AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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This research project examines the growing informal sector of Ukrainian economy and the way global economic changes affect women's lives. It has been noticed by many Western researchers that women have been among the hardest hit by economic restructuring in Eastern Europe. Marginalization from the official labor force led a great number of women into the new informal sector of the economy. In Ukraine the development of petty trade is one of the most remarkable among the resent economic trends in this country.

The research examines the connections between two levels of social life: global economic change in a society and economic behavior and decision-making process of its members, with cultural norms and values either conflicting with the new economic behavior or adapting to it. I examine how the global changing economic situation through its effect on local economies becomes both a push and pull factor causing individual lives to change.
AN ABSTRACT (continued)

Using the example of small scale urban traders in Ukraine, the study uncovers how globalization through economic changes on the level of nation-state economies affect the decision making, life course and career paths of women in a changing society. The focus of the project is the effects of economic change in Ukraine on women, and the role small scale urban trade plays in their struggle to survive through the ongoing process of economic restructuring in their countries. The study examines the reasons why women initially entered trade, and what personal consequences this occupational change had for them and their families.
Gender Implications of Small Scale Urban Trade in Ukraine

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................ 1

II. GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE NATION-STATES ECONOMIES ........................................................................................................... 3

   RESTRUCTURING IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION .................................................................................................................. 5

   STUDIES ON SELF-EMPLOYMENT IN THE WESTERN WORLD ........... 8

   INFORMAL ECONOMY AND TRADE IN AFRICAN ECONOMIES ..... 12

   SUMMARY .................................................................................................... 14

III. THE CASE OF UKRAINE ............................................................................ 16

   HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE ECONOMIC DOWNTURN ......................................................................................................................... 16

   INFORMAL ECONOMY IN UKRAINE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL SCALE URBAN TRADE ................................................................... 20

   RESEARCH QUESTIONS .............................................................................. 26

IV. STUDY OF SMALL SCALE URBAN TRADERS IN KHARKOV, UKRAINE .................................................................................................................... 29

   RESEARCH METHODS ............................................................................... 29

       Trade as a Family Strategy ................................................................. 29
       Sample ................................................................................................. 30

   RESULTS ..................................................................................................... 33

       Women as "Shock Absorbers" of the Economic Reforms.................. 33
       Personal Consequences of Trading ...................................................... 40

V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION ........................................................... 53

BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................................................................. 62
Globalization has become one of the hottest issues in the research community during the last decade. Some authors suggest that globalization should be considered "the concept of the nineties". Social researchers have come to realize that many contemporary problems can be no longer adequately studied at the level of nation-states. They argue that it is the study of global forces that can provide answers to many questions social scientists are looking at today. Some even argue that nation-state has become in some respect even less important unit of analysis than global processes.

My research project is devoted to the growing informal sector of Ukrainian economy and the way global economic changes affect women's lives. As a result of unemployment and loosening rules and regulations in this region, informal economy appeared. It has been noticed by many Western researchers that women have been among the hardest hit by economic restructuring in Eastern Europe. Marginalization from the official labor force led a great number of women into this new sector of the economy. In Ukraine the development of petty trade is one of the most remarkable among the resent economic trends in this country.

The research examines the connections between two levels of social life: global economic change in a society and economic behavior and decision-making
process of its members, with cultural norms and values either conflicting with the new economic behavior or adapting to it. I examine how the global changing economic situation through its effect on local economies becomes both a push and pull factor causing individual lives to change.

Using the example of small scale urban traders in Ukraine, the study uncovers how globalization through economic changes on the level of nation-state economies affect the decision making, life course and career paths of women in a changing society. The focus of the project is the effects of economic change in Eastern Europe on women, and the role small scale urban trade plays in their struggle to survive through the ongoing process of economic restructuring in their countries.
II. GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE NATION-STATES ECONOMIES

Increasing concern about globalization has led to the need to specify the concept, and clarify how it is different from the previous approaches to macro level social and economic change. Authors like Leslie Sklair have argued that globalization is more than just a changing nation-state. As such it is extremely important to distinguish globalization from internationalization, although some authors still use the terms interchangeably:

I argue that a clear distinction must be drawn between the inter-national and the global. The hyphen in inter-national is to distinguish (inadequate) conceptions of the ‘global’ founded on the existing even if changing system of nation-states, from (genuine) conceptions of the global based on the emergence of global processes and a global system of social relations not founded on national characteristics or nation-states (Sklair, p. 142, 1999)

Among forces that social scientists call “global” are mass media, corporations that control them, and ideas that are being spread around the world by various social movements (Sklair, 1999). While globalization in general has to deal with processes taking place at a transnational rather than national level, the effects of global changes on micro level vary across the nation-states. In a review of globalization and its effects on gender, Moghadam (1999) argues that the impact of globalization on women has been mixed. On one hand, the creation of jobs for women during an attempt by employers to cut costs and switch to a more “flexible” workforce enabled women to earn and control more income. The globalization of the concept of human rights and gender equality also allow women’s organizations
to grow (Moghadam, 1999). On the other hand, the weakening of the nation-state has negative consequences for women in both advanced and developing countries. In a number of developing countries “Post-Fordist” flexible production systems in form of structural adjustment policies have been accepted as the only solution to economic crisis. These policies, among other things, include dramatic reductions of the public-sector and state-owned industrial sector wage bills, and the growth of private sector. Because more women tend to be employed in public sector, or occupy lower-level positions in the countries’ industry, they are more likely to be the ones affected by these policies. Those effects on women are usually negative. Women loose employment in public sphere and often find the private sector unfriendly and unwilling to offer employment to them. As a result, women’s participation in the informal sectors of the economy has increased.

Other factors related to structural adjustment policies also add to women’s burden. As Valentine Moghadam explains,

In many ways, the women of the working class and urban poor have been the "shock absorbers" of neoliberal economic policies. Structural adjustment causes women to bear most of the responsibility of coping with increased prices and shrinking incomes, since in most instances they are responsible for household budgeting and maintenance. Rising unemployment and reduced wages for men in a given household lead to increased economic activity on the part of women and children (Moghadam, p. 307, 1999).

Globalization, thus, has been connected to significant changes in women employment patterns, both in formal and informal sectors of the economies. The following studies illustrate this influence of globalization and its variations across national economies in several different parts of the world.
A number of studies have examined the gender consequences of economic restructuring in Eastern Europe. Most of these studies concentrate on those aspects of the restructuring where statistics are available, i.e. such dimensions as unemployment rates, job losses by women, and institutional discrimination. The most obvious part of gender dimensions of economic restructuring highlighted by the research in that region has been the change in women's status as workers.

Before restructuring started, Eastern Europe had the highest female labor force participation and the largest female share of salaried employment in the world. Now women in these countries face unemployment, loss of benefits they once had, and marginalization from the productive process. Moreover, women constitute the majority of those who lost their jobs both in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, resulting in higher unemployment rates among women than among men. In Russia for example in 1992 seventy-one percent of those registered as unemployed were women. In some regions this figure went as high as 89% (Fong, 1993). Unemployment has disproportionally affected skilled labor. The majority of unemployed women were previously employed in management, scientific organizations, and state sectors of economy. Again, in Russia in 1992 about 40% of unemployed women had higher or specialized education, comparing to 25% of unemployed men (Fong, 1993, Moghadam 1995, Fong and Paull, 1993). Women not only suffer more from lay-offs; once fired, they tend remain
unemployed for longer periods of time and have more difficulty obtaining new employment than men do. (Fong and Paull, 1993).

Admitting the higher risk of unemployment, however, some researchers argue that restructuring, coupled with existing occupational segregation may result in unexpected positive outcomes for women. Declining sectors of the economy are male-dominated, while expanding sectors, like consumer goods, commerce and trade, and service industries are mostly dominated by women. Here women can benefit both from their previous work experience and education. Administrative and entrepreneurial skills women possess can also prove advantageous in growing private sector. Researchers also emphasize that these possibilities are certainly influenced by other components of the economy, and benefits to women, in any, will appear only with a considerable time lag (Fong and Paull 1993).

As a result of unemployment and loosening rules and regulations in this region, informal economic activities in Ukraine proliferated, urban trade being one of them. While there has been no research conducted specifically on gender implications of urban trade in Ukraine, some assumptions and observations can be made. First, traders at the urban markets are more likely to be women than men. This situation is a consequence of several factors. On the one hand, as the unemployment increases, women are more likely to be laid off first. According to Valentine Moghadam's summary,

in the former USSR, women made up 60 percent of those who lost employment between 1989 and 1991. When the state bureaucracy was streamlined during 1989 and 1991, women made up more that 80 percent of those laid off in the industrial sector. According to a recent analysis ... in Russia, women constituted
more than 70 percent of the unemployed in 1992 and 1993... (Moghadam, pp. 24-25, 1995)

At the same time, when laid off, it is more difficult for them to find a job in both formal and informal sectors of the economy. The main factor that pushes women out of the formal sector to the marketplace is linked to the new type economy being created in Ukraine. Old government-supported jobs are disappearing, leaving a great number of women in their forties and older out of the official labor force. At the same time, a limited number of new jobs is being created in the rapidly growing non-government sector of the economy. The ideal worker in these jobs is seen as a man (and less likely a woman) with a college degree, about 25 or 30 years old. Both gender and age bias, then, work against an over 40 female labor force, previously employed in management, scientific organizations, and state sectors of economy (Moghadam, 1995)

Another reason why women find themselves in a disadvantaged economic situation is that, unlike in the Third World countries, female labor in Eastern Europe (including Ukraine) is more expensive than male labor. Even thought the gap in earnings is similar to the one in Western countries, the general costs paid by the employer for female employees are higher because of the system of maternity and child-care benefits usually provided by enterprises (Moghdam 1995). Higher costs associated with the benefits required by the state, and traditional perception of female labor force as being unstable lead to the higher lay-off rates among women and contribute to employers' unwillingness to hire new female employees.
Consequently, women find themselves among the main losers in the restructuring process. At the same time, worsening economic conditions make it extremely difficult for families to survive and force women into seeking alternative ways of income generation. Marginalization from the official labor force, traditional values placed on women's domestic responsibilities as well as institutional discrimination and gender stereotypes combine to force a great number of women out of the official labor force into the informal sectors of the economy. As a result, participation in growing urban trade has become an increasingly important option available there for Ukrainian women.

