

Gender Equality and Inequality: Attitudes and Situation in Estonia in 2009

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Gender equality means equal rights, opportunities, obligations and responsibilities of women and men. Gender inequality is quite common in Estonian society, despite the fact that equality is guaranteed by law. Evidence to that effect can be found in gender wage gap, higher level of poverty among women, and shorter lifespan of men. Gender inequality is not only a problem of women; it concerns men as well. The current inequality is, to a large extent, a result of social attitudes, and there is a desire to develop policies to change those attitudes.

The objective of this policy analysis is to provide an overview of the main attitudes and experiences in connection with equality and inequality between women and men. The results of the “Gender Equality Monitoring 2009”² (GEM) survey have been used as the main source of information. The selection of subject areas for this issue of the Series was based on the understanding that gender inequality manifests itself in differences in access of women and men to various resources, such as political power, employment, money (remuneration), education, and time.

The main conclusion is that the level of awareness of gender inequality and the need for equality is not high, but has increased somewhat in comparison to 2005. Women are more aware of gender inequality and have also had more experiences with inequality. In addition, women expressed greater support for equality. There are significant differences between the attitudes of respondents of Estonian and ethnic minorities, whereby the respondents from minority ethnic groups tend to have more traditional attitudes and more stereotypical views of the roles of women and men. Women of Estonian ethnicity are the strongest supporters of equality.

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² This issue of the Series is based on the survey report of GEM 2009: Vainu, V., Järviste, L. and Biin, H. (2010), „Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse monitooring 2009. Uuringuraport”. Sotsiaalministeeriumi toimetised, 1. Another source for this text was the article by Järviste, L. „Kas Eestis on levinud võrdõiguslikkust toetavad hoiakud?” in „Teel tasakaalustatud ühiskonda II” (2010, to be published).

Introduction

Gender equality is about equal opportunities, responsibilities, obligations and rights of both women and men in society.

Gender equality means equal rights, opportunities, obligations and responsibilities of women and men. Despite the established *de jure* equality, the actual rights, obligations, opportunities and responsibilities of women and men in Estonia are imbalanced. This is often visible in the disadvantaged position of women in the labour market and in a poorer socio-economic situation. For instance, Estonia has the largest gender wage gap in the European Union. The difference between average gross hourly wages of women and men is 30%, which means that across all employees in different economic sectors, the average hourly wages of women are nearly one third lower than the wages of men. However, this gap is not a result of different wages paid to women and men in equivalent positions in the same organisation. The average lower wages of women, in turn, affect the amount of many benefits and the future pension. In addition, women are more frequently at risk of poverty than men. It should be noted that the lower than average earnings of women are a danger for social sustainability: a significant number of women are single parents and the poverty of women is closely linked to the poverty of children. Children, in turn, are future members of society and employees, and if they grow up in homes with scanty resources, this will have a direct impact on the future of society.

The objective of GEM is to identify the attitudes, beliefs and experiences associated with gender equality and inequality.

Gender inequality and the lack of equality have an impact on men as well, as their rights, obligations, responsibilities and opportunities are restricted in several walks of life. Like women, men are not always able to choose their preferred job or the best regime of work. Men work longer hours and they often experience higher levels of work-related stress than women. Men have fewer opportunities to spend time with their families and children, and the relations of men with their loved ones suffer as a consequence. All this has an impact on the health and quality of life indicators of men, which are lower than the respective indicators of women. For instance,

the average life expectancy of men in Estonia is 10 years shorter than the life expectancy of women. Consequently, gender equality is not a 'female thing'; it concerns men as well and is necessary for the entire society.

Estonia is a democratic country and respect for human rights is important for us. An effective measure for promoting equality is to provide formal guarantees of equal rights, i.e., equality of women and men before the law. This has been achieved in Estonia, for the most part. The main national instruments for guaranteeing gender equality are the Constitution, the Gender Equality Act, and the Equal Treatment Act. In addition to national obligations, Estonia as a member of the European Union and other international organisations has made a commitment to facilitating equality of women and men through its national policies.

In addition to laws, abolishing the inequality between women and men and achievement of gender equality are greatly dependent on the attitudes of the people. Besides guaranteeing *de jure* rights, the state is also responsible for striving towards *de facto*, or actual, equality. Consequently, the goal of the policies has to be a change in social culture and the related behaviour patterns of the people. Such policies can include provision of information to the public and raising awareness through various methods, as well as establishment of special measures: providing extra support to a gender which is in a disadvantaged position in a particular area (e.g., gender quotas in politics or businesses, allocation of specific parental leave to fathers, etc.). Before developing or implementing any measures to change the social culture, one would have to collect information on the established values and attitudes in society and the prevalence of gender stereotypes. Furthermore, any political decisions have to be made with the consideration that national or local policies cannot be developed or implemented amongst genderless persons and a policy can often have different consequences for women and men. For example, changes in public transporta-

tion arrangements have a greater impact on women than men, because women constitute the majority of the users of public transport, while men are more prevalent among car users. However, in reality, policy development is often gender-blind, despite the fact that women and men generally have different interests, needs, expectations and social positions, and policy decisions can have diverging consequences for them.

The Gender Equality Monitoring survey is a valuable source of information on social attitudes concerning the equality between women and men. It provides a major input for the development of future policies and evaluation of existing policies. The objective of the survey is to collect information on the opinions, attitudes and experiences of residents in order to learn more about the dominant public opinion on the issues of gender equality and inequality.

The last monitoring was based on two principal ideas like the previous surveys. Firstly, gender is the principal foundation of social organisation. Being a woman or a man is one of the main factors that influences the status and role of a person in society. Nearly all societies differentiate between persons on the basis of whether they are women or men. At the same time, almost all societies rely on the presumption that women and men are different and they are not equal (Kimmel 2004). The second theoretical foundation of the GEM is the view that social reality is a construct of human activities and depends on the knowledge and attitudes of the people (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Consequently, being a woman or a man is also a socially construed collection of views, norms and experiences on what is womanly and what is manly, what it means to be a woman or a man.

Even though gender is the foundation of social organisation, it cannot be assumed that all women and all men in Estonia are the same. Ethnicity, age, education, income, place of residence – all these and many other factors shape the views and experiences of people on being a woman or a man.

The GEM 2009 was organised with the support of the European Social Fund programme “Promoting Gender Equality 2008-2010”. The survey was conducted by the company Turu-uuringute AS. The target population of the survey was comprised of all permanent residents of Estonia in the age group of 15-74 years. The size of the sample was 1517 persons and the survey results can be extrapolated to the entire Estonian population.³ Previous GEM surveys were conducted in 2003 and 2005.⁴ All three monitoring surveys have been conducted as population surveys, using a similar surveying method but slightly different questionnaires. Nevertheless, comparisons in time are possible in case of some indicators. Some questions of GEM 2009 are also comparable with a similar Finnish survey “Tasaarvobarometri 2008” (“Gender Equality Barometer”).⁵ Therefore, the Estonian situation is explained at times on the following pages by using comparative examples of the attitudes of Finnish residents. A comparison of Estonia and Finland is interesting, because on the one hand, Finland is a culturally similar society but, on the other hand, it is often also seen as a model of welfare and equality.

The objective of this issue of the Series is to present the main results of GEM 2009 to a wider audience of readers, provide an overview of the current situation with gender equality and inequality, and make recommendations for further policy development. The complete results of the monitoring are available in the survey report.⁶

Being a woman or a man is one of the main factors that influences the status and role of a person in society.

³ For more information on the methodology of the 2009 survey, see Chapter 2 of the survey report.

⁴ For a summary of the results of GEM 2005, see the Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1/2006. Full versions of all monitoring reports (in Estonian) are available at www.sm.ee.

⁵ The main results of the Finnish report have been published in English in: Nieminen, T. (2009). “Gender Equality Barometer 2008.” Helsinki: Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.

⁶ Vainu, V., Järviste, L. and Biin, H. (2010). “Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse monitooring 2009. Uuringuraport.” Sotsiaalministeeriumi toimetised, 1.

1. Equality, roles of women and men

In addition to gender equality being a foundation of democracy and social justice, equal rights of women and men are also a social advantage, which creates social, political and economic benefits for individuals and society in general. Gender inequality is directly and indirectly related to many social problems, from domestic violence and poverty of women and children to dropout of boys from school, high-risk behaviour and lower life expectancy of men. However, society usually fails to perceive the connections of these

and many other social problems with gender inequality. For instance, only 6% of Estonian residents believe that gender inequality is a serious social problem (Kaha 2009). There is a widespread belief that the past inequality has been abolished: women and men are equal before the law and women can be seen in active roles in various areas of social life, incl. among decision-makers. However, what is the exact perceived position of women and men in Estonian society?

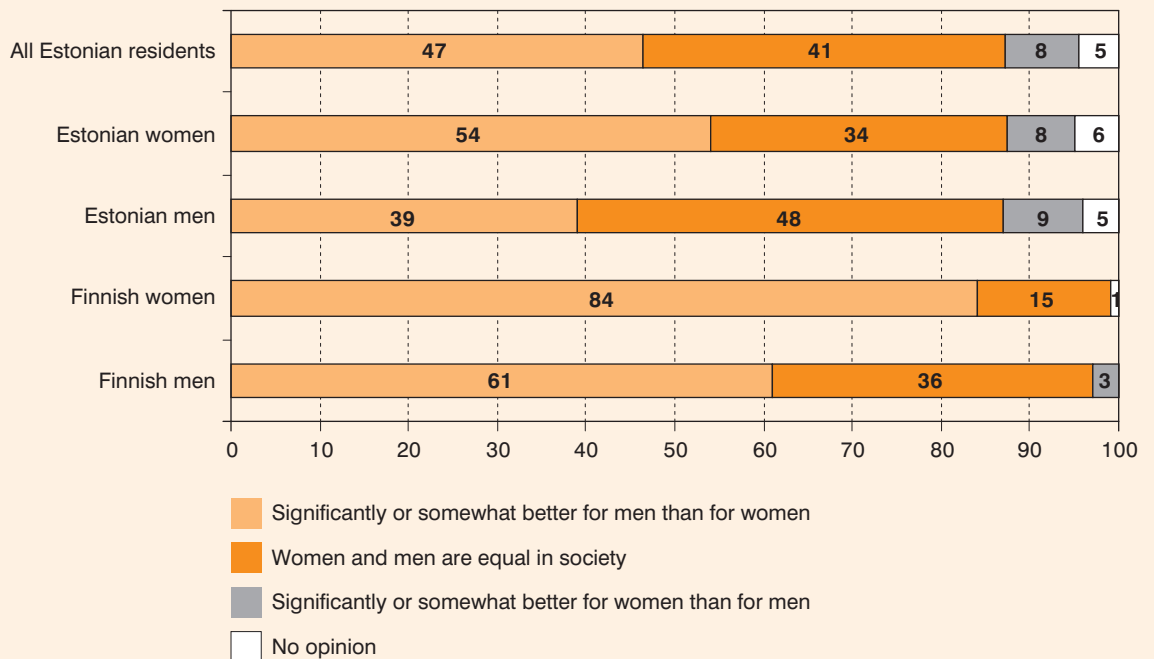
1.1. Position of men and women in society

The GEM 2009 indicated that the people living in Estonia are divided into two almost equal groups – those who believe that women and men are equal and those who think that men are in a better position in society. Nearly half

of the people believe that the position of men in Estonian society is somewhat or significantly better than the position of women (see Figure 1). The averaged opinions of women and men differ in this respect. Women were, on average, more perceptive of the better position of men, while men tended to believe that women and men have equal standing.

Half of Estonian residents believe that men have a better position in Estonian society than women.

Figure 1. How would you rate the position of women and men in Estonian/Finnish society? (% , N = 1517, all respondents for Estonia)



Sources: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009 and Finnish Gender Equality Barometer 2008

In terms of age, the youngest women, in the age group of 15-19 years, were the most optimistic (42%) and women in the age group of 30-39 years were the most sceptical (64%) about equality of women and men. The women in this latter group generally already have a family and children and have gained experiences in the labour market. It is important to note that the perception of a better position of men in society was stronger among women of Estonian ethnicity than among women of minority ethnic groups (58% vs. 48%).

In comparison: the opinion of Finns on the level of equality in society is markedly different from the opinion of Estonian residents (see Figure 1). Finland is believed to be the second-ranking country in the world in terms of gender equality, while Estonia's position is only 37th (World Economic Forum 2009). Even though the level of inequality of women and men is lower in Finnish society, based on various indicators, people in Finland have a

much higher level of awareness of the issues of gender equality than people in Estonia. This is despite the fact that the indicators in Estonia point to a very high level of gender inequality in different sectors of society. When comparing the opinions of women and men in the two countries, the Finnish women had the strongest perception of men's better position in society. Finnish women's stronger perception of inequality could be explained by higher awareness of how gender equality and inequality occur. Women are able to notice instances of inequality in society and assess personal experiences of unequal treatment from a gender perspective.

As long as Estonian residents, including decision-makers, perceive the situation of women and men in society as equal and are not aware of manifestations of inequality, it will be difficult to develop and implement policies to tackle inequality.

Estonian labour market has the highest level of gender segregation in Europe.

2. Employment

Work is an important means of self-accomplishment and of achieving financial independence. A lack of equal opportunities with regard to employment has an effect on inequality in other areas of life as well. For instance, an inferior position of women in the labour market has a direct impact on the earnings of women. Men, in turn, often experience pressure to be successful and advance their career, which restricts their opportunities of participation in family life and raising of children.

The inequality between women and men in the employment sphere in Estonia may not be apparent at first glance. Unlike many other countries of the European Union, Estonia has a relatively high employment rate of women, supported by the experiences from the recent Soviet period. In addition, women of Estonian ethnicity have, on average, better education than men of Estonian ethnicity.

Consequently, inaccessibility of the labour market for women is not an issue in Estonia, unlike in many other countries.

The problem in Estonia's labour market is, rather, a firmly established division between female and male occupations and industries. Estonian labour market is characterised by the highest level of gender segregation among all countries of the European Union (European Commission 2010). A segregated labour market leads to a number of problems in terms of gender equality. For example, widely held beliefs about 'female and male jobs' restrict people's opportunities of self-accomplishment. This, in turn, means that society loses many talented individuals and does not make use of the true potential of its people.

In addition, the so-called 'female' jobs are often lower-paid than the positions in which

Less than half of Estonian men think that more men should be employed as social and healthcare workers.

men tend to be employed. Consequently, the gender segregation of occupations has a strong impact on the gender wage gap, reflecting the prevalence of gender stereotypes and role behaviour of men and women. For instance, the fact that women (and not men) leave the labour market for several years (temporarily) after childbirth and that women do the majority of housework influences the position of all women in the labour market. Even the women who do not have children or household responsibilities are seen as workers who could potentially withdraw from the labour market and, consequently, are not as committed to work as men. Curiously, the high level of participation of women in employment could even be a cause of the segregation in the labour market. As many women go to work, a number of services have been developed to provide the care which was traditionally provided by women at home. However, those services are again provided by women. For instance, the majority of nursery school teachers, schoolteachers, social and healthcare workers are women. However, in addition to paid work, women are still responsible for daily housework and for raising the children in the families. Consequently, women tend to prefer jobs that enable them to deal with such household responsibilities. Such jobs are generally characterised by fixed working hours, they do not require overtime work, they enable long holidays, or are located close to home (Anspal and Rõõm 2010).

