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GENDER ISSUES IN TRANSITION:

URBAN AND RURAL RUSSIA

Introduction

This study is connected with the gender factor in transition, and it covers both urban and rural parts of Russia. The scope of issues the women in Russia are facing is known insufficiently, and therefore there is a tendency to underestimate gender impact on transition.

The purpose of the study is to assess the range of gender issues that have emerged since the beginning of reforms in Russia, to demonstrate their economic, legal, social, and cultural dimensions, and to study specific factors (socio-economic, demographic, regional) influencing people's adaptation to changes. All this will permit us to draw a full-scale picture of gender strategies in transition.

In *the Soviet time*, the dominant ideology of equal rights for men and women allowed the level of education among women to grow very high opening the opportunities for their active participation in professional activities. However, such indicators were misleading, as personal life and family arrangements were touched very little by this ideology, shaping up an image of the working mother, so that the issue of combining professional responsibilities with household duties remained women's problem (Baskakova M., 1997).

Russian scholars note that *the role of women in transition was not defined conceptually* (Voronina O.A., 1999; Avraamova E., 1995). Women lost many past advantages, including many of the opportunities to participate actively in political, institutional and structural changes in Russia. For example, female education and employment indicators in Russia appear to be relatively high, thus misleading estimations of women's positions were presented both in Soviet period and in transition. There is also a lack of understanding of the real practices of female participation in transition and the roles of women. Women's direct input was elicited through discussions at focus group meetings and the construction of typical life histories.

Transition did not solve the problem of male domination in private life; it also narrowed professional, political and educational opportunities for women. State policy of protection for women and motherhood was replaced by a highly competitive environment that created discrimination in various aspects of women's life. Women are forced out from politics and jobs to the family. In many cases household duties and family care are the only responsibilities remaining for women to undertake. Even according to the mass media propaganda, household work is purely female work (Kalabikhina I., 1995).

Popular calls for *bringing women back to the families* are often painted in rather patriotic colors: they are made to sound like noble attempts to save the

nation (in demographic terms) and families (in social sense) from decay. Negative demographic trends of the 90s only warm up such thinking, while it is not taken into account that the population of Russia is just living through another wave of decreasing birth rate. In addition, is the quality, not the quantity of the population, that matters, including the female population. How would it be possible to bring women back to families (this implies not only massive public awareness campaigns and propaganda, but also increased maternity leave and other privileges, reduction of educational and employment programs for women etc.) in the circumstances when more than 13% of families in Russia are one-parent families and 95% of those are headed by women (microcensus, 1994)?

The thesis of *the freedom of choice* between work and family is not well grounded either. Decreasing living standards of many families does not allow even full families with one or two children to survive on the official salaries/wages of parents, so women in those families are forced to work as well.

The problem of “*double employment*” (home-professional employment) remains very acute, especially for those women who have to work on the main job, take care of children, elderly and other dependents in the family and along with that to seek secondary employment to feed the family. Since household duties remain fully under responsibilities of women, secondary employment and all additional difficulties it brings also remain a problem for women to face on their own.

Another problem of paramount importance is *feminization of poverty*. Women are mostly employed in the budget sector of the economy, they comprise a large share of pensioners, they are heads of the absolute majority of single-parent families – all these and some other reasons make women especially vulnerable to poverty in all its forms.

Social privileges and benefits inherited by women from the past *make them more costly and therefore less desirable as employees*. Latent unemployment, barriers to enter the labor market are the features of modern reality for women (Kalabikhina I., 1997; Klimantova G., 1997; Ryvkina R., Kosals L., 1997; Oslund A., Dmitriev M., 1996). Employment barriers related to marital status and age make it more difficult for women to secure their jobs. Legal environment of transition did not allow to overcome either legal or real gender discrimination (Rimashevskaya N., 1999).

Gender asymmetry in private life is discriminative not only for women but also *for men*. One of the consequences is pushing men out of the family. For example, after divorce children stay with their mother, while the father does not have real rights to change this situation. Another implication is decreasing life expectancy for men during transition (Kalabikhina I., 1999) and deterioration of health conditions among men and women (Korzhova I., 1997).

Economic changes in Russia have been accompanied by restructuring of the previously feminized sectors of the economy such as education, health and social services. These changes have affected not only employment of women but

also their access to social services including health, child care, pension payment for the elderly. However, despite the structural shortcomings, women have attempted to engage in *new income-generating activities* in order to keep their families together.

Transition is also accompanied by significant changes in *coping strategies* (Berezin I., 1994.; Elizarov V., 1992; Elizarov V., Zvereva N., 1997), which need to be studied more thoroughly from the gender viewpoint. Some passive and active *gender coping strategies* (Arutjunjan M., 1998; Babaeva L., Chirkova A., 1996; Hotkina Z., 1997; Zdravomyslova O., Arutjunjan M., 1995) are realized by people to solve the problems in life. Differentiation of coping strategies there are also in *urban and rural areas* (Marshak A., 1997). *Some social groups* have special coping strategies because, for example, female heads of households with small children, and single elderly are *more at risk of poverty* than others.

As our study intends to present some recommendations regarding coping strategies, we included a variety of *socio-economic and demographic groups* of women in our study in order to better reflect differences in coping strategies and adjustment patterns in transition. These patterns differ between *the sexes*, even though most of coping strategies used by women are also employed by men (small business, secondary employment etc.), and differences are even more striking *between rural and urban areas* as well as among different *age and social groups*.

The following *questions* studied to estimate the gap between the perception and reality of gender issues and relations:

- How is gender factor influencing on development of coping strategies?
- What is the way in which women have been affected in their roles as mothers, workers, and citizens?
- What are the general (gender) issues for all regions and social groups?
- Are there variations of needs, problems and recommendations for women and men?