**STUDIES ON SELF-EMPLOYMENT IN THE WESTERN WORLD**

The informal economy, officially non-existent under the Soviet economic system and therefore neglected by official social science has been attracting attention of researchers in both Western and Third World countries. The issue of self-employment in the Western economies has been investigated in a number of studies. Major research questions addressed included: what makes an entrepreneur, what factors lead to the higher rate of self-employment in a given region, and what factors make an entrepreneurial activity successful.

A number of Western economists conducted studies on self-employment (Blanchflower, Oswald, 1998; Cowling, Mitchell, 1997; Robertson, 1998). They examined various social, psychological, and macro-economic factors that may influence the probability of becoming self-employed for labor force participants. Their findings included that macroeconomic factors such as general industry
composition of the region and GDP per capita tend to be positively related to self-
employment rates. Self-employed / wage employed income differential also seems
to be positively affecting these rates. On individual level, the receipt of inheritance
or gift increases the probability for an individual of becoming self-employed, while
psychological characteristics seem to have little effect.

There are two major drawbacks to these research findings from sociological
perspective. First, the studies were conducted mostly by economists. Complicated
mathematical models were constructed to analyze the influence of various
economic characteristics on self-employment, while social aspects were often
neglected. These studies also neglected gender differences. Researchers either
identified their sample as consisting of only male workers, as British economists
did, or simply did not include gender in their analysis.

Second, in terms of the research conducted it is interesting to look at how
self-employment was conceptualized and measured. These definitions affect
statistics available and research design. This is how this question was
operationalized in the United States:

... employment was classified in three principal ways: according to industry, for
which a Standard Industrial Classification (sic) system is used; according to
occupation, for which a Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) system is
utilized; and according to class of worker. Self-employment is identified under
this third schema... Persons who are employed are asked the following question:
"Were you employed by government, by a private company, a nonprofit
organization, or were you self-employed (or working in a family business)?" The
parenthetical part is asked only of households in which a family business has
already been identified at the beginning of the questionnaire and is therefore used
as a basis for identifying unpaid family workers. ... Persons responding in the
CPS that they were employed by a government, a private company, or a
nonprofit organization are classified as wage and salary workers. Persons who
respond that they are self-employed are asked, "Is this business incorporated?"
Those who respond in the affirmative are also classified as wage and salary workers. The "no's" are the self-employed. The rationale for classifying the incorporated self-employed as wage and salary workers is that, legally, they are the employees of their own businesses. (Bregger, pp. 4-5, 1996)

According to this definition, workers employed in family business are often considered salary workers. Partly because of statistics available, researchers concentrate mostly on those who are definitely considered as self-employed - business owners.

Even though differences among self-employed male and female workers were often ignored, especially in the "economically" designed research projects, there are studies that suggest that gender differences are an important aspect to explore. For example, among business owners, women in the United Stated constitute a significant proportion. Of the individually-owned businesses in the United States that had paid employees, 35% were owned by either women only or by jointly men and women. Over 8 million women are estimated to own firms today (DeLollis, 1997). Among welfare recipients participating in various self-employment training programs, women also reported to be as successful as men, or even more successful (Rahiem, 1997). At the same time, it has been widely accepted that it is more difficult for women than for men to start their own businesses. Women's motivations are also different. The desire to accommodate work into family life often force women into self-employment.

Children and family often make it more difficult for women to obtain a wage employment. At the same time, increasing costs of living demand more than one income to support a lifestyle a family desires. The more children a woman has,
the less is a probability for her to remain in the labor force. So, a self-employment choice may be considered as an alternative to a wage employment in a situation when a family can not afford to live on a single income.

A number of theories have attempted to explain why workers chose self-employment versus organizational employment. Trait models concentrate on psychological attributes of business owners. Tracking models suggest that it is person’s life history and family experience that shapes the desire to pursue a self-employment career. Human capital theory emphasizes that dissatisfaction with formal employment experience and expectances of increased compensation are reasons for entering self-employment. According to the integrative model developed by Dyer, career choice is determined by three groups of factors:

- Individual factors including demographic and psychological traits;
- Social factors including role models, family support, and culture;
- Economic factors including employment opportunities and resource networks (Kolvereid, 1996).
INFORMAL ECONOMY AND TRADE IN AFRICAN ECONOMIES

There has been a number of studies conducted on the informal economy, urban trade and the role women play in it. Those are studies conducted in several African countries. They represent cases of economic globalization and its influence on women as workers in African informal economies. Research projects focus on self-employed women in the Third World urban areas, examine the implications of African urban market trade for women’s status, looking at traders’ access to critical resources, their dependency burden, and strategies in relation to trade.

Numerous case studies of women’s urban work have emphasized the importance of the informal sector in a number of African countries (Sheldon, 1996). Mary Johnson Osirim brings up a definition that she believes is the earliest and most widely recognized definition of the informal sector in Sub-Saharan African economies. It is derived from the International Labor Office’s (ILO) Report on Kenya in 1972:

This sector can be characterized by its ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operations, labor-intensive and adapted technology, skill acquired outside the formal school system, and unregulated and competitive markets (ILO 1972). (Osirim, p. 215, 1996)

Different countries in Africa have different histories of urban trade development. However for most of them, urban trade is an essential part of the cities’ growth, and provides an essential condition for urbanization. They also share certain similarities in respect to general characteristic of the traders’ population.
Many women traders come from the rural areas. They sell agricultural products and unprepared food, and some of them grow it, supplying the whole area with essential foodstuff. Although women in all regions of Africa are involved in market trading, those in West Africa are recognized as being exceptionally well organized. For many women market trade has been a major source of income for years. (Sheldon, 1996)

The introduction of Structural Adjustment Programs in a number of African countries has resulted in the increased financial hardship for their urban population. Many formal sector employees are increasingly forced to find income-generating activities in other sectors of the economy to provide resources for their families and compensate for the losses resulting from the government’s attempts to cut its spending (Osirim, 1996).

Frequent necessity for more than one income has become an important aspect of urban work in these countries. Often professional salaries do not cover even half of the household’s monthly food expenses, forcing women to look for other sources of cash. Income from women’s trade has become an essential source of support for families during the times of economic crisis. Even women who hold office jobs may develop an additional small market trade or start cultivating an urban garden (Sheldon, 1996).

According to a number of African studies, women do not usually view trade as a preferred career. However, women’s businesses are most often concentrated in this sector. The reason for this phenomenon is that trading in Africa
has fewer barriers for entry than other business ventures. Women in Sub-Saharan Africa have been affected by extensive job segregation. They find their opportunities limited because of the low level of education as well as traditional household responsibilities and view this type of business as one of the only options available for them to support their families (Osirim, 1996). The little or no formal education limits their ability to secure well-paid jobs. Women also have limited resources and access to property such as land. What forces them into the trade career is the burden they have to carry. They support children and relatives, some of them – husbands and even grandchildren.

Despite the fact that trade is usually not among women’s first career choices, once started they want to expand their enterprises. Not only they want to sell greater variety of foods or even open a small shop, they are also looking forward to their children joining the family business (Osirim, 1996). It also gives them an opportunity to gain control over their lives like never before.

As Claire Robertson summarized in her study of Urban traders in Kenya, for women in Nairobi urban trade performs two major functions: it “represents both a survival strategy, and a bid for independence” (Robertson, p. 85, 1995).

**SUMMARY**

The overview shows that most of the research projects addressing relevant issues have focused on either Western industrialized countries, or the countries of the Third World. Applying these research findings to the transitional economies of the Eastern Europe poses certain difficulties. These economies are neither
traditional economies undergoing change as a result of contact with global capitalist economy, as in the case of Third World, nor they are capitalist industrial countries with long lasting traditions of free trade. Rather Eastern European countries are developed industrial economies where state controlled centralized system of production and distribution deliberately replaced free exchange and capitalist accumulation (Wallace et al., 1997). Another notion here is that even though the transformations Eastern European economies (and especially Ukraine) are undergoing may be considered somewhat similar to those in the Third World, the Eastern European labor force was (and is) different from that of the Third World countries. Up to 100% of adult population is literate, especially in urban areas; the percentage of people going to college was as high as in most Western industrialized countries. Ukraine, as well as other Eastern European countries is highly industrialized and has a high concentration of the labor force depending on wages in government-supported sectors and industrial employment. As a result, not only some the economic factors but also the attitude toward trade may be expected to be different from that in either Third World or Western industrialized countries.
III. THE CASE OF UKRAINE

HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE ECONOMIC DOWNTURN

Ukraine is located in Eastern Europe. It is the second largest country on the continent after Russia and it is slightly larger than France. Ukraine's area is 233,088 square miles. The population of Ukraine is about 52 million people - just slightly smaller than that of such western European countries as France, Italy, or the United Kingdom. More than one-half of the population lives in urban areas, particularly in the highly industrialized regions of southeastern and south-central Ukraine.

Once called the "Breadbasket of Europe," Ukraine is rich in natural resources. In the late 19th century the South-Eastern Ukraine became its fastest-growing industrial region. Vast resources have helped make the Eastern and Southern Ukraine the most densely populated and highly industrialized region in a country, as well today as one of the world's major metallurgical and heavy industrial complexes.