2.1. Roles of women and men

Achieving a gender-balanced labour market requires, in addition to women moving into traditional male jobs, also a greater share of men in so-called female occupations. Health-

So far, no measures have been implemented in Estonia with the direct and single target of reducing the wage gap. Rather, the previous policies on employment and gender equality have attempted to secure equal opportunities for women and men in employment. For instance, the new Employment Contracts Act of 2008 abolished several old restrictions from the Soviet period on employing women for heavy work or for work which poses a health hazard. Other measures used include activities to raise the level of awareness among employers and publication of guidelines.⁷ In addition, the Ministry of Social Affairs organised several projects to support entrepreneurship among women in the beginning of the 2000s. A media campaign targeted at employees and employers is being carried out in 2010 to promote the idea of women and men working in 'untraditional' positions, thus contributing to reduction of gender segregation in the labour market.⁸ A media campaign, supported by the European Union, to reduce the gender wage gap was launched in Estonia at the beginning of the year.

Segregation and the position of women and men in the labour market are influenced by the attitudes of the people. The following paragraphs examine the beliefs about suitable roles of women and men, as well as the perception of equal employment opportunities of women and men among Estonian residents.

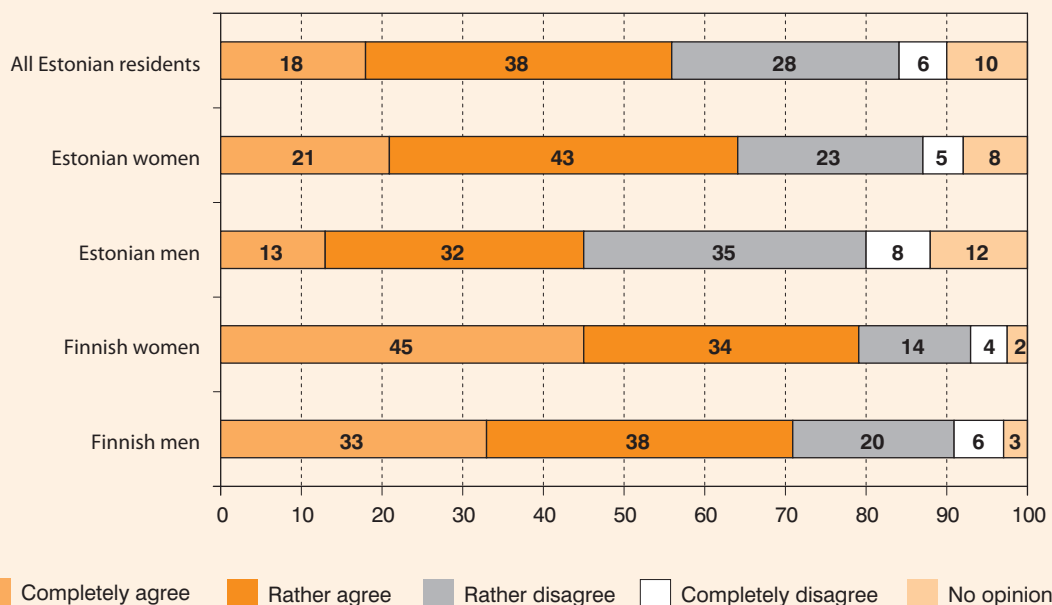
care and social welfare are the sectors with the largest share of women in Estonia: only 8% of the employees in these sectors were men in 2009 (Statistics Estonia). Generally, occupations in these sectors have a rather low reputation and relatively low wage level.

⁷ From 2004-2005, Estonia participated in an international project, aiming to support the balance of work and family life and active fatherhood of male executives. The Estonian-French twinning project "Equality between Men and Women – Principle and Goal for Effective and Sustainable Enterprises" was carried out 2007-2008. The aim of the project was to improve gender equality awareness concerning legal provisions, policies, measures and good practices in private companies.

For more information, see <http://www.sm.ee/tegevus/sooline-vordoiguslikkus/tooelu.html>.

⁸ It is a campaign launched by the Ministry of Social Affairs in the framework of the ESF programme "Promoting Gender Equality 2008-2010". For more information, see <http://www.sm.ee/kutsumus>.

Figure 2. More men should be employed as social and healthcare workers than at present (% , N = 1517, all respondents for Estonia)



Sources: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009 and Finnish Gender Equality Barometer 2008

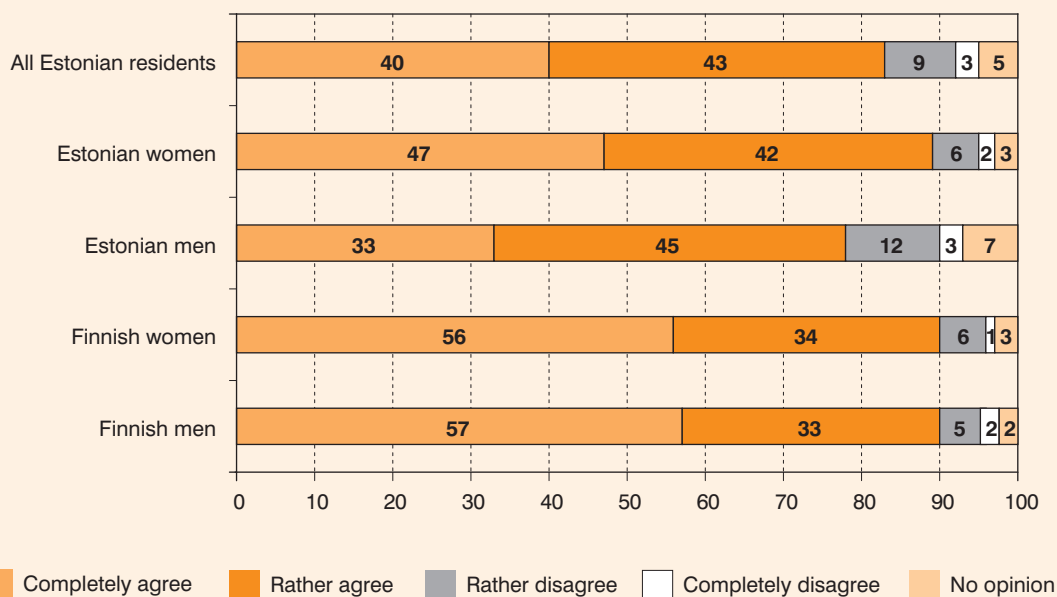
Despite a relatively good situation with the equality of women and men, Finland, like Estonia, is a country with strong gender segregation in the labour market. The gender distribution of employees in the healthcare and social sectors in Finland is quite similar to the distribution in Estonia: 90% of social workers and 85% of healthcare workers are women. However, Finns, and Finnish women in particular, support, more than Estonians, the idea of increasing the share of men among social and healthcare workers. This attitude of the residents of Finland could be explained by a higher level of general awareness of equality issues.

Another example of participation of men in a traditional ‘female’ sphere is their contribution to the raising of and caring for children, because unequal division of care responsibilities affects the opportunities of both women and men in the labour market. The majority of Estonian residents, both women and men, support the idea of increased participation of men in the raising of children (see Figure 3). The level of support was somewhat higher among women. The support for the involvement of men in caring for and raising of chil-

dren was particularly strong among women in the age group of 20-29 years and among working mothers with minor children. At the same time, the support for the claim that men should be more involved in caring for and raising the children was somewhat weaker among working fathers. The number of those who thought that increasing the involvement of men was unnecessary was also higher among fathers. On the one hand, fathers may not perceive the conflict between work and family life as strongly as mothers (see also the chapter of family life) and, on the other hand, men could see themselves primarily as breadwinners for the family, not so much as carers. Consequently, men focus more on their work and earning money, feeling that this is their way to support the welfare of their families (cf. Järviste 2010). Ethnicity was also an important factor in the assessment of the role of men. Respondents of minority ethnic groups represented more traditional attitudes than Estonians. 79% of ethnic Estonian men, 73% of ethnic minority men, 90% of ethnic Estonian women and 85% of ethnic minority women agreed that the involvement of fathers should be increased.

The majority of Estonians believe that men should be more involved in caring for children.

Figure 3. Men should be more involved in caring for and raising children than at present (% , N = 1517, all respondents for Estonia)



Sources: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009 and Finnish Gender Equality Barometer 2008

Half of Estonians would like to see more women in corporate management teams.

Comparison with our northern neighbours indicates that Estonian residents share with the Finns the view that men should be more involved in the raising of children (even though the conviction of Estonian residents in this matter was somewhat weaker). However, the comparison also reveals an interesting aspect. While the level of support for men's involvement in caring for and raising the children is quite similar among women and men in Finland, the difference is larger between the attitudes of women and men in Estonia. The group of Estonian men also includes the largest share of those who support a 'traditional' concept of masculinity and do not agree that men should spend more time with their children.

The other side of the same coin is greater participation of women in 'male' spheres. Working on executive teams of companies could be an example of this development. Half of Estonians agreed with the statement that it would be beneficial for businesses if more women were employed in top execu-

tive positions. However, more than a third of the respondents did not believe that it would be beneficial for businesses (Figure 4). Once again, the idea of having more women on the executive teams of companies, i.e., a situation of greater equality, received more support from women. The group of male respondents included a larger share of those who did not have an opinion and those who did not see any benefit in having female executives.⁹

Respondents in the age group of 15-19 years (both men and women) showed the highest level of indifference about greater representation of women in executive positions. The likely explanation for this is the limited life experience of young people, rather than a belief that gender equality is unnecessary in employment relations: girls usually enjoy a good position in the education system, the awareness of gender inequality in the labour market is low among school students, and they have limited personal experiences with these issues. Among men, the respondents in the age group of 65-74 years were more fre-

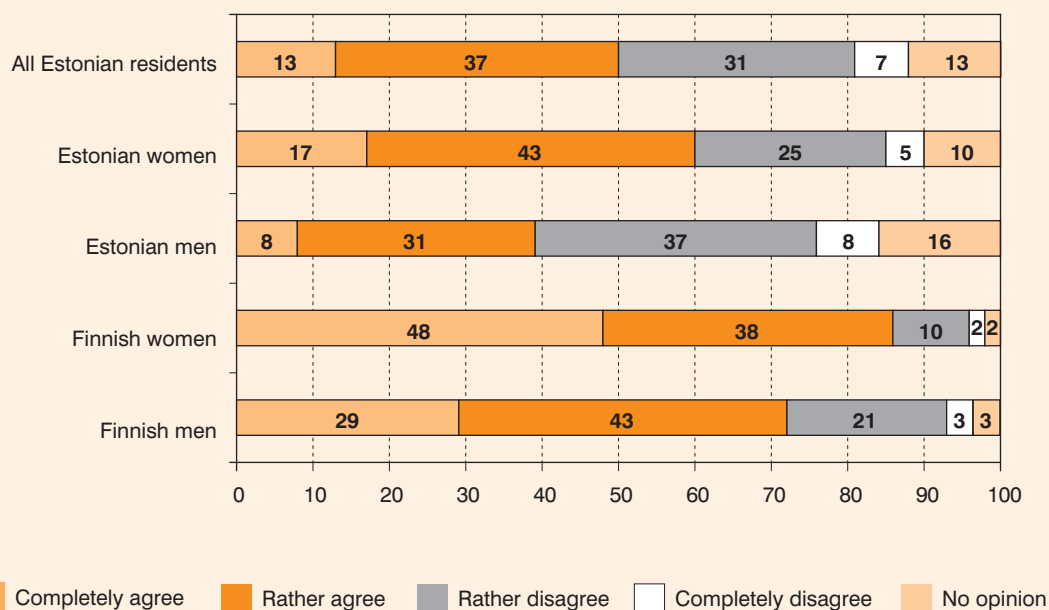
⁹ The responses to this and subsequent questions naturally depend on the respondent's perception of the current situation in Estonia and, for instance, knowledge about the (actual) representation of women in managerial positions in businesses.

quently of the opinion that representation of women in executive positions was necessary.

Finns showed a significantly greater support than the Estonian respondents to the idea that having more women in executive positions would be beneficial for businesses. As in Estonia, the idea of having women in exec-

utive positions found greater support among Finnish women than among Finnish men. However, it should be noted that the share of those who do not believe that women should be in executive positions or do not have an opinion on this matter is significantly larger among Estonian residents.

Figure 4. Businesses would benefit from more women in executive positions than at present (% , N = 1517, all respondents for Estonia)



Sources: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009 and Finnish Gender Equality Barometer 2008

Again, the reason seems to be limited awareness of the benefits of gender balance in entrepreneurship in Estonia. A more active public debate on this issue should be encouraged. The idea of entrepreneurship and female executives has held a more prominent place in the public debates in Finland, partially because of a generally higher level of awareness of equality issues and partially because of geographic and cultural proximity to Norway and Sweden. Namely, Norway introduced gender quotas for corporate boards in 2006, and the same proposal is being debated in Sweden.

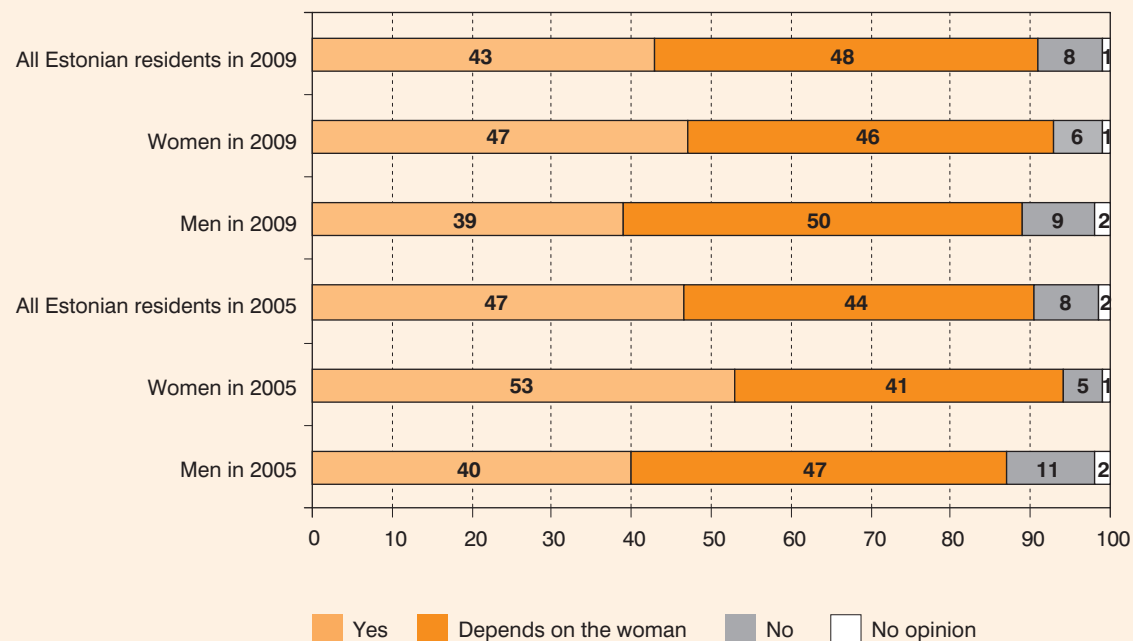
Vertical segregation, or limited representation of women in top executive positions, is one of the problems of the gender distribution in the Estonian labour market. Estonian

women have, on average, better education and better qualifications than Estonian men. More than two thirds of mid-level and top specialists are women, but almost two thirds of top executives, senior officials and legislators are men (Statistics Estonia). The position of women and men in the labour market is influenced, among other things, by the attitudes about the suitability of women for top executive positions.

Opinions about the suitability of women for top executive positions were distributed almost equally between two groups. Slightly less than half of Estonian residents believed that women are suited for top executive positions and a somewhat larger group of respondents thought that it depends on the particular woman (see Figure 5). Top executives were

Personal experiences with female managers generate support for women as top executives.

