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*Belarus' Public Sector:
Values, Expectations,
and Perceptions of
Reforms*

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BELARUS' PUBLIC SECTOR: VALUES, EXPECTATIONS, AND PERCEPTIONS OF REFORMS

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Executive Summary

There is scarce information about the values and preferences of Belarusian public sector employees, which significantly hampers the communication of stakeholders with this population group. Is this group integral as far as values are concerned? Which positive and negative factors does it see in the personal employment strategy? What is important for this group to form loyalty to the existing system, and what concerns does this group have? And, finally, what is the attitude of public sector representatives towards reforms being implemented in the country in general, and public administration reform in particular? **The aim of the study**, undertaken at the request of *Belarus in Focus* Information Office, was to find the answers to these questions.

The differences in values, attitudes to life, risk tolerance and attitude towards labour mobility of the public sector employees revealed in the course of the study were among its **main results**. These differences depend on the size of the community in which the public sector employees live, and on their age. Differences were also found between officials and other public sector employees.

While promoting a reform, be it a public administration reform or economic liberalisation, communication with this group should be targeted and based on the type of their employment, place of residence, age group and values corresponding to them. However, there are several spheres in which communication may be built with the public sector employees as a whole group.

Methodology

The study covered 12 focus group discussions. Each group consisted of 8 to 10 members: up to 6 representatives of state enterprises and public officials holding middle- and low-management positions; up to 4 to 5 representatives of other professions and spheres of activities. Geographically the study included residents of Minsk, Grodno, Brest, Mogilev, Bobruisk, as well as the urban population of the Gomel and Vitebsk Regions.

Main Findings

1. **A positive attitude towards the components of social and economic 'stability'**, specifically, the absence of dismissal risk, a stable and respectable salary, the fact that the superiors appreciate their work, is widely spread among the public sector employees. A very small group consisting mainly of *young people* is an *exception* though, as it is prone to the diversification of labour and social risks in order to increase the level of their income.
2. Depending on the size of the community in which the respondents live, **differences in values** have been revealed: residents of small towns place their *families and friends* at the top of their concerns, while the residents of big cities appreciate the *level of income, the quality of life and the city's infrastructure*.
3. **The opportunities for self-development** and interesting work are more important for the residents of big cities, while the **level of income** is more significant for the residents of small towns.
4. **Public officials are not afraid of possible layoffs or dismissals**, speaking about their indispensability in their position or the ability to find another job. **Employees of state enterprises**, however, would **feel the risks and uncertainties** if required to change their job, a fact that makes them change their job more rarely (many members of the focus groups have worked at the same place for at least ten years), for them a stable job is more important than opportunities for increasing their income, making them, in a sense, *'hostages' to working for the state* due to high risks.
5. Officials and state enterprise employees have **different attitudes to living standards and the quality of life in Belarus**. When it comes to comparing the living standards in Belarus to those in *other countries*, officials argue that the situation in Belarus is *not worse* but rather in many respects better than in other countries, in particular, in European ones, and insist on this comparison being relative. Employees of state enterprises unambiguously find *Belarusian living standards lower* than in other countries.
6. **Officials perceive their profession as being socially important and meaningful**. However, they consider their level of income to be *insufficient*. Besides, they often point out that *managerial decisions* in the civil service system are taken without due consideration for their experience and local contexts of their work, that they are *'imposed from above'*. **Officials do not have an opportunity to express their opinion and influence the changes** they have to introduce to their work. This forms a certain level of *frustration* in relation to their social position. An additional negative impact is caused by a *fall in the prestige* of an official's career, as well as *salary cuts* accompanied by an *increase in the amount of work*. No "special" attitude to work was revealed among the employees of state enterprises.

7. All the respondents employed in the public sector speak about **considerable obstacles to labour mobility**, both geographical and vertical ones*. The obstacles to labour mobility revealed may be divided into two groups: *systemic and personal*.