To answer the question “What differences exist in coping strategies among various *regions*?” we selected different regions by level of economic development, rural specialization, climate and environmental conditions, ethnic factor (Moscow, Novgorod The Great, Daghestan, Yakutia). Some social and demographic data of regions are provided in Annex 1 (Tables A1-A5). Answering the questions, respondents create an *typical opinion* on socio-economic situation and concrete problems and strategies to compensate for a laid-off spouse, lack of full-time employment, insufficient income, sick family members.

We think that *August 1998 crisis* in Russia worsened the living standards for the most of social strata in the country: real incomes and purchasing power decreased, people lost both work and savings. Perhaps, if we carried the study out before the crisis, we would receive a clearer definition of transition issues as compared to the Soviet past.

We tried to cover a number of issues during the interviews in order to see the present situation through *the respondents' eyes*. Then we attempted to combine and compare various social groups, regions, women and men in the report. We hope that work this project and results of this studies contribute *to improving life of women and men*.

Methodology of the study

The study was conducted in several regions, both **rural and urban**, in order to ensure diversity of the presented picture. To identify the differences in adaptation patterns across various Russian regions we selected a set of regions that are very different in terms of economic development, rural specialization, climate and environment conditions, and ethnic factor: Moscow oblast, Novgorod The Great, Republic of Daghestan, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Some social and demographic data by regions are given in Annex 1 (Tables A1-A5).

The method of **focus group** discussions involved the selection of relatively homogeneous groups of people in terms of sex, age, socio-demographic and economic status, occupation, ethnicity, and region for the purpose of exploring the major topics, around which this study was organized. **64** focus groups were selected in the **4** regions listed above. Rural and urban areas were selected in the proportion of **50%** each.

8 focus groups comprised of *men only* were included in the total number of groups to be used as a control group¹. They represent the same regions and were asked the same basic questions as women.

The following groups of women were selected: *a mixed group, single mothers, non-employed, ethnic group, budget sector employees, entrepreneurs, pensioners* which were marked correlatively: **female mixed group (F)**, **female lone-parent group (FLP)**, **female non-employment group² (FNE)**, **female ethnic group³ (FE)**, **female governmental sector group (FGS)**, **female private sector group (FPS)**, **female pensioner group (FP)**.

The results were **verified** in a number of ways including consistent use of the same set of questions in all focus groups, and secondary discussions of the issues after the initial analysis of responses in order to make sure that the answers were not misinterpreted⁴.

16 individual case studies were constructed to provide concrete illustrations of issues and opportunities for individuals. The main idea of selection

¹ Sometimes our investigation closes up to women's problems because it was hypotheses of deterioration of women's position in transition.

² Unemployed and housewives were combined together cause by they have similar motivations and strategies. For example, some unemployed women don't have registration in official structure like "unemployment" but find vacancies, other unemployed women have registration in official structure like "unemployment" to get benefits but don't find vacancies and wish to be housewives, and some housewives are going to find job.

³ Female ethnic group include women of national minorities in regions.

⁴ For some in-depth interviews in rural area the respondents were selected from preliminary focus groups to discuss "a lie" during focus group because rural respondents as a rule know each other.

of respondents in regions was collection of the maximum set of coping strategies and adaptation patterns in various regions.

Respondents selected as a result of **filtering questioning** have answered freely and frankly practically to all questions offered to them.

Chapter 1. Respondents' demographic data

1.1. Focus groups

A total of 64 focus group interviews were conducted during the study - see Table 1 below.

Table 1. Number of focus groups in the regions

Mark	Variable	Moscow ⁵		Novgorod		Daghestan		Yakutia		Total
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
M	Male, mixed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
F	Female, mixed	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	10
FLP	Female, single mothers	1	1	1	1			1	1	6
FNE	Female, non-employed	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	9
FE	Female, ethnic	1		1		2	2	1	1	8
FGS	Female, budget sector	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
FPS	Female, entrepreneurs	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	7
FP	Female, pensioners	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
<i>Total</i>		8	7	8	7	9	9	8	8	64
TOTAL		15		15		18		16		64

Two villages were chosen in the Moscow oblast (region), namely, Nikonovskoye and Zavorovo (Ramensky District, Moscow Oblast); three in the Novgorod oblast: Chechulino (medium development level), Priluki (an old poorly developed village with no employment opportunities available) and Lesnaya (highly developed, young population, a well-developed economic structure with a once thriving social infrastructure, people living in well-built cottages); one village in Yakutia (Amga), and one village in Daghestan (Tarki, a Kumyk ethnic community with large families, very religious and traditional; the village is subdivided into three mahals (zones) – low-, medium- and high-level – depending on the altitude above sea level, which determines the size of land plots under crops and the economic development level (the lower is the altitude, the more land can be cultivated)).

The original plan for interviewing focus groups (equal regional and social strata representation) was slightly changed as a result of some difficulties in finding suitable respondents as well as due to some new opportunities that have emerged during the study.

⁵ We would mark our four regions like "Moscow", "Novgorod", "Daghestan", "Yakutia" including in each notion urban and rural area. F.e., "Moscow" is Moscow city and Moscow oblast.

