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## **The Occupational Structure of Ukrainian Society in Time and Comparative Perspectives<sup>1</sup>**

### *Abstract*

*This research is aimed at the study of the occupational structure of Ukrainian society, in particular the population distribution in Ukraine by occupational groups (which were derived according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations ISCO-88). Statistical data demonstrates that a significant dynamics of occupational differentiation of Ukrainian population took place during the last twelve years, namely a shift from blue-collar occupations in the industrial sector to the sphere of trade and services. Comparative data of the ESS project indicates a principal similarity of occupational differentiation of the post-socialist societies in contrast to the Western countries (particularly, the number of white-collar positions in the occupational composition in the West is considerably higher, while for the blue collars it is correspondingly lower). The obtained data point out the importance of the determinants of gender and age for the analysis of the occupational structure of post-Soviet societies. The author reveals the patterns of both the horizontal and vertical gender segregation. Peculiarity of the occupational positions of different age groups lies in the so-called age “edge effect”: the youngest (below 20 years old) and the oldest (above 60) groups have a specific occupational structure against the middle groups.*

### **Introduction**

It is generally acknowledged that the nature of the work executed by an individual determines his social status. That is why sociologists have

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from the Ukrainian text “Profesiina struktura suchasnoi Ukrainy”, Sotsiolohiia, teoriia, metody, marketynh, 2009, № 3, pp. 62–99.

always regarded occupational positions as a factor constructing social stratification. In sociology the notion “occupation/profession”<sup>1</sup> is involved in the current interrelated issues. Studies on *occupational structure* deal with the aggregate distribution of occupations classified according to their skill level, economic function or social status in society [Durkheim, 1996; Sorokin, 1992; Parsons, 1991; Blau, Duncan, 1967; Erikson, Goldthorpe, 1992; others]. Studies on *occupational mobility* include movement of occupational groups or their representatives in the stratified social space (there are two main directions: when occupational achievements of parents and children are compared and when a sequence of posts within a career is studied for various generations) [Erikson, Goldthorpe, 1992; Ganzeboom, Treiman, Ultee, 1991; Featherman, Hauser, 1978; Burton, Grusky, 1992; others]. Studies on *occupational prestige* are aimed to obtain differentiated social appraisals related to occupations (they reflect what people know about occupations, what material and symbolic values are associated with them, how occupations are ranked) [Goldthorpe, Hope, 1974; Treiman, 1977; Ganzeboom, Treiman, 1996, 2003; Duncan, 1984; Wegener, 1992; Orth, Wegener, 2006; others]<sup>2</sup>. Studies on *occupational segregation* by some characteristics (sex, age, race, ethnicity or religion) reflect the labor division, as a result of which representatives of different groups (like men and women) are concentrated in different kinds of occupational roles and form separate labor forces [Feldberg, Glenn, 1989; Dex, 1985; Anker, 1998; Glove, Branine, 2001; Shanas, 1968; others]. Serious attention has been paid to methodological development of *occupational classifications* being preconditions and bases of all abovementioned studies on occupational dif-

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<sup>1</sup> In Western sociology, occupational belonging has been described by two notions “occupation” meaning any kind of activity bringing earnings and “profession” characterized by a high skill level and special training (see: [Aleksandrova, 2000; Luksha, 2003; Collins Dictionary, 1999: v. 2, p. 105]). However, the main attention is paid to studies on “occupational mobility”, “occupational status”, “occupational prestige”. The Ukrainian tradition uses them as “professional mobility”, “professional status” and “professional prestige” but it is generally known that they mean “occupation”. It could be because of the fact that Ukrainian and Russian languages do not form adjectives from a noun “occupation”. In the article the words “occupation” and “profession” have been used as synonymous and mean any kind of activity bringing earnings.

<sup>2</sup> The above references include names of Western researchers, who developed basic ideas about occupational structures, mobility and prestige. In Soviet sociology the abovementioned phenomena were studied as well by many researchers (there are only some works on this subject: [Filippov, 1989; Cherednichenko, Shubkin, 1985; Sotsial'no-professional'naya, 1973; Chernovolenko, Ossovskiy, Paniotto, 1979; Makeev, 1989]).

ferentiation [Treiman, 1977; Duncan, 1961, 1984; Ganzeboom, De Graaf, Treiman, 1992, 1996; Goldthorpe, Hope, 1974; Hoffmann, 1999; Leiulfstrud, Bison, Jensberg, 2005]. Structures and kinds of professional knowledge, culture and languages of professional groups, identities of professionals, their everyday practices, processes of professionalization and professional socialization, gender models of professions, power and ethical orders in professions and other are the subject of *sociology of professions* as a separate sociological field<sup>1</sup> [Abbott, 1988; Friendson, 2001; The Sociology, 1983; The End, 1997; Professions, 1990; The Formation, 1990; Crompton, 1990; Davies, 1996; Perkin, 1988; MacDonald, 1995].

The article mostly deals with occupational structures, and they, as is known, reflect the aggregate distribution of occupations in society<sup>2</sup>. A description of occupational differentiation in general is determined by specific features of the methods chosen by a researcher for identification of occupational groups. The way of choosing a classification scheme of occupations should be discussed because, for more than fifty years of studies on occupational stratification, numerous schemes have been developed according to the analysis aim, theoretical approaches of a researcher or those criteria which were of top priority.

The first kind of occupational classifications is used to reflect distribution of occupational groups picked out in accordance with skill levels and specialization. Initially, such classifications were developed by statistical agencies of various countries and were of specific and national nature. However, for the past twenty years a tendency to unify occupational identification of individuals in statistical and sociological data has been revealed. To do this, there are widely used categories of ISCO-88. This typology has been applied within my study (details will be discussed further). Occupations are also used as a basis for the second

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<sup>1</sup> There are analyzed mostly classical professions that need long-term theoretical training, with strict ethos, strong professional associations and group identity. Under social transformations, sociologists especially attentive to how values and worlds of certain professions (doctors, advocates, others) change, how new professions appear and get institutionalized (social worker, manager, web-designer, others), how old professions degrade and die [Sotsial'naya dinamika, 2007; Mansurov, Yurchenko, 2008; Aleksandrova, 2000; Professional'nye gruppy, 2003].

<sup>2</sup> In Western tradition researchers focus more on social and occupational mobility than structures. For both topics, the research methodologies do not differ in principle: distribution of individuals by occupational groups and their movements from one group to another have been realized with the same methods; the only difference is that when we study mobility, some additional parameters are used (occupational status of parents or first place of work), as well as special coefficients.

kind of classifications: schemes of economic and social classes (the most known classification of this kind are the class schemes by J. Goldthorpe [Erikson, Goldthorpe, 1992], G. Esping-Andersen [Esping-Andersen 1993], T. Zaslavskaya [Zaslavskaya, 1997], O. Shkaratan and his colleagues [Shkaratan, 2006, 2007, 2008])<sup>1</sup>. The third kind of occupational classifications deals with scales of occupational prestige constructed on subjective ranking of the main occupations (like scales of occupational prestige by J. Goldthorpe and K. Hope [Goldthorpe, Hope, 1974], D. Treiman [Treiman, 1977], H. Ganzeboom and D. Treiman [Ganzeboom, Treiman, 1996, 2003]).

It is obvious that the idea of occupational distribution depends on the study aim, grounds and levels of occupation grouping. The most general grouping of occupations deals with differentiation between manual and non-manual labor (used by the author in the article). Difference between those involved in manual and intellectual labor is traditionally (in Western sociology) reflected in the terms “working class” and “middle class”, “blue-collar” and “white-collar” workers [Collins Dictionary, 1999: v. 2, pp. 173-174; Dictionary, 2005: p. 379; Mills, 1951]. The “blue-collar worker” means those who work manually and get a piece-rate or per-hour payments, while “the white-collar worker” is applied to those who are employed in professional or relatively routine office and administrative jobs of non-manual labor and get a fixed salary.

It is well known that occupational structure is not stable. It has been formed and changed due to various factors: “the economic structures (the relative weights of different industries), technology and bureaucracy (the distribution of technological skills and administrative responsibility), the labor market (which determines the pay and conditions attached to occupations); and by status and prestige (influenced by occupational closure, life style and social values)” [Dictionary, 2005: p. 459]. Researchers do not choose any of those factors as determining; even more, they say that the factors’ roles in formation of occupational structures change along with changes of society. For example, at the early stage of European industrialization the dominance of manufacturing led to a decrease of manual occupations. In the past decades a decline in

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The mentioned class schemes were constructed on different theoretical grounds, they also differ by operational models and sets of classes. Besides a profession, they include some other criteria (e.g., occupation status, level of competence, volume of powers, occupation conditions, economic branch of occupation and others). By the way, the most known and currently popular stratification scales (CASMIN, EGP, ESeC) are derivatives of the universal ISCO-88.

industrial sector and growth in service sector and bureaucratic system created the expansion of the white-collar occupations. During the last years researchers noticed that the difference between occupations of manual and non-manual labor has become not very distinctive as well.

Since social and economic changes modify the occupational structure, any particular classification is able to reflect this structure in time only within certain limits [Dictionary, 2005: p. 456]. However, it is necessary to renew classification schemes regularly, despite the fact that the process of change identification in occupational structures in time becomes more difficult (like the ISCO being renewed every 20 years: there are versions of 1968, 1988, 2008).