8. From the officials' point of view, **systemic obstacles** include *clanship* that is commonly found in the public administration system and *nepotism* as one of the hiring mechanisms, as well as increased economic and social risks associated with moving to another place of residence. **Personal ones** include the *lack of an increase in material and status compensation* for professional responsibility when being promoted. For the employees of state enterprises, systemic obstacles are more frequent: the absence of accommodation purchase support programmes, presence of 'long-overdue employees', as well as low relevance in the labour market on the whole. *Put simply, while the employees of state enterprises cannot take advantage of labour mobility, officials cannot and often are afraid to.*

9. Officials understand **reforms as a continuous process of changing the legislation and bureaucratic procedures** that takes place in the public administration system. On the one hand, the ability to adapt to new circumstances is perceived as professionalism, but on the other, it takes much time and effort. The absence of feedback in the decision-making system causes a subdued discontent among them. The educational reform is described as an unsuccessful experience of introducing reforms in Belarus. The public administration reform that has already been implemented, however, did not cause a sharply negative attitude of current public officials as it was introduced quite smoothly.

10. **Online media are the primary sources of information** about what is going on the world and at home due to their accessibility and urgency of response. *Television is mentioned only as an additional source.* However, one cannot make a conclusion that the Internet is the primary source of information due to the absence of ideological and other types of bias.

*Vertical mobility is understood as promotion at one's old job. Geographical mobility is understood as moving to another community (or country), and, depending on the size of the community (or location of the country), the fact of moving is perceived as an increase or a decrease in the status and living standards.

Recommendations

A communication strategy with public sector employees may either be based on their common attitudes or be targeted, i.e. based on the characteristics of different subgroups, e.g. officials and employees of state enterprises, residents of towns and cities, etc.

The recommendations provided below may be used *inter alia* to promote liberal reforms in a broad sense; in election agendas of political actors; for the promotion of a certain geopolitical choice; for policy analysis and policy shaping.

Public sector employees as a whole

- Public sector employees show a positive attitude towards social and economic stability. Accordingly, the group may react positively to offers that involve measures that would increase their confidence in the future: the introduction of educational programmes, the introduction of long-term contracts and the expansion of social programmes.
- Different grounds for change should be provided while addressing public sector employees: residents of large cities would appreciate the changes described as measures aimed at improving the quality of life, while residents of small towns – those described as the way to secure the future of the family.
- In order to drive the geographical labour mobility of the residents of large cities, one should focus on the opportunities for finding an interesting job with certain prospects for self-fulfilment; when dealing with the residents of small towns, it is important to focus on the increase of their income.
- Public sector employees may appreciate the introduction of a hiring and promotion system based on achievements and merits (*result-oriented management*).
- The Internet, primarily *tut.by* and *naviny.by* portals, is the most efficient channel of communication with the public sector employees.

Public officials

- Officials are quite confident about their position in the labour market and highly judge their ability to find a job in the private sector. This is why the risks of layoffs or dismissal are not a key factor for them.
- Officials will react positively to the introduction of a number of measures (not necessarily monetary ones or those based on granting social benefits) that would return a high status to their profession.
- Officials find decisions being imposed “from above”, without consideration for their experience or the peculiarities of their work on the local level, quite challenging. They would appreciate the peculiarities of work at the lower and medium levels to be taken into account before any changes are made. Besides, a public administration system in which the opinion of employees at the local level is taken into account might seem attractive to the officials.
- Promotion is often perceived by the public officials as an increase in the complexity of work done that does not entail any additional benefits. Accordingly, certain measures should be offered to the officials that would eliminate the imbalance between the level of work load and salary in the event of promotion: de-bureaucratization and reduction of the work load and/or higher salary, as well as an increase of the profession's level of prestige.
- Considering the fact that officials feel their significance and the social utility of their work, they might develop a positive attitude towards de-bureaucratization once they are shown that it would make it possible for them to increase their efficiency and the social utility of their work.
- An offer to reform the hiring system that would be based on the principles of meritocracy might be welcome. It is probable that this idea would be most appreciated by the public officials for whom promotion is a relevant issue: in the first turn, by young ambitious employees.
- Offering an alternative model of Belarus' development or foreign experience of reforms, one should use clear and irrefutable criteria for the comparison of the living standards and the quality of public administration.
- Offering a reform of the public administration system, one should focus on de-bureaucratization of the officials' work, which would make them more efficient, as their work on the whole and its social utility is a value for the officials.

Other employees of state enterprises

- Employees of state enterprises would welcome measures that would guarantee the retention of their job and/or minimum obstacles to finding a new job in the event of layoffs at state enterprises (for instance, the introduction of accessible retraining programmes).
- Offering changes or reforms to employees of state enterprises that would eventually improve their social and economic situation, it is necessary to refer to foreign experience and highlight the difference between living standards in Belarus and abroad.
- In order to drive the labour mobility of state enterprise employees, one should focus on increasing the level of income, as well as offer measures that would reduce social and economic risks (provision of accommodation, long-term contracts, etc.).

