

GENDER ISSUES IN RUSSIA. AN OVERVIEW OF 2004-2012 NATIONWIDE PUBLICATIONS

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A. PREFACE

Today, gender equality is undoubtedly a way to a country's successful socioeconomic development. Gender equality means both the right development goal and a sensible approach to the economic policy (133).

One of the World Bank reports on "Engendering Development - Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice" (2002) examines the empirical links to prove these points. In 2012, the World Bank came up with another report on "Gender Equality and Development" to single out four priority areas for the gender policy: closing the gender gap in human capital assets, overcoming gender gaps for improving access to economic opportunities, increasing women's voice and agency and limiting the reproduction of gender inequality across generations (133).

Gender analysis is an acute problem for Russia, as it still maintains certain gender inequality across all life areas (134, 135, 182, 184, 300, 511, 664, 738, 751):

- 35-40% pay gap;
- working-age women have twice as much input into the household compared to men, while leisure time is an hour shorter;
- high level of professional segregation and the Glass Ceiling issue;
- around 60% of university students are women, which, nonetheless, does not help overcome gender discrimination in employment;
- twice as many men work in the conditions falling behind sanitary standards and twice as many women are employed in jobs with a greater stress level;
- only one third of fathers pay maintenance;
- 92% of single elderly financially struggling people are women;
- the life expectancy gap at birth is over 12 years - one of the highest figures world-wide;
- public reproductive attitudes are below the ordinary reproduction level - women show lower figures than men (expected number of children is 1.72 and 1.9 respectively); educated women have lower reproduction expectancy, since the country offers no options to combine maternity and career;
- the use of modern contraceptives amongst men and women is still low, while abortions are high and abortion laws get more permissive;
- women-politicians make up no more than 13%;
- domestic violence occurs in 30-40% of families;
- gender stereotypes justify inequality across all life areas.

According to the UN report on the execution of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in Russia, the gender equality situation in Russia has not changed much since the Committee's final recommendations dated 25 January 2002 given in response to the V Periodic

Report by the Russian Federation. The gender aspect has not yet been reflected in Russia's demographic and socioeconomic development concept (128, 185, 250).

The World Bank's gender strategy implies situation monitoring coupled with the development of gender equality. By analysing gender equality reports in various fields of concern released over the past five years, we can evaluate topical gender problems and the reaction of researchers and the public to the existing issues.

Gender-related publications in Russia were first overviewed in 1993-2003 (133). This book offers a digest of gender-related reports and publications released in Russia between 2004 and the first half of 2012. The analysis is particularly acute for Russia, as the country's gender equality practices have been stagnant over the past decade.

The aim of this book is to give an insight into gender issues across key fields of gender inequality through the prism of 2004-2012 books.

We have analysed 835 books and reports. Disclaimer: we may have not covered all of the published books, but we have tried to give a detailed presentation of the gender-related publications released over the last decade in Russia.

This work touches upon the following issues:

- gender equality in legislation and law enforcement practice;
- gender equality in education;
- gender equality in the access to healthcare, health standards and life expectancy;
- gender issues in employment;
- women in politics;
- domestic violence.

The chapter dedicated to gender equality in legislation and law enforcement practice is concerned with the principles of equality and non-discrimination in Russia's general legislative system and its certain areas; legislative and administrative machinery for elimination and prevention of gender discrimination and social reasons behind non-enforcement of gender laws.

The chapter on gender equality in education is concerned with the educational structure of the Russian society, accessibility of education and education payoff, and the gender content in education.

The chapter devoted to gender equality in the access to healthcare, health standards and life expectancy describes gender-based approaches to health issues, analyses supermortality among men and female health (including reproductive health) and access to healthcare services, particularly among women from rural areas and migrants and evaluates gender aspects of HIV/AIDS in Russia.

The chapter on gender issues in employment describes female employment and unemployment trends (including those during the 2008 economic crisis), high gender segregation and low mobility in the labour market, poor working conditions and the pay gap.

The Women in Politics chapter is dedicated to the issues of women's presentation in politics and in top government positions, the role of women's NGOs in women's promotion in politics and the reasons for low numbers of women in politics and state administration.

The chapter on domestic violence describes different forms of domestic violence and the factors obstructing the elimination of the inadmissible violence situation in Russia.

Each chapter is complete with expert conclusions and recommendations on promoting gender equality in the given field.

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B. GENDER EQUALITY IN LEGISLATION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT PRACTICE

This chapter describes how gender equality and non-discrimination principles are applied in Russia's legislative system and certain legislative areas, considers legislative and administrative machinery for elimination and prevention of gender discrimination and highlights social reasons behind non-enforcement of gender laws.

1. GENERAL ISSUES OF GENDER EQUALITY IN THE RUSSIAN LEGISLATION

1.a. RF CONSTITUTION

The domestic women's rights protection legislation provides gender equality guarantees. The country's principal law contains a special article devoted to gender equality (766).

According to Part 2, Article 6 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, every citizen of the Russian Federation has all the rights and freedoms and equal obligations provided by the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Part 2, Article 19 of the RF Constitution guarantees the equality of rights and liberties of the person and of the citizen regardless of gender. Gender equality is currently established by Part 3, Article 19 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation: "Men and women have equal rights and freedoms and equal empowerment opportunities." Such a constitution is optimum, and it most fully reflects the need of gender equality for the society and the state (207).

State guarantees of equal men's and women's rights along with equal empowerment opportunities mean the government's obligation to enforce this principle, particularly by creating a nation-wide machinery, rather than plain declaration of equality in legislation (495).

In accordance with Part 1, Article 19, every man is equal under the law and in a court of law. As stated in Paragraph 3, Article 37, the RF Constitution acknowledges the right to work in safe and healthy conditions and be compensated on a non-discriminating basis.

1.b. RUSSIA'S EXECUTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS ON GENDER EQUALITY

The Russian Federation is a party to many fundamental international treaties on human rights protection. According to Part 4, Article 15 of the RF Constitution, generally acknowledged principles and norms of the international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation are part of its legal framework. If an international treaty to which the Russian Federation is a party provides regulations different from those reflected in national laws, the regulations of the international treaty shall govern (496).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) prescribe non-

discrimination on the basis of sex. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights have obligated the states to provide the equal right to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights.

On a global scale, the focus should be laid primarily on empowerment of the rights provided by human rights protection treaties.

In 1980, the USSR ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The so-called Women's Convention became a fundamental document to segregate women's rights within the human rights system (410).

The CEDAW provides means to oversee its implementation. The member-states are obligated to submit initial and periodic reports on the accomplishment of the CEDAW goals and objectives to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.

Russia's latest Report on the Execution in the Russian Federation of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women submitted to the Committee (VI and VII Periodic Reports) dates back to July 2010. The report speaks of the steps Russia took to implement the Convention from 1999 through 2007 (175).

Having studied the report, the Committee came up with conclusive comments on Russia's execution of the Convention on 16 August 2010 (208).

In 2004, the Russian Federation signed and ratified an Optional Protocol to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women entitling the dedicated UN Committee to consider individual appeals against violation of the Convention by its member-states (410).

In 1953, the USSR ratified the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (New York, 1952). Moreover, Russia is a member to conventions of the International Labour Organisation. Today, ILO's fundamental gender equality conventions include: Equal Remuneration Convention (No. 100), 1953; Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (No. 111), 1960; and Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (No. 156), 1983 (206).

2. EQUALITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION IN CERTAIN CODES AND LEGISLATIVE ACTS

2.a. LAWS ON ELECTIONS

The Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Law "On the Fundamentals of Civil Service in the RF", the Law "On Political Parties" and the Law "On the Election into the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" give men and women an equal right to elect and be elected. Notwithstanding the constitutional norms of gender equality, gender asymmetry remains one of the most typical features of Russia's political life. To begin with, women are still poorly represented in managerial positions and government agencies - legislative, executive and judicial departments as well as in major political parties, both on the federal and regional level. From this viewpoint, the Russian political sphere having

the signs of gender discrimination is far from being modern, while sustaining strictly traditional features of the system (17, 18).

According to Part 4, Article 19 of Federal Law No. 95-FZ "On Political Parties" in force as of 11/07/2001 (amended on 02/04/2012), political parties shall be established by men and women - citizens of the Russian Federation of diverse nationalities, members of a political party, entitled to equal opportunities to be represented in governing bodies of the party and on lists of parliamentary candidates and other elective posts with state authorities and local self-governing bodies.

Since 2007, the majority voting system has been replaced with weighted voting leading onto the abandonment of single-member district elections. Further steps included abandonment of the minimum turnout of voters and "none of the above" choice on ballots, prohibition of electoral blocks and coalitions and introduction of a 7-percent vote threshold for party elections into the State Duma. Researchers say, weighted voting is more favourable from the point of view of gender parity. At the same time, women are poorly represented on electoral lists of political parties while mainly placed at the end (17). Today, women-deputies in the Russian State Duma make up 13.5% of the total number of deputies.

2. b. LABOUR LAWS

Article 3 of the RF Labour Code prohibits occupational discrimination on the grounds of sex. In accordance with Article 64 (Guarantees at Concluding Labour Contracts), unjustified refusal to conclude a labor contract shall be prohibited. All and any direct or indirect restrictions or granting direct or indirect advantages at concluding a labour contract depending on the sex unrelated to professional qualities of employees shall not be permitted, except when otherwise stipulated by the federal law.

Despite the statutory prohibitions of gender discrimination in place, gender discrimination still does exist in the labour market. Gender discrimination occurs in employment (job advertisements indicate the preferred sex of the job seeker and offer lower salaries for women compared to men), there is a pay gap between men and women employed in similar positions (today, women are paid 30-40% less than men in similar positions), and pregnant women and persons with families often suffer a breach of justice (16, 515).

Russia still has a list of specifically male professions prohibited for women. Article 253 of the RF Labour Code prohibits female labour in heavy, dangerous and/or unhealthy trades as well as underground working except non-physical work or sanitary and domestic services.

A list of industries, professions, and jobs with unhealthy and/or dangerous working conditions with restricted female labor is established by RF Government Resolution No. 162 of 25/02/2000.

The list contains 456 professions. It is believed to be unjustified and restricting women's choice of professions by many experts and women's organisations while law makers think themselves as looking after female health. Here is the opinion of E.N. Ershova, Candidate of Science (History), President of

the Consortium of Women's Non-governmental Associations: "Such an approach to female healthcare is beyond understanding - women, as potential mothers, are allowed to work on wet decks salting the fish. And that is not dangerous. But they are not allowed to learn to be a navigator or a captain - that's dangerous. They are allowed to be air hostesses but becoming a pilot/navigator/radio operator is a no-no. What a very peculiar way of taking care." (515).

In 2009, women's organisation activists tried appealing against the list with the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, but had no luck. (RF Supreme Court Ruling No. KAS09-196 of 21/05/2009 "On Upholding of RF Supreme Court Decision No. GKPI09-36 of 02/03/2009).

The labour legislation specifically prohibits non-employment or dismissal of pregnant women and women with children under three, and on grounds of pregnancy or presence of a child. This is one of the few norms of the labour legislation which violation may result in criminal liability (507).

Pregnant women may count upon better guarantees in case of a labour contract cancellation. According to Article 261 of the RF Labour Code, the employer has no right to cancel a labour contract with a female with children under three years old and single mothers nursing children under 14 years old (handicapped children under 18 years old) (336).

But despite this statutory provision, the 2008 economic crisis brought on large-scale dismissals without a valid reason of pregnant women and women with young children employed in small and medium businesses.

It was obvious that women were being forced out of companies by all means possible. It was often referred to as "maternity phobia" by many journalists. Though many entrepreneurs do admit that women are often better workers than men, they still find it unprofitable to hire pregnant women. The laws governing employment relations are still based on soviet principles where the state used to be an all-in-one employer, underwriter and legal safeguard. The relations have changed considerably since then. But businesses are still obligated to insure female employees and provide pregnancy and maternity benefits. By doing so, later the Social Insurance Fund would compensate, albeit with certain deductions, the benefits already paid. In the conditions of escalating inflation, businesses find this unprofitable. Moreover, businesses must retain the position for women on maternity leaves by finding a temporary replacement. At the same time, a temporary worker will obviously have a smaller input compared to permanent employees (158).

Many of those dismissed without a valid reason sought protection in a court of law with the support of women's public organisations, and many of them won. However, childcare allowances enforced by court were hard to collect as the employers fled from prosecution. This started a series of public rallies and one-off actions in 2010-2011 in 20 major cities of Russia. Protesting women demanded female protection from careless employers and changes to the social insurance system to make maternity benefits payable directly out of the Social Insurance Fund, thus avoiding the employer, as described in dedicated literature (158).

Finally, in July 2011, the Ministry of Healthcare and Social Development as instructed by the Russian President, announced the launch of pilot projects to implement the decisions in two of the Russian constituent territories - the Nizhny Novgorod Region and the Karachayevo-Circassian Republic. In July 2012, the projects will be launched in another six regions of Russia, and experts hope Russia will switch to the new benefit payout system across the country by 2014 (158).

Another acute problem is male discrimination in the field of social protection and parenthood benefits. Male discrimination is found at the legislative level in the Labour Code of the Russian Federation and the federal laws "On the Status of Military Servicemen", "On the Police" and others.

The RF Labour Code provides guarantees primarily for women with families; Article 261 of the Labour Code mainly aims to protect women's rights. Under the labour laws, women are entitled for a pregnancy leave followed by a paid childcare leave until 18 months old. The applicable legislation does not stop fathers from taking a childcare leave either, but the empowerment procedure is rather complicated and it requires considerable organizational efforts and time (507).

In accordance with Para. 7, Article 54 of the Regulation on Employment in Internal Affairs Agencies of the Russian Federation, pregnant women and mothers employed in internal affairs agencies employed therein (raising children alone after the mother's death, termination of parental rights, long-term hospital treatment and in other cases where mother care is not available) enjoy legal and social safeguards established by law.

In accordance with Para. 9, Article 10 and Para. 13, Article 11 of the Federal Law "On the Status of Servicemen", female service members and service members - single parents are entitled for social guarantees and compensations as prescribed by federal laws and other regulatory legal acts on the protection of the family, maternity and childhood; female service members further enjoy pregnancy and childcare leaves as provided by federal laws and other regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation.

We are therefore dealing with gender asymmetry whereby the state as the guarantor of benefits for women only does in fact admit greater family responsibilities on the part of women and deprives men of the same rights without valid grounds (206).

The subject drew much public attention after the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in the case of "Marking v. Russia" that recognised gender discrimination of Konstantin Markin, a military serviceman who had been refused a childcare leave. In its decision, the European Court of Human Rights gave much criticism of the Russian legislation and legal propositions of the RF Constitutional Court that refuse military servicemen their right for a childcare leave (206).

2. c. FAMILY LAWS

Russia's family legislation is also based on gender equality. Article 31 of the RF Family Code establishes the equality of family partners: either spouse is free to choose their occupation, profession and place of sojourn and residence. Issues

related to maternity, paternity, child upbringing and education and other family matters are a joint decision based on the equality of spouses.

The spouse equality principle is further reflected in a number of other articles of the Family Code of the Russian Federation (Article Nos. 32, 33 - 39 and others). Spouses are treated equally in the division of shared property, unless otherwise provided by a prenuptial agreement.

There are exclusions, however, such as the provisions of Article 89 of the RF Family Code entitling the wife to demand separate maintenance in an action at law to be paid by the husband, if financially reliable, during pregnancy and for the following three years after birth. Men nursing children of under three do not enjoy the same right. A literal interpretation of the norm reflected in Article Nos. 89 - 90 of the RF Family Code would suggest that a wife (an ex-wife) that has not cared for a common child for three years since birth is also entitled to demand maintenance (816).

Many experts also see spouse inequality in unilateral limiting the right of the husband in the absence of the wife's consent to divorce during pregnancy and for the next year after child birth (Art. 17 of the Family Code). This limitation is valid even when the husband is not the father of the child born in marriage. Contestation of paternity in a court of law and decisions to sustain paternity contestation actions have no effect on the existing limitations established by Art. 17 of the RF Family Code (239, 816).

In accordance with Article 61 of the Code, parents have equal rights and obligations to their children (parental rights).

The so-called "maternity capital" - a new tool of financial support provided by the state for the birth of a second child and every next child has been raising eyebrows. The concept was introduced to the Russian legislation following the adoption of Federal Law No. 256-FZ "On Additional Measures of State Support of Families with Children" dated 29/12/2006 (hereinafter, "the Family Support Law"). One of the down-sides of the maternity capital, as believed by experts, is the limited use of the money (for instance, the money granted is by far not enough to use it for one of the most popular purposes – purchase of housing) (70, 91, 191, 216).

Much criticism comes from recipients of the maternity capital: since the funding is intended for a woman (and not parents or the child), maternity capital only makes the modern demographic policy more patriarchal. We have in fact made a step back since the time when many areas of the family policy covered both parents in the 1990s. Today, the government has relay the childcare obligation on the woman alone (70, 283, 292, 294).

The Family Support Law focuses on maternity (family) capital; not only women but men, too, have the right for additional state support at child birth (adoption). Specifically, men - single adoptive parents of a second, third and every next child are entitled for state support if the adoption decision came into force as of 1/1/2007 (Part 1, Article 3 of the Family Support Law).

Fathers (adoptive fathers) are entitled for additional state support in case of the mother's death, declaration of death, deprivation of parental rights and

termination of adoption. Therefore, both men and women basically have equal rights in this field.

However, Part 3, Art. 7 of the Family Support Law provides a rather peculiar norm: persons in receipt of a maternity (family) capital certificate may spend the funds in part or in full on housing improvement or the child's (children's) education, or add them towards the funded component of pension for women as stated by Para. 1 and 2, Pt. 1, Art. 3 of the law. This suggests that the man as a single adoptive father of a second and every next child, unlike women, cannot dispose of the dedicated funds by adding them towards his retirement pension (336).

2. d. PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE RIGHTS

The laws governing property and inheritance rights are gender-neutral.

Citizens, whether male or female, may own property, inherit and bequeath property, engage in entrepreneurial activities and any activities permitted by law, set up legal entities, either alone or jointly with other individuals and legal entities, carry out transactions and take on obligations permitted by law, choose the abode, hold copyright for works of science, literature and arts, inventions and other intellectual property protected by law and have other property and personal non-property rights. Nonetheless, feminization of poverty still remains a rather acute issue (485, 515).

From the point of view of poverty, single mothers and single elderly women are a sensitive risk group. These are so-called "the new poor", i.e. people that work and live in the conditions of poverty at the same time. Unlike most of other countries, working in Russia may not provide material welfare. Female poverty is all the more acute in the presence of discrimination in the labour market, unequal remuneration for work of equal value, waiver from maintenance payments or an extremely low level of childcare maintenance (511, 516, 904).

Women have equal rights for family allowances, bank loans and any financial transfers. But in reality, women receive more family allowances and fewer bank loans, especially those for business or housing, as they require better credit worthiness, which poorly-paid women cannot always meet (485).

2. e. RIGHT FOR PENSION BENEFITS

According to Article 7, Federal Law No. 173-FZ "On Retirement Pension in the Russian Federation" of 17/12/2001, retirement age pension shall be paid to men at 60 and women at 55.

This norm was considered by the RF Constitutional Court. It concluded (ref. Ruling No. 276-O of 21 December 2000) that the law was based on a differentiation scheme determined by physiological and other differences between men and women thus establishing different age criteria for age retirement and the required work record for the assignment of age pension on a regular or on a preferential basis. The law is further based on the exclusive role of a woman in the society, i.e. maternity, which is harmonized with the provision of Pt. 1, Art. 38 of the RF Constitution stating that maternity is protected by the state and shall not be

considered as a discriminatory restriction of constitutional rights, as the decision, by implication of Art. 19 of the RF Constitution, provides true rather than formal equality. At the same time, the Court emphasized that such a legal proposition does not stop future introduction of a pension reform whereby women would have to meet the same pension criteria as men (12).

Pension assignment is not the only gender-differentiated norm. Aforesaid law provides the right for early age retirement at 50 for mothers of children of up to 8 years of age disabled from childhood having 15 years of pensionable service. Under the law, fathers raising handicapped children had not had the same entitlements until the Constitutional Court of the RF recognised the possibility of using the same pension scheme for men too (ref. Ruling No. 231-O of 27/06/2005) (239).

In Russia, the only similarity between the rate of pay and the pension is that they are equally low; an average pension today accounts for less than 30% of an average salary. As for the number of pension payments assigned to men and women, the gender difference is less than 10%. This is determined by two factors. One, the pension system is designed so that pension differences are not dependent on pay and work record differences; pensions have turned into common old-age benefits. Two, the pensions awarded today are drastically different from those actually paid; there are some that were awarded 10-20 years ago when salaries were significantly lower. Therefore gender differences in pensions awarded for all years make up 10-20% in total, the lowest being paid to women of 70+ (547).

3. LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TOOLS TO ELIMINATE AND PREVENT GENDER DISCRIMINATION

3.a. GENDER DISCRIMINATION AS DEFINED BY LAW

An essential drawback of the gender component of Russia's legal framework is that it does not define "discrimination against women" despite repeated instructions by the UN Commission on the Status of Women regarding harmonizing the legislation with international standards. The definition is found in Article I of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. It reads, "...discrimination against women shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field" (187).

Women's non-governmental organisations in cooperation with the Russian State Duma Committee on Women, Family and Youth have yet had no luck in enforcing the law "On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms of Men and Women and Equal Empowerment in the Russian Federation" that would define the term. The draft law has not gone much further than the first reading in 2003. (24).

3. b. ADMINISTRATIVE TOOLS TO PREVENT GENDER DISCRIMINATION

As noted by experts, today's Russia does not have machinery to directly sustain gender equality, despite the fact that the country has taken on the respective commitment under a number of international treaties (128, 185, 546).

In its 2010 Conclusive Comments, the UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women reminded the member-state of its obligation to provide that the government would maintain gender equality and create the conditions necessary for women to exercise human rights under the Convention. By saying so the Committee relied upon the instructions contained in its General Recommendation No. 6 and the Beijing Platform for Action regarding national machinery for improvement of women's status, particularly, the creation of conditions to provide effective performance thereof. The Committee urges the member-state to take prompt steps in establishing a national machinery to improve women's status with adequate authority, human, financial and technical resources to effectively carry out strategies and measures to eliminate discrimination (208).

At the same time, Russia has general human rights mechanisms.

As stated in Article 1 of the Federal Law "On the Public Prosecution Service", the public prosecution service of the Russian Federation is a common federal central system of bodies supervising the observance of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and laws applicable in the territory thereof on behalf of the Russian Federation. Furthermore, Article 26 of the law states that the public prosecution service oversees the observance of human rights and freedoms by federal and regional authorities and local self-governing bodies.

Appeals against discrimination can be addressed to the Commissioner for Human Rights in the Russian Federation. In accordance with Article 15 of Federal Constitutional Law No. 1-FKZ dd. 26/02/1997 (amended as of 28/12/2010) "On the Commissioner for Human Rights in the Russian Federation", the Commissioner shall consider appeals against violation of human rights and freedoms submitted by citizens of the Russian Federation and foreign citizens and stateless persons temporarily or permanently residing in the Russian Federation. Offices of the Regional Commissioner for Human Rights have been opened across Russia.

Moreover, Russia has a Federal Labour and Employment Service represented in all constituent territories of the RF via its local department network that oversees the observance of the labour laws. The local departments also have the authority to consider individual employee complaints and take appropriate steps: check on employers and prosecute where necessary (16).

But despite said human rights protection tools provided by the state, those are rarely used by the ordinary citizen to protect from discrimination on grounds of sex (208).

3. c. NON-DISCRIMINATION CASES AT LAW

Article 136 of the Russian Criminal Code provides criminal liability for a violation of the equality of civil rights and freedoms. Discrimination, i.e. violation

of civil rights, freedoms and legitimate interests on the basis of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, status and position, residence, religious affiliation, beliefs and affiliation with public associations or any social groups committed by a person abusing their official position shall be punished by the imposition of a penalty of one hundred to three hundred thousand roubles or a one- to two-year salary or another form of income of the offender, or by deprivation of the right to occupy determined posts or to engage in a determined activity for up to five years, or compulsory community service for up to four hundred and eighty hours, or corrective labour of up to two years, or compulsory labour of up to five years, or imprisonment for the same term.

According to analysts, the article does not find much practical use as its wordings are vague. There have been no judicial proceedings under this article during 2010-2011 (158).

Article 145 of the Russian Criminal Code also prohibits a refusal to employ or dismissal of a pregnant woman or a woman with children under three without a valid reason. This one is rarely applied in practice too. Those unfairly dismissed on the grounds of maternity often file their dismissal claims with regular courts. As advised by public organisations, some of them also add a discrimination clause to their claims. Despite the fact that courts would normally protect women's rights by recognizing unfair dismissal, they would always turn a blind eye to gender discrimination, even in the presence of all the legal grounds (516).

So non-discrimination cases at law are virtually non-existent. Experts believe that the main reason for this is that the society got used to human discrimination and is treating it as something common and justifiable (683, 215,232).

4. SOCIAL REASONS FOR NON-OBSERVANCE OF GENDER EQUALITY LAWS

4.a. WOMEN AND MEN ARE UNAWARE OF THEIR RIGHTS AND HOW TO PROTECT THEM

Russian public is practically unaware of women's rights and ways to protect from gender discrimination, or the existing international and national gender legislation. Large sections of the population and civil servants have little knowledge of the tools to improve women's status in Russia. The general poor knowledge of rights and rights protection methods also means little knowledge of gender rights (215, 232).

The government virtually does not carry out information campaigns on women's rights. Educational programmes are not concerned with gender equality.

Law enforcement officers, government officials and local department staff and other officers and judges are unaware of men's and women's rights and non-discrimination procedures. There are no federal programmes to train specialists in this field (485, 185).

4.b. GENDER STEREOTYPES

Despite the existing legal framework, gender discrimination remains a widespread phenomenon. The practice, traditions, patriarchal attitudes and deep-seated stereotypes concerning female and male roles, duties and identity across all life areas do still exist. The government too maintains the stereotyped image of women's superiority in the upbringing of children thus creating obstacles along the way to gender equality (283, 490).

The issue may be solved only by raising awareness amongst men and women of all social groups. A key to achieving the balance between men and women is to view women as individuals and subjects placed on the same society level as men rather than as wives and mothers. The UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women urges to use innovative and effective steps towards better understanding of male and female equality and to cooperate with mass media in facilitating the development of a positive, non-stereotypical and non-discriminatory image of a woman (208).

4.c. WOMEN LAW-MAKERS ARE OUTNUMBERED

Women in Russia are politically active but they are significantly outnumbered in the country's political life and have little influence. Here is an expert comment on the results of the 2003-2004 electoral period (State Duma and presidential elections): "slightly more women represented in federal legislative bodies and an absolute exclusion of women from top echelons of the executive branch..." (18). Women deputies currently make up 13.5% of the State Duma deputies. In local elections, women win more seats compared to federal elections but even here they make up around 10% of local law-makers. Only a few women hold political posts in Russia. The federal level is currently represented by the only woman-minister; as for the regional level, women are normally appointed ministers in the field of social protection.

There are many reasons for unequal female representation in political life, but the most important ones, as noted by experts, are these. While members of prominent political parties, women normally rank low on party lists, which limits their opportunities of holding political office. During individual independent campaigns, women find themselves in an unfavourable financial situation as they are outnumbered by men holding managerial positions at major companies, which is currently a decisive factor for a successful candidate in Russia. Finally, deep-seated stereotypes of a woman being unsuitable for politics as dictated by nature and the maternity role stop women from winning over and hold back the electorate in voting for women (324).

4.d. NOT ENOUGH TEXT BOOKS AND RESEARCH WORKS ON GENDER EQUALITY LAWS

Gender equality is not a popular subject of discussion amongst lawyers today. An analysis of the books on the subject shows that gender equality and women's rights protection were more popular between the early 1990s and the

early 2000s. Since the start of the XXI century, there have been fewer publications on the subject despite the absence of any systemic legislative changes in the field. Therefore, only a handful of law books dated 2004-2012 is dedicated to the legal aspects of gender discrimination in Russia, which is another reason for low public awareness in the field.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON FURTHER LEGISLATIVE IMPROVEMENTS

The domestic women's rights protection legislation provides gender equality guarantees. Russia has signed and ratified the majority of international gender equality treaties.

Nonetheless, certain sections of the Russian legislation still maintain gender asymmetry whereby the government provides parenthood-related benefits for mothers thus acknowledging greater family responsibilities on women's part and depriving men of the same.

The legislation does not define the term "discrimination against women", and there have been no real discrimination cases at law. Experts believe that the main reason for this is that the society has got used to human discrimination and that people are unaware of their rights.

Researchers highlight a whole range of recommendations concerning legislative developments in the field of gender equality:

1. Laws should be adopted at the federal level to maintain gender equality. Those should explicitly prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and define discrimination as such, including both direct and indirect discrimination in the public and private sector. The laws should further establish enforceable sanctions for violations (485, 24, 185, 208).

2. A national machinery aimed at improvement of women's status should be introduced to the executive agencies at all levels vested with adequate competence and authority, particularly for the consideration of individual complaints, and human, financial and technical resources for effective performance. Another measure is to set up a system of regular reporting to the Government and the Parliament (485, 24, 185, 208).

3. The government needs to adopt national action plans to secure gender equality at the federal and regional level, including monitoring and regular evaluation of the implementation strategies and steps (128, 208, 546).

4. Laws on elections, including the Federal Political Parties Law should have a clause obligating contending political parties to include at least 30% of female and male candidates. At the same time, electoral list positions should be distributed according to the gender representation (17, 324).

5. To overcome gender asymmetry, the labour legislation should be changed in so far as it concerns the regulation of work by persons with family duties. Article 260 of the Russian Labour Code should provide for an infant care leave available for men as well as for women. The employment contract termination ban provided by Part 4, Article 261 of the Labour Code should apply to men and not only women with children under three. The legislation governing military, civil,

police service, etc. must enable men as well as women to use their right to take a childcare leave (206, 207).

6. To eliminate female discrimination in employment, the government should change the maternity benefit scheme, particularly how maternity benefits are granted and paid, and switch to direct payments to the insured by local offices of the Social Insurance Fund thus avoiding payment through the employer (158, 516).

7. Articles 89 and 90 of the Family Code should be changed to entitle fathers to raise their children up to three and demand maintenance. Federal Law No. 256-FZ dated 29/12/2006 "On Additional State Support of Families with Children" must provide equal opportunities to make use of the maternity (family) capital for men and women (239, 336, 816).

C. GENDER EQUALITY IN EDUCATION

Gender equality in education is one of the most essential prerequisites for the empowerment of women's rights and socioeconomic development (281, 291, 525). The human asset increase factor in today's world has become a basis for economic prosperity and a faster rate of social development of countries (525, 705). Women's status in education (equal access to education at diverse levels) indicates the promotion of gender equality (140, 300, 580).

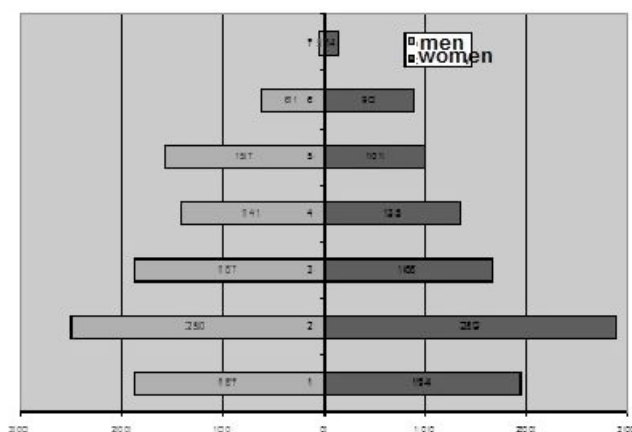
Russia is a country with one of the highest education levels. Gender parity in primary and secondary education has been maintained since soviet times. As for university education, the percentage of girls by the start of the period in question (2002/2003) was 57%. However, women's educational resource is not used as effectively as it should be (525), and the education system is still characterised by gender segregation. Socioeconomic transformations in the Russian society and the ongoing education reform are a new challenge for the future development of gender equality in education. However, there has not been a single significant gender examination of educational reforms.

This chapter is concerned with the educational structure of the Russian society, accessibility of education and education payoff, and the gender content in education.

1. EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIETY

According to the results of the 2010 census, in the educational pyramid, women have higher educational status, while men are placed on lower levels (Fig. C1).

Figure C1. Distribution of the population based on the educational level and sex (for every 1,000 people aged 15+)



Note: Educational levels: 1 - university education and undergraduate education, 2 - intermediate vocational education, 3 - general secondary education, 4 - basic general education, 5 - elementary vocational education, 6 - elementary general education, 7 - no elementary education.

Source: Federal State Statistics Service

As established during the 2010 nation-wide census, women with an academic degree are outnumbered by men. There is 44% of candidates and doctors

of science amongst men (265 K people) and 33% amongst women (41 K people). However, some regions such as the Zabaykalsky Krai, show higher figures for women.

The gender distribution in education can therefore be conventionally presented as a cake where the lowest and the highest layers are taken by men, while the middle and top layers - by women.

2. ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

2.a. GENDER SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION

There are more girls amongst students, while there are more men amongst postgraduates and PhD students (404).

Gender segregation in education is getting worse. The elementary and secondary vocational education system is characterised by a steady high number of girls; the number of girls in the university education system is growing (Table C1) (135).

Table C1. Percentage of girls in the total number of students of vocational education institutions, %

Stages of vocational education	1995/96	2000/01	2005/06	2009/10
Basic vocational education*	39	38	36	34
Public and municipal secondary vocational education**	61	55	51	50
<i>Private secondary vocational education**</i>			56	57
Public and municipal professional university education**	54	56	57	56
<i>Private professional university education**</i>	60	62	64	62
Postgraduate education*	46	44	43	46
Doctoral education*	30	38	44	

* as of the middle of the year

** as of the start of the year

Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Even despite draft determent for male students of universities (a great incentive for higher education for many young men today), there are more boys than girls leaving school on finishing the ninth form to enter basic vocational education institutions or the labour market (525, 275). The reason for this is that today, the pay gap between men and women and occupational segregation in the labour market make it possible for men to be paid more after leaving a secondary school or a secondary vocational school compared to women with university education. Women's high level of education does not help narrow the pay gap and overcome the "glass ceiling" (525), although human capital assets are the only factor that can help close the gap in Russia (209).

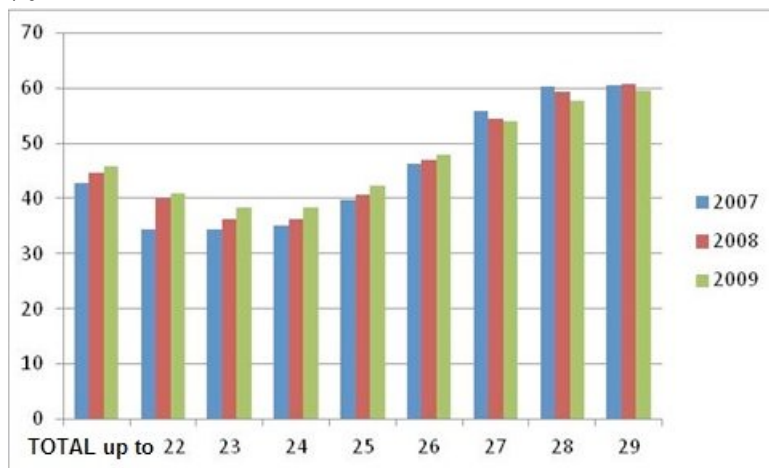
Increasing gender segregation maintains gender stereotypes, as patriarchal family relations are supported largely by young working-class males with no university education (578).

Occupational distribution of young men and women is unequal too (135). Technical universities and occupations are thought of as specifically male, while humanitarian sciences are believed to be women's prerogative. According to scientific forecasts, the number of students of technical universities traditionally considered "men's schools" will go down with the introduction of a professional army (525).

Despite a recent increase, there are fewer women amongst postgraduate and PhD students (Table C1).

In the second half of the 2000s, the number of postgraduate female students went up due to an increasing number of younger (up to 26) women (Figure C2).

Figure C2. Percentage of female postgraduate students in Russia in 2007-2009, %



Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Lower figures for older female postgraduate students can be linked to deteriorating conditions for women to combine maternity and postgraduate studies. An implicit reason for this may be the fact that women are less certain they would defend their theses in time (59), which is normally explained by greater family duties.

Gender segregation in education does not only manifest itself in the existence of typically "female" and "male" universities and student space and uneven distribution of men and women at educational levels but in vertical and horizontal segregation of the very education officers at all levels in the labour market. Despite equal numbers of men and women among teaching staff in Russian higher education institutions, gender asymmetry occurs in the distribution of positions: the higher the position, the fewer women are represented, and vice-versa; an associate professor is about the only position where men and women are represented equally (404).

Reasons for gender segregation in education are closely connected with gender stereotypes and the role structure in society, and the entire gender relations system (363).

There are numerous consequences of gender segregation in the education system. Some of those are: 1) the promotion of specifically gender-based occupations and occupational segregation in the labour market, including the education system itself (feminisation of primary and secondary education), 2) the promotion of vertical segregation in society, including the education system itself (managerial positions at any education level are primarily held by men; there are fewer women holding top educational positions, such as professors), 3) the promotion of gender stereotypes on the role of education in women's life and on typically "female" and "male" occupations (368, 525).

Finally, gender segregation in education affects women's opportunities of using their skills to lead the country, mastering new high-tech professions, socialization and cultural development of boys and girls (278, 280, 368) and even educational motivation (681, 712).

2.b. ACCESS TO FREE EDUCATION

Formally, all levels of education and training for all occupations for girls and young women remain free. However, changes in the education system of the country affect men and women differently.

According to expert opinion, the number of students has been going up recently due to women's fee-based education (525).

Notably (Table C1), private secondary vocational and professional university education is characterised by a greater number of female students compared to public education. Private education is normally paid for by students themselves. This suggests that girls more often than boys find themselves paying for their education. We cannot be too sure of this as there are not so many private educational institutions¹, and a final conclusion as to gender distribution in fee-based education would require information on the allocation of free and fee-based student space at public education institutions.

The university reform lacks gender neutrality. But political and professional discussions on the subject of the university reform are little concerned with the gender consequences thereof, except potential negative effects of equal access to education with the introduction of uniform state examinations (USEs), registered financial obligations and Russia's joining of the Bologna Process mentioned in a handful of research works (525). Researchers were particularly expecting an outflow of women from the Master's programme due to a potential escalating cost of master's education, coupling of studies with family duties and segregation of higher professional education.

Essential changes to the education system are the innovations connected with inclusivity of education in Russia. Gender consequences thereof are yet to be assessed (26).

¹ For reference: between 1995 and 2010, the number of private secondary schools went up from 0.1 to 5%; the

In view of the elaboration of a new law on education and the ideas announced by current Minister of Education and Science Dmitry Livanov concerning the promotion of fee-based education (292), the Internet society is actively discussing the law itself and the potential aftermath of the increasing fee-based student space within the university education system (elitism, utility and narrowing of the resource and undergraduate base) (298).

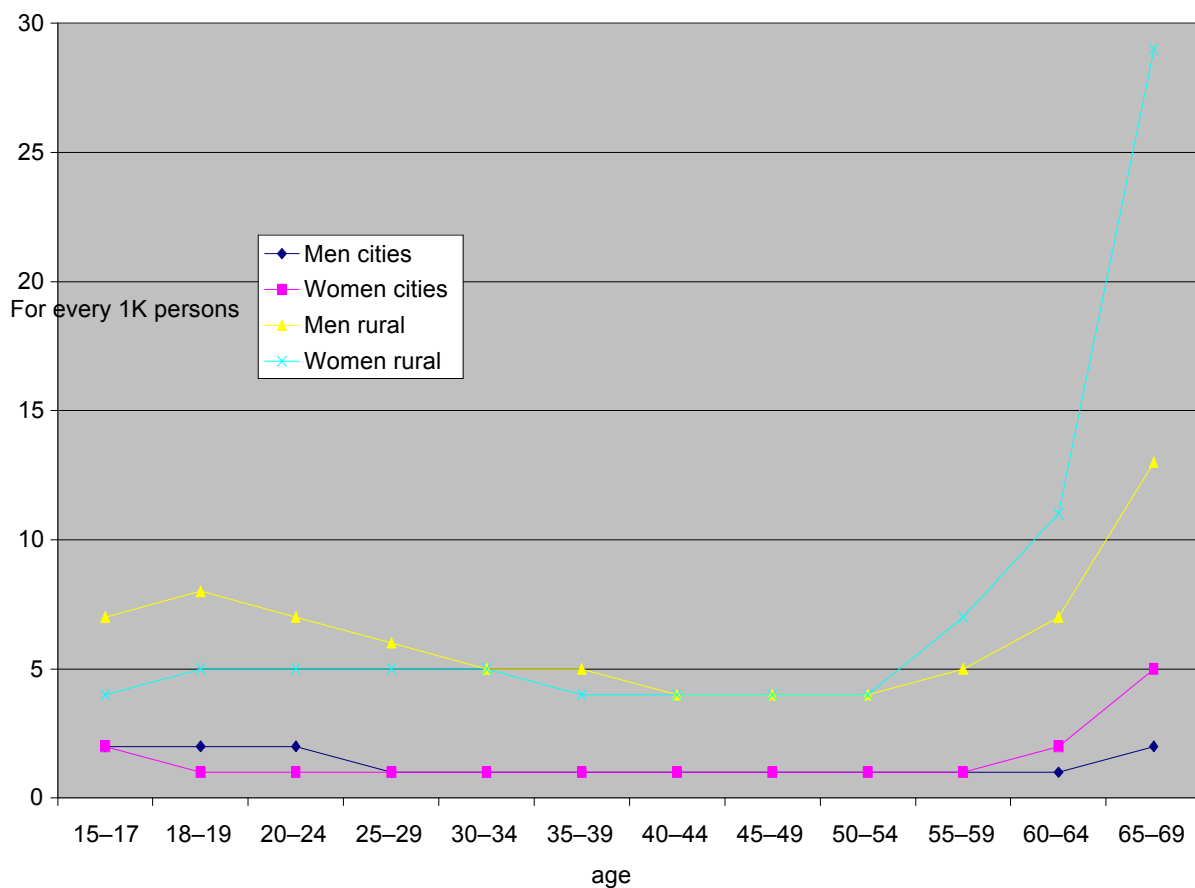
Despite ongoing discussions, those are little concerned with examining the draft education law and the current changes from the point of view of gender equality.