In Western sociology studies on social and occupational structures of society (within all the above-mentioned topics) form traditionally one of the main directions in stratification analysis; numerous discussions have formed conventional theoretical and methodological approaches to research on the named phenomena. The common methodology of occupational and social class measurements has been developed, and it is widely validated in comparative international projects and so on. In Ukrainian sociology of the post-Soviet period, despite the fact that a number of works deal with social and occupational structures, mobility and prestige [Kutsenko, 2000; Klassovoye obshchestvo, 2003; Oksamitnaya, 2003; Kon, 2005; Oksamitnaya, Patrakova, 2007; Simonchuk, 1999, 2006]. In the author's opinion, this direction is not on the main road: there were no serious attempts for development of original typologies based on grouping of occupations. According to the number of publications, there is no wide interest in these topics, and this fact limits essentially our knowledge about Ukrainian social structure. In modern Russian sociology the situation is significantly better: there are examples of developed and applied authors' social and occupational stratification schemes (like those developed by T. Zaslavskaya [Zaslavskaya, 1997], O. Shkaratan and his colleagues [Shkaratan, 2006, 2007])<sup>1</sup>; interesting projects on the corresponding issues have been realized [Profesional'nye gruppy, 2003; Popova, 2004; Antropologiya professiy, 2005; Sotsial'naya dinamika, 2006; Shkaratan, Il'in, 2006; Shkaratan, Yastrebov, 2007, 2008; Anikin, Tikhonova, 2008]. Unfortunately, joint studies

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<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, specific features of the schemes' construction were not sufficiently described for autonomous application by a wide range of sociologists, the schemes are not available as syntaxes for construction of classes in particular, contrary to popular schemes of Western sociologists.

on social and occupational structures in the post-Soviet countries were not conducted and correlated work on development of common methodology for creation of occupational schemes was not implemented (or it is not described in sociological publications). During the last years, being involved in large-scale international sociological projects — European Social Survey (ESS) and International Social Survey Program (ISSP) — Ukrainian sociologists began using traditional for Western researchers occupational classifications (ISCO-88) and class schemes, developed by J. Goldthorpe, G. Esping-Andersen, E.O. Wright [Ukrainskoye obshchestvo, 2007; Kon, 2005; Oksamitnaya, 2003; Patrakova, 2009]. So, there appeared the perspective for the national researchers to create a multilateral comparative picture of national and European social realities, to describe the Ukrainian occupational structure in particular.

## Study Tasks and Method

Phenomena of occupational structure, mobility and prestige are traditionally interesting for national sociologists, however, for a long time, realization of such projects was kept back because there was no reliable universal means for fixation of occupations in sociological survey. In the past decades, such commonly accepted methodical instrument for social researchers (including sociologists) in studies on occupational structures has become the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88) and its national versions<sup>1</sup>. In Ukraine on ISCO-88 basis has been developed and applied since 1996 Ukrainian Classification of Professions; in Russia, it is All-Russian Classification of Occupations. In national sociological projects the variable of profession, coded according to ISCO-88, has been used recently — for the first time, it was involved in the database of ESS in 2004 and in the Monitoring of the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine in 2008. The presence of this variable in national databases enables to use it, *firstly*, as a main variable: for example, to study distribution of Ukrainian population by occupational groups (the topic of the article); *secondly*, as an independent variable for analysis of many sociological phenomena, like political attitudes, levels of collective solidarity, cultural practices, standards of life, distribution of family roles and others; *thirdly*, as an additional variable

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<sup>1</sup> A story about creation of this classification, its conceptual and operational grounds, spheres of its application can be seen in [Hoffmann, 1999; Simonchuk, 2008; Antropologiya professiy, 2005].

(one of the main components to construct schemes of social class and socioeconomic status<sup>1</sup>).

It is known that ISCO-88 is very important and useful tool for sociologists but rather difficult for construction. To get the occupation variable, researchers include in a questionnaire a block of variables/questions, including: a name of respondent's occupation and his main tasks and duties executed at work; level of education and necessary qualifications for conducting the work; an industry and status of employment; the number of employees, the managerial function and number of subordinates. These questions are applied to respondents employed at the moment of the study and to those who were employed before. Then, basing on the obtained information, the specially trained people according to ISCO-88 (COM) code the data, and a new variable goes to the database.

The availability of this variable in statistical data and databases of international and national sociological projects made it possible to conduct the research aimed to study occupational structure of Ukrainian society. In particular, there were the following tasks: *firstly*, to analyze distribution of population by occupational groups (the author wanted to compare and contrast the data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine and sociological projects, ESS and Monitoring of the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine); *secondly*, to study dynamics of occupational composition for the past decade; *thirdly*, to compare occupational structures of Ukraine, Russia, the countries of Eastern and Western Europe; *fourthly*, to analyze gender, age and place of residence profiles of occupational composition.

The occupation variable is usually represented by 4-digit code, and this enables to use any of four possible levels of grouping. In this study there used occupations in the most general grouping into 9 occupational categories (see Table 1). Then, the distribution data by the determined occupational groups were analyzed one by one according to the specified tasks. The corresponding data are presented for the respondents employed at the moment of study and for all respondents who has ever been occupied.

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<sup>1</sup> With the help of special SPSS-programs, in the databases have been constructed variables of class schemes by J. Goldthorpe (EGP), E.O Wright and G. Esping-Andersen, as well as International Socioeconomic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) by H. Ganzeboom and International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS) by D. Treiman [Leiulfsrud, Bison, Jensberg, 2005].

**Table 1****Employment, by occupational groups, %**

Occupational Groups	State Statistics Committee (among the employed)*	ESS-2006/7**		Monitoring-2008	
		Among the employed respondents	Among all respondents	Among the employed respondents	Among all respondents
Legislators, senior officials and managers	7.6	14.2	9.2	8.9	8.8
Professionals	12.6	13.6	10.3	14.7	11.8
Technicians and associate professionals	11.4	15.4	14.4	20.8	18.3
Clerks	3.6	6.0	5.6	2.9	3.8
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	13.6	12.5	12.2	12.0	11.4
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.3	1.0	2.0	1.3	1.7
Craft and related workers	12.6	12.9	14.0	18.6	17.1
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	12.6	12.9	13.5	12.7	13.8
The elementary occupations	24.7	11.5	18.8	8.0	13.3
<b>Number of respondents (thousand)</b>	<b>20904.7</b>	<b>0.784</b>	<b>1.784</b>	<b>1.033</b>	<b>1.648</b>

\* Source: Economic Activity of the Ukrainian Population for 2007: Statistical Collection. — K., 2008. — P. 83.

\*\* The ESS data were weighed by design.

## Results

**The first task** — to compare occupational composition of Ukrainian population by the data of official statistics and different sociological projects — is important because, for Ukrainian sociologists, construction of

occupation variable (in particular, development of the block of necessary questions, collection with its help of information about occupation and its further coding according to ISCO-88) is rather new practice. That is why similarity and stability of corresponding data in different projects are regarded as a sign of the data validity.

An analysis of Table 1 shows that in the sociological projects the data on occupational distribution of Ukrainian population are rather close, deviations are acceptable and can be explained by different methods of collecting information on respondents' occupation (in ESS, it was an interview, in the Monitoring, it was a hand-out questioning) and principles of a sample construction (random and quota correspondingly). The data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine differ from those of sociological projects; the most significant difference relates to the category of the elementary occupations among the employed population (in the statistic data, their part is essentially bigger).

Allowing for the average data of all projects, we can present the occupational composition of Ukrainian society as follows (Figure 1).

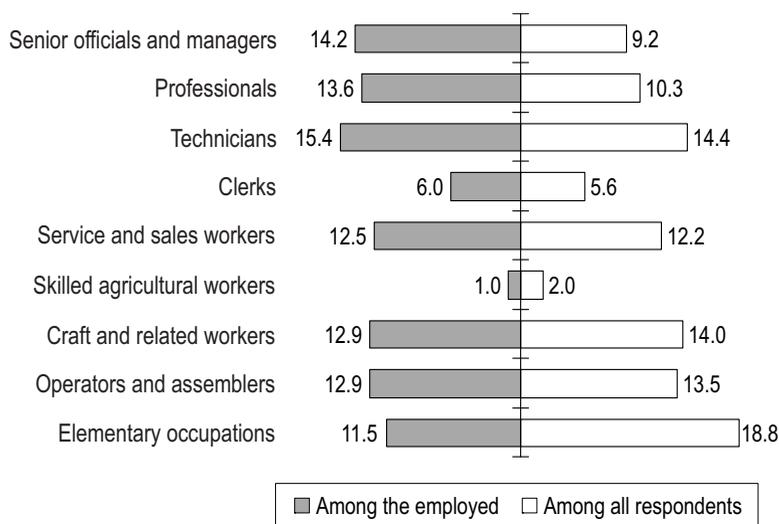


Figure 1. Employment in Ukraine, by occupational groups (by the data of ESS-2006), %

*Among all the employed population, one tenth of them perform managerial or administrative functions (legislators, senior officials and managers). (Sociological studies usually include in this occupational group*

managers of enterprises / departments with over 10 subordinates and managers of small enterprises with 2–9 subordinates.) From one fourth to one third of all the employed are skilled non-manual workers, among which there are *professionals* (scientists, engineers, doctors, lawyers, economists, architects, lecturers, teachers and so on) and *technicians and associate professionals* (nurses, inspectors of customs, tax and finance services, brokers, social workers, sports coaches and so on). From 3% to 6% of the employed are *clerks* — an occupational group of those who fulfill auxiliary functions in the work of professionals (secretaries, computer operators, librarians, administrators, insurance agents, tax collectors and so on). About 15% are *service workers and shop and market sales workers* (salespeople, hairdressers, security guards, firemen, cooks, waiters, stewards, conductors and so on). Over one fourth of the respondents are employed in skilled manual work, among them, 1–2% are *agricultural and fishery workers* (cattle-breeders, milkmen and women, forest-guards, bee-keepers, gardeners and so on), 13% are *craft and related workers* (painters, joiners, parquet floor layers, welders, metalworkers, assemblers, electric mechanics, printers, seamstress and so on) and 13% are *plant and machine operators and assemblers* (drivers of motor and cargo transport, train drivers, crane-operators, borers, furniture assemblers, workers of automatic assembly lines, workers who operate melting furnaces, pipe equipment, boilers, refrigerators, water purification systems and so on). From 10% to 25% (different sources) are employed in the *elementary occupations* (cleaners, wardens, porters, window-cleaners, concierges, laundresses, unskilled agricultural workers and so on).

