

**THE GENDERED EXPERIENCES OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED  
PEOPLE (IDP) LOOKING FOR WORK IN UKRAINE:  
DISPLACEMENT, MARGINALIZATION, AND STRATEGIES OF  
SURVIVAL - AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN SHAPING  
THOSE EXPERIENCES**

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# ABSTRACT

Since 2014 political conflict with pro-Russian forces in Crimea and the eastern part of Ukraine has led to a large-scale and continuous displacement of people. The policy of internally displaced people's (IDP) employment is one of the priorities for the integration of the newcomers within a new community. Taken that substantial number of people affected by the conflict are women and children, it is reasonable to question the effect of state employment policies on the gendered experiences of IDs in looking for job. Based on a feminist policy analysis and social feminism the gendered context for the policy implementation is examined. While written in a gender-neutral language, it imposes assumption of gender equality in the labour market that is missing in practice. With the help of feminist standpoint theory the power dynamics behind the policy implementation and survival strategies of displaced women is revealed. The research suggests that employment policies are not helpful for displaced women since they are not sensitive to the intersection of their needs. Additionally, the study calls for a larger perspective on the gendered needs of IDPs.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECFP	Employment Center of Free People
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
IDP	Internally displaced person
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMC	International Monitoring Center
NGO	Non-government organization
OHCHR	The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

# 1. INTRODUCTION

“Displaced”, “internally removed”, “internal refugees” – there are many names for people in Ukraine who flee from the political and military conflict, leave their homes, and find a new place of settlement in another part of the country. The sudden and large-scale displacement of people in Ukraine that started in 2014 is currently in the process. Approximately 1.7 million people left their homes in Crimea and the eastern part of Ukraine and 1.1 million of them are women and children, according to the latest data of the Ministry of Social Policy (June 2016). And while displaced women take responsibility of caring for children, as well as disabled, and elderly family members who moved (OSCE July 2016, 10), men are more likely to stay for property and/or work reasons, or simply because they are not allowed to leave the conflict area by armed groups (OSCE March 2015, 4; July 2016, 10). Since men stay behind or even die because of hostilities in the occupied territory, women often become heads of households and, thus, have to face all possible challenges of displacement, such as lack of social network, poor income, problematic access to housing, as well as limited possibilities for employment and professional prospects on their own.

And as mostly people fleeing the conflict remain within Ukrainian borders (UNCHR 2015), the state is primarily responsible for protection of their human rights: the rights for humanitarian assistance, housing, assistance in the job search, and non-discrimination at the new place of living. And Ukrainian government has taken a number of actions to support IDPs within the country (the list of these actions will follow). However, this research claims that these actions are inadequate since they ignore the gender dimension of the displacement and thus, neglect the needs and experiences of a substantial number of IDPs, namely women.

## 1.1 Background of the conflict in Ukraine

Internal displacement has been an issue in Ukraine since 2014, when the military conflict between the Ukrainian Government and pro-Russian separatists made enormous amount of people leave their homes in Crimea and the eastern part of Ukraine. The actual number of IDPs may be far higher than 1.7 million. On the one hand, variations of the number is caused by the complicated process of their registration<sup>1</sup> (IDMC August 2015); on the other - the difference in the number of IDPs occurs due to the specificity of registration methods that counts people who apply for pension or social welfare payments - the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine - or those who apply for help in migration and accommodation - Interagency Coordinating Headquarters (VoxUkraine June 2016). Additionally, the continuous nature of the conflict makes people flee in waves distinct in time (IDMC August 2015), this means that until the conflict resolves, the number of IDPs is likely to rise.

A brief summary of the latest events that resulted in a mass displacement in Ukraine starts on March 16, 2014 when a referendum on the status of Crimea was held. While being a subject of discussions, the official result of the referendum estimates that 96.77 % of voters opting for integration of the region into the Russian Federation, with a significantly high voter turnout of 83.1 %. The results of the referendum have been immediately recognized by Russian authorities and have not been recognized by the Ukrainian Government. And even though no active military actions are being held in the Crimean peninsula, the change of political status has led to immense changes in economy and banking system of Crimea, and in functioning of public services (Luhn May 9, 2014; MacFarquhar April 21, 2014). Such changes together with political crisis made thousands of Crimeans leave their homes (IDMC August 2015).

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<sup>1</sup> IDMC "Ukraine IDP Figures Analysis" (August 2015) claims that the number can vary due to ineffective control of Ukraine under conflict areas.

The other part of Ukraine where IDPs come from is Donbass – a region in eastern Ukraine constituted from Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Pro-Russian and anti-government protests in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine started in March 2014 and were followed by an armed conflict between separatist groups and Ukrainian government forces. The separatist movements led to the declaration of Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics (DPR and LPR respectively) in April 2014. These self-proclaimed states were announced to be independent from the Ukrainian government, but Ukrainian authorities identify them to be “temporarily occupied territories” (The Law of Ukraine “On the rights and freedoms of citizens and legal regime in the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine”). Unlike Crimean events, the conflict in Donbass region involved open military actions that caused 9640 conflict-related deaths and 22431 injuries among Ukrainian armed forces and both adults and children civilians (OHCHR September 2016). And as of September 2016, an armed conflict continued at the eastern part of Ukraine, in Donbass. And even though the military nature of conflict in Donbass makes it different from the situation in Crimea, people who are willing to remain Ukrainian citizens and flee both territories are recognized to be internally displaced.

Besides being affected by the conflict, some IDPs in the area of the Government control are said to face discrimination in accessing public services; and while some IDPs tend to return to their former places of living, others have no opportunity or will to come back (OHCHR February 2016, 7). Needless to say, coming back to the conflict area is not a safe decision. And it is even more dangerous for women, who constitute the largest part of displaced people. In case of returning to the former place of living, women can be targeted by the gender-based violence, including sexual violence (OHCHR June 2016; UN Women October 2015). Moreover, the gender-based violence can take a form of forcing women into sex work for survival reasons due to complicated economic situation in the area (OHCHR June 2016, 6, 8). Thus, it is especially important to support displaced women and all their

dependents in their resettlement struggles and prevent them from returning to their former places of living before the conflict is resolved.

## 1.2 Ukrainian state's actions to support IDPs

Because displacement remains within borders of the country, it is primarily the Ukrainian state's responsibility to take care of internally displaced person's safety and further adaptation to new circumstances (HIAS May 2015, 1). And due to the fact that displacement is large-scale and sudden, exercising this responsibility can be difficult. The Ukrainian Government has already taken a number of actions to support IDPs inside the country, namely, it accepted the program that regulates the policy making around IDPs' question and claims the Ukrainian state's priorities in obtaining IDPs' social integration. Also an executive body – a ministry - responsible for the implementation of IDPs-related policies was established. And the recognition of the importance of employment facilitation for IDPs is represented by the guidelines for IDPs' employment that give a platform for introduction of laws that encourage potential employers to hire IDPs.

In addition, employment policy for IDPs in Ukraine is enhanced by international initiatives, namely by UNDP that presented a project to enable cooperation among the Government of Ukraine, local state administrations, NGOs and businesses representatives. In a line of improvement of employment situation, this project develops programs that offer a series of IT and business-development courses and opportunities for IDPs.

All employment policies address employment in terms of improving livelihoods of and therefore, defining IDPs' integration and reconciliation at the place of living. At the same time, none of them incorporates the gender perspective: none of them appears to be sensitive to the gendered nature of forced displacement primarily presented by women with dependents. And even though the state shows its interest in supporting IDPs in their

challenge, in this thesis I argue that employment policy for IDPs in Ukraine remains gender blind in the approach to the policy-making and its implementation. In turn, this can impede the policy from reaching its stated aim of integration and respecting citizen rights of IDPs, most of whom are women.

### 1.3 Research questions and thesis outline

The research aims to explore the gendered experiences of internally displaced people negotiating employment as a means for settlement/adaptation in Kyiv, Ukraine. I analyze the policy for adjusting IDPs under new living conditions in Ukraine to outline its gendered assumptions and implications. In particular, I focus on the policy of employment of IDP in Ukraine. The research provides a close look on how policy is being implemented on a local level of state employment services. A series of interviews picture the gendered experiences of internally displaced people looking for work in Ukraine and put it to a wider context of the labour market in Ukraine. At the last stage of this research I conduct a focus group with internally displaced women to verify whether policy of employment is helpful for them.

The central question guiding this research is: What have been the gendered experiences of IDPs negotiating employment as a means for settlement/adaptation in Kyiv?

Several sub-questions guide this research, including:

1. What is the framework for employment of IDPs in Ukraine: what are its gendered assumptions and implications?
2. What are the gendered experiences of internally displaced people (IDP) looking for job in Ukraine?
3. Is the employment policy helpful for displaced women?

The thesis proceeds as follows. The next chapter describes the theoretical framework applied; then I explain the methodology of the research. The fourth chapter introduces employment policies for IDPs in Ukraine and examines its gender sensitivity with regard to the context of its implementation and established power relations in society. I continue with describing the gendered experiences of IDPs in their work search based on the evidence from SES workers and displaced women themselves. In such way, the research traces employment policies for IDPs in Ukraine at the level of its design, implementation, and practical embodiment. I finish with drawing on possible survival strategies of displaced women shaped by available employment policies.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter introduces theoretical framework that on the one hand situates the research within a greater realm of studies that reveal interconnections between migration and gender, gender and economy, gender and the policy-making, and on the other – introduces analytical tools for the analysis of experiences in work search of displaced women. Particularly, here I explain that displacement is a gendered process and it poses specific vulnerabilities for women.