Analysis

Common values of public sector employees

Public sector employees are characterised by deeply different attitudes to their work (to work in the public sector as such), to labour mobility, family, as well as to the social and economic situation in the country. The main criteria of value differentiation are age, type of position held (an official or an employee of a state enterprise), the size of the community in which they live, as well, it seems, as education**.

The presence of family and age (as well as the term of work at the enterprise) makes the employees of state enterprises more prone to choose “stability” in a broad sense.

Andrey: Of course. Perhaps, ideally it would be better go on in a quiet and stable way, without any concerns, being fully confident about the future, that my family will be alright (my wife and kid).

Sergey: ...but still the age...it has an influence.

Ludmila: and the family, and you don't know where to go by now.

Vladimir: Willingness to change the place of residence depends on age, after all. And secondly, it's a human factor.

In contrast, there is quite a small segment among the employees of state enterprises which is more similar to the “independent individuals” group in the terms of the “social contract” study***. This group is characterised by a positive attitude to labour mobility (both within their profession, e.g. moving from one enterprise to another, and geographic one), inclination to additional earnings, self-development and diversification of labour and social risks. This group mostly consists of young people who started their work in the public sector not so long ago. They highly appreciate their ability to find a new job and are ready to work in the private sector or change their place of residence, if in the future this may help them increase their income or improve their working conditions.

Public officials and employees of state enterprises most commonly understand geographic professional mobility as moving from a small town to a big city.

Anton: Mobility itself here in Belarus, as far as I can see, it's vertical. I mean that people move from small towns and villages to regional centres, from regional centres they go to Minsk, from Minsk they go to Moscow, Vilnius, as luck would have it. But, for instance, I have never heard of someone moving from Rogachev to Zhlobin, no one would have such an idea.

**As the interviews do not necessarily feature detailed data on the focus group participants' level of education, we can draw only some indirect conclusions about the influence of the level of education.

***In the terms of the social contract study, the “independent individuals” group was least dependent on the state and was characterised by a relatively high level of judgmental evaluation of human capital assets, a positive attitude towards taking risks to increase their income. Another two groups are described in the study – dependent and independent paternalists: dependent paternalists are citizens who fully depend on the state and prefer stability to risk as far as the acquisition of income is concerned, and who are ready to “trade” their political rights for material ones. Independent paternalists are those who depend on the state to a greater extent but who do not agree to exchange their political rights for “benefits” granted by the state. See: BISS. 2009. Social Contract in Modern Belarus. Available on the Internet: <http://belinstitute.eu/images/stories/documents/booksc.pdf>.

Speaking about geographic mobility, residents of small towns often say that they are constrained by the fact that they have already settled down, have a home, family and friends, while residents of big cities, speaking about the possibility of moving, more often evaluate the living standards in the place they presumably could move to: not only the expected level of income but also the quality of the infrastructure, ecology and so on.

Olga: Basically this is a big capital city, even from this point of view it's interesting. Once, I moved to Volkovysk to work there, so I left and wanted to stay there, as the enterprise I worked at was quite big. But when I saw the town, that there were no cinemas and things like that, to such an extent, that it's a village, in fact, I ran away from there very soon.

At the same time, it is highly improbable that value hierarchies of those who live in small towns and big cities have formed in different ways: it is more likely that a different structure of opportunities has formed for the residents of communities that are different in size, making the residents of small towns care most of all about the welfare of their families, rather than about opportunities for self-fulfillment.

Differences in the values of public officials and other public sector employees

Public officials and employees of state enterprises have different attitudes to their profession, more specifically – to the place of their work in their lives. This can be seen from the **public officials'** discourse that they perceive their job (their work on the whole, and the functions performed by them) as a socially important one, beneficial for society and necessary for the citizens. In a number of cases public officials call themselves 'the patriots of the profession', pointing out large amounts of work to be done, high responsibility and significance of the functions performed, with a modest level of income at the same time.

Anton: It turns out I'm partially involved in all spheres. So you can ask me all kinds of questions. Partially in the sphere of education, as I'm doing my postgraduate studies at the moment. An extramural course, though. Of course, education is such a thing... Only the patriots of the profession work there.