2.c. ILLITERATE BOYS

The low-numbered illiterate adult population of Russia (6 for every 1000) largely embraces people of over 70, mainly women and mainly rural residents. 3 men and 8 women in every 1000 people of both sex aged 15+ were illiterate in Russia in 2002. The situation with the population under 70 is more worrisome: firstly, the younger a person, the more chance of illiteracy and secondly, more illiterate young men than women are found in rural areas (275) (Fig. C.3).

The balance is tilted. In 2002, the rate of illiteracy amongst the generation of school graduates after 1989/1990 was 2‰ of illiterate males (25,000 people) and 1‰ of illiterate females (12,000 people) in urban areas, and 7‰ of illiterate males (27,000 people) and 5‰ of illiterate females (18,000 people) in rural areas. The figures look small but they still make up some 82,000 people.

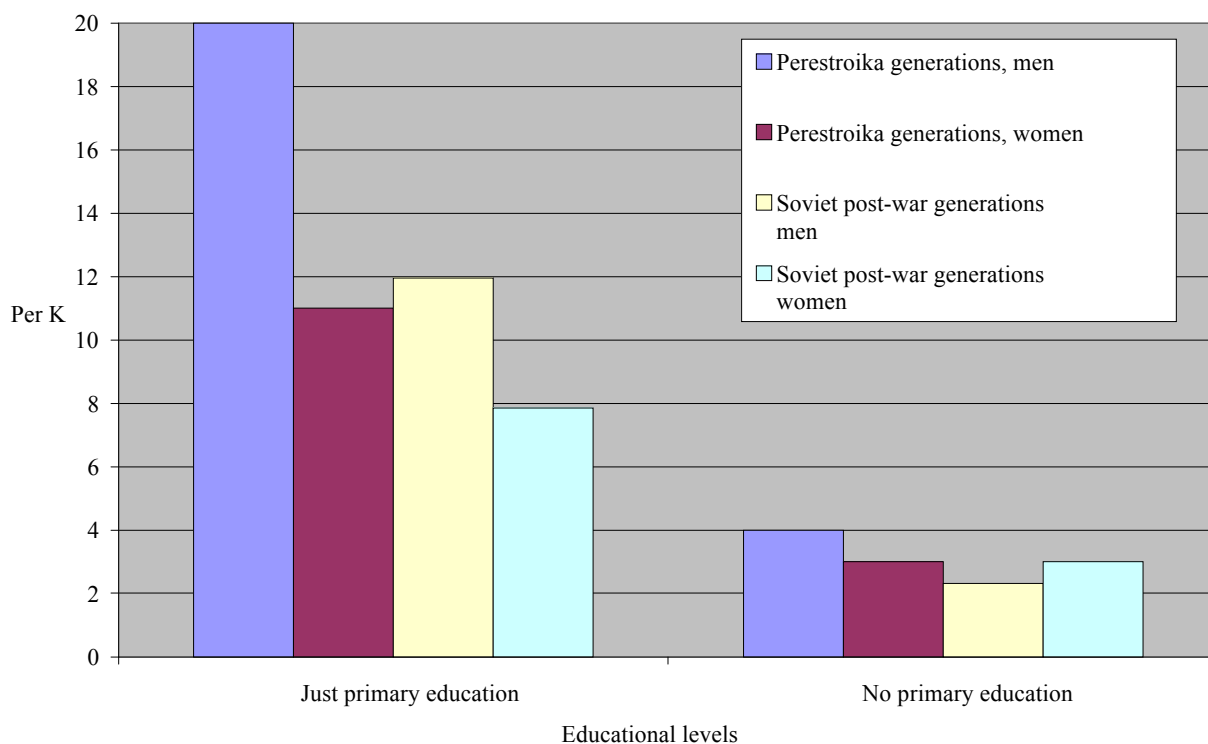
Figure C3. Gender-based illiteracy of the Russian population aged 15 to 69, for every 1,000 of the given sex



Source: (275)

In the 1990s, young men ceded more in the accumulation of human capital than young women. For instance, if we compare the generations having graduated before the market reforms with those having graduated during the perestroika, despite the general increase in the number of people with just primary education and uneducated people, men would be showing greater numbers than women (275) (Fig. C4).

Figure C4. Men/women ratio in the primary education and uneducated social groups of the soviet post-war and perestroika generations in Russia



Source: (275)

According to the 2010 census, 7% of boys and 6% of girls aged 6-9 do not attend pre-school or general education institutions in rural areas.

3. GENDER INEQUALITY OF EDUCATION PAYOFF

Gender inequality in Russia's education system also manifests itself in low economic yield of female education, as the existing implicit discrimination in the labour market makes it hard for women to get better payoff from their education as compared to men (525). Female graduates of secondary schools and universities are paid less, spend more time on career development and start off in lower positions (185).

A microdata analysis, however, proves differently: the education payoff (measured as the rate of pay based on the number of years in education) is higher with women than with men. For women, education remains the only social "elevator" that could help close the pay gap (209).

At the same time, it takes women longer than men to achieve their education payoff based on the work record within a company. This means that a lack of university education for women cannot be as easily compensated by the work record within a company as it would be for men; the pay gap for women with different educational levels exists regardless of the work record (14).

In accordance with the estimates of the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey, the education payoff between 1995 and 2003 increased from 7% to 12% for women and from 4% to 7% for men. The variations were largely explained by the occupation (371).

According to the mid-2000s estimates, the education payoff was 9% for women and 7% for men. Women's figures are high and comparable to average figures for OECD members (294).

Education payoff of later years showed a slight decrease. But during 1990-2008, women's education payoff would remain 2 per cent higher than men's (294).

The education payoff is better in less attractive regions, regions with a higher unemployment rate and those with higher employment in the public sector (294).

This considerable gender variance in remuneration across regions is connected with a higher level of regional segregation in the labour market (234).

According to researchers, household cost efficiency of daughters' education is decreasing as young women find it hard to get employed in the occupation of choice due to excessive labour market supply and growing stratification of universities - only a few of those can maintain the education quality, which makes them elite and not easily accessible (525).

4. GENDER CONTENT OF EDUCATION

When we speak of the gender content of education, we mean the content of educational programmes and texts and the specifics of the communication and teaching style.

Educational programmes and texts lack gender neutrality and are based on gender stereotypes (123, 368, 525). The official curriculum across all education levels, including kindergartens and schools, offers exclusively "male" and "female" subjects (a vivid example would be handcraft classes and orientation training). An "implicit" curriculum based on a system of gender values, norms and ideas, and behavioural standards for men and women is imposed on boys and girls through the teaching content, processes and organisation (teaching books and training aids contain sexist statements; text books have many more pictures featuring boys and men engaged in active work; training aids practically do not mention female scientists and historic and contemporary public figures - basically, gender segregation is imposed as a role model).

Gender education is not covered by school education programmes. A "Family Life Ethics and Psychology" extracurricular course offered in schools is thought to carry little information on family planning. It does not help prevent gender stereotypes as the course teachers are less informed themselves (the course was given by psychologists, PE teachers, teachers of biology and geography and any other teachers ready to take on the job) (185).

Schools and kindergartens are therefore one of the first institutes in life to impose gender stereotypes (368).

The teaching and communication style in education promotes gender stereotypes. Teachers normally give more attention to boys, expect better results from them and praise them oftener than girls. Boys get more encouraged for achievement, while girls - for learning behavioural models which are far from leadership and management (368, 681, 712).

Gender stereotypes are maintained in university education too. Gender stereotypes on the role of men and women are often found in text books and training courses, and in teachers' attitudes. Gender education and gender research programmes and compulsory courses would be very hard to launch at universities. The worst ones would be economics departments of universities, as the proof of the economic benefits of gender equality is the best tool to promote it (185).

Gender studies at universities are mainly backed up by international organisations rather than government agencies or universities themselves. Economics departments are the hardest to launch gender courses at, because gender issues are not treated seriously by the scientific community. Of all departments of humanities, male directors of economics departments more often oppose the promotion of gender learning, assuming that the field of economics in Russia is the one characterised by the worst gender stagnation.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON GENDER EQUALITY IN EDUCATION

The Russian education system formally does not discriminate against girls and women in their access to education at all levels and practically all occupations. The problem occurs in equal male presentation in the university education system.

The economic payoff of education is higher with women, but it does not help narrow the pay gap.

Both school and university education (the contents of courses and text books and teachers' attitude) promote gender stereotypes.

At the level of education policy and management, educational institutions should take the following steps (123, 185, 368, 525, 135):

- an expert examination of the education reform at all educational levels on the part of the government;
- overcoming occupational segregation at all levels of professional education;
- introduction of compulsory gender studies at departments of humanities;
- a gender examination and correction of school books;
- promoting the prestigious status of work in the education system;
- achieving of a gender balance amongst teachers;
- introduction of gender subjects into teacher training programmes;
- learning and mastering the teaching and communication styles within the education system enabling to overcome false and unjustifiable gender stereotypes;
- elaboration of a teacher's code promoting non-admissibility of gender stereotypes in professional work.

D. GENDER AND HEALTH

The chapter devoted to gender equality in the access to healthcare, health standards and life expectancy describes gender-based approaches to health issues, analyses supermortality among men and female health (including reproductive health) and access to healthcare services, particularly by women from rural areas and migrants, and evaluates gender aspects of HIV/AIDS in Russia.

1. GENERAL WAYS TO APPROACH THE GENDER AND HEALTH ISSUE

Every person's health is influenced by multiple factors. There are certain trends, however, that are typical for various communities, including men and women. It seems that only yesterday women's and men's health specifics were determined largely by the biological factors. But the realization of the need to change the approach to gender issues helped us understand that they should be interpreted within a larger context - the context of gender. At the scientific level this meant that social and situation conditions would have greater influence on an individual compared to their biological features.

A gender-based approach to health is recommended by the World Health Organisation (WHO). Further, a gender-based approach to analysing the state of health and development of today's healthcare systems is reflected in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Russia and other states having signed and ratified the convention regularly submit national women's status reports to the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (the latest one dated 2010) part of which is devoted to the health status of women in the Russian Federation.

Over the past period, general gender health and healthcare issues have been highlighted in a number of scientifically and publicly significant works (152, 218, 219, 437).

We will touch upon two of them which best reflect today's situation both in theory and in practice. The first work is "Monitoring of Women's Rights in Russia: A Thousand Women's Stories. A collection of analytical material and monitoring data on Russia's fulfilment of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women", Moscow, 2008 (437). The work highlights and analyses the results of studies in 15 regions of Russia focusing on: women's access to medical and healthcare services during pregnancy, childbirth and the child's first year; access to medical and healthcare services for handicapped women, women - single mothers and women from rural areas; and HIV/AIDS and prevention among women and their family members.

The second work is "Health and Healthcare. The Gender Dimension" (219). The book is an analytical work, a collected monograph embracing copyrighted materials devoted to a general characteristic of healthcare organisations in Russia and gender analysis opportunities in healthcare policy. The book particularly

highlights health protection issues directly linked to the implementation of top national healthcare and demographic development projects. The research work is based on the gender indicators of health and healthcare developed under the different projects by diverse scientific and public organisations of Russia in the 1990s-2000s. The book also relies on state statistics, the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS, 1996-2002), the National Survey of Public Welfare and Public Participation in Social Programmes and deliverables of the Institute of Social and Economic Studies of Population at the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Moscow Gender Research Centre (MGRC). Substantially, the book is an innovation opening up more room for further research, as it is the first large-scale study of gender health and healthcare in the country. The monograph was recommended for publishing by the Academic Council of the Institute of Social and Economic Studies of Population at the Russian Academy of Sciences (the first methodological work entitled "Gender Approach to Healthcare" was published in 2001²).

The concept of gender medicine has been arising great interest lately. In medicine, gender specificity of men and women is understood as a difference between the state of a disease in men and women. The International Association for the Study of Pain (IASP) declared women's pain as the key problem of 2009. The association is currently conducting an international campaign entitled Real Women, Real Pain. Why is today's woman particularly in spotlight? According to statistics there are 38 specifically female clinical conditions accompanied by pain, while 15 are known to commonly occur in men and 24 - to be typical for people of both sex. Population studies have shown that the women/men pain ratio is 1.5:1 on average for headaches, neck aches, and shoulder and knee aches; 2:1 for face and jaw aches and 2.5:1 for migraine. There have been works published in Russia that address gender differences in real health practices. One of such studies entitled "Your Health and Healthcare" was conducted in St. Petersburg in 2003. The work presents a theoretical description of real healthcare behaviours, particularly behavioural patterns. It analyses the gender specifics and establishes determining factors. Statistically important greatest differences in smoking patterns are based on sex (77, 467).

Studying of behavioural health conservation and improvement practices is part of a general research of health inequalities. Behavioural models are elements of a particular lifestyle characterizing a person's capabilities to foresee and overcome problems. Health-determined behaviour therefore depends on general life patterns which reflect social values, psychological welfare and personal integration into the predominant culture. Along with an extremely high rate of economic and social transformations, health deterioration and environmental degradation, health values and unhealthy behaviour are one of the significant factors determining the morbidity rate and the risk of an early death in the country (77, 201, 724).

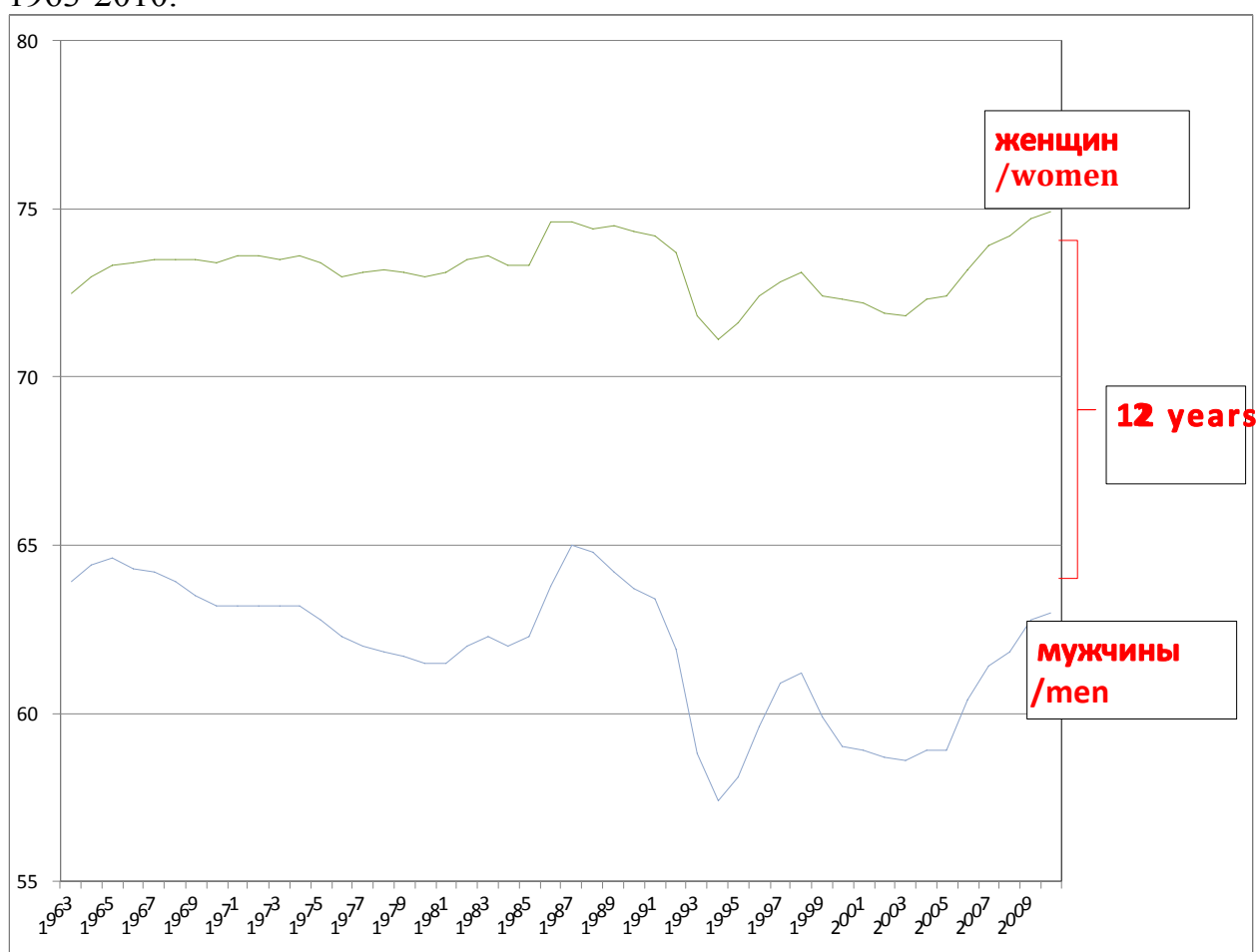
² See: Grigorieva N.S., Chubarova T.V. Gender Approach to Healthcare. Textbook. Moscow, Alpha-Print Publishers, 2001.

A Female Health magazine was launched in 2005. The magazine regularly publishes the results of gender-based clinical tests.

2. GENDER GAP IN LIFE EXPECTANCY: THE PROBLEM OF RUSSIAN MEN

Russia is a world leader when it comes to the difference between men's and women's life expectancy. In 2004-2010, the life expectancy gap was 12 years (Fig. D1). The main reason for such a huge gap is working-age men. The death rate for working-age men is higher for all reasons, particularly due to external (preventable) factors (162, 300, 679).

Figure D1. Men's and women's life expectancy dynamics at birth, Russia, 1963-2010.



Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Life expectancy in Russia increased over the period between 2004 and 2010, the 2010 figure being 75 years for women and 63 years for men, but the big gap remains. Significant differences in life expectancy within and across regions, including gender-based ones, still exist (Tables D1 and D2).

Table D1. Regional differences in life expectancy of the population of Russian Federation territories with long and short lifespans as of mid-2000s (in years).

	Smolensk Region		Gender gap	Khanty-Mansy Autonomous District		Gender gap
	men	women		men	women	
Maximum index for municipalities	59.8	75.5	15.7	68.2	78	9.8
Minimum index for municipalities	46.8	64.6	17.8	53.8	68.5	14.7
Gap for municipalities	13.0	10.9		14.4	9.5	

Source: "Prospects for the Development of the Healthcare System in Russia", a report by Academician S.I. Kolesnikov (Deputy Chair of the RF State Duma Healthcare Committee in 2008-2011)

Table D2. Age-based mortality indices (for every 100 K of the population) depending on the type and size of the urban population of the Central Federal District of Russia, 2008-2009

	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+
	Men				
Urban-type settlements	106.8	365.9	893.8	2265.8	7955.1
Towns: up to 10 K	145.9	271.6	1001.0	2502.3	8349.1
10-19.9 K	99.8	331.9	891.4	2326.0	8152.8
Medium cities:	104.5	310.5	896.1	2252.9	8054.5
20-49.9 K					
50-99.9 K	117.3	332.9	862.2	2241.0	8252.3
Large cities: 100 K+	79.9	230.0	776.8	2043.1	7431.3
Region's centres	93.2	243.3	752.1	1932.7	7169.2
	Women				
Urban-type settlements	85.8	102.9	273.5	690.9	5321.1
Towns: up to 10 K	53.0	135.8	264.1	807.0	5625.5
10-19.9 K	72.4	99.3	291.3	717.1	5471.5
Medium cities:	77.9	91.4	272.7	661.2	5299.0
20-49.9 K					
50-99.9 K	69.4	96.3	250.4	678.1	5335.5
Large cities: 100 K+	55.3	54.1	248.8	625.1	4902.1
Region's centres	73.6	67.5	224.7	577.3	4735.5

Source: "Prospects for the Development of the Healthcare System in Russia", a report by Academician S.I. Kolesnikov (Deputy Chair of the RF State Duma Healthcare Committee in 2008-2011)

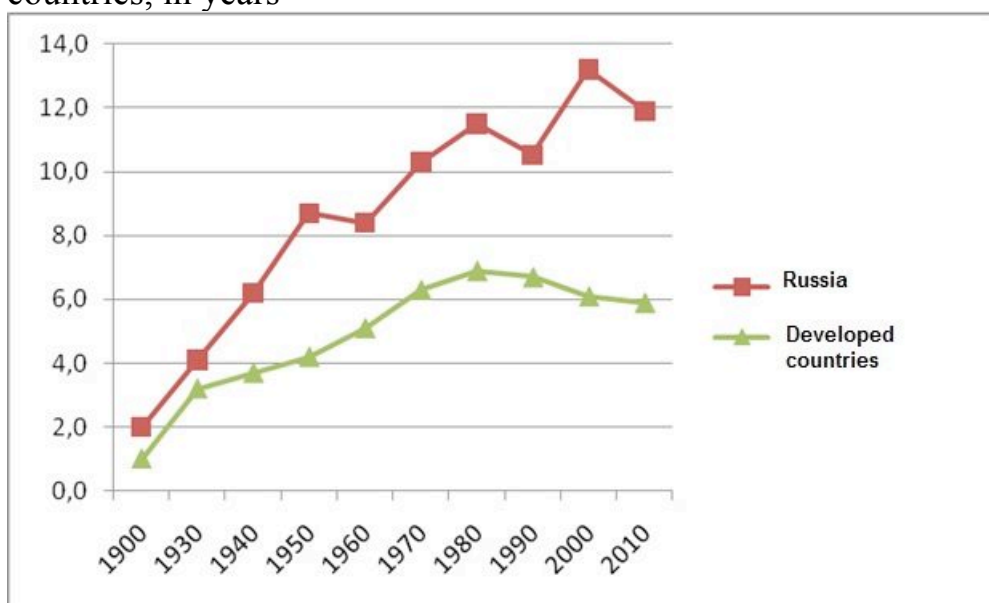
According to Table D2, mortality in men aged under 15 and 60+ is 1.5 - 1.6 times higher than that in women; mortality in working-age men is 3.3 - 3.4 times higher. The biggest gap on average is found in medium cities with a population of over 50,000 people and in large cities (2.7 compared to 2.5 - 2.6 in other towns/cities).