The research is built around the definition of internally displaced person (IDP) as “a citizen of Ukraine, foreigner or a person without a citizenship, permanently residing in Ukraine, that was forced or voluntarily left one’s residence place as a result of or in order to avoid negative impact of armed conflict, temporary occupation, situations of generalized violence, mass violations of human rights and disasters of natural or human-made origin” (mine translation from The Law of Ukraine “On ensuring rights and freedoms of internally displaced persons”). This definition coincides with the definition given by UNHCR (2004), thus enables international organizations to provide assistance to IDPs in Ukraine.

Then gendered experiences are understood as those defined by gender as a category of analysis that implies a complex, relational understanding of the connections between dominant ideas of men’s and women’s roles in society (see Scott 1986). Since such ideas are linked to particular power relations, domination and subordination, limitation of opportunities and even marginalization, the gendered experience refers to particular opportunities available depending on the gender and related the position of power.

## 2.1 Gender dimension of displacement

In this work I regard migration as a gendered process. More specifically, I regard displacement as a gendered process; a process that is deeply affected by institutionalized gender inequalities exposed under globalized capitalist society and its current neoliberal mood. Migration studies historians highlight that incorporation of gender perspective into the field was relatively underdeveloped up until 1980s and started with the historical perspective on male work migrants in the United States and within Europe and who were frequently accompanied by migrant women (Moch 2005, 97). Ever since demystifying the image of migrant as a male only, a list of scholars and researchers have stressed that migration (BRIDGE 2005; Martin 2004; Matsuoka and Sorenson 1999; Pettman and Hall 2015; Willis and Yeoh 2000) as well as displacement (Guguraja 2000; El-Bushra 2000; Edwards 2009; Thukral 1996) is gendered in its causes, impacts, and the experience of moving itself. Either for the sake of better life, or to escape political conflict, poverty, social pressures, or for the intersection of factors, these are gender relations that influence who moves, how moves, and where moves. Migration itself is a challenge related to the change of living conditions and practices, established social networks. And displacement only strengthens the challenge since the drive to move occurs rapidly and that may give little time for preparation.

The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998) claims IDP right for basic human needs, including shelter, food, health care, education, skills training, and economic opportunity in order to provide IDP with a chance to survive and participate in social life under new circumstances. However, such chances and experiences can differ with regard to the gender of internally displaced person. Thus, UNICEF's concept paper on The Gender Dimensions of Internal Displacement (1998) suggests, there are two core issues to which gender concerns for internally displaced women primarily relate: protection, meaning

“safeguarding women and girls from rape, abduction, forced sexual slavery, genital mutilation, torture and murder”; and ensuring their rights, meaning “equal access and full participation in assistance programs” (both 3). While recognizing the importance of provision of conditions for safe life, in the current research I focus mainly on the second issue, which invokes women’s agency, possibilities and structural obstacles to women’s integration and adaptation to new life conditions. In the current analysis I perceive equal opportunity in employment for men and women as a strong resource for social integration in capitalist society under conditions when social payments and temporary housing do not provide people with long-term means for survival.

So, given that under displacement “the burden of change is far greater for women and that they have even less access to the benefits of development than do men” (Thukral 1996, 1500) and women migrants’ work opportunities are highly influenced by the gendered labour market (BRIDGE 2005: 16) combined with life challenges of internally displaced persons, finding an appropriate job can become a problem for internally displaced women. And further adaptation to the new living conditions and integration to a new social environment can become an unbearable task and raise a call for state’s assistance.

Even though migration can have a positive impacts on the social and economic development and mobility of migrants (BRIDGE 2005; Donato et al 2006), the gender dimension of displacement and its impact on the gender relations within households and families can foster maintenance of traditional values and practices as a key survival strategy. This in turn contributes to imposing multiple burdens on women while keeping the authority of men in the household. Martin describes such survival strategy as “women’s greater responsibility for most domestic activities; necessity to cope with changes in family structures and roles; and the experience of a new role as principal maintainers of the

traditional culture” (2004, 16). And there are several examples of how this strategy works in practice.

For instance, a research on “Eritrean Women in Canada: Negotiating New Lives” by Matsuoka and Sorenson (1999) suggests that forced migration of Eritrean people to Canada resulted in renegotiation of gender roles in new households. Life in diaspora challenged traditional ideas of female and male roles and everyday practices. Thus, women were often introduced to a breadwinner position while men lost their status due to unemployment or underemployment. Researchers argue that this posed challenge to the structure of family authority. As Eritrea represents a society with strong patriarchal culture that grants men with unlimited control over households (Matsuoka and Sorenson 1999, 108), unemployment and loss of status questioned the authority of a husband in the household. However, women’s higher level of employment and income was partnered by the traditional burden of being primarily responsible for house-keeping and child-bearing activities. Thus, they were exposed to a double burden of performing paid and unpaid activities full-time.

A similar example of a change in gender roles caused by displacement occurred in Georgia, where displaced women were seen to become the breadwinners of the household after the conflict in Abkhazia region occurred in the beginning of 1990’s. According to the Global IDP Database (April 2005), prewar Georgian society had a patriarchal order when “men were traditional heads of the family, making the critical decisions involving family and livelihood matters, women ran the households” (36). However, as the displacement went on a long run, women adapted to new living conditions quicker than men. While women from rural areas constituted the majority of the seasonal agricultural workers, women from urban areas succeeded in trading, and men were rarely involved in income-generating activities. This also resulted in economic empowerment of women, however, the survival strategy of

maintaining traditional values and practices resulted in the expectation from women to “perform traditional household duties of feeding and caring for their children, even after long and difficult days trading on street corners and in market places” (Global IDP Database April 2005, 57). Moreover, many women would not consider themselves employed even though they spent full working day trading in the street and earning family income before performing duties at home (ibid, 58).

An example of Eritrean refugees and Georgian displaced persons experience in maintaining their life after displacement demonstrates how gender relations are embedded in a greater system of patriarchal capitalism that remains persistent even after the experience of move.

## 2.2 Intersectional perspective to patriarchal capitalism in neoliberal era

“Gender travels along with bodies” (Pettman and Hall 2015, 286), meaning that this is an intersection of gender identity and a status of a migrant, refugee or displaced person that shapes the experience of resettlement. And displaced women are particularly vulnerable in the face of patriarchal capitalism in neoliberal era.

Considering an analytical distinction of socioeconomic and cultural/symbolic injustices in relation to gendered power hierarchies introduced by Fraser (1994) helps to understand how cultural and economic subordination of women are mutually intertwined. Pointing to the dilemma of recognition and redistribution, Fraser illustrates how institutionalized cultural norms of sexism and androcentrism enforce an economic disadvantage of women while simultaneously limiting their contribution to the cultural/symbolic domain (1994, 79). So, prescribed and naturalized roles of a mother, caregiver, and household-keeper imply the gender division of paid and unpaid work that render

women secondary breadwinner position (Hartsock 1986; Mies 1986; Peterson 2012). Consequently, the labour market becomes gendered with certain positions and spheres being reserved for men and treatment of women as a “reserve army of labour” (Power 1983, 71). Therefore, only simultaneous pursue of recognition and redistribution can lead to the end of inequalities and equal opportunities.

Women’s oppression was only extended with the introduction of neoliberalism in the late XX century that has enforced the globalization of capitalism and led to transformations in political-economic and sociocultural relations. In political-economic terms a promise of democracy, financial stability, more job positions, low prices, and worldwide mobility of people and capital turned to market deregulation, poor social welfare provision, and extensive poverty, increasing inequalities between nation-states, rise of unemployment (Mies 1986, XXI; Moghadam 2005, 19; Peterson 2012, 7). Moreover, gendered assumptions of the globalized market appraised the formal waged work that favored men and devalued the reproductive work traditionally assigned to women. So, while the decreasing number of stable, socially valued positions were prescribed to men, women were targeted with “the feminization of poverty”... [and] “feminization” of part-time, temporary, and low-income jobs as well as of unemployment” (Moghadam 2005 2, 6). And even though the picture may vary in different countries and regions (Moghadam 2005; Rai 2004), neoliberal economic policies have clearly underprivileged women in the global labour market.

Strongly intertwined with political-economic transformations, sociocultural relations under neoliberal ideology gave birth to “a masculinist romance of the free, unencumbered, self-fashioning individual” (Fraser 2009, 110) that similarly to the labour market was hardly shaped for women. Women’s institutionalized attachment to the dimension of private and unpaid, meaning domestic and unproductive (Mies 1986) under conditions of curtailment of

welfare state resulted in women's dependency on the state and men who were in more privileged position<sup>2</sup>. A strategy of "leaning in" introduced by Sandberg (2013) as a neoliberal feminism way of women empowerment demonstrates how various intersections of structural inequalities in the globalized capitalism system are profoundly neglected in a run for the "masculinist romance". Those women under intersection of racial, class and other power relations have different structural obstacles for agency and self-reliance, and coping with multiple burdens "leaning in" would expose them to. So, reinforcement of androcentrism in the globalized market strongly restates the dilemma of recognition and redistribution while claiming women's responsibility for their marginalized position.

In relation to displaced women and their work search experience, it is important to remember that women are particularly vulnerable to negative migration outcomes because gender interactions inevitably interrelate with other hierarchies that produce unequal power relations in society (Anthias and Pajnik 2014; Pettman and Hall, 2015; Rai 2004). And these unequal power relations are deeply embedded into the capitalism system enforced by globalization tendencies and the domination of neoliberal ideology. Thus, policy-making around displacement should show awareness of dominant gendered assumptions, such as valuation of productive, meaning paid work, naturalizing women's reproductive and household-keeping duties while claiming unrestricted freedom for personal choice; and gendered implications, such as the feminization of poverty and vulnerability of women in the labour market accompanied with multiple burdens of income-generating activities and unpaid work performance.

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<sup>2</sup> This research recognizes that negative outcomes of neoliberal reforms affected not only women but men. Moreover, the difference in power positions among women is as diverse as between women and men. However, the theoretical framework addresses the global gendered trends in the claim that women have been exposed to different vulnerabilities under neoliberal capitalism.