In 20th century Ukraine's modern economy was developed as an integral part of the larger economy of the Soviet Union. While receiving 16% (in 1980) of the Soviet Union's investment funds, Ukraine was able to produce a larger share of total output in the industrial (17 percent) and, especially, in the agricultural (21 percent) sectors of the Soviet economy. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1998)

Prior to 1990s Ukraine was also a major contributor to the Soviet military-industrial complex. However, the entire final-product sector was inadequate for a
diversified industrial economy. The variety of consumer goods produced in Ukraine was sparse, the quality was lower than that of imported goods, which made (and still makes) Ukrainian products less competitive on both internal and external markets.

One of the major motives for Ukraine’s proclamation of independence in 1991 was the general decline in the standards of living in the Soviet Union. Political leaders argued that with the end of transfer of resources and products from Ukraine to other parts of the Soviet Union the declining country’s economy would be alleviated and standard of living would improve. However, after the disintegration of the USSR, Ukraine entered a period of severe decline that affected all sectors of its economy.

Ukrainian government attempted to stabilize the economy in late 1992 and early 1993. Market-oriented reforms were introduced in a tentative manner. However, these attempts were not successful enough to overcome the rate of collapsing production and broken trade links with the former Soviet republics. The economy retracted rapidly. GDP declined by more than 10% each year. The hyperinflation reached 10,000% in 1992, and by 1997 the currency became totally devaluated. Debts for the import of energy from Turkmenistan and especially Russia were growing day by day (Pond, 1997). The broken economic ties with other republics, especially with Russia brought severe economic hardship to the industrial regions of the country. There, most manufacturing belonged to the military industrial complex and received both orders from Moscow and financial
support from USSR budget. Ukraine could not manage such a huge industry and it definitely did not need it, so the industry began to decline, even thought efforts have been made since 1991 to convert defense facilities to nonmilitary production.

Ukraine emerged from the Soviet period with low wage level, but an extensive infrastructure of welfare. Prior to 1991 economic and military expenditures were covered by the USSR budget, when more than three-quarters of the republic’s budget was spent on free medical care, education, pension and stipend payments, vacation benefits, and the maintenance of kindergartens and child-care facilities. Other components of the social insurance system included family allowances for households with children, birth and maternity benefits, and disability pay. The system was financed through a payroll tax. In 1991 the social welfare system was even expanded. Benefits were partially linked to inflation, and measures were adopted to assist workers displaced by the transition to a market-oriented economy.

Along with these benefits to the employed workers, Ukraine also has significant social support for older retired persons. Ukraine has a highest proportion of older population among all former Soviet republics. Favorable climate and standards of living encouraged migration of retired population from other regions of the Soviet Union to this region. The retirement age is 55 years for women and 60 years for men. About one-quarter of Ukrainian population now are retired and receive a pension. Today in Ukraine’s depressed economy, money for improving or
even sustaining this system remains scarce. The government tried to find resources to support these services by diversifying tax system. However, these policies discouraged the growth of private enterprises, caused a decrease in industrial production in most sectors, spiraling inflation, little privatization, and overall gridlock in the economy.

The collapse of the economy following 1991 and a subsequent period of extreme currency inflation in Ukraine brought great hardship, especially to the urban population. Wages were delayed for several months, and in some regions even for more than half a year. While the official unemployment rates remained low, the latent unemployment was growing rapidly. The core of latent unemployed was formed by industrial workers who had not been officially laid off by their employers, but had to take mandatory vacations up to half a year long. Of course, no benefits were paid. In 1995 latent unemployment constituted approximately 25% of all labor force. Citizens have compensated in a number of ways: more than half grow their own food, workers often hold two or three jobs, and many acquire basic necessities through a flourishing barter economy (Pond, 1997).

The country's ever-shifting and complicated tax laws and government policies have discouraged both domestic entrepreneurship and foreign investments. In Ukraine's unstable law environment, starting a private business becomes unsure and even dangerous. Because of the changing rules, the state can get up to 85% of
what an entrepreneur makes. Foreign investors have similar complaints. (The Economist, 1997; Pond, 1997)

As the result of the latent unemployment and extremely unstable tax base, the informal economy share began to increase. Some economists argue that estimates of the informal economy (which is also referred to as the shadow economy, or simply the "black market") are understated, and it accounts for nearly half of Ukraine's business. If these assumptions are true, the real GDP may have dropped only 2 percent in 1996 and leveled off in 1997 (Pond, 1997).

INFORMAL ECONOMY IN UKRAINE:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL SCALE URBAN TRADE

Petty trade has always existed in Soviet Union. Men and women from rural regions have been selling agricultural products in urban areas. The majority of traders have always been women. They sold vegetables, eggs, milk, cheese, other dairy products, and flowers. Men were more involved in selling meat, in transportation or selling seasonal products in large quantities such as melons, watermelons, grapes, and apples during summer season. The most common situation was when the family produced agricultural goods, men brought them to cities, and then their female family members (wives or daughters) sold the products at the legal marketplaces. Selling manufactured goods was prohibited and was not a common practice until 1980s.
The situation changed after break up of the Soviet Union. Shortages of all kinds along with the growing hidden unemployment led to rapidly increasing growth of a black market. Informal trade emerged and began to expand. The first traders selling manufactured goods were so-called “chelnoki” – “shuttles”. Their trade operations were simple enough. They traveled to the capital city, or abroad, bringing goods that were cheap in the home country. Then, they bought products that were rare in their area, went back and sold them, made a profit, and went back to bring more. Street trading exploded. Open-air markets, instead of being a place where peasants sold foodstuff, turned into places where any kinds of clothes, footwear, or household items could be purchased.

This is how Central European University researchers describe the flurry of small scale trading in Eastern European countries:

Sidewalks were cluttered with people trying to sell almost anything; trains and bus stations were crowded with people carrying enormous bags… Small scale trading was a major form of import and export… Just walking around the street market became a pass-time. In the first explosion of wild capitalism all manner of products appeared on the streets even whilst the shelves in the shops were still empty (Wallace et al., p. 13, 1997).

In a couple of years trade operations became more complicated. As Ukraine’s own industry was declining, the demands for manufactured goods increased. A rigid state system of distribution could not respond properly, and

1 The section on the development of small scale urban trade in Ukraine is based upon information obtained through my own numerous observations and interviews with traders. It is also supported by evidence given in Wallace, Bedzir, and Chmouliar (1997) study of shuttle trade in Eastern European countries.
“shuttles” began to take over the distribution functions, substituting for formally regulated import and export arrangements. As observations and interviews with traders as well as a few accounts given in press suggest, traders went to other countries and arranged contracts with manufacturers, or, more often, simply bought cheap products at the local markets. Then, goods from abroad were shipped by sea to major port cities from Turkey, or were delivered by air to capital cities from such places as China, or by railways from neighboring Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary. These imported goods had a western appearance but lower quality, and lower cost, because of the abundance of cheap labor in the countries where they originated. Then the flow of goods was directed by other “shuttles” from major cities all over the country and these goods were sold at the local markets (Wallace et al., 1997).

As latent unemployment continued to grow during 1990s, trading has also expanded. More and more people were forced into trade in order to provide for their families. Then, a new category of hired traders appeared. Those traders who were lucky to make significant profits started hiring workers to sell goods at the marketplace, doing commuting themselves.

Urban trade in Ukraine was an part of the street trading that exploded all over Eastern Europe in 1990s. It was estimated that 15% of all imports to Russia arrived with small scale shuttle traders. One of the Poland’s biggest markets, the Warsaw Stadium, claims to produce a turnover of some 1 billion U.S. dollars a year. The biggest market in Odessa (Southwestern Ukraine) has an estimate of
30,000 to 50,000 visitors per day. Some 15 busses carrying Ukrainian "shuttles" cross the border with Slovakia every day (Wallace et al., 1997).

The development of urban trade in Eastern part of the country could be illustrated by the description of recent trends in Kharkov, the second biggest city in Ukraine. Kharkov's population constitutes approximately 2 million people. Different kinds of industry (most of them are state-supported factories and military plants) are concentrated in the city. At the same time Kharkov is also an educational center, with over 30 colleges and universities concentrated in the city. Its population is composed of industrial workers and people involved in education and science: college and high school teachers, researchers, and administrative workers. Its plants used to produce goods for the whole Soviet Union, and its colleges attracted students from all over the country. Due to the structure of its industry, Kharkov was one of the cities that was most affected by the broken economic ties to the other Soviet republics. Now only the coal-producing regions of Ukraine may be considered to be in a worse economical situation due to unemployment and long-delayed wages.

The city of Kharkov and the Kharkov region became one of the main sources for both economic migration and development of petty trade in the East. As soon as reforms started, small kiosks began mushrooming all around the city. In late 1980s there was one major Central marketplace in the center of the city. By 1994 this market became so crowded, especially during the weekends, that one
could hardly walk around. Crime (theft), garbage piles, and illegal trade were impossible to control.

Why do customers come to the marketplaces? Big department stores have always existed in Soviet Union, and, because informal trading of manufactured goods was prohibited, they were the only source that satisfied consumers' demands. After the old import and export arrangements disappeared, street trading took over their places. When the market economy began to develop, a number of smaller stores selling imported goods appeared all around the city as well. The same "shuttles" often supply merchandize to these stores. However, the same piece of furniture produced in Poland and sold in one of those stores is two times as expensive as the one bought directly from "shuttles". It is mainly price that attracts consumers to crowded, open-air market places.