Olga: My name is Olga. I must be as much a patriot as you (to Andrei). Because I work in the sphere of sport, of government institutions.

The statements made by public officials sometimes contain references to the 'special status' of the profession: it's 'not like other ones' (with a positive connotation), but more important and involving more responsibility.

In their turn, **employees of state enterprises** more often speak of the predominance of family values in their lives. They do not perceive their profession as a duty or one that is special and different from others. They tend to speak about the advantages and disadvantages of their work in the context of family or close relations: the necessity to

'support the family', reluctance to change their work due to 'attachment to their home, family and friends' and so on.

Elena: I think you would agree that if you change the place of work geographically, you'll have to change everything: your apartment, friends, acquaintances, and this is a very dramatic change. To move within the borders of Belarus or abroad is a major decision. At the moment I'm not ready to make it.

Nikolay: To move abroad or to the other side of the country means to lose the connection with your home. So to each their own.

Andrey: Yes, on the whole, both the responsibilities and the comfort which, as it happens, is connected with the home. And certain difficulties related to moving, discomfort, losing a kind of a community.

Sergey: Well, perhaps it's only in America that such career persons exist for whom their job is the most important thing, but for us it's the family that matters. All this work and these activities are done for the sake of the family.

At the same time, when analysing the differences between the values of state enterprise employees who live in communities of different sizes, a clear contrast can be discerned between "the amount of salary" and "self-development and interest to work". Residents of small towns (more precisely – the smaller the town, the more frequent such statements are) more often speak about the amount of salary as a criterion for choosing a job or changing it, including the geographic and professional mobility.

Attitude to work

Public officials, in their turn, are less concerned about the possibility of losing their jobs.

Andrei: Well, what does it mean – to be dismissed? One can be dismissed for certain wrongdoings.

Moderator: Natallia, did you also say that you aren't afraid of layoffs?

Natallia: Oh, on the contrary! I'm trying to leave at the moment, but they won't let me go.

Olga: I don't know, because I can leave my job and try working in another sphere – and this is why I am not afraid. No layoffs are forthcoming, as far as I know, but I'm ready for that.

Sergey: I'm not afraid of any layoffs. I've got a very rare qualification. We do not get laid off.

They talk about their indispensability in the workplace and the possibility to easily find another job much more frequently than the employees of state enterprises (horizontal mobility: a government entity or a state organization), considering the possibility of working in the private sector as well. Besides, they often understand labour mobility as the ability to adapt to challenges and problems and solve them efficiently (which is necessary to be promoted and to retain their current job), and

position themselves as employees of this kind. At the same time, the larger the community in which the interviewees live is, the more they are inclined to *change jobs*, a fact that is most probably conditioned by the difference in salaries in communities with different numbers of population and greater labour opportunities on the whole.

Besides, most public officials say that they would not like to change their job because they find the work they do interesting.

Moderator: So you wouldn't like to change your job?

Svetlana: No.

Moderator: But why not?

Svetlana: I like it, I like my job.

However, many of them point out the low salary level if compared to the private sector, as well as a decrease in the salary level and the prestige of the profession in the last 10 years.

Natallia: The fact is that the state service in our country is very unusual. About 10 years ago the state service was considered a very prestigious place to work at. The salaries were, on the whole, good, and there were certain bonuses as well. But over the years it all changed. <...> Our salaries are equal to average ones across the country – so we don't get much. Yet we know how much deputy directors and directors of enterprises earn in the real economy, these salaries are much higher.

In contrast to public officials, employees of **state enterprises** are less sure of their liquidity in the labour market, and therefore their level of labour mobility is lower. They change jobs more rarely as they consider the risks associated with it to be higher: often they do not change jobs for decades. The inclination to change jobs is restrained by their opinion that former employees of state enterprises have low relevance in the labour market, as well as by social and economic risks associated with a new job and the need to move to another city: the absence of accommodation, possible instability in the payment of salary, and lack of confidence in the employer's ability to ensure long-term employment.

Vladimir: Well, I have been in this job for 15 years already. I like my job and I'm not going to change it. That's all.

Moderator: 15 years is a great working experience...

Larisa: I've already got used to it. And I wouldn't like to trade it for anything else.

Yelena: My working experience is 37 years.

Considering the low rate of remuneration, the salary itself rather than its increase acts as an incentive for work.

