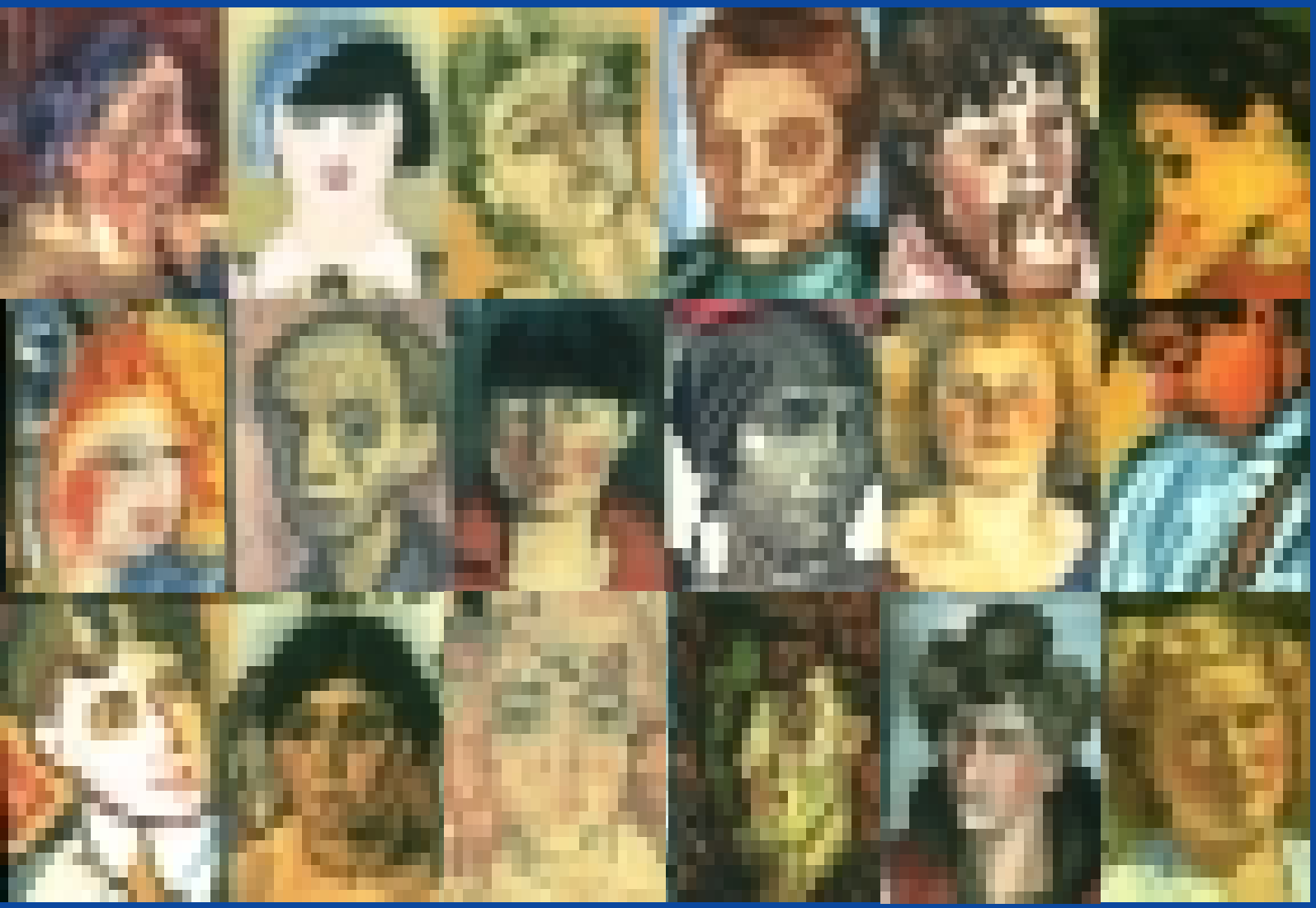
United Nations Resident Coordinator in the Russian Federation

GENDER EQUALITY AND EXTENSION OF WOMEN RIGHTS IN RUSSIA IN THE CONTEXT OF UN THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS



DEAR READERS!

As you are well aware, promotion of equality of men and women and extension of women's rights and opportunities is one of the eight Millennium Development Goals, proclaimed by the United Nations. The report entitled «Gender equality and extension of women rights in Russia in the context of the UN Millennium Development Goals» was prepared by experts — members of the UN Gender Theme Group in the Russian Federation. It contains analysis of the current situation with regard to various manifestations of gender inequality on the national level, and identifies key guidelines for solution of this problem with regard to the Russian context. For Russia, latent discrimination is more acute than direct discrimination. The report addresses these issues not only in terms of ensuring women's rights, but also in terms of overcoming gender disparities, which aggravate the status of men (e.g. health status).

We assume that Russian and foreign readers will take an interest in gender problems from the regional angle. Are two types of inequality — regional and gender related, do they overlap and multiply the accumulative effect of disparities in social development of various regions?

One of most interesting chapters is «Gender problems of indigenous people of the North». During the last 10–15 years problems of indigenous people of the North have receded into the background due to other national problems of the transition period. One should note that the government's weaker influence on regional development manifested itself not only in the North, it was common for the whole country. Still, it affected the North much stronger due to high concentration of negative factors of spatial development, which aggravate transition to market economy and demand significant government support. The report provides a clear idea of the scope of social and economic disparities in Northern regions, development trends on the territories populated by small indigenous people and gender dimensions of their problems.

I hope that report contents and conclusions will generate animated debates not only among gender experts, but in the society in general, both in this country and abroad, and will thus contribute to the search of ways and methods of overcoming gender inequality and implementing the provisions of the Millennium Declaration.

Stephan Vasilev
UN Resident Coordinator in the Russian Federation

GENDER EQUALITY AND EXTENSION OF WOMEN RIGHTS IN RUSSIA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE UN MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Millennium Development Goals *is an ambitious program of overcoming poverty and improving the quality of life. It was adopted by 147 heads of states and representatives of 191 countries, among them the Russian Federation, during the Millennium Summit in September 2000. The UN Millennium Development Goals are to be achieved by 2015; they include: eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, achievement of universal primary education, promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women, reduction of child mortality, improvement of maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability and development of a global partnership for development.*

2005

The report «GENDER EQUALITY AND EXTENSION OF WOMEN RIGHTS IN RUSSIA IN THE CONTEXT OF MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS» was prepared by independent experts, members of the UN Gender Theme Group.

The authors' opinion does not necessarily represent the views of UN agencies, which are members of the UN Gender Theme Group, or institutions at which the authors work.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The population is heterogeneous, but certain indicators allow for its division into several categories, e.g., gender, ethnicity or nationality. Most stable are differences related to gender, or gender differences. For this reason gender approaches should be taken into account in crafting human development strategies.

Gender approaches presuppose evaluation of activities or processes with regard to their impact on men and women, but not on the «average» population.

The Millennium Declaration proclaimed by UN outlines eight development areas and eight goals in the social sphere, the third of them is achievement of gender equality:

1. Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger;
2. Achievement of universal primary education
3. Promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women
4. Reduction of child mortality
5. Improvement of maternal health
6. Combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
7. Ensuring environmental sustainability
8. Development of a global partnership for development.

The report aims to analyse the situation in Russia with regard to different forms of gender inequality, and to identify key policy areas towards achievement of the third Millennium Goal with account to specific Russian context, namely:

- To identify Russian peculiarities with regard to attainment of gender equality.
- To identify primary trends and gender inequality mechanisms in economy.
- To analyse the impact of economic gender inequality on different status of men and women in social and political areas.
- To propose policy guidelines towards achieving gender equality and expansion of women's opportunities and rights.

This report relies on data provided by State Committee for Statistics of the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred to as RF Goskomstat), Russian longitudinal monitoring survey (RLMS)[1] data and materials of other surveys available to the authors[2].

The report was co-authored by S.G. Aivazova (Chapter 10), N.V.Zubarevich (Chapter 9), C.Yu. Roschin (Chapter 1–8, 10 and editing).

2 MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND RUSSIAN CONTEXT

The Millennium Declaration outlines key development goals (hereinafter referred to as MDGs), but it is equally important to make these goals instrumental and link them with specific activities in order to measure the progress of various countries and world community on the whole in achieving these goals. Towards this, the Millennium Declaration defines specific tasks within each of the eight goals, as well as quantitative indicators measuring attainment thereof. MDG #3 relates to elimination of gender inequality in primary and secondary education by 2005, and eradication of inequality at all levels of education by 2015. The following parameters were selected as indicators of achievement of these goals: ratio of boys and girls in primary, secondary and high school, ratio of literate young women and men aged 15–24; the share of women employed in non-agricultural sectors of the economy, and the share of women-members of national parliament.

In formulating these tasks and indicators the Millennium Declaration proceeded from the assumption that gender alignment of investments in the human capital creates prerequisites for equal access to economic and social resources, affects the levelling of gender employment structures and, subsequently, guarantees equal political representation of men and women. The Millennium Declaration was based on the situation typical for many countries of the world (including developed ones), where the level of education and investments in the human capital were much

[1] Monitoring survey of economic status and public health in Russia (RMEH) is a national representative panel survey of Russian households conducted with support from staff of Institute of Social Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences), North Caroline University and other research centers. 11 survey rounds were carried out between 1990–2002.

[2] Due to existence of the time gaps in collection and processing of statistical and research information, the report is based on available statistics for 2000–2004.

less pronounced for women than for men. But this situation does not exactly fit the Russian context.

Having walked along the socialist road for a number of years, Russia faced a completely different situation with gender equality in social and economic areas. At least five particular features make Russia different from many other countries.

1. Since 1960s, Russia has achieved an extremely high level of women's employment. The profile of women's labour activity in Russia is notable for the fact that it continues from youth to the elderly age, and during their life cycle women combine high labour activity with family responsibilities. Participation of able-bodied women in the labour force is comparable to that of men[3]. Contrary to other countries, Russia is notable for women's excess employment, inherited from the old times and compatible only with Scandinavian countries. Other developed countries are still to achieve such gender employment parameters.

2. Russia is a highly industrial country in the process of technological transition to post-industrial economy. The biggest share of women and men is employed in manufacturing and public services sectors, not in agriculture. Moreover, there are more men than women among those employed in agriculture. It makes Russia different from many developing countries, and calls for a deeper analysis of gender segregation in the labour market, not only of women's distribution between agrarian and other sectors of the national economy.

3. Equal access of men and women to education has been guaranteed in Russia for several decades and women's educational level is higher than that of men.

4. During the socialist development period Russia realised approaches oriented at men's and women's equality and based on existing ideological directives and values. In 1920s the equality of rights was stated in basic legal documents. Thus, from the formal and legal point of view, for a long time there was no inequality between men and women in Russia in economic, social and political life, and no outright discrimination in rights[4]. As far as this parameter, Russia is one of the leading countries of the world.

5. Concern for women's welfare and protection of their reproductive rights in Russia resulted in adoption during the socialist period of the 20th century of various positive discrimination norms and social benefits, quite generous as compared with other countries of the world.

During the post-socialist and transition periods Russia carried out a variety of legislative and practical activities in order to maintain formal equality of rights and achieve real equality of men and women. The relevant norm was formulated in the RF Constitution of 1993 (Article 19, part 3): «men and women have equal rights and freedoms and equal opportunities for their implementation». A number of other legal documents appeared in 1990s as its follow-up, among them Decrees by RF President «On Priorities of State Policies Concerning Women» (1993) and «On Increasing Women's Role in Federal Power Bodies and Power Bodies of RF Subjects of the RF» (1996), as well as two government statements — «On Adopting the National Plan of Action towards Improvement of the Status of Women in the Russian Federation and Increase of their Role in Society by 2000», and «On adoption of the National Plan of Action towards Improvement of the Status of Women in the Russian Federation and Increase of their Role in Society by 2001-2005». The latter stipulates for improving women's status in the labour market, improving social service and strengthening family relationships.

Endorsement of the Family Code and the new Labour Code, as well as ratification of ILO Convention No. 156 «On equal treatment and equal opportunities for working men and women: workers with family responsibilities» aimed at overcoming the consequences of positive discrimination, were significant steps in the right direction.

With regard to the above specifics, in 1990s Russia held higher positions by the Gender-Related Development Index (GRDI) than by the Human Development Index (HDI). Currently, these indicators are equal[5].

Three sets of parameters are used for assessing human development: levels of education, health and economic development. From the viewpoint of human development indicators the primary reason of existent gender inequality in Russia is men's and women's different economic opportunities. Education parameters do not contribute much to gender inequality; as far as the span of life, on the contrary, in Russia there exists considerable gender inequality in favour of women. In assessing gender dimensions of the human development, the biggest impact on gender inequality is attributed to different wages received by men and women.

Thus, taking into account Russia's peculiarities, one may conclude that:

1. In Russia, most acute problems relate to latent, but not open gender discrimination.

2. Gender alignment of investments into the human capital is not a burning issue; women's latent discrimination does not depend on their higher level of human capital. That is why tasks related to achievement of MDG #3 — promotion of gender equality — should be formulated in a different way than for the world community at large.

3. Gender equality issues should be considered not only in terms of ensuring women's rights, but also in terms of overcoming gender disparities, which aggravate the status of men (e.g. health).

[3] S.Y.Roshchin. Women's employment in transition economy of Russia. M.: TEIS, 1996., Women in transition period. Regional monitoring report No.6, UNICEF, 1999.

[4] S.V. Polenina. Women's rights in human rights system: international and national aspect. M.:2000.

[5] Russia is in 56th place according to GRDI. Human Development Report, UNDP, 2003.

4. Key problems of gender equality are related to women's economic status and to securing not only equal rights for men and women, but equal returns from their economic activities.

In a way, Russia faces the following challenge: measures proposed by the international community and aimed at achieving gender equality were already partially implemented at previous stages of the country's development, but were not successful, and gender inequality is preserved and reproduced. That is why new approaches are needed to identify and assess gender inequality aspects and to design relevant policies aimed at ensuring equal opportunities for men and women.

3 GENDER EQUALITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET: WHAT IS IT?

Majority of economically active population in Russia, both men and women, are hired workers (92.3% and 93.4% accordingly in 2002). The biggest part of their welfare is formed through employment and wages. That is why the status of men and women in the labour market predetermines gender economic equality or inequality.

Situation in the labour market is primarily determined by two groups of parameters: employment and unemployment (i.e. availability and type of jobs) and wage range. It is important to seek answers to two questions: «How do gender employment structures differ?» and «What are gender differences in economic returns from labour activities?», which will help reveal the underlying trends.

3.1. ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Degree of women's participation in labour activity and their employment opportunities reflect the level of economic activity. In order to assess the level of economic activity, RF Goskomstat Labour Force Survey (LFS) data was used. Changed profiles of labour activity during 1990s as per LFS data (Fig. 2) testify to decreased labour activity rate both of men and women, primarily owing to marginal age groups, i.e. the young and the elderly. Overall dynamics of these changes is common for both genders. Among men these changes mostly affected older age groups, among women — younger age groups (between 25–29 and 30–34 y.o.).

RLMS data allows for alternative estimation of the level of economic activity, which provides different figures from the LFS data (Fig. 1). Overall, RLMS data reveals more synchronised fluctuations in the level of labour activity of men and women. However, participation of most able–bodied men in the labour force decreased to a greater extent than revealed by the LFS data.

On the other hand, according to RLMS data, during 1990s the average rate of participation in the labour force remained unchanged, which contradicts to the LFS data and does not comply with assumptions about the nature of adaptation to changing economic parameters in countries in transition[6]. Exclusion from economically active population was one of public means of adapting to new realities of the labour market and the economic crisis. In any case, both Goskomstat and RLMS data testify to insignificant decrease of economically active population in Russia, including women.

Thus, the overall level of women's economic activity is still high in Russia owing to the fact that their continual participation in the labour force is as necessary for family budget as was during the socialist times. In majority of households, one worker cannot ensure the necessary level of consumption and prosperity. In addition, existent public traditions and women's high educational level contributes to their high rate of employment. Women's participation in income generating activities is a socially acceptable standard of behaviour. Women retain broad opportunities for employment and access to jobs.

Analysis of factors affecting the rate of labour activity reveals certain gender differences[7]. Thus, contrary to men, the number of children negatively affects women's economic activity. The simple explanation is that it is mostly women who carry the main load of bringing up children. The educational level positively and strongly affects women's participation in the labour force as compared to men, i.e. women receive more returns from their education in terms of improving their status in the labour market. Health parameters more strongly influence men's rate of participation in the labour force than women's. The influence of health status on labour activity is similar both for men and women, but when health deteriorates, men's labour activity drops more rapidly.

The rate of pensions, incomes of other family members, besides husbands, and regional unemployment rate affect negatively only men, while such factors as age, regional wage levels, the status of pensioner or student and husband's income affect positively both men and women. This testifies to the fact that determinants of participation in the labour force are similar for men and women. High rate of women's employment resulted in that women behave similar to men when taking deci–

[6] More detailed analysis of participation in the labour force based on LFS and RLMS data is provided in: V.E.Gimpelson, Labour activity of Russian population in 1990–s. Preprint WP3/2002/01. M.: SU HSE. 2002; S.Y.Roshchin. Supply of labour force in Russia: microeconomic analysis of economic activity of the population: Preprint WP3/2003/02. M.: SU HSE, 2003.

[7] S.Y. Roshchin. Supply of labour force in Russia: microeconomic analysis of economic activity of the population: Preprint WP3/2003/02. M.: SU HSE, 2003; S.Y.Roshchin. Women in employment and in the labour market in Russian economy (empirical studies of gender differences in labour behaviour based on RLMS data). // 15,4Gender and economics: world experience and Russian practical expertise, Rossiyskaya Panorama, 2002. p. 212–234.

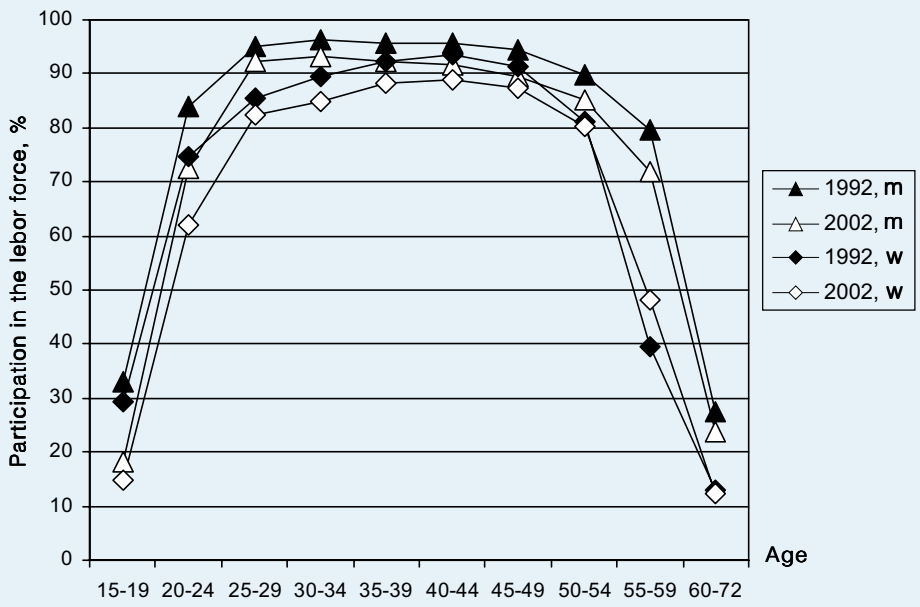

Fig. 1. Changes in the level of labour activity as per RLMS data (RF Goskomstat)

sions about participation in the labour force. Still, the phenomenon of «hopeless workers» and the income factor that decrease labour activity are more common for men than for women. Thus, men's participation in the labour market depends to a greater degree on economic factors, while women's participation — on social and demographic factors.

3.2. UNEMPLOYMENT

In addition to the level of labour activity, unemployment rate is another important indicator of male and female economic status. Accounting and registration of unemployment was launched in Russia in 1992. Prevalence of women among registered unemployed in 1990s (70%) gave birth to the concept of «women's face» of unemployment in Russia. But analysis of unemployment structure carried out by Goskomstat as per ILO methods and based on LFS data reveals that men and women share the burden of unemployment equally, while unemployment rate is higher among men. Higher probability of women registering as unemployed (as compared to men) is explained by women's passive approaches to search of jobs and by the fact that for some women the status of registered unemployed is a convenient way of joining economically passive population and leaving the labour market. Research demonstrates that the share of women among registered unemployed depends on the unemployment rate: it rises when unemployment rate is low and vice versa.