Occupational distribution of *all respondents ever employed*<sup>1</sup> (see Table 1) differs from the distribution of the currently employed mostly in the bigger part of unskilled workers (elementary occupations) and at the same time in a lower part of high skilled non-manual workers (professionals), senior officials and managers .

To compare occupational profiles of the employed and all respondents, the author has grouped the nine mentioned occupational categories according to the criteria of manual and non-manual labor and got a group of *white-collars* (first four categories from Table 1) and a group of

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Apart from the currently employed, in this category are those who do not have paid job at the moment of the study but had it before. They include housekeepers, disabled, registered unemployed and pensioners. Namely pensioners form the main part of the non-employed and affect significantly the distribution.

*blue-collars* (the next five categories)<sup>1</sup>. The ESS data revealed that the correlation between both groups is 39% and 61% among all respondents and 49% and 51% among the employed. So, it is evident that now the occupational structure tends more to the white-collar positions: there are fewer positions in agriculture and industry but more in the sales, intellectual, social and personal services. The most general explanation for these differences between the population as a whole and the employed can be found in macro-economic changes and corresponding dynamics in the workplace structure.

**The second task** is to analyze dynamics of occupational composition of Ukrainian population, and this can be realized only basing on statistical information: the corresponding data have been collected by the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine since 1996, while the Monitoring project on occupational structure started only by the ESS 2004 and the Monitoring of 2008.

Before studying the dynamics of occupational groups in 1996–2007 let us consider the tendencies in changes of the total number of the employed (see Table 2). From 1996 to 2002, as it was revealed, the number of the employed decreased gradually from 24 114.0 to 20 400.7 thousand persons (by 14%)<sup>2</sup>. Since 2002 some rise or at least stabilization (20 904.7 thousand in 2007) has been registered on the labor market. In the regarded period, along with changes in the number of the employed, there were transformations in the labor market segmentation by occupational characteristics (see Figure 2).

Among the employed, the biggest losses were registered in some groups of the working class. The quickest fall was in the numbers of skilled workers employed in agriculture, forestry and fishery — from 5.0% in 1996 to 1.3% in 2007. As we know, it happened because of the agricultural reforming, collapse of *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*, crush of the institutional basis of agricultural sector and establishment of new social and economic relations in the country [Allen, Goncharuk, Perrotta, 2001; Lerman, Sedik, Pugachov, Goncharuk, 2007]. At the same time, the part of craft and related workers (mostly occupations of the industrial sector)

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For this kind of grouping, the fifth occupational group (the service and sales workers) can be considered as blue- or white-collar. There are researchers who prefer the first or the second option. In the article this category was regarded as the blue-collar.

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The lowering tendency in numbers of employed had been registered since the end of 1980-ies but in the article, we regard it since 1996 because of the statistic data available on occupational categories.

decreased by over one fourth — from 17.0% in 1996 to 12.6% in 2007. It can be probably explained by restructuring of economy, bankruptcy of enterprises, their reorientation as a result of ownership change and a decrease in industrial occupation numbers correspondingly.

**Table 2**

**Employed population in Ukraine, by occupational groups  
in 1996–2007, %\***

<i>Occupational groups</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2007 to 1996</i>
Legislators, senior officials and managers	7.0	7.0	7.2	7.3	7.3	7.6	108.6
Professionals	13.4	13.3	12.9	12.7	12.2	12.6	94.0
Technicians and associate professionals	13.5	14.2	15.0	13.6	12.0	11.4	84.4
Clerks	6.6	5.2	4.2	4.4	3.7	3.6	54.5
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	5.7	10.5	11.3	12.6	13.2	13.6	238.6
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	5.0	8.0	3.0	2.3	1.5	1.3	26.0
Craft and related workers	17.0	8.2	13.3	13.5	12.0	12.6	74.1
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	8.2	9.4	15.4	14.7	12.8	12.6	153.7
The elementary occupations	23.7	24.3	17.7	18.7	25.3	24.7	104.2
<b>N (thousand people)</b>	<b>24114</b>	<b>22998</b>	<b>20420</b>	<b>20401</b>	<b>20730</b>	<b>20905</b>	<b>86.7</b>

\* Source: Economic Activity of the Ukrainian Population for 2006: Statistical Collection. — K., 2007. — P. 87; Economic Activity of the Ukrainian Population for 2007: Statistical Collection. — K., 2008. — P. 83.

In the period under study negative processes were registered in occupational groups of non-manual labor as well. The part of professionals reduced from 13.4% in 1996 to 12.6% in 2007, the part of technicians from 13.5% to 11.4%, correspondingly; the part of clerks decreased nearly twice (from 6.6% to 3.6%). It is obvious that losses among professionals and technicians were less significant than among clerks and workers. This can be explained, on the one hand, by lack of significant reforming in health care, education and science, as well as corresponding changes in work place structure of the budget sector, and on the other hand, by the fact that specialization and long years of education have a stabilizing effect on the labor behavior; as a result, careers of professionals and technicians are usually more stable and consequent than of low-skilled white-collar, for example.

The registered outflow of intellectual workers (because of low salaries and prestige of their work, and career perspectives) had a number of directions, like labor migration abroad (the phenomenon known as brain drain), to business or governmental service [Simonchuk, 1999]. The tendency to lowering the number of intellectuals and corresponding occupational categories shows that declarations by the political leaders about a necessity of Ukrainian economy transition to the innovation basis are still no more than just declarations.

Among those occupational groups, which essentially strengthen their positions on the labor market, there are the service workers, their part has grown 2.4 times (from 5.7% in 1996 to 13.6% in 2007), and the equipment and machinery operators and assemblers, their number has increased 1.5 times (from 8.2% to 12.6% correspondingly). Basing on the empirical data and everyday observations by researchers, one can say that namely the sales and service sphere took the main flows of dismissed or resigned workers from other occupational groups. This sphere was attractive due to higher and more stable salaries (contrary to other sectors), flexible employment, lack of barriers, like certificates or work experience, wide opportunities for self-employment and small enterprising. At the same time, in this sphere “shady” relations were formed in employment and salaries. There is one more occupational group, in which there was registered a growth in employment for the regarded period (from 7.0% in 1996 to 7.6% in 2007), — we mean legislators, senior officials and managers of various levels.

As to the category of the elementary occupations, the data are not so straight: for 1996–2000, its part decreased by one fourth (from 23.7% to 17.7%), but by 2007 it was restored (to 24.7%). There may be various ex-

planations: as a result of the mobility processes that took place on the labor market (like dismissed agricultural workers or the flow of unskilled workers who went abroad looking for a job and came back then) or because of mistakes in measurement of the occupational variable (it is very probable as far as the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine had changed the calculation methods several times during the period).

So, the processes of occupational mobility (variously directed) took place in Ukraine in 1996–2007, on the background of a decrease in the number of employed (1.2 times). In five occupational groups, the numbers of employed decreased (the most losers happened to be skilled workers of agriculture, tool workers and clerks and, though a bit less, highly educated occupational groups — professionals and technicians). At the same time, in three groups the numbers have grown (among winners, there are the service workers, equipment operators and assemblers, legislators and managers). The upward and downward mobility flows in occupational sphere can be explained mostly by structural changes in economy and ownership relations, although we should not forget about the influence of technical and technological changes (like new occupations and growing employment in the IT-sphere: the internet-service, computer technologies and others)<sup>1</sup>.

Compared to Ukraine, the radically different processes were observed in the occupational structure of Russia (see Table 3 and Figure 2). Firstly, for the decade (1998–2007)<sup>2</sup> the total number of employed had grown steadily (by 20%), but not decreased as in Ukraine. Secondly, despite significant restructuring of occupational space in both countries, this process in Ukraine differed from the Russian one by its direction and intensity of changes. In Russia positive dynamics was registered in four occupational groups: the part of senior officials and managers and professionals had grown by one third, the part of the service workers and skilled workers of agriculture had grown by one fourth. At the same time, we can see that the most decrease in the number of employed relates to blue-collars: the part of those who are employed in the elementary occupations had fallen by one fourth, the part of operators and assemblers

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In sociology of professions, there are interesting studies on appearing and institutionalization of new professions, like social worker, sales manager, web-designer and others, on changes in status characteristics, values and living worlds of certain professions (doctors, advocates, etc.) [Antropologiya professiy, 2005; Sotsial'naya dinamika, 2006].

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The State Committee of the Russian Federation on Statistics has supplied the data on occupational distribution of population according to All-Russian Classification of Occupations since 1998.

had fallen by 15%, the part of craft and related workers by 10%, while a decrease in the part of non-manual workers was not so essential: the part of technicians had decreased by 5% and the part of clerks by 9%.