The shortest lifespan for men (less than 56 years in the first half of the 2000s) was characteristic of European Central and North-West parts of the country with the highest depopulation and population degradation and in the regions of South Siberia and the Far East characterised by hard labour or underdevelopment. These regions' male mortality factors are the worst living conditions, alcoholism and poor education (124, 578).

The regions were also mentioned in the context of offering the worst longevity conditions for women (359).

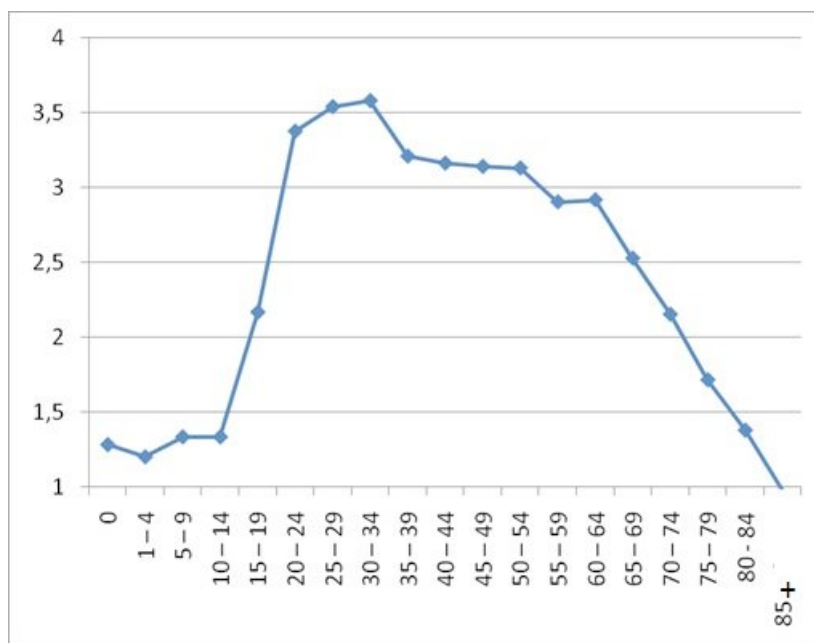
Unlike developed countries, the gender gap in mortality in Russia remains big (Fig. D2). The main reason for the big gap is working-age men (Fig. D3). The death rate for working-age men is higher for all reasons, particularly due to external (preventable) factors (Table D2) (162, 300).

Figure D2. Gender gap in life expectancy at birth, Russia and developed countries, in years



Source: Russian State Statistics Service (162)

Figure D3. Gender ratio of mortality indices, Russia, 2009



Source: (300)

If the current situation remains the same, only 50% of boys aged 15 and 90% of girls aged 15 will live up to the pension age (162, 163, 200).

Table D3. Gender ratio of mortality indices for working-age persons with a breakdown into main causes of death, Russia, 1990-2009

	1990	1995	2000	2004	2009
All causes	3.8	4.3	3.9	3.8	3.7
Blood circulation system	4.6	5	4.3	4.3	4.7
External causes	5.5	5.2	5.1	4.8	4.9
INCLUDING 6-8 x AS MANY SUICIDES!					
Cancer	2.4	2.4	1.8	1.8	2
Respiratory system	5.1	6.2	5.2	5.1	3.9
Digestive system	3.3	3.4	3	2.4	2.5
Infectious diseases	6.8	6.5	6.5	4.8	3.8

Source: (300)

Women live longer despite worse health conditions. The gap closes up when it comes to healthy life expectancy (Table D4) (162).

Table D4. Life expectancy, healthy life expectancy and gender gap between the two in different countries in the first decade of XXI c.

countries	LE m	LE w	HLE m	HLE w	Gender gap in LE	Gender gap in HLE
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ex-soviet states	62.7	71.4	56.2	62.6	8.7	6.5
East European countries	69.8	77.2	62.2	67.7	7.4	5.5
developing countries	60.6	64.4	52.6	55.0	3.8	2.4
developed countries	75.5	81.4	68.5	72.7	5.9	4.2

Source: (162)

3. WOMEN'S HEALTH. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

The Russia of the 2000s was characterised by positive dynamics in many areas of women's health and healthcare. Researchers particularly link this with nationwide healthcare programmes in Russia (185).

Inserted from Russia's Healthcare Programme

A whole series of government documents was launched in 2001-2011: The National Plan of Actions to Improve Women's Status and Strengthening Women's Role in Society in the Russian Federation for 2001-2005 (June 2001); the Russian Federation Demographic Development Concept Until 2015 (September 2001); the National Health Project (2005 - present); the Russian Federation Demographic Development Concept until 2025 (October 2007); the Long-term Socioeconomic Development Concept until 2020 (November 2008), the Federal Law "On Compulsory Medical Insurance" (2010), the Federal Law "On the Fundamentals of Healthcare in the Russian Federation" 2011, and the State Healthcare Development Programme elaborated under the List of RF National Programmes approved by RF Government Resolution No. 1950-r of 11 November 2010, and others.

Separate sections of each of the documents set tasks to cut down on maternal and infant mortality, develop advanced perinatal techniques, protect public reproductive health, especially when it comes to adolescents and older reproductive age groups (including the prevention of cancer of women's reproductive organs), affordability of high-quality medical services for all social groups, standardization of medical services, public awareness and promotion of a healthy life style. Improvements further include the launch of childbirth certificates, a large-scale campaign for the prevention and early diagnosis of cancer of the reproductive organs, building of new perinatal centres and provision of high-technology medical equipment for the existing healthcare institutions.

In the 2000s, the maternal mortality index dropped twofold, and the childbirth mortality index decreased 1.5 - 1.7 times for girls and boys both from urban and rural areas. There was a threefold decrease in the rate of maternal mortality from illegal abortions. Russia as a country with a traditionally high level of abortions (in the 1990s, the birth-to-abortion ratio was 100:200) showed a 1.4x decrease in the number of abortions (1.6x for women aged 20-34) (Table D5). In the first half of the 2000s, the number of abortions amongst young women aged 15 to 19 went down too, but that amongst younger girls of under 15 increased, 88% of pregnancies being terminated in 2004 (185).

The decreasing number of abortions is primarily linked to the extensive use of modern contraceptives, especially amongst young women (Table D6). The number of women using oral contraceptives increased twofold (185, 583).

Maternal mortality in rural areas, however, remains almost 2 times higher than in urban areas. Child mortality for boys and for rural areas is traditionally higher. Compared to developed countries (with 10-20 abortions to every 100 children born), the number of abortions as of the late 2000s was still high - 92 abortions to 100 children born. Around a quarter of the population (23%) has an unmet need for family planning, i.e. non-use of contraception or use of traditional, less effective contraceptive methods (the index being 10% for developed countries) (563, 564, 583).

Professional medical help at labour is provided to all women across Russia (451). 97-98% of pregnant women visit GPs, 94-95% takes Wasserman's tests. The number of sick pregnant women is worrisome. The number of complicating conditions (for every 1,000 births) either remains the same (blood circulation and urogenital conditions) or it increases (diabetes mellitus, oedema, hypertension, varicose veins) (Table D5). Female and male reproductive system diseases occur more often, and the morbidity rate is going up, including cases when first diagnosed.

Table D5. Health state of pregnant women, women in labour and new mothers

	1995	2000	2005	2009	2010
Number of pregnant women - total, K people	1292.8	1155.9	1335.7	1675.9	1698.3
of which:					
carried to term	1178.0	1053.4	1238.3	1541.8	1569.0
had premature labour	50.5	46.9	44.2	66.0	62.4
terminated pregnancy ¹⁾	64.3	55.6	53.2	68.0	66.9
Illnesses amongst pregnant women-new mothers:					
anaemia	34.4	43.9	41.5	35.3	34.7
blood circulation disorders	7.7	10.2	10.6	10.3	10.4
diabetes mellitus	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4
oedema, proteinuria and hypertension	14.9	21.4	21.6	17.8	18.1
urinogenital diseases	12.9	18.6	21.2	19.2	19.2
complications on veins	2.3	3.4	3.9	4.4	4.5
Labour-complicating conditions ²⁾ :					
anaemia	209.5	265.8	259.5	232.2	230.8
blood circulation disorders	53.2	68.5	68.4	70.6	67.9
diabetes mellitus	1.0	1.3	1.6	3.0	3.7
oedema, proteinuria and hypertension	156.8	215.3	223.5	197.2	189.5
urinogenital diseases	87.0	93.6	89.5	81.0	72.4
varicose veins	17.1	17.6	18.9	22.4	22.1
bleeding at placental and lying-in stages	27.6	24.3	15.7	13.3	12.7
labour disorders	124.7	132.6	122.2	119.7	113.0

- 1) spontaneous delivery and delivery on medical indications.
- 2) for every 1000 deliveries.

Source: Federal State Statistics Service

In order to sustain further decrease in perinatal, infant and maternal mortality, especially in view of the 2012 introduction of birth registration criteria recommended by the World Health Organisation, steps should be taken to renovate the existing obstetric clinics, set up intensive care wards for newborns and pathologic departments for newborns and prematurely born, and fit out child healthcare and obstetrics institutions with advanced diagnostic and therapeutic equipment.

An effective three-tier pregnancy and infant aid system can be set up only with the government support of construction and reconstruction of regional (in kraies and republics) and federal perinatal centres. Over the 2006-2010 period, the number of perinatal centres in Russia went up from 40 to 53. Twenty two regional and one federal perinatal centres were launched during 2008-2011 in the framework of the implementation of a "Health" priority national project co-financed from the federal budget. These perinatal centres provide medical aid to over 90,000 obstetric patients and high-risk newborns every year (70, 120, 218, 219).

A decreasing birth rate among adolescents and young women is positively influenced by a general "birth maturity" trend and a growing number of people engaged in family planning. Age-specific birth rates among adolescents and young women (aged 15-19 and 20-24) went down in the 2000s with the intensification of birth maturity in the RF (162, 296). There has been a positive family planning trend borrowed from West European countries, where the main birth rate input is down to women aged 25-34 with good education and a career start. The birth rate among adolescents of under 18 has been going down too (those account for less than 2% of all child births) (185).

In order to improve women's health status, the government needs to enhance information and resource support of the existing reproductive healthcare programmes and strengthen the measures connected with equal access to healthcare services, including paid ones (especially for low-income women and women in rural areas). Another step is the introduction of dedicated school programmes with a good resource base, primarily, qualified teachers and modern teaching aids. At the same time, the government needs to tread carefully when it comes to women's reproductive rights by categorically denying an abortion ban, protecting women from being pressurized about abortion and providing a free-of-charge abortion option (185).

The Concept of Socioeconomic Development of the Russian Federation Until 2020 provides for a "range of measures to prevent and cut down on abortions." We are afraid that to do so, the government may resort to gender-discriminating methods. Members of parliament, for instance, have been repeatedly raising the issue of banning abortions. For your information, there was a cut-down on social indications for artificial termination in 2003. Raising public

awareness and maintaining accessibility to advanced family planning techniques for all public groups are the only effective methods to cut down on abortions and save women's reproductive rights at the same time (120, 256, 309, 437, 535, 599, 601, 645, 646, 655).

In late 2011 - early 2012, the government was discussing a number of amendments to the public healthcare law aimed at limiting women's access to abortions. The discussions were never made too public. Demographers, doctors and sociologists kept insisting that the rate of abortions could only be brought down by promoting modern contraceptives, rather than imposing bans (654, 664). Such laws have little effect on high-income population (who can always pay); those at risk are people from low-income families.

As for the general female health status, there has unfortunately been a tendency for deteriorating health indices for a number of illnesses (Table D6).

Table D6. Women's morbidity with a breakdown into conditions, Russia, 1995-2010

	1995	2000	2005	2009	2010
Women registered with first diagnosis: total, K people					
malignant tumours	206.1	232.3	250.1	269.9	278.9
of which:					
breast cancer	37.6	44.8	49.5	54.3	57.2
cervical, endometrial and placental cancer	24.9	27.5	30.2	34.1	34.6
ovarian cancer	10.7	11.7	12.3	12.8	13.1
active tuberculosis	22.2	31.3	34.3	35.8	33.6
alcoholism and alcoholic psychosis	39.2	36.9	43.2	35.9	35.6
menstrual disorders	239.9	399.8	531.6	528.8	555.1
infertility	40.8	49.8	52.5	69.7	70.7
complicated pregnancy, labour and puerperium	1443.9	2085.1	2470.7	2881.3	2888.8
for every 100,000 women:					
malignant tumours	263.7	299.6	328.5	353.9	363.5
of which:					
breast cancer	48.1	57.7	65.1	71.2	74.6
cervical, endometrial and placental cancer	31.9	35.4	36.6	44.7	45.1
ovarian cancer	13.7	15.1	16.2	16.8	17.1
active tuberculosis	28.4	40.4	45.0	46.9	43.8
alcoholism and alcoholic psychosis	50.2	47.6	56.7	47.1	46.5

Source: Federal State Statistics Service

According to public opinion, especially that among healthcare directors at different levels, the situation is often linked to the improvement of diagnostics through a renovation of healthcare facilities in hospitals and introduction of public health examinations for large groups of employees. But not all of it is true. Increasing morbidity is found in rural areas with poor healthcare facilities.

In the late 2000s, there was a positive tendency towards a slower increase in rates of cancer morbidity in women (cancer of reproductive organs). As for sexually transmitted diseases, the death rate went down considerably - almost twofold for syphilis and gonorrhoea between 2000 and 2007. However, HIV morbidity kept going up. The prevalence is higher for men (256 cases in men against 130 in women for every 100K of the population), while the rate of extension is higher for women: female HIV morbidity grew 6-fold between 2000-2007, male HIV morbidity increased three-fold (185).

4. ACCESS TO HEALTHCARE SERVICES AND HEALTHCARE INSTITUTIONS

Notably, women are more sensitive when it comes to access to healthcare because one, obstetrics and gynaecology are among the five most popular fee-based services, and one of the most expensive ones at that, and two, women find it more difficult to pay for medical services than men due to the feminisation of poverty (437).

Access to healthcare is one of the acutest issues for the population of Russia. The cost of healthcare keeps going up both in urban and rural areas (Table D7).

Table D7. Household expenses on fee-based healthcare and recreation services

(based on a random survey of household budgets; on average per member of household; in roubles; 1995 – K roubles)

	1995	2000	2005	2009	2010
	All households				
Total spendings	385.7	1909.1	11935.8	27950.4	32468.6
on medical services	12.2	143.0	495.4	1243.3	1559.9
on spa and health activities	20.0	31.1	197.7	681.8	664.2
on physical education and sports	...	7.1	108.5	380.3	371.5
on organisation of recreation and cultural events	5.4 ¹⁾	104.6	965.9	2738.9	3046.5
	Urban households				
Total spendings	464.2	2264.3	14477.6	33576.4	38601.7
on medical services	14.5	180.5	603.0	1514.0	1888.3
on spa and health activities	25.9	40.4	243.3	896.9	841.8
on physical education and sports	...	9.6	146.7	511.0	496.8
on organisation of recreation and cultural events	6.4 ¹⁾	137.6	1281.0	3600.4	3983.8
	Rural households				
Total spendings	160.8	943.3	4991.5	12422.3	15539.4
on medical services	5.6	41.1	201.5	496.4	653.4
on spa and health activities	3.0	5.9	73.0	88.3	174.0
on physical education and sports	...	0.4	4.0	19.5	25.6
on organisation of recreation and cultural events	2.4 ¹⁾	14.9	105.5	361.3	459.6

¹⁾Including PE and sports services.

Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Studies of the understanding of inequality in the health status of different communities which still exists and has even become worse lately are of particular interest. Relatively poorer households spend the bulk of their income on food, and the income differences between the rich and the poor may have grave consequences for the diet, thus affecting the state of health. One of the most essential characteristics connected with health status inequality is the level of income. The obvious link between health and poverty has been in focus of many researchers (170, 219, 539, 544, 548, 554).

Accessibility of medical aid means free access to healthcare services regardless of geographic, economic, social, cultural, organizational or language barriers. Accessibility of medical aid is determined by the following factors (174):

- balance between the required scale of medical aid for public and government opportunities and country's medical and financial resources;
- availability and qualification of medical personnel;
- availability of relevant medical technologies;
- the option of free choice of a physician and a hospital;
- transport capabilities;
- public awareness in the field of health conservation and improvement and disease prevention.

Discrimination occurs when people cannot access a service due to low income, race, sex or age. Further, there are implicit factors that limit the access to health services, such as high transport costs, inconvenient opening hours and language barriers. Considerable limitations are found in the healthcare imbalance of rural and urban areas. Discrimination also occurs when too much money is spent on high-technology medical aid for limited communities instead of a better-balanced resource distribution in public's interest.

Equal quality for everybody means that every person has the right to be treated equally depending on the needs rather than the social status. Equal quality also means that everyone is entitled for a service of an equally high standard. The problem occurs with poorer patients and is, above all, connected with difficulties in providing qualified workforce in deprived regions. An important parameter of equal quality is the accessibility of a service, i.e. whether service delivery would be arranged in such a way that it will be unavailable for certain communities for which it is theoretically intended (111, 218, 309, 437).

Many scientists therefore urge that the healthcare policy based on equality must be integrated at a national (central) level. Until social equality is reached, healthcare services must be financed primarily by the government (at the central and local levels).

One of the fundamental social objectives of the government is the provision of safe, high-quality and affordable medications along with high-quality medical aid, especially in rural areas (219, 437, 568, 830, 832). According to the Nationwide Census as of 1 January 2010, 38.2 mn people, i.e. 27% of the country's population is rural residents. 22% of those residing in the country are older than the working age (709). Pharmacological support of the rural population has its regional specifics due to a number of objective reasons which is fundamentally

based on the specifics of the economic development of a region. Below are some of the most acute problems of pharmacological support of the rural population:

remoteness and inaccessibility of populated localities;

a lack of steady transport communication between populated localities;

an underdeveloped public pharmacological support infrastructure;

a lack of staff (both paramedics and midwives and nurses and chemists);

a lack of skill in specialists;

more low-income people unable to afford costly medications.

Scientists are certain that in healthcare modernization conditions, improving accessibility of medical aid and pharmacological support for rural residents of remote and inaccessible regions is an essential task upon all government levels (727).

5. HIV/AIDS AND FEMALE HEALTH

Russia is characterised by one of the quickest rates of growth in the number of HIV positive. Since the 1990s and to the present day, more than 70 percent of all HIV positive in Russia belong to various risk groups. Risky behaviour in turn depends on a whole range of socio-psychological factors. Moreover, HIV epidemics in the country has feminized as women are twice as prone to the infection as men.

According to the Federal AIDS Centre and the Central Research Institute of Epidemiology of the Ministry of Healthcare of the Russian Federation, around 0.16% of the entire country's population or 0.3% of the adult (15-49) population was HIV/AIDS carriers in 2002. Women made up 25% of the figure (166). 24.1 % in 2001 and as much as 33% in 2002 were women newly recorded as HIV positive.