At the same time, both officials and employees of state enterprises point out that the opportunities for self-fulfillment and using one's creative talent and are very low: "no good deed goes unpunished".

Attitude to promotion

Despite the fact that public officials are a more mobile group, they treat promotion with cautiousness. Formally they confirm that there are opportunities for promotion, but promotion itself is not always an advantage for them. There are two reasons for that:

1. Promotion involves more work, but the salary does not increase significantly.

***Olga:** I'm a teaching methods specialist [at an educational institution]. At the moment the issue of me being transferred to the position of director is being discussed. That has been going on for quite a long time, and I'm afraid that after all I wouldn't like to start working as the head of the institution from August. Because there is just a small difference in the salary, and as I know all problems, all the pluses and minuses, it's hard for me to take such a decision.*

2. Public officials are afraid of increased responsibility associated with promotion: an increase in responsibility often involves more serious punishment in the event of a failure, including criminal liability.

***Andrey:** But everyone understands that becoming a manager, you only get problems. You won't deal with one task, you'll have to solve issues. And what does it mean – to solve issues? – It means to cover up the failures of others. You are going to create a semblance of welfare, but everyone knows that there is no welfare, and you take responsibility, and what are you going to explain then about what you have wrote, what was the illusion you created?*

Employees of state enterprises confirm there are few opportunities for promotion due to a slow growth of business and managers who stay in their positions for too long, even having reached retirement age – in other words, there are no superior positions to fill.

***Yelena:** I can tell about our organization. There's this joke – “the retirees' room”. All the managers have reached retirement age. But they aren't going to retire.*

***Lena:** And they stay until they get dismissed.*

Attitude towards Belarus' living standards and the social and economic situation

According to public officials, living standards in Belarus are high enough, and the general quality of life is not worse than that in other countries. In their opinion, a person's income depends on his/her affiliation with a specific social group, as well as on his/her own willingness and ability to grow and develop. Public officials assign

responsibility for the economic difficulties that people face to the people themselves rather than to the government.

Andrey: <...> [F]or me, the characteristics of the society are important. If, for instance, they are used to peeing in the elevator in this country, this will never change, and neither money nor force can help, it will stay the same. <...> The community is always there. It disapproves and it leads the country this or that way. Like in 1917, for instance, they rose up and called for revolution, and they made this revolution, alright, and the country became like that. And no money could help, and England, America, and the Guards wanted to bring back the old order, but nothing helped, because the society had decided to do so.

Moderator: And you aren't comfortable with the society?

Andrey: <...> I don't really like it, and I see that sometimes the society does not choose a rational way

In their turn, employees of **state enterprises** think that living standards in Belarus are worse than in other states, and the level of income and general quality of life are lower. The possibility of moving to a permanent place of residence abroad is not considered due to the loss of family connections and – most frequently – to the language divide.

A man: I've been to many countries. I liked the countries I visited. Take Italy, for instance. I could even live there, but first I have to learn Italian.

Sergey: Well, the main thing is the language divide, it will be impossible to communicate.

Officials' perception of reforms

Analysis of how officials perceived reforms revealed three important aspects.

1. Reforms are perceived by officials not as transformations made with specific aims but as a continuous process of amending the legislation and changing the public administration procedures to which they have to adapt. The ability to adjust to these changes in this case is considered as a high level of professionalism, and certain respondents (quite a small share of the total number) understand it as “labour mobility”.

Sergey: I don't know whether everyone else would agree with me, well, you ask <...> to what extent we are ready to change. The case is, in my opinion, that in the last 20 years, of restructuring, for instance, the very notion of change for us has obtained a different meaning; there have been so many changes that we have stopped paying attention to them. It is like running up an escalator that is going down, we got used to it, and you cannot stop. You just can't, whatever I did, I needed to do it proactively.

Raisa: *At work, everything is constantly changing. I'm always learning something new. This is what my work consists of. I have to learn something all the time.*

Irina: *The same thing with me, each day you learn something new. I work in statistics, and starting from last year a new electronic reporting form was introduced for enterprises, this is why we have to learn how to use this new software, not only for ourselves, but also in order to provide advice to our respondents, our organisations, besides, the parameters and requirements are changing, too. And as I've already said, the legislative acts that we should know, with which we and our organisations work, are changing.*

2. The educational reform is considered a negative example. The attitude to it is neutral negative: while obvious disapproval is not expressed, the absence of positive changes is admitted.