**Table 3**

**Employed population in Russia, by occupational groups  
in 1998–2007, %\***

<i>Occupational groups</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2007 to 1998</i>
Legislators, senior officials and managers	5.5	4.2	4.9	6.6	7.4	134.5
Professionals	14.7	15.9	16.2	17.5	19.2	130.6
Technicians and associate professionals	15.5	15.1	15.7	14.9	14.7	94.8
Clerks	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.2	2.9	90.6
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	11.4	12.2	13.0	14.1	14.0	122.8
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	2.8	5.5	4.6	3.9	3.5	125.0
Craft and related workers	16.5	16.7	16.8	15.7	14.9	90.3
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	14.2	13.8	13.9	12.5	12.0	84.5
Elementary occupations	15.2	13.4	11.4	11.6	11.3	74.3
<b>N (thousand persons)</b>	<b>58437</b>	<b>65273</b>	<b>65766</b>	<b>69189</b>	<b>70814</b>	<b>121.2</b>

\* *Calculated by:* Russian Statistical Annual Collection 2001. — M.: Goskomstat Rossii, 2002. — P. 144; Russian Statistical Annual Collection 2003. — M.: Goskomstat Rossii, 2003. — P. 140; Russian Statistical Annual Collection 2007. — M.: Rosstat, 2007. — P. 147; Economic Activity of the Russian Population for 2008: Statistical Collection. — M.: Rosstat, 2008. — P. 75-76.

If we compare dynamics of the white- and blue-collar employment in both countries, according to Table 3 and Figure 2, then in Ukraine, this correlation in 1998 was 40% : 60%, in 2007 it was 35% : 65%, correspondingly. In Russia, the correlation was 39% : 61% and 44% : 66%. It means, if we trust the data of official statistics, that the dynamics of occupational composition in two post-Soviet countries had different directions: in Russia the flow moved from categories of blue-collar to white-collar and the sales and service sphere (this can be regarded as a movement towards the post-industrial structure of economy), in Ukraine the flow moved mostly to the sales and service sphere. Negative tendencies within the occupational structure were less extended in Russia than in Ukraine.

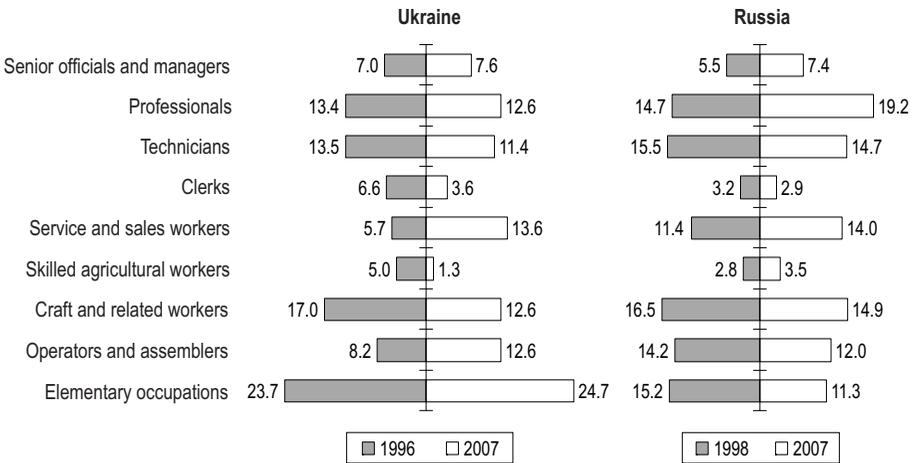


Figure 2. Dynamics of employed population in Ukraine and Russia, by occupational groups in 1996–2007 (by the data of official statistics), %

To realize the **third task** — to compare occupational structures in Ukraine and Russia with countries of Eastern and Western Europe<sup>1</sup> — we used the data of European Social Survey of 2006/2007. European countries, which participated in the project were grouped by regions — “the countries of Eastern Europe” (Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Slovak Republic and Estonia) and “the countries of Western Europe” (Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Cyprus, Germany, Denmark, Spain,

<sup>1</sup> It is known that namely in comparative studies, the data on distribution by occupational groups are the most vulnerable, because of national differences in identification of qualification levels of various occupations in particular. To minimize it, in the international statistics of labor strict rules for the data comparison were developed (see: [Hoffmann, 1999: point 35]).

Finland, France, United Kingdom, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and Sweden)<sup>1</sup>. We compared the corresponding data among the respondents employed at the moment of survey and the respondents employed before it.

By the data of ESS-2006/2007, occupational profiles of population (respondents ever employed) have similarities and differences in the regarded countries (see Table 4). In all the countries the part of legislators, senior officials and managers is about 8–9%, except Russia, where it is 4.9% (however, it can be due to mistakes of coding applied to Russian unit, because according to the official statistics data in 2007, this category numbered 7.4%).

In Ukraine the total part of skilled intellectual workers (professionals and technicians) is 24.7%. That is more than in the countries of Eastern Europe (19.2%) but less than both in Western Europe and Russia (30% both). (This conclusion is also supported by the abovementioned data of the official statistics). Among the countries of Western Europe, there are essential differences in the total part of skilled white-collars: for example, in the most developed countries — Sweden, Netherlands, Switzerland — it is 36–37%, while in Spain and Portugal it is 13–16%.

In all post-socialist countries the part of clerks is almost the same (6–8%), that is a half less than the average part in Western countries (13%). The same picture has been revealed as to the service and sales workers, in post-socialist countries, their part is 11–13%, that is less than the average in Western Europe (15%), where the service sector of economy started to develop much earlier.

The parts of skilled workers employed in agriculture are close in Ukraine, Russia and on the average in Western countries (2–3%)<sup>2</sup>, but they significantly differ from the average in the countries of Eastern Europe (7%) — mostly owing to Poland and Bulgaria where the part of farmers goes up to 10%, while in the rest of post-socialist countries of Eastern Europe it is about 2%. As to this category, there are differences between countries of Western Europe as well: the part makes 5–7% in Spain, Portugal and Finland, while it is 2% in the United Kingdom and Denmark.

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1

According to recommendations of ESS coordinators, the data on Ukraine and Russia were weighed by design-effect, the data on countries of Eastern and Western Europe was also weighed taking into account the population numbers in the grouped countries. About weighing the data in ESS see: <http://ess.nsd.uib.no/files/WeightingESS.pdf>.

2

In Ukraine and Russia the main part of the employed in agriculture consists of unskilled workers who belong to the category “elementary occupations”.

The total part of skilled manual workers (craft and related workers and operators and assemblers) is nearly the same in post-socialist countries (the average in Eastern Europe is 28.4%, in Ukraine, it is 27.5% and in Russia it is 32.1%<sup>1</sup>), but it is principally higher (1.5 times) than the average in Western Europe (19.3%). (However, there are significant differences between the parts of skilled blue-collar workers in various Western countries: it is 12–16% in the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Switzerland and it is 23–32% in Germany, Spain and Portugal.)

The part of employed in the elementary occupations is the biggest in Ukraine (18.8%) and in the countries of Eastern Europe (16.4%), it is almost 1.5 times higher than in Russia (11.8%) and the average in Western Europe (11.4%). More detailed analysis shows that these differences can be explained by higher parts of the employed in simple agricultural occupations.

So, the occupational profiles are close in all post-Soviet countries and at the same time principally differ from developed Western countries. For example, correlation of white-collar workers (the first four categories) and blue-collar workers (the next five ones) is 40% to 60% in Ukraine, 42% to 58% in Russia, 35% to 65% on average in countries of Eastern Europe, and 51% to 49% on the average in Western countries.

Comparing occupational structures, the author understands that the picture of occupational differentiation is rather rough because of significant differences in qualitative characteristics: for example, in developed Western countries and post-Soviet societies, groups of professionals (lawyers, doctors, university lecturers and others) differ by the level of work autonomy, power positions in society, social prestige, life standards and so on<sup>2</sup>. Essential differences are in the work and market situations of skilled agricultural workers in different countries.

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<sup>1</sup> In Ukraine the part of craft and related workers is less than in Russia and countries of Eastern Europe, while the part of plant and machine operators and assemblers is nearly the same (12–14%).

<sup>2</sup> Professionals and technicians and associate professionals forming the so-called “new middle class” have significant differences in different countries. In the times of bipolar world, this class had been formed in both systems independently, while now it develops under the globalization influence. Russian sociologist V. Il'in thinks that developers of production technologies, infrastructures, etc. are concentrated in the most developed countries, from which the developed products are spread to other parts of the world, while in post-communist countries the new middle class has been formed by occupations maintaining sales of important goods, by managers who organize production according to schemes and technologies developed abroad [Il'in, 2008: p. 11].

**Table 4****Occupational structures in Ukraine and Russia, countries of Eastern and Western Europe (by the data of ESS-2006), %\***

<i>Occupational groups</i>	<i>Among the employed respondents**</i>				<i>Among all respondents</i>			
	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>East-ern Eu- rope</i>	<i>West-ern Eu- rope</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>East-ern Eu- rope</i>	<i>West-ern Eu- rope</i>
Legislators, senior officials and managers	14.2	6.7	9.3	9.9	9.2	4.9	8.1	8.7
Professionals	13.6	16.8	12.4	15.6	10.3	14.9	8.7	12.8
Technicians and associate professionals	15.4	16.0	11.9	18.9	14.4	15.4	10.5	17.0
Clerks	6.0	7.0	7.9	11.9	5.6	6.8	7.6	12.9
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	12.5	12.3	13.4	14.3	12.2	10.8	13.1	15.3
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.0	1.9	5.5	2.1	2.0	3.4	7.2	2.7
Craft and related workers	12.9	17.7	16.8	12.4	14.0	18.7	16.9	12.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	12.9	14.5	11.7	6.5	13.5	13.4	11.5	6.9
Elementary occupations	11.5	7.2	11.0	8.5	18.8	11.8	16.4	11.4
<b>Number of respondents</b>	<b>784</b>	<b>1244</b>	<b>2428</b>	<b>14277</b>	<b>1794</b>	<b>2057</b>	<b>4682</b>	<b>24869</b>

\* Data on Ukraine and Russia are weighed by design, the data on countries of Eastern and Western Europe are weighed by weight2 = dweight\*pweight.

\*\* Data calculated only for the employed respondents, we mean those who have a paid job.