According to ILO assessments (ILO Programme on HIV/AIDS and the World of Work, global analysis, influence on children and youth and response actions, 2006), HIV incidence within an age group of 15-49 was 1.1% in 2005, 49% was women. According to the Federal Statistics Service, 78,000 (of those, 22% women) was registered as HIV positive in 2000, 235,000 (of those, 36% women) - in 2005 and 333,000 (of those, 39% women) - in 2009.

The diversity of evaluation methods do not always make it possible to give a correct estimate of HIV figures. One certain conclusion, however, is that the percentage of women in all HIV positive and AIDS patients is going up. The increasing number of women amongst HIV positive is scientifically linked to an increasing risk of heterosexual transmission. Persons aged 20 to 30 are the most prone age category in Russia: 63% of men and 57% of women. An average age of HIV/AIDS patients was 25 years for men and 23 years for women as of late 2002 (166).

Problems connected with the prevention and treatment of female HIV positive, response to the epidemic, overcoming the stigma and discrimination, and assistance for HIV/AIDS patients are gender-specific too. That's not only because around 30% of all HIV positive is women but primarily because 90% of them come under the reproductive age category, which contributes to an increasing number of children born to HIV positive. In 1987 - 2005, around 15,000 children

were born to HIV-positive mothers, 70% of those were born over the last three years (2003-2005). These figures explain the need for monitoring of the situation as a way to evaluate efficiency of the preventative measures under way, which does not merely imply a system of national registration of new HIV cases but which embraces epidemiological and behavioural studies amongst HIV/AIDS risk groups.

The overwhelming majority of Russian women living with HIV are of the reproductive age, which accounts for the fact that more and more pregnant women are diagnosed with HIV. In 2002, 119.2 pregnant women of every 100,000 examined were diagnosed with HIV antibodies. In 2003, every fifth HIV positive woman gave birth, while in 2000 only 3% of women committed to going ahead with the pregnancy.

According to the Ministry of Healthcare and Social Development, 10,696 HIV positive women gave birth and 95.1% of those received chemical prophylaxis and antiretroviral therapy in 2010.

There are special medications enabling to bring down the risk of fetal infection. According to the Federal AIDS Centre, special treatment is given to 90% of patients and the rate of HIV transmission onto the child up until 2000 was 19.3% on average (166).

According to the Ministry of Healthcare and Social Development, more and more HIV-positive pregnant women have been embraced by HIV mother-to-child transmission prevention programmes over the recent years (95.4% in 2009, 90% in 2007 and 58% in 2006). Thanks to the programmes, there have been positive dynamics in the frequency of perinatal HIV transmission. Over the period of 7 years (2003-2009), the number of children aged 0-17 first diagnosed with HIV went down by 54.2%. Cumulatively, the number of children infected through perinatal transmission is over 3.5 thousand children or 6% of all children born to HIV-positive mothers. 96% of children are in need of antiretroviral therapy of the HIV infection.

Below are some characteristic features of the HIV/AIDS spread in Russia: high infection rate and constant growth in the number of infected; a tendency for infection within younger age groups; an increasing risk of HIV in women and children; main transmission - through injected drugs and an increasing rate of heterosexual transmission; many HIV-positive are unaware of the condition.

The Federal Law "On the Prevention of Propagation of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV Infection)" was adopted in 1995. The law provides anti-discrimination standards for people living with HIV/AIDS and their family members. Russian laws on HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment and social support of people living with HIV/AIDS fully meet international standards (except harm reduction therapy prohibited under the Russian law).

Despite the developed legislative support of non-discrimination against HIV/AIDS patients, discrimination still exists. It is primarily linked to the following three issues: a negative image of people living with HIV/AIDS; a lack of knowledge of those working with such patients (medical and social workers) and a lack of competency in certain areas; the very organisation of social support in

Russia is unsuitable for the support of vulnerable communities (151, 219, 437, 535).

Facts of discrimination:

- Breach of confidentiality both with regards to HIV-positive women and their children and families;

- Social exclusion of HIV-positive and their loss of social contacts.

Contradictions are found between federal and regional laws. For instance, Federal Law "On the Prevention of Propagation of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV Infection)" No. 38-FZ of 30 March 1995 and amendments thereto guarantee the observance of all the rights and freedoms under the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal and regional laws. In accordance with Article 9 thereof, pregnant women are not obliged to take a compulsory medical examination. Contradictions are found in the legislation of St. Petersburg (Resolution No. 29-r/4 dated 4 February 2002 of the Healthcare Committee and the Russian Federation Oversight Committee for Sanitation and Epidemiology Centre) that obligates pregnant women to be tested for HIV. The Resolution prescribes compulsory repeated HIV blood tests for pregnant women as they get registered and again in the 35th-36th week of pregnancy subject to compulsory pre-test counselling and for those accepted for delivery that have been tested once or not tested at all. The Regulation further obligates pregnant HIV carriers to be referred to the AIDS Centre for in-depth analyses, an updated diagnosis and relevant treatment (437).

It constitutes a breach of Paragraph 6, Article 7 of Federal Law No. 38-FZ on compulsory counselling during an HIV test.

There have been cases where HIV-positive women were refused employment and HIV-positive children would not be accepted to kindergartens and other childcare centres.

6. HEALTH OF RURAL FEMALE RESIDENTS AND IMMIGRANTS

According to the 2010 census, rural female residents made up 19.6 mn people, which is 52.2% of the entire rural population. In 2002, there was a 3% drop in the number of female rural residents and a 16% drop in the number of girls (aged 0-15), which is a negative trend. The rate of immigration of female rural residents, especially within an age group of 18-39, is still high.

The death rate among women from rural areas is considerably higher than that among urban female residents, although it has been going down. In 2009, life expectancy was 73.38 years among women from rural areas and 75.13 years among urban female residents. If in cities female mortality from external causes has been overtaken by cancer since 2009, in rural areas, external causes of death (poisoning, injuries and accidents) still come second after blood circulation disorders (and the two causes have almost an equal input, which speaks of an archaic structure of death causes) (Table D7).

Table D7. Rates of death at working age from main causes, RF, women, cities v. rural, 2009 (number of diseased per 100,000 working-age women)

	Blood circulation system	Cancer	External causes
cities	63.7	57.7	56.2
rural	85	60.1	84.3

Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Maternal mortality in rural areas is higher than that in cities (30 and 19 cases of maternal mortality for every 100,000 born healthy respectively, 2009).

One of the main reasons for high female mortality is alcoholism induced by hard labour, low income, sense of insecurity of the future, a lack of cultural leisure, etc. According to the Federal State Statistics Service, the rate of death among working-age women from accidental alcohol intoxication in 2009 was 9.6 cases for every 100,000 working-age women for rural areas and 5.7 for cities.

The rate of alcoholization among women is higher than that among men (the number of registered female alcoholics has gone up by 2.3% while remaining the same among men).

Working conditions for women engaged in the farming sector are bad and only keep getting worse (219, 568, 727).

Women from rural areas often combine three duties: working for a farming enterprise, doing personal part-time farming and doing household duties. The first one is normally poorly paid, the second one rarely has publicly recognised value and the third one is not paid at all. Rural female residents face further challenges when it comes to the separation from ex-husbands (including that resulting from domestic violence) basically because it is impossible to sell up and find separate accommodation. Gender stereotypes, especially those related to domestic violence are stronger in the country side, while family planning awareness is much lower (276).

According to a public survey in the field of employment (November 2004), 60.2% of women and only 46.5% of men had vocational qualifications. At the same time, employed women made up 49.9%, which is almost 10 per cent lower than men.

Women-entrepreneurs in rural areas find it hard to come to terms with diverse social institutions. This is particularly typical for regions with underdeveloped self-employment infrastructures. This accounts for a big gap between women that would want to run their own business in the country (up to 58% according to the survey) and those who have one already. Social problems affect women's choice of a career in self-employment. For instance, 33% of respondents have access to healthcare services in their regions, while 21% have no access at all and 45% gave a 'no answer'.

The health state and access to medical and healthcare services of women-immigrants in Russia are another topic not fully covered by contemporary gender studies. There have been a handful of works over the specified period that would more or less touch on the subject (26, 422, 832).

Immigrants' health is a significant factor to be considered while making diverse forecasts and comprehensive analyses and definitions of the influence of

immigration on various areas of life and the national economy. Immigrants' integration into a new society also depends on health, both in terms of the physical capabilities of immigrants to become part of a new society and medical support of immigrants. Health monitoring of immigrants and the provision of advanced medical services directly determine the safety of resident population both in terms of the prevention of life-threatening diseases and continuous health maintenance, which is a positive factor for the economy of the host country. Therefore, the relevancy of studies in this field is determined by the global tendency for immigration and the fact that a key to solving the "health and immigrants" problem is unique for every country (832).

Since the downfall of the USSR in the early 1990s, Russia has become one of the centres for international immigration where millions of fellow nationals from ex-soviet countries would flee in search of a permanent abode. According to official data, in 1991-2009 the country's population grew by around 7 million immigrants. Working immigrants in Russia make up large numbers; experts report various illegal immigration figures. There are considerable inconsistencies between records of the Russian State Statistics Service and the Russian Federal Immigration Service (FIS figures being higher). According to the Eurasian Development Bank, for instance, the total number of illegal working immigrants from Tajikistan, Kirghizstan, Kazakhstan and Belarus alone made up 312,000 to 1,224,000 people in 2010; based on the number of cash transfers by illegal immigrants, the national budget has lost 10-40 billion roubles worth of unpaid personal income tax.

An important trend of immigration from CIS countries is the increasing number of female immigrants with minors (26, 423, 754).

Information on the health status of immigrants in Russia as well as studies of the access to healthcare and medical services are rather vague. Experts note that immigrants in Russia currently have no access to the healthcare system, for instance, to HIV prevention and treatment facilities. As an exception, emergency first aid is provided to immigrants from Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan and Tajikistan. The right for emergency first aid is guaranteed by the interstate agreement on the equality in receiving first aid and emergency medical services.

In the early 2009s, amendments were introduced for consideration by the State Duma obligating non-residents to obtain all-clear certificates for socially dangerous diseases, including HIV. The condition must be met in order to obtain a compulsory medical insurance policy (CMIP). According to the text of the amendments to the Law "On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the RF", the rules are different for visa and non-visa immigrants.

In case of a visa entry, an insurance policy must be obtained in the country of origin; in case of a non-visa entry, insurance policies are given out by Russian insurance companies. Notably, foreign citizens are not in fact covered by a CMIP as it may take up to 25 days to collect all the documents and permits required prior to entering employment, therefore, the cost of medical treatment of immigrants is paid from the budget.

There was a debate in 2006 devoted to CMI support of working immigrants and opportunities to buy voluntary medical insurance policies (VMIP) for non-working immigrants. The draft project was backed by all the departments concerned but rejected by the Ministry of Healthcare and Social development and the Federal Immigration Service on the grounds of a lack of a non-resident insurance system.

The observance of requirements of oversight agencies is monitored by various organisations and individual experts, most often in the form of investigative reporting (793).

Immigrants' access to the healthcare system and medical services in Russia is limited. Analysts note that 60% of immigrants in the Russian Federation cannot access medical services and resort to self-treatment, 30% use private clinics and 10% receive medical aid paid for by the employer (566).

The situation has got worse since 2010. Prior to 2010, every Russian employer had the obligation to issue legal working immigrants with a CMI policy. As of 1 January 2010, CMI policies may be issued only to those with temporary or permanent residence permits (the majority of working immigrants have a temporary sojourn, non-resident status). Six months after the introduction of the amendments, regional healthcare departments deprived immigrants' children and pregnant immigrants of the right to be attached to Russian healthcare institutions free-of-charge (previously, this was allowed by local government resolutions). Today, children of immigrants or pregnant immigrants can only use the option of paid hospital visits: either by purchasing a voluntary medical insurance policy valid throughout a certain period of time or by paying for every individual visit to a doctor (often, under-the-counter, straight into a doctor's pocket). In practice this means that the number of immigrants left unexamined up until the delivery will grow even more, which may increase the risk of infection of the patients and their children at Russian hospitals. At the same time, delivery assistance is fee-of-charge (26).

Researchers point to the problem of access to medical services by pregnant immigrants in Russia (26, 437). There are no official childbirth statistics for immigrants. According to the Moscow Healthcare Department, female immigrants account for about 8% of all childbirths. Analysts give a different figure - 3% (26). Hardships do not only end in a lack of money to pay for medical examinations. Straight away, pregnant immigrants face the risk of losing their jobs and accommodation. They often get forced out of their flats as their flat mates are not prepared to put up with a little child as co-habitant. They are deprived of sick leaves and pregnancy benefits.

INSERT Excerpts from an interview with pregnant immigrants from the CIS (26, 437):

"I am not officially registered. I used to have temporary registration but it expired. My husband's registration expired six months ago. To renew my registration, I would have to leave the country to re-enter and pay 1,500 roubles at least to get my migration card. I'd have to come here, find a landlady, get

registered and pay 5,000 roubles. I'd rather spend the money on childbirth and my child.

They say we take jobs away from the locals. But you'd hardly find locals prepared to do the dirty jobs we do. Do you think there would be many willing to gut fish day in, day out? Why create such problems for us? We would get registered officially if it was that easy" (Aigul, 24).

"I came to Samara because that's where I went to school, and I treat the city as my native. Samara is part of my happy years of the past. I was born here, but immigrated with parents later. And now I am a foreigner here. My only goal is to make money. I am 8 months pregnant, and I haven't seen a doctor yet. Everywhere you go, you have to pay. I just hope I will be assisted with delivery and won't be forced out" (Dilfusa, 35).

"I have no insurance policy because I am a Kirghiz. I have not seen a doctor about my pregnancy. We went to hospital but were told we'd have to pay. I have no money to pay. I paid for an ultrasound examination when I was two months pregnant. Everything was ok. Later, my legs would swell up. I am doing self-treatment right now. Just hoping that the ambulance will have me when the time comes (Faranghiz, 29).

"Many doctors are ignorant of us, immigrants, and say the Russians must be served first" (a Tadjik immigrant).

Female immigrants are so worried, particularly about deportation, that a lack of money and a legal status in Russia makes them stay away from hospitals, even when it comes to childbirth.

Notably, a system of immigrant access to healthcare and medical services would be impossible without adequate attention to a whole range of problems connected with immigrants, starting from the issue of permits, oversight measures and social support, and up to the education of the local population about the economic, demographic and strategic components of immigration.

To sum it up, today's access to healthcare and medical services by immigrants in Russia is very limited. The existing government tools in the field of immigrant residence and work legalization in Russia are not working; immigrants' health problems are solely their own concern (217).

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON WOMEN'S AND MEN'S HEALTH IMPROVEMENT

There were fewer works and studies devoted to gender aspects of health and healthcare in 2004-2012. But the quantity did not affect the quality as most of the publications were fundamental and generalizing as they touched upon a whole range of problems and disputable issues in the field.

Multiple health factors must be considered in order to go ahead with medical and therapeutic programmes. One of the most important factors is gender discrimination directly or indirectly affecting the diagnostics, progress, treatment and prevention of diseases. Today's plans to reform and upgrade the healthcare system have no regard for gender inequality.

A gender approach to health allows developing and integrating meaningful programmes to change the social factors which affect the incidence.

Gender differences in health-related behaviour are determined by general gender expectations in a society.

The gender approach has brought on the need to develop equal opportunities for men and women, which should help solve health-related problems. Strengthening of the role of a woman is an essential condition for her health. This means opening up women's access to diverse resources, education, employment and the advantages of new technologies and approaches in medicine, and protection of their rights and empowerment for them to make an individual and non-discriminatory choice. Women must not only be a subject of health programmes, but they must take an active part in elaboration thereof (218, 219).

Russia's negative reality is the biggest gender gap in life expectancy. Advanced men-oriented programmes must primarily be concerned with reconsideration of gender stereotypes - sustaining a non-violent communication culture, personal health care and childcare skills. Combating alcoholism and harmful working conditions is another line of activity to be considered by men's health programmes (283, 292, 300).

Another acute problem is the health state of rural female residents; the government needs to develop individual programmes to address the issues of health conservation and maternal mortality.

There is no organized approach to health analysis and healthcare maintenance of immigrants. Steps to be taken (163):

- to launch a medical insurance system for foreign workforce and develop bilateral agreements with source nations on establishing a compulsory medical insurance system for immigrants during their sojourn in the Russian Federation. To encourage the launch of medical examination centres in source countries;
- To issue work permits only upon presentation of all-clear certificates for the approved list of medical conditions, which would be cheaper than deporting an immigrant with a newly discovered publicly dangerous disease;

Access to healthcare services by immigrants has become more difficult since 2010. This is due to an increasing number of women and immigrants with children. Immediate action must be taken to prevent infectious diseases in immigrant maternity patients and their children as well as Russian mothers-to-be sharing wards with unexamined immigrants: female immigrants should be granted the right for free-of-charge prenatal care at prenatal clinics. The funds must be allocated from the country's budget (providing the reinstatement of the deductions payable by Russian employers into the Compulsory Medical Insurance Fund). Part of the costs may be allocated to source countries by signing interstate agreements (26).

E. GENDER ISSUES IN EMPLOYMENT

Gender equality in the labour market is one of the acutest female problems in Russia. Gender discrimination is one of the reasons for this state of affairs. Analysts point to an integrated nature of female discrimination in the labour market: on entering employment and on dismissal, in a limited access to certain occupations and positions, in professional promotion and career growth and in remuneration of equal labour unrelated to the differences in labour productivity (63, 136, 271, 281, 760). We can therefore conclude that gender discrimination is primarily aimed at women: 78% of women name gender as the main cause of employment problems (136). The most vivid demonstration of female discrimination is the attitude to pregnant women and women with little children. Mass layoffs of pregnant women and non-payment of childcare benefits were recorded at the end of the first - start of the second decade of the XX century (98, 158).

There were the following changes in female employment during the reform years (1990s): a decrease in labour activity of working-age women; intensification of horizontal (industry-specific and occupational) and vertical segregation; a growing pay gap and a tendency for female discrimination by employers, particularly in the private sector (133, 300). In the 2000s, key gender features of Russia's labour market remained the same: a trend towards a slight increase in economic activity and employment among men and women, high horizontal and vertical segregation and a pay gap, and intensification of discrimination against women, especially after the 2008 economic crisis (158, 295, 293).

Some experts believe that in the short-term, Russian women may face greater instability and insecurity and a severer form of paternalism coming to replace that of the soviet epoch (63). Others (115, 273, 276, 320, 332, 88) see positive changes in the elimination of explicit labour division and emergence of a new generation of women who value professional occupation and career growth.

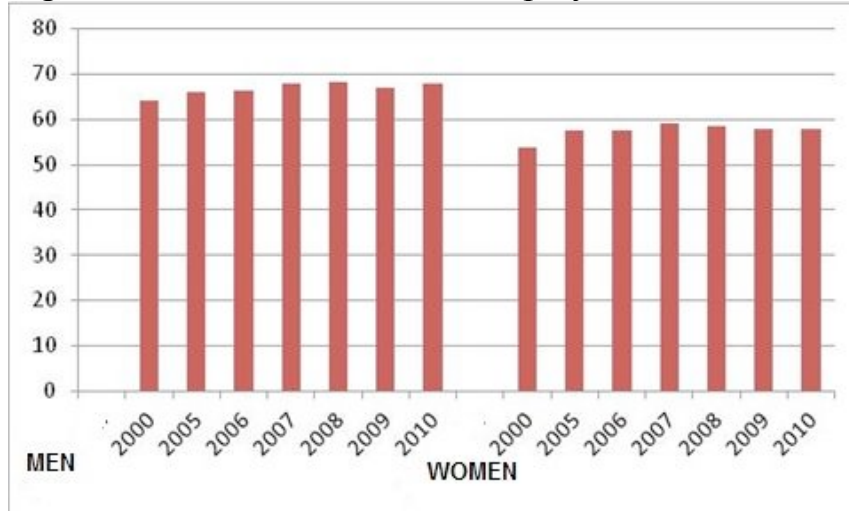
In the next chapter we will highlight key female and male employment trends in Russia, give an insight into gender segregation in the labour market, excess of men employed in harmful working conditions and the specifics of female and male unemployment, analyses the reasons for a pay gap between men and women and bring up the issue of a family-work balance in Russia. In conclusion, we will provide expert recommendations on eliminating gender inequality in employment.

1. KEY EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN RUSSIA

In 2011, women made up 49% of economically active and employed population of Russia. Employment figures for women have been high for many decades.

Between 2000 and 2010, the economic activity grew from 59.5% to 62.3% for women and from 71.3% to 73.8% for men. Men's and women's employment rates showed a slight increase too (Fig. E1).

Figure E1. Men's and women's employment rates in Russia (%)



Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Despite the fact that women's economic activity in Russia is high, there are fewer and fewer chances of keeping the economically active status or switching from an economically inactive to an economically active status (281). Women's family status affects their working activity (576). For instance, the level of economic activity amongst single mothers in Moscow is very high – 82.5, the level of employment - 77%; most of them work full time (170).