By 1994 the Central marketplace was the problem the city could not handle anymore, and city authorities had to build another one. However, in two years it became overcrowded again. By 1996 the city officials decided to move the old Central market to the edge of the city where the new grounds were built and transportation (subway) was convenient, and use the valuable space in downtown for other purposes. However, very soon the city officials realized that this project was impossible to accomplish. Of course, no one consulted the traders at the marketplace before making this decision. And a new and unexpected form of traders' solidarity arose. Traders all over the city stopped their operations in spite of obvious financial losses the strike caused for them to protest against the violation of
traders’ rights. They blocked the traffic in the center of the city around the
government building. Traders who worked at the Central market actually lived in
tents at the marketplace for almost two weeks preventing police from tearing it
down. Only after the decision was cancelled they did finally leave. The city
authorities did not expect to face this kind of resistance and had to yield to traders’
demands.

The traders explained their behavior by saying that trading was the only
way they could support themselves. The majority of traders were either officially
unemployed or had to take mandatory vacations, and the new occupation had
become the only source of income they provided for their families. They argued
that moving to the completely new marketplace on the edge of the city nobody
knew about would completely destroy their clientele. Their families would have to
beg and they would have to restart their businesses and their careers.

The old market was reorganized and remained in its place. However, the
new marketplace was created as well. In less than two years it expanded and
became at least five times as big as it was planned to be in 1996. Now there are
thousands and thousands of people trading there every day. One can hardly think of
something that can NOT be found there. Everything, from clothes and shoes to
household items, electronics, and even furniture are being sold.
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Fast expansion of small scale urban trade in Eastern Europe is one of the most interesting consequences of economic restructuring in this region. It emerged as a response of the region's populations to the global change, especially its economic implications in forms of changing labor markets. While previous studies addressed some of the similar processes that took place all over the world, the closer look at the consequences of restructuring in post-Soviet countries is still to be taken. A very special aspect here is the effects economic restructuring as a form of global economic change has on individual people's lives.

The research examines the connections between two levels of social life: global economic change in a society and economic behavior and decision-making process of its members, with cultural norms and values either conflicting with the new economic behavior or adapting to it. I examine how changing economic situation through its effect on local economies becomes both push and pull factors for the individual lives to change.

In this study I use the case of urban traders in Ukraine to examine the personal consequences of national economy's restructuring that may be considered a part of a global economic change of 1990s. I look at traders' career paths, their reasons for entering urban trade, and far reaching consequences this decision had in their lives.

As some of the studies of informal economic activities in the West, and in the Third World countries have pointed out, the effects of economic change that at
first appear to be gender neutral prove to be drastically different in terms of men's and women's position in the economy and benefits they receive from their employment. The fact that changes in labor market affect men and women in different ways suggests that career paths for men and women may vary. It also should be expected that reasons for entering their present occupation may be different for male and female traders.

Women traders are the focus of the analysis. Labor market dynamics, as well as the history of trade's development suggest that women are not only greatly affected by urban trade, but may even prevail in this sphere. My research addresses the following set of questions. First, I examine the previous careers of traders and reasons for choosing trade as their occupation at a certain period of time. The reasons may be expected to vary depending on traders' previous experience, education, and age. I concentrate my attention on middle-aged women (in their forties and older), even though my sample includes younger women as well. Second, I examine personal consequences trade has for its participants. The issues I address here include economic consequences, or whether trade helped improve families' well-being, and personal consequences, or whether trade affected women's feelings of self-esteem and perception of their personal achievements. I expect these consequences to be both positive (feelings of liberation due to being able to take control of their lives) and negative (psychological stress due to the lost of old jobs and entering new and not always highly desirable occupation). Those consequences may vary according to traders' age, education, and previous life
experience. I also examine whether new occupation brought changes to traders' families, and whether "balance of powers" in the decision making process has shifted since wives were able to secure new income. The research methodology used to address those questions is described in the following section.
IV. STUDY OF SMALL SCALE URBAN TRADERS IN KHARKOV, UKRAINE

RESEARCH METHODS

*Trade as a Family Strategy*

The family strategy approach (also known as “household survival strategy” or “household livelihood strategy”) has been used in a number of Third World research studies. One of the benefits of this approach is that “it mediates between macro and micro levels of analysis” (Wolf, 1998, p. 13). This concept links individuals as social actors to more general social contents, i.e. social institutions and structural changes in a society. It also makes an assumption that household has “a single utility function” and views families and households as social actors, able to make rational decisions to the benefit of the whole household and each member of it. In other words, this approach allows us to link global level changes with individual lives, showing how family members work together toward a collective goal of survival in a changing world (Wolf, 1998, p. 13). Also since one of the major assumption of the research is that traders initially entered their present occupations in order to provide for their families and not to achieve personal benefits, this approach seems to be appropriate due to its view of a household as a unity, not a group of people with conflicting personal interests.
Although it has been widely criticized for being built upon a major assumption of household unity and ignoring internal conflicts and inequality, family strategy approach remains useful for understanding some of the processes in Ukraine’s changing economic and social life. The main criticism of this approach is that it begins with the assumption that the interests of all the household members are equally reflected in a family strategy, and all the members of the family equally benefit from the survival strategy it pursues. Critics such as Wolf (1992) point out that household members’ decision making is often far from rational. Different members of a household have their own interests that are often in conflict with other’s, conflict that the approach obscured (Wolf, 1998, p. 13). While recognizing the drawbacks of this approach, it remains useful for the study of my particular population: middle-aged women involved into the informal petty trade in today’s Ukraine. Regardless of whether women follow the family strategy or make their decisions independently, it still may not be possible to understand the motivations behind the traders’ behavior and the goals they pursue at the marketplaces without considering their households’ demands, child rearing responsibilities they have to bear, and their spouses’ contributions to the family well-being.

Sample

The subjects of my research are women who are currently involved (or have been involved before) into the specific sector of informal economy – petty trade (or also called small scale urban trade) in Ukraine. My goal was to explore the reasons
that lead women to this particular type of employment, and also to achieve an understanding of what are the consequences of economic change for the lives of these women.

The main method of the study was semi-structured in-depth interviews. They focused on the elements of informants' life histories, including their career paths, and changes that lead to their most recent occupational changes. I conducted my interviews in Kharkov metropolitan area of Ukraine. All women were residents of this area, even though some of them had experience migrating for work to other regions of Ukraine, or in two cases even to other countries.

One reason for using qualitative interviews versus survey or standardized interviews was the lack of previous research data from that specific region that would allow to create a reliable questionnaire. And, as has been emphasized earlier, differences between Ukraine and both Western industrialized countries and Third World economies suggest that certain factors may be difficult to assess relying on the information available.

The snowball sampling strategy was used as the most appropriate for the study proposed for several reasons. Because of the nature of the informal sector my subjects are employed in, it was hardly possible to achieve any statistically representative random sample. No lists of any kind were available, as well as no statistics have been ever collected on this sector.

Of course, traders are not hard to find. Thousands and thousands of people trade at three major and dozens of minor marketplaces in Kharkov every day. The
goals of the research and the nature of the informal sector itself, however, made it hardly possible to draw any kind of random sample there. Not all of the operations that traders are involved in are always legal. Most of them do not pay required taxes; some of the hired salespeople may be listed as unemployed by government agencies and receive benefits. A person with the notebook and a questionnaire almost for sure would make the traders who always expect a tax police surveillance feel uneasy and unwilling to talk to a stranger.

Utilizing a snowball sample addressed two major problems here. First, it allowed me to find the subjects. Second, it allowed to find the subjects who would be willing to speak and share not only the facts about their lives and careers, but also their feelings and understanding of the subject matter of the research. Several women from my family's social network served as initial informants who provided me with names of people they knew, that I was able to draw my sample from. They also performed the functions of the "gatekeepers" by establish the atmosphere of trust between me as a researcher and the individuals I was going to interview.

The current research methodology was designed with the assumption of flexibility in mind. Indeed, the initial questionnaire evolved during the study, as some of my original questions proved to be unimportant or of little interest to the informants. At the same time, new issues appeared and were incorporated into research design.

The sample consisted of 10 women, each was interviewed for approximately 45 minutes. I also used field notes taken after a day of field work at
the open air marketplace, and several short interviews conducted right there (See Appendix I for the excerpts of the field notes).

Women's age ranged from 30 to 52 years. Half of the sample had earned college degrees (equivalent of the U.S. MA). Educational achievements of the other half varied from high school diploma to some vocational training or "secondary special" education (could be considered an equivalent of the U.S. Community college degree). All but one of them were married, lived with their husbands and had one or more children of different ages. Trade experience of the informants ranged from 1 month to 8 years. The sample included entrepreneurs as well as women working as hired laborers (See Appendix II for the distribution of demographic characteristics).

RESULTS

Women as "Shock Absorbers" of the Economic Reforms

One of the main interests in the research was to learn about the variety of reasons leading to the sharp career change most of the women experienced. However, their answers turned out to revolve around a relatively narrow set of experiences and employment "stories".

Job loss was the major factor women pointed out as a leading cause of their decision to start trading. The majority of the women either lost their jobs due to downsizing or was forced by their employers to take unpaid leaves of an indefinite length. Some women spent significant amount of time on child care leaves, loosing
their work experience and thus becoming more vulnerable to downsizing. When fired or after not being able to get any pay from their employers for months, women had to face a choice: go trading or see their families going hungry.

All of the women from the older generation (forties and older) explain that economic hardship was the only reason why they have chosen such an unexpected job. All women of forty and older emphasize that it is impossible for them to find a decent job in a formal economy. Employers seem unwilling to hire older people in general and women in particular, so older women had to face this double disadvantage.

Here I will let the women speak for themselves. The following are some of the stories they told me answering the question "How come that you started trading?"