Thus, the range of unemployment does not reflect significant gender differences. Still, women spend more time on job search, and among women the share of «long-term» unemployed is higher than among men (Table 1,2).

Table 1. Unemployment in Russia by ILO methodology: rate and gender structure

	Unemployment rate, %		Share of women among unemployed, %
	Male	Female	
1992	5,2	5,2	47,74
1993	5,9	5,8	47,03
1994	8,3	7,9	46,09
1995	9,7	9,2	46,13
1996	10,0	9,3	45,60
1997	12,2	11,5	45,76
1998	13,5	12,9	46,16
1999	13,3	12,7	46,74
2000	10,8	10,1	46,37
2001	9,5	8,6	45,62
2002	9,0	8,1	46,01
2003	8,6	8,0	47,15

Table 2. Distribution of unemployed by duration of job search (RF Goscomstat, LFS data, %)

	1992	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Men (Total)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Including job searchers							
< 3 months	62,0	25,4	23,2	23,7	27,8	35,4	29,5
3–6 months	17,7	16,2	16,8	14,4	14,6	13,5	14,7
6–12 months	11,2	22,5	20,7	18,4	19,3	17,2	18,6
> 1 year	9,1	35,9	39,3	43,5	38,3	33,9	37,1
Average period of job search, months	3,9	8,5	8,9	9,2	8,6	7,8	8,3
Total women	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Including job searchers							
< 3 months	50,3	21,6	21,1	17,7	20,6	25,9	24,2
3–6 months	21,6	15,3	14,7	12,7	13,5	14,6	15,4
6–12 months	14,8	22,2	21,2	18,1	18,8	19,0	19,6
> 1 year	13,2	40,7	42,9	51,5	47,1	40,5	40,7
Average period of job search, months	4,9	9,1	9,4	10,2	9,7	8,8	8,9

3.3. WAGES

The level of wages is one of most important parameters. Considering the larger part of employed in Russia is hired workers, the wage level predetermines the level of prosperity of individuals and households and economic opportunities for investment into human development. Moreover, the wage level reflects efficiency of economic returns on the human capital. Gender equality of wages in many ways serves as a basis for alignment of family status of men and women, provides broader equal access to family expenses and creates the basis for women's economic independence.

Differences in wages received by men and women are usually explained by unequal gender distribution across professions and industries (horizontal segregation), unequal wages within professions and types of activity (vertical segregation), and low recognition of women's labour. If differences in qualitative characteristics of men's and women's labour were the main reason of unequal remuneration, one could expect that similar levels of labour activity and education would result in similar wage levels, which is not the case.

Until recently, systematic statistical data on gender-related wages was non-existent. The recent RF Goskomstat data allowed for assessment of gender gap in wages. Thus, in 1998 female average wages in economy made up 70% of male average wages, in 2000 — 63.2%, in 2001 — 63%, in 2003 — 64% (at large and medium-size enterprises only). Account of small enterprises in statistical surveys would have, most probably, increased this gap. Small enterprises usually pay smaller wages and many risks are shifted off to workers, and women are mostly concentrated in service provision sectors and companies with few employees. The overall level of gender disparity in wages is compatible with the situation in many developed countries. Still, the increasing gender gap in wages is a disturbing trend.

RLMS data provides more detailed information and reveals a stable correlation of female and male wages amounting to 60% (Table 3).

In comparing wage levels one should take into account two factors. First, in 1990s non-payment and wage arrears were an acute problem in Russian economy, affecting men more than women. For this reason, wage differences should be modified and increased. Second, wage rates, as a rule, are compared at primary work places, though «moonlighting» (secondary employment) is widely spread in Russia. It is mostly men who have secondary jobs, and, other equal conditions provided, they receive higher wages than women do[8]. Thus, comparison of wages at all work places would also increase the gender gap in incomes.

However, comparison of average level of wages (an important indicator of male and female participation in the labour force) does not disclose the nature of such disparities. The existent gap cannot be explained only by women's less favourable positions

Table 3. Correlation between female/male wages (RLMS data), %

	1994	1995	1996	1998	2000	2001	2002
Wage at the primary job	58,31	63,26	60,59	64,67	61,62	60,13	63,39

[8] Roshchin S.Y., Razumova T.O. Secondary employment in Russia: labor supply models. M. EERC, 2002.

in the economy as compared to men or only by discrimination. Qualitative characteristics of men's and women's human capital, employment modes and activity areas may differ significantly, which also adds to the gap in average wages.

Analysis of gender gap determinants in wages as per RLMS data for 2001[9] reveals largest gender gaps in wages in professional communities with excess women's labour force, namely, professions requiring specialised secondary and university education: here, women make less than men by 47% and 45% on the average. Prior to retirement wages of men and women approximate, while the biggest gap is registered in the 41–45 age group.

Women much more often than men are employed half–time[10] (13% vs. 4%), however, for both genders this ratio has diminished significantly during the last 5–6 years[11].

In 2001 a common trend was a relative advantage of working women related to the total duration of schooling (as per RLMS data, 12.9 years for women and 12.6 — for men). Still, men employed in high and medium positions (requiring university and specialised secondary education, clerks and public officials) surpass women by the duration of schooling, i.e. with regard to the level of education women are distributed more uniformly across professional groups.

Speaking about returns of investments into education, one should note that employees with complete or incomplete post–graduate education get biggest average wages at primary jobs; however, women with postgraduate education on the average make less than men with secondary education. Women with university education earn more than only one category of men — those with incomplete university education. At the same time in several regions of Russia women with incomplete secondary education make more[12] than women with secondary education.

As per RLMS data, in 2001 women's overall work record (excluding full–time schooling in universities or technical schools) amounted to 17.4 years vs. 17.1 years among men. However, these figures do not fully reflect the real situation, as the sampling is age–shifted due to different retirement age. The modified working record accounting for homogeneous distribution of workers of both sexes by age is 16.5 years among women vs. 19.7 years among men. The modified work record at the latest job, which speaks of specific human capital, is 7.6 years for women vs. 6.5 years for men.

Arrears of wages or payments of wages «in kind» to workers with low qualifications were common in 2001 and earlier. 42% of men with no certificate of secondary education faced arrears of wages and/or payment of wages «in kind», i.e. by goods manufactured at their enterprises. On the average, this problem affected 20% of women and 23% of men.

Several important trends are noted in analysis of returns from investments into human capital in 2001. Benefits from university education remained intact both for men and women. For women, this positive trend emerged in mid 1990s. In 1996, the university diploma, other equal conditions provided, would increase the wages of women with secondary education by 34%, in 2000 — by 56%[13]. In 2001 the rate of returns from investments into university education for women amounted to 61% (with similar preconditions). However, since late 1990s the rate of returns from postgraduate training has been on the decline.

At the same time negative returns from women's secondary education became evident. Education in vocational schools, both with or without the certificate of secondary education, also affected women's wages negatively. Other equal conditions provided, education in technical schools or vocational schools increased men's wages by 12%, women's wages — by 10% (as compared to employees with incomplete secondary education). In mid 1990s the returns from this type of education were more tangible for women, while for men, on the contrary, they slightly increased only recently.

Women's wages grow with age, reaching the maximum at 44, then start declining. Men on the average face such a decline earlier, at 38. Analysing the given sampling as a «conventional generation», one may say that, contrary to men, women's wages do not change significantly with time. Female profile «age vs. wages» is lower than male and is more gentle. Gender gap in wages decreases on the verge of retirement.

Thus, one may conclude that differences in human capital reduce the gender gap in wages. Women had rather significant advantages in human capital dimensions, which helped somewhat reduce the gap: if women had similar characteristics with men, the gap would grow by 7.4%.

Distribution of arrears of wages, «in kind» payments and part–time jobs was also favourable for women in terms of gender differences in wages. However, these factors influenced gender differences 10 times less than difference in the properties of human capital.

In 2001, occupational segregation was a significant determinant of gender disparities; it accounted for 15% gap, or approximately one third[14] of cumulative wage gaps. Impact of occupational segregation on gender gap is most demonstrative in that the lowest returns were visible in predomi–

[9] Assessment of factors related to gender gap in wages was made by O.Gorelkina and S. Roshchin.

[10] Less than 35 hours a week.

[11] S.Ogloblin: 1999, Gender Earnings Differential in Russia, Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Vol. 52, No. 4, p. 608

[12] For example in Moscow, Saint–Petersburg and Moscow region they earn almost twice as much.

[13] Konstantinova Vernon V. Returns to Human Capital in Transitional Russia. The University of Texas at Austin. Working Paper, April 2002.

[14] In mid– 1990s — over half, S. Ogloblin. Gender Earnings Differential in Russia, Industrial and Labour Relations review, 1999, Vol. 52, No. 4.

Table 4. Primary gender gap determinants in wages, 2001

Total differences	0,438
Positive contribution	**0,276**
Occupational segregation	0,150
Different work record	0,073
Enterprise owner	0,027
Health	0,026
Negative contribution	**–0,069**
Human capital, including	–0,058
Age	–0,026
Education	–0,029
Specific human capital	–0,003
Regional wage differences	–0,007
Wage arrears, natural benefits, reductions	–0,005
Unaccounted differences	**0,230**
Male gain	0,122
Female loss	0,108

nantly «female» professions, the highest — in traditional «male» professions. Thus, under other equal conditions the wages of industrial workers, operators, engine drivers are 35% higher than of unskilled workers, while for professionals and specialists with university or specialised secondary education relevant parameters make up 31–32%. The advantage in wages of clerks and public officials is 13% only (Table 4).

Domination of women in public services and their scarcity in foreign companies made a positive, though insignificant contribution to gender gap in wages. If distribution by these sectors were absolutely uniform, the cumulative difference in wages would decrease by 2.7%.

Health factor (judging by respondents' self–rating) «explained» approximately the same share of gender gap in wages, namely, 2.6%. Good health ensured 16% growth of female wages vs. 7% growth of male wages.

Thus, primary determinants of gender disparities in wages in the Russian labour market in 2001 were gender discrimination[15], occupational segregation, different types of company ownership (public sector or foreign company), which contributed to the gap positively. Also, differences in the quality of human capital (age, educational level, specific work record), distribution of arrears in wages, «in kind» payments, reduction of working time prevented increase of the gap by another 7%.

3.4. SEGREGATION

Gender segregation reveals itself in asymmetric distribution of men and women in different structures: departmental, occupational and functionary. At that, horizontal and vertical segregation are identified. Horizontal segregation manifests itself in different occupational groups, while vertical one — in the same occupational group. In view of that, departmental and occupational segregation may be called horizontal, and functionary segregation — vertical.

Statistical data allows for assessment only of departmental and occupational genders segregation. At that, occupational segregation should not be considered horizontal only. Distribution by 10 occupational groups reflects both horizontal and vertical segregation[16].

Departmental segregation (by branch of industry). The overall conclusion is that women are mostly employed in public services (nearly 60 % of women vs. less than 30% of men). The expansion of public services during the last thirty years of the 20th century stimulated women's increased employment, amount of jobs and demand for female labour, but at the same time added to segregation of the labour market.

For a more detailed analysis we suggest the following approach: branches of industry with less then 33% of female labour are called «male», with more than 66% of female labour — «female». The remaining industries form a third, intermediary category.

From among 15 branches (in line with RF Goskomstat classification), from 1994 through 2002 no considerable changes occurred in 12. Thus, one may conclude that forestry (1/5 of women–workers), construction (the share of women never exceeded 25% during 9 years), transportation (the share of men stayed at approx. 75%) and «other branches» of industry may be classified as «male».

Such spheres as public health, physical culture and social security (male share never exceeded 20% during 9 years), education (nearly 4/5 of women), culture and arts (closer to the intermediary branch than other «female» industries, with the share of women 67.5% to 72.5%) and finances, credit and insurance (from 1994 to 2001 the share of women dropped from 74.5 to 69.3%) have seen the highest female concentration during the indicated period of time. Between 1994 and 2001, manufacturing industries, wholesale and retail trade, public catering, housing and communal services, non–productive public services, as well as science and research remained in the intermediary category. At that, during the 9 years the manufacturing industry saw a smooth decrease in female labour (by 4.3% from 1994 to 2002), while in the housing and communal services, non–productive types of public services, on the contrary, the share of women increased (by 3.9%). Early in this period wholesale and retail trade and

[15] Part of gap in wages — 52% — cannot be explained by properties of the job, human capital or regional labour markets, which is more than similar estimations for other countries. Obviously, it cannot be explained only by discrimination, and it is affected by unknown factors.

[16] E. g., heads (representatives) of all levels of government and management including heads of institutions, organisations and enterprises, highly qualified specialists; medium level specialists, office workers, workers, etc.

public catering were on the brink of moving to the «female» category, but by 2001 the share of women therein dropped from 65 to 61.1%.

The following branches moved from one category to another during this period: agriculture (in 1994–1996 and in 1999–2002 belonged to the intermediary category, in 1997 and 1998 switched to the «male» category, with the share of women being 31.7%); communications («female» from 1994 to 1995, it moved to the intermediary category, besides, the share of women decreased steadily during 8 years amounting to 7%) and governance. The latter experienced most radical changes during this period. In 1994 this branch was «female» (up to 69% of women), but since 1995 the male share in this sphere began to grow rapidly. In 1996 and 1997 the ratio of men and women in this sphere equalised, and in 2001 men slightly exceeded women, i.e. during this period the share of the latter fell by 24.5%.

What are the underlying reasons of such changes in the branch structure? One of the reasons could be the decline of the overall amount of women in the labour force. Still, the available data testifies that the share of women during this period remained more or less stable. Therefore, these changes are in no way related to women's exclusion from public production and transfer to private households. It turns out that a mere branch restructuring took place; women and men passed from some branches to others, therefore, reduction of the amount of women in some branches was compensated by increase in others.

Nevertheless, mere identification of «male», «female» and intermediary branches does not provide a clear picture, as it is difficult to evaluate straight away the actual gender segregation by industry. In order to make such an evaluation possible, four segregation indices were calculated for the whole period[17]: ID, SR, WE and MM.

3.4.1. SEGREGATION INDICES

1) Index of Dissimilarity (ID), or Duncan index, is most common. As a rule, it is determined as a half of the amount of differences (with the positive sign) between the shares of men and women occupied in each profession. This index shows what percentage of workers of one sex should change occupation (provided that workers of the other sex should remain at their jobs) to achieve equal distribution of men and women by profession.

$ID = 1/2\Sigma|Fi/F-Mi/M| = Ff/F-Mf/M,$

where F is the number of women in the labour force; M is the number of men in the labour force; Fi is the number of women in profession i; Mi — is the number of men in profession i; Ff is the number of women in «female» professions; Mf is the number of men in «female» professions; i varies from one to the total number of professions.

2) Sex Ratio (SR). This index equals to the number of women in «female» professions divided by the number of women in these professions (in absence of occupational segregation by sex) minus the similar rate for women in «male» professions.

$SR = Ff/[(FNf)/N]-Fm/[(FNm)/N],$

where N is the aggregate number of workers in the labour force; Nf is the aggregate number of workers in «female» professions; Nm is the aggregate number of workers in «male» professions; Fm is the number of women in «male» professions.

3) Women in Employment index (WE) is determined as the sum total of deviations of the share of women in each profession from the share of all workers of this profession in the labour force. In other words, it is the amount of differences between actual and expected shares of women in the profession, all differences are taken with the positive sign.

$WE = \Sigma|Fi/F-Ni/N| = 2(M/N)(Ff/F-Mf/M),$

where Ni is the aggregate number of workers in profession i.

4) Marginal matching (MM) index may be expressed as

$MM = Ff/F-Mf/M.$

In this case «male» and «female» professions are determined in a different manner as compared to other indices (ID, SR, WE), when professions are defined as «female» if the share of women therein is bigger than the share of women in the labour force, while in «male» professions the share of men is bigger than the share of men in the labour force. For MM, «female» professions are those where female concentration is the highest and which also include the same absolute number of workers — both men and women — as the number of employed women. «Male» professions are those where male concentration is maximum and the number of workers therein is equal to the number of employed men. The term «marginal matching» is derived from the method of data presentation: division into «male» and «female» professions is made in such a way that marginal common indicators for «gender affiliation» of professions corresponds to marginal common indicators for workers of one gender («male» professions correspond to men and «female» professions — to women).

What do calculations of gender segregation indices testify to? At first sight, calculation results look ambiguous: three indices from among four (except SR) remained at approximately the same level, while SR values decreased almost by a quarter (Table 5, Fig.2).

Semantic constituents of each of the four indices slightly differ from each other. ID and WE determine closeness of the real situation to potential one, in which the share of men and women in all branches of industry (professions) was congruent with their total share in the economy.

[17] ILO methodology was used for calculation of segregation indices, see Siltanen J., Jarman J., Blackburn R. Gender inequality in the labour market: occupational concentration and segregation. A manual on methodology. ILO, Geneva, 1995, see Appendix for details. Calculations were conducted by S. Antonchenkova.

Table 5. Indices of segregation by industries, 1994–2001. (RF Goscomstat data)

Index	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
ID	0,324	0,335	0,324	0,331	0,332	0,332	0,325	0,324
SR	0,748	0,763	0,730	0,724	0,716	0,586	0,568	0,562
WE	0,335	0,350	0,341	0,348	0,347	0,347	0,339	0,336
MM	0,293	0,306	0,306	0,310	0,324	0,320	0,312	0,312

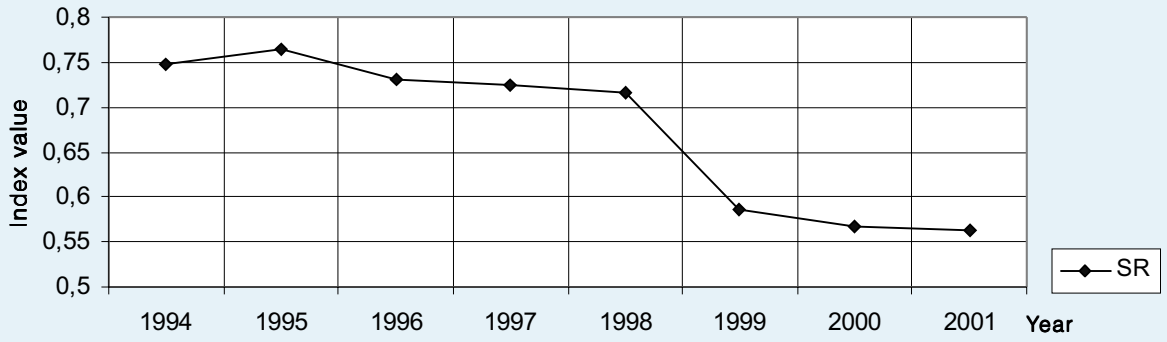

Fig. 2. Dynamics of segregation by industry, 1994 to 2001 (SR)

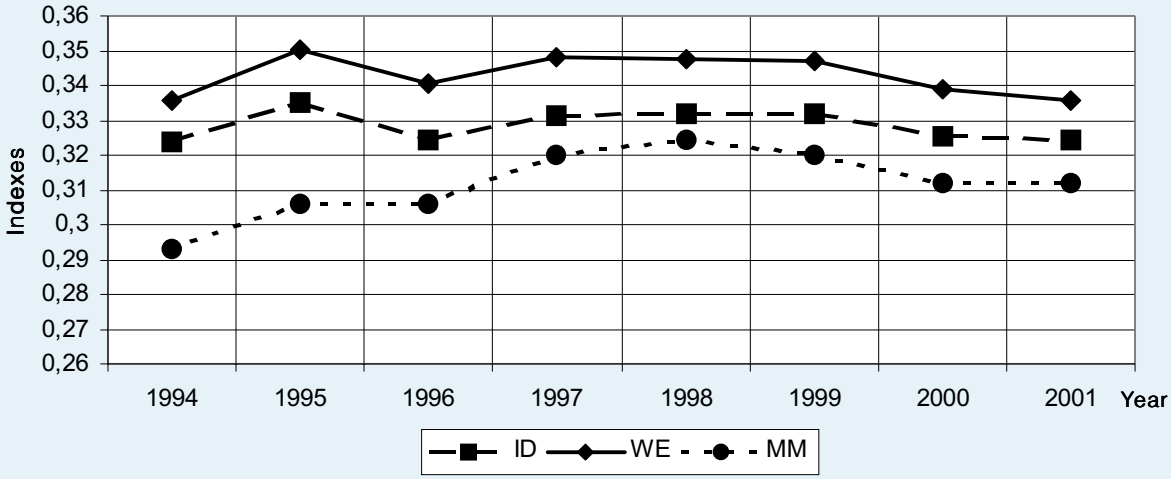

Fig. 3. Dynamics of segregation by industry, 1994–2001 (ID, WE и MM)

MM is more relevant for assessing segregation, as it is cleaned from the impact of changes in the branch structure of the labour market, i.e. the share of those employed in any branch of industry, and gender structure of workforce (in this the case changes in the share of men and women in the economy could not produce any impact, as their number remained nearly the same during the whole period).