## 2.3 A feminist policy analysis of displacement

No policy is gender-neutral: this is true for the values imposed and for the outcomes that follow (Antecol et al 2016; Baer 1999; Marshall 1999; McPhail 2003; Payne 2014; Shaw 2004). And the need for incorporation of the gender perspective in the process of global policy-making was strongly stated at the Beijing Platform for Action from the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The Conference resulted in defining and accepting the gender mainstreaming strategy at the level of decision making, its implementation, and evaluation of existing policies. The main contribution of gender mainstreaming lies in making gender equality integrated into all policy-making processes, at all levels as opposed to promotion of distinctive women's issues (Squires, 2007: 40). And while gender mainstreaming can be regarded as a commitment to ensure that policies are sensitive to the gender dynamics behind them, there is a need for a practical tool, a methodology to define and address the gender equality in shared terms (Bacchi and Eveline 2010; Daly 2005). And I find a feminist policy analysis a powerful and applicable tool for examination of the available policy on IDPs employment from a gender perspective.

An underlying goal of a feminist policy analysis is making gender dimension visible in the policy-making. And making the gender layer visible implies taking a certain perspective, a position within multiple feminisms: liberal, radical, socialist, ecofeminism, postmodern feminist theory and others. A perspective then defines goals, values, and a list of priority questions for the analysis and consequently, a perspective that reveals positionality of the researcher. In this study I rely on the tool offered by McPhail (2003) who lists blocks of questions, which are the following: values, state-market control, multiple identities, equality, special treatment/protection, gender neutrality, context, language, equality/rights and

care/responsibility, material/symbolic reforms, role change and role equity, power analysis, and other if applicable.

As the current research is specifically targeted towards discovering the effectiveness of employment policies for displaced women in practice, I find questions of context and special treatment/protection as the most relevant and applicable tools. Understanding the political, economic, and social realities of women assists in locating women in power relations. And discovering state's special treatment of women reveals gendered assumptions behind the policy-making and gives a ground for understanding their gendered implications.

## 2.4 Feminist standpoint theory and situated knowledge of displaced women

Taken after Hartsock and Harding, this research adopts a feminist standpoint theory for examining the systemic oppressions of women in society. Inspired by this approach, I recognize that women's experiences, marginal experiences, provide crucial perspective for the knowledge production and consequent power relations transformation.

This study recognized women as an oppressed group under patriarchal capitalism. Harding claims that experiences of lives that have been devalued or not voiced have to be taken as "a source of objectivity-maximizing questions – the answers to which are not to be found in those experiences or lives but elsewhere in the beliefs and activities of people at the center who makes policies and engage in social practices that shape marginal lives" (1995, 54). Thus, the relationships between knowledge and politics are put into focus in an attempt to explain the impacts of policies on people's lives. In relation to the research, these are displaced women whose situated knowledge sculptured by their marginalized position in society that has to be voiced to discover dominant values underpinning the sphere of policy-making.

And if having a job is as a necessary condition for successful integration into a new society, a particular attention should be paid to the labour market institution and its norms of dividing job offers between men and women. Hartsock strongly encourages applying a feminist standpoint as an epistemological tool to understand patriarchal institutions and ideologies that are based on the sexual division of labour and recognition of women as “contributors to subsistence and as mothers” in the first place (1983, 284). While voting for the stakes of socialist feminists and feminist political theorists, standpoint theory gives a room for complex understanding of women’s marginalized realities and furthermore turns it into a tool to address gender inequalities at both socio-economic and symbolic injustices. Therefore, I believe analysis of IDPs-oriented employment policies requires a feminist standpoint approach from a perspective of displaced women.

In this research I focus the most on the institutionalized gender division of labor, and consciously disregard the crucially important differences among women based on ethnicity, class, other positions and their intersection. This decision is dictated by practical limits and available resources. Nevertheless, bringing the light to the issue of the gendered experiences in work search for IDPs is a significant step for further developments in gendering understanding of IDPs complex experiences and how they are influenced by the current policy environment.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The ontology used is social constructionism. The core premise of such approach is that social reality is only known through the understanding humans have of it; human groups create meanings of social events and behave accordingly to such beliefs. Epistemology used is critical theory accompanied by feminist standpoint theory. Critical theory as a form of self-reflective knowledge involves both understanding and theoretical explanation of social phenomenon. Eventually, it aims to challenge systems of domination or dependence. Putting it simple, Horkheimer summarizes that “critical theory study has to explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify the actors to change it, and provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation” (1982). Feminist standpoint theory complements the research epistemology in the way it emphasizes that knowledge is socially situated. Thus, life experience of marginalized groups provides them with a specific scope on power relations, more critical and questioning than the one privileged groups have. Both critical theory and feminist standpoint theory have explanatory and normative potential, which means social reality should not merely be critically explained but also changed according to the needs of oppressed groups. Therefore, it is possible to state that understanding of IDPs living conditions and their needs can vary among state representatives, international organizations bodies, and among IDPs themselves. And in case needs of displaced women are not being represented properly, meaning that they themselves acknowledge that their needs are not met, some actions should be taken.

#### 3.1 Research design

The current research applies qualitative methods to discover how seemingly gender-neutral policy brings gendered implications when applied. The study addresses the question at different levels, and consequently, implements a theoretical perspective at different levels. A

choice of qualitative methods is justified by the research question that focuses on the experiences of IDPs and how those experiences are gendered. While quantitative data can provide a representative picture of trends in IDPs' employment, quantitative data can describe the gendered struggles of looking for job and survival strategies that can hardly be converted to numbers. The study is conducted in three steps: policy analysis, interviews with SES workers, and a focus-group with internally displaced women. So, the study starts with the examination of the state's perspective on the issue of IDPs' employment; then follows the discovery of how the perspective is being implemented at a local level; and, finally, possible scenarios of the policy influence on IDP's lives are drawn. The description of each step follows.

The first step is a close reading of policy documents that are aimed to facilitate employment of IDPs in Ukraine. This close reading is enabled through a feminist policy analysis framework that promotes gender-sensitive reading of policy. Consequently, the gendered assumptions and implications behind the program are brought to the surface. Informed by stances of socialist feminists and a theory of feminist political economy, firstly, I highlight the importance of the political, historical, and social context of policy design and implementation; then I question the special treatment or protection of women to show how women, and particularly, displaced women are disadvantaged under new living conditions and in their work search.

In this research I examine both state programs designed specifically for IDPs and some offers initiated by international organizations in cooperation with the Ukrainian Government. Since all initiatives eventually fall under the umbrella of state's integration program for IDPs (that will be discussed in further), in the analysis I criticize the employment policy for IDPs as the Ukrainian state's project.

At the second stage I conduct semi-structured interviews with SES workers in order to trace the process of policy implementation. SES is chosen as the key mediator between IDPs as job-seekers and the state as a party interested in IDPs' employment. Workers of SES are experts in employment challenges of IDPs since they meet displaced job-seeker on the regular basis. Additionally, these respondents are aware of the larger situation in the labour market as they provide assistance to unemployed of all categories. Therefore, interviews with SES workers is a crucial step in revealing IDPs' real life experiences in work search, linking structural and practical dimensions of the policy implementation, location IDPs' experiences within a larger framework context of unemployment in the country.

Kyiv was chosen as the main field of data gathering since it is the capital and one of the biggest labour markets in Ukraine. Moreover, the city is the main arena for non-government employment projects that are also discussed in this paper. Since the number of SESs in Kyiv is reasonably small: 1 main office and 10 more in different districts, the aim was to take interviews with workers of all 11 SESs in Kyiv.

The interview consists of three main blocks of questions. The first aims to provide a general picture of a policy framework used when helping IDPs to find a job. The purpose was to see if SES workers are familiar with various employment programs available for IDPs by the time of our meetings. The second section pictures the perception of the role of SES in shaping IDPs' experiences of work search and policy implementation. The third block targets the gender layer of IDPs employment. So, respondents were offered to interpret recent gender segregated data on the SES's activity in facilitation of IDPs' employment. The discussion of the SES data is helpful for raising the gender question without me imposing an opinion that internally displaced women are

underprivileged at the labour market. Also SES's workers were not expected to present an objective opinion that would explain the data, rather I was interested to see if respondents reflect on the gender dimension of the work search, and what did they think about it.

At the final step of the research I conduct a focus group with internally displaced women. 8 participants were invited to talk about their experiences of resettlement in general, including for how long they had been staying in Kyiv. Then we went to revealing their experiences of work search that included questions about assistance of SES and NGOs, and respondents' awareness of available employment policies. Our meeting was finished by discussion of what could be done to make their lives more comfortable. Similarly to interviews with SES, here I was interested to know if IDPs were familiar with employment policy, did they find it helpful, and what were their gendered survival strategies under new living conditions. Since displaced women have limited opportunities at the gendered labour market while also having to face challenged of displacement, the focus group aims to provide a marginalized situated knowledge that allows for conclusion whether state policy actually meets needs of at least some of IDPs and in what ways are IDPs' experiences of work search are gendered? The focus-group took place in Kyiv – the same locality as for SES's expertise, so, it is possible to witness different levels of policy work at the same locality.

However thoughtful a design may be there is always a place for limitations in what can be learnt and how. The following sub-chapter discusses the process of policy analysis, conducting interviews and a focus group in more detail.

## 3.2 Data limitations

The research is conducted in three sequential steps that reveal the process of the employment policy design, implementation and how it works in practice. Here I explain the choice of design and discuss obstacles met in the process of data gathering.

A choice of employment policy for a feminist policy analysis is informed by its prominent role in IDPs' integration and this is acknowledged by the state program of integration (discussed later). However, employment lies in a larger policy framework. And even though in this research I situate the policy within the larger approach to assisting IDPs, brief explanations of housing, financial assistance policies is provided. Both housing and financial assistance policies require a feminist policy analysis as well, therefore, the limitation of this research is a fragmented perspective that nevertheless explains the implicit gender layer of IDP-targeted policies in Ukraine.