Figure 5. **Assessment of the suitability of women for top executive positions (% , N = 1517, all respondents), GEM 2009 and 2005**



Sources: Gender Equality Monitoring 2005 and 2009

defined in this context as managers of large organisations and other top-level leaders in politics (party leaders, ministers), business (members of boards of large enterprises) or public sector (secretary generals and other senior officials). 6% of the respondents believed that women are not suited for top executive positions.

The idea of female executives was supported more by women than by men (48% vs. 40%), while men preferred the notion that the suitability of a women for an executive position depends on the particular woman (51% vs. 46%). Comparing the results by age groups, it could be claimed that women in the age group of 20-29 years were most convinced of the suitability of women for executive positions, with more than half (58%) of the respondents in this group agreeing with the statement. Looking at ethnic groups, the belief that a woman is not suitable for a top executive position was most frequent among ethnic minority men (12%). Women of Estonian ethnicity were the strongest supporters of the idea of female top executives.

Again, the opinions about suitability of women for executive positions were in correlation with the gender of the direct superior of the respondent. Nearly half (49%) of the respondents with a female superior believed that women are suited for top executive positions, while this opinion was somewhat less popular (43%) among the respondents with a male superior.

The results were also influenced by the gender composition of the executive team of the institution: 41% of the respondents who worked in an institution with an exclusively or predominantly male executive team believed in the suitability of women for top executive positions, while the same opinion was held by 50% of those who were employed by an institution managed exclusively or predominantly by women. Consequently, personal experiences with a superior or management team can shift the attitudes of a person towards a more positive appraisal of the suitability of women for executive positions. However, in some sense, it is a vicious circle: an experience with female executives generates more

The predominance of men among top managers reinforces the belief that men are more suitable and better as leaders.

support for the idea of women in executive positions, but no significant attitude shift will be possible as long as the number of female executives remains low. Therefore, a change in attitudes has to be facilitated by support-

ing selection of women for executive positions. Unlike preceding questions, this question also enabled a comparison with the year 2005: it seems that the structure of opinions has not changed between the two surveys.

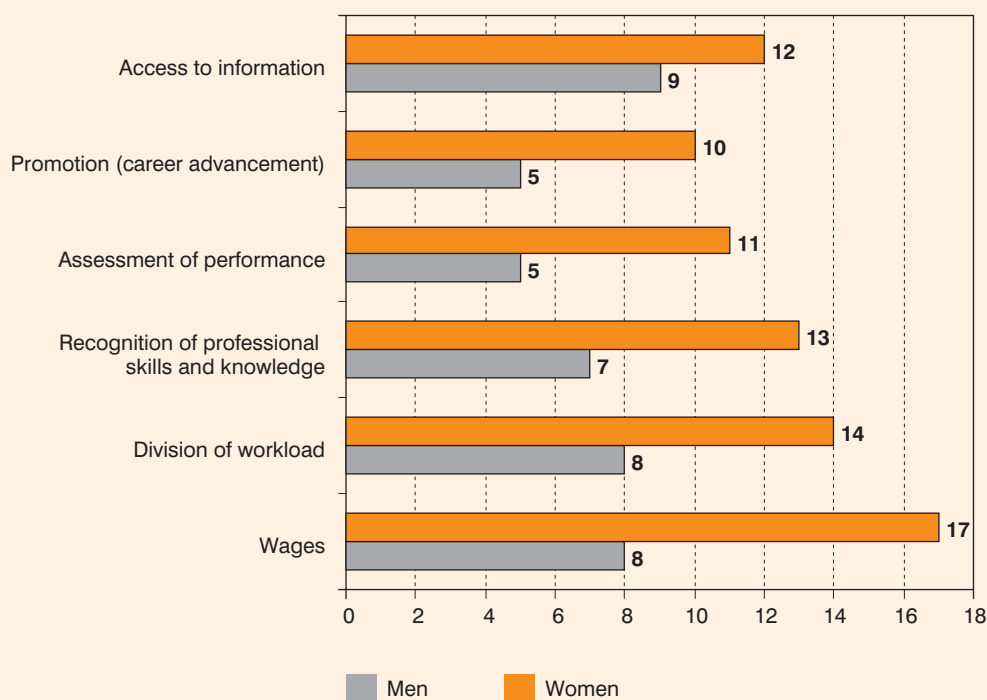
2.2. Unequal treatment in working life

Unequal treatment in working life can be defined as a situation where a person receives, due to her or his gender, less favourable treatment than the treatment that was, is or would be received by another person in a similar situation. A general conclusion would be that many Estonian employees, in their own words, have had no experiences with unequal treatment. However, women, more than men, have perceived gender-based unequal treatment in all surveyed aspects. The most frequent reported manifestations of gender-related unequal treatment in the

workplace were associated with remuneration and distribution of workload. This was followed by recognition of professional skills and knowledge, and assessment of work results. Unequal treatment with regard to promotion and recognition of professional skills and knowledge was perceived, more than average, by ethnic minority women. They are in the most vulnerable position in the labour market, compared to women of Estonian ethnicity or men of any ethnicity. This is evident in the fact that women from minority ethnic groups are often employed in low-paid jobs (50% of women and 13% of men) (Randoja 2008) and they have the lowest average wages (Anspal and Rõõm 2010).

Gender-based unequal treatment in the workplace is perceived primarily regarding wages and workload.

Figure 6. In your current job, have you experienced unjustified unequal treatment in comparison to other employees, because you are a woman/man? Gender comparison (% of respondents who answered "to a significant extent" or "to some extent", n = 833 salaried employees)

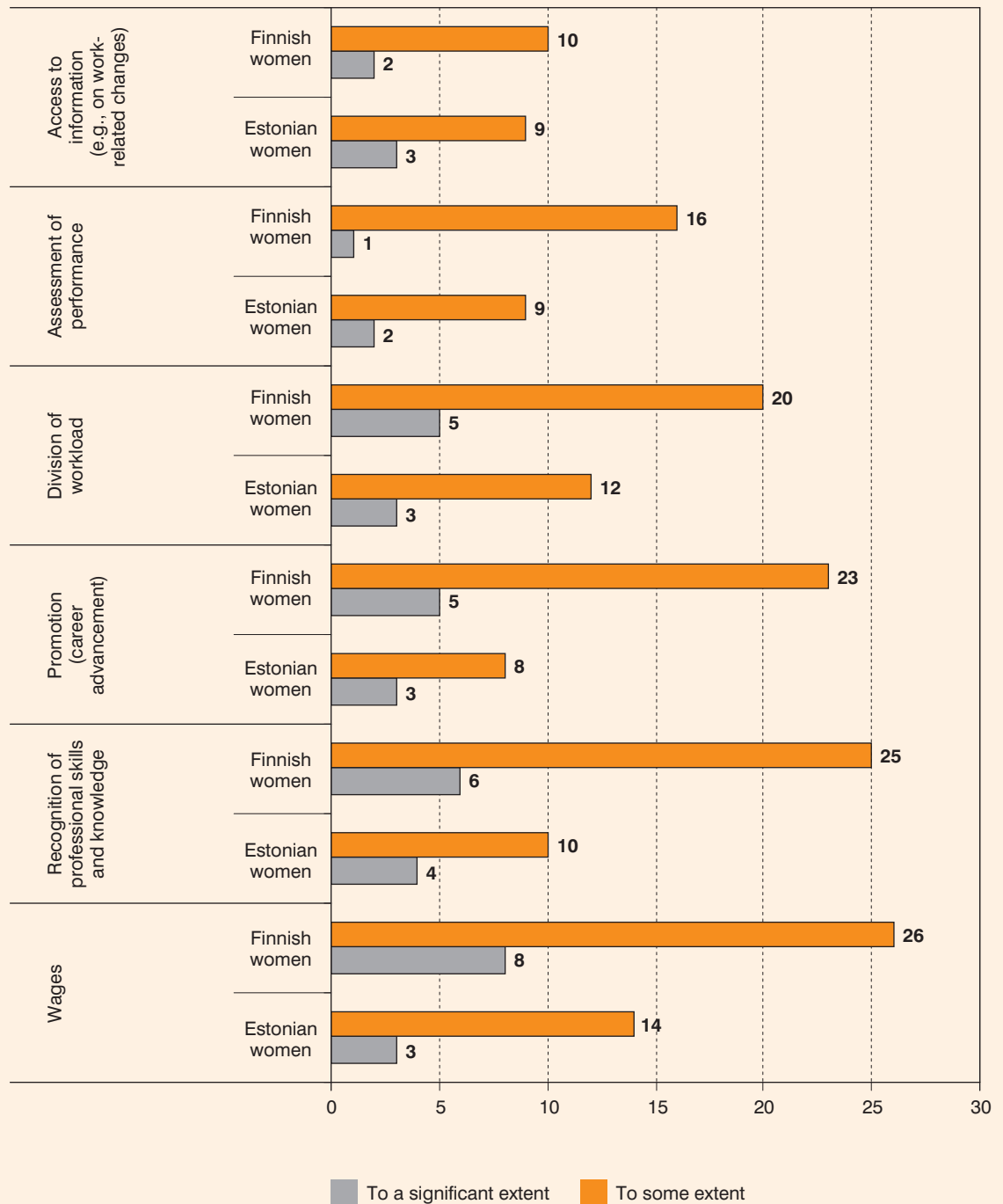


Source: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009

It is interesting to note that the difference in the level of inequality as perceived by women and men is smallest with regard to accessibility of information. In this aspect, persons of non-Estonian origin had a stronger perception of unequal treatment, with every sixth ethnic minority respondent reporting

experiences of this aspect of inequality (the assessments of women and men were similar). It is possible that people of other ethnic groups equate unequal treatment due to ethnicity or limited language skills with gender discrimination. The other possibility would be that these two characteristics have become

Figure 7. Have you experienced unequal treatment in any of the following aspects? (%)



Sources: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009 and Finnish Gender Equality Barometer 2008

intertwined and it could be a case of multiple discrimination, i.e., unequal treatment is based simultaneously on the person's gender and ethnicity.¹⁰

Considering the main indicators (gender pay gap, employment rate, segregation of occupations), women in the Finnish labour market are in a better position than women in Estonia. Despite the superiority of objective indicators in Finland, Finnish women report a higher level of experiences of unequal treatment in working life than Estonian women. They have perceived, more than twice as often as Estonian women, unequal treatment in connection with career advancement, recognition of professional skills, and remuneration. The perception of unequal treatment has increased in Finland continuously since the 1990s. It is likely that these attitudes of

Finnish women do not reflect a higher level of gender inequality in Finland but, rather, a higher level of awareness among the employees of the issues of gender inequality and of their rights, as well as better skills in recognising and disapproving of unequal treatment. Such interpretation is supported by the fact that unequal treatment is perceived, in particular, by women with better education.

Consequently, when Estonian people report only limited experiences of unequal treatment, it does not follow that the problem of unequal treatment does not exist in Estonia. In fact, the prevalence of this attitude itself indicates that the problem is not recognised. In conclusion, it seems that a low level of awareness among employees is a significant factor for the entire issue of unequal treatment in working life.

Finnish women are more perceptive of gender-based unequal treatment than Estonian women.

2.3. Equality in working life

While the previous section examined the different attitudes and experiences of women and men with regard to working life, this section discusses the opinions of Estonian residents about the opportunities of women and men in working life. Even though more than half of respondents (53%) believed that men have somewhat or significantly better opportunities in working life, a relatively large percentage thought that women and men have equal opportunities in employment.

8% of the respondents believed that women have better opportunities in working life. However, women had a stronger perception of inequality, feeling that men are favoured in the labour market. Slightly less than two thirds of women (60%) and almost half of men (46%) thought that men have better opportunities. Men had a stronger belief that women and men have equal opportunities in working life (29% of women vs. 41% of men).

The number of persons without an opinion on this issue has decreased in comparison to 2005 (5% vs. 16%). However, the share of persons who believe that men have better opportunities in working life than women has not changed significantly over the same period.

The number of those who believe that women and men have equal opportunities in working life or that women have better opportunities has increased in four years on account of those who did not have an opinion in 2005. It is a matter of conjecture whether the attitudes have been affected by the frequent public debates on employment issues and on the opportunities of women and men in the last four years (e.g., discussions on the new Employment Contracts Act, increasing awareness of the gender wage gap, implementation of Structural Funds). The attitudes may also be influenced by the knowledge that, in terms of employment, men were hit harder by the economic crisis than women.

¹⁰ On multiple discrimination and intersectionality, see Koobak 2007, Sepper and Albi 2010.

3. Income and financial dependence

Financial dependence or independence and inequality of women and men are linked to several social problems. A financially dependent person is more likely to experience unequal division of power in the family, domestic violence, poverty at a later stage of life, etc. As the wages and earnings of women are, on average, lower than those of men, women in Estonia tend to be more frequently at risk of financial dependence.

The attitudes of Estonian people with regard to ensuring financial subsistence are somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, there is a common belief in Estonia that the man should be the main breadwinner in the household and this attitude seems to be perpetuated, in particular, by men themselves. Namely, two thirds of men and slightly over one third of women support the idea that the man should be the main breadwinner in the family. This result reflects the notion that men are responsible for financial subsistence of their families. This attitude could receive an additional boost from the gender wage gap in Estonia, which is the largest in the European Union. Equally, if men are seen as the main breadwinners, this has an impact on the wages of women, indirectly justifying the payment of lower remuneration to women than to men.

On the other hand, Estonia has a high employment rate of women, and the current economic situation and consumption preferences require women to contribute to the household budget. However, when asked who should be responsible for ensuring financial subsistence of the family, Estonian people tend to support the position that it is a task of both partners, women and men. Here again, respondents from minority ethnic groups,

and men in particular, favour a somewhat more conservative view. Every tenth ethnic minority man believed that only men should be responsible for financial subsistence of their families. Receiving separate income does not always ensure a sense of financial independence. In families where one member receives a significantly higher income than the other, the lifestyle and consumption patterns of the spouse with higher earnings could create a feeling in the other spouse that she or he is financially dependent, despite also having an own source of income.

Financial independence of women is held in high regard in Estonia. For instance, when comparing with European indicators, Estonian people tend to support, somewhat more than the European average, the idea that women definitely need their own income. According to the results of the 2009 survey, 53% of Estonian respondents completely agreed with that statement, while only 41% of the respondents from other European countries supported that view (Eurobarometer).¹¹ Similarly, GEM 2009 confirmed that financial independence is as important for women as it is for men in the opinion of the majority of Estonian residents.

Income and financial dependence are largely related to a person's lifecycle. With regard to differences between genders, financial independence and being the highest-earning member of the household tend to be the characteristics of older women (who often live alone and cannot rely on someone else's income). In their younger years, while they are still studying or have not yet established themselves in the labour market, young women and men often depend on their parents. This dependence on parents is similar

¹¹ The results of the Eurobarometer and the Gender Equality Monitoring are similar. 84% of Estonians and 81% of Europeans rather or completely agreed with the statement that women certainly need a separate income (Eurobarometer). In 2009, 85% of Estonian residents supported the idea that financial independence is as important for women as it is for men (Gender Equality Monitoring).

The majority of men believe that they should be the breadwinners in the family.

for women and for men in the youngest age group (15-19 years), but in their twenties, young women remain slightly more dependent than young men. One reason for this higher dependence of women could be their longer education path, which means that their working life starts later than that of young men.