Additional opportunities

- A group of female farmers was gathered in Novgorod and another one in Moscow oblast; in Moscow oblast women from two villages were brought together for an interview, while in Novgorod we had to search for an unusually economically advanced and further developing village to find farmers there.
- An ethnic focus group of female refugees from Chechnya was formed in Novgorod (apparently, a region favored by refugees from this republic); as a result we collected a unique material, since that group of women is characterized by significantly distorted values and very specific problems.
- Most groups in Novgorod and Yakutia included 12 members each.
- Both an ethnic group and a group of businesswomen were formed in rural Yakutia (however, rural businesses are very small and the women from that group are not businesswomen in the full sense).
- The urban ethnic group in Yakutia was included representatives of all the indigenous ethnic groups living in the republic. One additional focus group was also interviewed in Yakutia.
- In Daghestan due to a number of failures to comply with the initial schedule because of the reticence of female respondents, additional focus groups were conducted (ethnic and mixed ones, and an additional group of unemployed rural women since the joblessness problem is quite acute).

Difficulties

- As expected, the efforts to put together a group of single mothers or a group of female family heads failed in Daghestan. Most Daghestanis live in large patriarchal families. Even having lost her husband, a woman stays with her late husband's parents or lives under their patronage. Moreover, under Kumyk tradition in the event of divorce the husband keeps the custody of the children.
- Great difficulties appeared in putting together groups of female farmers: the number of members had to be restricted to 7-8 (in all regions); the original definition of the "farm" had to be loosened and previously set requirements to the farm's production turnover was abandoned in Yakutia as no farm complies with it.
- No group of female farmers could be put together in Daghestan because there are none in the republic. Wives of farmers or wealthy villagers refused to contact with the interviewers. The majority of more or less similar cottages in the village are topped by several "palaces" built over the recent few years by the university rector, fishing inspectorate officers and two more owners whose jobs are unknown to the villagers. Several attempts to interview women from these households (some of them undertaken through relatives) failed, as we

were told that the men had refused to let us into their courtyards and forbidden the women to answer our questions.

- The urban group of Daghestan businesswomen is also rather artificial: the women interviewed do not run own businesses but work for private companies. Women selling goods at the marketplace did not think their occupation to be a business or even a job.

1.2. Individual case studies

The main idea of selection of respondents in regions was to identify the maximum set of coping strategies in various regions (the list of case studies see in Table 2 and Annex 3). Respondents selected as a result of filtering have answered freely and frankly practically all questions offered to them. The answers of the respondents are close to results and conclusions of the focus groups analysis.

Table 2. The list of case studies

Moscow		Novgorod		Daghestan		Yakutia		<i>Total</i>
Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
1	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	16

In **Moscow** we selected one urban and two rural cases. Because we do not think Moscow a typical region, we focused our attention on the surrounding area (Moscow oblast) and on the city of Novgorod the Great (European Russia). That is why only one case study was recorded in the city of Moscow, while two stories were recorded in the Moscow oblast and five – in Novgorod (two in the city and one in the Novgorod oblast). The Moscow urban case presents a woman with great experience of the job search.

One Moscow oblast rural case is a single old woman and the other is a young mother of several children. The first is a typical one for Moscow oblast due to the population ageing process in this region and excessive mortality among men. Gardening and child care are her coping strategies, which is also very typical. The second choice is not typical for this region. It presents the problems of young women (and families) with children.

In **Novgorod** we selected two successful business women as examples of positive strategies in urban areas. One of them is younger and has no children yet, the other is an elder mother of several children.

Rural cases in this region are: (i) a woman-farmer, who migrated from the city to the well developing village to explore its high business potential and new opportunities, (ii) a pensioner, who migrated from the Far East to European Russia following her children, (iii) a young well-married woman from a depressive village.

In **Daghestan** the case studies include two unusual (single) women from urban areas and two elderly married rural women with a few children each.

In the first two cases one has to mention a psychological aspect of survival of these women, since they live in the environment, where a single woman is a rare case. The first two cases are: (i) a Kumyk poetess - her unmarried status is partly accounted for her illness, since she was a ten-year old her leg muscles have been atrophied and now those of her arms are atrophied as well, and (ii) an editor in the Academy of Sciences journals, who looks healthy and prosperous, and who has not revealed her "secret" of remaining single. In Daghestan a single woman is not just a rare case, it is as if the whole family clan is to blame for her unmarried status, and the relatives are trying to find her a match during her whole life (first, they try to find a young man, later a divorced one or a widower). A single woman in such a situation must have a strong character to withstand public opinion. Both women are rather unique for the society, so the interviewer decided to omit the questions about family and children in order not to insult them.

Rural cases represent typical coping strategies for Daghestan people.

In **Yakutia** two respondents from Yakutsk and two respondents from a village Amga (center of Amginsky area with the population of 6,000), represent groups with the most typical problems. Since Yakutia is the region where large families, high level of divorces and large migration flows are typical, the following persons were chosen for individual interview: a divorced woman (city), a mother of a large family (village), a working pensioner, planning to move from Yakutia (city), and an independent businesswoman (village).

Detailed respondents' demographic data from the case studies can also be found in Annex 3.

Chapter 2. Focus groups' analysis

2.1. General features across the regions

Below we briefly outline the similarities discovered across all the regions.

- Misunderstanding of the substance and disbelief in the outcomes and perspectives of economic reforms and privatization formed a perception that the reforms in Russia served interests of a very small parochial group at the expense of majority of the population.
- Indifference to politics, negative attitude to the majority of parties and their leaders; absence of political figures to associate better changes with.
- Aggravation of unemployment problems, especially for men in rural areas; delays in payment of wages and child allowances (to a lesser degree delays of pension payments).
- Low official incomes (wage, pension, benefits) forcing people to search for additional income sources.
- High income differentiation.
- Dissatisfaction with the quality of free medical service (provided by the mandatory medical insurance system), widely spread official and unofficial charges for medical service, the need for the patients to purchase and bring

medicines and bandages along to the clinic in spite of guaranteed free medical service).