However, the picture of occupational composition differs if we analyze the data for the employed population only<sup>1</sup> (see Table 4). Compared to all people ever employed, in the part of currently employed population, in all countries, the part of senior officials and managers, professionals and technicians is higher, while the part of those occupied in the elementary occupations is lower. (Other occupations do not differ statistically.) Correspondingly, there are differences in the total correlations between white- and blue-collar: in Ukraine it is 49% and 51% for the employed (40% and 60% for all population), in Russia it is 47% and 65% (42% and 58% correspondingly), in Eastern Europe the average is 42% and 58% (35% and 58%), in Western Europe the average is 56% and 44% (51% and 49%). So, in all countries, we can see a shift towards the white-collar employment. This fact reflects dynamics in workplace structures of past decades, it moves to the sphere of management and skilled non-manual labor.

An analysis of the data on occupational composition of Ukrainian population by gender, age and place of residence, according to the **fourth research task**, enabled to register a number of interesting laws.

There are many sociological works on interrelations between gender and occupational employment [Hakim, 1996; Anker, 1998; Feldberg, Glenn, 1979; Dex, 1985; Gender, 1988, 1989, 1994; Bliznyuk, 2004; Zhurzhenko, 2001; Lavrinenko, 2003; Mal'tseva, Roshchin, 2006; Pratsia zhinok, 2003]<sup>2</sup>. Studying **gender profile of occupational structure**, researchers usually concentrate their attention on *horizontal segregation* — uneven distribution of men and women by industries and occupational groups — and on *vertical segregation* — social barriers for career growth of women, work discrimination, payment differences and so on<sup>3</sup>.

According to the data of ESS and official statistics, the gender profile of occupational groups among the employed population of Ukraine and Russia is asymmetrical, reflecting the fact of horizontal segregation

<sup>1</sup> In all national samples the employed (with the paid employment at the moment of survey) make up around a half of all respondents: in Ukraine — 42%, in Russia — 51%, in countries of Eastern Europe — 47%, in countries of Western Europe — 53%.

<sup>2</sup> About interrelations between gender and social classes (class schemes are based on profession classification by ISCO-88) see: [Goldthorpe, 1983; Leijulfsrud, Woodward, 1987; Oksamitnaya, 2003; Simonchuk, 2007].

<sup>3</sup> Various aspects of measuring occupational segregation by sex and corresponding data see: [Hakim, 1996; Antonchenkova, 2004].

(Table 5 and Figure 3). Men take positions of legislators, senior officials and managers 1.5–2 times more often than women, positions of craft and related workers 4–5 times more often than women, positions of the plant and machine operators and assemblers 3–5 times more often than women. There are twice more women among professionals, technicians and associate professionals and the service and sales workers. Correlation between women and men is 4:1 in the group of clerks. There are more women among unskilled workers (the elementary occupations).

So, the described gender profile of occupational groups is similar to the well known horizontal segregation of the occupational labor market: men dominate on high managerial positions and among manual workers, while women can be more seen in positions of non-manual work — both high-skill ones, needing educational certificates (professionals and technicians), and routine labor, mostly in the sales and service sphere. Despite differences between the data of ESS and statistics on distribution of occupational categories of the employed population by gender, features of the revealed laws are absolutely similar.

When comparing the corresponding data of ESS for the currently employed respondents and all those who has ever been employed, we can see very similar gender composition of occupational groups, except for one parameter: among all respondents, there are significantly more women employed in unskilled labor (the elementary occupations). So, despite serious dynamics in occupational groups, the essence of horizontal gender segregation does not practically change.

It is interesting to compare gender profiles of occupational composition in Ukraine and Russia on the background of European countries (see Table 6). According to the data of ESS-2006/2007, laws of gender segmentation of occupational composition of the society are the same for all post-socialist countries: domination of men among managers and skilled manual occupations and significant domination of women among occupations of skilled and routine non-manual labor. In Ukraine and Russia gender similarities can be also seen in directions and intensity of labor markets (this fact is confirmed by the data of official statistics and sociological projects) while in the countries of Eastern Europe the intensity of gender differences is something different for some categories. For example, in Ukraine and Russia the ratio between men and women among managers is 3:1 while in the countries of Eastern Europe it is not so sharp. The same can be said for technicians and craft and related workers.

**Table 5**

**Employed Ukrainian and Russian population,  
by sex and occupational groups, %**

Occupational groups	Ukraine				Russia			
	The data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2007*		The data of ESS-2006/2007***		The data of the State Statistics Committee in Russia, 2007*		The data of ESS-2006/2007***	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Legislators, senior officials and managers	6.2	9.0	7.8	20.0	5.9	9.0	3.4	10.2
Professionals	16.6	8.8	18.7	9.0	23.4	15.0	23.5	9.6
Technicians and associate professionals	15.3	7.9	24.6	6.8	20.2	9.5	22.2	9.4
Clerks	6.2	1.2	9.9	2.4	5.4	0.6	11.4	2.2
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	19.2	8.3	17.4	8.0	20.1	8.3	15.1	9.1
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.0	3.6	3.4	1.7	2.3
Craft and related workers	3.7	20.9	5.1	20.0	7.1	22.7	7.9	28.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.5	19.2	3.5	21.5	3.1	20.6	5.7	24.0
Elementary occupations	26.2	23.3	11.8	11.2	11.4	11.0	9.1	4.9
<b>Number of respondents (thousand)</b>	<b>10.140</b>	<b>10.765</b>	<b>.374</b>	<b>.410</b>	<b>35.110</b>	<b>35.704</b>	<b>.648</b>	<b>.596</b>

\* Source: Economic Activity of the Ukrainian Population for 2007: Statistical Collection. — K., 2008. — P. 83.

\*\* Source: Economic Activity of the Russian Population for 2008: Statistical Collection. — M.: Rosstat, 2008. — P. 75-76.

\*\*\* The ESS data were weighed by design and calculated only for the employed respondents, we mean those who have a paid job.

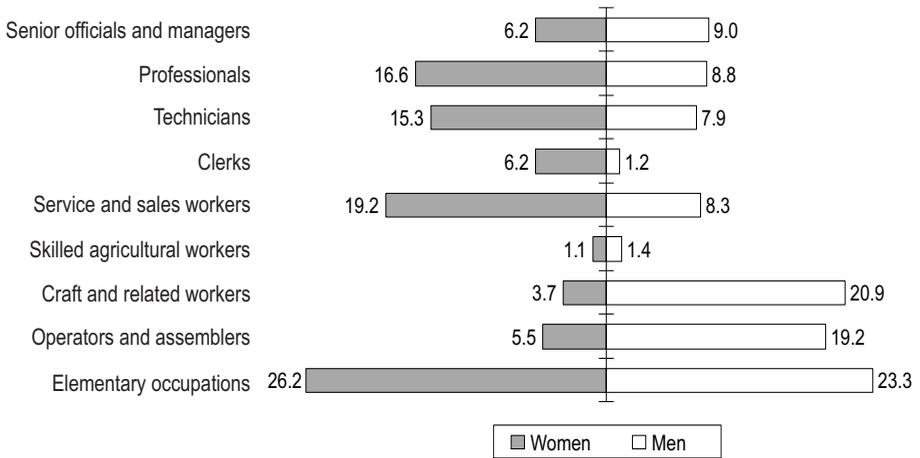


Figure 3. Employed population in Ukraine, by sex and occupational groups in 2007 (by the data of official statistics), %

We also noticed significant gender differences in occupational labor market between post-socialist countries (Ukraine, Russia, Eastern Europe) and developed ones of Western Europe. One of the differences is correlation between men and women among professionals (1:2 in the post-socialist space and 1.2:1 in Western countries). In Western Europe, like in post-Soviet countries, women dominate among technicians and associate professionals but the gender correlation is less sharp. So, the data confirm obviously that in post-Soviet countries the greatest part of professionals and technicians consists of women, while in Western Europe the composition is close to gender parity. It is well known that in our countries these occupations in the state sector are related to rather low salaries and prestige while in Western countries intellectual work is paid and socially valued (as a rule) according to educational levels and qualifications. Another difference can be seen in sharper gender disproportion related to other occupational groups if we compare situations in Western and post-socialist countries. Among service and sales workers, the ratio between men and women is 1:3.3 and 1:1.9 (in Western and post-Soviet countries, correspondingly), among craft and related workers, the situation is opposite with domination of men — 6:1 and 3.5:1 correspondingly. At the same time, there are gender similarities in Western and post-Soviet countries: men dominate among senior officials and managers and operators and assemblers, women dominate among representatives of routine non-manual labor (clerks) and elementary occupations.

**Table 6**

**Employed population in Ukraine, Russia, countries of  
Eastern and Western Europe, by sex and occupational groups  
(ESS-2006), %\***

<i>Occupational groups</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>		<i>Russia</i>		<i>Countries of Eastern Europe</i>		<i>Countries of Western Europe</i>	
	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
Legislators, senior officials and managers	5.0	14.6	2.7	8.0	7.1	9.2	5.3	12.2
Professionals	12.4	7.7	19.0	9.2	10.8	6.2	11.6	13.9
Technicians and associate professionals	20.8	6.2	19.9	9.1	12.1	8.6	18.3	15.6
Clerks	8.5	1.9	10.1	2.2	10.9	3.8	18.6	7.0
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	15.4	8.0	13.3	7.4	18.0	7.5	23.2	7.1
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	2.2	1.6	3.8	2.8	8.2	6.0	1.8	3.7
Craft and related workers	8.0	21.8	11.0	29.2	8.1	27.1	3.6	21.6
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	4.3	25.3	6.5	22.9	6.3	17.7	3.9	9.9
Elementary occupations	23.5	12.8	13.7	9.1	18.6	13.9	13.6	9.1
<b>Number of respondents</b>	<b>1006</b>	<b>789</b>	<b>1193</b>	<b>865</b>	<b>2520</b>	<b>2155</b>	<b>12615</b>	<b>12248</b>

\* Data on Ukraine and Russia are weighed by design, the data on countries of Eastern and Western Europe are weighed by weight2 = dweight\*pweight.