Furthermore, women in their twenties are likely to give birth to their first child (children) and, as a result, are temporarily absent from the labour market, which could also affect the income of women. Being a parent and being married are the two main factors that influence the likelihood of women being financially dependent on their partners. Nearly half (45%) of women who are officially married depend financially on their husbands. Financial dependence is also a reality for over half (54%) of the mothers of minor children, and even more for women who are on parental leave (56%) or stay at home (87%). In adulthood, financial independence of women is largely dependent on their care responsibilities. Consequently, a more balanced division of care responsibilities between women and men could facilitate greater financial independence of women.

The following example is also reflective of the importance of work and financial independence for Estonian people. All GEM surveys have included a question on whether the respondent would prefer to have a job if their spouse (partner) earned enough money for normal living expenses and there would be no immediate need for the respondent to work (find employment). In 2009, the majority of respondents stated that having a job was important to them and they would not like to give that up. The main difference between women and men was that more women than men preferred to have a part-time job. The preference for part-time work was particularly high among women with minor children: every second mother (53%) and only every fourth father (26%) would have preferred such an arrangement of work in 2009. On the one hand, this difference could

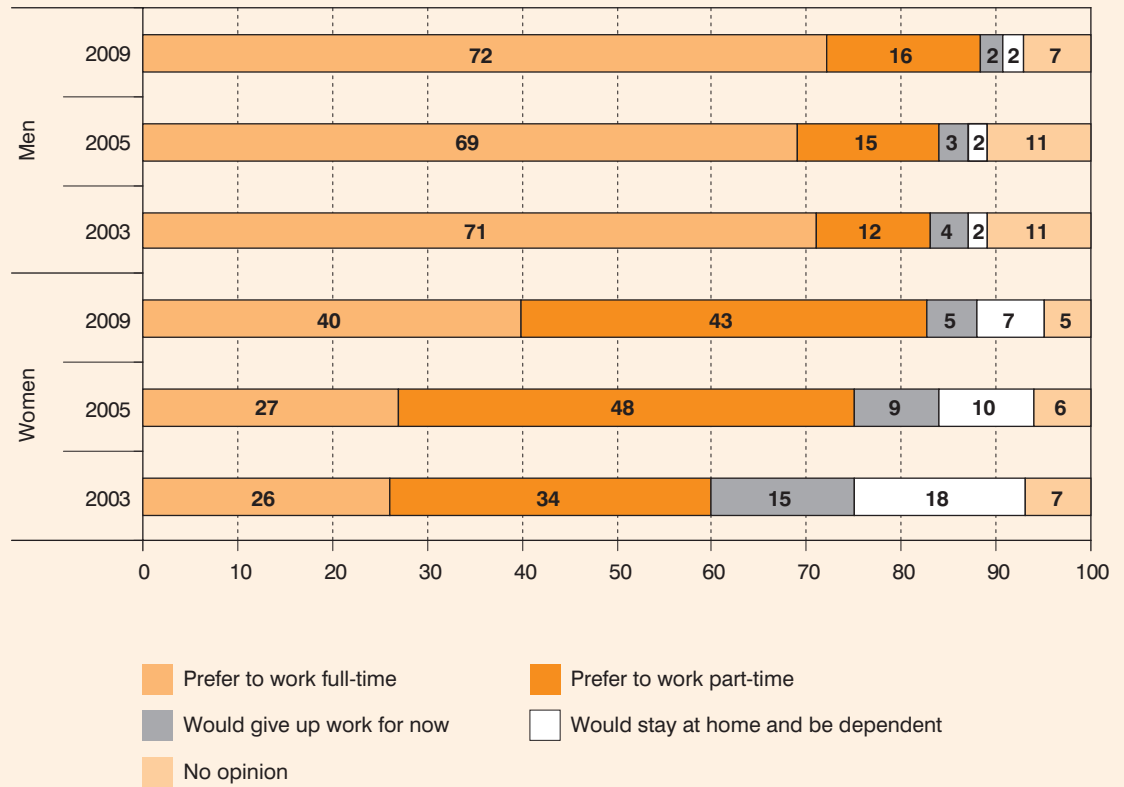
be reflective of the higher housework load of women and their problems with balancing work and family life, but on the other hand, it could also reflect general role expectations, according to which women are supposed to dedicate more time to caring for family members. Slightly more women than men reported that if they did not have to work for financial reasons, they would be willing to give up their job to stay at home and be dependent on their spouse (partner) (Figure 8). It should be noted that employment was least important for ethnic minority women. Nevertheless, in comparison to 2005, the importance of employment for women of minority ethnic groups has almost doubled, while the share of women willing to give up their job has more than halved.

It is unclear how much of this change was caused by increased awareness of the importance of independence or by the impact of the economic crisis. In the latter case, the family's dependence on only one wage might feel too uncertain.

The most important change in the attitudes after 2003 has been the women's increased interest in having a job even if it is not needed financially. At the same time, the opinions of men have remained relatively unchanged. The women's desire to give up employment permanently or temporarily has decreased significantly since 2003, while – and this is the most significant finding – the share of women wanting to have full-time jobs has gone up considerably in comparison to 2005. This could be a consequence of the recession. As the income of many people has decreased during the past year and competition in the labour market has intensified, salaried workers are less willing to change their jobs and are increasingly preferring full-time positions, which offer a stable (and higher) income. In addition, leaving only one member of the family to bear the responsibility for breadwinning could seem like an excessive risk during the period of an unstable labour market.

More than every second mother of a minor child is financially dependent on her partner.

**Figure 8. Would you prefer to have a job if your spouse (partner) earned enough money for normal living expenses and there would be no immediate need for you to work or find employment? (% , N = 1517, all respondents)
GEM 2009, 2005 and 2003, comparison**



Sources: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009, 2005, 2003

4. Balancing work and family

Balancing work and family life should not be seen solely as a women's responsibility.

Formally, women and men have equal rights and opportunities in dividing work and family responsibilities, but these rights are usually not realised. The demands of work and family life are often conflicting. Work in the modern, globalising world tends to be very stressful and highly competitive, requiring excellent time management skills. Similarly, family requires a lot of time. Indeed, in comparison to many other countries (e.g., in Western Europe), Estonia has a relatively developed childcare system (Plantega 2009). Nevertheless, children, especially pre-school

children, as well as the elderly, who are in need of care, or disabled persons require much attention and significant amounts of time from their family members. The majority of such care responsibilities are borne by women. This is mainly associated with role expectations: we know that women are expected to be primarily carers for their families and men are expected to be breadwinners. In the following, we examine the family-friendliness of Estonian employers in the opinion of their employees, as well as the division of housework in Estonian families.

4.1. Attitudes of employers

In order to improve the balance of work and family life, the state offers employees various measures, from cash benefits to leave opportunities. The share of men among the users of such measures, designed to improve the balance of work and family life, has slightly increased over the past seven years, for instance in the case of taking leave to care for an ill child or using the parental benefit. Nevertheless, the majority of the measures offered to parents are still used by women (see Figure 9).

The perceived attitude of the employer is an important factor for women and men in the issue of balancing their work and family life. GEM 2009 measured the perceived opportunities for balancing work and family life across a range of topics, with two of these topics – use of the parental benefit to stay home with a child and use of leave to care for an ill child – being discussed below in greater detail.

If there is indeed an aspiration to achieve equality in working life, the conflict between work and family life should not be regarded only as a mothers' problem. However, employers seem to be more accepting of the women's need to take care of family responsibilities. The results of GEM 2009 indicated that when women stay at home after the birth of a child, it is usually accepted by both female and male workers' organisations. The situation becomes more complicated when it is the father who would like to stay home. Nearly half of men claimed that this would be difficult in their organisation. In the perception of women, employers were somewhat more accommodating to fathers. The most optimistic view on this question was expressed by women of Estonian ethnicity, with every fourth believing that it would not be a problem in their organisation if a father wanted to stay at home during the period of parental benefit.

Almost half of the women said that it would not be complicated in their organisation for a

mother to stay home with a sick child, while a third of the women expressed the opposite opinion.

Both women and men perceived that staying at home to take care for an ill child was somewhat, but not significantly more difficult for fathers than for mothers. This perception could be a result of several factors: to begin with, modern means of communication enable many employees to perform their duties (temporarily) at home and, in addition, more fathers are actually staying at home with their ill children (see Figure 10). As a result, many employers have first-hand experience with fathers who stay at home when their child is sick.

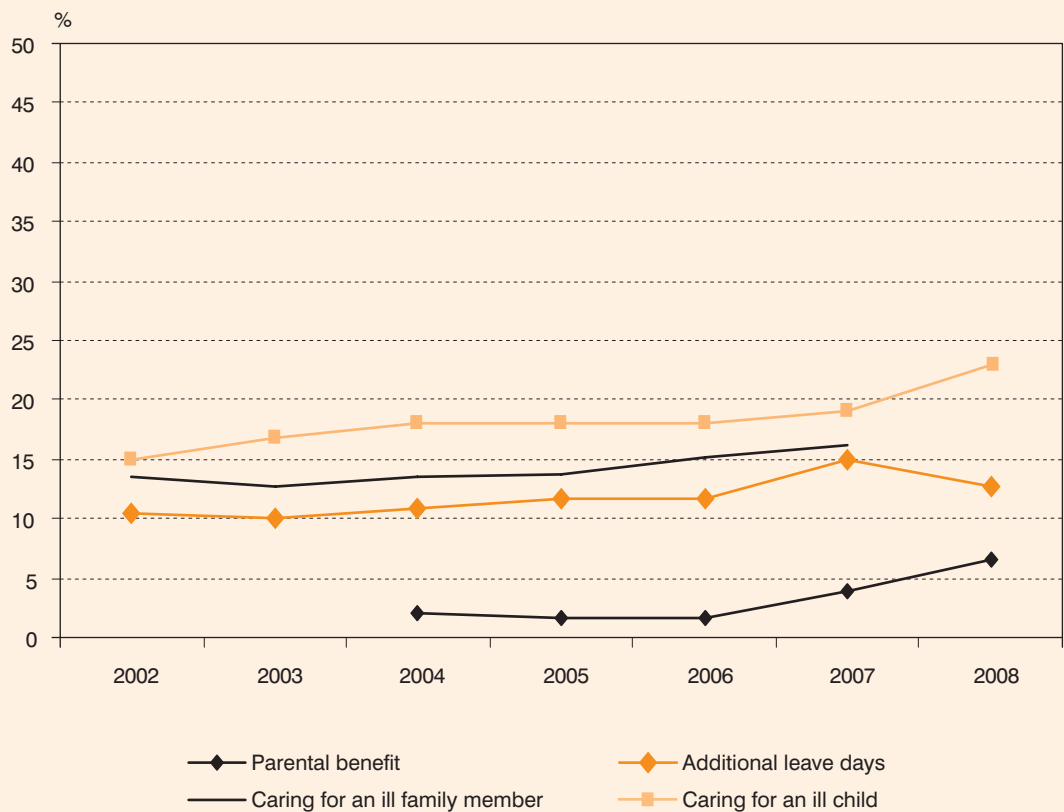
Two general trends are noticeable in connection with the aforementioned questions on balancing work and family life. Firstly, women are more optimistic about the opportunities of balancing work and family life. Secondly, it is somewhat worrying that quite a large portion of ethnic minority women perceived their employer to be unsympathetic to both mothers and fathers who would like to use the available opportunities for balancing work and family life. It means that there are more ethnic minority women who believe that balancing work and family life is more complicated for women. What could be the reasons for this perception? Could it be caused by the disadvantageous and insecure position of ethnic minority women in the labour market or the fact that they have markedly different places of employment and employers than ethnic Estonians? Or is the reason associated with their limited knowledge of their rights due to a language barrier? Or is it something else?

Looking at other indicators of work and family-friendliness of employers, it seems that teleworking is seen as the most complicated issue in the case of both mothers and fathers: teleworking would be very difficult or somewhat difficult to arrange in their places of employment according to 42% of the respondents. This is followed, in the ranking of difficulty (with 32%), by fathers using the pa-

According to the common perception, it is difficult for fathers to balance their work and family life.

Part-time work and teleworking seem to be the most difficult aspects for parents to achieve when trying to balance work and family life.

Figure 9. Share of men among the users of public benefits for parents, 2002-2008



Sources: Health Insurance Fund, Social Insurance Board, calculations by the author

The 2008 Annual Report of the Health Insurance Board does not include a division of the certificates for care leave by gender.

rental leave until the child attains three years of age or during the period of parental benefit (which could range from one month to almost a year).

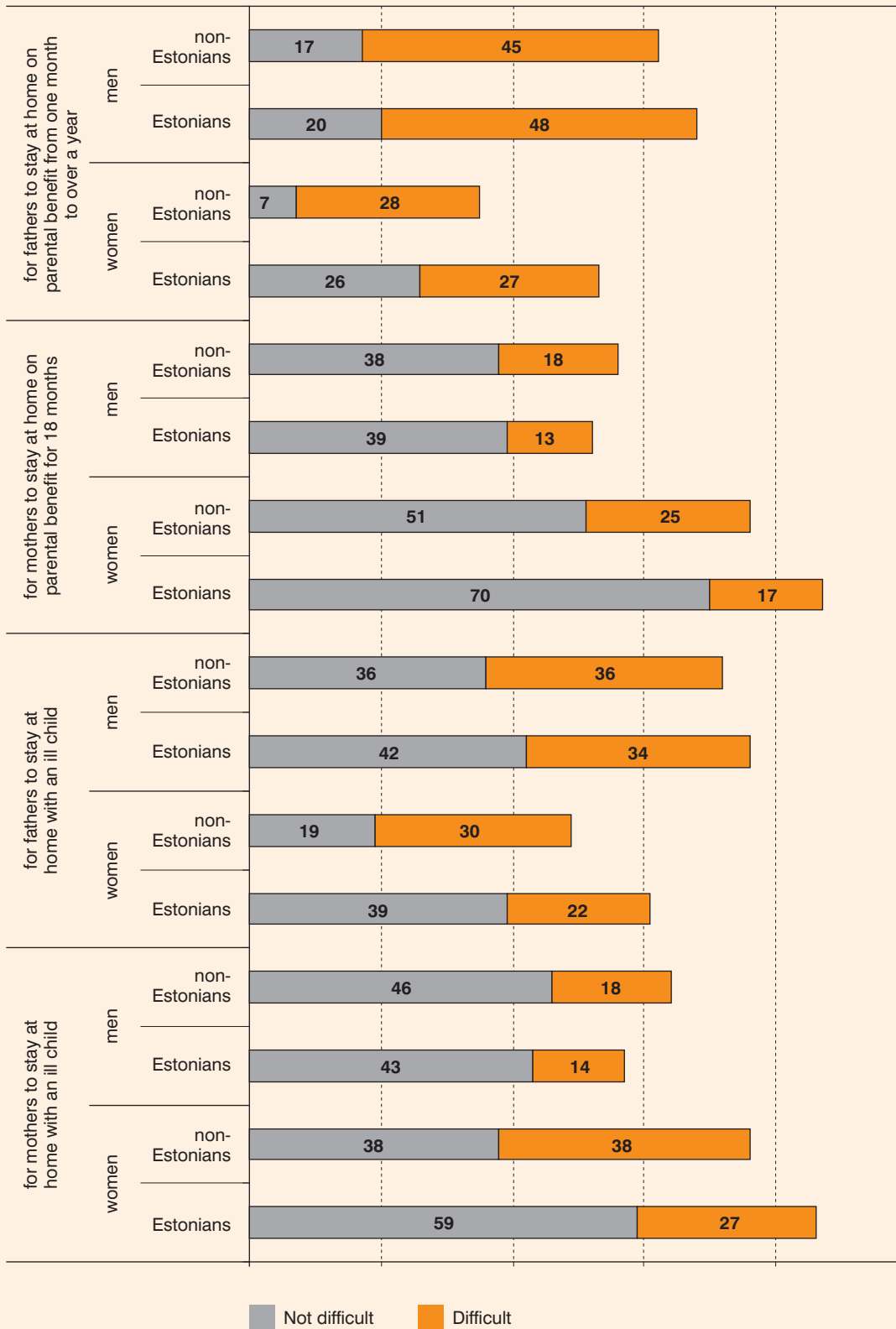
The perceived difficulty of refusing overtime is quite similar in the case of mothers and fathers (28% for mothers, 31% for fathers). Staying at home to care for a child who has fallen ill is seen as slightly more complicated in the case of fathers (23% for mothers, 29% for fathers).