SR is aimed at identification of another aspect of segregation, namely, women's concentration in «female» professions as compared to men's concentration in «male» ones (Fig. 3).

The resulting conclusion is that during this period (from 1994 to 2001) segregation by industry has not changed on the whole, averaging 33% by the three indices (ID, WE and MM).

SR index values, which never exceeded 1, testify to the following trend: the number of women in «female» branches is much smaller (in relative terms) than the number of men in «male» branches. The dynamics of changes in this index reveals that the number of women in «female» branches decreased every year as compared to the number of men in «male» branches.

Occupational segregation. RLMS data was used for occupational structure analysis, namely, for classification of labour activities by 10 occupational groups: military personnel; directors, specialists with university education; specialists with secondary education; office clerks; public services workers; skilled agricultural and fishery workers; industrial workers; installations operators and machinists and unskilled workers. Evidently, majority of occupational groups underwent minor changes, i.e. they remained within the same categories («male», «female» and intermediary) where they belonged, and only several occupational groups switched from one category to another.

The following occupational groups remained «male» during the whole period: military personnel (lowest females concentration, the share of women never exceeding 12%); qualified agricultural and fishery workers; installation operators and machinists and industrial workers. However, certain changes occurred in these occupational groups as well. Thus, as compared to 1994, in 2001 slightly more women joined military personnel and industrial workers' groups, but among qualified agricultural and fishery workers, vice versa, the number of women decreased.

The following occupational groups remained «female» from 1994 to 2001: office clerks and client services; professionals with secondary education and public services workers. In 1994–1995 the latter group was very close to becoming an intermediary one. However, since 1996 it undoubtedly turned «female» (during the whole period the share of women in this group varied from 70.2 to 78.8%). In the office clerks and client services group the share of women remained approximately the same (averaging 90%). As for professionals with secondary education, within 7 years the share of women decreased by 7%.

The occupational gender structure of employment conforms to a great extent to the branch structure. Women are more often employed not only in public services, but also in activities related to client services (Table 6).

«Unskilled workers» is the intermediate occupational group, which always (from 1995 to 2001) belonged to this category. In 1994–1995 it came close to the «female» one, but between 1996 and 2001 the share of men and women in this group approximated.

During the given period only two out of ten occupational groups saw considerable changes related to switching to another category. These are professionals with university education (in 1994, this group was intermediary and in 1995 became «female»). The group of directors, considered «male» from 1994 to 1996, moved to the intermediate category in 1997 due to sharp increase in the share of women (by 21% from 1997 to 2001). Still, it should be noted that the share of women among directors increased at the expense of the subgroup «directors of small enterprises».

In this case, again, the processes of growth/reduction of the share of women in certain occupational groups compensate for each other, i.e. gender shifts occur not only within various branches of industry, but also within occupational groups.

Segregation index calculated for three levels of occupational classification codes (based on ISCO–88 standards) demonstrates a higher level of occupational segregation as compared to branch segregation, and a slight decrease in the extent of occupational segregation (table 7).

What is the value of gender segregation index made of? Generally speaking, it reflects occupational gender employment structure, which changes are manifested in a twofold way: first, changes of the overall occupational employment structure, and second, the changing ratios of male and female repre–

Table 6. Share of women across occupational groups, 1994–2001, % (RLMS data)

Occupational groups	1994	1995	1996	1998	2000	2001
Armed forces	6,1	16,9	11,9	10,6	11,6	11,1
Heads of government bodies, enterprises and organisations	25,3	32	32,7	41,8	40,9	46,5
Professionals with university education	64,2	69,4	69,2	71,8	73,3	74
Professionals with secondary education	81	77,1	76,8	74,3	76,4	74,1
Office clerks and client services	92,3	89,2	91,2	89,7	91,1	88,5
Public services workers	68,7	66,8	70,2	76,1	78,8	77,9
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	10,3	0	16,7	10,5	9,4	7,4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	19,1	16	17,4	16,7	16,7	15,2
Industrial workers	17,4	18,3	19,6	19,8	18,4	22,1
Unskilled workers	64	66	59,7	56,2	55,6	53,1

Table 7. Correlation between ID segregation index and occupational desegregation (RLMS data)[18]

Desegregation level	Number of occupational groups	1994	1995	1996	1998	2000	2001	2002
1–symbol occupational code	10	51,48	52,13	52,17	50,58	51,04	48,01	47,41
2–symbol occupational code	27	57,59	55,13	54,80	55,08	55,61	52,45	52,08
3–symbol occupational code	118	65,42	64,75	64,60	64,34	62,74	60,38	59,66

[18] Calculated by I.Maltseva

sentation in certain professions. In other words, decline of segregation level may result both from reduced share of employed in professions with prevalence of one gender and from mass influx of workers into professions, not typical for the relevant gender.

Analysis of the gender employment structure of the Russian economy allows for several observations. First, male distribution across occupations is more heterogeneous than female. Thus, during the observed period (1994), 53% of all working men were employed in three «male» occupations, while for women the same parameter did not exceed 30.13% (2002). There is an obvious trend of male distribution across other occupations (by 2002, only 44,47% of men worked in three most popular professions), while among women the level of concentration remains relatively stable or is on the rise. It should be highlighted that women are mostly employed in professions requiring high educational level (except for sales and service provision, which by 2002 moved to the third position with regard to the share of women). On the contrary, most common male professions (primarily skilled and unskilled labour) do not require high educational level. The only exception is specialists in natural and applied sciences, which in 1994 was the fourth most popular profession among men (7,46% of all employed men), but in 2002 moved to the fifth position.

Second, men and women prevail in different occupational groups. Most common among women in 1994–1998 were sales and service provision, teaching (with university diploma) and other specialities requiring special education[19], while in 2002 the group of shop assistants and demonstrators became second most common group (9,44% of all women compared to 6,24% in 1994). Men employed in these groups made up less than 11,95% of all working men (1998). Noteworthy is that during the given period of time men increased their presence in the above «female» occupations: in 1994 the share of working men therein was only 8,66%. Majority of men have been and are still employed as drivers and machine operators in metal works and machine building, transportation and communications, as well as workers in the mining and construction industries. The share of women therein did not exceed 6%, and from 1994 to 2002 it decreased gradually. In other words, changes in the employment gender structure testify to women's attachment to traditional occupations, while men visibly expand their presence in other including «female» occupational groups. The latter is most evident among workers of «simple» professions, such as sales and service provision: the share of women in the group goes down, while the share of male employees goes up.

Third, gender dominated occupations are quite common among Russian employees. In 1994, three professions most popular among both genders involved 48,29% of all labour force. There is a positive trend of reducing such concentration: by 2002 this indicator dropped to 44,61%. The primary reason was mass exit of people from working professions in various industries, resulting in decrease of the number of employees therein from 10,71% in 1994 to 7,22% in 2002. This process modified gender segregation index, which decreased by 5,51% within 7 years.

Situation in other large occupational groups also played a considerable role in changing segregation patterns. Considerable reduction of the share of men specialising in natural and applied sciences contributed to the levelling of occupational disproportion. Vice versa, segregation increased due to the growing share of women employed as individual entrepreneurs, shop assistants and demonstrators. The share of employees in the latter occupational group grew from 3,86% in 1994 to 5,68% in 2002, exclusively at the expense of women (while the share of men therein decreased). Gender gap among office clerks slightly decreased due to outflow of women and inflow of men, but is still considerable: in 2002, 7,57% of women and 1,53% of men belonged to this group.

According to calculations (Table 8), from 1994 to 2002 almost 80% of changes in the segregation index were predetermined by changes in the professional employment structure of the Russian economy, i.e. increased shares in certain occupational groups and decreased shares in others. Replacement of workers of one gender by workers of another gender within occupations accounts for 20% of the overall index change. In 2002, reduced occupational segregation was mostly accounted for by exit of workers from occupations with huge amount of em–

Table 8. Decomposition of changes of segregetion indexes (RLMS, 1994–2002)[20]

	1994	2002
Segregation index, %	57,59	52,08
	Index change, p.p.	
	–5,51	
Due to:	*In absolute terms*	*In %*
Effect of gender inter–occupational structure	–1,11	20,15%
Effect of occupational employment structure	–4,40	79,85%

[19] Occupational group of «other specialists with special education» includes such popular «female» occupations as tourist agent, administrative secretary, tax inspector, etc.

[20] Professional segregation index was calculated by I,Maltseva for 28 occupational groups in compliance with 2–digit codification of professions in ISCO–88.

Table 9. Share of women among employees and level of wages by industries, 1992–2001, (%)

	Share of women among the employed, %					Ration of monthly wages in branch to average wages in economy				
	1992	1996	1998	2000	2002	1992	1996	1998	2000	2002
Total economy	49	47	48	48	48	100	100	100	100	100
Industry	45	41	38	38	38	118	110	115	123	118
Agriculture	36	34	32	35	40	66	48	45	40	40
Construction	25	24	24	24	24	134	122	127	126	120
Transportation	26	26	26	26	23	146	144	144	150	136
Communications	71	62	60	61	60	91	130	140	130	130
Trade, public catering, MTS	73	62	62	64	63	81	77	82	71	70
Communal and public services	48	46	46	47	47	82	106	105	88	85
Healthcare, sport, social security	83	82	81	81	80	66	77	69	62	74
Education	79	82	80	80	79	61	70	63	56	67
Arts and culture	70	69	68	69	72	52	65	62	55	66
Science	53	51	50	50	49	64	83	99	121	126
Finance and credits	86	74	71	71	69	204	193	199	243	285
Public administration	68	50	48	45	38	94	120	129	120	118

ployees, which in 1994 were dominated by one gender. Analysis of gender employment structure of the Russian economy reveals that this process was predetermined by break up of «male» occupations into smaller units.

Conclusion may be drawn that the most important factor affecting the degree of potential segregation is not female transfer to such traditionally «male» sectors as mining and processing industries, but expected increase of the share of men in public services. The existing trends are not stable yet.

Thus, analysis of gender gap in wages revealed the on–going influence of occupational segregation. Still, analysis of segregation indices demonstrates their relative stability. If RF Goskomstat data about increase of gender gap in wages in late 1990s is seen a baseline, how can one explain it? Growing gender gap in wages could be attributed to the increase of average wages in «male» and «female» occupations. I.e., «male» occupations become more profitable, while «female» ones — less profitable. One should also bear in mind that men as a rule occupy higher positions even in «female» occupations (Table 9).

Segregation is closely related to gaps in wages. The higher is women's share in a branch of industry, the lower is the ratio between the level of wages and average wages in the economy. Only two branches contradict this stable ratio: agriculture — and finances, credit and insurance. There are more men in agriculture, but wages are very low, while in finances, credit and insurance there are more women and wages exceed the average. Lately, the share of men in finances and credits kept growing steadily, which illustrates vividly gender inequality mechanism in the labour market, namely, the impact of male and female distribution by activity on economic outputs (Fig 4).

As soon as an industry or an occupation becomes profitable due to favourable state of the market, men start flowing in. On the one hand, employers give them more preference, on the other hand, more profitable industries set higher requirements to the work load, which cannot be always fulfilled by women due to their heavier family duties. Behavioural and situational patterns do play a certain role. A good example of retroactive redistribution mechanisms is the increase of women's share in the army, among the military personnel. As soon as military service became less profitable and less attractive for men, a demand for female labour emerged.

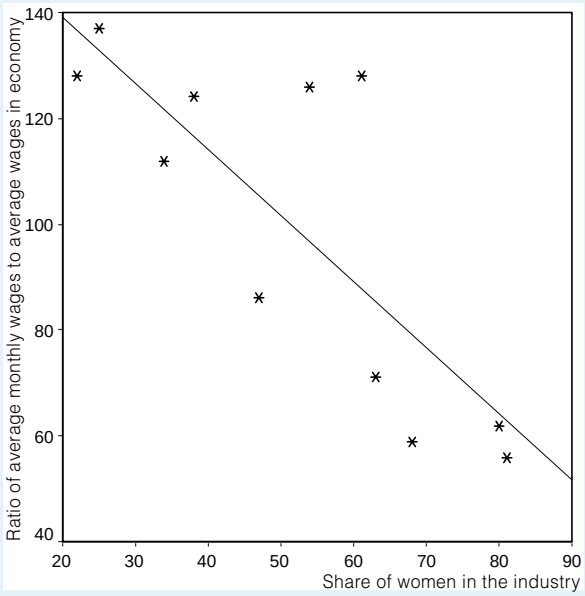

Fig. 4. Correlation between the share of women by industry and the level of wages, 2001 (for all branches of industry except agriculture and finances, credit and insurance)

3.5. DISCRIMINATION, BEHAVIOURAL AND SITUATIONAL PATTERNS

Apart from problems related to gender segregation, women's position in the labour market is affected by discrimination by employers.

Discrimination means unequal opportunities in the labour market for workers grouped by a certain criteria and demonstrating equal labour productivity (group discrimination), or else unequal opportunities for individual workers as compared to workers with similar labour skills (individual discrimination).

According to ILO definition provided in the «Convention concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation» #111, discrimination means «any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation».

Depending on the sphere of activity and expected outputs, several types of discrimination may be identified in the labour market.

1. Discrimination during hire (or, vice versa, during fire), when one or another public category is hired last and fired first, other things being equal.

2. Discrimination in access to certain professions or positions, when a certain group is prevented from or restricted in access to activities, occupations or positions despite their capacity to conduct these activities.

3. Discrimination in labour remuneration, i.e. lower payment for similar type of work to certain workers as compared to others, when the gap in wages is not linked to different labour productivity.

4. Discrimination in promotion or career development, i.e. limited vertical mobility of the discriminated group.

5. Discrimination in receiving education or professional training, i.e. limited access to education and professional training, or else provision of low quality education services. This type of discrimination does not fully relate to discrimination in the labour market, as education usually precedes labour activity. But despite the «pre–labour» character, causes and effects of such discrimination are closely connected to the labour market (Table 10).

Numerous research of gender discrimination by employees and employers shows that discrimination during hire and fire is most acute in the Russian labour market.

Thus, according to the RLMS data, in 2000 majority of men and women were unanimous in stating that men have better chances at employment (Fig 5, 6).

The research carried out in 1998–2001 demonstrated that up to 30% of advertised vacancies were not gender neutral.[21] This did not relate to occupations, requiring professional skills connected to biological differences between male and female labour force. Within four years, the number of such advertisements increased by 40%, in spite of the fact that the Russian legislation forbids gender discrimination in employment. Distribution of gender preferences by occupational groups reveals employers' stable stereotypes about professional preferences for men or women.

Thus, hidden (not open) discrimination in the labour market is revealed in employment and promotion policy and reflects employers' gender preferences regarding certain jobs and types of activity. Such hidden discrimination contributes to horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market.

In the labour market, two stereotypes behavioural and situational support gender inequality and discrimination.

Situational stereotypes are employers' stereotypes. Employers perceive women as less useful labour force. This stereotype originates from assumptions about necessity for women to combine labour activities and household duties, due to which one should not expect from them to work extra hours or to plan career growth. Such behaviour of employers is, undoubtedly, considered as discrimination.

Behavioural stereotypes, on the contrary, are employees' stereotypes. Women know that they are treated as less preferable workers, they assume they cannot compete with men and choose activities requiring less work and efforts.

Thus, according to RLMS data, over half of women believe they have few qualities of value in the current economic situation (Table 11).

As for men, their evaluations were more optimistic. On the average, 10% less men than women assume they lack valuable skills. The reverse trend is observed in evaluating the level of qualities. In this case, on the contrary, there are 10% more men. On the average, during these years about 43% of men assumed they had many qualities of value in the labour market (see responses «rather unlikely» or «unlikely»). In 1998, the crisis year, the share of men selecting these responses decreased to 39.7%.

Thus, discrimination and women's self–selection mechanisms operate in the labour market simultaneously and prevent women from obtaining the same status as men.

* * *

Women's broad participation in the labour market failed to eliminate the gender gap in employment. Quantitatively, the level of participation of men and women in the labour force and types of their labour activities during the labour cycle are very similar, women face horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market and on the average get smaller wages. Thus, providing equal participation of men and women in the labour force is not sufficient for elimination of economic prerequisites of gender inequality, it is necessary to change demand structure in the labour market and personnel hire and promotion procedures and to raise the significance and the status of positions occupied by women.

[21] The research was carried out by T. Komissarova and S. Roschin

Table 10. Do men and women have equal opportunities for a good and well-paid job placement? (RLMS, 2000), %

	Men and women have equal opportunities for well-paid job placement	Men have better opportunities	Women have better opportunities
Men	39,6	51,27	4,21
Women	32,32	61,9	2,27

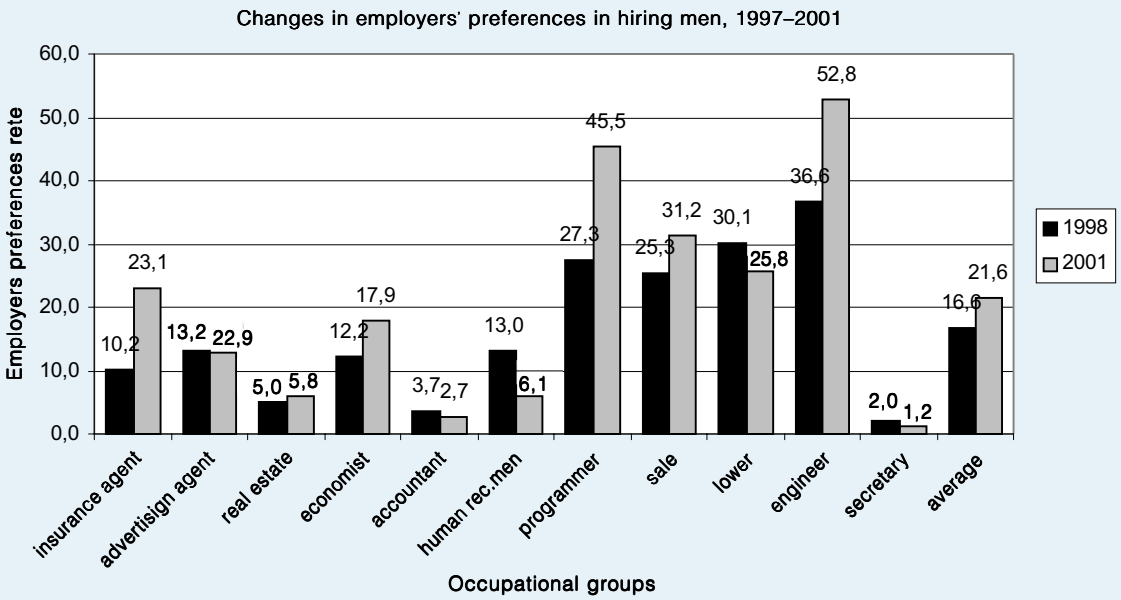

Fig. 5. Occupational gender preferences in hiring men

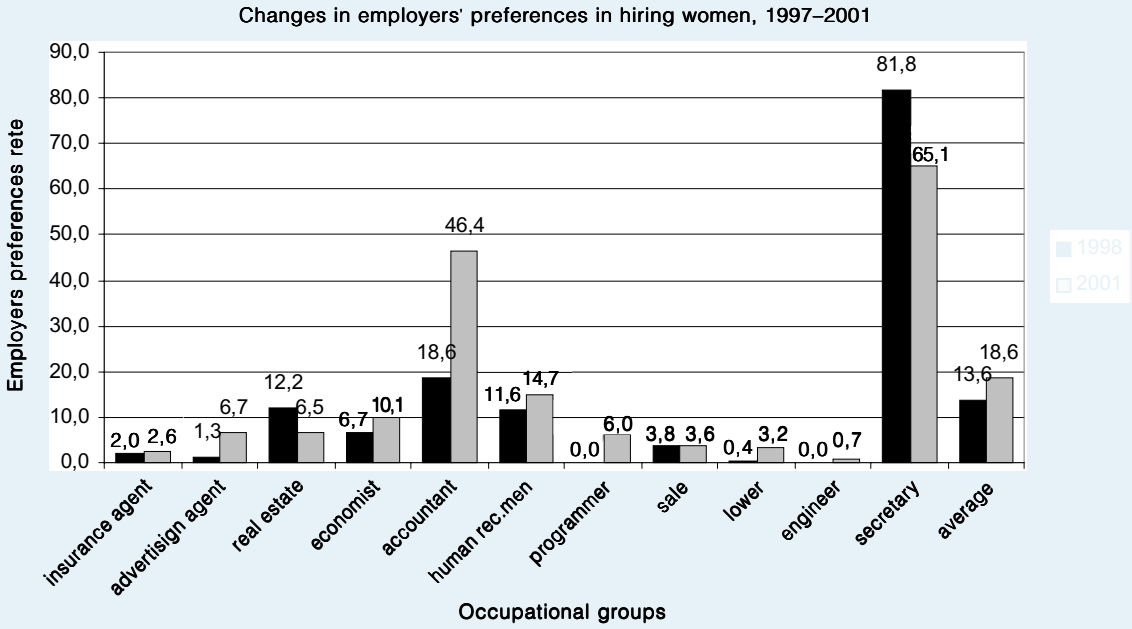

Fig. 6. Occupational gender preferences in hiring women

Table 11. Male and female responses to the question «I seem to have few qualities of value in the current economic situation», 1996–2000, RLMS, %

	Exactly			Very likely			Rather unlikely			Unlikely		
	1996	1998	2000	1996	1998	2000	1996	1998	2000	1996	1998	2000
Men	11,45	20,35	17,74	29,33	28,42	27,42	33,68	27,29	31,7	12,63	12,34	11,39
Women	17,97	26,18	24,66	32,39	32,02	29,88	26,70	23,29	26	10,93	7,40	9,00

4 TIME DISTRIBUTION

Different time distribution structures predetermine different status of men and women in the labour market and in the economy. Despite high level of female labour activity in the second half of the 20th century, the unwritten «social contract» assigning certain distribution of gender roles in the family and in the labour market is still in force. Historically, women are responsible for housekeeping and education of children, while men are seen as breadwinners and money-makers. Taken women's high employment level in Russia, it results in that men' time is usually divided between work and leisure, while women's time — between work, leisure and household (Table 12).