- Limited income does not allow to give good education for children, which is one of the hardest deprivations for the respondents.
- Higher level of adaptation and viability among intelligent women than among equally intelligent men.

2.2. Differences between urban and rural areas

Regarding *the role of a housewife*, rural residents do not recognize the changes in transition, they believe that women should look after children, house, garden. Most of the urban respondents like to have a regular, non-household work, but even they say: “I will go to work, but it is the husband’s business to earn money”.

Regarding general *violence against women*, the results show that in rural areas this is not the hottest issue in women’s view, although actual cases of rape were on record.

Domestic violence against in rural areas is widely spread, but women themselves would not recognize it as a problem (objective factors: separation and exchange of the family apartment for two separate dwellings following divorce is virtually impossible; women stay in the same place with their former husbands, the latter keep beating up their former wives, while the police looks the other way); in urban areas violence is hidden because people are already aware that for violators it is shameful to admit acts of violence.

Ignorance of *contraception* is more widespread in rural areas even among the younger generations; older women and rural women believe abortion to be a safer method of terminating unwelcome pregnancy than intrauterine devices or the pill; some women still use the cycle method or some other obtuse and ineffective techniques (such as vaginal water sprinkling, etc.);

On the one hand, rural areas offer *additional coping strategies* as compared to urban areas, related to possibilities to grow one’s own food (vegetable gardens, chickens, etc.), while on the other hand *employment opportunities* are extremely limited there, which is perceived as the most acute problem.

In addition to scarce *job vacancies*, *medical and educational services* are very poor in rural areas, which is a dramatic contrast to the urban ones.

It is much more difficult to find *businesswomen* in rural areas because, unlike in cities, one cannot “make quick money from intermediary services and trade,” “get cushy jobs with foreign companies,” “engage into risky one-day businesses turning home into the office and using the home phone”, or “ride with the market”. In rural areas energy and initiative do not suffice and one always needs solid knowledge, patience and experience.

People *in rural areas* are concerned about *the lack of basic conveniences*, they would like to have gas supply, regular water supply, phone repairs,

installation of at least two phone lines per village, repair of the diffusion radio network.

2.3. Differences among regions

Before the war began in **Daghestan** the economic situation was already difficult and living conditions have been deteriorating. In addition to that, people's attitudes are nowadays based on the war expectations and lack of stability. In addition to scarce *job vacancies, medical and educational services* in **Daghestan** are very poor.

Daghestan people do not recognize changes in the *role of women as housewives*, and the traditional Moslem thinking prevails. Transition did not bring any visible changes in this area.

With regard to *domestic violence towards women* respondents in **Daghestan** and in **Yakutia** were more reserved. They would not talk about it because in Daghestan it is a forbidden theme and in Yakutia it is more of a closed topic.

Ignorance of *contraception* is more widespread in **Daghestan** due to Moslem traditions and in **Yakutia** as a result of poor development and shortage of information. Families in these two regions tend to be larger. Most **Daghestanis** live in large patriarchal families, so the issue of single mothers hardly exists there. Even having lost her husband, a woman stays with her former parents-in-law or lives under their patronage.

Most of *businesswomen* in **Daghestan** (urban group) believe that their present situation is "worse off" compared to earlier days. It can be explained by worsening situation in the republic in general, as well as by the fact that the groups of so-called business women consisted of the private sector employees who do not have their own business and hence have different attitudes from real business people.

In **Daghestan** communal mutual assistance is a regular practice, with a large cash "fund" being kept in communities or large extended families for use by all members as they fall in a need.

Yakutia is the region where *families are large, divorces level is high* and large numbers of people have been *migrating from there* to the central parts of Russia.

Respondents in **Yakutia** stressed specific problems of the region: *severe climatic conditions* (winter frosts reach down to -60°C), which require expensive warm clothes and footwear made of natural furs; *gradual decrease of family size*, resulting from worsening living standards (it is impossible to provide meal for several children) and increased level of divorces; presence not only of economic, but also *ethnic reasons for emigration* which are shown in the impression that representatives of the indigenous groups have more prospects than the others.

Respondents living in **Daghestan** and **Yakutia** put special value on *a good family climate and on having a good husband*. The problem of *peace* in society also ranks high both in Daghestan and in Yakutia.

Novgorod region was considered as *typical* Russian one. In opposite **Moscow** region, mainly **Moscow city**, is not a typical region. *The present situation* is viewed there also as “worse off” by the most of respondents but the reasons are different from other regions: on the one hand, the standards believed to be reasonable are higher in the capital city than in provinces, on the other hand, August 1998 financial crisis had more impact in Moscow, where a large part of financial institutions and infrastructure had been accumulated.

However, objectively the situation is not worse in **Moscow** than in other regions: *respondent's priorities and needs* were stable job, housing, legal protection, travel possibilities but in the other regions such basic needs as food, clothes, etc. came first and prevailed over the others.

2.4. Differences between male and female respondents

Note that men and women were selected in different ways (there were only mixed male groups and a set of female focus groups). In addition, focus groups in Russia are not the most popular research method yet. Successful men would not participate in focus group. Consequently, we had non-representative groups and our discussion on differences between men and women is somewhat artificial.

As we noticed, many male and female respondents say that, unlike men, women have not lost themselves in transition, they are more flexible and can find jobs quicker, even if it requires lowering of their professional and educational status. At the same time, women as well as men can enjoy new employment opportunities, as initiative and professionalism are more valued nowadays than before.

However, quite a few female and male respondents also argue that life has become harder for women, especially single mothers or women who have to support alcoholic husbands.

As noted above, educated and intelligent women seem to be more adaptive than men of equal intelligence.

The most acute problem for men is the aggravation unemployment, especially in rural areas.