Tamara, in her forties, a former food vendor at the local market:
Well, this is how it was. I was at home, and was so depressed that I was ready to jump out of my window on the 12th floor... There was no way out. But I had my children and I had to bring them up. So, it was 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and there was absolutely nothing to eat for my family. I looked into all my kitchen cabinets – this is exactly how it was! – looked into the cabinets, and found a little bit of flour, and half a jar of old yogurt. I decided to bake those pies that I never baked in my life. And at 4 p.m. I went to the market with 15 or 20 of those little pies. And I sold them – fast! The next morning I got up and started baking my pies. And this was going on for two years. I even managed to sell them at a higher price than everybody else at the market did! ... Then one day guys at the market said: "Why are you selling pies only? You can also sell tea or coffee." So I started selling beverages, too. Then I realized that selling tea and coffee from a thermos bottle was much easier and did not require that much cooking, so I switched to them completely.

Alla, 41, a former hired vendor:
Then, the time has come for the factory I was working for. We made bicycles, and the demand for this product is seasonal. Nobody needs them during the winter, and people did not have money to buy them anyway. So, they started
closing the factory for winter: we worked during the summer, and from October or November on we did not work.

- Was it a paid leave?

No, it was not. Many people started to leave the factory completely then. I think I would have also left, only I did not know where to go. It was absolutely useless to look for a new job at that time. My husband worked as a taxi cab driver, then he went to work for a private company. And that company went bankrupt. That was the time when I did not work either. We had to support my husband’s farther, who was very sick, and our two children. Now what? We were desperate. I tried to find a part-time job, but it seemed like nobody wanted to hire me even part-time. So, I ended up working as a vendor in a subway. I worked there during the winter, and in the summer I went back to work at the factory. ...

- And what about people who trade there?

You mean people who worked with me? Oh, they are all wonderful people! Everybody was trading because of the hardships they had to face. They were all women, all like myself. When I was working there, I met a woman who used to work for a company making airliners. The hardship made her come there, too. She was fired as well as many other workers. Her daughter worked there, and then came to trade at the same table with her. There were people with advanced degrees, technical majors as well as arts. And everyone was there because they had to make the ends meet.

For the younger generation financial difficulties and job loss were among the top reasons too, only they sounded like they were a little more willing to try their luck at the markets. For most informal trade was not a first priority, but when faced with unemployment and the necessity of finding any way to make money, younger women were more likely to consider trading. For younger generation lack of experience also was an important factor. While age factors did not work against younger women, some of them were lacking education, and considered trade an opportunity that did not require any special skills and was open to everyone.

Raisa, 36, now works as a high-skilled construction worker who does various remodeling projects:

- So, how did you come up with this idea – to start trading?

Well, there was nothing else we could have come up with. He (husband) did not work, actually, he did work but did not get paid for a very long time. The factory I was working for did not pay us either, so I left. By that time, most of the companies did not pay their workers, and nobody needed new employees. It did
not make sense to me to look for a new job when I knew I would not get paid anyway, because I had two children I had to take care of. I started learning how to do tiles, but soon realized that I would not make much right away. It usually takes a couple of years to get a clientele, to prove that you are worth something. So what could we do? Trading! Buy here – sell there. We did not make much money, but just enough to live. It was not like now, when I am working and we can buy clothes, shoes, and save a little... It was not much at all. We did not buy anything for two years! Everything needed repairs, our apartment was in a very bad shape, our car was barely running. We could not do anything. But we were trading, and this is how we fed our children. It was the only way to survive for us at that time.

Lena, 31, a trader with over 8 years of experience:
When I was about to graduate from high school, I wanted to be a salesperson, because I always liked that. I like talking to people, selling things. I also thought of working as a waitress... Then I found out that the college in my area did not admit new students for Sales & Commerce that year, so I went to learn to be a seamstress. I like sewing, but I did not like performing the same procedure over and over again, and that is what they were teaching us to do. I do not like sitting in one place. Talking to people, communicating is different. This is what I like at the marketplace. I did not start there at once. First, I started selling things at home. I went to Moscow and brought a couple of hats for children, so I sold them. All my friends worked as salespeople at different stores, and they were bringing things for me to sell – we had all those shortages back then, remember! And we sold those, and made a little money. Not much, of course. This is how it all started. And then I wanted to do better than that, and started on my own...

Lena’s story is especially interesting. She admitted that she always wanted to trade and that she does not know how to do anything else. She preferred trading to other alternatives she had (like her special education and experience as a seamstress) because there were things she liked about it. When faced with the need to make a living in one way or another, Lena simply chose what she thought would fit her best – trading, and this makes her story different from many women for whom going to the marketplace was the very last alternative they would consider. Yet Lena’s story has much in common with those of the other women interviewed. Lena’s husband also lost a job, tried migrating to one of the neighboring countries in search of work. Regardless of her motivation being different from the rest of the
women with whom I talked, Lena ended up supporting her family, including her husband, throughout the hard times, just like many other women. Like other women from the younger generation (in their thirties), Lena also either experienced a job and pay loss herself, or had at least one adult member in the family who lost his or her job due to downsizing and payroll cuts.

Not only women had to face unemployment. At the same time when wives found themselves either fired or with no salaries for months, their husbands suffered, too. Many women recalled that "in the old times" husbands provided at least fifty percent of the household's income, and often supported families completely while their wives were on long-term child care leaves. In 1990s the situation changed. Husbands either lost their jobs and were not able to find new ones, or were not paid for the unreasonably long period of time. So, the families had to face hardships, and despair.

In many families women's work as traders has become a main source of financial support. Women tried to compensate for their lost jobs, as well as for their husbands' loss of employment, becoming the main providers and thus assuming the role their spouses have been performing for years. None of the women said that she experienced extreme difficulties in communicating her decision to start trading to her husband. Actually, no one of my informants said that her husband was strongly against her trading and tried to impose any restrictions on his wife's economic behavior.
Many women admitted that they received a significant psychological support from their husbands, as well as some substantial help in their trade. Other women said that their husbands did not like their new occupations but had no other choice. When asked whether their spouses were supportive or not, women provided answers ranging from “yes, extremely supportive, and I am grateful for that” to “well... what else can he do if I am the only one who brings the money home?”

At the same time my informants also emphasized that they believe the vast majority of men were unable to support their families in the new changing economic situation. Many of them admitted that their husbands did not have enough energy and communication skills to find a new way to generate income once their old jobs were lost. They believed that women were more flexible and more likely to fight for survival, while there were few men who could do the same thing. The following comments were made by women when asked about their husbands' role in providing for the families. In many cases women could not hide their frustration with the fact that they had to bear the sole responsibility for the family's well-being and work very hard while their spouses were unable to fit into the changing economy.

Tamara, former food vendor:
Women in our country are more likely to survive. This is my theory that our women are not strong, but they are persistent. And our men... they are weak, they all skulk behind their women's backs. There are few men now who do not give up, are strong and able to survive. ... And women would agree to do any kind of work in order to feed their families.

- Did your husband help you with trading?
No, nothing of this sort. One day I did not feel well, and I was very angry, so I told him: “today you go to the market, and you sell for me.” He went there and came back, the same thing happened the next day, and he did not sell anything.
So the next day I told him that I needed two kilograms of flour and two kilograms of sugar, so he really had to sell the pies. And indeed, at the end of the day he brought me what I needed. Only recently he admitted that he borrowed money from a friend because he could not sell anything.

Tamara, 52, works as a hired salesperson at the market in Moscow, Russia:
I've got to tell you that our men, I mean Russians as well as Ukrainians like it when women bring money home. With few exceptions. Maybe I am wrong, but in Moscow I saw few men working at the markets. Maybe they work somewhere else, I do not know. But at the markets there are mostly women... And it is a hard work, and women often suffer and are humiliated there... And our men are sitting at that mine. It would seem that now when they have got their pension benefits, they can go and make money, they know how to work! But this does not happen. They sit there, go on strikes, even starve (I do not know what they are fighting for), but they would not go anywhere. And their wives at the same time may be working in Moscow, making money and supporting families. ...
Somehow women are more responsible... Among my friends and simply people I know – about 30 families – there is hardly 2 men who feel responsible for their families. No more than that.

Regardless of economic and cultural differences, it is possible to say that women in Ukraine have been affected by the economic changes in a way very similar to women from the Third World countries. Ukrainian women, like their African counterparts, perform the role of "shock absorbers" for economic reforms, trying to compensate for all the losses by longer hours and additional employment. In Ukraine, where traditional gender roles are still in place (especially this is the case of the older generation) women are literally responsible for feeding their families: they shop, cook, serve meals, and are responsible for the household budgeting and coping with price increase, at least when in comes to food. It even seems that this increasing responsibility in some cases brought to light communication skills and entrepreneurial talents women are able to utilize at the marketplace. Consequently, increasing economic activity on the part of women is a result of their partners' job losses combined with the growing general cost of living.
Along with the situation when their permanent jobs were partially or completely lost, women from both generations also mentioned that they believed that trade could not only provide for the survival of their families, but also help them improve their well-being, better housing conditions, or solve some financial problems families were facing at that time. This helps to understand a controversial nature of a small scale market trade. Traders pursued the new opportunity that suddenly became open for them in a changing economy, and they did it mostly to fight the hardships imposed on them by the same economic change that created this opportunity.

**Personal Consequences of Trading**

*Family Budgeting and the “Balance of Powers”*

After I found that women have become the main providers for their families, my next question was how they manage the money and who is making decisions about how to distribute scarce family income. All women I talked to who said they were main providers also admitted that they were the ones who made decisions regarding family budget. It has not always been the case for all the families. For some couples the “balance of powers” shifted after wife started making more than her husband. In other families decisions have always been made together and women had the most important voice in the decision making process.
These women say that the way money is distributed has not changed much, even though they were now major breadwinners.

It seems, however, that for the older generation the transition from the "man-supported" to the "women-supported" family was less problematic. Even though some women acknowledged that their husbands feel offended by losing the roles of breadwinners, they have not recalled any direct conflicts within the family that would have occurred on this basis. There is a case of a younger generation, however, that looks different.