Traditional «social contract» contradicts and does not conform with male and female new roles in the labour market. The levelling of gender status in labour activities should be supplemented with its levelling in the household. Public attitudes to this issue are quite contradictory. Though many men and women share the concept of family equality, market relations and recent social and economic processes resulted in conservative public attitudes. The research demonstrates that the number of patriarchal family proponents among young men is growing. Men and women aged 16 to 30 reveal an almost twofold break in the number of proponents and opponents of «equal» family, while in their parents' generation these parameters differed slightly[23] (Table 13).

The recent statistics and research data do not allow for accurate evaluation of gender distribution of time. The latest budget surveys were carried out by RF Goskomstat in 1990. In 1994–1998 RLMS included questions about time distribution, but this data is inaccurate, as it does not take into account all household activities. Nevertheless, it allows for certain conclusions: women weekly spend on the average 30.3 hrs on household chores, men — 14.0 hrs[24].

Time allocation structures do not depend directly on the level of economic development, but they reflect national and cultural peculiarities of gender roles in the household[25]. Women's heavy housekeeping load cannot be «corrected» either by administrative or political or economic methods. Though emergence of mighty incentives in the labour market and the «substitution» effect compel women to devote less time to household duties, other things being equal, these duties still make them less competitive in the labour market. Both employers and women are well aware about it. As a result, household duties decrease women's value as labour force and prevent them from competing with men in the labour market. Women have to choose between children and work or put up with the necessity of combining housekeeping and work.

In the latter case, women's overall occupation in the labour market and in the household is broader than men'. On the average, women's working time exceeds men's by 25%, and the working time of able-bodied women is twice as long as men's[27]. In evaluating gender distribution of family resources, including

Table 12. Distribution of duties in the households, % of respondents[22]

	Women	Men
Wife does all or almost all household chores	21,4	11,5
Both spouses have certain responsibilities, but the wife does a bigger part of household chores	38,9	32,6
Husband and wife do most part of household work together or in turn	28,1	36,7
Each has one's responsibilities, but husband does a bigger part of household chores	5,2	12,0
Difficult to answer	4,3	5,1
Other	2,1	2,1

Table 13. Actual allotment of time for household chores (for participants in these activities), hours per week, RLMS[26]

	Men	Women
Employment in the labour marke	43,0	38,4
Working on individual farms	15,4	13,0
Purchasing food stuffs	3,6	4,4
Cooking	5,2	13,8
Cleaning the apartment	2,6	5,7
Laundry and ironing	2,0	4,2
Care of children	15,0	31,5

[22] I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAKS Press, 2003, p.113.

[23] N.E. Tikhonova. Urban Poverty Phenomenon in Modern Russia. M.: Letniy Sad, 2003, p. 197.

[24] E. B. Mezentseva. Men and Women in the Sphere of Household Labour: Economic Rationality Logic against Gender Identity Logic? // Gender equality: Looking for Solution of Old Problems. ILO, M: 2003. In this case household activity included traditionally «female» types of activity, while «male» household activities were not taken into account.

[25] Thus, in Japan men spend only 3 hours a week on household duties.

[26] E. B. Mezentseva. Men and Women in the Sphere of Household Labour: Economic Rationality Logic against Gender Identity Logic? // Gender equality: Looking for Solution of Old Problems. ILO, M: 2003. p. 58.

[27] E. B. Mezentseva. Men and Women in the Housekeeping Work: Economic Rationality Logic against Gender Identity Logic? // Gender equality: Looking for Ways to Solve Old Problems. ILO, M.: 2003, p. 57–58.

time allocation, both men and women indicate that men have more opportunities to devote to work as much time and efforts as they consider necessary, and to spend their free time as they wish.[28]

Thus, women not only have fewer opportunities in the labour market, but also less free time for investing in their human capital.

5 EDUCATION

Men and women do not differ much by their education level. Up to recent times men on the average had a slightly higher level of education, mostly at the expense of older age groups. Currently, in young and able-bodied age groups women's educational level is slightly higher than men's. This trend is reflected in the 1994 micro-census and confirmed by the latest data.

Women's high level of education is the legacy of Soviet times (Table 14).

On the whole, men and women apply different strategies to obtaining education and preparing for professional activities. Women are inclined to obtain secondary education in general schools, and are oriented at receiving top level professional training. Men are more prone to receiving incomplete general secondary education in schools and continuing studies in vocational training institutions[30] (Table 15).

Different strategies of receiving education reflect professional segregation and different returns on investment into the human capital among men and women. Men's high level of employment in industry and in manufacture presupposes professional training in working specialities. For women, only university education can ensure higher wages. For men, even unskilled jobs, requiring specialised vocational training provide sufficient returns on education.

Gender disparities in educational level in the favour women reveal that the levelling of investments into the human capital does not provide for equality in economic or social status of men and women. Hidden discrimination mechanisms in the labour market devalue women' high educational level. One may say that women have to run faster than men do in order to reach the finish line simultaneously. Women's high level of education is excessive and results in different impact of educational signals on the two genders in the labour market. Potential employers set higher demands for educational level or other labour qualities of women as compared to men.

Table 14. Level of education of men above 15 y.o. per 1000 people[29]

Years	University education	Incomplete university education	Secondary professional education	Secondary education	Universal primary education	Elementary education	No Elementary education
1959	32	13	58	63	261	398	175
1970	57	17	78	126	325	288	106
1979	84	18	113	222	318	191	53
1989	117	17	166	323	231	119	27
1994	138	20	190	327	216	92	17
2002	142	31	213	349	175	76	15

Table 15. Level of education of women above 15 y.o. per 1000 people[31]

Years	University education	Incomplete university education	Secondary professional education	Secondary education	Universal primary education	Elementary education	No Elementary education
1959	23	11	58	64	214	239	391
1970	44	13	88	121	253	204	274
1979	71	16	138	190	235	180	169
1989	110	17	214	233	192	137	97
1994	130	17	242	250	190	107	64
2002	144	30	262	272	156	99	35

[28] I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAKS Press, 2003, p.112.

[29] Baskakova M.E. Men and Women in Educational System // Gender inequality in modern Russia through a prism of statistics. M.: Editorial URSS, 2004.

[30] M. E. Baskakova. Education in Russia. Gender Asymmetry in Development and Investments Efficiency // Gender Equality: Gender equality: Looking for Solution of Old Problems. ILO, M.: 2003.

[31] M.E. Baskakova. Men and Women in Educational System // Gender inequality in modern Russia through a prism of statistics. M.: Editorial URSS, 2004.

Gender disparities in education have other negative social consequences. Young men with working specialities and without university education are most conservative about gender roles in the family and adhere to patriarchal models[32]. Thus, gender differences in educational levels may reproduce and consolidate male attitudes and hinder effective social policies directed at gender equality.

6 OUTSIDE THE LABOUR MARKET: ECONOMIC INEQUALITY AND POVERTY

Different results of participation in the labour force, different level of wages and different returns on the human capital for men and women build the economic basis for gender inequality. In addition, gender inequality is affected by social and demographic factors. Women' low wages are often not regarded as a serious problem, as it is assumed that most women have access to other means through their husbands and other family members, and thus may work for low wages without falling into the poorest category. Economic inequality in incomes may be smoothed at the expense of inter–family redistribution, but it may also grow stronger. In addition to wages there exist other income sources, but unequal access to them also contributes to gender inequality.

The report about poverty feminisation in Russia developed in 2000 by the order from the World Bank identified the increase of the share of women among the poor[33]. Taking into account women's limited opportunities in the labour market, poverty feminisation develops mostly at the expense of two social groups: pensioners and incomplete maternal families.

6.1. PENSIONERS

Gender structure of the Russian population is radically different in older age groups. High mortality rate and low expected life span of men resulted in almost twofold (2,2 times) prevalence of women past able–bodied age above men of the same age (20,461,000 and 9,398,000 accordingly in 2002). In relevant age groups above 60 there are 1,9 times more women than men. Thus, 2/3 of pensioners are women. In oldest age groups (above 75) this gap grows 3 to 4 times (Table 16).

According to RF Goskomstat data, belonging to pensioners is not an increased poverty risk factor, but there is high probability of poverty primarily for a specific group of older people, namely, lonely pensioners above 65, which are mostly women[34]. Thus, in the age group above able–bodied age, the number of poor women exceeds the number of poor men almost by 3 million. As a result, women live longer but due to this fact they are poorer. One may say that if men lived as long as women, gender differences in poverty could have been much smaller, not because the number of poor women would have decresed, but because the number of poor men would have increased.

The poverty of female pensioners of the oldest age is also marked by extremes, as in the absence of other means except their pensions and physical ability for earning money or individual farming, they find themselves among the poorest population groups.

Unequal access of men and women to resources should be considered in the life span prospect, recognising women' individual and independent rights to resources, which would allow them to avoid economic subordination and extreme poverty, also in the old age. From this point of view and taking into account gender gaps in wages, the pension reform providing for transfer to accumulating pension elements will lead to further deterioration of the status of older women as compared to men[35].

Table 16. Amount and gender/age structure of people with incomes below subsistence level (based on random surveys of household budgets by RF Goscomstat data)

	Million people				% from number of people in relevant age groups				Distribution of overall amount of people with incomes below subsistence level			
	1992	1998	2000	2002	1992	1998	2000	2002	1992	1998	2000	2002
All people with incomes below subsistence level	49,7	34,2	41,9	35,8	33,5	23,3	28,9	25,0	100	100	100	100
Among them												
Women aged 31 to 54	8,6	7,2	8,7	7,6	34,4	28,0	32,9	28,4	17,4	20,9	20,9	21,3
Men aged 31 to 54	8,3	6,3	7,6	6,5	30,6	22,4	27,5	23,7	16,8	18,5	18,2	18,1
Women above 55	7,6	3,3	4,5	3,6	36,8	15,1	21,3	17,8	15,2	9,6	10,6	10,2
Men above 55	2,3	1,0	1,8	1,5	29,0	11,0	19,4	16,3	4,6	3,1	4,3	4,3

[32] N.E. Tikhonova. The Urban Poverty Phenomenon in Modern Russia. M.: Letniy Sad, 2003, p. 198.

[33] Poverty Feminisation in Russia, M. 2000.

[34] Poverty Feminisation in Russia, M. 2000; L.N. Ovcharova, L.M. Prokofieva. Poverty Feminisation in Russia. Social and Economic Factors. //Economics and social policy: Gender dimensions. Ed. by M.Malysheva. M.: 2002.

[35] V.N. Baskakov, M.E. Baskakova. On Pensions for Males and Females: social aspects of the pension reform. M.: Moscow Philosophy Foundation, 1998.

6.2. INCOMPLETE FAMILIES

Incomplete families have fewer economic opportunities due to the burden of their dependants. Though in full families the average number of children is larger than in incomplete families (predominantly with one–child) and in half of full families there is one child per two parents, the dependants' burden in incomplete families facilitates their falling into the poor categories of the population[36].

High level of divorces, growing numbers of extramarital children and widowhood due to high mortality rate among men, decreased number of second marriages — all these factors increase the amount of incomplete families. According to the 1994 microcensus, incomplete families accounted for 13.4% of all households and 17% of all families with children. At that, among incomplete families with one parent there were 90% of maternal incomplete families and 10% of paternal families (Table 17).

Considering women's limited opportunities in the labour market, especially when family burden cannot be divided among other family members, maternal incomplete families contribute considerably to poverty feminisation. The share of incomplete families among the poor is practically twice as high as among all families. Contrary to households headed by men, female–headed households more often fall into the poverty trap due to women' weaker positions in the labour market.

Table 17. Needy and poor families by categories (Goscomstat data, %)

	From among all amount households of relevant category						All needy and poor households		
	needy			poor					
	1998	1999	2000	1998	1999	2000	1998	1999	2000
All households	30,4	42,3	32,7	7,1	12,7	7,5	100	100	100
Complete families	34,3	46,1	36,0	8,1	14,1	8,4	65,9	63,7	63,7
Among them									
Spouses without children	14,4	25,4	17,3	1,8	4,0	2,0	7,8	9,4	8,7
Spouses without children and other relatives	28,5	46,4	33,4	4,2	12,7	5,1	0,7	1,0	0,8
Spouses with 1–2 children	42,0	53,9	42,6	10,2	17,8	10,5	32,5	29,3	29,3
Spouses with 1–2 children and other relatives	46,4	58,4	48,7	12,6	20,6	13,0	8,5	8,1	7,9
Spouses with 3 and more children	67,1	75,6	68,9	29,8	40,3	29,9	4,6	3,2	3,5
Spouses with 3 and more children and other relatives	71,4	87,5	82,8	29,7	52,6	40,9	0,7	0,6	0,7
Incomplete families	40,1	55,7	45,1	9,7	18,5	10,9	24,9	24,8	26,0
Among them									
with 1–2 children	41,5	56,9	46,3	10,1	19,8	12,1	8,5	7,8	8,2
with 1–2 children and other relatives	53,6	71,4	59,6	15,0	28,3	16,4	5,0	5,1	5,2
with 3 and more children	79,6	86,1	88,3	40,1	52,1	52,3	0,7	0,4	0,6
with 3 and more children and with other relatives	80,1	84,8	89,0	39,9	54,5	40,6	0,3	0,3	0,3

6.3. MARGINAL STRATA

Analysis of gender aspects of poverty is usually conducted on the basis of Goskomstat data or research databases like RLMS. Still, specialists are well aware that such research does not include marginal groups: the richest and the poorest. Without the poorest, marginals and the social bottom the picture is biased and does not allow for developing adequate social policies.

For most part, such marginal groups include people without permanent or definite place of residence (BOMJ), or homeless.

According to various data, in 1996 the number of such people amounted to 4,200,000[37]. At that, 70% of them are men and 30% — women. Such gender asymmetry is related to the homelessness structure. Thus, in St. Petersburg in 2002 it was as follows[38]: imprisonment 32%, family disputes — 25%, individual choice — 22%, loss of housing — 7%, refugees — 5%, other reasons — 9%. Majority of former prisoners is men, which predetermines the gender structure of the marginal category.

Many homeless people have secondary education, and the share of homeless with incomplete secondary education is on the decline. The reason is that in 1990s this category was replenished not only by former prisoners, but also by those who lost their homes due to

[36] Poverty Feminisation in Russia, M. 2000

[37] N.M. Rimashevskaya. Pauperisation of the population and «social bottom» in Russia // Population, № 2, 1999.

[38] According to data available at SPb. Regional Charitable Public Organisation for support to Persons without housing residence «Nochlezhka», www.homeless.ru

real estate dealings. As for profession and qualifications, these are mostly working people (80%).

The homeless have various income sources: 59% have accidental and temporary jobs, 20% rely on their relatives and friends, 14% beg for money, 11% receive pensions and benefits, 7% collect bottles, and only 4% have permanent jobs. Those above 50 are in the most difficult situation: 11% do not have any source of income and 31% are beggars.

The low share of people with regular jobs is explained by the fact that enterprises (institutions, organisations) usually do not employ people without residence registration and dismiss those who lost housing and registration.

Street children also make part of the marginal strata. They are not completely homeless, but due to various circumstances they spend life mostly in the street. According to expert evaluation of the gender structure, 20–25% are girls, 75–80% are boys.[39]

Thus, gender–based social policy should consider the unsteady gender structure of different strata of poor population and men's status as the most unprotected and poorest.

6.4. ENTERPRENEURSHIP AND PROPERTY

Economic inequality cannot be reduced to poverty problems. The absence of gender disparities among the poor does not mean absence of gender inequality in their access to economic resources. Gender disparities among the middle class or the rich also predetermine gender inequality. The analysis of differences in access to economic resources is considerably complicated by two reasons. First, there is no relevant statistics or research data about gender aspects of property ownership in Russia. Second, information about property ownership and access to resources is based, as a rule, on the data related to households, but not on distribution of property within households. Thus, the survey of middle class in Russia did not reveal gender asymmetry because households in the chosen strata were mostly represented by full families[40] (Table 18).

Data about gender structure of entrepreneurship does not provide complete information about access to property. Experts usually indicate that 25 to 30% of entrepreneurs are women, but the concept of «entrepreneur» is not well formulated, and changes in the gender structure strongly depend on the definition. Entrepreneurs include employers using hired labour and possessing considerable financial resources, as well as economically independent active people, whose income is compatible to employees. RF Goskomstat data allows for identifying both employers and economically active people among entrepreneurs. The share of employers among men is twice as high as among women, while the share of self–employed is almost similar among both genders. I.e. men are better represented among entrepreneurs with large incomes.

RLMS data allows for assessment of male and female ownership of companies where they work. The share of male owners of such companies is 20–30% higher than the share of women (though in 1990s the share of male and female owners decreased).

RLMS data also reveals that men own bigger portions of property. Among them, the share of owners of over 10% of company stocks is nearly twice as high as among women (Table 19, 20).

Thus, women are not only underrepresented among entrepreneurs, but also own smaller portions of property (Table 21, 22).

KOMKON Company annually conducts in Russia representative public surveys of consumer behaviour and a wide range of social and economic issues. The collected data allows for analysis of the gender structure of property ownership. Thus, the data indicates that across the whole sampling gender asymmetry of savings and property types manifests itself only in the level of investments into one's

Table 18. Share of employers and self–employed, %

	Men						Women					
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Employers	1,6	1,4	1,1	1,2	1,8	1,5	0,9	0,9	0,5	0,5	0,9	1,0
Self–employed	3,2	3,2	6,9	6,9	5,0	5,5	2,5	2,4	7,6	7,4	5,0	5,2

Table 19. Share of company owners or co–owners, %, RLMS

	1994	1995	1996	1998	2000	2001	Total
Men	27,6	23,8	21,6	15,3	12,5	11,3	18,9
Women	19,6	17,7	16,5	12,5	10,1	8,8	14,2

[39] Analysis of the status of working street children in St–Petersburg. ILO Bureau in Moscow. St.–Pb. 2000.; Comprehensive analysis of working street children in Leningrad region, 2001. ILO. St.–Pb. 2002.; Analysis of the status of working street children in Moscow, 2001. ILO. M.:2002.

[40] Middle classes in Russia: economic and social strategies / E. Araamova et al. Ed. by T. Maleeva. Moscow Carnegie Centre. M.: Gendalf. 2003.