As far as *coping strategies* are concerned, we would like to note that most of women's coping strategies are used by men as well. These include formal employment in the private sector; running a private business (legal and non-legal); having several jobs; taking temporary or part-time jobs; crime. Like women, men tend to set up illegal small businesses of their own; switch to subsidiary natural economy and grow their own food at their dachas (summer houses and small plots); take non-suitable, unsafe, low quality jobs, even if they do so less often than women. Men in rural areas also use some specific strategies, such as hunting, fishing, mushroom and forest berries gathering. They also have

the temporary earnings (so called “shabashka”) from building of dachas for urban people. “Dacha boom” in Russia is observed in the 90th years. Seasonal work is a popular strategy among men, even though they have to migrate across various geographic areas to get it.

Chapter 3. Analysis of respondents’ views on the proposed topics

3.1. Characteristics of the current situation by the respondents

Most female respondents stressed that their living conditions had slumped, especially after the August 1998 crisis. The main drawbacks of the present are instability, lack of protection, insecurity, difficulties in finding stable jobs and stable earnings, and fatigue. As for the *advantages*, people note the newly acquired freedom of speech and travelling, opportunities to have more than one job and to obtain more than one education degree, as well as to buy a variety of nice goods.

For example, women think that their life has become more difficult, because of decreasing living standards. But on the other hand, it is easier now since *“we are more or less free. In the past we were like snails in cockleshells, afraid to put up our heads, afraid of our freedom, etc. Now you are free to speak up your mind”* (FrM, FrN, FuN, FLpuN, case 3)⁶.

Elderly people are more sensitive and vulnerable to the changes and some of them would like to turn the clock back (FPrN, FPuD, FPrD, FPrY). Young and middle-aged people strongly state their unwillingness to go back to the past.

Elderly and middle-age people’s opinion is that one of the difficulties today is lack of jobs. Finding a job is especially difficult for the people who are to retire soon. They say, *“We are simply thrown out in the street. Nobody cares”*. The advantage of today’s life is that one is free to travel, to see the world. At the beginning of transition it was easier to buy goods abroad for sale in Russia and to make reasonable profits this way. Now it is not that easy because of the tax police and low purchasing capacity of the people. They believe, that it is age, not sex, that determines who is at an advantage now. *“Young people (under 35) are in a much better position today than the elderly to find a job. Besides, girls can find rich boyfriends”* (FuN, MuN, MuM, FuM, case 1, case 8).

Most of respondents complain of rising prices, bad quality of food, and growing disparity in living standard between people.

Pensioners think that it is more difficult to live today than before. Old-age pension is small and not paid on time. They are pessimistic about future, curses the government, and do not believe anybody. *“I do not have enough money to buy bread with. Try to buy sausage! It costs 60 rubles! Before, even though you had to go to Moscow to buy food (and it wasn’t always available even there), you still could afford to buy 3-4 kilograms of sausage, enough to last you for a month! You*

⁶ In parenthesis we will write cases and focus groups where this opinion predominated. We would mark concrete focus group by this way: first, socio-demographic characteristic (f.e., "FP"), second, urban or rural area ("u" or "r"), third, region (f.e., "N" - Novgorod). So, FPrN - female pensioner rural group in Novgorod region.

do not eat sausage every day, you know. Now we can see it in shops, but we cannot touch it!"(FPrM, case 2).

One pensioner also thinks that the situation has deteriorated, she receives a pension of 300 rubles (urban and rural groups in Daghestan, case 9).

Younger women and men also agreed that it is not sex, but age, that does not permit people to be competitive on the labor market: *"nobody needs you after 35"* (all regions and groups).

According to Yakutian elder respondent today's situation has worsened in comparison with the last year (FPrY, FPuY, MrY, case 16). "Agrobank" where she worked has been closed, and she could not find a job with the same salary level since then. She started to work at an auto station where her salary was not paid at all, so she went to work at school as a cleaner. It was a supplement of 500 rubles to her pension of 822 rubles. It is sufficient only to buy bread and butter, after she pays for electricity and telephone. There is no money left to pay even for rent. Her husband works in a collective farm, where salaries are not paid. Workers get their payments in the in-kind form (food) but the quantities are not sufficient to feed the families. The family lives worse, than 10 years ago. *"The salary is too small, a few years ago it would be enough for living a modest life, but not today."* The most acute problem is buying winter clothes for teenage daughters: *"When the winter comes, it will be necessary to live under -60 °C. The girls grow, it is necessary to dress them, but clothes are very expensive. It is also necessary to dress them fashionably. They want to wear ship-skin coats and nice boots. It takes a lot of money. My 14-year old daughter is already tall (160 cm) and she is growing"*.

Active women note that the present situation depends on one's personality (FPSuN, case 4, case 5, case 6). A woman from Novgorod region: *"for me everything always changes for the better. In general, everything depends on yourself"*. She believes, however, that *"life is easier for women now, compared to the Soviet period. It is also more interesting. But many people cannot make use of freedom"*.

Yakutian women believe that their current positions are better than before: *"It is possible to earn extra much easier and without any tricks, if you have necessary strength, patience and desire"*. Comparing past and present, they say: *"We had a normal life. I have brought up three children. My husband's salary was about 250 rubles"*. They like the present times, but do not feel satisfied there is no order of things: *"Anarchy. Strong legislation is necessary"*. Many women and men think they are «above the average»: *"There are a lot of people whose life is worse"*(FPSuY, MuY, MrY, case 13, case 15).