Olga is the youngest women in my sample. She is barely 30. I met her during one of my trips through the Central marketplace. She has her "permanent place" at the trolley depot road that goes through that market. Traders line up on the both sides of the road, and they use the crack in the old asphalt pavement in order to figure out where every one of them has to stand the next day and make sure everything is fair. When I met her, she was selling cheap t-shirts hanging from the T-shaped stand she was holding. This young shy woman told me her story that I used later to uncover the real attitudes toward the family budget management in the families of my market traders.

Olga did not have any special education beyond the high school. She was working at the factory when she met her husband and got married at the age of 19. After spending several years on a child care leave she discovered that there was no work for her at the factory anymore – all the companies were downsizing. Her
husband who supported the family all the time while she was on her leave also lost his salary, and they decided to start trading together.

Olga did not like her role in their business. She said that her husband made all the decisions on his own, and she had to beg him for money every time she needed it. It never happened before when they worked together at the factory. Then, she decided to have her own business, separate from her husband's. Now they do the commuting together, but each buys the goods he or she wants. They sell at two separate locations, even at two different marketplaces. Each of them keeps his or her own profit, and makes decisions about what part of his or her income to spend on their family needs.

Olga says that she buys all the food and she believes that she spends more on her family that her husband does, but she does not mind. She says that she feels much better now when she is doing business on her own: "Men are trying to control everything. He did not treat me right, he believed that he was the master and I was just a help, and I would not be able to do anything without him. Now he does not think so anymore, because I have proven that I can." Olga told me that to the best of her knowledge this was a common situation in traders' families: women try to control their own income and win their independence from men.

Because this story was so much different from anything I had heard before, I started telling it to all the women I interviewed, trying to find out what their reactions would be. All of my interviewees said that they could never imagine anything like that happening to their families. The older generation was especially
confident about it. The younger women, however, reacted in a slightly different way. Even though they said that nothing of this sort ever happened to them and they and their husbands always try to support each other regardless of who is making more at this moment, they did not dismiss the possibility of women running the same business separate from their husbands as something ridiculous. One woman after thinking for a while said: "I understand her, I've seen this happen to other girls."

During the interviews I also discovered that older women believe that even though younger men seem to be better fit to support their families than their fathers are, they also are more likely to treat their wives with little respect. One of the women quoted her daughter's words: "You know, mom, guys who know how to make money usually do not treat their women properly."

These differences serve as an indication of a specific generation gap that exist in Ukrainian society and may be typical for other transitional economies as well. The economic behavior of two generations appears to be different, and their performance in a free market economy is not the same either. Older people tend to explain the difference by saying that free market economy rewards qualities such as entrepreneurial talents, communication skills, or even audacity and lack of moral principles they do not posses. In the eyes of this generation financial success is often associated with inferior moral standards. Consequently, those qualities are ascribed to people who are able to succeed, which goes in accordance with the notion that "those who know how to make money treat women badly." I am not
trying to argue that this is not the case. It is obvious, however, that whether younger generation is a carrier of inferior moral standards or not, it appears to be somewhat more successful in a new economy.

It is possible to say that the case of younger women also somewhat contradicts the family strategy approach. Younger women are willing to make their decisions independently, and even willing to sacrifice the “family unity” when their freedom and dignity are at stake. At the same time, especially for young married women with children family burden is still an important issue one should consider when trying to understand their motivations for entering trade.

Psychological Consequences

The career change that brought women to a marketplace was not an easy one. All of them had to cope with severe psychological shock. First, losing their job security and facing unemployment was a very painful experience for everyone. People who used to have a middle-class income within several years found themselves unable to feed their children anymore. "All of us had to face unemployment. It is terrible, when you do not have any money..." – one of the women recalled. Second, when forced to start trading in a desperate attempt to make a living, women faced difficulties they were not ready for. All of the traders with one exception, regardless of age, recalled that it was extremely difficult for them to assume their new roles. Most of the women had a negative attitude toward trading in general, and toward small-scale informal urban trade in particular.
Women said that never in their lives they could even imagine that they would have to do the work they so much disliked. As Tamara, a women of 52 and experienced trader explains,

My attitude toward this business, if you would call it this way, toward this kind of work was very negative. Because the city I lived in was very small, even now (and I always said that) I would never do it there (trade at the market). Even after trading in Moscow for several years. It would be absolutely inconsistent with my personality, my ideas and my experience. I have advanced degree and many years of experience working as a manager, and it is such a contrast with my current job as a trader... Working like that in my own city would have been extremely humiliating for me as a person.

Many traders viewed their new occupations as the lowest on the social ladder and experience the change in their careers as a personal and professional failure. Women had to experience a change in social status; their perceptions of themselves has changed and their expectations in lives has not been met. However, they had little choice and had to take chances where they could find them. As another lady, Alla (earned an advanced degree and worked as an engineer for the same company for almost 20 years) explains,

I do not like trading. I do it because I've got to eat...
*Some people say they feel uncomfortable, and they are afraid to trade...*
No, Maybe it was like that before... I wouldn't do that either, I mean in Soviet times. But now I've got to eat. I even feel comfortable going around collecting empty cans and bottles. And trading, too. Because I do not have any money at all. I did collect bottles and cans before I started trading. Of course, I felt uncomfortable at the beginning, but then I got used to it, and I did not know people I met at the streets anyway. You see, our factory closed and they did not pay us anything, not even our salaries for the last half a year.

Those women who started trading because they had no other choice often still could not associate their activity with the image of themselves they had. They
also considered trading a shameful and undesirable activity, and had to overstep a significant psychological barrier in order to come to the marketplace. As many traders recall, the most difficult thing they ever had to do was to come there for the first time. Women said that they were afraid to look into people’s eyes, they felt ashamed and humiliated. As one of the vendors I met right at the market recalled, she was ashamed that people she knew may recognize her if they see her, so she used to hide her face as soon as she noticed a friend or a neighbor walking through the market. Here is what Tamara, a former food vendor explained:

There is a humiliation of one’s personality that takes place, because you are not ready for (this experience). Because through all our lives we have been taught that we had to work hard and that society should benefit from our experience and skills. And now it’s like being thrown into deep water where you have to learn how to swim again… Psychological aspects are very hard to bear. It is not only my personal opinion. Many people driven to the market by despair say so. To step over this and come to the market for the first time is the most difficult thing to do.

It is very hard to meet at the market people you know. Very hard. Everybody thinks that, actually, there must be something indecent and scandalous about it. If you choose to talk about it, it’s all right. But if your friends ask you about what you do and how you make your living, you don’t want to talk about it. It is my personal business – I survive the way I can. But it is still very hard to meet your friends there.

If you had asked my son, I am sure he would have said that he was ashamed of his mother making a living at the marketplace…

Natalia, 49, who worked as a hired trader in Moscow comments about people’s perception of urban trade:

The lady we rented an apartment from in Moscow once said: “we haven’t sunk that low yet!” They think it (trading) is so humiliating and, actually, bad. And at the same time, she has little education. She used to be a worker at a factory, and now she is a cleaning woman at a supermarket. It means that cleaning supermarket floors is more prestigious work than trading at the market!
There seems to be a connection between the level of education, family history and previous work experience women had and the severity of stress they experienced. Among highly educated urban people, trade is viewed as very undesirable career, and not an opportunity they would readily take into account. Women with advanced degrees and those who used to have white-collar prestigious jobs found it most difficult to adapt to the new role. They had to be pushed hard before they made this decision, and were finally driven to the markets by despair and dire necessity. On the other side, women with less education and the history of blue-collar employment adapted more easily, and were more likely to view market trade not only as a way for survival, but also as an opportunity to improve their families well-being. It also was easier for recent migrants to the city to start trading. This is what Raisa, who grew up in a small town and came to Kharkov area as a student recalls:

- Did you have any psychological difficulties when you started trading?
  No, not at all. I never felt this way. I think one should be ashamed when the price he asks for is too high. But the things we sold were cheap. ... I even liked it. You know, my parents used to grow vegetables, and sell the leftovers. During the summer we used to pick berries and sold them, and I liked it. I never felt ashamed to trade.

Regardless of whether they felt uncomfortable or not, and how much of a profit they made, in general women were not satisfied with their jobs. For most it was a mean of survival, and as an elderly woman I talked to at the marketplace said, "nobody does it for fun." Women perceived their occupations as something they simply had to do in order to make a living. Even though traders gained certain
benefits as a result of their economic activity, their attitude toward a job remained negative. Here is how one of the women recalls her short-term experience of being a trader in Moscow:

- Have your attitude toward the trading changed?
You know, it has. I hate these markets now. I never liked them, and after this (her work as a trader in Moscow) I just hate them. I may go there again, if it becomes necessary, but I do not want it at all. This is not my kind of business. There are those terrible working conditions, and it means being far from my family... When I was there, I knew that I was going to stay only for a month. As it got closer to going home, we began crossing out days in a calendar, like people in a prison would do in order to count days left to freedom... (Natalia, 47)

Even though trade had become the major source of income for many women while they were considered on an unpaid leave and had not been fired yet, all of them felt very reluctant to make trade their major occupation. Traders of the older generation also view state-sponsored jobs they once had as more secure, and they did their best in order not to be officially fired from the old places of their employment. Those who were ready to quit did so only when they were sure that they would still be eligible to receive a government’s pension when they reach the age.

No wonder traders who are dissatisfied with the work welcome any opportunity to change occupation. Most of the women I talked to who were still in trade said they would be glad to go back to the old workplace if the opportunity arose, and few lucky ones did so. Among women who quit trading all but one (and trade was only a short-term experience for her) did so because their “permanent” jobs allowed them to make money again. Many of those still in trade said that they
would be glad to go to their old workplaces or get another job if only that job would provide them with the reasonable income.