Table 20. Share of companies in ownership, % of respondents, RLMS

	1994	1995	1996	1998	2000	2001	всего
Men							
Below 1 %	68,40	70,95	73,67	70,91	66,34	62,09	69,19
1–10%	20,04	16,97	14,42	18,64	13,86	12,80	16,77
11–50%	7,13	6,94	7,21	5,45	8,91	14,22	7,90
51–100%	4,43	5,14	4,70	5,00	10,89	10,90	6,13
Women							
Below 1 %	74,66	80,32	83,87	75,62	72,34	72,77	77,08
1–10%	18,80	14,19	6,81	18,41	19,15	16,23	15,36
11–50%	5,18	4,19	4,30	3,48	5,32	4,71	4,56
51–100%	1,36	1,29	5,02	2,49	3,19	6,28	2,99

Table 21. Types of assets and savings (Russia, people above 21, %)[41]

	Men	Women
Shares of financial companies, cheque funds, investment funds, shareholding investment funds	1,7	1,7
Shares of companies, where respondents work	2,9	2,4
Investments in companies, where respondents work	0,9	0,3
Shares of other enterprises	1,5	1,5
State securities (bonds)	0,6	0,6
Foreign currency (dollars, Euro, etc.)	8,8	5,8
Real estate (houses, cottages, apartments, dachas), cooperatives and condominiums	13,4	13,1
Plots of land	8,1	8,8
Valuable assets, works of art, antiques, memorable or other coins made of precious metals	1,2	1,3
Commodities for resale	1,2	0,7
Deposits in mutual assistance funds in companies	0,3	0,5
Deposits and savings in banks, saving certificates	15,4	18,4

Table 22. Types of assets and savings (Moscow, people above 21, %)[42]

	Men	Women
Shares of financial companies, cheque funds, investment funds, shareholding investment funds	2,3	0,9
Shares of companies, where respondents work	3,1	1,0
Investments in companies, where respondents work	1,3	0,2
Shares of other enterprises	2,5	1,2
State securities (bonds)	1,4	0,8
Foreign currency (dollars, Euro, etc.)	16,1	10,3
Real estate (houses, cottages, apartments, dachas), cooperatives and condominiums	13,5	11,7
Plots of land	12,1	9,6
Valuable assets, works of art, antiques, memorable or other coins made of precious metals	2,2	1,6
Commodities for resale	11,1	0,4
Deposits in mutual assistance funds in companies	0,4	0,6
Deposits and savings in banks, saving certificates	22,6	26,8

[41] Russian index of target groups, 2003. KOMKON–Media
[42] Russian index targets groups, 2003. KOMKON–Media

company, amount of currency and commodities for resale.

In Moscow, the situation is quite different. Men prevail in all groups of owners of property and savings, except real estate and bank deposits.

At that, one should bear in mind that the size of real estate was not specified in the survey. Taking into account apartment privatisation and country houses with attached plots of 0.06 hectare, majority of the Russian population (both men and women) owns some property. Moreover, considering the prevalence of women among pensioners, privatisation of apartments resulted in a relatively higher share of women — real estate owners. Still, the size and the quality of real estate may be quite different.

In Moscow the share of men — their companies' stockholders — is 3 times higher than the share of women, stockholders of other companies — twice as high, stockholders of financial companies — 2.5 times higher.

In Moscow with the highest concentration of financial resources and stockholders in Russia, there is also a high concentration of male property owners.

One may conclude that gender inequality affects the access to economic resources and results in unequal property ownership. At the start of economic reforms, during privatisation of companies and state property women lost to men — heads of enterprises and organisations, which obtained access to the above due to selected privatisation tools. Now, women have fewer opportunities to join «wealthy» social groups other than by marriage.

One may assume that this inequality will continue to affect negatively women's rights and opportunities and development of women's entrepreneurship. Absence of property restricts women's chances of receiving loans and necessitates the establishment of special machinery for insuring financial risks and support of women's entrepreneurship. Gender inequality in property ownership will also negatively affect political representation of men and women, because political structures primarily serve the interests of largest property owners.

There is no hope that women's insufficient involvement in business and entrepreneurship can be redressed in the near future by evolutionary means. Along with development of market economy in contemporary Russia more and more financial barriers emerge on the way of opening one's own business. Having lost at the start, during privatisation and accumulation of initial capital, women may again be restricted in access to economic resources and property. In this situation certain protectionist measures are needed to help develop women's business activities and to destroy barriers on the way of launching one's business.

* * *

Outside the labour market, social and demographic factors also increase gender inequality. Women have more chances to join the poorest categories of the population, while wealth and economic resources are mostly concentrated in men's hands. At the same time, men are better represented both among the rich and the poorest, marginal groups. Considering this fact, social and economic policies oriented at reduction of gender inequality should be well-targeted, they cannot be unilateral and focus only on overcoming negative social-economic implications.

7 GENDER EQUALITY AND HEALTH

Public health is one of major parameters of human development, included in the human development index. One of integral health indices is the expected life span. Recently, visible gender inequality as per this index emerged in Russia. Expected life span for men is 12-13 years shorter than for women — 58-59 years, while the biological gap in favour of women is nearly 5 years. Life-span difference relates to the Russian phenomenon of «extra-high» mortality rate among men, which became evident in 1990s.

The following factors, among others, strongly influence the differences in expected life-span of men and women and high male mortality rate: accident death rate, death rate from cardio-vascular diseases, high level of alcohol addiction and infectious diseases, primarily TB. Major differences in mortality rates of men and women are prominent in able-bodied age groups. In the age group of 15 to 59, men's mortality rate is 2,75 times higher than women's. No major gender differences were revealed among children and elderly people. High mortality rate among men results from an integrated impact of many factors. Among other things, it may also be related to different male and female social roles and to different gender susceptibility to stress caused by economic, social and political events. Men's broader involvement in political and economic activities makes them assume greater risks associated with such activities[43]. Gender segregation in the labour market also results in men's employment in industries with high injury and mortality risks (army, law-enforcement bodies, mining, etc.).

Thus, a complex image of social gender inequality emerges. Economically, men live better but much shorter. Women, on the contrary, live longer, but their quality of life is much worse. The structure of social gains and losses is symmetric across genders and does not testiby to unequivocal benefits for one or the other gender.

However, passing on to indicators of healthy life span, one sees that health deterioration affects men

[43] Inequality and death rate in Russia. M.: 2000. p.23

Table 23. Expected life-span at birth, years

	1990	1991	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Men	63,8	63,5	58,3	59,8	60,8	61,3	59,9	59,7	59,0	58,5	59
Women	74,3	74,3	71,7	72,5	72,9	72,9	72,4	72,2	72,3	72,0	72

Table 24. Incidence rate of infectious forms of TB (sick persons with newly detected diagnosis) per 100 000 people

	1999	2000	2001	2002
Men	139,4	146,8	141,3	136,6
Women	37,9	40,7	42,1	42,2

Table 25. Industrial injuries (thousand of people)

	1990	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
All victims of industrial injures	432,4	185,2	158,5	153,1	151,8	144,7
Men	335,2	144,3	122,8	119,2	116,7	110,5
Women	97,2	40,9	35,7	33,9	35,1	34,2
Including mortal cases	8,39	4,73	4,30	4,26	4,40	4,37
Men	7,83	4,44	4,03	4,00	4,15	4,09
Women	0,56	0,29	0,27	0,26	0,25	0,28
All victims of industrial injures, per 1000 of workers of each gender	6,6	5,8	5,3	5,2	5,1	5,0
Men	10,6	8,0	7,2	7,2	7,0	6,8
Women	2,9	2,9	2,7	2,6	2,7	2,7
Including mortal cases	0,129	0,148	0,142	0,144	0,149	0,150
Men	0,247	0,247	0,236	0,242	0,250	0,250
Women	0,017	0,021	0,020	0,020	0,020	0,021

and women equally, but men more frequently end in death, while women end up in broken health[44].

Extremely high mortality rate among men of able-bodied age also negatively affects women by nay of expanding widowhood, limiting matrimonial markets for subsequent marriages and increasing the number of incomplete maternal families. Thus, women's unfavourable social-economic status is predetermined by male health problems (Table 23).

At the same time, several reasons for high mortality rate among men major ones being TB and industrial injuries may be subject to public control, management and elimination, and need to become public policy issues.

Men are more susceptible to catching TB. Tuberculosis is a social disease, linked to the mode of life and living conditions. Gender disparities are significantly affected by the fact that TB is widely spread within the penitentiary system, and majority of prisoners and convicted is men. Besides, as mentioned above, men make up 70% in marginal groups, i.e. the «social bottom», where TB expansion is not actually limited (Table 24).

This problem may be resolved in the context of UN Millennium Goals after defining specific areas with regard to the Russian context. Obvious gender disparities in social diseases and comprehensive character of existent problems require co-ordinated efforts aimed at health promotion and gender equality.

Industrial injuries sequent from violation of technological discipline, disregard of job safety rules and the fact that significant amounts of people still work in harmful and hazardous conditions. Thus, in 2002, 27,8% of men and 15,6% of women held such jobs in industry, 11,5% and 6,0% — in construction, 19,2% and 7,3% — in transportation. No statistics is collected about service provision companies and commerce, which significantly limits awareness of the rate of employment in hazardous jobs. Since women hold majority of jobs in public services, one may assume that their share in such jobs is much bigger (Table 25).

In analysing these parameters researchers for a long time focused on harmful impact of labour conditions on women's health. But women's relatively better position on this issue as compared to men should not be misleading. Gender approaches stipulate for elimination of unfavourable gender disparities by reduction of the number of hazardous jobs and, finally, elimination thereof.

Despite steady reduction of the number of victims of industrial injuries, the number of mortal cas-

[44] Andreev E.M., Shkolnikov V.M., MacCee M. Healthy life time // Problems of statistics. 2002, №11. p.16-21.

Table 26. Mortality rate due to alcohol addiction (per 100,000 people)

	1990	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Men	20,9	76,5	64,6	50,1	38,7	35,8	41,6	53,7	60,7	67,6
Women	4,7	20,0	16,5	12,6	9,8	9,0	11,2	14,5	17,4	20,1

Table 27. Suicide rate by age and gender in 2001 (per 100 000 people of relevant age)[46]

Age	Men	Women	Total
5–14	4,0	1,2	2,6
15–24	60,2	9,5	35,1
25–34	88,2	11,2	50,4
35–44	91,6	11,5	51,0
45–54	106,7	13,9	57,6
45–64	87,3	14,2	45,0
65–74	96,4	17,5	46,0
> 75	83,0	27,4	40,3
Total	71,2	11,7	39,6

es does not decrease and is actually on the rise, which is disturbing.

The problem of reduction of industrial injuries requires comprehensive approaches and participation of different social forces, such as the state, employers and trade unions. They should design a special program, aimed at radical reduction and elimination of hazardous jobs and introduction of effective labour safety measures (Table 26).

Alcohol and drug addiction significantly and negatively contributes to health status. This is mostly a male problem, but dynamics of mortality rate due to alcohol addiction is unfavourable for women too. By achieving equality with men in employment, women also adopted their lifestyle: they work a lot, suffer from serious stresses and relax by means of alcohol.

Alcohol and drug addiction is a social problem, but due to its complexity it is not fully subject to public control. Nevertheless, extremely strong negative implications of alcohol dependence require development and implementation of state policies, oriented at reduction of these implications and removing the underlying reasons of alcohol and drug addiction.

The level of suicides in Russia is extremely high, in fact, Russia is one of world leaders by this parameter. Suicides are primarily a male problem (6 times more common among men than among women). Heavy social and psychological stresses and male inability to adapt to crisis predetermine high level of suicides among men. Women's better capacity at overcoming or adapting to crisis is also reflected in the gender structure of para–suicides (attempted suicides), which are more often registered among women (60%).

Alcohol consumption is an essential suicide factor. As established, an increase of 1 litre of alcohol consumption per capita results in 8 male and 1 female suicides per 100 000 men and 100 000 women. For alcohol addicts the suicide risk is 9 times higher[45] (Table 27).

Multiple risks and crisis situations negatively affect men's health and life span. Still, public mentality considers men as a «stronger sex», which should be able to overcome the crisis on one's own and which needs far less support than women. Currently, there are 18 governmental and 40 non–governmental crisis centres for women and only 1 governmental and 2 non– governmental crisis centres for men in Russia. This ratio unwillingly reflects public priorities and public understanding of the necessity to support women, not men. Once again, many problems related to the status of women are linked to problems related to the status of men.

8 GENDER ASPECTS OF VIOLENCE IN RUSSIA

The problem of violence naturally affects different social and demographic groups: young and aged, men and women. The level of violence in Russia is rather high, and the rate of violent deaths is 3 times higher that the average in the world. Is there gender asymmetry in violence? Analysis of this problem is complicated due to the fact that no victimological monitoring of registered crimes or research monitoring of victimisation is conducted in Russia. Certain information is available through international

[45] Vel'tischev D.Yu. Violence and health of the population of Russia. Moscow scientific–research institute of psychiatry, Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation, WHO, 2003.

[46] Veltischev D.Yu. Violence and health of the population of Russia. Moscow scientific–research institute of psychiatry, Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation, WHO, 2003.

victimisation surveys[47], carried out by the Interregional Institute of Criminal Research attached to UNO (UNICRI). According to the survey, violent crimes are more often committed against men. In 1996, 7,6% of men and 4,2% of women respondents in Russia admitted being subjected to violence or threat of violence within one year. The ratio becomes more loen when sexual violence against women is taken into account: 2,1% of women–respondents fell victims to such crimes within one year. According to other data, in 2000 men became victims of violent crimes twice as often as women did[48].

Probability of victimisation depends on many factors. The analysis based on international data, reveals that the risk of victimisation for all types of crimes, among other things, is higher for women, goes down with age and number of family members, and goes up in case of frequent «going–outs» at night. Thus, young people, especially girls devoid of parental control, are most victimable part of the population[49]. The survey results are applicable to Russia as well.

Declaration on Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women adopted by UNO in 1993, defines «violence against women» as «any act of violence, committed on the basis of the sex, which cause or may cause the physical, sexual or psychological damage or suffering of women, as well as the threats of commitment of such acts, of forcing or voluntary deprivation of liberty, both in social and private life». As compared to other forms of violent crimes, sexual violence and family violence have a distinct gender tint. In 2002, 14600 such crimes were registered, among them 9500 — against at women. Women fell victims to 5900 rapes from among 7700. Women are exposed to a greater danger at home than in the street, and violence often manifests itself as sexual harassment.

Sexual violence is primarily directed at women, so one may use the data related to the total number of such crimes. The dynamics of rapes and attempted rapes indicates a certain decrease in the number of such crimes, but one should bear in mind that in many cases victims do not apply to law enforcement bodies. For instance, in European countries in 2000 only 7% of victims of sexual incidents and 37% of assault victims reported to the police[50]. A survey conducted in Russia revealed that law enforcement authorities concealed 15% of reported rapes[51]. The low number of registered rapes or attempted rapes may also testify to the growing latency of such crimes (Table 28).

Besides rapes and attempted rapes, another common phenomenon is sexual harassment and coercion to sexual contacts at work place. Tension in the labour market, high unemployment rate and difficulties with employment make resistance to sexual harassment prone with considerable losses. Over half of men and absolute majority of women assume that by opposing sexual harassment at work women face a real danger of losing a job; also, as shared by many respondents, it may turn their professional career impossible or result in reduced wages[52] (Table 29).

In general, men become victims of violence more often, while women are victims in 93% of the case of domestic violence[53]. Violence against family members is a serious social problem, primarily because it is latent. It rarely serves as a reason for applying to law enforcement bodies or becomes public, and is often considered a family affair, which should not be

Table 28. Dynamics of victims of sexual crimes[54]

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Amount of victims	7700	9200	11700	10500	9600
per 100 000 people	5,2	6,2	8,0	7,2	6,6

Table 29. Dynamics of rape and attempted rape

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Amount of victims	10900	9300	9000	8300	7900	8200
per 100 000 people	7,4	6,3	6,1	5,7	5,4	5,7

[47] International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS). Russia participated in these surveys in 1992, 1996, 2000, but only the data of 1992 and 1996 is available for the analysis, www.unicri.it .

[48] Vel'tischev D.Yu. Violence and health of the population of Russia. Moscow scientific–research institute of psychiatry of Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation, VOZ, 2003.

[49] Andrienko Yu.V. Crime and evolution: do they go the same way? The final report on EERC project (Education and Economic Research Consortium), December, 2002.

[50] Del Frate A., Kesteren V. Criminal victimization in urban Europe. UNICRI, 2002.

[51] Women in transition. Regional monitoring report № 6, UNICEF, 1999.

[52] Russia: violence in the family — violence in society. UNIFEM, UNFPA, M.: 2002, p.44.

[53] Vel'tischev D.Yu. Violence and health of the population of Russia. Moscow scientific–research institute of psychiatry of Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation, VOZ, 2003.

[54] Vel'tischev D.Yu. Violence and health of the population of Russia. Moscow scientific–research institute of psychiatry under Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation, VOZ, 2003.

Table 30. Where should women apply in case of physical family violence? (several responses are possible, %)[60]

	Women	Men
Closest social environment (relatives, friends)	56,6	52,5
Law enforcement bodies (police, lawyers)	34,2	29,3
Psychologists, family consulting agencies, crisis centres	40,9	27,3
Local authorities, public organisations, husband's boss	5,3	4,7
Women should not apply for assistance	43,7	51,9

subject to public attention or become a national policy issue.

Information about the level of family violence is mostly based on survey data. For instance, the data of the 1996 survey reveals that 25% of married women were exposed to physical violence and up to 30% of divorced women faced violence in their previous marriages. Family violence is more common for rural areas[55]. The same survey revealed that women also resort to different forms of violence against their husbands. Still, men are more often aggressive, while women are defensive and seldom initiate violent attacks. According to another survey data, one third of respondents (both men and women) admitted that in their families women do resort to violence against husbands, among them only 7% turned against men who had never attacked them[56]. According to data of the same survey, conducted in 2000–2002 in 7 regions of Russia, 41% of women were beaten by their husbands at least once, and 3% of women faced their husbands' beating once a month or more often[57].

The 2002 survey demonstrated that 87% of men and 93% of women recognise family violence against women in Russia, and 15–20% admit violence does take place in their families. The analysis shows that respondents from «working strata» more often admit all forms of violence in their families, and «tough» forms of violence are five times more common than the average[58].

Currently, family violence is becoming a social and national policy issue, it is broadly discussed and explored. Poor public identification of family violence is an obstacle on the way of resolving the problem. Formation in the society and in public mentality of adequate understanding of serious implications of family violence is a burning issue.

Nearly half of respondents assume that husband beating his wife is a family affair, and nobody should interfere. According to respondents, on the top of the list of people and organisations to which a person should apply in case of family violence is their social environment (relatives and friends), then follow psychologists, crisis centres, family consultations, and last come law enforcement bodies and lawyers[59] (Table 30).

Trafficking in women for sexual exploitation is a relatively new form of violence against women, which emerged in 1990s. International Organisation of Migration defines this phenomenon in the following way. «Any illegal convey of the migrating women and/or their traffic for the purposes of economical or other personal profit. It may include the following elements: aiding in illegal convey of the migrating women to other countries, with or without their consent and acknowledgement; delusion of the migrating women concerning the aim of migration, legal or illegal; physical or sexual violence against the migrating women for the purposes of their sale; sale of women or traffic in women for the purposes of employment, marriage, prostitution or other form of illegal profit earning».

The share of women among people leaving the country through official migration channels amounts to 12%, but according to expert evaluation, it does not exceed 5% of the overall female labour migration[61]. It means that 95% of female migration is illegal, which significantly increases women's chances of becoming victims of violence and sexual exploitation. Marginalisation of female labour migration is under way.

Trafficking in women is a comprehensive problem requiring a complex of measures, also on the international level, as it concerns not only countries of exit, but also countries of entry.

* * *

Violence against women manifests itself in various forms. Though in 1990s Russia faced a high level of violence, many forms of violence against women are still not recognised as dangerous or illicit. Sexual harassment at work and family violence still remain outside the sphere of attention of official institutions and state agencies. Existent social traditions and unfavourable economic conditions are conducive to male domination in the family and at work, also to violence against women.

[55] Rimashevskaja N., Vannoj D., Malysheva M. et al. A window into Russian private life. Married couples in 1996. M.: 1999.
[56] I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAX Press, 2003, p. 69.
[57] I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAX Press, 2003.
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[59] I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAX Press, 2003, p. 81–82.
[60] I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAX Press, 2003, p.82/[57] Russia: violence in the family — violence in society. UNIFEM, UNFPA, M.: 2002.
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9 REGIONAL DIMENSIONS OF GENDER EQUALITY

Russia is a multi–ethnic country with a huge territory, which predetermines considerable social and economic differences and regional diversity. In terms of gender, one cannot ignore regional differences in the status of men and women,[62] most notable of them are as follows.

Regional disparities in expected life–span are huge, amounting to 16–19 years in 2003: from 49 to 68 years among men, and from 60 to 76 years among women. At that, Tuva and Dagestan are poles apart.. Demographers for a long time have called into question extra–high indicators for Ingushetia due to low quality of registration, and it would be correct to disregard them in the analysis.