The second stage of the research posed the challenge of accessibility. While in general, SES in Kyiv appeared to be relatively accessible, there were 9 interviews conducted out of 11 planned. In one case interview did not happen due to the issue with logistics and time. The other case was an official rejection to give an interview since my research topic was seen as provocative. In all the other cases respondents were open to share their experiences of work with IDPs and IDP-specific policy. Moreover, at some point information started repeating, meaning that in case the number of SESs was indefinite, interviews could have been stopped.

Openness of other SESs complicated the technical part of interviews. In all cases I was also invited to talk with workers of different organizational units: I talked to heads of SES, with those who guide cases of unemployment, with those responsible for educational opportunities, and also with those who establish and maintain contacts with

employers. And having access to workers of all organizational units definitely enriched the data and provided multiple perspectives on the topic. However, a person who signed the consent form was either a director or a person who was assigned to talk to me first, and it was not always appropriate to tape the talk with other people so, often I was taking notes instead.

The selection of participants for the focus group could potentially introduce bias. All 8 participants were invited at a non-government organization - Employment Center of Free People (ECFP). Moreover, they kindly provided me with a room and even treatments for the research participants. The bias of the selection process lies in the fact that people would probably be more friendly towards a non-government organization that hosted the focus group and more critical towards SES performance. Also participants could have known each other due to the politics of ECFP that encourages IDPs to meet. Nevertheless, this was the only possible way to gather displaced women at the time, and a particular kind of bias would have been present in any other way of non-representative sampling. The gender-specific choice of respondents is explained by the research question and the fact that I was interested to hear a perspective of people marginalized at the labour market, and, as the theoretical framework suggests, these are mostly women.

## 4. GENDERING EMPLOYMENT POLICIES FOR IDPS IN UKRAINE

*“Although often couched in gender-neutral terms, all policy is gendered if we just ask the questions that expose the gendered assumptions and implications”*

*McPhail (2003, 44)*

The current research stands for the promotion of gender sensitivity and gender equality in policy making and its implementation. Gender sensitivity implies awareness of gender equality concerns and taking them into account at the stage of policy design and implementation. Next to Verloo I understand gender equality as absence of gender domination and oppression in society (2007, 23) and thus, as promotion of equal opportunities for all people, regardless of their gender. This chapter analyzes employment policies for IDPs in Ukraine through a feminist policy analysis framework. Therefore, here I outline, examine, and analyze the content, and implications of public policy through a gendered lens. Particularly, the analysis asks questions stemming from Marxist feminism that demand social and historical contextualization of the environment for policy development and reveal the state’s paternalism treatment of women behind seemingly gender neutral text and strategies.

### 4.1 An overview of available employment policies for IDPs in Ukraine

First of all, it is important to remember that IDPs jobseekers are eligible for all work search facilities offered to Ukrainian citizens by SES on the regular basis. Namely, according to the Law of Ukraine “On Employment of Population” (the Law on Employment) Article 3, no person can be forced to work, however, each job-seeker is allowed: to choose a profession and a place of work; to get a professional orientation; to access professional training, re-

training and upgrading in accordance to the labour market demands, educational background, and personal preferences; access to social protection in case of unemployment; to be protected against discrimination in employment, unjustified refusal to hiring and unlawful dismissal; to get additional assistance in employment available for certain categories of population. And special employment policies for IDPs are designed in a line with additional assistance opportunities for special categories. Since in this research I primarily study special employment programs for IDPs and their effect on shaping the gendered experiences of IDPs, it is important to highlight that Ukrainian law forbids any gender-based or origin-based discrimination. This specifically means that displaced women and men are entitled to same opportunities at the labour market as any other woman or man.

A number of steps has already been taken in Ukraine to support IDPs inside the country. Namely, the Ukrainian Government accepted “The comprehensive national program for support, social adaptation and reintegration of citizens of Ukraine internally displaced from the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine and anti-terrorist operation conduct area to other regions of Ukraine for the period 2015-2016” (the Program). This document is the main document that regulates policy-making around IDPs in Ukraine. And since the conflict in the Donbass region has not been resolved yet, the Program has been extended to 2017.

Also the Ministry for Temporarily Occupied Territories and IDPs in Ukraine (the Ministry) was officially established on June 8, 2016. This political body’s stated task is to “implement the state policy in the field of rehabilitation and peace building in areas affected by conflict and reintegration of the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine” (CoM “Some questions of the Ministry of temporarily occupied territories and IDPs”). Moreover, the Ukrainian state has recognized the importance of supporting the employment of IDPs by accepting “The guidelines for solving the employment problems of IDPs in 2015-2016 years”

(the Guidelines). The Guidelines were followed by the law that represents a market-led attempt to solve an issue of IDPs' employment, and mainly serves to raise attractiveness of IDPs workers for potential employees. Additional actions to improve the employment situation for IDPs have been initiated by international organizations and approved by the Government of Ukraine. Particularly, in August 2014 UNDP started a project of "Rapid response to social and economic issues internally displaced people in Ukraine" (the Response). The project is designed to open opportunities for the improvement of IDPs' livelihoods in new places of living, and, if appropriate, to support them in reintegration to former places of living. And while at the first stage of implementation UNDP's Program (August 2014 – February 2015) aimed to enhance the responsiveness of social services to IDPs' needs, then the second stage (March 2015 – February 2016) strongly but not exclusively focused on facilitation of employment as one of the key factors to a successful social integration. Such facilitation got especially visible through promotion of IT courses and entrepreneurship programs for IDPs. A short summary of each program described follows.

#### 4.1.1 The Program and general vectors of IDP's policy-making

Examination of this document allows mapping the main needs of IDPs from the state's perspective. The Program is divided into five sections: the aim, methods of solving problems, planned actions, expected results, funding. So, the document is structured and the implementation of its objectives is supported with a budget planning. The Program's stated aims are:

- to solve main problems of IDPs and minimize social tension among them and in hosting communities;

- assisting in integration and social adaptation of IDPs at the new place of living and avoid stigmatization of IDPs;
- assisting in provision of proper living conditions, rights and realization of potential;
- provision of social, medical, psychological, and material support;
- creation of conditions for compensation of financial and moral damages;
- creation of favorable conditions for the voluntary return to the place of residence (provided the end of military actions at the territories where Ukrainian government is temporarily restricted from exercising its power).

The section of methods of solving problems explicitly states that the main vector for adaptation of IDPs is the socio-economic. This primarily implies the restoration of social status and adjustment to new living conditions. Main principles for the Program's fulfilment include orientation for social justice; social protection of IDPs, and foremost people from vulnerable categories, such as the elderly, the disabled, large families, single parents; respect of the rights of citizens, especially for work, and promotion of the rational use of the labour potential of IDPs; as well as respecting the rights of citizens for housing and land. The responsibility for implementation of these objectives is taken by consolidated efforts of central and local executive bodies and public associations that are also expected to cooperate with social partners and representatives of the private economy sector.

In general, the program is written in a gender-neutral language. While aiming for integration of IDPs, the state primarily emphasizes the importance of solving housing and employment issues, and then refers to psychological and medical assistance. As the further analysis of IDPs' employment facilitation in Ukraine shows, the gendered dimension of displacement is simply silenced.

#### 4.1.2 The Guidelines as gender blind employment strategy for IDPs

Employment policy for IDPs in Ukraine is presented by the Guidelines. The Guidelines' purpose is the facilitation of employment and competitiveness of internally displaced persons in the labor market with professional training or re-training. This develops the objective of the Program mentioned in terms of respecting the rights of citizens for work and promotion of the rational use of the labour potential of IDPs. And in a long-term perspective creation of conditions for IDPs' employment is expected to contribute to a decrease in the level of social tension in society, and to solving the issue of IDPs' financial security, and therefore, contribute to IDPs' social integration and to realization of the Program. The Guidelines provides a general direction for further acceptance of relevant laws and decrees; the document also includes "The Action Plan of Employment and Vocational Training of IDPs" (the Action Plan) that explains main directions of implementation of the Guidelines, appoints responsible bodies for each direction's implementation, and clarifies the source of funding for each of the initiatives, that is either state's budget, expected help from international organizations, or from local non-government organizations.

There are numerous aspects of the Guidelines that can be examined with a feminist policy analysis framework, mainly because the document is written in a gender neutral language and none of the Action Plan's point refers to the gendered outcomes it can bring. It is possible to assume though that policy-makers accounted for a more gender-nuanced approach at the level of relevant law-making and civil society project development. To verify this hypothesis I address programs that stem from the Guidelines, these are Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine decree "On approval of procedure to promote employment, the return of expenses that finance such activities, in case of violation of job security for internally displaced persons" (I address it as the Compensation Policy), and UNDP's Response that

initiated IT courses and entrepreneurship programs for IDPs (IT Program and Entrepreneurship Program respectively). Although these projects have different funding and one was initiated by the Ukrainian Government and the others – by UN, all of them remain gender-blind and need questioning. Before coming to the analysis itself I provide a brief summary of initiatives.

### 4.1.3 The Compensation Policy

The Compensation Policy stems from the Program and the Guidelines and presents market-led attempt to solve the social issue of IDP's employment. Compensation opportunities target employee and employers. A brief summary of the Compensation Policy follows.

- Employee compensation:
  - A registered unemployed IDP can receive a compensation for transportation expenses related to relocation to another administrative unit if getting a job there;
  - A registered unemployed IDP can receive a compensation for passing medical and drug medical check if necessary for employment.
- Employer compensation:
  - Guarantee of compensation for employer's wages expenses under fixed-term contract employment of registered unemployed IDPs;
  - Compensation for costs of courses to change profession and vocational training for employer who employs registered unemployed IDPs.