The perceived level of difficulty of returning to work after parental leave is similar for both mothers and fathers: every fourth respondent believed that it would be complicated in their place of employment. The perceived levels of difficulty were lowest in the case of

mothers staying at home for the period of parental benefit (17%) or for the period of parental leave until the child attains three years of age (20%), and mothers staying home if their child is ill (23%). The perceived opposition of employers to fathers taking paternity leave, i.e., ten days of leave after the birth of their child, was also relatively low.

These perceptions of the difficulty of balancing work and family life in the places of employment are reflective of the attitudes and experiences of both the people themselves and their employers, as well as of the situation in the labour market. For instance, people find that it is easier to use measures that have been provided by law for a long time and with which they have had experiences in their organisation (e.g., parental leave of

Figure 10. **Would it be difficult in your place of employment ...?**
 (% , N = 833, salaried workers)



Source: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009

mothers). At the same time, the described perceptions indicate that, of all the measures for balancing work and family life, flexible

work arrangements are the most difficult to achieve. For example, part-time work is relatively uncommon in Estonia: about 10% of

women and 4% of men held part-time jobs in 2008. The respective indicators of part-time work in the European Union were 31% for women and 8% for men (European Commission 2010). A reason for the limited popularity of this measure could be the low wage level, which does not guarantee subsistence in the case of part-time work.

Unlike parental leave or leave to care for an ill child, part-time work in Estonia is currently not a right granted to parents by law. There is no legal obligation for employers to enable parents to work part-time. Instead, the working time and arrangements are subject to agreement between the employee and the employer.

The situation with the use of parental benefit and staying at home with a child is a problem for fathers. At first glance, the parental leave and parental benefit seem like gender-neutral measures, but women have been envisaged as the main users of these measures. Indeed, this has been the case so far: men

only accounted for 1-2% of the recipients of the parental benefit during the first years of the benefit; this indicator had risen to 8% by 2009. Consequently, the fact that this measure is used overwhelmingly by women could be a reason why people believe that it would be complicated for fathers to stay at home. In addition, it could be an issue of segregation: women often work in organisations with predominantly female staff and such employers are used to the situation where women go on parental leave. At the same time, employers in organisations with predominantly male staff are not supportive of parental leave, because they are not used to it. In addition, women themselves could prevent men from staying at home, if they see it as contradicting their role as a woman and try to protect their position as the 'primary parent'. Consequently, if there is a desire in Estonia to increase the share of fathers among the parents who stay at home with the child, action should be taken to reduce the perceived difficulty of fathers staying at home among employees.

4.2. Housework

Even today, the life of many women in Estonia is characterised by a double burden (Einhorn 1993) or 'second shift' (this term was introduced in 1989 by Arlie Hochschild). The fact that Estonian women bear the majority of housework responsibilities after their paid work is corroborated, for example, by the Time Use Survey (1999), which indicated that married or co-habiting men worked more than women and exceeded the minimum required working time in their salaried work, on average, by more than an hour (72 min) per day. However, married or co-habiting women spent an average of two and a half hours (154 min) more per day on unpaid housework and caring for children (Statistics Estonia).

Both the GEM 2005 and 2009 confirm that the division of housework responsibilities

between women and men has remained relatively unchanged. The division of labour in Estonian families follows the stereotypical pattern, in which women are generally responsible for daily and routine housework. For example, in the majority of families, women are in charge of maintaining the clothes and doing the laundry (80%) and daily cooking (70%). In nearly two thirds of the families, women are also responsible for keeping in touch with schools or nursery schools, washing dishes, cleaning the rooms, and maintaining the flower garden.

Daily grocery shopping is the task of women in half of the families. It also turned out that women in Estonian families are often responsible for managing household finances, which could be stereotypically classified as a men's task. The results of GEM 2009 indicate that typical male tasks in Estonian families are household repairs (79%) and maintain-

Women are responsible for daily and routine housework in the majority of Estonian families.

ing the car (65%). However, this type of work does not require daily commitment in many families and it is often bought as a service from specialised businesses.

Equal division of housework, with shared responsibility for financial affairs, daily shopping, cooking and maintaining the car, was more common among couples with higher education. Management of finances was more often left to the women in ethnic minority families (classified according to the language used in domestic communication). Men in ethnic minority families contributed more to washing dishes and cleaning the rooms than men of Estonian ethnicity (19% vs. 10% in both cases). In the last 10 or 20 years, European gender equality policies have started to pay more attention to the division of housework and childcare responsibilities between

women and men. It has been concluded that unequal division of labour in the family could be a reason why efforts to ensure equality of women and men in public life have not produced the desired results. Consequently, there is now an understanding that the division of housework between women and men could be an important factor for achieving equality of women and men in public life. In the Estonian context, it should also be emphasised that greater participation in family life strengthens close relationships of men, reduces their risk behaviours, and reinforces their psychological well-being. Consequently, one of the major challenges for future policies on gender equality and the reconciliation of work and family life is to find a way to achieve a more balanced division of housework and childcare responsibilities between women and men.

Equal division of domestic responsibilities supports participation of women in public life and strengthens men's family ties.

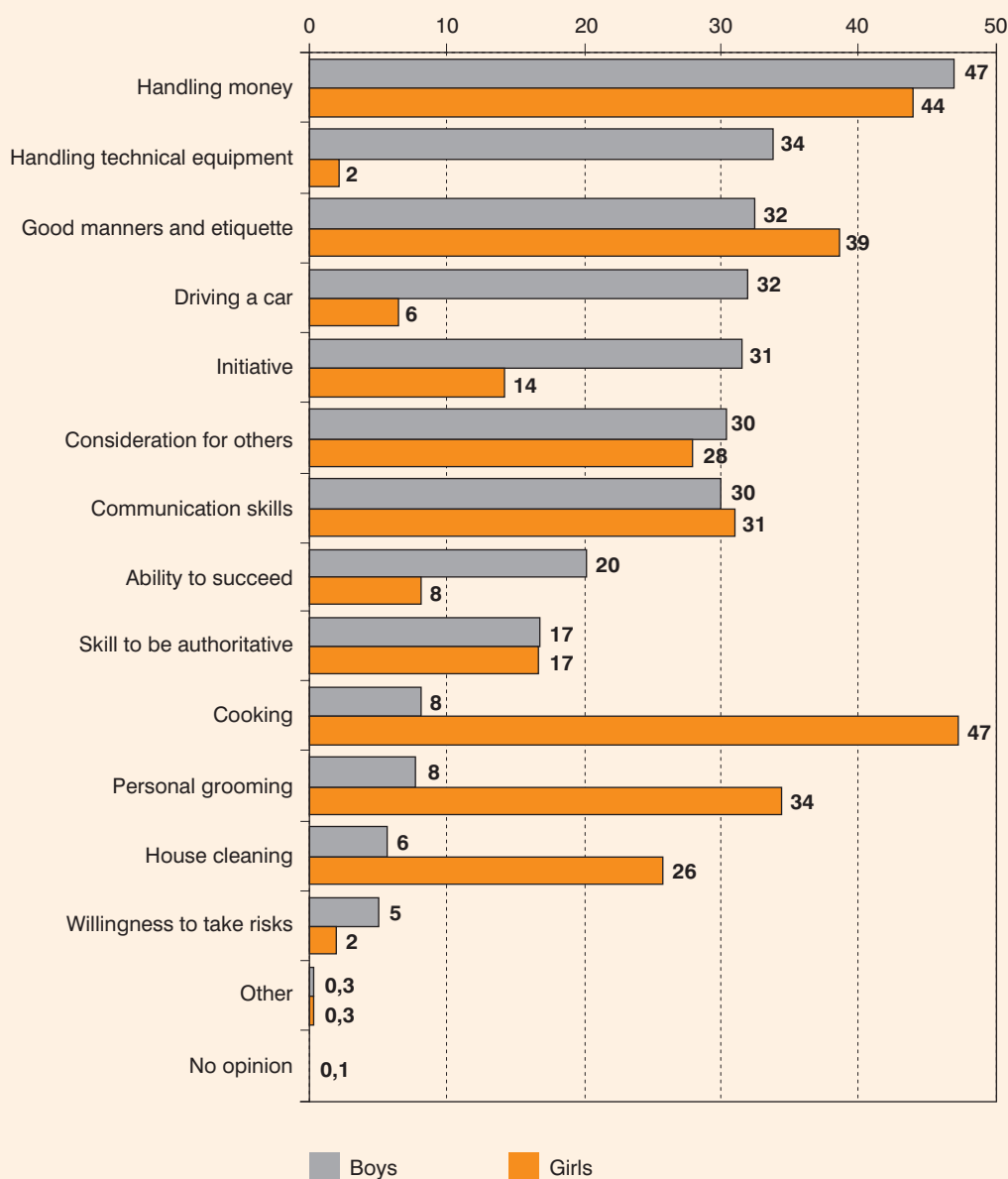
5. Upbringing of children

The roles of women and men in work and family life are largely influenced by the attitudes and values learned during childhood. The values that are considered important in the upbringing of children – both girls and boys – are relevant from the viewpoint of promoting gender equality as well. It is natural to assume that parents want to teach their children skills and values that will presumably be useful in society. The beliefs about the necessary skills and characteristics also indicate whether upbringing supports elimination or reinforcement of gender stereotypes. Consequently, the current attitudes with regard to the upbringing of children provide a good indication of whether they will support the emergence of equal roles in the future.

The aspects that are considered important for the development of girls and boys were investigated in the Gender Equality Monitoring surveys of 2009 and 2005 (Figure 12). The respondents were given a list of 13 skills and

characteristics and were asked to select the three, which they thought were the most important for boys and girls. The skills that were considered most essential remained almost unchanged between the surveys; there were only some changes in their ranking. Cooking was the skill that was mentioned most frequently in connection with girls in GEM 2009; it was followed by handling of money, good manners and etiquette, and personal grooming. In the case of boys, the most important skills were thought to be the skill to handle money and technical equipment, followed by good manners and car driving. Initiative was also seen as an important characteristic for boys. It should be pointed out that the expectations concerning the necessary skills and characteristics of girls and boys are markedly different. It is also noteworthy that, in connection with the upbringing of girls, men were more often interested in developing traditional housewife skills, such as home cleaning (men 29% vs. women 23%)

Figure 11. **Skills and characteristics that should be developed with particular consideration in the upbringing of boys and girls, three answers (% , N = 1517)**



Source: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009

and cooking (men 53% vs. women 42%), as well as personal grooming skills (men 40% vs. women 30%). There were notable differences between ethnicities in terms of skills that were considered important for children. Women of other ethnic groups and men

showed a much stronger support for developing stereotypical skills and characteristics in children.¹²

The skill to handle money was ranked third in 2005 in the case of both girls and boys, but

¹² For example, teaching boys how to drive a car was supported by 45% of men of other ethnic groups and 32% of men of Estonian ethnicity, 38% of women of other ethnic groups and 24% of women of Estonian ethnicity. At the same time, teaching girls how to cook was supported by 62% of men of other ethnic groups and 50% of men of Estonian ethnicity, 48% of women of other ethnic groups and 29% of women of Estonian ethnicity.

in 2009, it was ranked first in the case of boys and second in the case of girls. It seems that the economic crisis has affected the attitudes of people, demonstrating that knowledge of the basic principles of using money is important for everyone, women and men.

Overall, it can still be concluded that the attitudes about the upbringing of children support reinforcement of traditional gender stereotypes. Boys tend to be guided towards self-accomplishment in the public sphere and in 'masculine' fields – they are expected to work with cars and technical equipment. The upbringing of girls is focused primarily on household matters – for them, it is important to know how to cook, be polite, and look pretty. Money is required for both cars and cooking; consequently, the skill to handle money is believed to be useful in the future for both girls and boys. Similarly, good man-

ners and etiquette are universal requirements for both in order to be successful in social relations in and outside the family. Consideration for others and communication skills were ranked equally in the middle for both girls and boys – this is an encouraging sign. However, generally, the beliefs about important aspects in the upbringing of girls and boys do not suggest that there has been a change towards greater equality in perceived gender roles. It seems that even if a significant portion of Estonian people is increasingly thinking of gender equality as a public benefit, this attitude has not found a reflection in practice or in the beliefs associated with day-to-day matters, such as the upbringing of children. If stereotypical gender roles are the guiding principles in the upbringing of children, it will be difficult in the future to achieve greater equality in the behaviour of women and men in the labour market or in family life.

6. Safety

Everyone should have the right to security of person and a possibility to lead a life without experiencing or being afraid of violence. Like other areas of social life, the issues of safety and violence reflect the general power relations between genders and gender stereotypes in society. While men experience violence mainly in public places, with strangers being the main perpetrators, mistreatment of women usually occurs in the family and the perpetrator is the spouse or partner of the woman (Ministry of Social Affairs, gender.sm.ee). According to latest data (see the results of the Safety Survey in the database of Statistics Estonia), women and men in Estonia have had a similar amount of experiences of violence in their relationships, but the nature of these experiences is quite different, depending on gender: the consequences of violence are significantly harder on women. Therefore, the different experiences and perceptions of violence of women and men need to be taken into account when developing and implementing police services, victim

support services and other similar services. The following sections discuss some issues associated with safety and violence: gender-based violence (incl. prostitution) and different perception of safety by women and men.

The concept of safety is usually associated with experiences of violence and crime. The GEM 2009 survey examined whether and to what extent people are afraid of violence in various life situations. The results indicated that neither women nor men are generally afraid of violence at work or at home. However, they are more wary cautious in public, e.g., when walking outside during the evening or using public transport. It should be noted that women are significantly more fearful and cautious than men: nearly a half of women and less than a quarter of men were often or sometimes afraid to walk outside in the evening or during the night. Every tenth man and every fourth woman felt, always or frequently, a need to be cautious when using public transport. This raises the question:

Nearly a half of women and almost a quarter of men are afraid to walk alone in the evening or during the night.

Women and men have had experiences with sexual harassment in almost equal measure.