Negative attitude toward trading in general seems to be very strong regardless of women’s age. When asked what their reaction would be if their children had to start trading all but one women said that they would not approve that. Some women were absolutely negative, and others said that it was all right if their children work at the market while at college but would better not make it their life long occupation. They felt it was a hard work, and also believed this kind of job would be degrading for their children’s personalities.

I would like them (children) not to do it. God save my children from this! If they want to make some money while they are still at school, it is all right, but I do not want it to become their job for the rest of their lives. People sink low there. There is dirt all around. What are their conversations like? It’s harsh and abusive language. There is a lot of drinking, too. It becomes a habit. I would prefer that they do not make a lot of money, enough to make a living, but no luxury – if only they did not go to the market. I am strongly against it. My son when he wants to tease me says that he is not applying for admission to college but would rather go trading. I did that because life made me do it, I had to feed my children. But I was sure that it was a temporary job for me, I was learning a new vocation at the same time. I could go and trade now during the winter, only I do not want to. (Raisa, 36)

Many traders admitted that at a certain point in time their activities could have been considered illegal. They said that they have not always paid taxes, and some traders admitted that they still do not pay them. Since there is no stigma in Ukrainian society associated with not paying taxes, traders did not feel uncomfortable and even volunteered to discuss this question. They explained that the only reason why they did not comply with the tax regulation was the enormous
and unreasonable amount of taxes they had to pay during the first years: their ventures were too small and they would not have made any profit if they did. Then, as trade developed, tax regulation was improved. Traders explain that now when they can afford to pay the taxes, they prefer to do so, since illegal aspects of their work were a permanent source of stress for them. Women said that they are glad they can afford to do their business legally. Some of the traders who still have to work without registration describe their constant fear of being detected as one of the worst obstacles they have to overcome.

All the traders complained about extremely difficult working conditions they have to put up with. Traders work at the open-air marketplaces. They have to work regardless of rain, snow, below freezing temperatures, or summer heat. Their work literally from don to dusk: day starts no later than 7 o’clock in the morning, and is not over till 5 or 6 in the afternoon. Women have to move huge heavy bags full of merchandize, that sometimes results in injuries. Traders also suffer from theft, because they are responsible for the goods they sell, and if they work for "a master" (an entrepreneur who hires them), they have to compensate for the loss. "Masters" often cheat on their employees, underpaying them or blaming the traders for the losses they did not cause. All this contributes to the negative attitude most of the traders have toward their jobs, and their eagerness to change employment if an opportunity arises.
Positive Consequences of Trading

Women experienced some positive consequences of trade. For many trade turned out to be not only a mean of survival, but also a way to earn self confidence and discover hidden talents. Women talked about how good it feels to be able to make money and support families. Regardless of all the difficulties, material rewards offered by a trade were important to my informants:

- How did you feel making that money?
First, I felt confidence. When you have money... I did not know what it was like before. Of course, we got paid, but it was not that much money to make one feel confident. And here I made much more. I could afford many things, I could buy something for myself, even though I had that purpose I was saving my money for (to buy a house).
I used to say that I would never sell anything. But the times are different now, and everything is different. If somebody told me 10 years ago, or even 5 years ago that I would work like that - at the market in Moscow - I would never believe it, I would say that it could never happen. Life changed us a lot... That is what my sister was thinking, too. And it was difficult for us to start, and we did it together. And she was satisfied and glad when she got her first money. Of course, there was not that much money we made. But anyway, when in Moscow, I was making three or four times as much as I used to get from the factory. I could even make as much as my old salary was within a day, and I did! (Tamara, 52)

Many women mention things they like about their work as traders. Regardless of extremely hard working conditions, many found communication with customers a rewarding experience. Women say that they suddenly discovered hidden talents they never new about: they like talking to people, like making people comfortable when buying form them, and like helping customers to make their choice. Traders recalled the cases when customers came back to express their
satisfaction, and to buy more as the most rewarding experience associated with their job at the markets.

Many women also realized that they have found the way to overcome the hardship their families had to face, and now they felt more confident about their future. As one of the women, Tamara, said, "Market trade today is a mean of survival. I am absolutely confident that if I loose my job again, I will go back to the market. There is an option for me there."
V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Small scale urban trade has become a road to survival for a significant part of Ukrainian population. Trade has been used by many as a way to fight economic hardship resulting from global economic forces that have reshaped the national economy. These changes produced unemployment, payroll cuts left many people without means for survival, while unemployment benefits offered by the state could not even barely compensate for the job losses its citizens experienced. It is interesting though that the means for survival were created by the same global change that brought economic hardship to Ukrainian population. A niche for small scale trade was created as a result of disappearing import-export arrangements, loosening regulations imposed on travel, and a messy legal base.

Dramatic changes in the Ukrainian economy emerged as the main factor that brought middle-aged women to the marketplace. All of them had significant educational achievements, established careers and job security. With the economic restructuring starting in early 1990s, the unemployment came, and their lives were changed. The majority of the women with whom I talked either lost their jobs due to downsizing or were forced by their employers to take unpaid leaves of an indefinite length. Even though the descriptions of how desperate women were at that point in their lives varied, they shared the common experience of unwilling and unexpected career change as a result of changing economic conditions.

In that changing economy women in Ukraine assumed the role of "shock absorbers." They tried to compensate for the loss of family income by finding new
sources to supply funds for their family budgets. And because many of them, especially women in their forties and older, found it difficult to get new jobs at a time when every company in their city was downsizing, they used a new economic niche – informal trade - and often became major breadwinners for their families.

For these women trade has brought both positive and negative consequences. While helping them make it through the hard times and in some cases even improving their well-being, occupational change caused severe psychological shock for many women. The tragedy of this lies in the fact that women had to cope with a drastic change in social status no one was ready for: middle class workers with established lifestyles and job security within several years moved to being unemployed, and then to becoming half-legal small scale traders with no professional future, receiving little respect from other people, as well as from themselves. After trying to find new jobs and failing, middle-age women had to face the fact that they lost not only their earnings due to inflation, but also their professional careers due to economic change. Forced to make a living by any means, most of the traders found it nearly impossible to reconcile their new occupations with what they always believed themselves to be. Extreme working conditions combined with the lack of self-respect reinforced negative attitude towards trading for most of the women.

Drastic change in a family's occupational structure should be expected to have negative consequences for men as well. Some women acknowledged that their husbands seem to feel uncomfortable or even experience psychological stress
because they are not able to support their families as they did before. They seem to have a sense of personal failure resulting from job loss and inability to achieve any professional success reinforced by the fact that their wives have to support them. A paradox here is that generally (and this is especially true about post-Soviet republics) there is a notion that the government is responsible for the well-being of its people. At the same time, traditional family values and gender roles that are still in place indicate that it is the husband who should be a bread-winner, and not the wife. During the Soviet period the state system while trying to "liberate" its citizens form traditional "superstitions" and role models nevertheless reinforced them by establishing higher wages for men, encouraging women to be responsible for household maintenance by the differentials in income and system of maternity and childcare leaves, and leaving gender discrimination in place. Women also feel that present situation is not fare, since both agencies that used to be responsible for their well-being – the state and the husbands – fail to support them any longer. They blame both, thus reinforcing their husbands' frustration and loss of self-respect. While no acts of domestic violence have been reported by my informants, it is still possible that this paradox may result in significant changes to personal relationships between husbands and wives, and increasing number of conflicts within families.

One of the expectations I had before starting the project was that after some experience working as traders women's perception of the occupation should change. I expected to find their attitudes becoming more positive, and that women
would be more willing to accept trade as a suitable economic activity for themselves. This was not what I found. While economic activities change drastically, it may be too premature to look for the change of the same magnitude taking place in people’s consciousness. The conflict between expectations, moral norms and actual behavior still exists, and results in strains and psychological stress.

In general, the attitudes towards the trade of the older generation in my sample remained negative, regardless of all the gains women received. Where the change seemed to occur is the younger generation. The younger the participants, the more they are likely to adapt to the change, both with their behavior and attitudes. The older the participants, the less likely they are in general to adjust their attitudes. Younger women viewed trade more positively and are more likely to make it a permanent occupation. For some, lack of special education limiting their opportunities in the official labor force also contributed to this decision.

Younger women seem more likely to make decisions independently and even try to "break away" when their husbands attempt to control family's income and economic activities. It is possible to say that the family strategy approach produces different results when used to understand behavior of younger women. Their behavior may follow different rules, thus contradicting the assumption that all economic activities of family members are part of one family strategy that benefits equally all members of the household. In the case of older women, however, family strategy approach remains useful, explaining why older women choose to be
engaged into economic activities they consider extremely undesirable. So, it is possible to say that the family strategy approach is not universal, but useful to the study of a particular population — a generation that bears the responsibility for raising children and providing for the families.

The younger generation is also perceived by the older one as being more successful in a new economy. Older generation believes that younger cohort possesses different set of values and believes that allows younger people to perform better in a market economy. It might be the case that younger generation is simply faster to adapt to new economic conditions, while older people have to cope with the higher degree of stress resulting from the inner conflict between the required new behavior and unchanged norms and expectations. Age based differences in attitudes and experience require additional investigation. It would be interesting to learn more about the generation gap in a changing society, and find out whether younger generation indeed has developed a set of values that is different from the values their parents posses, and if so, how these values affect the generation's economic decision making and performance.