Another opinion: *"2-3 years ago I was getting a more stable salary. I worked at the university, and my work was stable too. But I was not happy because I felt that I needed to get better educated, to receive a second higher education degree in psychology.. Now I am studying for a psychologist. Despite the difficulties, I like my current situation, even though there is an element of*

dependence in it (because I live with my parents). I know that I live a full life. Now there are more opportunities to express oneself" (FuY, FLPuY, FPSuY, case 14). But at the same time she recognizes worsening of her personal living standard: it is impossible to buy some necessary foodstuffs for herself and the child, for example, eggs, cottage cheese. Food is very expensive.

Well-to-do pensioner in Dagestan see the current situation as a stable one. She believes that life has not changed much. She mentions the opportunity to sell food grown by people on their plots as a positive moment. All women of her age have the same life except for single ones, whose life is more difficult.

Some respondents note that personal qualities such as initiative, optimism, strong professional knowledge and skills make **women more adaptive to the labor market requirements, than men**. *"I live better, than many men, because I am an optimist"* (younger woman, Novgorod, urban), *"men feel worse than women because of the morals stating that a man is the head of the family in the Caucasus"* (middle-age woman, Dagestan, urban). *"Men are naturally more sluggish than women... 10 of a 1,000 can work like me, maybe...Men have more pride, it is more difficult for them to overcome their principles and to be engaged in something not very prestigious. For me my work as a cleaner is not shameful, the main thing is to clean well, but my husband will never work as, say, a yard-keeper even if it is the only way for him to survive "* (russian pensioner, Yakutia, urban).

Elder Yakutian rural woman's husband works at a farm's sawmill, sometimes he works overtime but still earns less than his wife (100-300 rubles per week as overtime pay). She believes that the state and the family would benefit if wages of men are high enough so that women could spend more time with children and at home. Comparing the situation for men and women, she says that men are more vulnerable today: there is not enough work, not enough earning opportunities.

Comparing her position with that of men (classmates, former fellow students) young Yakutian woman notes that nobody of her classmates has managed to achieve a high position in the society, but some former fellow students did become "big shots" and some joined criminal structures. The respondent has noted differences in opportunities available for different generations: *"our boys served in the Soviet army. Boys of the following generations did not, because the laws changes and they were allowed not to go because they studied"*. Hence, some young men became losers: *"My friends were called up for the army draft when they were 18-20 years old, and after demobilization they returned to a different country, which is one of the reasons why they could not achieve much"*. Still she thinks that men can survive easier: *"Professionally, their corporate sense is higher. They support each other. For women this sense exists in the field of education, public health services. It is very difficult for a woman to achieve success in other areas, for example, in business"*.

A pensioner from Novgorod's village thinks, that nowadays everybody lives hard, men and women, “*These are hard times for both men and women... Young people cannot find jobs. In the past I would be happy to combine two jobs, but it was not allowed. Now you are free to combine as many jobs as you like, but there are none available. Why not give people one job each at least (mentions neglected greenhouses in her village)*” (MrN, FrN, FPrN).

An interesting point of view came from single mothers in the Novgorod urban group (FLPuN). They noted positive changes in their status, and the fact that attitude to them has become more peaceful and supportive. It happened not only because the number of single mothers continues to grow there are twice as many as 10 years ago, but also because current family and labor policies provide some special benefits and privileges for them. In addition, a single mother can also enjoy new opportunities to find a well-paying job, and thus her status improves as her income rises.

Table 3. Characteristics of the current situation by men and women (approximately estimated share of respondents, that is “%” of respondents)

Regions		Focus groups															
		M ⁷		F		FNE		FGS		FPS		FLP		FP		FE	
		Opinions*															
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
URBAN	<i>M</i> ⁸	0	90	0	70	0	90	0	100	50	30	20	60	0	100	0	80
	<i>N</i>	20	80	20	70	20	80	30	60	70	20	40	60	10	90	0	100
	<i>D</i>	10	80	0	90	10	80	0	90	20	60	-	-	0	100	10	80
	<i>Y</i>	0	90	30	60	30	50	10	70	60	30	30	60	0	100	40	60
RURAL	<i>M</i>	0	70	0	100	0	100	0	90	40	40	0	100	0	100	-	-
	<i>N</i>	0	100	0	100	0	100	40	50	80	20	10	70	0	100	-	-
	<i>D</i>	0	90	0	90	20	70	10	90	-	-	-	-	0	100	0	80
	<i>Y</i>	0	90	10	90	0	100	20	80	30	40	10	70	0	100	20	40

*Opinion 1 is “better off”, opinion 2 is “worse off”.

Numbers do not total 100% because of the opinion 3 – “no change”.

According to Table 3, pessimism is mostly observed among rural men (Mr from all regions) and rural female pensioners (FPr from all regions): in these groups there was no recognition of any positive changes and perspectives of transition. It is obvious that rural groups are more pessimistic than urban ones. Among urban groups it is again the group of pensioners (FP urban) that has the strongest negative new of the present situation.

The most active discussion took place among single mothers (FLP). They stressed a variety of both positive and negative aspects of transition.

It is interesting that many women working in the private sector (FPS) refer to the current situation as “worse than in the past” (especially in Daghestan) due to instability of the economy, poorly developed business infrastructure and high

⁷ Marks of focus groups see in Table 1. The following tables have the same marking.

⁸ *M* – Moscow region, *N* – Novgorod region, *D* – Daghestan region, *Y* – Yakutia region.

criminalization of businesses. Moreover, part of businesswomen started their business only to support their families, even though they do not like their occupation (for example, the former school teacher in Novgorod said so).

Unemployed women and budget sector employees (FNE and FGS) share opinions about the present situation. Perhaps it is caused by very little earnings in the budget sector and lack of job security, which are the forms of latent unemployment forcing budget sector employees to search for other earning opportunities just as if they were formally unemployed.