So, according to our data, gender disproportions in employment are kept in all countries, both in Western and post-socialist ones. The spheres of women's employment are mostly routine white-collar labor as well as sales and service; the spheres of men's employment are blue-collar labor and managerial positions. However, in different countries these phenomena manifest differently [Collins Dictionary, 1999: v. 2, p. 128]. Our statements correspond to conclusions on horizontal gender segregation of European labor market presented by the abovementioned works by sociologists and reports of international organizations (like [Report, 2006; Global, 2007; Pratsia zhinok, 2003; Rivnist', 2006]).

The next issue is *vertical gender segregation* in occupational sphere, in which traditional research topics are discrimination of women by salaries and labor conditions, career promotion, differences in social and occupational prestige of women's and men's employment. The data available for the author enable to analyze gender differences in salaries and position distribution.

*Differences in salaries between men and women within occupational groups* were analyzed by the author basing on the Monitoring data collected by the Institute of Sociology in 2008 (Table 7). The data confirm empirically the following well-known facts: firstly, there is a significant difference in salaries by sex (among the employed, the women's salaries make up on the average 72% of the men's ones); secondly, being employed on the same positions, women get less in all nine occupational groups<sup>1</sup>. Correlation between women's and men's salaries is the most critical among senior officials and managers, as well as skilled workers employed in agriculture. Disproportion in labor salaries is also significant among those occupational groups, with women's domination (technicians, clerks, sales and services).

Among the employed, the correlation between men's and women's salaries is 72% on the average, and it is 64% among all the respondents. As far as the most part of the latter category is formed by pensioners who were employed earlier, the dynamics confirms indirectly a positive tendency towards lowering inequality in salaries by sex. International expe-

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<sup>1</sup> The State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine traditionally collects information on average salaries by kinds of economic activity and sex. They reveal significant differences in payments by sex. In 2007, in the economy as a whole, this difference made up 27% in favor of men. The payment differences were revealed in all economy branches (even where women dominate, like health care, education, services and others). The highest difference (up to 35%) in payments between men and women was registered in the industry, communications, culture and sports, finances, while the lowest difference (up to 9%) was in the agriculture, forestry and fishery [Dity, zhinky ta sim'ya, 2008: p. 147].

rience shows that the gender inequality in salaries may be eliminated by mechanisms of trade union and women's movements, as well as by laws. Ukraine makes steps in this direction: in 2006, the Law of Ukraine "On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men" was adopted. However, laws do not provide real chances: for example, in the United Kingdom, despite adoption of the Equal Pay Act (1970) and Sex Discrimination Act (1975), women still get only about 75% of what men get per hour [Collins Dictionary, 1999: v. 2, p. 129].

**Table 7**

**Average salaries, by sex and occupational groups  
(the Monitoring data-2008)**

Occupational groups	Among the employed			Among all the respondents		
	Women, USD	Men, USD	Women's salary to men's one, %	Women, USD	Men, USD	Women's salary to men's one, %
Legislators, senior officials and managers	254	444	57.2	203	372	54.6
Professionals	276	387	71.3	241	371	65.0
Technicians and associate professionals	209	323	64.7	175	280	62.5
Clerks	196	257	76.3	143	229	62.4
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	253	304	83.2	193	281	68.7
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	131	258	50.8	115	239	48.1
Craft and related workers	194	305	63.6	150	272	55.1
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	241	275	87.6	177	224	79.0
Elementary occupations	152	230	66.1	122	201	60.7
<b>Total number of respondents</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>516</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>835</b>	<b>712</b>	<b>-</b>

*Gender differences in position promotion.* The available data published by the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine reveal interesting facts on distribution of government employees (including managers and professionals) by range and gender (see Table 8 and Figure 4). Women obviously dominate as government managers, however, in the system of post categories, career promotion of men and women looks like an overturned pyramid: moving from managers of lowest (sixth) range to the highest (first) one, the part of women decreases while the part of men increases. The same picture relates to career promotion of government employees-professionals<sup>1</sup>. Similar situations can be seen in the sphere of education, health care, politics, industry and business. According to the report of UNDP Equal Opportunities Program (2006), the part of women is 38% among the entrepreneurs involved in individual labor activity in Ukraine; women are heads of 26% of all small enterprises, 15% of middle ones and 12% of large ones; industrial business managers make up only 2% of women [Rivnist', 2006]. Only 11% of farms are managed by women [Zhinky i choloviky, 2001: p. 86]. So, a great part of women involved in managerial activity in the economy, but the common rule is the higher posts, the less number of women take them. The lower position profile for women can be explained by the so-called "glass ceiling": invisible institutional barriers and social prejudice preventing women from getting high managerial positions [Probivaya "steklyannyi potolok", 2002].

One of the popular issues of sociological research is **interrelation between age and occupation** [Riley, 1987; Ageing, 2001; Glover, Branine, 2001; Samorodov, 1999; Work, 1994; Ashton, 2007; Furlong, Cartmel, 2006]. Age is regarded as an important differentiating factor of occupations, because it predetermines all stages of individual working life — from involvement in social and labor relations to further occupational socialization and working career up to retirement. Age determines labor behavior, we mean that members of different age groups have different needs, social-labor aims and value orientations. Age determines differences in state of health, leisure, social weight in society, as far as in different age groups there are different volumes of qualification, power-position, income and other resources.

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<sup>1</sup>

The same picture was registered on numbers of managers and professionals employed in local governmental bodies (by sex) (see: [Dity, zhinky ta sim'ya, 2008: p. 93]).

**Table 8****Government employees, by sex in 1995 and 2007, %\***

Government employees	1995			2007		
	Total	% of total number of government employees		Total	% of total number of government employees	
		Women	Men		Women	Men
<b>Registered number of workers taking positions of managers and professionals</b>	<b>208081</b>	<b>68.9</b>	<b>31.1</b>	<b>265315</b>	<b>75.5</b>	<b>24.5</b>
<b>Managers.</b> Among them those of the following categories:	<b>54688</b>	<b>45.6</b>	<b>54.4</b>	<b>70559</b>	<b>63.8</b>	<b>36.2</b>
The first	175	2.9	97.1	282	10.6	89.4
The second	626	7.2	92.8	1345	24.2	75.8
The third	2493	12.4	87.6	3331	39.4	60.6
The fourth	5745	26.5	73.5	7743	46.7	53.3
The fifth	21189	35.3	64.7	19693	66.4	33.6
The sixth	24460	63.6	36.4	38165	69.9	30.1
<b>Professionals.</b> Among them those of the following categories:	<b>153393</b>	<b>77.3</b>	<b>22.7</b>	<b>194756</b>	<b>79.7</b>	<b>20.3</b>
The third	889	37.8	62.2	3577	61.7	38.3
The fourth	1715	58.3	41.7	3379	64.6	35.4
The fifth	14960	56.2	43.8	26043	71.7	28.3
The sixth	51631	78.2	21.8	69873	79.2	20.8
The seventh	84198	81.3	18.7	91892	83.7	16.3

\* Sources: Zhinky i choloviky in Ukraini: Statistical Collection / SCSU. — K., 2001. — P. 62; Dity, zhinky ta sim'ya in Ukraini: Statistical Collection / SCSU. — K., 2008. — P. 92.

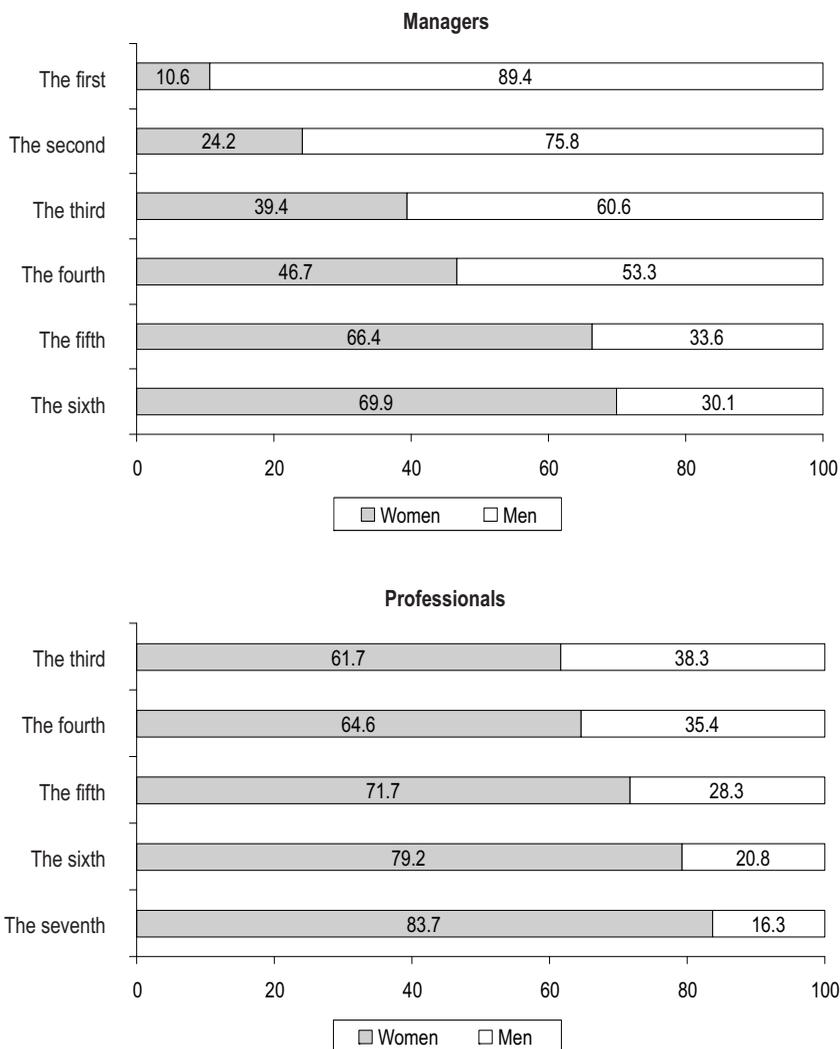


Figure 4. Government employees, by sex in 2007 (by the data of official statistics), %