Even though informal economy in the West as well as urban trade in Africa do share some similarities with the current economic trends in the Eastern European countries, a number of differences makes the comparison of these phenomena difficult. First, Eastern European economies in many aspects may be considered similar to the West. The characteristics of the labor force (educational achievements and skills of the countries' populations) and highly industrialized
economies are among the main similarities. At the same time, a number of differences still separates them. Eastern European countries lack the traditions of free trade economies, since these traditions have been replaced by the artificial state regulation of economic exchange. In this situation, emerging urban trade is perceived as a marginal activity and is lacking norms and formal rules regulating it. The reasons leading to the development of the informal economic activities are also different. As it has been emphasized by a number of economists studying informal work in the West, the better off economically is the region, the more likely self-employment rates to be high. Workers choose self-employment as an opportunity to receive material gains that exceed the compensation offered by formal sector, with favorable economic situation making the success of business ventures more likely. In Eastern Europe, as it has been stated earlier, self-employment becomes the choice when formal employment is no longer available.

Second, it is not possible to consider Eastern European economies as being similar to the developing economies of the Third World countries either. While the economies of the Third World are still trying to create their industrial sector, Eastern Europe is already highly industrialized. The characteristics of its labor force are also different, with Eastern European countries being more similar to the Western World in terms of their population's educational achievements and qualifications. While urban trade in both Third World countries and Eastern Europe results from economic reforms with hardship and lack of income generating opportunities being among their main consequences, the attitudes of the trade
participants seem to be different. Previous research emphasized that even though women who become involved into urban trade in Africa do not like their new activities at first, once achieving success and improving families' well-being they are looking forward not only to continue but also to expand their business, encouraging their children to join the family enterprise. In the Eastern Europe, however, the negative attitude towards the trade seems to be much more persistent and in a much lesser extent affected by the economic success of its participants, which can be attributed to a different educational level and previous professional experience of Eastern European traders.

While the specifics of the regional reforms in Ukraine may differ from the globalization's appearances in other parts of the globe, their consequences are quite similar. As it has been observed in other national contexts, globalization puts increased emphasis on flexibility of the work force. This trend can be clearly seen in post-Soviet restructuring in its attempts to decrease the numbers of state-sponsored employees. Women in Ukraine find themselves among the main losers, even though in the Third World young women constitute the significant part of new "flexible" workforce. One of the reasons for this difference would be the notion of female workforce in Eastern Europe as being more expensive. Besides the higher costs, it is especially interesting that women here actually are not considered as being "flexible." Female employees are perceived by companies as being more likely to drop out because of family obligations and child rearing duties women have to bear. From this perspective, older women are seen as less flexible because
of both their gender and their age, and thus less suitable for new limited number of jobs that is being created. As a result of high unemployment and loosening rules and regulations, a new shadow economy appeared. This sector accommodates a significant proportion of unemployed women, not because they are attracted to it, but mainly because there are few choices left. Here women of all ages prove that they are "flexible" enough to adapt to the changing economy and take advantage of new opportunities.

Many Ukrainian entrepreneurs complained that small scale urban trade is constantly declining. They worried that there are not too many opportunities left for them at the marketplace, and complained that making profit becomes harder and harder every month. Fewer and fewer consumers come to the marketplace. (There is an indication that this trend is common to other Eastern European countries as well) (Wallace et al., 1997). In Ukraine consumers disappear from the markets not because they choose to buy from someone else, traders said, but because people do not have money to spend on goods offered there. Under those conditions will the market trade survive? Also, as the economy possibly improves, many traders may choose to return to their old jobs, or try to find new ones away from the marketplace. Taking all the factors into consideration, it may be interesting to investigate not only the conditions under which small scale trade emerges, but also the conditions that allow it to thrive in a rapidly changing global economy.

It is possible to say that new informal economic activities are a form of adaptation to the broad based economic change. The example of small scale urban
traders shows how they use benefits of change – opportunities available in a new economic niche – to solve problems created by the very same change. From this perspective the phenomenon of urban trade originates in global economic change and would be impossible without the push and pull factors of the economic reforms.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

Field notes (excerpts)

July 14, 1999

Kharkov, Central Marketplace

Lilly, a friend of mine, is taking me to the Central Market to introduce to her neighbor who is trading there.

It's Wednesday morning, 9:30 am. We are taking a subway train to get to one of the oldest markets in the city. It is only a couple of stops from the central square. Already in the train it is obvious that the market is somewhere around. We notice two women on a train (a mother and a daughter?) pushing a cart with three huge bags on it (at least 70 pounds each) to the exit doors. They would have been unable to move any of those bags but for the cart. A couple gets off the train at the “Central Market” stop. The bags are obviously full of merchandise they are taking to the marketplace. It is too late, so most of the traders are already in their places and the subway is not too crowded. It should have been much worse at 6 o’clock in the morning.

It looks like market has no borders. It starts already in the subway, where the subway traders offer their goods right from the small tables lined up next to the walls all the way up to the exit. After passing this row one gets from under the ground to the market square. The first thing you notice as soon as you get out of a subway is dust. Dust covers everything. It floats in the air and stays on one’s clothes for the rest of the day.

It’s only 10 am, and the air is already hot. At least 30 degrees Centigrade, or could be well up to 35. The day again is going to be extremely hot. Here, at the marketplace, the work starts at 6 am.

We are moving through the crowd, trying to get closer to the marketplace fence. Some of the people around us are traders with the merchandise in their hands, others are buyers. Several men and women look like they are just hanging around, obviously most of them are used to this environment. One would better watch his pockets in a crowd like that!

The main part of the market is behind the fence, but this is not where we are heading. We are walking toward the rows of unregistered traders that occupy the trolley depot entrance road. Those people stand there all day long. They sell mostly cheap garments: t-shirts, shorts, summer dresses, made-in-china baseball caps. Some of them hold their merchandise in their hands, others have something like a small stand they can put a dozen of hangers on. From the first sight this crowd does not look like there is any order in it. My guide, however, tells me, that each vendor
has her/his own place on the road. They memorize cracks and holes in the old asphalt pavement and figure out where each person should stand.

The depot road divides the market into the older part, where foodstuff is sold, and the new, bigger part devoted to manufactured goods. Sometimes, buses go in or out of the depot. They have to literally cut through the crowd. The drivers must be used to it. They go slowly, waiting for the vendors and their customers to clear the way. When the bus is coming through, the crowd breaks for a moment, and as soon as the bus is gone, right behind it, vendors are back in their old places.

Music is playing somewhere, buses are passing by. Ice-cream vendor is pushing her way through the crowd. Her voice can be heard from a hundred feet: "Ice cream! Ice cream! Who wants some ice cream?" The heat is getting worse. I am already sorry I did not bring a hat of some kind. For people at the marketplace the day is obviously going to be a tough one. No wonder everybody complains that July usually is no good for trading. Consumers do not come here as much as they do when the weather is cooler. The vendors, however, have no choice.

Unfortunately, the lady we are looking for is not there yet. As Lilly tells me, she had her birthday party the night before, so today she may be late. Usually she starts at about 9 am, much later than the rest of the market. So, we go inside the market to kill half an hour and if we are lucky, to talk to a couple of vendors. We start right here, at the road. A lady looking about 50 is selling t-shirts. I start with my questions. How long have you been working here? Why do you think people do this? What was your job before you got there? How does it feel to start working in a place like that? "We are here to survive" – the woman says. “This is what everybody will tell you. Nobody does this for fun.” A man of about 35 standing next to her stops talking to his customer and joins the conversation: “it is extremely hard to force one’s self and start trading, go to the marketplace for the first time.” “I do not dare to look into people’s faces” – the woman says again. “I was afraid to meet friends, and if I saw somebody I knew, I would turn my back to them so they could not recognize me.”

We go inside the market. Here, traders are in a better situation: the rows are covered with the roof, two rows under one roof. Every trader has a permanent concrete table and a place where to sit down. Most of the traders at these expensive places trade legally and are hired laborers working for “a master”. Most of them sell clothes, shoes, we also saw two or three people selling sunglasses. We walk through the rows, looking into people’s faces. Start talking to women now and then. Men are also trading, but it seems like there are more women under the roof, the same as at the depot road. Maybe this is because I am looking for them? I’ve got to count the next time I come here, of course if I am brave enough to come again...
After a walk through the market and the following a half-an-hour talk with the ladies on the road (Lilly’s friend had finally come) we find that the heat has gotten worse. We still need to get back to the subway. I think I would never be able to work like that. But, as women say, you never know... The ice cream vendor is passing by again. Sweet ice cream does not look attractive, however. What we need is some water, and at once we hear another voice: “water, ice-cold water, all kinds of it!” The girl is right across the road, sitting with the umbrella in her hand next to a small refrigerator with a dozen of different bottles on top of it. The rest of the bottles are inside, and those outside are meant to attract attention. From all kinds of lemonade, Coke, and beer I chose mineral water, and Lilly decides on apple lemonade. The bottle the girl gets out of her refrigerator is cold, but covered with dust, and the tag is all torn. She argues that this is because the bottles stick to each other when frozen, and that the water is good. She is obviously not willing to get me another one. The led is sealed, so I take the water: I do not feel like arguing at all. I make a notice that it should be nice to sell cold water in such heat, and she promptly replies: “Not at all! You have to watch people drinking all the time, and I do not have enough money to buy a bottle now and then.” We suggest that at least she can bring her own bottle of tap water and use the refrigerator, but she does not seem to like our suggestion.
# APPENDIX II

## TABLE I. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Trade experience</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Still in trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>vocational school</td>
<td>comm. college</td>
<td>college degree</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-25</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>1 season</td>
<td>hired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>entr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>hired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>family bsns</td>
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<tr>
<td>41-45</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>1-2 mo</td>
<td>hired</td>
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<tr>
<td>46-50</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
<td>entr</td>
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<td>51-55</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>5 yrs</td>
<td>hired</td>
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<td>56+</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>entr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56+</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>8 yrs</td>
<td>entr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56+</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>5 yrs</td>
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