According to SES data, 1 500 thousand - 7.4% of registered unemployed IDPs - got involved in the compensation program that partly covered the expenses for their salaries for their

employers, and 30 IDPs used an opportunity to cover the cost of medical examination if required for the employment.

#### 4.1.4 The IT Program

The IT Program for IDPs involves a four-month long IT courses for development of new skills useful for finding new jobs. This program was initiated in 2016 by UNDP and was held in the part of Donbass region that is under the control of the Ukrainian Government. There is no available distinct document that explains the general idea behind the IT Program. The only document that presents the agenda and implications of the IT Program is UNDP's infographics on "IT courses for IDPs in Donbass" (December 2016). And this infographics suggests that employment remains "the biggest challenge for internally displaced people in Ukraine". The presentation continues with the discussion of the first round of the IT Program that involved 4 Ukraine's biggest IT companies that provided in-class trainings in 6 regions of Ukraine with a possibility of taking online courses throughout the country, included 768 participants, 533 of whom were males and 235 - females. And while results section of the infographics claims that 157 participants have their income increased because of the courses (20% of courses attendants), 189 students (25%) got their job in IT sphere, 29 (8%) launched their business, nothing is said with regard to the gender division of success cases. So, the reader is left to wonder if the gender balance in IT courses participation of 69% males and 31% females has changed in any way in terms of employment.

#### 4.1.5 The Entrepreneurship Program

The Entrepreneurship Program aims to improve lives of IDPs by increasing their employment rate and income generating opportunities through a series of business trainings and a possibility to win grants for business plans realization. Winners of grants would get up to

225 000 UAH (8 090 EUR<sup>3</sup>) for a small or medium sized business project depending on the amount of working places the business would create. The program takes place in eight different regions of Ukraine. The Entrepreneurship Program is designed in a gender-neutral way and it has no gender sensitive conditions explicitly stated.

The latest round of trainings was finished on December 14, 2015 and involved 1265 participants, 770 of whom were women (UNDP Ukraine 2015). The following competition for small grants distributed 3 468 715 UAH (121 978 EUR<sup>4</sup>) and were given to 23 projects that created working places for 84 people altogether (CCC Creative Center January 2017). However, the information about the grant winners is not gender segregated; thus, it is not possible to say if the tendency of women prevailing in the training was reflected in the fund distribution.

So, although an attempt to improve employability of IDPs is a significant step for the Ukrainian state that claims the Government's interest in supporting people in challenging life circumstances, Compensation Policy, IT and Entrepreneurship Programs are presumably gender-neutral and are supposed to give equal opportunities for all interested IDPs. And the overall gender neutrality of the Guidelines is transmitted to the law-making and civil society projects development. However, as McPhail stresses, "all policy is gendered" (2003, 44) and we have appropriate questions to reveal its gendered nature.

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<sup>3</sup> As for January 6, 2016

<sup>4</sup> The same

## 4.2 A feminist policy analysis of IDPs' employment policies in Ukraine

*"Law can treat men and women alike where they are alike and differently where they are different."*

*Baer (1999, 54)*

Even though worded in a gender-neutral manner, the employment policies for IDPs in Ukraine have obvious gendered assumptions and implications that contradict gender equality principles of providing equal access to opportunities for women and men and preventing gender-based discrimination. I claim that market-led approaches to solve the social issue of IDPs' employment does not take into account the unprivileged position of women in the labour market at the first place. The disadvantaged position is caused by higher rates of men's employment, the gender segregation of the labour market, meaning horizontal and vertical segregation, that is especially visible in private business sector; also by the tendency of women to perform house-keeping and care-giving activities that prevent them from fulfilling their labour force potential. So an IDP woman coming to a labour market can face obstacles that are not taken into account while designing and implementing employment policies for IDPs.

A feminist policy analysis framework and list of questions offered by McPhail (2003) can help to explain the gender dimension of the Compensation Policy and Entrepreneurship Program. Particularly, we examine these policies with Context and Special Treatment/Protection questions taken from McPhail (2003) that are the following:

- 1) Context question: “Are women clearly visible in the policy? Does the policy take into account the historical, legal, social, cultural, and political contexts of women’s lives and lived experiences both now and in the past?” (McPhail 2003: 56);
- 2) Special Treatment/Protection: “Does any special treatment of women cause unintended or restrictive consequences? Is there an implicit or explicit double standard? Does being labeled different and special cause a backlash that can be used to constrain rather than to liberate women?” (ibid.)

These questions are mutually intertwined: the manifold context defines the special treatment of women and protectionist politics shapes the context and the gender order in general. Therefore, I address both questions without prioritizing any of them.

To demonstrate possible obstacles women in Ukraine face in the labour market I use available data from international organizations’ reports, such as the Global Gender Gap Report (2016), State Statistic Service of Ukraine (2012), ILO report (2016), Global IDP (2005), and findings of researchers in gender topic are used to contextualize and emphasize the issue of gender-based oppression and discrimination in the labour market: Brainerd (2000), Kostiuchenko and Martsenyuk (2011), Lobodzinska (1996), Moghadam (1996); Schwartz (1979); Zdravomuslova and Temkina (2003). I start with bringing the social and historical background for the employment policy development and then move to describing how the state’s special treatment adopted from USSR enforced symbolic and socio-economic inequalities based on gender.

#### 4.2.1 Political, historical, and social contextualization of IDPs’ employment policy

Political, economic, and social context constitutes the environment for the policy design and implementation and help to picture conditions under which displaced women look for job.

The other part of contextualization involves studying how relevant policies interconnect and create a system. Here I claim that the gender division of the labour market in Ukraine advantages men before women in benefiting from employment policies. And even though Ukraine has taken commitments to gender equality on both international and national levels, the mechanism of ensuring equal rights and opportunities in socio-economic sphere proves to be ineffective in practice.

Ukraine positions itself as a country that promotes and ensures gender equality through legal and institutional framework at both international and national levels. Thus, Ukraine signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and joined Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) that demands mainstreaming of gender at each and every stage of policy making regardless of its topic. Ukraine also introduced commitment to gender equality at the national level, namely The Constitution of Ukraine includes a Law “On ensuring equal rights and opportunities of men and women” that was adopted in 2005.

The Law on Employment mentioned earlier also ensures the right of individuals for protection against discrimination in employment. Specifically Article 11 highlights that the state guarantees the right for protection against any form of discrimination in employment based on race, color of skin, political, religious, and other beliefs, sex, age, ethnicity and social origin, and other characteristics when hiring and advertising positions. It may be the case then that authors of the Compensation Policy and Entrepreneurship Program relied on the existing framework to address the gender equality and make sure that both displaced men and women would be equally able to benefit from offers. However, taken into account the overall ineffectiveness of the gender equality strategy in Ukraine that is expressed in statements that are not supported by actions (ILO 2010), it seems to be more probable that the

gender dimension of displacement and work search were simply disregarded and considered to be unimportant.

A lack of gender parity has been proved by The Global Gender Gap Report 2016 (GGGR) that ranks Ukraine 69 out of 144 countries with the score of im/parity 0.7. The gender gap is especially visible in politics, where only 14% of women are present in the parliament and even less – 12% – occupy ministerial positions. However, economic participation and opportunity index also weights in lowering the country's position. Moreover, a small number of women in politics can be regarded as an impact of the gender segregation of the labour market. Even though Ukraine outreaches the average score for the sector in the list of countries, the data suggests that men outnumber women in the labour force participation (83 women to 100 men) and women earn 66% of what men earn for a similar work. The number of women who work part-time exceeds the according number of men twofold. And although the Law of Ukraine mandates non-discrimination in hiring women and demands equal pay, the gender segregation of the labour market results in the fact that on average women in Ukraine earn 60% of what men earn annually.

The gendered nature of the labour market in Ukraine is described by the State Statistics Service (SSS) of Ukraine in their latest report on “Gender aspects of the labour market in Ukraine” (2012), in UNFPA research on overall women's participation in the labour force in Ukraine (2012) that partly relies on SSS's data, in a gendered analysis of Ukrainian labour market by ILO (2010), in a research of gender aspects of employment in Ukraine by Martsenyuk (2009), in the study made by Kostiuchenko and Martsenyuk (2011) on businesswomen in Ukraine, in a research by Efanova and Martsenyuk (2014) on the gender segmentation of the IT sphere in Ukraine, and in some other publications. So, SSS confirms that women's employment rate appears to be lower than men's (10% lower as for

2011). ILO (2010) notes that economic growth of 2001-2008 and following financial crisis of the fourth quarter of 2008 had gendered implications to the labour market. So, when Ukraine experienced economic growth, the rate of employment increased for both sexes, however, the rise was more significant for male population of 15-70 years old: 59.9% to 65.2%, while 51.5% of women's employment rate rose only to 54% (ILO 2010, 8).

In general, Ukrainian labour market proves to be horizontally and vertically segregated. 'Female' and 'male' division of professions together with men being more likely to occupy top and well-paid positions makes the stated commitment to gender equality highly questionable. UNDP (2012, 33) reveals differences in women and men occupations in Ukraine in 2011<sup>5</sup>, suggesting that while both groups are largely present in subsistence agricultural sector (16.3% and 12.2% respectively), most women appear to have occupations that require communication skills and are usually not physically demanding: so they work as models, salespersons and demonstrators, travel attendants, housekeeping and restaurant service workers, personal care workers, business accountants, social workers, teaching professionals; while men often get involved in manual work (such as drivers and mobile-plant operators), work in heavy industry, building, mining manufacturing, and transport; less men become travel attendants, housekeeping and restaurant service workers in comparison to women (5.6% to 8% respectively) and relatively more men than women are directors and chief executives (5.5% to 4.1%). As for vertical segregation, for example, 76.7% of civil servants in Ukraine are women but only 14.2% of top positions in the sphere are occupied by women (SSS 2012).