The lowest life span for men (56 years and less) is common for two regions:

1) European part and the Northwest of Russia notable for high depopulation and public degradation (Vladimirskaya, Ivanovskaya, Smolenskaya, Tverskaya, Tulskaya, Novgorodskaya and Pskovskaya Oblasts);

2) South of Siberia and the Far East, typical for industries with heavy physical labour, and several undeveloped regions (Altay, Tyva, Irkutskaya and Chitinskaya oblasts, Jewish Autonomous District and some autonomous regions).

In addition to heavy living conditions, most prominent are behavioural factors (like alcohol addiction) and low educational level. The latter is most common for Black Earth regions which elderly population, and for south of Siberia with less educated people than in the North of Siberia, populated by former migrants.

For women, the minimal expected life–span zone is south of Siberia and the Far East (Tuva — 6o years, Kemerovskaya, Irkutskaya, Chitinskaya and Amurskaya Oblasts and Jewish Autonomous District — 68–69 years), several regions of European Russia with high depopulation and nearly all North–West (Pskovskaya, Kostromskaya, Smolenskaya and Tverskaya Oblasts) — 69–70 years. Several regions of European Russia are radically different as far as expected life span of men and women (15 years). These regions are also notable for low level of incomes and education, radical gender differences and alcohol addiction.

During the last 10–15 years geographic disparities have undergone considerable changes. During the Soviet times, expected life span reduced from Southwest to Northwest due to unfavourable climatic conditions. During the transition period, this so–called «Northwest gradient» became less pronounced, with the exception of Northern Caucasus — the zone of maximum indicators. In other regions, the differentiating role of such factors as the level of life and structure of the population has risen.

Regional disparities in employment preserve the features inherited from Soviet times, which testifies to high stability of basic factors in charge of labour activity levels. Similar to past decades, major differences in women's labour activity remain common for two types of regions:

1) Northern Caucasus republics with traditional family values and high birth rate, which links women to the household; thus, in Dagestan, Ingushetia, Kabardino–Balkaria women's level of labour activity (between 15 and 72 y.o.) does not exceed 50%;

2) Polar North regions retain the highest level of women's labour activity, also inherited from the Soviet times (over 67%), though this indicator is also predetermined by a younger population.

Men prevail in the labour force in 77% of regions; the largest misbalance is registered in newly developed territories — Russian North, oil and gas districts of Tyumenskaya, Tomskaya and Kemerovskaya Oblasts, as well as the Far East (44–46% of women workers). This disparity is related to hard working conditions and the structure of local economy, namely, prevalence of «male» mining enterprises. In the agrarian South the share of women in the labour force is slightly smaller, which is predetermined by heavy workload in semi–productive individual farms, or, in Dagestan and Ingushetia (46–47%) — by excess male labour and women's exit from the labour market.

Gender equality is typical for depopulated regions of Central Russia and the Northwest. There is prevalence of women in older age groups, also among employees. Visible misbalance in favour of women (52%) is common only for the least developed regions (Tuva Republic, Agynsky, Buryatsky and Komi–Permyatsky Autonomous District). Gender roles there are quite specific: due to wide spread of anti–social lifestyles and high level of male unemployment women become leaders in the low competitive labour market and primary «breadwinners» in families. Such gender peculiarities in employment across these regions, reflected in statistical data, are to a certain extent predetermined by prevalence of «title» ethnic groups, but similar processes are also common for «title» population of the Altay Republic. Blatant feminisation of employment due to similar reasons is typical for regions populated by indigenous people of the North: the share of women in the labour force amounts to 57%, and in non–agrarian spheres (mostly funded from the budget) — to 68%. Both in these republics and in rural areas of Black Earth region women more often become heads of families and replace degrading men. Such gender «equality» can be hardly called positive.

[62] These issues are examined in more detail in: Zubarevich N.V. Social inequality in Russian regions: gender analysis // Gender inequality in modern Russia through the prism of statistics. M.:Editorial URSS, 2004, pp. 229–25.

In reality, gender aspects of unemployment are far–fetched from stereotyped assumptions about «women's face of unemployment», based on statistics of registered unemployed. RF Goskomstat survey, conducted in line with the ILO methodology (accounting both for registered and unregistered unemployed) revealed that the share of women among unemployed is less than half (45–48% in 1992–2003), similar to their share in economically active population. Women's prevalence among registered unemployed (63–72%) is accounted for the fact that it is more difficult for women to use active job search strategies; they more often apply to state employment agencies for assistance in job placement or for meagre unemployment allowances. Situation with registered female unemployment changes in conformity with regional labour markets. In regions with low unemployment rate the share of women among registered unemployed may exceed 80%. Deteriorating economic situation in the region and increasing tension in the labour market results in reduction of the share of women among registered unemployed.

Analysis of regional data on the scope unemployment (by ILO methodology) in 2002–2003 revealed that in 60–80% of regions male unemployment was higher than female. As stated above, women are less demanding to the type of job and the level of wages. Gender differences in unemployment on the regional level do not always have evident explanations, as they are predetermined by a variety of factors. Still, certain regional differences may be highlighted.

Women's higher or lower level of unemployment as compared to men is typical for different regions:

1. Most prosperous RF subjects with the lowest level of unemployment (federal cities, Belgorodskaya, Moskovskaya and Samarskaya Oblasts). Despite a better situation in the labour market, women's competitiveness is lower than men's, especially among women with no professional training or older women.

2. Largest agrarian regions in the South of Russia with best climatic conditions (Krasnodarsky and Altaysky Krays and Rostovskaya Oblast) and most republics of the Northern Caucasus. This phenomenon may be accounted for by survival strategies chosen by women: when the situation in the labour market is tense and competition for jobs is high, women survive at the expense of individual farms, though they do not lose the hope of finding a paid job and do not join the category of economically passive citizens.

3. Northern and Eastern regions of Russia with predominantly mining industry and male employment (autonomous regions of Tyumenskaya Oblast, Arkhangelskaya, Murmanskaya, Kemerovskaya, Irkutskaya, Magadanskaya and Sakhalinskaya Oblasts, Komi Republic and Yakutia). Still, the impact of economic structure on gender aspects of unemployment is not manifested in all the mining regions.

Almost all oblasts of the European Russia and the Northwest (well–developed and densely populated) are marked with low or reduced share of women among unemployed, which reveals women's stronger adaptiveness and low demands.

Research of incomes and wages allows for identifying four factors of gender disparities in wages linked to regional differences:

- Industrial employment structure
- Economic development level and incomes level
- Educational level
- Age structure

The summary impact of these factors is as follows: in «older» regions with low rate of employment in industry, and in undeveloped and agrarian regions with low educational level wage differences between men and women are smoothed out. In regions with predominantly mining industries, industrial and age factors and higher levels of income and education increase gender disparities.

Analysis of statistical data on male and female wages in 2002–2003 on the whole reiterates the above assumptions (Table 31).

Situation in Moscow is peculiar: due to forestalling modernisation of gender roles, high educational level acts as a factor reducing gender inequality in wages, thus, gender disparities in wages (71%) are much smaller than the average. Moscow, where 42% of workers have university education, is a shining example of the value of education as a tool for levelling gender statuses, though this tool does not work well across the whole country. In depressed, agrarian and undeveloped regions with low incomes women's wages are close to men's, but this is equality in poverty.

Regional differentiation of the ratio of male and female pensions is not always distinct. Two factors contribute to this differentiation — «southern–agrarian» and «ethnic». In southern areas with lowest pensions (Northern Caucasus, Black Earth regions and the south of the Volga Region), in nearly all republic of the Volga–Vyatsky region, in Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and the Altay Republic women's pensions amount to 90% of men's pensions. In majority of regions of Central Russia, Northwest and especially in the Polar North and the Far East the levelling effect manifest itself more distinctly. Still, these factors do not fully account for regional differences. Thus, two poles apart are Chitinskaya Oblast (78%) and Tyva (129%). Most likely this phenomenon is predetermined by reduced male employment, social degradation and lower men's pensions.

* * *

The above analysis allows for asserting that regional dimensions of gender inequality do not manifest themselves as simply as they are seen across the whole country. On the regional level in Russia there is no inequality in education, but there is evident occupational discrimination and barriers on the

Table 31. Types of regional gender disparities in wages

Ratio of female wages to male wages (%)	Regional type as per combination of gender disparity factors	Regions
Strongest disparities (56–64)	a)Northern and Eastern regions, prevalence of export–oriented mining industry and relatively young population	Nenetsky, Yamalo–Nenetsky, Khanty–Mansiisky Autonomous Districts, Kemerovskaya, Murmanskaya, Tomskaya Tyumenskaya Oblasts, Krasnoyarsky Kray, Komi Republic, Khakassia
	b) European Russia, prevalence of export–oriented industries, higher income level and average educational level	Astrakhanskaya, Belgorodskaya, Vologodskaya, Lipetskaya, Samarskaya, Sverdlovskaya and Orenburgskaya Oblasts, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan
Close to average across Russia (64–69)	Predominantly average with regard to level of development, different educational levels and age structure	Over 30 regions
Less stronger disparities (69–80)	a) most developed, with highest educational level	Moscow
	b) below average by level of income, older age structure and lower educational level	Bryanskaya, Vladimirskaya, Voronezhskaya, Ivanovskaya, Kaluzhskaya, Kostromskaya, Kirovskaya, Penzenskaya, Novgorodskaya, Orlovskaya, Pskovskaya, Tambovskaya, Tverskaya Oblasts
	c) semi–agrarian with lower educational level and the level of incomes	Krasnodarsky, Stavropolsky, AltayskyKrays, Kurganskaya Oblasts
	d) Eastern regions with incomes below the average and younger age structure	Taimyrsky, Evenkiysky Autonomous Districts, Chitinskaya Oblast, Buryatia Republic and most Far East regions
	e) undeveloped semi–agrarian republics with younger age structure	Adygeya, Ingushetia, Kabardino–Balkaria, Karachaevo–Cherkessia, Northern Ossetia, Kalmykia, Mari El, Mordovia, Chuvashia
Gender equality or gender disparity in favour of women (82–113)	Least developed	Altay Republic, Tuva, Komi–Permyatsky, Agynsky Buryatsky, Ust–Ordynsky Autonomous Districts

way to politics. Other constituents of gender misbalance build quite a heterogeneous picture with the following peculiarities:

1. Non–Black–Earth region outside the largest agglomerations (Centre and Northwest): biggest gaps in life–span, low expected male life–span, gender equality in employment, lowest share of women among unemployed, less pronounced wage differences and levelling of pensions. On the whole, general poverty and low male competitiveness accounted for «compulsory» levelling in the labour market and in product distribution.

2. Raw–extracting regions: reduced or lowest (in the south of Eastern Siberia) expected male and female life–span, women's high economic activity in the Far North, stable male dominance in employment, different, but nearly equal ratio of men and women among unemployed, highest wage differences and levelling of pensions, especially in the Far East. This situation reproduces disparities of the Soviet times and makes them stronger (like inequality in wages) and visible (like women's vulnerability in the labour market with its «male» employment structure).

3. Agrarian krays and oblasts of the south of Russia (Russian–speaking regions of agrarian South): more or less high indicators of expected life–span for both genders, women's low employment (due to indicated survival patterns) and focus on individual farms, equal share of men and women among unemployed, slight disparities in wages (due to their small size) and levelling of pensions. Natural survival strategies resulted in the levelling of gender disparities by most parameters, but this levelling is linked to high share of physical labour and low educational potential, and for this reason does not look promising.

4. Republics of the Northern Caucasus and Kalmykia differ from agrarian Russian regions by lowest labour activity of women, who are pushed out of the labour market due to excess supply of labour force, and by considerable levelling of legal wages and pensions (which size is minimal). Given the scope of informal employment and the size of incomes received mostly by men, also traditional socio–cultural changes, one may speak about strong patriarchal gender roles.

5. Least developed autonomous districts and republics of Siberia: gender inequality becomes reverse, namely, extremely low expected life–span and mass alcohol addiction among men result in predominantly female employment, male unemployment and complete levelling of wages and pensions. In extreme cases (in Tuva, Komi–Permyatsky Autonomous District and the Far East regions) these factors are supplemented by extramarital births (54–69%), which allows for defining this situation as «matriarchal rule» of the transition period under extreme poverty.

6. Comparison of two federal centres is very demonstrative. Moscow is considerably ahead of S.–Petersburg as far as male life–span and female labour activity, female unemployment rate is lower, the share of men and women among unemployed is nearly equal, gender disparities in wages are less pronounced, and the share of women among members of local legislatures is nearly 6 times as high. High human potential of Moscow and high concentration of economic benefits is conducive to reduction of gender disparities in wages, employment structure, life span and health status. Higher level of life and better–developed infrastructure help working women combine work and family duties. Still, to all appearances, the capital is the only RF subject, where the gender gap is reduced due to economic growth but not due to degradation of the human potential.

In transition period regional gender disparities were different, while in early 1990s they reflected the overall reaction to radical changes in the economic environment. By late 1990s this trend changed under the pressure of conflicting trends: traditionalism, degradation and innovative social changes. At that, the widely spread opinion about growing gender inequality is not correct for all regions of Russia: the levelling of inequality occurs both in degrading local communities and in successful and modernised communities under economic growth. Another conclusion suggests itself: regional and gender inequality is inter–connected, and comprehensive analysis of gender aspects is impossible without account for specific regional development.

9.1. GENDER PROBLEMS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF THE NORTH

During the last 10–15 years problems of indigenous people of the North have receded into the background due to other national problems of the transition period. The government's weaker influence on regional development manifested itself not only in the North, but across the whole country. Still, it affected the North much stronger due to high concentration of negative factors of spatial development, which aggravated transition to market economy and demanded significant government support.

Under the sharp reduction of state funding two key factors predetermined development of the North:

— Export of mineral resources in demand in the international market, as only mining — even at increased costs — remained profitable;

— Regional budgets, also dependent on the exported resources.

On the whole, population of the North declines due to migration and natural diminution, while the number of indigenous people increases due to high birth rate.

In most rural regions of the Far North the share of indigenous population has always been quite high: in 1989 in Yamalo–Nenetsky, Chukotsky and Taimyrsky autonomous districts is amounted to 58–62%, in Nenetsky Autonomous District and Yakutia — to 35–41% (including Yakuts). In between two censuses of 1989 and 2002 the rural population of most northern RF subjects declined by 20–30%, while in Chukotsky Autonomous District and Magadanskaya Oblast — by 60–80%, mostly due to migration. It means that indigenous people became a dominant ethnic group in rural areas of most Northern regions. Ethnic structure of rural and urban population of Northern regions becomes more and more different.

Primary economic sphere in most regions populated by indigenous people is mining industry, and its dynamics is different in the period of economic growth. Oil producing (Sakhalinskaya and Tomskaya oblasts, Nenetsky and Khanty–Mansiysky Autonomous Districts) or oil transporting regions (Khabarovsky Kray) demonstrated highest rates of economic growth. Industrial production in the regions devoid of raw materials, as a rule, stagnated or declined. Recession was the deepest in several districts of Komi Republic, Yakutia and Magadanskaya Oblast inhabited by indigenous people of the North.

Traditionally, economy of the North developed along other lines. When «rich» regions supported traditional branches, decline in livestock of reindeer was the lowest (Komi Republic) or else livestock was growing (Yamalo–Nenetsky Autonomous District). When financial resources were meagre (between 1996 and 2002), the livestock declined by 2–3 times (Chukotsky and Koryaksky Autonomous Districts and Magadanskaya Oblast). The resulting conditions for development of traditional branches of economy were different in various Northern regions, though

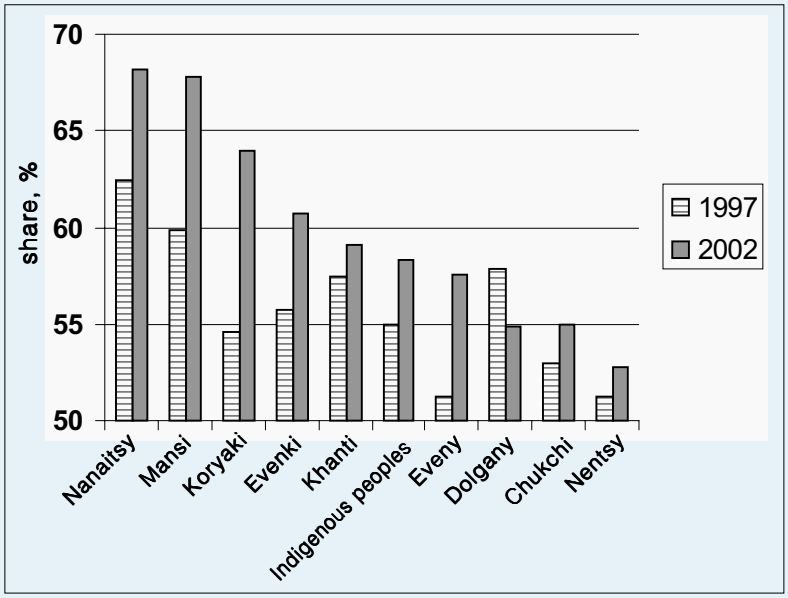

Figure 7. Share of women among employed in regions inhabited by indigenous people of the North, %

economic degradation stopped and economic growth began.

Most RF regions do not demonstrate positive developments in employment or stable economic growth as compared to regions inhabited by indigenous population: during economic upsurge in Nenetsky, Chukotsky and Yamalo–Nenetsky Autonomous Districts the growth of employment level was more substantial and stable.

Regions inhabited by indigenous population are peculiar in that a high share of people work in health care, education and culture, i.e. in «budget–funded economy» (30%). Together with public utilities and services and state governance they make up nearly half of the labour force. The aggregate employment in industry, agriculture, construction and transportation accounts for a smaller share — just 52%. Dynamics of employment during the last two years provides no ground for optimism: rate of employment grew fast in governance and budget–funded spheres, while in agriculture it was on the fall, especially in 2002 (by 10%). Regional and local budgets turn into a substantial source of income for indigenous population. The state reduced support of traditional employment of indigenous people of the North (reindeer breeding and hunting) and partially replaced it by payment of wages in the growing budget sector. One may argue about efficiency of such support, but it is not gender neutral, as these are predominantly female spheres of employment in Russia.

It resulted in the growth of employment misbalance in favour of women, typical for all regions of the North (Fig. 7). Due to wide spread of anti–social lifestyles and high level of male unemployment women become leaders in the low competitive labour market and primary «breadwinners» in their families. Feminisation of employment is typical for all regions inhabited by indigenous people of the North: the share of working women amounts to 58%, while in non–agrarian spheres (mostly budget–funded) — to 69%.

Differences in wages further promote budget employment. In agriculture, a traditional branch of economy in regions inhabited by indigenous people of the North, wages have always been and remain the lowest. In the social sphere wages are higher and grow faster, and in governance they are the highest. Increasing wages in the social sphere is undoubtedly necessary, but in the North it results in growing employment in this sphere, pushes people out of traditional branches of economy, and thus serves as a double–edged weapon.

RF Goskomstat does not collect gender statistics of wages in regions inhabited by indigenous people of the North, but one may state with confidence that the gender gap in wages is minimal. Moreover, wages of women employed in relatively stable budget spheres often exceed men's wahes. At that, in all regions indigenous people receive minimal wages, while per capita income of population of the North is quite different.

Wages in the budget sector and in agriculture, employing majority of indigenous people are incompatible with wages in the mining and export industries of the Northern economy, but the latter employ extremely few indigenous people. Inequality of incomes of indigenous population and migrants, typical for the Soviet times, has sharply increased during the transition period. Another specificity of the transition period was a bigger gap in wages of people from different regions of the North along with the inter–regional «levelling in poverty» of indigenous people.