Andrey: *It's not an innovation, it's more like bureaucracy. The 10-point grading scale is an innovation, but this innovation should be accompanied by 150 bureaucratic reports. From a specialist's point of view, this is not a professional breakthrough in this sphere, in this process. People who work there don't see any progress in it. And, of course, it causes rejection. What for? If they used to teach according to the 5-point grading scale... For instance, I'm the head of an enterprise, I'm interviewing a young professional, who studied according to the 5-point grading scale, then I'm going to interview another one, with a 10-point one, so how do I compare them? Of course, I'll talk to them and find out what I need to. But in fact, let's destroy all common grounds and start measuring air with tons rather than with volume parameters, and what will we get as a result? This will be an epic fail... You cannot call it an innovation.*

3. The layoffs of public administration workers that took place not so long ago were quite painless for the officials (positions were made redundant, a number of laid-off employees moved to other agencies or were promoted, etc.).

Moderator: *Are there any changes that make your work more complex? According to the data gathered from other focus groups, some serious lay-offs, structural changes took place in the public administration sphere and that they influenced those who were employed. Were there any similar processes at your organizations?*

A woman: *Even if there was something like that, people were offered either a similar job or certain compensations that were quite enough for them.*

Moderator: *So you wouldn't say there was a serious influence? Svetlana, was there something similar at your organisation and did it influence you?*

Svetlana: *No, it didn't.*

Moderator: *And what about your peers?*

Svetlana: *No.*

Conditions for labour mobility

There are a number of obstacles for public officials and employees of state enterprises that, in fact, eliminate the opportunities for labour mobility. Members of focus groups often say that geographic labour mobility is hindered by the fact that there is no one to render support at the new place, and even highly qualified employees are not required as they have no connections. The interviewees point out that clanship that is commonly found in the public administration system, which makes it very hard for an outsider to fill this or that position.

Olga: Let's even put it this way: for instance, I've got an acquaintance, he holds a good position, but even so, tomorrow he might lose it, but let's not go into such detail, let's just consider this example: there is an offer to go and work in Brest, but they don't need me there, I'll come, and there everything is the same. There will be people who would say, like, who do you think you are here? That's why I'm not going to take this risk and go there. I'm going to stay here. And this is the issue with the majority of people. Perhaps, not the majority of all people, but at least it's true for public officials.

Besides, there are difficulties with promotion, as high-ranking officials often try to stay in their positions as long as possible, even having reached retirement age. In other words, hiring is complicated due to the **absence of meritocracy (professionalism as the primary criterion) as the main hiring principle**, and change of the place of residence is complicated due to a number of social and economic risks.

Sources of information

The overwhelming majority of focus group participants say that they receive key information about world events on the Internet. The participants mostly refer to websites such as *tut.by* and *naviny.by*. Television is much less frequently named as an information source, and, in most cases, it is just an additional source (state-run Belarusian TV channels are only named once as a source of information). The focus group members say that they choose the Internet as the primary source of information as it is a fast, convenient and simple way of obtaining information, and it is much more up-to-date than newspapers or TV. However, one cannot unambiguously conclude that the Internet is the primary source of information due to the absence of ideological and other types of bias, or due to the possibility to diversify certain sources (news websites) of information.

Therefore, the primary differences among public sector employees may be presented in the following way:

Differences in the attitudes of public sector employees

Difference in type of employment:	Officials	Employees of state enterprises
Priority values	Income	Family
Important aspects of work	Interest and self-development	Income
Attitude towards dismissal	Confidence in one's indispensability	Fear and feeling of uncertainty
Attitude towards living standards in Belarus	The same as everywhere	Lower than in other countries
Attitude towards profession	Important and significant to society	A common one, like everybody else's
Obstacles to labour mobility	Nepotism and clanship in the public administration system, increase in responsibility	Social and economic risks
Difference in the size of community a person lives in:	Small	Big
Driver for changing place of residence	Increase in level of income	Improvement of quality of life: ecology, infrastructure, etc.
Driver for labour mobility	Care about the family and children	Increase of income, improvement of quality of life and self-fulfillment
Factors deterring labour mobility	Social and economic risks	
Age:	Young (under 30)	30 and older
Attitude towards labour mobility	Positive neutral	Negative
Attitude towards risks associated with change of job	Indifferent	Negative