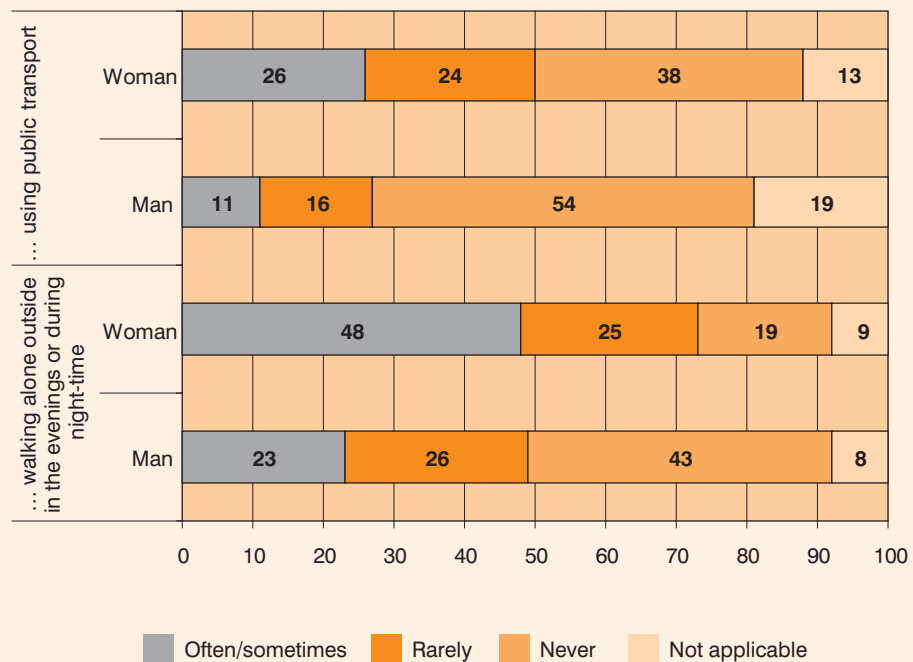
why is public space, which should be safe for all citizens, seen as such a dangerous place? The question whether there are objective reasons or whether it is a feeling caused by gender roles and stereotypes cannot be answered on these pages.

The common opinion is that sexual harassment is a phenomenon of working life and it is often understood as unwanted sexual attention from a man in a higher position towards a female subordinate. The results of GEM 2009 indicate that even though a quarter of Estonian people have experienced some form of sexual harassment, these experiences are quite evenly distributed between women and men. For instance, almost every fifth woman and every seventh man has had

to tolerate unwelcome dirty jokes or obscene remarks from a person of the opposite gender in the past year. 9% of women and 7% of men had experienced unwanted proposals or intimations about sexual intercourse. Women had heard, more than men, offensive comments about their figure or sexuality and they had also received more lewd messages, e-mails, and comments.

In comparison to 2005, there were 6% more women who had received lewd messages, e-mails or comments from a representative of the opposite gender during the year before the survey. The intensified use of media, such as mobile services and the Internet opportunities, could be one of the reasons for this increase.

Figure 12. **Assessment of personal sense of safety. (% , N = 1517)**
Are you afraid of becoming a victim of violence or does it make you cautious in the following situations? (% , N = 1517)



Source: Gender Equality Monitoring 2009

6.1. Prostitution and measures to reduce it

Buying sex is a form of gender-based violence: it is often linked with financial inequality, mental vulnerability, and physical, sexual and psychological violence. Prostitution is a gendered phenomenon. Women are primarily involved in prostituting¹³, while men are usually the clients. There are some exceptions, but they only confirm this general trend. It should be said that, generally, Estonian people are rather tolerant about buying sex. Most Estonian residents are neutral about the fact that there are people who buy sex from persons involved in prostitution. The level of tolerance is highest among ethnic minority men and lowest among ethnic Estonian and minority women. The respondents were also relatively neutral about whether the buyer of sex was a man or a woman. More than half (58%) of the respondents thought that it would be acceptable for women to buy sex and the tolerance was even higher with regard to men (67%). Men tend to be more tolerant about buying sex in the case of both female and male clients.

Different countries have adopted very different national policies on prostitution. In some European countries (e.g., Germany, the Netherlands), prostitution is legal and regu-

lated; it is seen as a form of business. Many other countries (incl. Estonia) would like to restrict prostitution and have implemented various measures (sometimes even simultaneously). A common approach, which has been adopted in Estonia as well, is to punish procurers. Another option would be to punish the person engaged in prostitution. Both of these measures focus on suppressing the supply side of the sex business. However, a few countries have started to address the demand side of prostitution and have established punishments for the buyers of sex, without whom this system could not persist (Luht 2010).

In Estonia, the most supported measure for restricting prostitution is punishing the pimps and the persons involved in prostitution, whereby the opinions of women and men on this matter are rather similar. Nearly three-quarters of the respondents believed that pimps should be punished and almost two-thirds said that persons involved in prostitution need to be punished. The youngest respondents (15-19 years) were more critical than others about this measure. The measure of punishing the buyer of sex did not receive strong support from Estonian residents, but the support was not marginal, either: a fifth of men and a third of women believe that the buyers of sex should be punished.

A third of women and a fifth of men support punishments for buyers of sex.

Conclusion

Gender inequality is not perceived as an acute problem in Estonian society and the level of knowledge about gender equality is significantly lower than in Finland. There is ample room for development in terms of raising awareness of the equality and inequality between women and men. It is important to note that the perception of gender inequality is stronger among women, and women also

express greater support for gender equality. For instance, women felt more often than men that men had a better position in society, and they also supported greater integration of men into traditional 'female' fields: taking care of children, working in social welfare and healthcare. However, it is somewhat worrying that the awareness of inequality of women and men is lower among ethnic mi-

¹³ A person involved in prostitution is a person who regularly or occasionally receives money or goods in exchange for satisfying the sexual needs of another person, irrespective of whether or not she or he considers this activity as a source of income.

norities and younger people, whose attitudes on several issues were strongly supportive of traditional gender roles.

The perception of inequality of women and men in working life is relatively similar to the general perception of inequality. Again, women are more sensitive to inequality and have experienced unequal treatment on more occasions than men. Nevertheless, the reported level of unequal treatment in working life is significantly lower in Estonia than in Finland, which could be explained by a higher level of awareness of these issues among Finns. Women were also more supportive of the idea of women in top executive positions. It turned out that the respondents' experiences with their own superiors influenced their opinions about female executives.

With regard to reconciliation of work and family, the respondents felt that the measures accepted with the least amount of reluctance by their employers included parental leave for the period of parental benefit, or for a longer period, and care leave taken to care for an ill child. These are all very common and legally established measures, which are used mainly by women. The perceived opportunities for fathers to balance their work and family life were more limited and both female and male respondents felt that employers were often reluctant to consider flexible work arrangements.

The idea of financial independence of women is supported by the majority of Estonian residents. Financial dependence is associated with a person's lifecycle. Initially, during the study period, young women and men are equally dependent. However, after creating a family and having children, women become financially dependent on their partners: this happens to almost half of the mothers of minor children. However, at an older age, women tend to be financially independent. Financial independence is an important ideal for both women and men, as confirmed by the fact that people generally would like to con-

tinue working even if their partner earned enough money for the whole family.

The attitudes about the upbringing of children tend to strengthen and reinforce stereotypes, rather than destroy them. Development of skills associated with public life is expected from boys, while traditional feminine characteristics and skills are preferred in the case of girls.

The perception of safety is, in some sense, similar among women and men. For instance, both groups are afraid of violence and tend to be cautious in public space, but not at home or at work. However, public transportation and streets seem to be much more daunting places for women than for men.

Prostitution is a fairly tolerated phenomenon in Estonia. When talking about measures to reduce prostitution, people tend to prefer punishing persons engaged in prostitution and pimps, rather than sex buyers. Support for prostitution is lower among women and the idea of punishing the buyers of sex is also more favoured among women.

The current situation, where inequality is not perceived as a matter of concern, does certainly not mean that inequality of women and men is not a real problem in our society. Quite the opposite: inequality of men and women is linked with many important social problems, which could have serious and expensive consequences for the entire society. The fact that inequality of women and men is hidden and unacknowledged only perpetuates this situation, because people see no need or reason to interfere.

Previous measures for raising awareness have had a positive impact and there is a slight trend towards increasing awareness in Estonian society. For instance, the number of respondents without an opinion on the subject of equality has decreased considerably. On some issues, the attitudes have become more supportive of equality, or people have learned to notice inequality (e.g., women in politics,

the role of fathers in families). Public debates on the gender wage gap, the role of fathers, single parenting, and domestic violence have become somewhat livelier. It is a pleasing development. However, there remains the question whether such a slow rate of progress is advisable.

There is no direct causal link between attitudes and behaviour, and a change in attitudes can affect behaviour only to a certain extent. Consequently, policies that focus

primarily on protecting rights (e.g., laws) and raising the awareness have only limited power to change the behaviour. Therefore, it could be asked whether the education of our people on the issues of gender inequality and equality should be improved by continuing to use 'soft' measures, or whether a further step should be taken by implementing measures which would have a direct impact on the behaviour (e.g., gender quotas, ban on the buying of sex, inclusion of 'daddy months' in the parental benefit, etc.).

Policy recommendations

- Raise awareness, encourage public debates and research on the consequences of inequality and the lack of gender equality for the entire society.
- Step up the development of awareness-raising actions for the Russian-speaking part of the population, where the level of awareness of gender inequality is lower and the attitudes tend to reinforce gender stereotypes.
- Develop awareness-raising actions for children and young people, paying particular attention to young men. This is a group whose views on some issues are more conservative than the average.
- Facilitate advancement of women to managerial and top executive positions to reduce vertical segregation of the labour market.
- Develop measures in education to reduce the reproduction of gender stereotypes.
- Promote wider utilisation of flexible work arrangements, which in turn would facilitate a better balance of work and family life for parents and would alleviate women's double burden.
- Increase the role of men in family life, encouraging them to take a more active role in housework and caring for children.
- Identify and analyse the factors that influence the subjective sense of safety in public space.
- Continue with public debates on the nature of prostitution and on the measures to restrict prostitution.

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WOMEN AND MEN IN ESTONIA: ATTITUDES AND SITUATION

POPULATION SURVEY

Name of the interviewer _____, certificate of employment no. _____

1. Region of the interview:

- 1 Tallinn
- 2 Harju county
- 3 Hiiu county
- 4 Ida-Viru county
- 5 Jõgeva county
- 6 Järva county
- 7 Lääne county
- 8 Lääne-Viru county
- 9 Põlva county
- 10 Pärnu county
- 11 Rapla county
- 12 Saare county
- 13 Tartu county
- 14 Valga county
- 15 Viljandi county
- 16 Võru county

2. Type of settlement:

- 1 capital
- 2 large city (Tartu, Pärnu, Narva, Kohtla-Järve)
- 3 county centre
- 4 other city, town
- 5 small town
- 6 village

3. Name of city district if the interview is held in Tallinn:

- 1 Northern Tallinn
- 2 Haabersti
- 3 City Centre
- 4 Kristiine
- 5 Lasnamäe
- 6 Pirita
- 7 Mustamäe
- 8 Nõmme

4. Sampling area _____

5. Sampling point no. _____

6. Respondent no. _____

7. Language of the interview:

- 1 Estonian
- 2 Russian

8. Date of the interview:

9. Start time of the interview:

_____ hours _____

The aim of this survey is to find out the opinions of Estonian people about the situation of women and men in Estonian society. You have been included in this survey through random sampling. Your answers will remain anonymous. This interview will last approximately one hour. I would like to start with questions about you.

A. GENERAL INFORMATION ON HOUSEHOLD AND HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

The first part of the survey concerns general information on your household and the members of your household.

Household is a group of people living principally in the same dwelling, i.e., at the same address, and using shared financial and/or food resources. Persons belonging to the household are household members. A single person is also a household.

A00 How many members belong to your household?

□□□

Now, let's talk separately about each member of your household, including yourself.

USE ADDITIONAL PAGE IF THERE ARE MORE THAN SIX MEMBERS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

	Column number	1	2	3	4	5	6
A0	Please state the first names of your household members (including yourself)						
A1	Please state /A0 – FIRST NAME OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBER/ gender 1 Male 2 Female	□	□	□	□	□	□
A2	State the date of birth of /A0/						
	day	□□	□□	□□	□□	□□	□□
	month	□□	□□	□□	□□	□□	□□
	year	□□□□	□□□□	□□□□	□□□□	□□□□	□□□□

ASK QUESTIONS A3-A5 ONLY ABOUT THE HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS WHO WERE BORN IN OR BEFORE 1994

A3	What is the legal marital status of /A0/? 1 single, has never been married → CONTINUE WITH A5 2 married 3 divorced → CONTINUE WITH A5 4 widowed → CONTINUE WITH A5	□	□	□	□	□	□
A4	Does /A0/ live with her/his legal spouse? 1 Yes → CONTINUE WITH A6 2 No	□	□	□	□	□	□
A5	Does /A0/ live in unregistered marriage / cohabitation? 1 Yes 2 No	□	□	□	□	□	□

	Column number	1	2	3	4	5	6
A6	Please state the type of blood relationship between /A0/ and yourself <i>CARD 1</i>						
	1 The interviewee her/himself						
	2 Your spouse	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _
	3 Your partner						
	4 Your child (incl. adopted)						
	5 Your partner's child (incl. adopted)						
	6 Your/your partner's foster-child						
	7 Your parent/foster-parent or her/his partner						
	8 Your or your partner's grandparent or her/his partner						
	9 Your or your partner's grandchild (incl. adopted)						
	10 Your or your partner's son's/daughter's spouse or partner – daughter/son-in-law						
	11 Father/mother-in-law						
	12 Sister, brother						
	13 Other relative						
	14 Non-relative						
	15 <i>did not know</i>						
	16 <i>refused to answer</i>						

ASK QUESTION A7 ONLY ABOUT THE HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS WHO WERE BORN IN OR BEFORE 1994

A7	Is /A0/ currently mainly... <i>CARD 2.</i>						
	1 full-time salaried worker						
	2 part-time salaried worker	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _
	3 full-time entrepreneur/employer, self-employed person, farmer without paid workers, freelancer, unsalaried worker in a family business (farm)						
	4 part-time entrepreneur/employer, self-employed person, farmer without paid workers, freelancer, unsalaried worker in a family business (farm)						
	5 unemployed						
	6 student, unsalaried trainee						
	7 early or old-age pensioner, farmer without paid workers, freelancer						
	8 person receiving pension for incapacity for work						
	9 homemaker, on parental leave						
	10 conscript						
	11 other inactive <i>SPECIFY</i> _____						

B. CHILDREN

Next, I would like to ask about children who are living separately from your household due to reasons other than studying.

B1 Do you or does your spouse/partner have children under 18 years of age, who live for half or more than half of the time in another household?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → *CONTINUE WITH C1*

B2 How many of such children under 18 years of age do you have?

□

B3 How many does your spouse/partner have?

□

B4 In your estimation, how much time this child spends/these children spend living in your household?

IF THERE ARE SEVERAL CHILDREN AND THEIR TIMES VARY, ASK ABOUT THE YOUNGEST CHILD (ONE ANSWER).

- 1 **Half of the time** → *CONTINUE WITH B6*
- 2 **A third of the time** → *CONTINUE WITH B6*
- 3 **Less than a third of the time**
- 4 *Did not know*

B5 How often do you (or does your spouse/partner) meet with this child/these children?

IF THERE ARE SEVERAL CHILDREN AND THE FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS VARIES, ASK ABOUT THE YOUNGEST CHILD (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 **Almost every day**
- 2 **At least once a week**
- 3 **At least once a month**
- 4 **At least once a year**
- 5 **Less frequently or never**
- 6 *Did not know*

B6 Do you or does your spouse/partner provide financial support for the children who do not live permanently in your household?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 *Did not know*

C. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

C1 Please state your ethnic nationality (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Estonian → CONTINUE WITH C6
- 2 Russian
- 3 Other SPECIFY _____
- 4 Did not know
- 5 Refused to answer

C2 Were you born in Estonia? (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → CONTINUE WITH C5
- 3 Did not know → CONTINUE WITH C5
- 4 Refused to answer → CONTINUE WITH C5

C3 Were your parents born in Estonia? (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Both in Estonia
- 2 One in Estonia
- 3 Both outside of Estonia → CONTINUE WITH C5
- 4 Did not know → CONTINUE WITH C5
- 5 Refused to answer → CONTINUE WITH C5

C4 Were your grandparents born in Estonia? (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 All were born in Estonia
- 2 Some grandparents were born in Estonia
- 3 All grandparents were born outside of Estonia
- 4 Did not know
- 5 Refused to answer

C5 What is the main language of communication in your household? (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Estonian
- 2 Russian
- 3 Other SPECIFY _____

C6 With whom did you live for the majority of your childhood and adolescence? CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE MEANS THE PERIOD UNTIL 18 YEARS OF AGE AND THE MAJORITY OF TIME MEANS 9 YEARS OR MORE.