3.2. Scoring and ranking of priorities and problems by the respondents (The magic golden fish granting one's wishes)

All respondents were reminded of a classical tale (by a famous Russian poet Alexander Pushkin) about the golden fish that was capable of making the first three wishes come true. They were asked to name their three main wishes as if the golden fish existed, and this section presents the picture of people's expectations, hopes and attitudes based on these answers. The answers have been sorted and grouped, so that they are given below in the order of decreasing frequency (see also Table 4).

Most of men and women ask the golden fish for **money and wellbeing** (three wishes: "money, money and more money."). Moreover, many women express their wishes in more specific comments, such as "to eat enough," "to buy some fruits," "to buy some meat," "to feed my children," "to buy a refrigerator" or "to buy fur boots for the winter."

The other wishes came across as follows:

- Secure stable jobs and decent wages
- Future of children, good education for them
- Good health for themselves and the family members
- Decent housing
- Opportunities to travel, to see the world and show it to the children
- Stability in the economy and business, paying off debts accumulated since the August 1998 crisis
- Protection by laws
- May there never be war.

In addition, it was possible to identify some specific wishes in **rural areas**, where people dream about basic modern conveniences: gas, water supply etc. (see Section 2.2.).

As for the **regional specifics**, respondents from Daghestan and Yakutia rank highly peace, and good emotional climate both in the country and in families. Having a good husband was also a typical wish for these two regions.

Muskovites less frequently quoted the wish of well-being and money and they are generally better off than people in the other regions and their wishes focus around leisure travel more, but Moscow and the city of Yakutsk stood out because of the highest frequency of acute housing problem. Respondents in Moscow and Novgorod the Great also mention protection of human rights, and put higher value into state legal protection of an individual.

Table 4. Ranks of Priorities and Problems
(frequencies of responses: approximately estimated share of respondents, that is "% of respondents in region)

Rank		Priorities and Problems												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Regions		Money and wellbeing	Stable jobs	Children's future (education and work)	Good health and access to medical services	Housing.	Stability	Clothes	Protection	Good family and husband	Basic conveniences	Travel (recreation)	Peace	Soviet Union back \ Soviet social guarantees
URBAN	<i>M</i> ⁹	78	82	79	65	79	58	44	25	12	0	19	6	2\45
	<i>N</i>	80	85	77	66	53	62	49	22	15	0	12	3	1\49
	<i>D</i>	80	77	80	54	57	67	52	14	49	0	13	10	9\89
	<i>Y</i>	85	82	80	47	79	66	43	19	32	0	15	6	7\78
RURAL	<i>M</i>	95	80	81	51	42	54	44	12	15	30	8	3	2\79
	<i>N</i>	98	85	83	54	35	59	39	15	18	35	9	4	4\88
	<i>D</i>	96	70	84	49	33	61	30	8	54	37	5	15	8\97
	<i>Y</i>	98	75	83	50	39	52	37	9	39	35	4	7	10\99

Well-being and sufficient money income were the problems for most respondents. In urban area it have more weakly influence due to existing more ways of solving these problems. Moscovites also called these problems not so frequently as others that is living standard in capital is relatively higher. It connects with higher rank of leisure time, travel possibilities for Moscovites. Moscow and Yakutsk were outstanding by the acuteness of housing problem.

The problem of stable job takes the second place almost for all respondents according to frequencies of responds. More than one of third rural respondents said about the lack of elementary creature comforts that is sharp negative situation in the rural infrastructure which was backward in Soviet period and are demolished in modern time. Urban people and respondents from Moscow and

⁹ *M* – Moscow region, *N* – Novgorod region, *D* – Daghestan region, *Y* – Yakutia region.

Novgorod regions relatively higher estimate the protection of person and human rights. While the problem of stability in society disturbs many respondents. Clear causes lead to fact that threat of war is personal problem in Daghestan groups. Traditional priority of good family and husband is feature of Daghestan and Yakutia socio-culture environment. Problems of social constraints (child education, medical services) worry the most of respondents. Nobody (especially in Moscow and Novgorod regions) want to back in Soviet time but many people want to get back Soviet social guarantees.

3.3. Respondents' view of cultural, social, ethnic, political, legal and economic constraints

3.3.1. Cultural constraints

Most female respondents do not agree with the statement that women's role has changed, challenging both the hypothesis of a renaissance of patriarchal relations and the assumption that housewife's role in the society has gained importance. Since a husband alone cannot support the family, housekeeping is not a realistic option for most of the women. It is only a small fraction of respondents who approve being a housewife as the only conceivable model of behavior for women, whereas most women want to have jobs that they like. In other words, many respondents desire to change their motivation and type of occupation, but few of them want "to stay at home." The notion of a housewife is virtually alien to the rural areas, as everybody has to do the same work in the house and the garden.

A pensioner does not believe in a woman staying at home, and does not understand the word "housewife". *"Who does not work should not eat"*. She does not see any changes in the role of a woman (FPrM, FPrN, case 2).

Business women believe that a woman's status has changed. Some people find it even prestigious *"to stay at home"*. But there is a risk of turning into a home pet that is always busy licking its hair clean. She cannot imagine herself without a challenging business. She thinks that by devoting oneself to children and the house only, one can get mad. She reasons that it is the woman herself, her character and her will, but not changes in the society that affect her personal life (FPRuN, case 4).

Another woman (case 5) says about herself: *"I am a housewife, not a bread-winner (it is rather a dream), but I have to make all important decisions myself"*. She says that her first husband did not help her at all, and he could not support the children. Her second husband supports his two young children only. He refused to feed the others even when she was pregnant. She handles her household duties well, helped by her children.