Expected life span in the North is lower than the average in Russia, with the exception of Murmanskaya Oblast. Statistical agencies do not conduct surveys in regions inhabited by indigenous people of the North, but life–span of agrarian population (predominantly indigenous people) may serve as an indirect indicator (Fig 8). Situation is the worst in rural areas of Chukotsky Autonomous District, where men live on the

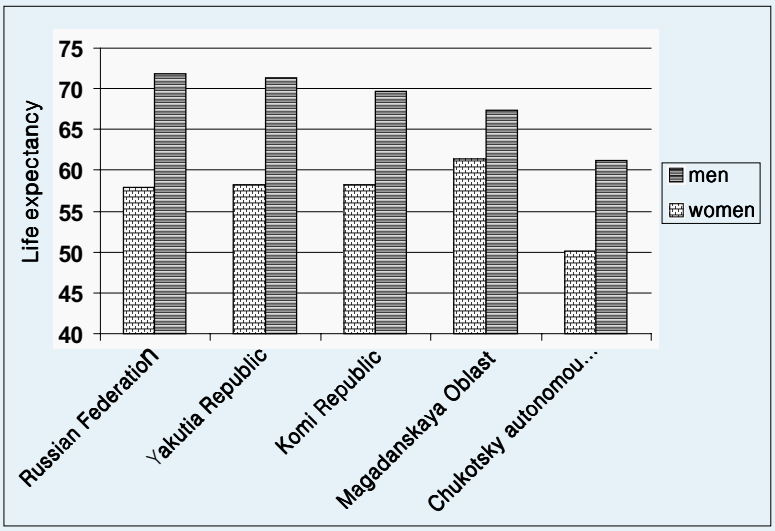

Fig 8. Expected life span of rural population in several RF subjects in 2001

average 50 years, and women — slightly longer (60 years). Field surveys conducted by specialists from the Centre of Demographic Studies and Human Ecology[63] rendered lower figures of expected life span of indigenous people of the North — 44–48 years.

One of key reasons of low life span is alcohol addiction, also among women, more common in the North than in Russia on the whole. Gender statistics of alcohol addiction in Northern regions does not reflect the acuteness of this problem for indigenous people. No effective remedies against this disease have been identified either in the Soviet times or in the transition period.

Another burning problem of the North is high incidence of infectious TB, which keeps spreading in overwhelming majority of regions inhabited by indigenous people, including Sakhalin and Tomskaya Oblast; it increased more than twice in 1996–2002. The growing incidence rate is predetermined by deteriorating level of life of indigenous people and degrading medical care system in the North. Only in Taimyr, Yakutia and Komi Republic the amount of newly detected cases is on the decline.

As for educational level of children and the youth, all Northern regions reveal lower rates than the overage in Russia. The reason is undeveloped system of university and secondary professional education in regions with hard living conditions; even in the Soviet times it was much cheaper to teach young people from these regions in big university centres across the country. The lowest level of youth education is typical for Chukotsky Autonomous District with no single big city. Still, availability of secondary professional education in many regions inhabited by indigenous people has expanded (with a few exceptions). Thus, in Sakhalinskaya Oblast growing profits from oil production were not directed to development of the human capital, and access of local population, also from Northern regions, to professional education is limited. In fact, support of indigenous population depends not only on how rich or poor the region is, but on political priorities of regional and local bodies of power.

The status of indigenous population in majority of Northern regions is low, and measures towards its improvement should differ from strategies applied in other parts of the country. Traditional economic approaches — the more the region produces, the richer is the population — does not work in the North. Economic growth would not bring benefits to indigenous people, which preserve traditional nature management systems and are economically «integrated» into the environment, if it destroys the environment and undermines ethnic vital activities.

Decisions may be sought in the experience of highly developed Northern countries, where wealth accumulated by the labour of all people is directed, among other things, to support of traditional life styles of indigenous people. Canadian experience demonstrates that modern economic development may be well combined with preservation of local habitats of traditional nature management, if the latter are attached to indigenous people, and with redistribution of government funds to support of indigenous people. Unfortunately, Russia does not possess either the former or the latter.

The status of indigenous people strongly depends on the state of economy on the territory of their habitat. Negative gender disparities need to be changed by way of promoting traditional economy and increasing male employment.

[63] Bogoyavlensky D.D., Ivanova T.D., Pika A.I. Health and mortality of indigenous people of the North (selected public survey results) // Social problems of health and life span. M., 1992; Bogoyavlensky D.D., Pika A.I. Violent deaths among people of the North (Kamchatka and Chukotka) //Geography and Economy. Regions inhabited by indigenous people of the North. L., USSR Geographic Society, 1991, Volume 4; Pika, A. Comparative Social Research among Arctic hunters and gatherers: demography, health and welfare // Hunters and Gatherers in the Modern Context. Seventh International Conference. University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1994, V 2, p. 515–528.; Bogoyavlensky D., Pika A. Yamal peninsula: oil and gas development and problems of demography and health of indigenous populations//Arctic Anthropology, 1995, V. 32.

10 POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND EQUALITY OF WOMEN'S AND MEN'S RIGHTS

Unequal opportunities for men and women are often identified on the basis of gender asymmetry in political representation, and attainment of equality in this sphere is viewed as a necessary prerequisite of eliminating this inequality. For this reason, gender differences in politics are quite illustrative.

In public services women prevail in positions, which do not imply responsible decision–making. Women make up 71% of the total number of public employees, men — 29%. In Government of Russia — the highest echelon of state power — there are no women, and there is only one woman among heads of RF subjects — governors or heads of national autonomies (in St. Petersburg). The slogan «Governor is a male job», used by one of candidates at the recent elections of the governor of St. Petersburg reflects gender stereotypes in politics (Table 32).

Women's representation declines steadily in the lower chamber of the State Duma of the Russian Federation. Among deputies of the State Duma of the first convocation (1993–1995) there were 13,6% of women; of the second convocation (1995–1999) — 10 % of women, of the third convocation elected in December 1999 — only 7,7% of women.

In the upper chamber — Council of the Federation (178 members) there were 7 women in 2002 (in 2001 — 1 woman) (Table 33).

Women hold nearly 9% of seats in legislatures of RF subjects, i.e. in regional legislative assemblies, and this parameter varies significantly from region to region. In 2003, in legislatures of Novosibirskaya and Chelyabinskaya oblasts there were no women, while in the Republic of Karelia women made up 32% of deputies. In the Moscow Municipal Duma there are 23% of women.

Women head only 3 among 89 regional legislatures of Russia.

There are almost no women in top positions in political parties, which are represented by factions in RF parliament and which influence major political decisions.

At the latest parliamentary elections in 2003[64], the list of candidates for deputies from Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) included 11% of women; «United Russia» — 8% of women; «Yabloko» (Apple) bloc — 15% of women; «Homeland» bloc — 9% of women; Union of Right Forces — 12% of women, and LDPR — 8% of women. On the whole, the deputies' mandates were received by:

- «United Russia» — 14 women (22 on the list);
- CPRF — 4 women (28 on the list);
- «Homeland» bloc — 4 women (16 on the list);
- LDPR — 2 women (16 on the list).

Women were not nominated in one–third of single seat districts, and in the remaining ones they succeeded in winning 20 mandates. Thus, there are 44 women–deputies in the RF State Duma.

Women's representation in governing bodies of RF State Duma of the fourth convocation is as follows: among heads of parliamentary factions there are no women; among vice Chairs there is one woman; among heads of 29 Committees there are four women — twice as many as in the State Duma of the previous convocation.

Comparison of results of 2003 and 1999 parliamentary elections helps outline several trends. First, the amount of women in RF State Duma slightly increased (from 7,7% to 10%). Second, the value of administrative resources in the victory of female candidates increased sharply, and, consequently, the value of party affiliation dropped. Third, opportunities for «social upgrading» of women unrelated to state nomenclature (representatives of business community and volunteers of women's NGOs) tightened.

Table 32. Gender distribution of public employees in federal bodies of power, 2001, %

	Women	Men
Total	71	29
«A» Category	58	42
«B» Category	61	39
«C» Category	75	25
Including by positions:		
Top	12	88
High	23	77
Leading	67	33
Senior	73	27
Junior	88	12

Table 33. Gender distribution of public employees in RF subjects, 2001, в %

	Women	Men
Total	69	31
«A» Category	45	55
«B» Category	48	52
«C» Category	71	29
Including by groups of positions:		
Top	28	72
High	46	54
Leading	64	36
Senior	75	25
Junior	87	13

[64] For a more comprehensive gender analysis of the 2003–2004 elections, see: S.Aivazova, G.Kertman. Gender analysis of parliamentary and presidential elections of 2003–2004. M., 2004.

Thus, the gender structure of the acting RF State Duma demonstrates a distinct «male» profile of Russian legislative power.

These gender differences in political parties and bodies of state power are in many ways not the reason, but the result of other gender disparities, primarily economic. Political representation is just the top of the iceberg, which bases on inequalities in the labour market, access to economic resources and property ownership. Political process in modern Russia is organised in such a way that no decrees can help improve the gender structure of political representation, unless political and economic players, which control the electoral processes recognise women's capacity to express and protect their interests, or unless women's economic independence creates conditions for and demand in their political representation.

The gender levelling of political representation should and can become a national priority. Positive discrimination methods (like quotas) aimed at increase of women's share in political institutions, may help develop guidelines for state policies aimed at achievement of gender equality. Thus, the changed legal provisions, which guarantee women's equal opportunities in political life should not be only declared, but corroborated by changes in women's economic status and by active state policies aimed at redressing the accumulated discrimination.

All the more so, prohibition of vertical segregation in public services should become a national policy issue. Programs of women's promotion to higher public positions should be based on real, not declared provisions and priorities of gender-oriented national strategies and policies.

11 Conclusions

Analysis of the status of two genders in Russia shows that gender inequality is based on unequal positions of men and women in economy (different returns on human capital, unequal access to economic resources) and traditional, instilled and progressing public division of gender roles (women's heavier work load at home). Evidently, such situation may be reversed only by comprehensive measures, which could provide long-term influence on society and public institutions. Cultural traditions or economic practices cannot change overnight, and for this reason activities directed at attainment of gender equality and expansion of women's rights and opportunities should have long-term prospects. Cultural traditions and economic practices do not change under the influence of political documents and programs, but political documents and programs help outline priorities and guidelines of the authorities and political forces, and thus influence the attitudes of economic entities and the people.

In spite of the fact that gender inequality in many ways predetermines economic processes, one of means of expanding women's rights and opportunities is provision of equal access for men and women to political and state power institutions. Women's low representation in state bodies of power restricts public understanding of the necessity of policies, which promote gender equality, constricts attention of the authorities to women's social problems, and instils the concept of «natural» distribution of gender roles in the mentality of male politicians.

Promotion of gender-equal political representation should be supported by other activities and should help improve not only the status of women, but also of men. Achievement of gender equality and the levelling of women's rights and opportunities should not be accompanied by deterioration of the status of men. Gender approaches mean not equality in poverty and social losses, but improved status of women and men.

Based on situational analysis and in order to promote equality between women and men and expand women's rights and opportunities Russia should set the following tasks by 2015:

- Task I. Equalise opportunities for women's and men's access to political institutions.
- Task II. Eliminate discrimination in labour and employment.
- Task III. Reduce women's high share among the poor.
- Task IV. Create effective machinery of preventing violence against women.
- Task V. Reduce the impact of negative factors on health and life span.

What should be done to successfully fulfil these tasks in Russia? The suggested program of actions is quite expansive. It stipulates certain measures directly related to these tasks as well as indirect measures to remove hidden barriers on the way to women's broader opportunities. Therefore, each of the indicated five tasks calls for several activities.

Task I. Equalisation of opportunities for women's and men's access to political institutions;

- Formation of the legal base of gender sensitive state policy, including endorsement of the law «On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms and Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the Russian Federation», which concretely defines relevant constitutional norms in different public spheres, as well as judicial and procedural aspects of their practical implementation.;
- Introduction and amendments and addenda to electoral legislation to encourage broader women's inclusion in lists of candidates from political parties and blocs.
- Design of government strategies aimed at gender equality.
- Introduction of amendments and addenda to the legislation on public service to encourage women's promotion to the upper echelons of the state power.

• Formation of the national roster of women professionals as a reserve for promotion to high public positions by means of regular and targeted training programs

Task II. Elimination of discriminative practices in labour and employment:

• Increase of labour remuneration in social spheres — public health, education, science and culture up to the level of average labour remuneration in the national economy;

• Introduction and enactment of amendments and addenda in the labour legislation to provide for anti–discriminative norms and guarantee equal opportunities for women and men in hire, labour activity, promotion and fire, including the right to part–time employment for women with children.

• Improvement of mechanisms of control over implementation of anti–discriminative norms of the labour legislation.

• Design of special government programs to support women's small and medium business, also in rural regions.

• Improvement of legislation on individual farms and small and medium business enterprises in agriculture.

• Formation of a special package of regional and federal programs to provide for measures aimed at training and retraining women in line with social development perspectives, structural economic adjustment and women's rights to full–fledged education.

• Development of government programs to develop accessible public services.

Task III. Reduction of women's high share among the poor population of the country

• Development and enhancement of the system of state and non–governmental social guarantees to families and socially unprotected lonely people (women released from prison, lonely women with children, lonely women–pensioners).

• Encouragement and support of women's entrepreneurial activities in rural regions.

• Expansion of the access of business women and beginning entrepreneurs to information, financial and material resources.

• Design and creation of a package of interrelated legal documents and acts regulating operations of small enterprises and individual farms (peasant farms).

• Formation of legislative base to develop non–governmental social service sphere.

Task IV. Creation of effective machinery of preventing violence against women:

• Develop ment of a targeted federal program to provide for interdepartmental approaches to solution of this problem.

• Introduction of amendments and addenda to the acting legislation in order to develop tools of elimination of violence against women and prevention of trafficking on people, i.e. to enhance the legal base, including design and adoption of the law on domestic violence and the law on prevention of trafficking on people.

• Professional training and retraining of law enforcement officers, specialists in health care and social workers, also education and mass media workers on the issue of violence against women in private life and in society.

• Indusion of acting legal mechanisms into practical activities aimed at prevention of violence against women.

• Integration of indicators of violence against women (in various forms, such as domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment at work, etc.) into statistical reports.

• Develop ment of social rehabilitation framework for victims of violence.

Task V. Reduction of the impact of unfavourable factors on health and life span.

• Development and implementation of programs aimed at reduction of jobs with harmful and hazardous labour conditions.

• Realisation of measures oriented at reduction of negative consequences of alcohol consumption (fiscal policy, administrative limitations, information and propaganda).

• Implementation of the programs of combating TB and other social diseases.

• Development and support of crisis centres for men and hot lines for suicide prevention.

12 ATTACHMENT

1.10. RANDOM INDICATORS OF DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION IN RUSSIAN REGIONS IN 2003

	Total population (by end of year), thousands		Expected life-span at birth[1], number of years		Summary birth-rate[1], number of children
	women	men	women	men	
Russian Federation	**77144**	**67024**	**72**	**59**	**1,32**
Central Federal District	**20334**	**17399**	**73**	**60**	**1,19**
Belgorodskaya Oblast	819	694	74	62	1,24
Braynskaya Oblast	740	621	73	58	1,26
Vladimirskaya Oblast	825	679	71	56	1,30
Voronezhskaya Oblast	1278	1075	73	60	1,19
Ivanovskaya Oblast	625	505	70	56	1,22
Kaluzhskaya Oblast	560	469	72	58	1,23
Kostromskaya Oblast	395	331	70	56	1,33
Kurskaya Oblast	660	554	72	59	1,26
Lipetskaya Oblast	652	549	73	59	1,24
Moskovskaya Oblast	3582	3040	72	59	1,20
Orlovskaya Oblast	463	387	73	58	1,24
Ryazanskaya Oblast	658	550	72	57	1,24
Smolenskaya Oblast	564	468	70	56	1,20
Tambovskaya Oblast	629	530	73	59	1,25
Tverskaya Oblast	796	648	70	55	1,35
Tul'skaya Oblast	906	739	71	56	1,16
Yaroslavskaya Oblast	742	609	72	56	1,24
Moscow	5440	4951	75	65	1,09
North-West Federal District	**7456**	**6376**	**71**	**57**	**1,25**
Karelia Republic	382	327	69	54	1,32
Komi Republic	525	480	69	55	1,40
Arkhangel'skaya Oblast	699	619	70	56	1,40
Including Nenetsky Autonomous District	21	21	68	52	2,08
Vologodskaya Oblast	675	580	71	56	1,40
Kaliningradskaya Oblast	498	452	69	55	1,24
Leningradskaya Oblast	895	765	70	55	1,12
Murmanskaya Oblast	452	428	70	57	1,26
Novgorodskaya Oblast	376	307	70	54	1,30
Pskovskaya Oblast	406	342	69	54	1,33
S.-Petersburg	2548	2076	72	61	1,14
Southern Federal District	**12145**	**10705**	**73**	**62**	**1,39**
Adygeya Republic	238	207	74	62	1,40
Dagestan Republic	1347	1255	76	68	1,81
Republic of Ingushetia	254	222	78	72	1,74
Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria	478	421	75	63	1,19
Republic of Kalmykia	152	139	72	61	1,74
Republic of Karachayevo-Cherkessia	233	204	74	62	1,46
Republic of Northern Ossetia-Alania	373	334	75	62	1,48
Chechenskaya Republic	580	541	75	64	1,39
Krasnodarsky Kray	2733	2373	74	61	1,30
Stavropolsky Kray	1452	1274	73	61	1,55
Astrakhanskaya Oblast	531	470	72	59	1,23
Volgogradskaya Oblast	1432	1241	73	60	1,21
Rostovskaya Oblast	2342	2024	73	61	1,33
Volga Federal District	**16636**	**14266**	**72**	**59**	**1,50**
Bashkortostan Republic	2177	1915	73	60	1,39

[1] Without SME subjects.

Table 1.10 continued

	Total population (by end of year), thousands		Expected life-span at birth[1], number of years		Summary birth-rate[1], number of children
	women	men	women	men	
Mary El Republic	387	335	71	57	1,16
Mordovia Republic	473	403	73	60	1,35
Tatarstan Republic	2029	1744	75	61	1,46
Udmurtia Republic	839	721	72	58	1,31
Chuvashia Republic	701	604	73	60	1,25
Kirovskaya Oblast	796	683	71	57	1,24
Nizhegorodskaya Oblast	1902	1577	72	57	1,40
Orenburgskaya Oblast	1150	1013	72	59	1,19
Penzenskaya Oblast	781	655	73	59	1,44
Permskaya Oblast	1501	1290	70	56	1,84
Including Komi-Permyatsky Autonomous District	70	64	64	51	1,27
Samarskaya Oblast	1735	1483	73	59	1,20
Saratovskaya Oblast	1429	1215	72	59	1,24
Ulyanovskaya Oblast	736	628	72	9	1,38
Ural Federal District	**6557**	**5759**	**72**	**59**	**1,39**
Kurganskaya Oblast	542	462	71	57	1,31
Sverdlovskaya Oblast	2398	2050	71	58	1,50
Tyumenskaya Oblast	1692	1598	72	60	1,56
including:					
Khanty-Mansiisky Autonomous District	735	722	73	62	
Yamalo-Nenetsky Autonomous District	257	258	72	62	1,64
Chelyabinskaya Oblast	1925	1649	72	59	1,33
Siberian Federal District	**10600**	**9301**	**70**	**57**	**1,41**
Altay Republic	106	97	67	54	2,02
Buryatia Republic	511	463	69	55	1,62
Tyva Republic	161	145	60	49	2,26
Khakassia Republic	290	253	68	55	1,44
Altaysky Kray	1381	1202	72	60	1,36
Krasnoyarsky Kray	1561	1381	70	57	1,35
including:					
Taimyrsky (Dolgano-Nenetsky) Autonomous District	20	19	69	55	1,92
Evenkiisky Autonomous District	9	9	67	56	2,06
Irkutskaya Oblast	1366	1195	69	54	1,49
including Ust-Ordynsky Buryatsky Autonomous District	70	65	67	55	2,06
Kemerovskaya Oblast	1541	1331	69	55	1,32
Novosibirskaya Oblast	1435	1238	73	60	1,33
Omskaya Oblast	1104	955	73	60	1,34
Tomskaya Oblast	551	490	71	58	1,21
Chitinskaya Oblast	593	551	68	54	1,63
including Agynsky Buryatsky Autonomous District	38	35	70	57	2,19
Far East Federal District	**3416**	**3218**	**70**	**56**	**1,44**
Republic Sakha (Yakutia)	486	463	71	58	1,85
Primorsky Kray	1061	990	70	57	1,33
Khabarovsky Kray	739	688	69	56	1,31
Amurskaya Oblast	464	430	68	55	1,50
Kamchatskaya Oblast	174	181	70	57	1,36
including Koryaksky Autonomous District	12	12	63	46	1,59
Magadanskaya Oblast	91	87	70	57	1,40
Sakhalinskaya Oblast	278	260	69	55	1,39
Jewish Autonomous Oblast	98	92	68	55	1,46
Chukotsky Autonomous District	25	27	64	55	1,77

GENDER PROFILE OF MEMBERS OF LEGISLATIVE (REPRESENTATIVE) BODIES OF STATE POWER OF SUBJECTS OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION (AS OF JANUARY 1, 2004)[2]

	Total deputies	Women	Men
Central Federal District			
Belgorodskaya Oblast	35	2	33
Braynskaya Oblast	44	7	37
Vladimirskaya Oblast	36	2	34
Voronezhskaya Oblast	43	3	40
Ivanovskaya Oblast	35	5	30
Kaluzhskaya Oblast	40	4	36
Kostromskaya Oblast	20	4	16
Kurskaya Oblast	43	4	39
Lipetskaya Oblast	38	1	37
Moskovskaya Oblast	49	5	44
Orlovskaya Oblast	50	6	44
Ryazanskaya Oblast	36	5	31
Smolenskaya Oblast	48	5	43
Tambovskaya Oblast	50	1	49
Tverskaya Oblast	30	3	27
Tul'skaya Oblast	47	2	45
Yaroslavskaya Oblast	45	4	41
Moscow	33	7	26
North–West Federal District			
Karelia Republic	56	10	46
Komi Republic	29	5	24
Arkhangel'skaya Oblast	37	5	32
Nenetsky Autonomous District	15	6	9
Vologodskaya Oblast	37	6	31
Kaliningradskaya Oblast	30	3	27
Leningradskaya Oblast	49	3	46
Murmanskaya Oblast	25	3	22
Novgorodskaya Oblast	25	1	24
Pskovskaya Oblast	28	2	26
S.–Petersburg	48	2	46
Southern Federal District			
Adygeya Republic	54	7	47
Dagestan Republic	121	6	115
Republic of Ingushetia	34	1	33
Republic of Kabardino–Balkaria	109	14	95
Republic of Kalmykia	27	3	24
Republic of Karachayevo–Cherkessia	69	3	66
Republic of Northern Ossetia–Alania	66	1	65
Chechenskaya Republic	34	1	33
Krasnodarsky Kray	66	6	60
Stavropolsky Kray	25	1	24
Astrakhanskaya Oblast	29	2	27
Volgogradskaya Oblast	38	6	32
Rostovskaya Oblast	43	2	41
Volga Federal District			
Bashkortostan Republic	119	7	112
Mary El Republic	67	2	65

[2] Women and Men in Russia 2004. Statistical compendium. Moscow, 2004 (ROSSTAT).