INSERT. ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT/UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES FOR RUSSIA: AFTERMATH OF THE 2008 CRISIS

The women's and men's employment dynamics were affected by the 2008 economic crisis resulting in higher unemployment figures for Russia (up to 8.4% in 2009). By 2012, unemployment effects of the crisis have ceased.

Table. Economically active population and employment/unemployment figures

	Economically active population, K people	Of which:		Economic activity level, %	Employment level, %	Unempl. level, %
		employed	unemployed			
2008	75757	70965	4791	67,7	63,4	6,3
2009	75658	69285	6373	67,8	62,1	8,4
2010	75440	69804	5636	67,7	62,7	7,5
2011	75752	70732	5020	68,3	63,8	6,6
2012, Q1	74765	69895	4870	67,4	63	6,5

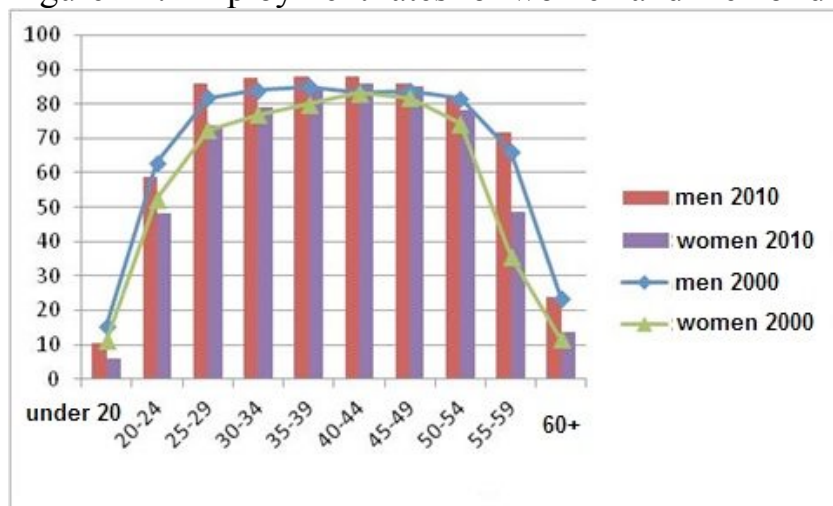
Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Russia's employment level remains high amongst working-age men and women, but it shows a dramatic decrease with the start of retirement (294), especially for men. Age models of women's employment are traditionally plateau-shaped (273) (Fig. E2).

During the 2000s, the employment figures for young men and women (up to 25) dropped by about 5%. The level of employment among young retirement-age women (55-59) gained 13%.

There is a considerable gender gap in the employment figures at a pre-retirement and early retirement age: within pre-retirement age groups in 2009, the employment rate was 80% for women and 68% for men; that for newly retired was 56% for women and 43.5% for men (254). In other equal conditions in Russia, there are more women than men continuing employment after retirement (1).

Figure E2. Employment rates for women and men of different age groups, %



Source: Federal State Statistics Service

An average age of employed women and men is going up (which is linked to the ageing of the population, including that among working-age people). In 2011, working women were on average 1 year older than working men: 40.5 and 39.5 respectively.

2. HIGH GENDER SEGREGATION AND LOW WOMEN'S MOBILITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET

There has been steady horizontal and vertical gender segregation in Russia's labour market.

Industry-specific and occupational segregation in the 2000s remained on the same level; occupational segregation was stronger: the rate of industry-specific segregation was around 30%, occupational - around 50% (401, 706).

In 2005, industry-specific segregation was replaced with a new classification based on economic activities. Gender segregation has not changed much under the new classification. Women show low employment figures in construction, transport and communication, energy, gas and water production and distribution, mining, agriculture, public administration, security, social insurance and the real estate sector (271, 300).

Women are largely represented in the occupations and sectors demanding traditionally female duties, while men are employed to perform traditionally men's roles (30, 107, 113, 281). Men occupy better-paid positions requiring more skill

and responsibility, while women hold less important posts and often switch to flexible labour markets (546).

According to scientists, a prevailing number of women in typically "female" companies affects women's employment characteristics and welfare because these companies are mainly found in problem sectors with old HR management models and lower wages. Such companies play the role of so-called social enterprises (199). Women are more prone to the risk of being excluded from innovative economic sectors, both in the context of technology and organisation. They are more often employed in companies with ageing technologies and an outdated professional HR development system (480).

Women have to put up with second-grade positions as they have to combine breadwinning and childcare duties. Russian labour laws do not encourage men to take on parental obligations and women often find themselves bearing the parental burden, which largely affects their competitive capabilities in the labour market (283, 803). Women face discrimination on entering employment and on dismissal, pregnant women being the most vulnerable category (803).

Women and men are concentrated in different occupational categories, but men's occupational distribution is more uneven. According to expert estimates, an increasing number of men employed in the service sector is an essential factor determining future segregation (575).

Horizontal female segregation is accompanied by vertical segregation when women have jobs characterised by lower qualifications or a lower status within one and the same occupation.

Notably, vertical female segregation in Russia co-exists with a high level of women's professional education (135).

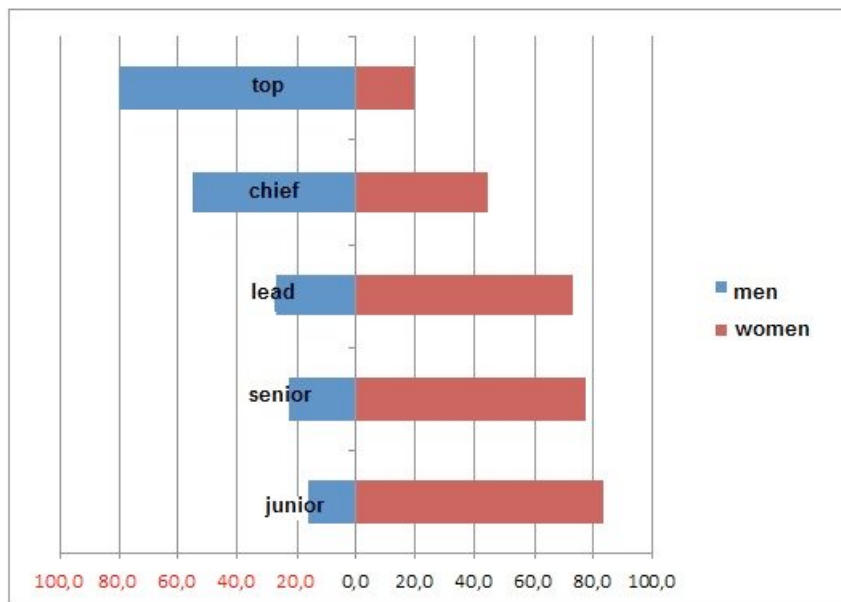
Men's and women's primary occupation distribution is asymmetrical. During the 2000s, for instance, there were no more than 40% of women among public officers and authorities, including heads of companies and enterprises (300). Men still lead in CEO positions (93.8% appointments), which creates a glass ceiling for women. Advertising agencies are characterised by the highest number of women occupying top positions (37%), while production sectors (excluding the food sector) show the lowest number of female directors (1%) (711).

Positive changes have been happening in Russian private companies hiring more female managers (up to 42% in 2009), primarily in the positions of chief accountants, and HR and marketing directors (135).

According to some experts, gender discrimination is worse in state-owned companies compared to private ones (723).

Unequal representation of men and women in different positions becomes obvious when we analyze gender distribution of federal civil servants (Fig. E3). Employment in regional civil service does not leave many chances for women to reach the top either. In municipal service, too, (a more feminized level of public service) no more than a half of top positions are held by women, while 90% of them are still on the lowest tiers of the pyramid.

Figure E3. Gender distribution of public civil servants with a breakdown into positions, 2009, %



Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Vertical segregation is maintained even in typically female industries and female enterprises (197). Segregation occurs and continues due to non-gender neutral recruitment and different career paths (400).

Women in science are another problem touched upon by researchers. Despite a large number of female scholars, science is still characterised by androcentrism with male dictatorship. To be successful, women have to learn to play by "men's rules" (520). Gender differences further occur in scientists' search of additional income: men would give preference to hierarchical positions and innovative work whereas women would engage in economics, especially when they have to act as breadwinners (264).

These factors account for a persistent glass ceiling phenomenon in the labour market. Reasons for the glass ceiling include difference opportunities for women from the point of view of the social structure of business and business life (579). According to studies, the main obstacle for vertical female mobility in the labour market is institutional barriers and the arrangement of social networks rather than family duties (401). This is an important discovery for overcoming gender inequality as it would be easier to set up social networks in the IT age than lowering the childbirth burden.

A number of researchers mention traditional men's and women's opinions on job characteristics. Creativity and good terms within the work team are important for women, while the performance and remuneration are decisive factors for men (139, 758). Women often link employment motivation with family welfare gains rather than career (139).

Career and self-development are important for young ambitious women, in most cases child-free. This very sociodemographic group forms a new female behavioural pattern in the labour market (115, 139) by closing the gap between male and female employment motivations (320).

Today's employment and industrial relations are characterised by a tendency towards gradual non-dichotomization and non-polarization of male and female

socioindustrial roles, activities and occupations, which speeds up the abolishment of the traditional gender-based labour division system (332). More and more women in Russia are employed as top managers and professionals. We can already speak of a female management style capable of meeting the advanced trends of the post-industrial society and having good prospects (88).

However, women are still less mobile in the labour market (both horizontally and vertically): average figures show that they stay longer employed within the same company and in the same position (254). This affects women's salaries as their professional mobility contributes to a salary increase for both women and men (398, 402).

The gap in occupational behaviour models (primarily when it comes to occupational mobility) tended to close up in the 2000s, but today men still show greater occupational mobility than women (401).

In the 2000s, women would opt for the strategies connected with a possible increase in the work load and a loss of earnings, highly skilled jobs and labour and social protection: secondary employment and transfer to non-governmental economic sectors - the informal economic sector (276).

The informal economic sector expanded in the 2000s, and employment figures for the sector in the early 2000s were 2x higher for women than men. At the same time, the informal economy is a target employment sector for the poor as it provides means of subsistence (930). In the late 2000s, around a half of the informal economic sector was represented by women with primary and secondary jobs. Scientists note that the gender gap in remuneration is higher in informal employment. Primary informal employment is more attractive for women with just basic education and men-entrepreneurs with university education; secondary employment attracts women with university education employed in education, healthcare and science (696). There are fewer of those with side jobs or secondary employment in any sector among young women (217).

According to experts, regional differences in employment are also affected by gender segregation. Regional gender inequality in employment is insignificant and is even declining, but horizontal (sector- and activity-wise) and vertical (status-wise) female segregation causing a considerable imbalance in remuneration still exists (234, 466). Discrimination against women is worsened by the specifics of employment in single-industry cities characterised largely by male prevalence in the job market (760).

Broadly speaking, one of essential factors of gender inequality in today's labour market is the macroeconomic policy of the government aimed at developing "male" industries (413, 900).

Gender inequality in employment is generally influenced by a whole of the following factors: the economic factor (crises and baby booms may worsen women's status), the institutional or discriminatory factor (in the macroeconomic policy, priorities are given to "masculine" raw material and power sectors; employers, consumers and the society on the whole are stereotyped about women being of second grade as the society's expectations are linked to a woman's role as

a mother); and the behavioural factor (women's low self-esteem in the labour market) (297).

Public gender stereotypes are strong as well. A third of all Russians believe the division into male and female occupations is primarily determined by nature: both men and women have their purposes dictated by nature and inclinations and capabilities determined by their anatomy and biology. A half of the population is of an opinion that gender differentiation of occupations is largely determined by the way the society is organized (93). In the mid-1990s, 14% of Russians believed that women did not need equal opportunities to move up the career ladder as women's role was the family, while men's prerogative was the work, and would prefer to keep it the way it was (94). The same stereotypes account for the pay gap.

Today's gender stereotypes have become obsolete and unrealistic, and they are not only a barrier in achieving gender equality and human asset development both for men and women but they slow down democratization and socio-economic development of the country (786).

Negative consequences determined by the gender stereotypes in the Russian society are slowing down of women's social mobility, discrimination in women's and men's remuneration, integration of female discrimination into family relations and deterioration of physical, psychic and social health of the public on the whole and every individual in particular (547). Men's life in Russia, for instance, is more stressful due to the deep-seated stereotype about men's predominant role of a breadwinner. Women in favour of this stereotype normally do not consider working themselves as a way to maintain welfare (249).

3. WOMEN'S AND MEN'S UNEMPLOYMENT

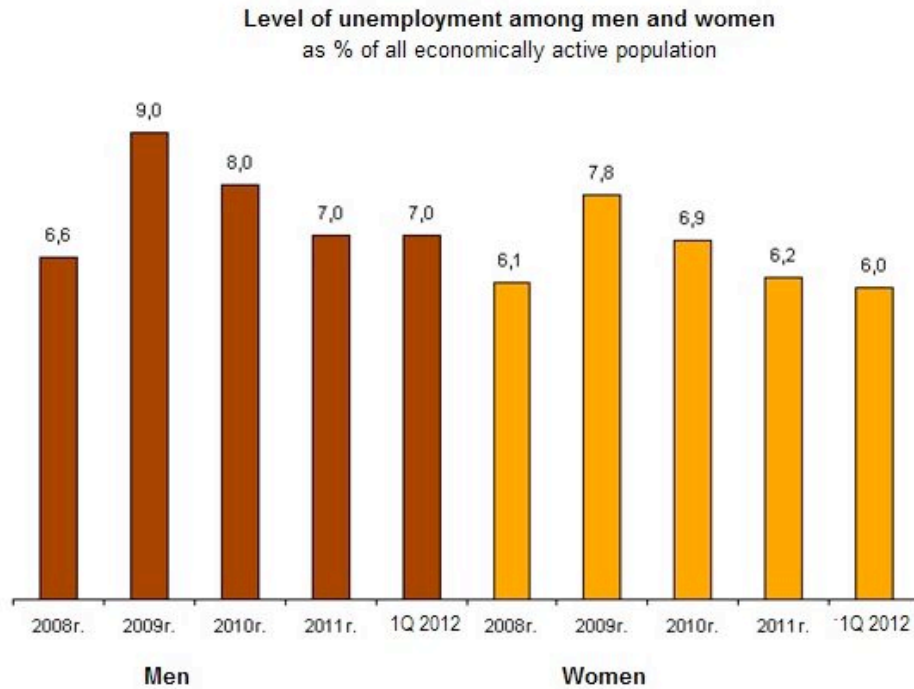
For the past 20 years, unemployment has had specifically male and female features. There are more officially registered unemployed women than men. On the whole, unemployment figures are slightly lower for women, however their unemployment lasts longer (63, 113, 188, 335, 437, 546, 577). An average length of female unemployment is 0.5-1.0 months longer than that of men. The number of women in search of a job for over a year is also 2-3 per cent higher (135).

Jobs offered by job centres are intended for men and rarely meet professional, educational and qualification characteristics of women. On the whole there are many more typically male jobs advertised, but there are more offers of jobs below the subsistence line for women (369, 370).

Scientists note that unemployed men rely on women who traditionally meet their expectations, while unemployed women generally rely on their own earnings or the help from relatives and friends (198).

According to official statistics, the 2008 crisis largely affected men's unemployment figures (584). Before the 2008 crisis, the difference between men's and women's unemployment figures had been 0.2-0.4 per cent, but the gap later expanded (reaching its maximum in February 2009) to 1.6 per cent (Fig. E4). During the crisis, men's unemployment gained momentum. In January 2012, the unemployment level went down to the pre-crisis level, the gender gap being 0.7 per cent.

Figure E4.



Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Men's unemployment would grow faster also during the 1990s crises (247, 577, 705, 706).

Studies suggest that women are slightly more often afraid to lose their jobs during a crisis but feel more secure at steady times. Women are more pessimistic about finding a new equally good job once unemployed, especially during an economic crisis. That explains why only a fifth of working females (compared to more than a third of working men) are prepared to quit and look for a new job in deteriorating working conditions (135).

This very lack of self-confidence makes women become less choosy about jobs during a crisis and make concessions to save their jobs. They are less likely to turn down a job on the grounds of a low salary (135).

The gap closes when it comes to middle-aged employed women and middle-aged unemployed men. At the same time, the rate of unemployment among youngsters is much higher than that among older generations. The rate of unemployment in 2011 was 31.0% (including 28.6% of young men and 34.8% of young women) within an age group of 15-19 years old and 13.6% (including 13.6% of young men and 13.6% of young women) among those aged 20-24.

The consequences of becoming unemployed have their gender specifics. Unemployment in single-parent (primarily single-mother) families, for instance, automatically means a risk of poverty. In full families, unemployment would cause poverty in 15.4% of families, while for single-parent families, the figure would be as high as 41.2% (170).

4. MEN MORE OFTEN DO HAZARDOUS JOBS

The percentage of men employed in harmful working conditions across all economic sectors is traditionally higher than that of women. This is one of the main aspects of men's discrimination in the job market (133, 524, 135). As evident from the new Russian Classifier of Economic Activities (RCEA), men's hazardous job figures prevail in all economic activities (300) (Table E1).

There are twice as many men employed in harmful working conditions; the rate of occupational injuries is three times higher for men and the number of deaths from occupational accidents is 17x higher (135).

The worst statistics are in the mining sector: in 2011, a half of men and almost one third of women were employed in the conditions falling behind health standards; one third of men were employed in heavy labour and one fifth of men were employed in intensive work.

The situation is getting worse for both men and women across all economic sectors. But the worst conditions are found in the communication sector. The percentage of men employed in heavy labour has increased at least two-fold across all economic sectors.

Another problem to be addressed with respect to harmful working conditions is working immigrants (both men and women) who find themselves employed in unsuitable working conditions and suffer through a lack of legal and social support in the labour market of today's Russia in the conditions of a great inflow of illegal immigrants. The issue is further characterised by female discrimination as women more often resort to health services, and the access to health services for working immigrants is limited, especially now after the 2010 statutory changes. Moreover, women are more prone to fraud, sexual exploitation and forced labour (26, 263, 335, 336, 337, 292).

These problems also exist for Russian women moving out to work abroad (596).

Table E1. Percentage of employees working in harmful and/or hazardous conditions industry-wise (as of the end of the year, % of the total number of female and male employees within the field)

	<i>Mining</i>	<i>Manufacturing</i>	<i>Power, gas and water production and distribution</i>	<i>Construction</i>	<i>Transport</i>	<i>Communication</i>
Employed in the conditions falling behind health standards						
2004	33.4	22.9	29.9	10.8	20.0	2.4
men	37.7	28.2	35.0	12.1	24.8	3.9
women	20.2	16.5	18.9	6.0	9.6	1.5
2011	45.3	31.5	33.4	20.2	34.5	4.2
men	50.0	37.2	38.8	22.3	41.5	7.7
women	28.2	23.3	22.2	10.2	18.2	2.2
Employed in heavy work						
2004	13.9	3.8	5.5	6.0	6.6	0.5
men	17.1	5.5	7.2	6.8	9.1	1.0
women	4.4	1.8	2.0	3.0	1.3	0.2
2011	25.5	10.5	10.7	13.0	13.8	2.0
men	30.2	13.6	14.2	14.8	17.8	4.5
women	8.2	6.2	3.4	4.0	4.4	0.6
Employed to operate equipment falling behind safety standards						
2004	1.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.0
men	1.4	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0
women	0.8	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
2011	1.8	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.0
men	2.2	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.1
women	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0
Employed in intensive work						
2007	12.7	4.3	6.0	3.3	12.2	1.0
men	14.1	5.2	7.1	3.7	15.3	1.9
women	7.8	3.1	3.6	1.8	5.3	0.6
2011	17.5	6.1	8.7	7.9	18.3	2.2
men	20.0	7.4	10.9	8.8	22.4	4.1
women	8.3	4.4	4.0	3.4	8.7	1.1

Source: Federal State Statistics Service

5. PAY GAP - ONE OF THE STEADIEST INDICES OF GENDER INEQUALITY IN RUSSIA

The gender pay gap in Russia is one of the steadiest indices of gender inequality. The pay gap reaches 35-40% (30, 133, 185, 271, 293) of socioeconomic conditions and the political situation. Many scientists believe that the pay gap is an integrated gender equality progress index, for Russia too (140, 135).

The pay gap determines the level of human capital, professional segregation and gender discrimination. If the influence of the human capital (which, in Russia, even helps close the pay gap) and unequal women's presentation in professions/activities (accounting for more than a half of the pay gap) are eliminated, around a half of the pay gap will still be unaccounted for.

For instance, an average human capital and its payoff are higher for women than men, which would help close the pay gap by around 10-15% (14, 209, 487, 574).