(ONE ANSWER) CARD 3

- 1 With my mother and father
- 2 With my mother
- 3 With my mother and stepfather
- 4 With my father
- 5 With my father and stepmother
- 6 With someone else

D. EQUALITY IN SOCIETY

Next, I will ask your opinion about the situation of men and women in Estonian society.

D1 How would you rate the position of women and men in Estonian society? CARD 4 (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Significantly better for women than for men
- 2 Somewhat better for women than for men
- 3 Women and men are equal in society
- 4 Somewhat better for men than for women
- 5 Significantly better for men than for women
- 6 *No opinion*

I will now present some statements about the activities of women and men and their participation in various walks of life.

D2 What is your opinion about the following statements? (ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

READ THE STATEMENTS, ANSWER FROM THE CARD. CARD 5.

	Com- pletely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Comple- tely disagree	No opinion
1. Greater involvement of women in politics is necessary for better representation of various interests	1	2	3	4	5
2. It would be beneficial for businesses if more women were employed in top executive positions	1	2	3	4	5
3. The number of men employed as social and healthcare workers should be higher than it is today	1	2	3	4	5
4. Men should be more involved in caring for and raising the children	1	2	3	4	5
5. The majority of housework should be done by the spouse (partner) with lower wages	1	2	3	4	5
6. The family member with higher income should also have more power in making decisions in the family	1	2	3	4	5
7. Equality of women and men would be beneficial for men as well	1	2	3	4	5
8. The use of almost naked bodies in advertising should be reduced	1	2	3	4	5
9. Television, the Internet, advertising and other forms of entertainment have too much influence on the children's and adolescents' views on sexuality	1	2	3	4	5

E. EDUCATION OF THE RESPONDENT

Now, I would like to ask about your education.

E1 What is your highest completed level of education (certificate, diploma, degree)? ONLY ONE ANSWER. CARD 6.

- 1 Without primary education
- 2 Primary education
- 3 Basic education
- 4 Secondary education
- 5 Vocational education without basic education (incl. without primary education)
- 6 Vocational education after basic education
- 7 Vocational education after secondary education
- 8 Secondary specialised education after basic education
- 9 Secondary specialised education after secondary education
- 10 Higher vocational education (applied higher education)
- 11 Higher education (diploma or bachelor's degree)
- 12 Higher education (master's degree) (specialist diploma on higher professional qualifications)
- 13 Doctor's degree/Research candidate degree

E2 In what year did you acquire you highest level of education?

- 1 Year |_|_|_|_|
- 2 *Did not remember*
- 3 *Refused to answer*

E3 Now, I would like to ask about your current studies. Do you study currently or have studied in the last 12 months in a school of general education, vocational education or higher education?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → *CONTINUE WITH F1*

E4 Which level of education are/were you pursuing? Do/did you pursue... (ONE ANSWER) CARD 7.

- 1 education in grades 1 – 9
- 2 education in grades 10 – 12
- 3 vocational education or vocational secondary education
- 4 applied higher education
- 5 bachelor's degree
- 6 master's degree (incl. integrated bachelor's and master's studies)
- 7 doctorate degree (incl. residency)

F. UPBRINGING

Next, I would like to talk about your views on the upbringing and education given to boys and girls.

F1 Do you agree with the following statements about the education of boys and girls?

READ THE STATEMENTS. (ONE ANSWER PER LINE) CARD 8.

	Com- pletely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Comple- tely disagree	No opinion
1. On admission to 1 st grade, the entry requirements should be lower for boys than for girls	1	2	3	4	5
2. On admission to university, the requirements for young men should be lower than the requirements for young women	1	2	3	4	5
3. Girls and boys should be taught the same subjects at school (incl. manual training and physical education) and in the same manner	1	2	3	4	5
4. Girls and boys should be taught in separate classes	1	2	3	4	5
5. Girls and boys should be allowed to choose study subjects, based on their interests and abilities	1	2	3	4	5

F2 In your opinion, which skills and characteristics should receive special attention when raising boys and girls? Please choose three most important skills for both, boys and girls. CARD 9.

	Boys	Girls
1. Driving a car	1	1
2. House cleaning	2	2
3. Cooking	3	3
4. Handling money	4	4
5. Personal grooming	5	5
6. Good manners and etiquette	6	6
7. Communication skills	7	7
8. Skill to be authoritative	8	8
9. Ability to succeed	9	9
10. Initiative	10	10
11. Handling technical equipment	11	11
12. Consideration for others	12	12
13. Willingness to take risks	13	13
14. Other (SPECIFY) _____	14	14
15. No opinion	15	15

TO BE ANSWERED ONLY BY SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS (E3=1)

F3 Have there been situations in your school (university) where.... CARD 10.

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

READ THE STATEMENTS, ANSWERS FROM THE CARD.

	Never	A few times	Yes, quite often	No opinion
1. a teacher (lecturer) gives better grades to young men than to young women for the same level of knowledge	1	2	3	4
2. a teacher (lecturer) gives better grades to young women than to young men for the same level of knowledge	1	2	3	4
3. a teacher (lecturer) gives more praise to young men for their independent work or homework	1	2	3	4
4. a teacher (lecturer) gives more praise to young women for their independent work or homework	1	2	3	4
5. a teacher (lecturer) admonishes young men more than young women for the same type of transgression	1	2	3	4
6. a teacher (lecturer) admonishes young women more than young men for the same type of transgression	1	2	3	4

G. RESPONDENT'S WORKING LIFE

Next, we will investigate your working life.

G1 Which status is currently the most characteristic of you? NOTE! IF THE PERSON IS CURRENTLY ABSENT FROM WORK DUE TO ILLNESS, INJURY OR OTHER SIMILAR REASONS, THE PERSON SHOULD BE MARKED AS EMPLOYED! (ONE ANSWER)

Are you... CARD 11.

- 1 employed
- 2 unemployed
- 3 school/university student, unsalaried trainee
- 4 pensioner, early pensioner, withdrawn from your business
- 5 person receiving pension for incapacity for work
- 6 conscript
- 7 on pregnancy or maternity leave
- 8 on parental leave
- 9 homemaker
- 10 otherwise inactive

G2 What is your ancillary activity of status?

Are you... (ONE ANSWER) CARD 12.

- 1 employed
- 2 unemployed
- 3 school/university student, unsalaried trainee
- 4 pensioner, on early retirement, withdrawn from your business
- 5 receiving pension for incapacity for work
- 6 conscript
- 7 on pregnancy or maternity leave
- 8 on parental leave
- 9 homemaker
- 10 NONE
- 11 otherwise inactive

POSE QUESTION G3 ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ARE NOT EMPLOYED IN THEIR MAIN OR ANCILLARY ACTIVITY (G1 OR G2)

G3 Have you worked in the past 12 months?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → *CONTINUE WITH H1*

QUESTIONS G4-G11 SHOULD BE POSED TO EVERYONE WHOSE MAIN ACTIVITY IS 'EMPLOYED' OR WHO HAVE WORKED IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS (G3=1). ANSWERS SHOULD BE BASED ON PRINCIPAL JOB. OTHER RESPONDENTS CONTINUE WITH QUESTION H1

G4 To which of the following groups do (did) you belong? Are (were) you... (ONE ANSWER)

CARD 13.

- 1 salaried worker
- 2 entrepreneur or farmer who used salaried labour
- 3 self-employed person, farmer without paid workers, freelancer
- 4 unsalaried worker in a family business, farm
- 5 Other SPECIFY _____

G5 What was your position in your principal job? Please state your official job title.

G6 Please describe your main duties; what was the content of your work?

G7 What is the main activity of the organisation/business where you have/had your principal job? (E.G., CHEMICAL INDUSTRY, FISHERIES, HOTEL SERVICES, FOOD SERVICES, HEALTHCARE OR SOCIAL WORK, ETC.).

G8 Is/was it a permanent or temporary job?

- 1 Permanent job
- 2 Temporary job

G9 How many hours per week do/did you usually spend on that job?

|_|_| hours

G10 Do/did you have managerial responsibilities?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → *CONTINUE WITH H1*

G11 How many employees are/were directly subordinated to you?

|_|_| employees

H. EMPLOYMENT AND WORKING LIFE

Next, I would like to know your opinions about the opportunities of men and women in working life.

H1 In your opinion, do women and men have equal opportunities in working life... CARD 14. (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Women have significantly better opportunities than men
- 2 Women have somewhat better opportunities than men
- 3 Women and men have equal opportunities
- 4 Men have somewhat better opportunities than women
- 5 Men have significantly better opportunities than women
- 6 *No opinion*

H2 Should women and men receive equal pay for equal work?

- 1 **Yes**
- 2 **No, men should receive higher pay**
- 3 **No, women should receive higher pay**
- 4 *No opinion*

Now, let's talk about your experiences in working life.

QUESTIONS H3-H11 SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY THOSE, WHOSE CURRENT MAIN ACTIVITY IS 'EMPLOYED' OR WHO HAVE WORKED IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS (IF G1, G2 OR G3=1), OTHERS CONTINUE WITH QUESTION H12

H3 When you have applied for jobs, has anyone ever asked questions about ...

	Yes	No
... your marital status	1	2
... whether you have children and what is the age of your children	1	2
... your intentions to have children in the near future	1	2

H4 What is the percentage of men and women in your organisation (work collective)? CARD 15. (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 All are men
- 2 The majority are men (60 % or more)
- 3 Roughly equal number of men and women
- 4 The majority are women (60 % or more)
- 5 All are women
- 6 There is no collective
- 7 *Did not know*

H5 Are (were) there more men or women in the management team of your organisation? CARD 15. (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 All are men
- 2 The majority are men (60 % or more)
- 3 Roughly equal number of men and women
- 4 The majority are women (60 % or more)
- 5 All are women
- 6 There is no management team

7 Did not know

H6 Is (was) your direct superior a man or a woman? (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Man
- 2 Woman
- 3 I do/did not have a superior

THE NEXT QUESTIONS ARE FOR SALARIED WORKERS ONLY; OTHERS CONTINUE WITH QUESTION H12

H7 Have you asked for a pay rise in the last four years?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Refused to answer

H8 Has your employer proposed to reduce your wages, working hours or work-related benefits (e.g., telephone compensation, etc.) in the last 12 months?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → CONTINUE WITH H10
- 3 Refused to answer → CONTINUE WITH H10

H9 Did you accept this proposal?

- 1 Yes, fully
- 2 Yes, partially
- 3 No
- 4 Hard to say SPECIFY _____

H10 Are you still working for the same employer?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Hard to say SPECIFY _____

H11 In your current (last) job, have you experienced unjustified unequal treatment in comparison to other employees, because you are a woman/man? Have you experienced unequal treatment in any of the following aspects?

READ THE OPTIONS, ANSWERS FROM THE CARD.

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE) CARD 16.

	In significant extent	In some extent	Not at all	No opinion
1. Wages (establishment, increase, decrease of pay)	1	2	3	4
2. Work-related benefits (e.g., car use, telephone)	1	2	3	4
3. Training courses (paid by the employer)	1	2	3	4
4. Access to information (e.g., on work-related changes)	1	2	3	4
5. Division of workload (e.g., women / men have lighter workloads)	1	2	3	4
6. Promotion (career advancement)	1	2	3	4
7. Nature of the employment relation (e.g., contract for a fixed or unspecified term)	1	2	3	4
8. Assessment of performance	1	2	3	4
9. Opportunity to be in charge of your own work arrangements	1	2	3	4

10. Recognition of professional skills and knowledge	1	2	3	4
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QUESTION FOR EVERYONE

**H12 I will now list some opinions about the opportunities of men and women in the labour market. Please tell me whether you agree with these statements:
(ONE ANSWER PER LINE) CARD 17.**

	Completely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. Men usually work in positions with better salaries	1	2	3	4	5
2. Men usually do not agree to work for such a low salary as women	1	2	3	4	5
3. Employers tend to pay higher salaries to male workers, in comparison to female workers, because they see men as breadwinners	1	2	3	4	5
4. Women's work usually receives less recognition than men's work	1	2	3	4	5
5. Men are better managers than women	1	2	3	4	5
6. Women are as committed to their work as men	1	2	3	4	5
7. Men tend to prioritise career in their life more often than women	1	2	3	4	5
8. Women have a double workload: unlike men, they do housework in addition to their principal job	1	2	3	4	5
9. When there is a scarcity of jobs, men have more right to be employed than women	1	2	3	4	5

H13 In your opinion, are women suited for top executive positions?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Depends on the woman
- 4 *No opinion*

**H14 What would you do if your spouse (partner) earned enough money for normal living expenses and there would be no immediate need for you to work or find employment? Would you ...
(ONE ANSWER)**

- 1 prefer to work full-time
- 2 prefer to work part-time
- 3 give up work for the time being
- 4 stay at home and be dependent on your spouse (partner)
- 5 *No opinion*

**H15 If a family has pre-school children, in your opinion, what would be the best arrangement for the family?
(ONE ANSWER) CARD 18**

- 1 Only the man works and the woman takes care for home and children
- 2 Only the woman works and the man takes care for home and children
- 3 Both work, but the woman works part-time and takes care for home and children
- 4 Both work, but the man works part-time and takes care for home and children

- 5 Both have similar workloads and take care for home and children in equal measures
- 6 Other (specify) _____
- 7 No opinion

H16 What is your opinion about the following statements? READ THE STATEMENTS
(ONE ANSWER PER LINE) CARD 19.

	Completely disagree				Completely agree	No opinion.
1. A society where women and men are equal is a good society	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Men can be as successful as women in care-related jobs	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Women can be as successful as men in jobs that require technical skills	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Financial independence is as important for women as it is for men	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. A mother and father should divide the time of the parental leave (parental benefit until the child reaches 1.5 years of age) equally	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Women should bear the main responsibility for housework	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Men should be the principal breadwinners in the families	1	2	3	4	5	6

I. BALANCING WORK AND FAMILY LIFE

QUESTIONS TO ALL EMPLOYED PERSONS. (G1 OR G2=1), OTHER RESPONDENTS CONTINUE WITH QUESTION J1

Now, I would like to know your opinions about the balance of work and family life.

The following questions pertain to the attitudes on the use of the parental leaves and availability of flexible working arrangements for parents in your place of employment. READ THE STATEMENTS, ANSWERS FROM THE CARD (ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

I1 Would it be difficult in your place of employment ... CARD 20

	Not difficult	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult	Not relevant in my place of employment	No opinion
1. for mothers to stay at home on parental benefit for one and a half years (18 months)	1	2	3	4	5
2. for fathers to go on paternity leave for ten days	1	2	3	4	5
3. for fathers to stay at home on parental benefit for a period from one month to over a year	1	2	3	4	5
4. for mothers to go on parental leave until the child attains 3 years of age	1	2	3	4	5
5. for fathers to go on parental leave until the child attains 3 years of age	1	2	3	4	5
6. for mothers to return to work after parental leave	1	2	3	4	5
7. for fathers to return to work after parental leave	1	2	3	4	5
8. for mothers of small children to work part-time	1	2	3	4	5
9. for mothers of small children to use teleworking	1	2	3	4	5
10. for fathers of small children to work part-time	1	2	3	4	5
11. for fathers of small children to use teleworking	1	2	3	4	5
12. for mothers of small children to refuse overtime due to family responsibilities	1	2	3	4	5

13. for fathers of small children to refuse overtime due to family responsibilities	1	2	3	4	5
14. for mothers to stay at home to care for an ill child (under 12 years of age)	1	2	3	4	5
15. for fathers to stay at home to care for an ill child (under 12 years of age)	1	2	3	4	5

TO BE ANSWERED BY ALL EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS WHOSE HOUSEHOLD INCLUDES CHILDREN UNDER 6 YEARS OF AGE AND WHO ARE CURRENTLY NOT ON PARENTAL LEAVE (PARENTAL LEAVE MEANS THE PERIOD OF PARENTAL BENEFIT AND CONTINUATION OF PARENTAL LEAVE AFTER THE END OF THE PARENTAL BENEFIT PERIOD).