It is important to understand that when a large-scale displacement occurred, women who fled their homes did not escape their unprivileged position in the labour market and responsibilities for care-giving and household-keeping. Moreover, the fact that women

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<sup>5</sup> Classification of occupations happens on the basis of ISCO-88 sub-major grouping with two-digit code

constitute two third of registered IDPs in Ukraine only harshens challenges they may face while looking for a new job. Thus, the Compensation Policy written in gender neutral language with clear lack of attention to the gendered historical and social context of the employment issue ideally fits the existing system of gender inequality and women's oppression in the labour market and in the private sphere. Such lack of attention has already shown itself in experiences of IDPs women. ILO's report on "Employment needs assessment and employability of internally displaced people in Ukraine" (2016) reveals that 39.4% of IDPs women who do not look for job feel themselves are too occupied with "family responsibility, need to take care of children, sick or elderly members of family" (ILO 2016: 16) to go to the labour market, while IDPs men would name the same reason 10 times less often (3.9%). Under such circumstances women become extremely dependent on the state and/or their partner or/and parent for their survival. So the mediation of gender relations happens through creating conditions for women's dependency upon the state and their family.

Gender segregation of the labour market and female primarily responsibility for the household-keeping and care-giving in the family also affects the entrepreneurship opportunities of IDPs women. Unofficial data from Kostiuchenko and Martsenyuk (2011: 226) suggests that women constitute 38% of self-employed in Ukraine, 26% of them hold small businesses, 15% - middle-sized, 12% - big businesses. Authors explain women's prevailing involvement in small- and medium-sized business in part by the time flexibility it can give to take care of their double burden of performing household work and managing her business. Also research confirms discursive presence of gender stereotypes with regard to 'female' and 'male' spheres of business and thus, horizontal segregation of the market even among businesswomen themselves. Also with the help of network analysis, researchers show that business-women at the beginning of their career noticeably rely on the support (financial,

networking) from people they are strongly tied, such as relationship partners, family members, close friends.

So, Entrepreneurship Program may benefit displaced women with necessary knowledge and possibly funds for a start-up, and there were more women than men enrolled on the latest round of the program. However, this program is not sensitive to gender segregation of the labour market, to the segregation that can be incorporated by business-women themselves. Starting a business at a new place also brings an additional challenge due to weak network of contacts available for support at the beginning of the business development. Moreover, Entrepreneurship Program remains silent about the double burden an entrepreneur woman will meet, as a mother or/and a housekeeper on the one hand and a business-maker – on the other. Thus, once again employment policy has shown itself as gender blind, insensitive to the context of its implementation, and enforcing female double burden and oppressed position.

#### 4.2.2 Special treatment/protection of women in Ukraine

Ukraine is known as a post-Soviet country that had profound emancipation politics that actively promoted women participation in economy (Brainerd 2000; Lobodzinska 1996; Moghadam 1996; Schwartz 1979; Zdravomuslova and Temkina 2003). However, studies show that even back then women were mainly employed in less subsidized branches of the economy, they earned less than men, and occupied lower positions (Brainerd 2000: 138, 142; Lobodzinska 1996: 520; Schwartz 1979: 74-5). Moreover, free market reforms resulted in wage dispersion that especially negatively affected women, who in large constituted the lower part of wage distribution in Ukraine (Brainerd 2000: 150). Besides vertical and horizontal segregation of the labour market, Ukrainian society, and primarily women, also inherited the ‘working mother contract’ (Zdravomuslova and Temkina 2003: 303) - a social

contract between a working woman in a socialist society that was expected and encouraged to give birth to new members of a society on the one hand and the state that promised to provide a substantial support to working mothers in terms of child care facilities and a generous maternity leave (up to 3 years) on the other. In practice, the working mother contract resulted in “the legacy of the double burden” (Moghadam 1996: 20-1) that proclaimed women’s primarily responsibility for the house-keeping and child-care, while also being employed. And such symbolic attachment of a woman to her household and reproductive function is in part a premise for the vertical and horizontal segregation of the labour market. Having such a ground, the transition to a democratic order and free market reforms caused a return to ‘family values’ (Lobodzinska 1996: 535) and a ‘resurgence of patriarchy’ (Moghadam 1996: 4) in former socialist states. These gendered changes got especially visible in economic sphere as unemployment rates increased and the overall wage structure got widen and decentralized (Brainerd 2000: 149-50), and possible presence of bias favoring men employment in some previously women-dominated spheres, such as banking and insurance (Moghadam 1996: 26-7).

Gender equality commitment of Ukrainian government is not only a strategy on paper that hardly finds its implications in practice – it is also a strategy that has legal contradictions in itself. Thus, while stating the right for equal access to chosen professions and guaranteeing protection against discrimination at the labour market, Ukrainian government keeps and treasures the list of professions forbidden for women. The Decree of Ministry of Healthcare of Ukraine №256 from December 12, 1993 (the List) lists more than 500 professions that are forbidden for female labour force. This list was enshrined in the Labour Code of Ukraine in 1971 (at the time of USSR) and keeps being valid. The Decree recognizes metal processing work, various construction, installation and repairs, construction, and mining work as inappropriate for women. The forbid is justified by recognizing such work to have harmful

and dangerous conditions. First of all, in such way the state demonstrates protective and paternalistic behavior towards women at the labour market. With a similar logic the Program recognizes single mothers (fathers) that are displaced to be vulnerable and in need for protection. In the contextualization terms the List brings an understanding of legal limits for state's vision of gender equality and a sense of how Ukrainian labour market is gendered. The List inevitably shapes the horizontal division of labour as particular spheres and professions are legally open only for men. Additionally, it regards women as lacking of agency and capacity for a personal decision-making, thus, institutionalizing patriarchal values of a men-state exercising control over women's bodies and opportunities.

## 5. EMPLOYMENT OF IDPS: BETWEEN GENDER AND DISPLACEMENT

This chapter voices IDPs' experiences in looking for job from the perspective of SES workers involved into policy implementation and from the perspective of displaced women themselves. Given that employment policies for IDPs is gender bind, it is particularly important to discover how they operate in practice. The experience of job search for these women is defined by the intersection of displacement and gender dimensions. And since the overview of the labour market context was provided in the previous chapter, this one starts with an overview of the situation of IDPs in Ukraine, particularly their needs and specific issues with employment. Background information about the focus group participants can be found in Appendix II.

### 5.1 An overview of the situation of IDPs in Ukraine

An overview of IDPs' needs and everyday challenges is provided to contextualize findings of interviews with SES workers and the focus group in a larger picture. Two core reports guide the summary: "Summary of Participatory Assessments with internally displaced and conflict affected people in Ukraine April-June 2015" (UNHCR 2015) and report on "Employment needs assessment and employability of internally displaced persons in Ukraine" (ILO 2016). A choice of sources is formed by direct participation of IDPs in raising their concerns. In the first report a series of focus groups is conducted to reveal protections risks and unmet rights of participants. The other report is built on survey of IDPs and in-depth interviews with representatives of Ukrainian firms. While the first research focuses on overall issues people face due to displacement, the other presents their coping or survival strategies related to employment situation.

Main issues of IDPs refer to 12 distinct topics (UNHCR 2015), the list and a brief explanation follows:

- the freedom of movement: difficulties in accessing government controlled area from the non-government controlled and vice versa;
- access to housing:
  - the former place of living: the lack of possibilities to repair ruined houses inside the region of active military action and the necessity to pay utility costs for former place of living;
  - the new place of living: the state provides free temporary stay for IDPs within six months from the date of registration of internally displaced persons with the possibility of extension for large families, the disabled, the elderly. After the period of the temporary stay expires IDPs struggle with high rent, discrimination from landlords;
- employment and livelihoods: discrimination by employers based on IDP status, age, single-parenting; poor incentive packages and small salaries for those who are employed; poor quality of SES with special attention to poor provision of information about free vacancies and vocational courses;
- registration and documentation: a need for restoration of documents that prove civil statuses, such as passports, certificate of a single parent, disability status document and other documents;
- access to information: unreliable, outdated, or conflicting information about a range of assistance programs from both national and international agencies that do not have well established communication; elderly and disabled are particularly vulnerable to having adequate access to up-to-date information;

- lack of durable solutions from the state: long-term strong actions from the state are needed, especially with regard to housing and livelihoods issues; pessimism with regard to the government strategy of integration due to difficult economic situation in the country;
- discrimination and social fragmentation: negative attitudes in looking for accommodation and work, and apply for social assistance; locals blame IDPs for being freeloaders who benefit from the situation; children experience bullying at school because of their status and stigmatization caused by unfavorable financial situation in their families; double discrimination of ethnic minorities: Roma and Jews;
- access to health care: lack of proper medical attention to those with chronic diseases, high prices for medication, inability to receive treatment in sanatoria, remote locations of the accommodation from the place of specialized treatment, unofficial payments in hospitals- that affects elderly, disabled and parents with small children the most;
- mental health: stress, trauma, mental health issues that especially affect children as a result of displacement, reluctance to asking for to ask for psychological assistance;
- child protection and education: separated children, lack of places in kindergartens, indirect payment requirements from families with primary and secondary school attendants, struggle with universities transfer to the area of government control, minor's risk of military recruitment;
- social protection and basic needs: financial assistance is hardly enough to cover basic needs and guarantee social protection, delays in receiving social assistance,

inability to access bank accounts or sell property that has been left behind, high prices for goods.

Findings of ILO (2016) complement the picture described above with particular attention to the dimension of employment as a source of livelihoods and integration. Thus, the report shows that employment issues are interrelated with some of those raised by UNHCR (2015), namely registration and documentation, housing, access to information, discrimination, and access to healthcare. Also, they provide gender-sensitive data of employment situation for IDPs that gives a platform for further location of narratives from interviews with SES workers and the focus group conducted for this research.