Gender asymmetry in employment is the second factor which accounts for today's gender pay gap (30-40% of the gap). In 2008, for instance, 71.2% of all women and only 51% of men working by trade were employed in the economic sectors with salaries lower than the nation-wide index (135). The percentage of women employed in the council sector reaches 70%, while only 40% is employed in private, mixed and foreign enterprises. At the same time, council work in identical positions pays off half as much as it would in companies with full or partial foreign capital (333). According to expert estimates, the gender pay gap exists across all sectors, but it narrows up when it comes to typically female occupations. The smallest gap (around 11%) is in the education sector (254). A relatively small gender gap does not compensate low income in these sectors. In 2005, for instance, women earned 68% of an average salary across all sectors while doing specifically female jobs, 87% - neutral jobs and 118% - men's jobs (300).

Therefore, if we eliminate the influence of job characteristics on female and male employees, the discriminating portion of the pay gap would be around a half of the total gap, i.e. 15-18% (209).

Therefore, we have to address the problem of direct female discrimination in remuneration, which exists despite the statutory ban.

Segregation which, too, largely accounts for the pay gap, must be eliminated to enable women to access highly-paid jobs and help bring up the value of feminine jobs (271). One of ILO's latest recommendations on the elimination gender inequality in employment is aimed at overcoming the undervaluation of feminine jobs (524).

In Russia's labour market, there are more minimum wages paid to women whose employment capabilities are worse than those of men, especially when it comes to jobs with a greater physical input. The percentage of women with minimal wages has been going up since 2005 (789).

Some scientists suggested a pay rise for those employed in the public sector and an increase in the minimum wage and Grade 1 base wage rate of the unified wage rate scale (371, 540, 135).

However, in their studies of the influence of the minimum wage on the gender pay gap, scientists proved that the measure would have little effect on closing the gender gap. The gender pay gap was less sensitive (elastic) to changes in the national remuneration standards: an average 0.7% to 10% increase in the minimum wage and a 1.5% to 10% increase in Grade 1 base wage rate of the unified wage rate scale (271).

A wage increase for education and healthcare workers (a gradual increase within the framework of national "Education" and "Health" projects since 2006) has had no effect on closing the gender pay gap: the rate of pay within the sectors compared to average salaries in Russia only went up by 3-4 per cent and never made up more than 75% of the average Russian rate of pay (135).

Notably, the pay gap across Russian regions is one of the largest on a global scale (209). At the same time, gender inequality in remuneration also varies greatly across regions. The richest regions of Russia demonstrate the largest gender pay gap (234, 293). An almost two-fold increase in average regional wage increments for men largely reflect the specifics of the employment structure in Northern regions of the country with prevailing male employment. The tariff portion partially balances out the pay difference, while increments and bonuses make the gap larger. The gender gap in the pay rate is around six per cent (58).

However, the tariff portion too affects the gender gap, which only speaks in favour of revaluation of feminine jobs. A tariff scheme analysis showed that women are more often occupied in professions with small tariff ceilings and are rarer represented in professional groups with forked rates, when the width of the rate fork closes the gender pay gap. The gender pay gap is wider in the professions with high average and maximum rates of pay (271).

If in the 1990s, the gender pay gap was getting bigger, the mid-2000s are characterised by a trend towards closing (compare: approximately 40% in 2005 and 35% in 2009).

At the same time, the gender pay gap would expand due to an increasing payoff of education. Women were the ones to suffer more as their education payoff is higher. This advantage, however, was not enough to compensate for the losses for other reasons, such as women's prevalence in low-paid jobs. Intra- and inter-regional as well as intra- and inter-industrial wage differences may be the cause of the gender inequality dynamics of the past decades (371).

According to experts, increasing inequality in income and wages in the 2000s was less determined by the gender pay gap, despite the fact that the latter was growing. In 1994-2003, the pay gap input was merely around 4.5% (371), which somewhat increased later. At the same time, in 2005, the gender pay gap expanded in low-income communities and somewhat went down within highly-paid ones (372).

Poor men are outnumbered by poor women, which only proves feminization of poverty. Women are more likely to become poor while men prevail among both the rich and the poorest population strata (137). Constant poverty in Russia is more typical for elderly people: women having retired by the 1990s had fewer chances for a steadily comfortable life (66).

To analyze the situation from the point of view of gender, we should rely on the expert conclusion that poverty grows due to working population (primarily unemployed) and low-income or zero-income workers (544).

Female poverty is therefore closely connected with gender inequality in employment. According to many experts, poverty issues, especially among women, cannot be solved without a policy directed at a salary increase and revaluation of feminine jobs (53, 271, 537, 540, 544, 903). Elimination of pay delays and reduction of working hours, too, help closing the gender pay gap (574).

6. FAMILY-WORK IMBALANCE IN RUSSIA

Maternity/paternity and reproductive functions are traditionally a discriminating factor for women (and men) in the labour market. Different aspects of gender inequality in employment are often linked to the women's duty of combining professional and family duties.

Unlike men, women are more likely to stay on the same rate of pay as they get older, as the quickest growth of pay rates for women normally coincides with the maximum reproductive load. This stops women from being able to start earning higher wages as they get older. The biggest pay gap is observed at the age of 30-45 (135).

The pay gap between women with and women without children is around 8.1%, and the higher the human capital, the higher the wage losses. Women with children work slightly shorter hours due to a lack of jobs with flexible working hours (31).

According to experts, the new maternity benefit evaluation scheme will mean a reduction of benefits for many women. To be more specific, the new evaluation system takes into account the vacation time, idle time and temporary incapacitation (158).

Introduction of a maximum rate of insurance benefits discriminates women with the highest income, as it discourages them to use their maternity leave, even the paid portion of it (300).

Neither the demographic/family policies nor socioeconomic development concepts want to consider the gender factor (185). A lack of measures governing the family-work balance particularly affects the progress of society and the quality of living of women, men and children (268, 283, 289, 91, 216, 268). According to experts, financial incentives for childbirth and a lack of measures to enable coupling of professional and family duties (both for mothers and fathers) will cause a collapse of today's demographic policy in Russia (292, 294, 216).

Both men and women would benefit from such measures. The group most sensitive to a lack of the measures and unsatisfied with its family role is women and men with better education (563, 564, 91, 216, 585).

Measures to balance out the family-work aspect include those aimed at developing a childcare assistance scheme, creation of a friendly work atmosphere for parents, introduction of flexible working hours and promotion of paternity (267, 292, 294, 13, 131, 885, 902, 216).

So far, the Russian government has only focused on childcare assistance (traditional kindergartens) and opportunities for women to combine work and maternity. An essential family-work balance component, i.e. opportunities to combine family duties and work, support of paternity and gender allocation of time budgets, is not even on the agenda (293).

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON OVERCOMING GENDER INEQUALITY IN EMPLOYMENT

According to scientists, women in Russia are the ones to suffer most during economic crises in the country, meaning a cut-down on feminine jobs in most companies, strengthening of gender stereotypes in the labour market, women's

lower wage expectations and women's mastering of male professions as a way to survive (826). Some research works also use the term "maternity phobia" (158). Another feature of an economic crisis is greater income reductions for women employed in the public sector, a greater risk of poverty for families with children and a reduction of government expenditure on social services. Conversely, formal unemployment figures suggested a worse position for men (537). At the same time, some experts note that the government's social support is inadequate to the present and future social challenges (537, 544, 546). Regulation of gender inequality in the labour market is particularly important because of the essentiality of this life sphere for women's welfare and the fact that the labour market is characterised by stagnating gender inequality.

One of the proposed measures to eliminate the basics of gender inequality is changing the demand structure in the labour market and recruitment and promotion practices and enhancing the importance and prestigious status of women's jobs (573).

Steps to tackle these problems should include bringing of the minimum wage up to the subsistence wage level, increasing remuneration in the government social service sector, support of women employed by small businesses (437) and development of small and medium businesses (886).

Overcoming segregation by means of professional mobility is possible providing women's competitive growth in the labour market and easing up of their access to jobs in the private sector (398).

Another positive factor of overcoming female discrimination is legal gender education and measures to raise confidence in the legal system and its effectiveness, and steps to activate civic institutions (78).

Revaluation of feminine jobs and a gender-based review of the legislation and development programmes will, too, promote gender equality and help eliminate discrimination in the labour market. Steps to be taken (272):

1. To work out ways of overcoming the undervaluation of female jobs:
 - 1) to revise current tariffs and standards, the practice of assignment of tariff rates and increments and to revise jobs, positions and remuneration schemes in the public sector (especially within gender-neutral economic sectors);
 - 2) to work out recommendations on adequate evaluation of feminine jobs from the point of view of gender parity and introduce reporting on relative gender pay ratios (and the gender parity of those employed in different positions) in the private sector;
 - 3) to improve job standardization for better understanding of job requirements; to maintain transparency of how the salary and all salary components are awarded;
 - 4) to enhance target professional development in companies;
 - 5) to set up tripartite commissions (active participation of trade unions and female and male employees' input into collective discussions) for decision-making in the field of labour laws and development of a labour tariff, standards and incentives system.

2. To strengthen the observance of non-discrimination laws (within the framework of the civil rather than criminal code).
3. To develop a scheme of voluntary pension contributions in large companies (since the average retirement plan payoff for women is 1.5 higher than that for men).
4. To conduct a gender review of the demographic and social policies in order to establish how certain political measures affect women's employment competitiveness.
5. To launch a system of measures to support workers with families both as part of an individual employment policy and as a demographic policy component.
6. To encourage the development of a forked childcare scheme in the labour market, including a full revival of day nurseries and setting up an institute of certified nannies.
7. To integrate a non-transferable paternity leave into the pronatalist policy.
8. To introduce regular budget-financed time studies to the gender statistics, as the time is one of the most asymmetrically distributed gender resources, and it affects women's capabilities in the labour market and accounts for a conflict of work and family interests.

F. WOMEN IN POLITICS

In one of her latest interviews, Michele Bachelet, the first woman-president of Chile and currently the executive director of UN Women said that gender equality in a country may bring huge benefits (74) and therefore, gender equality is something every state must strive for.

This chapter is dedicated to the issues of women's presentation in politics and at top government positions, the role of women's NGOs in women's promotion in politics and the reasons for low numbers of women in politics and state administration.

2. WOMEN REMAIN EXTREMELY OUTNUMBERED IN POLITICS

The Russian Constitution, the Law "On the Fundamentals of Civil Service in the Russian Federation", the Law "On Political Parties" and the Law "On the Elections into the State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly" provide a legal basis for men's and women's equal opportunities to elect and be elected at all levels and non-limitation of women's rights for an equal access to civil service and public office.

However, the actual women's participation in government administration is determined by how well women are represented in decision-making positions at the federal, regional and local levels. Table F1 shows that the percentage of women in the State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly hardly reached 14% over the entire period of 1993 to 2016.

Table F1. Elections in the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, percentage of women

First State Duma (1993-1995) - 13.6% of women
Second State Duma (1995-1999) - 10.0% of women
Third State Duma (1999-2003) - 7.7% of women
Fourth State Duma (2003-2007) - 9.8% of women
Fifth State Duma (2007-2011) - 13.8% of women
Sixth State Duma (2011-2016) - 13.8% of women

Source: Federal State Statistics Service

Women's representation on party lists (except the Just Russia party) corresponded to women's participation in the State Duma (Table F2).

Table F2. Gender composition of the parties Fifth State Duma

	total	men	women
United Russia	315	271 (86%)	44 (14%)
Communist Party of the Russian Federation	57	53 (93%)	4 (7%)
Just Russia	38	27 (71%)	11 (29%)

Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	40	36 (90%)	4 (10%)
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Source: official website of the State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly

All of the four parliamentary parties are headed by men. Of 32 parliamentary committees 4 are headed by women; 20 women hold the position of the deputy committee chair (13.5% of the total committee chairs).

Five committees have no women at all, while 17 have just one each.

The situation did not change much after the last 2011 elections in December. There are in total 62 women represented in the RF State Duma. United Russia is a party with largest women's representation - 42 members. However, it has the largest party list too (Table F3).

Table F3. Gender composition of the parties. Sixth State Duma

	total	men	women
United Russia	236	194 (82.3%)	42 (17.7%)
Communist Party of the Russian Federation	92	88 (95.7%)	4 (4.3%)
Just Russia	64	54 (84%)	10 (16.0%)
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	56	52 (91.1%)	5 (8.9 %)

Source: official website of the State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly

Therefore the number of women in the present State Duma has remained the same, while generally being very low both at the federal and regional government levels (18, 54, 115, 159, 392).

All scientists agree about women's poor representation in politics and the fact of it being a key characteristic of gender equality in the country (184, 578). Experts speak of a catch 22 where decision-making remains men's prerogative in the country with 11 million more women than men and in the conditions of women's better education and women accounting for a half of all employees. Whether the planned women's presentation in politics can be reached in the framework of the Millennium Development Goals is much doubted. None of the government branches has seen any changes in women's representation (184). An increase in women's numbers in politics has been recorded in municipalities and local self-governing bodies only.

Of the 29 State Duma committees only 4 are chaired by women: I.V. Yarovaya - Chair, State Duma Committee On Security and Anti-Corruption Enforcement; E.B. Mizulina - Chair, State Duma Committee on Family, Women and Children; G.P. Khovanskaya - Chair, State Duma Committee On Housing Politics and Public Utility Sector and N.V. Burykina - Chair, State Duma Financial Market Committee. All 6 of the State Duma commissions are headed by men. Within the public service sector, women primarily occupy non-decision-making

positions. It is partially explained by the introduction of a new law on deputies elections that has abolished single-member district elections into the State Duma (proportional voting has come to replace the majority election system). It has affected women's opportunities to be elected; women's success now depends solely on party leaders who are in no rush to promote women to top posts (18, 341, 392, 495, 692).

Women candidates are typically last on the list. Therefore, there are more women in a party which has the majority of seats in the State Duma.

An analysis of the gender composition of the RF State Duma shows that in its current composition, most of the women elected represent the so-called "nomenklatura" and are already experienced in working in the State Duma and federal and regional authorities. Public organisations have very few female members; those primarily come from sports and youth organisations.

According to the Interparliamentary Union, with its women's representation in national parliaments as of late May 2008, Russia ranked 81 of 188 parliamentary countries.

During the run-up to the 2003 parliamentary elections, Russia's women's organisations put forward an initiative on the introduction of amendments to the election legislation aimed at expanding women's opportunities to be elected and their full integration into the decision-making process. They appealed to the fact that Russia did not fulfil the recommendations of the Beijing Conference (1995), i.e. equal representation of men and women in governmental bodies, state administrative establishments and courts (by the assignment of quotas if necessary) signed by the Russian Federation as its member state. In 2003, the State Duma passed the Federal Law "On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms of Men and Women and Equal Empowerment Opportunities" in the first reading. The law was backed by 366 deputies, i.e. the required constitutional majority. There has not been a second reading yet.

According to the proposals, women would be guaranteed at least 30% seats on party lists. The amendments were considered during the autumn 2002 and spring 2003 sessions of the State Duma on the adoption of the laws "On the Elections into the State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly". The same amendments were being discussed at the regional level. The political community, however, was unprepared to accept the idea of institutional support of women's and men's equality by having declined the amendments. Just before the last elections of February 2007, the RF Public Chamber along with a number of women's organisations and associations made open letters and public appeals on Russia's political parties for more adequate women's representation on candidates' lists but their attempts were never heard.

Of the total number of public servants within RF state authorities, women make up 70.6% (29.4% of men respectively). However, when it comes to the top office, the balance is tilted in favour of men making up 76.7% v. 23.3% of women.

Gender representation of the position of a public prosecutor and an investigator: 37% of women v. 63% of men.

Today's government is represented by two women: Olga Yurievna Golodets - Deputy Prime Minister as of 21 May 2012 and Veronika Igorevna Skvortsova - Minister of Healthcare of the Russian Federation³.

As of 21 September 2011, the Federation Council was headed by Valentina Ivanovna Matvienko, the ex-governor and chair of the government of St. Petersburg (2003-2011). For the first time in Russia's history a woman came to hold such a top position, the woman being an iconic figure in Russia's politics. She had already been the Deputy Prime Minister of Russia during 1998-2003.

There are currently only two women-governors: the Governor of the Murmansk Oblast Marina Vasilievna Kovtun (April 2012) and Governor of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug–Yugra Natalia Vladimirovna Komarova (March 2010).

According to the Public Opinion Foundation, 50% of women and 32% of men believe that men in Russia have many more empowerment opportunities.

From the 2003 elections onwards, the parties and associations have had no women's associations as such (in 1993-2002 they would participate on an individual basis). May 2012 became a milestone date with the registration of the Public 'For Women' Party.

3. ROLE OF WOMEN'S NGOs IN MAINTAINING GENDER EQUALITY IN POLITICS

According to an RF Public Chamber report, there are over 1,500 women's non-governmental organisations. The statistics are kept by women's organisations themselves. A most complete reference guide "Women's Non-governmental Organisations in Russia and the CIS" was published in 1998. It has not been reissued since. Key areas of activity of Russian women's NGOs include: human rights, education, information, charity and family support, women's entrepreneurship, women with handicapped children and research work (482).

According to expert opinion, women's NGOs in Russia have not had any considerable input into gender equality in politics unlike in the majority of developed countries (276).

A Presidential Council for Civic Institutions and Human Rights was launched in 2009. It initiated reconsideration and analysis of the entire NGO legislation. In June 2009, RF President Dmitry Medvedev introduced a draft law to soften the norms of the 2006 federal law on NGOs and introduce simplified registration and financial reporting for small NGOs (with revenues of below 3 mn roubles a year).

In 2012, statutory amendments to the reporting scheme for NGOs depending on the source of funding (the so-called "foreign agents") need to be further analysed to determine the influence of the amendments on women's NGOs.

4. REASONS FOR WOMEN'S LOW NUMBERS IN POLITICS

³ Official website of the RF Government

A gender gap in the composition of political and public authorities is a consequence of gender disproportions in the economy which stop women from gaining economic independence and protecting their interests (578).

Political system (proportional) and political process arrangement in today's Russia, too, affect women's representation in politics.

A masculine political life model stops women from overcoming multiple barriers linked to a lack of party support, social networks and communications, and a social capital (133).

During elections, women's organisations do not get adequate administrative backing of authorities at any level. Authorities tend to consider women's organisations as social rather than political players.

Russia has no national machinery or procedures to provide real, not only legal guarantees of gender equality as prescribed by the constitution.

The new law "On the Elections into the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (in force as of 2005, including subsequent amendments of 2007 and 2009) has brought in a number of significant amendments to the laws on elections. The amendments, particularly, a ban of electoral blocks and coalitions and the abolition of "none of the above" voting option have lowered the chances of women's organisations and associations in taking an active part in election campaigns.

Russia maintains great tolerance to the violation of women's and men's equal rights. This is another reason for women's unequal representation in politics and in top civil service positions, violation of their labour rights, sexual harassment at work and wide-spread domestic violence.

These issues and the issues of women's low numbers in politics are not publicly discussed.

Women themselves are captivated by the stereotype of politics being a men's prerogative.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON WOMEN'S PROMOTION IN POLITICS

There are no direct limitations of women's rights for an equal access to civil service and civil service positions but women are still outnumbered when it comes to decision-making by elective bodies practically across all of the country.

The country has no policy to promote women in politics at any decision-making levels.

Women have improved their representation in regional and council establishments, which, however, have a dramatic lack of resources. And the more resources, the less accessible government departments are for women.

Scientists propose the following steps to improve women's representation in politics (578):

- To shape the legal framework of the state gender equality politics, including the law "On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms and Equal Opportunities of Women and Men in the Russian Federation";
- To amend and supplement the election legislation with a view to

promoting women's representation on electoral lists of political parties;

- To set up a nation gender equality strategy;
- To amend the public service legislation with an aim of promoting women to top tiers of public authorities;
- To set up an HR pool for women to hold top public office with the help of dedicated on-going education programmes.

G. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN RUSSIA

The reason for the demographic disaster Russia is facing today is not only low birth rates but a critical level of domestic violence (Professor M. Satterthwaite, demographer, Oxford University, "Expert", 17 April 2006)

This chapter describes different forms of domestic violence and the factors obstructing the elimination of the inadmissible violence situation in Russia.

1. HIGH LEVEL OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

A whole range of multiple factors, particularly, uncertainties about a number of legal and institutional issues, account for a persistently high level of domestic violence in Russia. According to the current data of the Russian Interior Ministry, on average 250,000 of crimes of violence against women, including minors are committed in Russia every year. 12 to 14 cases of domestic violence per year end in death; 75% of all homicide is committed on family/domestic grounds. On police records are over 3.5 million of persons with anti-social behaviour, including over 296,000 classed as family debauchers, 421,000 as chronic alcoholics - regular offenders and 415,000 as socially dangerous drug addicts - a menace for co-habitants (486).

Unfortunately there have been no comprehensive studies of economic losses from domestic violence in Russia, unlike other countries. However, researchers (303) believe the country is suffering huge economic losses due to violence, all the more so that for the past fifteen years Russia has been leading in the absolute number of victims of domestic violence among women and children. Even on a comparative basis, the figure is 45-70 times higher than that in France and the UK, 16 times higher than in the US and 7 times higher than in Pakistan, even according to the most overestimated figures and considering the half-legal status of uxoricide in the country (680).