Age groups are often associated with inequalities in many social spheres, like the labor market. Discrimination, or the holding of irrational and prejudicial views about individuals or groups, based on their age are fixed in the term “ageism” [Dictionary, 2005: p. 8–9]. In Western societies, the oldest and the youngest age groups are perceived as rather incompetent and excluded from many spheres of social life. It is a serious

social problem of employment, and there are special age-sensitive laws in many countries, including Ukraine (like ban on age limits for hiring or assignments for university graduates)<sup>1</sup>. Despite its orientation to research of all age groups, the age sociology pays special attention to the ageism issue, to the youth labor market and seniors' employment in particular. We know that nowadays, the first and the last age groups suffer from exclusion and limits on the labor market, but there were times when elder age was not perceived as an obstacle for occupational realization (for example, under the late socialism, senior men even occupied high managerial posts)<sup>2</sup>.

Studying the *age profile* of occupational structure according the data of statistics and ESS, we discovered a number of essential differences (see Table 9). We compared six age groups: young people under 20 and of 20–29, people of middle age (30–39, 40–49, 50–59 years old) and elderly over 60.

The data of statistics and ESS confirm that nowadays some part of young people under 20 is involved in various kinds of occupational training, while opportunities of the other part — those who begin their working lives just after graduating from school<sup>3</sup> — are limited on the labor market, they are mostly represented by unskilled manual work and the sales and service sphere (64% and 12% respondents of this age).

Having got initial professional education, young people over 20 take positions of all range among white- and blue-collars, however, they twice more rarely (comparing to older age groups) are engaged in jobs related to managerial functions (legislators, senior officials and managers), because it is well-known that the power resources are concentrated in middle and older generations. Youth under 30 rarely takes positions of professionals as well.

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<sup>1</sup> Discrimination practices by age are widely popular in Ukraine despite the fact that workers are protected from age discrimination by laws. The Clause 24, Constitution of Ukraine, and the Labor Code of Ukraine declare equal rights and freedoms for all citizens no matter of sex, age and other features. There are also known facts of age discrimination of university graduates having no experience, workers of pre-retirement age, whose interests are not taken into account by staff policy, retraining or improvement of professional skills. Age discrimination exists in Europe as well, that is why there are many studies by Western sociologists on ageism.

<sup>2</sup> On the growing research interest in this issue and specific constructions of "elder age" in different cultural and time conditions see, for example: [Riley, 1987].

<sup>3</sup> By the data of the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine, only 15% of youth (14–19) are involved in economic activity [Zhinky i choloviky, 2001: p. 47].

By the data of statistics and ESS, managerial positions are concentrated in generations of 30-, 40- and 50-years old. Even as a whole, representatives of those age groups have similar occupational profiles. Middle-age workers, as a rule, reach peaks of their occupational realization and rewards for their work with high power and skill resources<sup>1</sup>.

Compared to representatives of middle-age groups, the workers over 60 have different occupational picture: they are twice more rarely employed in occupations of skilled intellectual work (professionals and technicians and associate professionals) and five times more rarely employed in the routine (sale and service), but they are twice more often employed in unskilled manual work (elementary occupations). It means not only manifestation of ageism but the fact that the structure of working positions, in which those who are currently over 60 were involved, had much more occupational positions in the agriculture and industry than in intellectual labor, sales and service. There are also some specific features of behavior on the labor market manifested by people of pre-retirement and retirement age: this age category can be characterized by consequent de-professionalization — forced or voluntary lowering of occupational and social status.

If we compare occupational differentiation of various age groups in Ukraine, Russia and European countries, then the principal similarity will be revealed (see Table 9). First of all, we would like to stress the same picture (described above) of occupational profile related to workers under 20 and over 60 in comparison to middle age groups. Occupational structures of those who are 20-, 30- and 40-years old are close as well. In all the compared countries workers, who reach 30, have already passed all necessary career stages and take occupational positions, the main functions of which consist of managerial tasks, that is why the part of managers is the highest among those of 30–50.

The data of statistics and ESS confirm that age is a meaningful differentiating factor of occupational structure in all compared countries. It relates mostly to the youngest and oldest age groups on the labor market — their occupational pictures significantly differ from the ones of the middle age groups. The phenomenon can be described as the age effect

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<sup>1</sup>

Based on the monitoring-2008 data, the author's comparative analysis (of monthly salaries by professional groups and age) revealed that salaries of workers of 30, 40 and 50-year-old are higher than of the 20 and 60 ones. These differences are the most evident among governmental executives and managers, as well as professionals and clerks. On age segregation in labor payment in Western countries see: [Ageing and income, 2001].

Table 9

**Employed population in Ukraine, Russia, the countries of Eastern and Western Europe, by age and occupational groups (ESS-2006), %\***

Occupational groups	Ukraine*						Russia**					
	Under 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Under 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Legislators, senior officials and managers	0.5	6.0	8.2	8.9	9.0	4.3	0.3	4.7	6.9	8.4	10.2	9.7
Professionals	1.1	14.3	13.7	12.4	12.0	8.5	1.2	21.4	20.5	17.7	17.8	22.1
Technicians and associate professionals	4.4	12.9	12.7	11.6	10.5	5.5	8.3	15.6	15.9	14.6	13.8	10.5
Clerks	3.4	4.3	3.5	3.8	3.2	1.7	2.9	3.7	2.4	2.9	3.2	1.9
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	11.7	15.7	15.7	14.3	10.3	3.3	24.0	17.8	15.5	13.2	9.5	7.5
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.8	0.9	1.4	1.7	1.4	0.2	14.3	2.5	2.4	3.3	3.6	12.3
Craft and related workers	9.1	14.6	12.5	12.7	12.5	4.8	12.9	15.5	14.8	14.6	15.9	11.2
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.2	11.3	13.6	14.0	14.3	3.8	6.7	9.6	12.2	14.1	12.8	7.0
Elementary occupations	63.8	20.0	18.7	20.6	26.8	67.9	29.6	9.3	9.3	11.2	13.1	17.2
<b>Number of respondents (thousand persons)</b>	<b>493.8</b>	<b>4862.6</b>	<b>5184.8</b>	<b>5514.5</b>	<b>3712.2</b>	<b>1136.8</b>	<b>1211</b>	<b>16297</b>	<b>17134</b>	<b>19460</b>	<b>14203</b>	<b>2509</b>
	The countries of Eastern Europe***						The countries of Western Europe***					
Legislators, senior officials and managers	Under 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Under 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Professionals	2.8	4.4	9.6	8.7	7.6	9.3	0.9	4.1	8.5	9.5	10.0	10.1
Technicians and associate professionals	0.0	8.9	14.1	10.7	7.0	5.5	1.1	9.7	17.0	13.8	15.2	10.4
Clerks	7.0	10.1	10.8	9.2	12.6	9.5	7.2	17.5	19.5	18.6	17.0	14.8
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	5.6	10.4	8.0	8.1	7.0	5.9	12.2	13.5	12.3	13.4	13.0	12.1
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	26.8	22.2	13.3	12.6	11.5	8.7	30.8	23.8	14.8	14.7	13.6	11.3
Craft and related workers	5.6	2.4	5.3	7.6	6.1	12.8	4.7	1.1	1.5	2.1	2.3	4.7
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	15.5	17.2	17.3	17.5	17.2	15.9	18.5	14.0	11.2	10.9	10.7	14.4
Elementary occupations	1.4	10.0	10.8	10.1	13.1	12.3	2.1	4.8	6.5	6.6	7.7	8.6
<b>Number of respondents (persons)</b>	35.2	14.4	10.7	15.5	17.8	20.1	22.6	11.4	8.8	10.4	10.4	13.6
	<b>71</b>	<b>662</b>	<b>729</b>	<b>802</b>	<b>854</b>	<b>1192</b>	<b>665</b>	<b>2992</b>	<b>3936</b>	<b>4941</b>	<b>3896</b>	<b>6414</b>

\* Data were given by Ukrainian Derzhstat for authors request.

\*\* Calculated by: Economic Activity of the Russian Population for 2008; Statistical Collection. — M.: Rosstat, 2008. — P. 77-78.

\*\*\* Data ESS-2006 on countries of Eastern and Western Europe are weighted by weight2 = dweight\*pweight.

of edge in the space of occupational positions. In the edge age groups, there are also accumulated changes managerial to transformation of occupational structure: for example, in the youth groups new professions are intensively mastered, while in older groups the occupations, dated and tending to extinction, are more concentrated.

**Place of residence profile** of occupational groups in Ukraine (according to statistical and sociological data) seems to be quite expected (see Table 10 and Figure 5). Urban population prevails indisputably by all positions related to managerial powers and skill-education resources: they twice or thrice more often than rural residents have occupations of managers, professionals or technicians (by statistical data, clerks and craft and related workers as well). At the same time, among rural population the part of those employed in elementary occupations is 3–5 times higher than that among the urban one, and the most part of skilled agricultural workers belongs to the country residents<sup>1</sup>. However, among urban residents, there are also significant differences: professionals and clerks are concentrated in Kyiv, as in any capital, while occupations, like craft and related workers, are more represented in cities and towns of high industrial potential. It is evident that correlation between white- and blue-collar employment is cardinally different by the place of residence — it is 44% : 56% among urban population and 17% : 83% among the rural one.