So, while UNHCR's report (2015) raises complaints on the working opportunities for IDPs, ILO (2016) points out that the rate of inactivity in work search is far higher for IDPs than total population in Ukraine. The decision not to look for a job appears to be highly gendered. Thus, 39.4% of women claim to stay outside the labour market because of "family responsibility, need to take care of children, sick or elderly members of family" (ILO 2016, 16), whereas men would name the same reason 10 times less often (3.9%). This clearly reveals the strong attachment of women to their reproductive function.

At the same time one third of economically active IDPs are registered as unemployed, and that is noticeably higher part than for all population of Ukraine. Unemployment of IDPs also has a gendered dynamics. Thus, most unemployed IDPs are women (68%). These are also young, educated people with previous work experience. The gendered dimension of unemployment is also noticed in the tendency of predominantly women to experience long-term unemployment (more than 6 months), and the same is applicable to older job-seekers.

Top difficulties in IDPs' job search is headed by low wages for available jobs, lack of jobs that would correspond with educational and professional background of unemployed,

discrimination of IDPs by employers and some other factors. These issues are also applicable to employed IDPs, namely significant number of IDPs claim their current employment is worse than the one they had before the displacement, particularly in terms of income, requirement of available educational and professional background.

In the neoliberal tradition, employers explained the complicated situation at the labour market with the overall economic recession in Ukraine and large-scale move of IDPs. This resulted in reduced need in employment of new workers with mostly seasonal workers being on demand in agricultural, fishing, and construction sectors. So the most workable ways to find a job for an IDP are friendship and family relations.

Difficult employment situation for IDPs leads to specific coping or survival strategies. These strategies are rather passive and are represented by firstly, denial in basic needs of food, goods, medicines; manipulations with documents to receive financial assistance; borrowing money or selling their property, and also postponing obligatory payments. The gendered dynamics behind strategies show that women are more likely to deny themselves in basic needs while men would rather get involved in active strategies, for example, commercial activity. The next chapter addresses findings of interviews with SES workers and the focus group with displaced women and attempts to put it into a larger picture.

## 5.2 Regulation of IDPs' employment: is there a special treatment?

SES workers emphasize that as professionals they do not differentiate between displaced unemployed and unemployed of all categories. Every applicant is given the same amount of facilities, time, and attention. While treating them as any other unemployed respondents also showed awareness of specific needs of IDPs. A need of a permanent housing was even said to precede the need of employment. Some workers of

SES that were sent to train stations and places of compact living of IDPs stressed that looking for a job was not a priority for those who moved:

“Practice showed that when a person arrives to the train station, he/she may have no place to live in, so a question of employment does not head the list...Priority questions people at the train station were interested in: where to live, what to sustain with [money].” (SES 5)

“We have been to places of compact living in first waves of migration to tell about services of SES and calm them down... At that time they were interested in other kind of questions, they were interested in permanent housing, receiving financial support, and assistance in employment was on a different page. In four times I have been there only one woman applied for assistance and we directed her to study worker’s profession.” (SES 8)

The need for a place to live was also accompanied by the need of financial support during organization of domestic issues:

“There are people who apply not that much in a search for work but in a search of financial assistance. While being preoccupied with solving social and domestic issues, they receive financial assistance and thus, they sustain.” (SES 3)

Both financial and housing needs shape the work search of a person in terms of salary, location, and even work schedule. Bounding housing and employment confirms ILO’s (2016) finding previously described. And it is striking how recognition of socio-economic inequalities behind the displacement does not find its embodiment in redistribution. Similarly to the policy analysis a neutral approach does not cancel the material premises for socio-economic inequalities. However, since tools of SES are limited and target employment only, it is primarily state’s fail to assist the integration simultaneously at different levels.

In many cases experience of applying to SES is fairly positive, women said to receive useful advices and support. Moreover, under the process of welfare state death and neoliberal capitalism development a person under challenges of displacement is recognized guilty and then punished for how structurally underprivileged he/she is:

“When I was registered as unemployed in SES, the governmental help of 440 UAH was immediately taken away...And the SES worker said that “it is your [bad] karma, you have to atone for your sins.” (Respondent 8)

The Ukrainian state’s employment-facilitating program encourages IDPs to work by taking away financial assistance in case a work-able person does not work. The case of Respondent 8 is particularly illustrative to the role the state can play in marginalizing its citizens. So, the woman was evacuated to Kyiv together with the government organization she worked for. After the displacement occurred she lost her job since the organization was closed. And at the moment she became unemployed, she stopped receiving financial assistance for being IDP and was left exposed to a SES worker who claimed it was her own fault.

### 5.3 Self-reliance and its gendered narratives

Unemployed IDPs are described as ‘lacking’: lacking of motivation, proper education or professional background, lacking of self-representation skills. People, who were forced to move from their place of living, rapidly changed their life style while often having issues with housing and even basic needs, were blamed in not working enough to get a job. The lack of motivation is described in following quotes:

“It feels as everybody owes them.” (SES 3)

“Waiting for help is also a strategy.” (SES 4)

In such way in some interviews IDPs were described as passive receivers of assistance. And while some would account for particular psychological impacts of displacement:

“A person is not ready psychologically... He/she expects to come back and keeps waiting for something to change.” (SES 7)

Others would raise an individualistic critique, saying that:

“If a person wants to work, then [the policy is] effective.” (SES 4)

The neoliberal norms of being initiative, risk taking, self-reliant, and competitive in practice meets enduring patriarchal division of gender roles. These gender roles attach women to private, domestic, reproductive sphere and thus, women are not expected to become breadwinners. Interviews revealed that displaced women are seen in a strong relation to ‘maternity instinct’, caregiving, housekeeping, while men - to property defense, Motherland protection, and even breadwinning in the conflict area.

In fact, not all respondents from SES recognized the gender division of the labour market. And those who did, did not think that something should be done about it. So, a head of one of SES in Kyiv claimed that employers will always find ways to overcome non-discriminative laws so that women will not be of the same value as men. That also implied difference in salaries for the same position, vertical and horizontal segregation of the labour market. However, the answer for my question about what can be done was:

“This depends on the persona will. Generally speaking if a person is interested and he/she clearly understands that the work is needed, then, lets say, in Kyiv, the job can be found. Because Kyiv is perhaps the best city to find work. If one takes the position that I everybody should give me, then employer does not need you... regardless of if you are IDP or not.” (SES 3)

Thus, while recognizing structural inequalities that oppress women in the labour market, a person votes in favor of self-reliance and individual responsibility. Importantly, the point on being motivated for the employment is crucial in getting a job, however, some respondents claimed there are some conditions that strongly prevent them from finding a job, and this is related to their motherhood and child-caring duties that a person performs by herself:

“I can not complain for the lack of job. There are some positions available but I have another kind of an issue. I have a child, a school, after-class group until 6 pm. I used to work at confectionery factory but then the boss changed and the issue with shifts and work schedule occurred.” (Respondent 8)

Thus, once again the recognition does not lead to redistribution and the dilemma proceeds while addressing gender and employment.

## 5.4 Fitting existing employment policies

Fitting the policy implies being aware of its existence and being able to benefit from it. And first of all, both SES workers and displaced women proved to be familiar with the Compensation Policy. However, only 1 woman out of 7 was familiar with UNDP's projects. And none of participants used an opportunity of IT and Entrepreneurship Programs. A lack of communication between national and international organizations and offices together with poor campaign results in having a policy that targeted people have not heard about.

Another issue with fitting policies is requirements that can not be fulfilled. One of focus group participants complained that:

“The problem is that you can only use it if an employer offers a position to SES. And if you find a position yourself, there is no opportunity to benefit from Compensation Policy, only with an assignment for a job. And for this to coincide a chance is one in a million. I found an employer myself. So, I left SES. It would have been right if the employer would get compensation but it did not happen.” (Respondent 2)

This story touches upon a larger problem that was partially mentioned by ILO (2016) and also by UNHCR (2015). So, on the one hand there is a large labour market in a state with recession in the economy, and supply and demand for the labour force that do not meet. And on the other - there is an intersection of displacement-related and gender-related disadvantages for a displaced woman in the labour market. So, displaced women claim SES is not helpful in work search because it offers positions with salaries close to the minimum wage and the normative principle of counting the living wage does not include any calculations for rent payment but is based on market basket account. Also similarly to ILO's

(2016) report professional and educational background for positions offered rarely coincide with the profile of unemployed:

“Employers need blue-collar workers but we can not staff the offer because 80% [of unemployed] want to be civil servants, and 80% of vacancies are for blue-collar workers.” (SES 2)

“I believe the problem with work is a lot deeper, it does not affect IDPs only. The situation in the country used to be unstable even before the war started.” (Respondent 5)

“As for today there is little SES can do, if the economy does not work, then there is no place for employment... Economic situation is in lack of stability. You promise to teach the unemployed to work in the company, while you teach the unemployed, the company simply vanishes, goes bankrupt or gets closed due to unstable economic situation” (SES 3)

What SES workers offer then is to encourage unemployed for vocational trainings to obtain another specialization that is in demand on the market. Another SES worker revealed that many enterprises they cooperate with ask to fill only those positions that they could not fill themselves often due to low salaries and low social attractiveness of a position. So after some period of receiving social payments for being unemployed, most of focus group participants quitted SES and therefore, disabled themselves from applying for the Compensation Policy at all.

Consequently, the general mood and attitude towards state's assistance is pessimistic and/or critical:

“There is no place you are needed at. There are some kind people who help but not the Government. And you walk and ask all the time... I have such a pain. I paid taxes all my life. And I used to have a high salary... You need to survive yourself.” (Respondent 5)

“It is that you should not work but knock the doors, ask, and bow.” (Respondent 8)

“The Government does not assist, in any way, nothing. We are climbing alone and crawling [alone].” (Respondent 7)

## 5.5 IDPs' gendered survival strategies and a place for improvements

If we think about what makes neoliberal ideology so much appealing and accepted, apart from its intersection with globalized capitalism system, this would be bright stories of success that many would like to experience.

