubtedly, considered as discrimination.

Behavioural stereotypes, on the contrary, are employees' stereotypes. Women know that they are treated as less preferable workers, they assume they cannot compete with men and choose activities requiring less work and efforts.

Thus, according to RLMS data, over half of women believe they have few qualities of value in the current economic situation (Table 11).

As for men, their evaluations were more optimistic. On the average, 10% less men than women assume they lack valuable skills. The reverse trend is observed in evaluating the level of qualities. In this case, on the contrary, there are 10% more men. On the average, during these years about 43% of men assumed they had many qualities of value in the labour market (see responses «rather unlikely» or «unlikely»). In 1998, the crisis year, the share of men selecting these responses decreased to 39.7%.

Thus, discrimination and women's self-selection mechanisms operate in the labour market simultaneously and prevent women from obtaining the same status as men.

Women's broad participation in the labour market failed to eliminate the gender gap in employment. Quantitatively, the level of participation of men and women in the labour force and types of their labour activities during the labour cycle are very similar, women face horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market and on the average get smaller wages. Thus, providing equal participation of men and women in the labour force is not sufficient for elimination of economic prerequisites of gender inequality, it is necessary to change demand structure in the labour market and personnel hire and promotion procedures and to raise the significance and the status of positions occupied by women.

²¹ The research was carried out by T. Komissarova and S. Roschin

Table 10. Do men and women have equal opportunities for a good and well-paid job placement? (RLMS, 2000), %

	Men and women have equal opportunities for well-paid job placement	Men have better opportunities	Women have better opportunities		
Men	39,6	51,27	4,21		
Women	32,32	61,9	2,27		

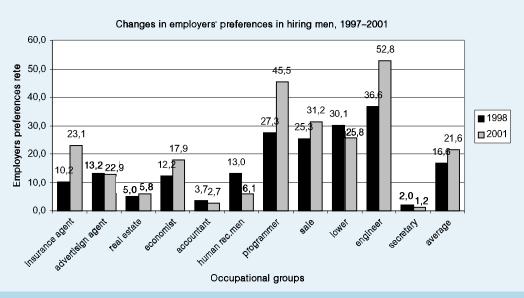


Fig. 5. Occupational gender preferences in hiring men

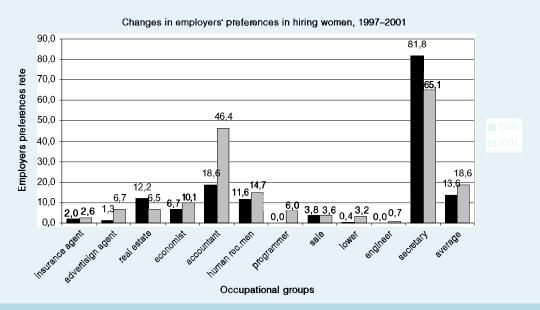


Fig. 6. Occupational gender preferences in hiring women

Table 11. Male and female responses to the question «I seem to have few qualities of value in the current economic situation», 1996–2000, RLMS, %

	Exactly			Very likely		Rather unlikely		Unlikely				
	1996	1998	2000	1996	1998	2000	1996	1998	2000	1996	1998	2000
Men	11,45	20,35	17,74	29,33	28,42	27,42	33,68	27,29	31,7	12,63	12,34	11,39
Women	17,97	26,18	24,66	32,39	32,02	29,88	26,70	23,29	26	10,93	7,40	9,00