It is of interest to consider the residence profile of occupational portrait of Ukrainian population in comparison with Russia and European countries (see Table 11). By the data of ESS-2006, the place of residence structure of employment is similar in all post-socialist countries<sup>2</sup>. The similarities are the following: parts of managers, professionals, technicians and clerks are significantly bigger among the urban population, while parts of agricultural workers, operators and assemblers, and elementary occupations are bigger among the rural one. In the countries of Western Europe the place of residence profile of employment is not characterized by significant differences between urban and rural population (apart from the occupational group of skilled agricultural workers, and this is obvious).

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1

It is known that in 2005 in 49.3% of Ukrainian place of residences, there were no subjects of economy [Prybytkova, 2009]; that is why many rural residents were forced to work either in personal household or at places where they did not live.

2

The data of the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine and the monitoring reveal more distinct differences in occupational compositions between urban and rural population than the data of ESS-2006; however, the tendencies are the same.

**Table 10****Employed population, by place of residence and occupational groups, %**

Occupational groups	Data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2007 (among the employed)*		Data of the Monitoring 2008							
	Urban population	Rural population	Among the employed respondents				Among all the respondents			
			Kyiv	City	Town	Village	Kyiv	City	Town	Village
Legislators, senior officials and managers	9.6	3.2	7.1	11.0	11.1	4.7	10.1	11.6	10.4	5.0
Professionals	15.9	5.6	36.4	15.3	15.2	9.7	28.1	13.2	13.5	7.0
Technicians and associate professionals	13.9	6.1	24.3	18.4	23.8	19.7	20.2	18.3	21.3	15.6
Clerks	4.4	1.9	5.7	2.9	2.5	2.7	5.6	4.3	3.9	3.1
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	16.1	8.2	10.0	15.3	9.8	10.7	10.1	14.4	10.2	9.8
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.4	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.3	4.0	1.1	0.0	0.4	4.3
Craft and related workers	15.2	6.8	7.1	18.4	21.9	17.7	11.2	18.3	19.1	15.3
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	13.7	10.0	10.0	11.0	10.8	17.4	7.9	11.2	12.8	17.7
Elementary occupations	10.8	55.0	4.3	7.8	4.4	13.4	5.6	8.7	8.3	22.3
<b>Number of respondents (thousand)</b>	<b>14310</b>	<b>6595</b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>.347</b>	<b>.315</b>	<b>.299</b>	<b>.089</b>	<b>.508</b>	<b>.460</b>	<b>.583</b>

\* Source: Economic Activity of the Ukrainian Population for 2007: Statistical Collection. — K., 2008. — P. 83.

**Table 11**

**Employed population, by place of residence and occupational groups  
in Ukraine, Russia, the countries of Eastern and Western Europe  
(ESS-2006), %\***

Occupational groups	Ukraine		Russia		Countries of Eastern Europe		Countries of Western Europe	
	Urban population	Rural population	Urban population	Rural population	Urban population	Rural population	Urban population	Rural population
Legislators, senior officials and managers	12.2	7.5	5.5	3.4	10.7	4.0	8.5	8.9
Professionals	13.2	8.7	16.5	10.8	11.6	4.3	14.1	10.3
Technicians and associate professionals	18.0	12.4	15.5	14.8	13.2	6.4	17.9	15.4
Clerks	6.2	5.3	7.7	4.6	8.8	5.7	13.5	11.7
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	13.9	11.2	10.9	10.4	14.1	11.7	15.9	14.1
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.1	2.4	0.9	9.7	1.5	6.0	1.3	5.3
Craft and related workers	15.3	13.4	19.8	15.0	15.0	19.7	11.3	14.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	10.5	15.2	12.4	16.4	11.0	12.4	6.6	7.5
Elementary occupations	9.6	23.8	10.7	14.8	14.3	19.8	10.9	12.4
<b>Number of respondents</b>	<b>628</b>	<b>1167</b>	<b>1480</b>	<b>566</b>	<b>2835</b>	<b>1845</b>	<b>1620</b>	<b>8623</b>

\* Data on Ukraine and Russia are weighed by design, the data on countries of Eastern and Western Europe are weighed by weight2 = dweight\*pweight.

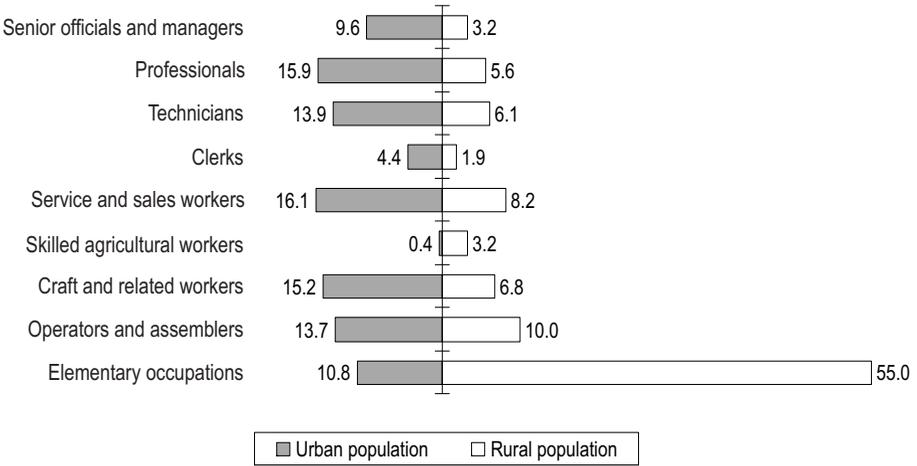


Figure 5. Employed population in Ukraine, by place of residence and occupational groups (by the data of official statistics), %

## Discussion and Conclusions

The multi-purpose research conducted by the author enabled to draw the following conclusions.

*Firstly*, the data of different sociological projects on occupational composition of Ukrainian population are comparable (and that is why reliable), although they have differences, which could be mostly explained by different strategies in sample designs and methods for collection of information. Significant differences between the sociological and statistical data need additional explanations, special discussions with representatives of the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine responsible for the data collection on distribution of population by occupational groups, and (what would be ideal) elimination of this problem with the help of bringing both methodical strategies closer (mainly on the stage of coding).

*Secondly*, the comparative data of the ESS project confirm, on the one hand, that occupational compositions in all post-socialist societies (Ukraine, Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe) are radically similar (this is explained by similar social, economic and technological grounds, which formed occupational profiles in the countries of former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and still preserved); on the other hand, that there are principle differences from the developed Western countries (like the part of white-collars in the occupational structure

in Western countries is essentially greater, while the part of blue-collar is less correspondingly). However, this conclusion needs further discussion about comparative differences in qualitative parameters of representatives of various occupational groups (like professionals, farmers and others).

*Thirdly*, for twelve years (the period of collecting data on occupational distribution), a significant dynamics has been registered in differentiation of population by occupational groups. If we trust the data of statistics, in Ukraine and Russia, the dynamics had different directions and intensity. In Ukraine, on the background the total employment decline, the blue-collar occupations of the industrial sector shifted to the sales and service sphere, while in Russia the dynamics tended to transformation of the employment structure into the post-industrial pattern: on the background of the employment rise, the blue-collar shifted not only to the sales and service sphere but to white-collar as well. To assess the reliability of this conclusion, we need to use the data of other researchers.

*Fourthly*, the collected data show that sex, age and place of residence are important for analysis of occupational structures of post-Soviet societies. Among the revealed phenomena, we would like to stress *horizontal gender asymmetry* in the occupational distribution (women dominate in the sphere of high skilled and routine non-manual work, while men dominate in occupations of skilled manual work and high managerial positions; the gender differences of the labor market are similar in all compared countries) and *vertical segregation* represented by gender differences in salaries (in all occupational groups, men's salaries are significantly higher than women's ones) and by the position profile (the higher a position status in the position hierarchy, the more rarely it is taken by a woman). An analysis of the *age profile* revealed some features of occupational positions of different age groups. There was registered the so-called age "edge effect": the youngest (under 20) and the oldest (over 60) age groups have specific structures of employment, different from the middle age's ones (from 30 to 60), which are the most numerous, active and realizing the whole range of modern society occupations. Young people under 20 are mostly involved in unskilled manual work, sales and service, while the people of retirement age can be divided into two groups, bigger of which is employed in elementary occupations and the other is involved in the sales and service sphere. Occupational profiles of those who are in their 30-ies, 40-ies and 50-ies are the most similar, while the young people in their 20-ies differ from them by the lesser part of senior officials and managers. In all compared countries we revealed

the same correlation between age and occupation. *Place of residence profile* shows radical differences between occupational compositions of urban and rural population, in skills in particular: representatives of elementary occupations are mostly concentrated in the country, while managers and skilled workers live mainly in cities and towns; however, there are differences among the urban population: most high skilled white-collars are concentrated in the capital and the blue-collars prevail in cities and towns. We mentioned above only those features of occupational structures of Ukrainian and Russian societies, which are convincingly confirmed by the data of the official statistics and sociological projects.

In conclusion, it should be noticed that this study on general aspects of occupational differentiation of the Ukrainian society in the comparative and time perspectives can be regarded as only one of the necessary steps to complex research on occupational structure. National studies on various kinds of occupational mobility, occupational prestige, various indices of sex and age inequality in the sphere of employment are urgent now. Another perspective direction is development of sociology of professions that is practically absent in Ukraine as a field of research. As a result, we lack reliable information about the national cultural features of separate occupational groups (like doctors, managers, teachers, lawyers, social workers, IT-specialists), changes in status of occupations under social transformations, emergence and institutionalization of new professions.

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