Crisis centres, public organisations, the scientific community and social institutions help raise public awareness of domestic violence. A number of text books on domestic violence have been published over the past 10 years aimed at the target audience of university students (186, 187, 194, 459, 488, 781), social workers (204, 459), healthcare workers (347), teachers and psychologists (458), judges (200) and police officers (187).

1.a. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN WOMEN AS THE MOST WIDESPREAD FORM OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

At least 20 theses on domestic violence and violence in women were defended in sociology (108, 265, 346, 382, 491, 562, 597, 718, 726, 764), jurisprudence (144, 318, 329, 763), psychology (23, 155), philosophy (32, 801) and medicine (597) in Russia over the period of 2004 to 2012.

Researchers (108) and classic scholars of gender sociology (315) draw a link between violence against women and the existing gender inequality. Despite the fact that today's emancipated women won't follow obsolete patriarchal behavioural standards in families and more often support egalitarian values, men are more inclined to favour patriarchal stereotypes and explain their violence (315) by women's attempts to possess something justly belonging to men. Empirical studies in Russia, too, prove that domestic violence against women depends on how much respondents are inclined to support patriarchal standards in gender relations and public tolerance for violence (187, 265, 465).

Despite today's emancipation in Russia, economic and psychological factors and sexual assault make women choose an adaptive behaviour and save the family by all means (108).

Such women's behaviour is determined by the existing social situation when gender violence is widely treated, also by law-enforcement officers, as a commonality unrejected and uncondemned (108, 142, 187, 454, 465, 486). Furthermore, domestic violence is generally treated on the basis of victims'/offenders' individual characteristics and the family microenvironment (561, 562).

On the other hand, scholars and practitioners insist that the existing government social support system needs new ways of prevention of violence against women and children and rehabilitation of victims of domestic violence, since the police and courts of law designed to counteract family cruelty support the stigma of dependence, sacrifice and insufficiency (142, 265, 454, 486) and cannot always provide adequate help for victims of violence. In some cases, offenders cannot be stopped until a homicide is already committed.

Factors determining an increasing risk of violence against a woman: 1) the family is child-free for more than 5 years, 2) alcohol or drug abuse, or psychic disorders, 3) the husband or any family member is an ex-prisoner, 4) the woman does not know of or visit a local crisis centre (303).

Forced sex, another form of violence against women in families, is very often neglected in literature as it is believed that sexual assault cannot occur in wedlock. This form of violence is described in a handful of scientific publications only (318).

1.b. VIOLENCE IN OLDER WOMEN - CHIEFLY A WOMAN'S PROBLEM

There have been only a few publications recently devoted to gerontological violence (518, 519, 749). Since 2004, the problem has been focused on in just one thesis in Russia, and even that one exemplified cases in Kyrgyzstan (749).

Gerontological violence, i.e. abuse of elderly people by inflicting psychological, physical and economic damage and verbal assault by close relations is quite commonplace in many families (518, 519, 749). According to scholars, this form of violence occurs within all social groups regardless of the level of income, education and social status. Most of the victims of gerontological violence are women over 70, both living in families or alone, with illnesses and in need of

medical help, care and support with routine household chores. This is another form of latent violence as victims rarely report abuse by their close relatives to the police (518, 519, 749).

Scientists note that the most frequent victims of violence in older people are the closest relatives and neighbours, mainly alcohol (27.2%) and drug (4.5%) addicts. In many cases, offenders are financially dependent on their victims (12%), have no job (19.8%) or do not want to work (2.1%) (518, 519).

Elderly people are most exposed to 1) physical assault, 2) emotional and psychological abuse, 3) fraud - illegal use or misappropriation of property and money, and pressure to change the will, 4) negligence in elderly care, 5) sexual assault in elderly women, 6) medical violence - abuse of medications, misuse of medications, either premeditated or accidental, a lack of medicating or prescription of medications in the doses harmful for an elderly person (518, 519, 749).

Scientists urge to pay more attention to gerontological violence naming social *dehumanization* and moral decadence spread across all classes as the main reasons (518, 519, 749).

1.c. CLOSE LINKS BETWEEN VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN AND WOMEN

At least nine theses related to violence in children have been defended since 2004 (777, 11, 65, 97, 155, 168, 365, 701, 819).

Violence against women and violence against children are interrelated. Multiple studies have established circularity of violence and close correlation between childhood violence and violence in later years (142). According to statistics, 13.4% of women abused by their husbands did not suffer childhood abuse while 47.6% was exposed to some form of family violence.

Moreover, children having witnessed father's violence experience so-called "secondary victimization". They also tend to exhibit aggressive behavior as a child and later as a teenager. Unfortunately, children - witnesses of violence rarely get psychological help. Children react to violence differently depending on their age, gender and social support. But if children witness and suffer violence they are very likely to later develop severe behavioural and emotional disorders such as anxiety, depression, low performance at school, low self-esteem, nightmares and physical ailments. Studies show that very often violence as a behavioural model is adopted by children in the course of their socialization, and it often becomes a real epidemic spreading across generations (142, 835).

According to literary sources, Russia's system for the prevention and eradication of violence against children is starting to work. Today's preventive activities on the part of social services makes it possible to break the closed cycle of violence and bring family relationships back to normal (835).

1.d. INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN MEN

Although many literary sources indicate that in 90% of cases domestic violence is directed against women and children, men, too, find themselves exposed to family abuse. Unfortunately, there are scarce works that address the

problem as it is never made too public. Most of domestic violence reports mention women, children and elderly family members as victims. Cases of violence against men are kept secret since the society generally tends to conceal cases of men being victimized. It is largely due to the existing stereotypes of a "strong man" and a "weak woman". (72, 385).

The subject of intimate partner violence in men has been poorly studied for the following reasons: 1) a lack of current statistics on the frequency and nature of marital violence, 2) severer consequences of marital violence for women compared to men, 3) interpretation of women's violence as self-defence rather than targeted causing of bodily injuries, 4) men are less likely to take the matter to the police or social services being afraid of public mockery. In the present situation, i.e. in the conditions of traditional public beliefs, men's seeking of help is thought of as a less adequate strategy.

General forms of women's violence include psychological and physical assault, sexual abuse and fraud; specific forms would be social status violence - deprivation of paternal rights and child exclusion, persuasion to drop family contacts, etc. (72, 385).

3. SOCIAL AND LEGAL BARRIERS OF ERADICATING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Many experts address the issue of Russia's lack of a legal framework dedicated to family violence. The existing laws and regulations provide only partial protection for victims of violence. According to experts working in the field of violence, domestic violence is hard to prove under the current laws. The problem lies in the fact that the Russian judicial system tends to consider public violence as a greater hazard than violent actions directed at family members. According to this theory, domestic violence is treated as a personal family matter rather than a social offence. (187, 409, 465, 486).

Another legal issue is classing of domestic offence as a case of private prosecution. Legally, whether or not to go ahead with prosecution depends on how much a woman is morally prepared to oppose the offender and initiate criminal proceedings. Women-victims as plaintiffs must present evidence and word the charges in search of conviction. That is why many cases of private prosecution end without having started either due to victims' failure to correct their statements as prescribed by court (often due to women's lack of legal competence) or due to conciliation. According to judicial statistics, 9 of 10 cases end in conciliation (187, 409, 465, 486).

Another problem noted by experts is the fact that the only article of the Russian Criminal Code (No. 117 "Torture") that covers crimes related to domestic violence has little effect in Russia. According to the comments to the article, torture shall be understood as "infliction of physical or psychic damage to the victim, including systematic battery, torture, threats and insults." These can be definitely classed as domestic violence, which is known to have cyclic nature. In reality, however, the law is rather hard to rely on. The reason is the Resolution of the Plenum of the RF Supreme Court (#14 of 21/12/1993) according to which,

repeated infliction of light bodily harm or battery cannot be classed as torture in the following cases (187, 409, 465, 486):

- if one or several episodes of prosecution which allow to qualify the actions as reoccurring must be dismissed as time-barred
- if the offender has already been penalized under the administrative law and respective rulings have not been cancelled

Article 78 of the RF Criminal Code states that a person shall be relieved of criminal liability if so much time has passed since the commission:

- two years for misdemeanor
- six years for crimes of medium gravity
- ten years for grave crimes
- fifteen years for gravest crimes

Therefore, the limitation on conviction for family violence is two years since the commission. Furthermore, according to the RF Supreme Court resolution, battering with no signs of torture happening between two arguing persons on grounds of personal hostile relations cannot be considered a torture (187, 409, 465, 486).

There is a lot of controversy in the definition of domestic violence as a crime, and each law relies on its own specific crime interpretation. It calls for elaboration of a separate law on violence against family members (187, 409, 465, 486).

Another relevant problem raised by scholars and experts is a lack of protection to prevent subsequent acts of violence. There is a tested-out system of methods aimed at preventing reoccurring violence in families used in western countries - the practice of restraining orders, which are a legal document committed to protect victims of domestic violence and providing them with adequate forms of legal support. Restraining orders are normally given out by judges following proceedings initiated by victims of abuse or their lawyers or representatives, and they offer a wide range of legal support for the victims: 1) they order the offender to stop victimization, threats and physical assault, 2) they prohibit the respondent to come into any contact with the plaintiff, whether by telephone or correspondence or through gifts or personal visits, 3) they prohibit the offender from close physical contact with the victim, 4) they sometimes prescribe rehabilitation for offenders abusing alcohol or drugs or psychological counselling aimed at eradication of assault. The chief goal of a restraining order is to separate the conflicting parties in order to stop further escalation of violence (409, 410, 454, 465, 486).

There have been many cases where the police would refuse to accept statements from women - victims of violence, and where they would demonstrate inaction or prejudice against victims of domestic violence. According to expert opinion, the reaction of public officers depends on their individual attitudes and stereotypes rather than on the law (142, 187, 409, 454, 465).

Another worrying aspect is a lack of reliable statistics on domestic violence in Russia and the fact that general police records do not differentiate violence on

the basis of sex. The offender-victim relations should be considered in statistics in order to enable more realistic records on domestic violence (465, 486).

But a more important barrier in eradicating domestic violence, as believed by many researchers and experts, is a lack of political determination. Today's Russia has no federal policy to define domestic violence as a serious barrier for the empowerment of women's rights as human rights. 2005 was the end of a unified government institution dealing directly with violence against women, - the Interdepartmental Commission on Domestic Violence, Sexual Abuse and Human Trafficking. Today, gender issues are largely addressed by the State Duma Committee for Family, Women and Children and the Ministry of Social Development and Healthcare, which do not particularly prioritize the issues of domestic violence (187, 409, 454, 465).

Government's negligence of the problems accounts for a lack of half-way houses and shelters that can temporarily accommodate women and children - victims of violence. According to some experts, there are merely around 200 such institutions across the country (409).

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON ERADICATION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

General conclusion: the level of domestic violence in Russia is intolerably high.

Women's crisis centres and NGOs experienced in handling victims of violence and offenders have worked out recommendations on changing today's domestic violence situation in the country (409, 410, 454, 465, 486).

Experts of crisis centres, mainly lawyers and psychologists, speak of a pressing need of legal regulation of domestic violence to fill in gaps in the Russian regulatory framework and protect victims of violence. To do this, a federal law "On Social and Legal Protection against Domestic Violence" should be passed as soon as possible. Some of its recommended goals (409, 410, 454, 465, 486):

1. To recognize the term "domestic violence" within the context of the law.
2. To provide special means of social and legal protection for vulnerable family members such as temporary and permanent restraining court orders. ... 1) a mechanism for the implementation of a restraining order, 2) oversight of offender's execution of a restraining order, 3) introduction of liability for violation.
3. To recognize "commission of a crime against a family member and an intimate partner" as an aggravating circumstance and introduce this provision to Article 63 of the Russian Criminal Code.
4. To change the private status of family crime prosecution to public and make respective amendments to the Criminal Code.
5. To launch within the Interior Ministry a uniform victims record system with a classification into gender and victim-offender relations.
6. To launch compulsory psychological intervention programmes for persons practicing family violence. Compulsory correctional education shall be

partly funded by offenders by deducting 5 to 20% of their income, as determined by court, in favour of the institutions holding the dedicated courses.

7. To set up a primary and secondary family violence prevention system (parties, their functions and interaction).

8. To open an adequate number of temporary shelters for vulnerable family members.

9. To put a simple ban on mediation during criminal proceedings and introduce the system of restraining orders.

Crisis centres (as posted on the website of the St. Petersburg Crisis Centre) urge the Russian government to take prompt steps to sign and ratify the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, CETS No. 210 adopted on 11 May 2011. Once ratified, the convention will make it possible to protect women from all forms of violence and obligate the government to prevent, prosecute and eradicate violence against women and domestic violence on the whole and work out an integrated framework, policy and procedures for the protection and assistance of all victims of domestic violence (409, 410, 454, 465, 486).

A great step forward in the field of gender equality and domestic violence would be the adoption of a federal gender equality law "On State Guarantees of Equal Rights for Women and Men". Whether the law will be passed is rather doubtful, though, in view of today's strong conservative attitudes in the society.

Another important step towards the prevention of social violence is changing public opinion on domestic violence, i.e. eradicating tolerance for domestic violence. To bring down the level of domestic violence in the country, public should be made aware about human rights and the general educational and cultural level should be improved. Alcohol abuse prevention, launching of a chain of dedicated anti-violence and public awareness centres (303) and further integration of educational programmes on domestic violence for dedicated professionals - the police, judges (including JPs), forensic experts, social workers, public prosecutors, medical staff and teachers can bring positive results too.

A common factor accounting for ineffectual prevention of violence noted by many experts is a lack of a systemic approach. The problem can be resolved on an integrated basis only, when all of the professionals, institutions and the civil society - the mass media, the police, courts, social workers, sociologists, psychologists, counselors and medical professionals unite in combating violence (409, 410, 454, 465, 486, 835).

H. SUMMARY

In this chapter we shall summarize the changes in the number and format of gender publications released over the last decade (2004-2012) as compared to the previous period (1993-2003)⁴.

First and foremost, there have been fewer gender publications released⁵. We believe there are two main reasons for this.

One, gender issues having first appeared on the agenda in the 1990s raised great interest in scientific circles and amongst public. Gender problems are hard to resolve and need much more time than mere 10 years. This is explained by the fact that multiple gender issues are based on deep-seated gender stereotypes. By the 2000s, some researchers dropped out while others, really interested in an in-depth analysis of cause-effect relations between gender equality and socioeconomic development, continued the studies having realized the social significance of gender research. The number of publications released therefore did not affect the quality of the works published. Just the other way round: the scientific world has seen fundamental, generalizing works and works on gender research resorting to advanced statistical and econometric techniques.

Two, the number of publications has done down for political reasons: the gender subject is unfortunately not an acute political topic (unlike it was in the 1990s) and today's Russia is characterized by stagnation in this field.

The presentation format has changed too. Most of the works come in electronic format, sometimes duped on paper. For reader's convenience, we have provided links to the electronic versions of the publications, where possible. Internet technologies have enabled to make gender problems and discussions more public. Of particular interest are forum discussions of gender problems, gender works and gender equality legislation. A vivid example would be a network campaign held in March 2012 in a form of electronic voting for the promotion of the gender equality law.

Below are the general conclusions of this research work: The domestic women's rights protection legislation provides gender equality guarantees. Russia has signed and ratified the majority of international gender equality treaties.

Nonetheless, certain sections of the Russian legislation still maintain gender asymmetry whereby the government provides parenthood-related benefits for mothers only thus acknowledging greater family responsibilities on women's part and depriving men of the same.

The legislation does not define "discrimination against women" and there have been no real discrimination cases at law. Experts believe that the main reason for this is that the society got used to human discrimination and that people are unaware of their rights.

⁴ Gender profile of the Russian Federation (based on domestic publication, 1993-2003). WB, 2004.

⁵ On average in the early period (11 years from 1993 to 2003) were identified 113 publications per year, in the last one (8.5 years from 2004 to June 2012) were identified 98 publications per year.

The Russian education system formally does not discriminate against girls and women in their access to education at all levels and practically all occupations. The problem occurs in equal male presentation in the university education system. The economic payoff of education is higher with women, but it does not help narrow the pay gap.

Both school and university education (the contents of courses and text books and teachers' attitude) promote gender stereotypes.

There were fewer works and studies devoted to gender aspects of health and healthcare in 2004-2012. But the quantity did not affect the quality as most of the publications were fundamental and generalizing and touched upon a whole range of problems and disputable issues in the field.

One of the most important health factors is gender discrimination directly or indirectly affecting the diagnostics, progress, treatment and prevention of diseases. However, today's plans to reform and upgrade the healthcare system have no regard for gender inequality.

A gender approach to health allows developing and integrating meaningful programmes to change the social factors which affect the incidence. Gender differences in health-related behaviour are determined by general gender expectations in a society. The gender approach has brought on the need to develop equal opportunities for men and women, which should help solve health-related problems. Strengthening of the role of a woman is an essential condition for her health. This means opening up women's access to diverse resources, education, employment and the advantages of new technologies and approaches in medicine, and protection of their rights and empowerment for them to make an individual and non-discriminatory choice. Women must not only be a subject of health programmes, but they must take an active part in elaboration thereof.

Russia currently has the biggest gender gap in life expectancy. Advanced men-oriented programmes must primarily be concerned with a reconsideration of gender stereotypes - sustaining a non-violent communication culture, personal health care and childcare skills. Combating alcoholism and harmful working conditions is another line of activity to be considered by men's health programmes. Another acute problem is the health state of rural female residents; the government needs to develop individual programmes to address the issues of health conservation and maternal mortality.

There is no organized approach to health analysis and healthcare maintenance of immigrants. Access to healthcare services by immigrants has become more difficult since 2010. This is due to an increasing number of women and immigrants with children.

According to scientists, women are more prone to the consequences of economic crises, and Government's social support at the time is not always adequate to present and future social challenges.

Regulation of gender inequality in the labour market is particularly important because of the essentiality of this life sphere for women's welfare and the fact that the labour market is characterised by stagnating gender inequality:

occupational segregation, women's low vertical mobility and a steady gender pay gap.

There are no direct limitations of women's rights for an equal access to civil service and civil service positions but women are still outnumbered when it comes to decision-making by elective bodies practically across all of the country. The country has no policy to promote women in politics at any decision-making levels. Women have only improved their representation in regional and council establishments with a dramatic lack of resources. And the more resources, the less accessible government departments are for women.

The level of domestic violence in Russia is intolerably high, and the country has no integrated approach to eradicating it.

The table H1 shows significant changes in various areas of gender equality in 2004-2012, compared with the period 1993-2003. The main conclusion is that significant changes did not happen. The situation has worsened with the political institutions promoting gender equality and it has improved with demography (with a life expectancy of women and men, maternal mortality and the level of abortions).

Table H1. The changes in various areas of gender equality in 2004-2012, compared with 1994-2003.

Gender equality in:		Changes 2004-2012/ 1993-2003
Legislation	Legislation	0
	Law enforcement practice	0
Education	Access to education	0
	The content of education	0
Health	Female and male expectancy of life	+
	Gender gap in expectancy of life	0
	The reduction of abortion and maternal mortality	+
	Women's health	0
	Health of women of special groups	0
Employment and poverty	Segregation and discrimination	0
	Hazardous jobs for men	0
	Gender gap in wages	0
	Female poverty	0
	Family-Work balance	0
Politics	Representation	0
	The role of institutions for gender equality	-
Domestic violence	The prevalence of violence	0

Notes: "0" - no significant changes, "-" - the deterioration of gender equality, "+" - the improvement of gender equality

Detailed scientific studies of the gender issues in legislation, education, access to healthcare, employment, women's representation in politics and domestic violence and targeted recommendations proposed by scholars in the context of promotion of gender equality can be summarized as follows:

- To launch a national machinery for securing gender equality, part of which will be establishing of dedicated departments at diverse governmental levels committed to promotion of gender equality and entrusted with all relevant resources and powers.
- To adopt the gender equality law "On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms for Men and Women and Equal Empowerment Opportunities in the RF."
- To adopt a law "On Social and Legal Protection against Domestic Violence" to counteract violence against women.
- To integrate the gender component of the development into all existing development concepts, including the Demographic Concept in order to balance out work and parental duties for women and men.
- To launch educational programmes on overcoming gender stereotypes.
- To conduct a state expert review of the education reform at all of its stages and the contents of text books, and introduce a teacher's code putting a ban on gender stereotypes within professional activity.
- To launch an effective machinery to prevent violence against women.
- To develop gender statistics, especially continuous time budget accounting and work out a gender classification of income and expenditure across budgets of all levels.
- To elaborate a programme on the encouragement of self-protective behaviour in men and mitigation of unfavourable social impacts on health and life expectancy in men and women. To pay special attention to women residing in rural areas and female immigrants.
- To eliminate discrimination in the labour market.
- To mitigate segregation in education and employment.
- To reevaluate feminine jobs.
- To set up an HR pool to promote women to top state administration positions.
- To introduce quotas or standards for representation of men and women at top decision-making levels.

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