Table continued

	Total deputies	Women	Men
Mordovia Republic	47	6	41
Tatarstan Republic	121	5	116
Udmurtia Republic	99	9	90
Chuvashia Republic	70	7	63
Kirovskaya Oblast	51	5	46
Nizhegorodskaya Oblast	45	1	44
Orenburgskaya Oblast	46	—	46
Penzenskaya Oblast	43	3	40
Permskaya Oblast	40	—	40
including Komi–Permyatsky Autonomous District	15	1	14
Samarskaya Oblast	24	2	22
Saratovskaya Oblast	32	3	29
Ulyanovskaya Oblast	24	2	22
Ural Federal District			
Kurganskaya Oblast	33	3	30
Sverdlovskaya Oblast	49	7	42
Tyumenskaya Oblast	25	—	25
Khanty–Mansiisky Autonomous District	25	3	22
Yamalo–Nenetsky Autonomous District	21	4	17
Chelyabinskaya Oblast	44	—	44
Siberian Federal District			
Altay Republic	41	4	37
Buryatia Republic	63	2	61
Tyva Republic	128	32	96
Khakassia Republic	75	11	64
Altaysky Kray	50	3	47
Krasnoyarsky Kray	38	4	34
Taimyrsky (Dolgano–Nenetsky) Autonomous District	11	1	10
Evenkiisky Autonomous District	23	3	20
Irkutskaya Oblast	44	1	43
Ust–Ordynsky Buryatsky	10	3	7
Kemerovskaya Oblast	35	5	30
Novosibirskaya Oblast	48	—	48
Omskaya Oblast	30	1	29
Tomskaya Oblast	42	—	42
Chitinskaya Oblast	38	4	34
Agynsky Buryatsky Autonomous District	15	2	13
Far East Federal District			
Republic Sakha (Yakutia)	69	6	63
Primorsky Kray	38	3	35
Khabarovsky Kray	25	4	21
Amurskaya Oblast	31	4	27
Amurskaya Oblast	38	5	33
Koryaksky Autonomous District	11	3	8
Magadanskaya Oblast	16	—	16
Sakhalinskaya Oblast	26	6	20
Jewish Autonomous Oblast	14	6	8
Chukotsky Autonomous District	13	5	8
TOTAL	**3828**	**357**	**3471**

MAIN GOALS AND INDICATORS OF ACHIEVING THE GENDER EQUALITY AND EXPANSION OF WOMEN RIGHTS, ADAPTER TO THE CONDITIONS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Table prepared by the UN Gender Theme Group, 2003

GOAL 3. PROMOTION OF GENDER EQUALITY AND EXPANSION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES		
Problems	**Areas of activities**	**Gender indicators**
Objective 1: Equitable access to political institutions (Fourth World Conference on Women)		
> Low share of women in executive and legislative bodies. > Inefficient mechanism for implementation of Article 19 (part 3) of the Constitution of the RF. > Lack of legal framework (federal and regional) for women's advancement to the decision — making level. > Instability of national machinery for promotion of gender equality. > Lack of national strategy of attainment of gender equality.	* formation of legal base for national policy of gender equality, including adoption of the law «On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms and Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the Russian Federation», which will make the relevant constitutional norm applicable to various spheres of social life and will identify practical implementation procedures. * amendments and addenda to electoral legislation to facilitate women's broader representation on candidate lists of political parties and organisations. > formulation of national strategy for attainment of gender equality. * amendments and addenda to legislation on public service to promote women to decision–making positions. * Formation of the national roster of women — professionals as a reserve for promotion to high public positions by means of special regular training programs.	> Share of women in federal and regional legislative bodies. > Share of women in decision–making positions in executive bodies. > Share of women from the national roster of qualified specialists appointed to decision–making positions. > Share of ministries and agencies with established structures in charge of promotion of gender equality to serve as focal points for gender equality issues. > Share of women in governance bodies of parliamentary political parties and on candidate lists submitted by these parties.
Objective 2: Eliminate discrimination in employment		
* Traditional sphere of female employment — low–paid budget sectors (education, culture and other budget–funded spheres of activities). * Women come first on the list in termination of labour contract in the situation of staff–reduction. * Exclusion of women from high–paid and stable jobs. * Limited employment opportunities for rural women. * Career opportunities for women at work places are lower than for men. Limited access for women to high–ranking positions in sectors and spheres which require high level of responsibility and remuneration. * Difficulties in combining professional activities and family obligations.	* Salaries increase in social sectors of budget–funded spheres of economy (health care, education, science, and culture) up to the average level in national economy (government). * Enforcement and submission of amendments and addenda into labour legislation to ensure anti–discriminatory norms guaranteeing equal opportunities for men and women upon hire, during labour activities, career promotion and fire. (RF State Duma, government), including right to part–time work for women with children. * Upgrading the mechanisms of control over implementation of anti–discriminatory norms of the labour legislation. * Elaboration of targeted state programs in support of women's SME development, also in rural areas (Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Federal Employment Service, Ministry of Economics, Ministry of Agriculture, Antimonopoly Ministry, Ministry of Finance). * Development of legal framework in support of farm development and SMEs in rural areas.	> Ratio of average wages of men and women. > Unemployment level among men and women. > Ratio of men and women affected by long–term unemployment (percent of those in search of new jobs for 6 months without success). > Share of women with higher education. > Data on entrepreneurship by gender and size of business. > Number of places in pre–school institutions and their cost compared to women's average salaries.

Table continued

Problems	Areas of activities	Gender indicators
	* Design of targeted comprehensive regional and federal training programs for women with regard to social development prospects, economic restructuring and observance of women's right to full-fledged education. (Ministry of Labour and Social Development, Federal Employment Service, Ministry of Economics); * Elaboration of state programs of development of accessible social services for the population	
Objective 3: Reduction of unduly high share of women among the poor category of the population		
> Incomes below subsistence level (32 mln. women and 24,5 men in 1999 according to World Bank), especially in rural areas. > Radical cut of state social expenses. > Imperfect legal framework related to SME development. > Limited access to resources and funds for start up and subsequent activities. > Lack of skills in application of new information technologies for business development.	> To develop and improve the system of social guarantees to families and socially vulnerable singles (women, released from imprisonment, lonely people mothers with children, lonely women-pensioners), provided by the state and civil society organisations. > To facilitate and support women's entrepreneurial activities in rural areas. > To broaden business women's and beginning entrepreneurs access to informational, financial and material resources. > To initiate development of a package of interrelated legal documents and norms regulating operations of SMEs and individual farms (peasant homesteads). > To develop legal framework for promotion of non-governmental social services.	> Gender poverty index (ratio of men and women in the poorest quintile or below poverty rate), both for urban and rural population. > GDP percent spent for social expenses. > Social assistance recipients by type, duration, gender and age. > Loan recipients by gender. > Number of incomplete households (headed by a man or by a woman), and households with dependants. > Share of women landowners and real estate owners.
Objective 4: Combat violence against women		
> Imperfect legislation unable to guarantee the right to personal safety, including moral and material compensation for women-victims of violence. > Insufficient training of staff of law enforcement and educational institutions on issues of domestic violence and human rights. > Domestic violence is treated by public, including law enforcement officers as a family issue. > Inadequate preventive and rehabilitative activities for victims of violence.	> To develop a targeted federal program stipulating for interagency approaches to the problem of violence. > To incorporate changes and amendments to the existing legislation on mechanisms to combat violence against women, i.e. to up-grade legal framework, including drafting and adoption of a law on domestic violence. > Facilitate professional training and upgrading skills for the law enforcement, health care, social services and educational institutions' staff and representatives of mass media on the issues of violence against women both at home and in the society. > To download mechanisms of the existing legal framework to prevent violence against women. > To incorporate data about violence against women into official statistics (by types — domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment at the work place, etc.) > To develop social rehabilitation system for victims of violence.	> Number of cases of violence against women, reported by crisis centres and the Ministry of Interior (MI). > Ratio of number of reported cases of violence against women (MI) and submitted for investigation. > Number of specialised units within the law enforcement bodies dealing with violence against women. > Share of women in high-ranking positions in law enforcement bodies. > Share of men/women in penitentiary institutions convicted for violence against an individual.

Table continued

Problems	Areas of activities	Gender indicators
Objective 5: To reduce the impact of unfavourable social factors on health and gender disproportion in life span		
> Absence of national and regional programs targeted at elimination of negative effect of alcohol addiction. > Absence of public understanding of the necessity to support men in crisis situations. > Insufficient labour safety and preventive activities at work places, weak control over labour safety; gender asymmetry in evaluating working conditions.	> Development and implementation of programs to reduce hazardous and unsafe jobs. > Implementation of activities to reduce negative affect of alcohol consumption (fiscal policy, administrative limitations, public awareness). > Implementation of programs to combat TB; > Development and support of crisis centres for men and «hot–lines» to prevent suicides.	> Life span by gender. > Total number of suicides and distribution by gender. > Share of men and women working in hazardous conditions. > Share of men and women among those with industrial injuries, including fatal accidents. > Mortality level among men and women caused by alcohol. > Mortality rate of men and women from TB, level of TB morbidity.

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There are 45 ethnic groups of indigenous people living in Russia, 35 of them (over 200 thousand people) live in the North.

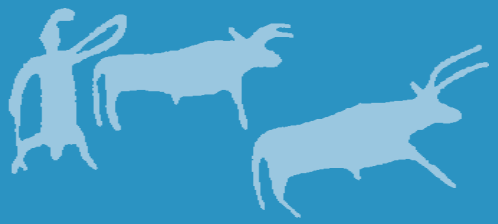
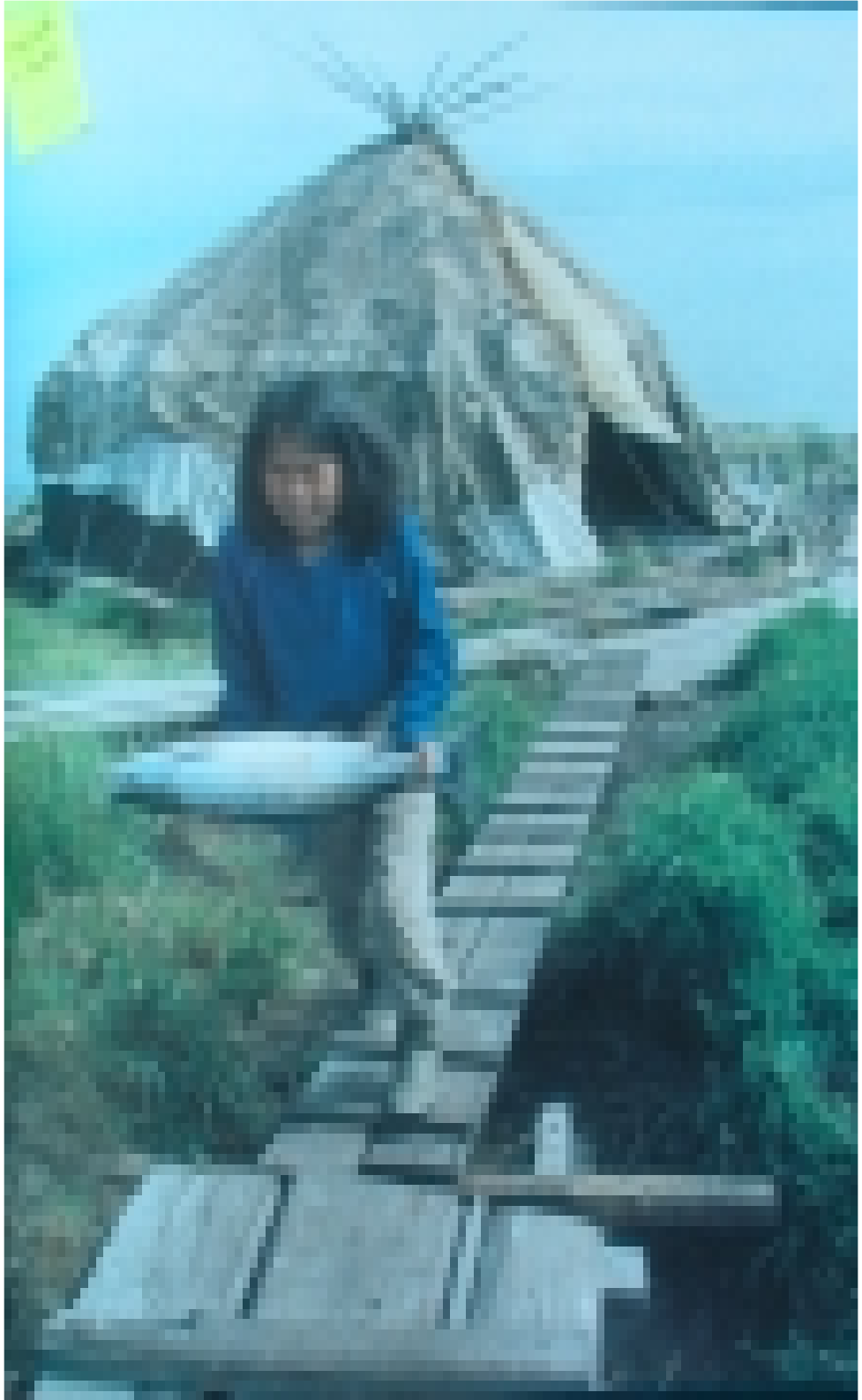
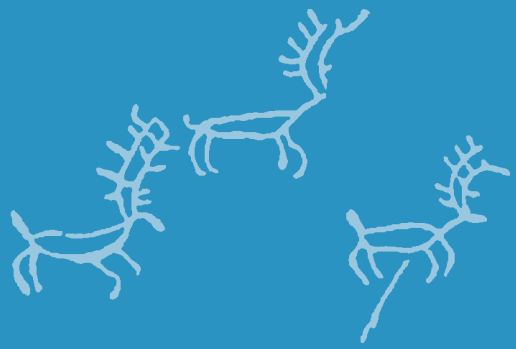
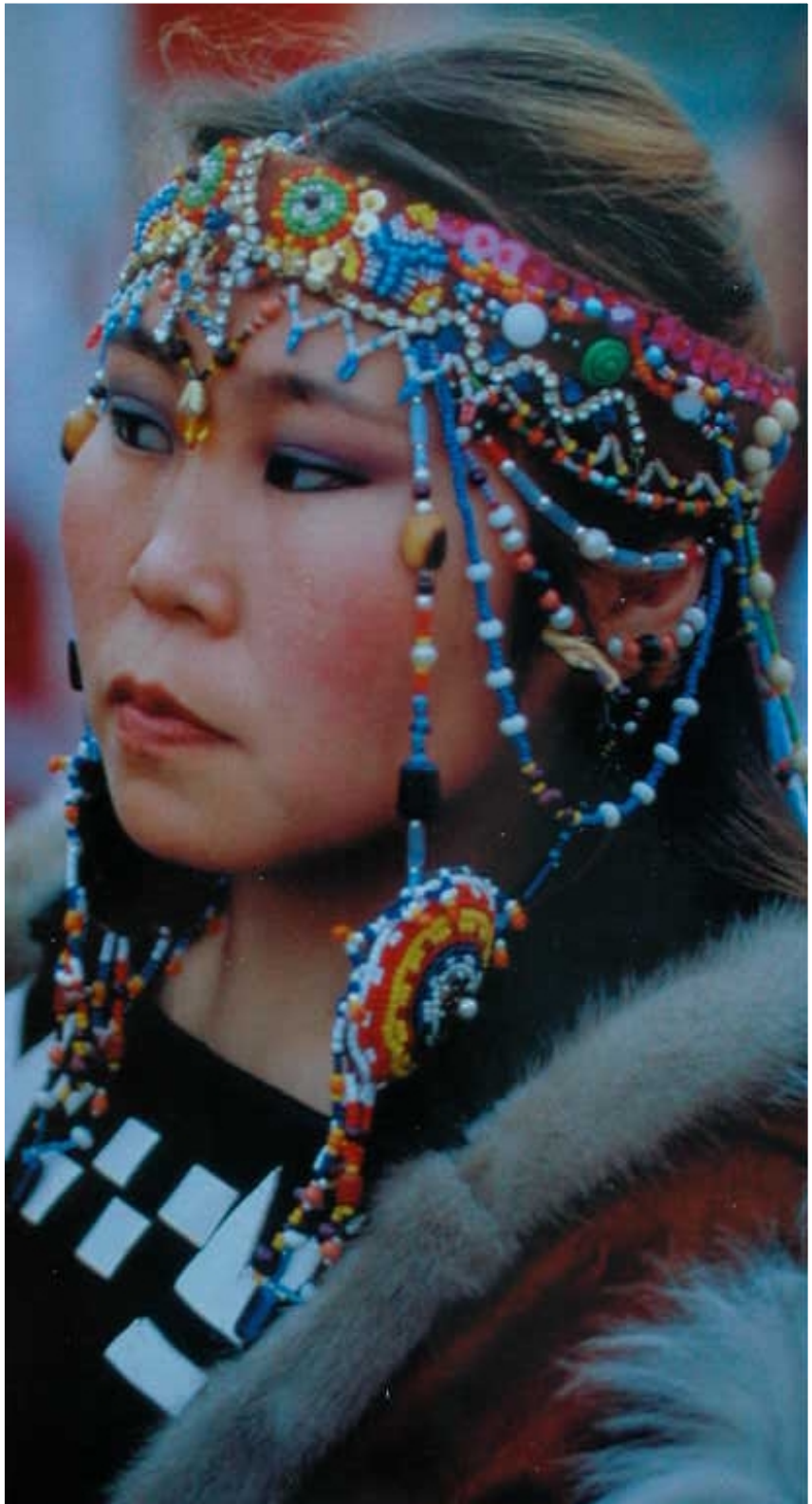
North is a peculiar land; during a thousand years, harsh living conditions have mould unique and peaceful local characters. These people are always ready to help and come to the rescue of those in need. One cannot survive in the North without mutual assistance and help, without respect to and care of other people irrespective of their race, ethnicity or religion.

Currently, people of the North need our attention and assistance. The problems they face — poverty, high morbidity rate, alcohol addiction, low life span, unemployment, mother and child mortality — are priority problems for UNDP and the international community in the light of Millenium Development Goals.

We expect that the report and the album will attract the attention of Russian and international commu–nity, consolidate their efforts towards realization in Russia of the Millennium Declaration and Millennium Development Goals, and, primarily, help solve social and economic problems of indigenous people of the Russian Federation.

United Nations Organization declared 1995–2004 International Decade of small indigenous people of the North.

The report submitted for your attention contains the chapter

«Gender problems of small indigenous people of the North».

With in this section we want you to see the faces of people which populate our Northern territories and to better understand Russia and its people. They represent various ethnic groups, practice different religion and enjoy their national culture.