I2 Have you, in the past five years, used the parental benefit and/or been on parental leave?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

TO BE ANSWERED BY ALL RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY EMPLOYED OR HAVE WORKED IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS AND HAVE CHILDREN UNDER 12 YEARS OF AGE.

I3 In the last TWO years, have you stayed at home from work due to an illness of your child?

- 1 **No** → CONTINUE WITH I5
- 2 **Once or twice**
- 3 **Several times**
- 4 *Child has not been ill* → CONTINUE WITH I5
- 5 *Did not know* → CONTINUE WITH I5

I4 Why was it you, who stayed at home with the child? Select up to two principal reasons.

CARD 21

- 1 It was financially more beneficial for the family (as opposed to someone else staying at home)
- 2 My work enabled me to stay at home
- 3 It was not possible for the other parent (or other family member) to stay at home
- 4 I am better at taking care for an ill child
- 5 There was no other opportunity for taking care for the child
- 6 It was a fair division of labour in the family
- 7 *Other (SPECIFY)* _____

TO BE ANSWERED BY FULL- OR PART-TIME EMPLOYEES WHOSE HOUSEHOLD INCLUDES CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE:

I5 Would it be difficult for you, due to family responsibilities, to ... READ THE STATEMENTS

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE) CARD 22.

	Not difficult	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult	Not relevant in my place of employment	No opinion
1. work on weekends or late in the evening if necessary? (This refers to additional work beyond standard working hours.)	1	2	3	4	5
2. study, go to training courses or self-improvement courses? (This refers to any kind of studying.)	1	2	3	4	5
3. go on a business trip or training course with an overnight stay?	1	2	3	4	5

J. FAMILY LIFE

Now, I would like to ask some questions about your family life.

QUESTION J1 TO BE ANSWERED BY RESPONDENTS LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH MORE THAN ONE MEMBER (A00>1); OTHERS CONTINUE WITH QUESTION J2.

J1 In your family, who is mainly responsible for the completion of the following household chores?

READ THE DESCRIPTIONS OF WORK, CARD (ONE ANSWER). CARD 23.

A WIDER COLUMN WOULD BE REQUIRED TO ACCOMMODATE OTHER OPTIONS.

	Mostly I	Mostly my spouse (partner)	Mostly I and my spouse (partner) together	Mostly a child / children	Mostly I together with children	Mostly my spouse (partner) together with children	Mostly my or my spouse's (partner's) mother	Mostly my or my spouse's (partner's) father	Another household member	We do not have such chores	Someone else (SPECIFY)	No opinion
1 Managing household finances (paying taxes, repaying loans, signing insurance contracts, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
2 Daily shopping for groceries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
3 Daily cooking (incl. heating up ready-made meals)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
4 Washing dishes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
5 Maintaining clothes (laundering, ironing, mending, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
6 Cleaning the rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
7 Household repairs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
8 Maintaining the car	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
9 Caring for domestic animals (cows, pigs, etc)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
10 Caring for pets (cats, dogs, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
11 Field and garden work (vegetables)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
12 Maintaining the flower garden	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
13 Helping children with homework	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
14 Playing with children, reading to them	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
15 Taking children to and from nursery school, school, hobby school, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12
16 Managing affairs with schools or nursery schools, communicating with teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 _____	12

QUESTION FOR EVERYONE.

J2 Have you ever felt that you are responsible for too many household chores?

- 1 Yes, often
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Rarely
- 4 No, never
- 5 No opinion

J3 What is your opinion about the following statements? READ THE STATEMENTS. CARD 24.
(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	Completely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. Men are as capable of doing housework as women	1	2	3	4	5
2. Family and children limit men's career opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
3. Family and children limit women's career opportunities	1	2	3	4	5

QUESTIONS J4-J6 TO BE ANSWERED ONLY BY RESPONDENTS WHO ARE MARRIED OR IN A RELATIONSHIP; OTHERS CONTINUE WITH QUESTION J7

J4 In your family, who makes the decisions on the following matters? READ THE STATEMENTS. CARD 25.
(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	Always I	Often I	Roughly equally I and my spouse (partner)	Often my spouse (partner)	Always my spouse (partner)	Always or often another family member	Always or often someone, who does not live in our household	Not applicable to our family	No opinion
1. Making daily purchases	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. Making larger purchases	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. Length of time that I spend at work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. Length of time that my spouse/partner spends at work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5. Child-raising principles	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6. Recreational activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7. Matters of family planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

J5 Please assess your relationship with your spouse/partner. Are you... (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 completely satisfied
- 2 mostly satisfied
- 3 mostly unsatisfied
- 4 completely unsatisfied

5 No opinion

J6 Do you have disagreements with your (current) spouse/partner over the following issues:
(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	Often	Some- times	Never	NO OPINION
1. Division of housework	1	2	3	4
<i>IF HOUSEHOLD INCLUDES CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE:</i>				
2. Taking care for children, driving them to school, etc.	1	2	3	4
<i>IF HOUSEHOLD INCLUDES CHILDREN UNDER 12 YEARS OF AGE:</i>				
3. Staying at home from work when a child is ill	1	2	3	4
4. Use of money	1	2	3	4
5. Time spent by the spouse/partner on her/his hobbies or recreation	1	2	3	4

QUESTIONS J7 AND J8 TO BE ANSWERED BY ALL WOMEN WHO WERE BORN AFTER 1964, AND BY ALL MEN WHO WERE BORN AFTER 1959. OTHERS CONTINUE WITH QUESTION K1.

J7 What are your future plans with regard to having children? Do you want to have children (in addition to the existing ones)?
(ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Yes, definitely
- 2 Yes, possibly
- 3 No, probably not → CONTINUE WITH K1
- 4 No, certainly not → CONTINUE WITH K1
- 5 No opinion → CONTINUE WITH K1

J8 How many children would you like to have (in addition to the existing ones)? (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 One
- 2 One or two
- 3 Two
- 4 Two or three
- 5 Three
- 6 Three or four
- 7 Four
- 8 Four or five
- 9 Five or more
- 10 No opinion

K. WOMEN AND MEN IN POLITICS

Next, I would like to ask some questions about your views on the situation of women and men in politics.

(ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

K1 In your opinion, what should be the share of women among the politicians at the listed levels? *CARD 26.*

	Lower than today	Same as today	Higher than today	Unimportant	NO OPINION
1. Members of the Riigikogu	1	2	3	4	5
2. Members of the government	1	2	3	4	5
3. Local councils	1	2	3	4	5
4. Members of the European Parliament	1	2	3	4	5

K2 The share of women in politics could be increased by: **Select ONE most effective measure**
CARD 27.

- 1 inviting electors to vote for women
- 2 the parties including an equal number of women and men in their lists of candidates
- 3 having prominent women in top-level politics
- 4 establishing a minimum quota of seats for women in the Riigikogu
- 5 creating a party exclusively for women
- 6 Other (*SPECIFY*)
- 7 No opinion

L. SECURITY

Next, let's talk about security. I will now ask about your sense of security or insecurity in various areas of life.

L1 Are you afraid of becoming a victim of violence or does it make you cautious in the following situations? (ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Not applicable to me
1. When you walk outside in the evening or during the night	1	2	3	4	5
2. When you use public transport	1	2	3	4	5
3. When you perform your professional duties	1	2	3	4	5
4. When you are with your family	1	2	3	4	5

L2 What is your opinion about the following statements?

READ THE STATEMENTS, (ONE ANSWER PER LINE) *CARD 28.*

	Completely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. Corporal punishment of children is sometimes inevitable	1	2	3	4	5

2. Physical reprimanding of a spouse (partner) is sometimes inevitable	1	2	3	4	5
3. People should interfere if they see or hear a violent domestic quarrel	1	2	3	4	5

The following questions could be slightly uncomfortable, but they are, nevertheless, extremely important.

L3 Has any woman / man (of the opposite gender) made in the past 12 months any uncomfortable and unwanted intimations, comments or proposals (in oral or written form) with regard to your gender? (e.g., that you are useless at everything, because you are a woman/man)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → *CONTINUE WITH L5*

L4 Who were these people? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS) CARD 29.

- 1 Colleague
- 2 Superior
- 3 Client
- 4 Co-student
- 5 Teacher
- 6 (University) student
- 7 Family member
- 8 Other relative
- 9 Former spouse/partner
- 10 A friend
- 11 Other acquaintance
- 12 A stranger
- 13 *Did not want to answer*

L5 Has any woman / man (of the same gender as you) made in the past 12 months any uncomfortable and unwanted intimations, comments or proposals (in oral or written form) with regard to your gender?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

L6 Has any woman / man (of the opposite gender), in the last 12 months, ...

IF THE RESPONDENT IS A WOMAN, USE THE WORDS 'MAN' OR 'YOUNG MAN' INSTEAD OF 'A PERSON OF THE OPPOSITE GENDER' AND IF THE RESPONDENT IS A MAN, USE THE WORDS 'WOMAN' OR 'YOUNG WOMAN'.

	Yes	No	NO OPINION
1. ... made offensive comments about your figure or sexuality	1	2	3
2. ... told unwanted dirty jokes or lewd stories to you or in your presence	1	2	3
3. ... made unwanted proposals/intimations about having sexual intercourse with you	1	2	3
4. ... tried to make unwanted physical advances towards you	1	2	3
5. ... sent you offensive obscene (sexist) messages, e-mails, comments (e.g., through social networking websites)	1	2	3

IF 'NO' TO ALL QUESTIONS → CONTINUE WITH L8

IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERS 'YES' TO AT LEAST ONE QUESTION, ASK THE QUESTION L7 (ONLY WITH REGARD TO THE STATEMENTS TO WHICH THE RESPONDENT SAID 'YES' UNDER L6)

L7 Who were these people, who ... (MULTIPLE ANSWERS) CARD 29.

	1. Colleague	2. Superior	3. Client	4. Co-student	5. Teacher	6. (University) student	7. Family member	8. Other relative	9. Former spouse/partner	10. A friend	11. Other acquaintance	12. A stranger	99. Did not want to answer
1. ... made offensive comments about your figure or sexuality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
2. ... told unwanted dirty jokes or lewd stories to you or in your presence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
3. ... made unwanted proposals/intimations about having sexual intercourse with you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
4. ... tried to make unwanted physical advances towards you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
5. ... sent you offensive obscene (sexist) messages, e-mails, comments (e.g., through social networking websites)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

L8 Has any woman / man (of the same gender) done any of the aforementioned things to you in the past 12 months?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

L9 What do you think about the fact that some people buy sex from prostitutes? (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 I think positively
- 2 I'm neutral about it; everyone can do what they want
- 3 Generally, I don't think that it is right, but it could be justified in exceptional cases
- 4 I think it's deplorable
- 5 No opinion

What is your opinion about the following statements? READ THE STATEMENTS, CARD

L10 When someone buys sex from a prostitute... (ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	Completely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. the buyer should be punished	1	2	3	4	5
2. the panderer, or the pimp, should be punished	1	2	3	4	5
3. the prostitute should be punished	1	2	3	4	5
4. the work of prostitutes should be made subject to official taxation and supervision	1	2	3	4	5

L11 In your opinion, is it permissible for a woman to buy sex from a prostitute?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

L12 In your opinion, is it permissible for a man to buy sex from a prostitute?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

M. LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

As our final topic, I will ask some questions about the living conditions of your household.

M1 How do you manage financially with the average net income of your household? Do you...

NOTE! NET INCOME INCLUDES ALL WAGES, PENSIONS, BENEFITS AND SUPPORT PAYMENTS AFTER DEDUCTION OF INCOME TAX AND MAINTENANCE SUPPORT PAYABLE TO OTHER HOUSEHOLDS. (ONE ANSWER) CARD 30.

- 1 ... manage very well
- 2 ... manage well
- 3 ... manage normally
- 4 ... manage with some difficulties
- 5 ... manage with difficulties
- 6 ... manage with great difficulties
- 7 *No opinion, so and so*

M2 What would be the usual amount of money your household can use in one month, taking into account all sources of income? Please state the average amount received in Estonian kroons.

→ *JCONTINUE WITH M4*

8 Refused to answer

9 Did not know

M3 Please select from the following list the appropriate range of monthly income of your household, taking into account all sources of income? Is it... CARD 31.

- 1 3000 kroons or less
- 2 3001 – 5000 kroons
- 3 5001 – 8000 kroons
- 4 8001 – 10 000 kroons
- 5 10 001 – 13 000 kroons
- 6 13 001 – 17 000 kroons
- 7 17 001 – 20 000 kroons
- 8 20 001 – 25 000 kroons
- 9 25 001 – 30 000 kroons
- 10 30 000 kroons or more
- 11 *Did not know*
- 12 *Refused to answer*

M4 Next, we would like you to evaluate your financial independence. Are you financially dependent on a family member?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → *CONTINUE WITH M6*

M5 Are you dependent on... (MULTIPLE ANSWERS). CARD 32.

- 1 your spouse (partner)
- 2 your mother
- 3 your father
- 4 your adult son
- 5 your adult daughter
- 6 someone else
- 7 *Did not know*

M6 Please tell us who earns the highest income in your household? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS). CARD 33.

- 1 I do
- 2 My spouse/partner
- 3 My or my spouse's/partner's child
- 4 My or my spouse's/partner's parent/parent's partner
- 5 My or my spouse's/partner's grandparent/grandparent's partner
- 6 My or my spouse's/partner's grandchild
- 7 Other relative
- 8 Non-relative
- 9 *Did not know*

M7 In your opinion, who should be responsible for securing financial income for the family?

CARD 34. (ONE ANSWER)

- 1 Only the man
- 2 Mostly the man
- 3 Shared responsibility of both spouses/partners
- 4 Mostly the woman
- 5 Only the woman
- 6 *No opinion*

M8. Would you agree to fill out, from time to time, additional questionnaires sent to your e-mail address?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → *CONTINUE WITH K. 30*

M9. Your e-mail address (IN CAPITAL LETTERS):

M10. End of the interview: Hours _____ Minutes _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS!

Selected facts from the survey

- 47% of Estonian residents believe that men have a better position in society, while 41% are of the opinion that women and men have equal opportunities.
- The overwhelming majority (83%) of Estonians support the idea of increasing men`s share in caring for children.
- The idea that men should be more involved in caring for children received slightly less support from working fathers than from mothers.
- Less than half of Estonian men, but more than two-thirds of Finnish men, believe that there should be more men among social and healthcare workers.
- Part-time work and teleworking are the working arrangements that are most difficult to achieve for parents striving for a better balance between work and family life.
- In the majority of Estonian families, women are in charge of maintaining the clothes and doing the laundry (80%), as well as daily cooking (70%).
- More than every second mother of a minor child is financially dependent on her partner.
- A third of women and a fifth of men support the idea of punishing the buyers of sex.

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