“A masculinist romance of the free, unencumbered, self-fashioning individual” is the following:

“I also moved here step by step. I kept moving back and forth as I had no financial means to stay here. And nobody was helping. March 2015 was the time when I thought I hooked myself with a nail. This is when I had not a mat nearby the door but a passage room that two men were passing... This is when I decided that I will be doing what I want... There were job offers but I would not agree for whatever. I decided that I will come with a new profession in the new life. [To another participant] if the last time we have seen each other I was a trainee, now I am officially employed.” (Respondent 7)

This woman was the oldest participant of the focus group, she was 53, had two children, and was divorced. She was also the only person in the group who did not apply for SES assistance at all. So, this was the one case of clearly positive outcome of displacement. Others can be divided by the criteria of either looking for the state's support or relying on their social networks and themselves:

“I am ready. I want to fret and fume. I apply everywhere... Yes, I am alone, not Bruce Almighty, but I want. We anyway need to try. Because we are left and nobody need us.” (Respondent 8)

“Why does not it [the law] work? Because the Cabinet of Ministers stands frozen... All these laws are for check mark.” (Respondent 5)

The format of the talk did not allow for asking if women denied themselves in basic needs for survival reasons or maybe tried to fake some documents. What was clear though is that first of all displaced people arrange their housing. For some it takes time to travel to different cities in search of opportunities, others arrived directly to Kyiv and then if there are

no friends or relatives in the city, they rent a flat, a room, or even a sleeping place in a crowded household:

“For a long I had to sleep on one couch together with my two children... So I would only sleep on the one side of my back or the other.” (Respondent 2)

Then they may give a try to all state facilities they can access, apply to NGOs, and/or receive help from locals or rely on their own contacts and capabilities. All respondents express strong sentiments for their former place of living, however, not all of them said they would like to come back. For some part of the surviving strategy lies in making everything possible not to become a “returner” (Respondent 5) as those are treated like betrayals in the conflict area.

And as for ideas for improvements in their living conditions, displaced women started discussing ways to receive permanent housing either by accessing buildings that have not been finished or by allocating international organization’s resources from developing projects of professional training to buying a piece of land and providing them with tools to build there something. Displaced women themselves have not raised any concerns with their gender struggle in the labour market except for the one related to having children:

“If you are a mother with children the first question you are asked: how often will you take a sick leave?.. Who is going to take care of children? And in case I did not explain that there are grandparents living in a 1-room flat with me, then I would not get the job.” (Respondent 2)

However, this issue was silenced in the light of uncertainty with regard to the place of living.

## 6. DISCUSSIONS

The largest example of forced migration in recent years in Ukraine has turned more than 1.7 million of people homeless. As the conflict proceeds the number of affected people increases. The Ukrainian Government has taken responsibility over this unprecedented process and has stated its readiness for support and integration of internally displaced people. A process of cooperation between the state, international organizations, civil society, and business representatives resulted in establishing employment policies that specifically target IDPs' employability. These policies are aimed to improve people's integration and adaptation to the new environment and provide them with means to survival.

Since a substantial part of displaced people are women and children, this work examines how the gendered experiences of IDPs in work search are shaped by the state and specifically by employment policies. With such purpose I scrutinize the policy documents with a feminist policy analysis approach that helps to contextualize the historical, social, political environment for the implementation as well as uncover paternalism in state's approach to women. This stage of the research reveals how seemingly gender-neutral policy has gendered assumptions and implications of gender equality in the labour market. An international commitment to equal rights and opportunities to women and men is absent in the labour market institution. And even though the Soviet past of the country can give ground for a different kind of impression, in fact remains of the former legal base contribute to the state control over women's employment choices.

Taken that the experiences of the work search undergoes under intersectional perspective of forced migration and gender, displaced women are claimed to be particularly underprivileged in the labour market in Ukraine. Specific vulnerability is enforced by displacement-inspired needs, such as housing and livelihoods, as well as by women's

primarily responsibility for the child-caring and house-keeping activities. While being located under the greater framework of patriarchal capitalism under its neoliberal mood, standpoint of displaced women is said to provide a critical perspective on the current regime of power relations and knowledge production. The current analysis also applies Fraser's perspective on the dilemma of recognition and distribution to reveal how understanding of socio-economic inequalities behind displacement of women at the local level does not contribute to the politics of redistribution.

The level of policy implementation continues the tradition of gender-neutrality introduced in the documents. However, the gendered labour market does not appear to be friendly to displaced women. While being attached to their children and other dependents, women who move face challenges in gender-segregated labour market under economic recession. The neoliberal mode of economy requires high level of competitiveness and self-reliance while neglecting the structural premises of inequalities.

Because integration policy of the state is generally not helpful, displaced women develop surviving strategies to sustain. Most prominently they depend on themselves, their social ties, and NGOs assistance. Evidence from displaced women had showed low level of familiarity with employment policies on the one hand, and low level of their applicability – on the other. A strong need for permanent housing appears to head the list before the employment. And even though various needs of IDPs are deeply connected, revealing the gendered face of looking for job can serve a basis for the further analysis of IDPs' complex experiences and how they are gendered.

# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Summary Data about Respondents

<b>Respondent №</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Number of children</b>	<b>Official employment status</b>	<b>Place of origin</b>	<b>Date of coming to Kyiv</b>
1	35	single	0	no	Donetsk	May 2016
2	40	divorced	2	yes	Donetsk	July 2015
3	35	single	1	yes	Luhansk	September 2014
4	40	married	2	yes	Donetsk	July 2014
5	40	married	2	no	Donetsk	August 2014
6	45	divorced	1	no	Makiivka, Donetsk region	Summer 2014
7	53	divorced	2	yes	Donetsk	August 2014
8	33	single	1	no	Donetsk	February 2015

## Appendix II: Interview Guide

### Guide to Semi-structured Interview

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#### **The gendered experiences of internally displaced people (IDP) looking for work in Ukraine**

Organisation name:

Interviewee's name:

Location:

Date:

Start time of the interview:

Finish time of the interview:

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Hanna Manoilenko and I would like to talk to you about policy framework you use while helping IDPs to find job.

The purpose of this interview is for me to better understand the experiences of IDPs looking for job with the help of state employment services. I am interested in understanding how current policy of employment negotiation is supposed to help IDP. Also what issues have occurred while implementing policy, if any? I would also appreciate your opinion on possible improvements that would allow IDP find job more effectively. I would like to emphasize that there are no right or wrong answers, while we are talking about your work experience. As a person working in employment service, you meet IDPs and can see their needs and

expectations with regard to their future work. Therefore, your experience can contribute a lot to understanding of their situation.

The interview should take less than an hour. I will be taping the session so I don't miss any of your comments. All responses will be kept confidential and you are not required to answer any of the questions. You may also end the interview at any time.

I have brought a letter detailing all of this and that explains the use of the information I'm collecting today. As well, I have brought a consent form for you to sign should you agree to continue.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

### Block 1

This part aims to provide a general picture of a policy framework you use while helping IDPs to find a job. In this section we will try to clarify state's perspective on employers and employees roles in negotiating IDPs employment in Kyiv.

1. What is a current legal framework for negotiating employment of IDPs that you work within?
2. How do you think, what legal framework targeted to employers aims for? In what ways can employers negotiate employment of IDPs, according to state's position expressed through policy?
3. How do you think, what legal framework targeted to employees aims for? What kinds of IDPs' needs are supposed to be met, according to state's position expressed through policy?

### Block 2

This part aims to specify the position of employment center in helping IDP in looking for job.

What responsibilities employment centers have? How do they cope with it?

1. What is the role of employment center in negotiating of employment of IDP?
2. How does local implementation happen?
  - Who is eligible for receiving help from employment center?
  - Is there any limit in a number of IDP employment can provide assistance to?
  - How successful is employment center in facilitation of job search for IDP?
3. What other ways of looking for job do you think IDPs use, based on your experience?
4. Why do you think Free People Employment center has emerged and what do you know about it?

### Block 3

Now I offer a discussion on the findings from the report on employment center's activity in facilitation of IDP employment from 1 March 2014 to 29 February 2016. There is no right or wrong answer. I believe as a person who meets IDP and tries to help them to find a job, you may have some opinion that can help me to understand the data.

1. Since Crimea occupation and beginning of antiterrorist operation, employment center has received 66 000 applications from former residents of the Crimea, Donetsk, and Lugansk regions. However, only 18 300 of these applicants have been employed with employment center's facilitation.

How do you think what are the reasons so few applicants have been employed?

2. Most of IDP applying for employment center's assistance are women - 71,7% to 56,4% of women among all unemployed.
  - How do you think, what does it reflect?
  - Do you have a gender policy of employment? Are there any specific position you would rather suggest to women or men? If yes, why?
3. Educational level of IDPs is also significantly higher in comparison to all unemployed: 70% with higher education in IDP to 45% - in all unemployed.
  - How do you think, what does it reflect?
  - How successful is employment center in finding the position according to a person's educational level?
4. Moreover, more than 95% of officially unemployed IDPs in Kyiv used to occupy white-collar positions, while less than 50% of IDP with civil servant background look for job through employment center in Viinitskaya and Sumskaya region.  
How do you think, what are the reasons?

#### Conclusion:

1. Is there anything I have not asked that you feel is important when discussing IDP's employment?
2. Do you have anything more you would like to add relating to any of the topics discussed today?
3. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for taking the time to answer my questions. If you have any further questions or would like to talk to me again, you can contact me on the telephone at +380953585713 or e-mail: hannamanoilenko@gmail.com.

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