Elder business and active women (FPrN, FPSrN, case 6, case 7) do not distinguish between duties for men and women in the household. "I do not think it makes sense to establish who earns money and who spends it in the family. Such thing is not possible, if two people decide to run a household." There must

not be any forced responsibilities in the family, sort of “you do this, and I do this. We both contribute into the family budget, and we do not make any difference between my money and your money”. In the family of our respondents the person who was the first to come home from work, was responsible for dinner. They think, that it has not become prestigious to be a housewife. “Women stay at home, because they cannot find jobs, she would rather work, if she had a job”.

Young woman with two children dreams to become a lawyer. Apart from the collective farm (where she cannot work, because her kidney was operated on), there are no jobs available in the village. She is long for working. “It is not good to be at home all the time, it is boring” (FNErM, case 3).

Answering the questions: What way have you chosen for yourself? How do you combine family and work, career? – young woman from Yakutia says: “*In the beginning I completely devoted myself to the family, the kid, the house, the husband. But I was worried as the real life was passing by. While our Republic has been receiving a lot of «diamond money» , and everything was booming so that all my acquaintances made good careers, I was staying at home*” (FuY, case 14).

Some respondents believe that the role of women in the society has changed during recent 10 years. “*In the family, in public life women have taken more responsibility*” (FuY, case 14).

A woman from Daghestan also spoke about changing roles, but not in a sense of increased patriarchal influence, vice versa: “*Men never helped to do the housework, they will not even pour a cup of tea to themselves, while my sons nowadays help their wives, and so they manage together well*” (FrD, FPrD, MrD, MuD, case 11).

Women from non-Slavic ethnic groups believe that a woman should be at home: “*Women work more than men nowadays, while they must be housewives - the children will benefit from it and become better people*”; “*I have no family and I spend most of my time at work, where I improve my qualification, and in general, maybe... but one of the main problems is the fact that I am single. Many intellectuals, you know, are vegetating*”; “*A woman must remain a housewife. A woman gets tired at work, and what good she may after it do to the child's upbringing*” (Caucasian women from focus groups, case 9, case 10, case 12); “*The role of a woman is to take care of the house. I am ready to be a housewife, preferring home even though my duties there are sometimes a hard work. I love to work at home, for example, to cook, to sew for children, to make improvements ... If had a larger household, I would never work as a cleaner for 500 rubles per month. For me it is better to clean after my cow than after other people. I would raise a bull, prepare meat and sell it*” (FrY, case 16).

Most of male respondents think that status of a housewife have not been changed.

Table 5. Respondents' opinion about changes in the status of a housewife
(Y – most of respondent said “yes, it changed and became more prestige”.
N – most of respondents said “no, it did not change”).

		Focus groups							
		M	F	FNE	FGS	FPS	FLP	FP	FE
Regions									
URBAN	<i>M</i> ¹⁰	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
	<i>N</i>	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
	<i>D</i>	N	N	N	N	N	-	N	N
	<i>Y</i>	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
RURAL	<i>M</i>	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	-
	<i>N</i>	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	-
	<i>D</i>	N	N	N	N	-	-	N	N
	<i>Y</i>	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N

NOTE: Opinions about changes in the status of a housewife and personal attitudes of women differ substantially. Thus, most of the women want to have jobs and only a few of them want to be housewives themselves.

Changes in the status of a housewife are mostly recognized by respondents from urban areas of Moscow, Novgorod the Great and Yakutsk, as well as by single mothers, unemployed, and women representing the private sector in the study. However, their personal attitudes are scattered and do not give a coherent picture.

3.3.2. Social constraints

Child care. Women themselves, helped by parents, looked after their children, since husbands have been joining in very rarely.

The rural young woman is helped by a 15-year old neighbor, who comes to play, feed and stay with her kids when she has to go out. He does it for free, “*he loves children*”. There are no child welfare institutions in the village, and it takes 40 minutes to get to town by bus. The husband cannot force himself to stay with the children for an hour, he gets quickly tired; on the other hand, it does not prevent him from pointing out to her, “*what is it you do? You do nothing!*” (FrM, MrM, case 3).

In the past women made more extensive use of preschool child care facilities than today (in most families today there is at least one woman who is fully employed, having either lost her job or quitted because of low pay, and it is her job then to look after children), although many respondents stressed that the quality of the preschool child care has improved (all urban groups).

There are complaints about child allowances, which are too small and are not paid in a timely manner.

¹⁰ *M – Moscow region, N – Novgorod region, D – Daghestan region, Y – Yakutia region.*

Care for the elderly. Old villagers are simply left on their own: *“I’ve been ill and stayed in bed for a week, unable to get up; there was nothing to eat or drink, the stove was cold, and no one would come to see me”* (FPrN). In urban areas there are some social care institutions, but the range of services they offer is rather narrow.

Health and reproductive care. Respondents have countless complaints about medical services: virtually everything costs money; patients have to take along to the hospital their own drugs, bandages, food and even bed linen in some places; and most services (except emergency surgery) are on charge basis. High prices do not always imply high quality. After the August 1998 crisis no free or discounted medicines are available, which is a bad blow to the pensioners and invalids.

Mandatory medical insurance does not work: one cannot either choose a physician or get reimbursed for the cost of drugs or medical services. Pharmacies and health care institutions seem to be united in their unwillingness to provide free drugs to the eligible groups of the population. Absence of residence registration (which is widespread in the epoch of wars and crises in the post-Soviet environment) denies people the opportunity to rely on medical insurance, which adds to the cost of medical services.

Respondents believe that *“many people do not pay for their medical care in medical institutions, they use a medical policy, medicines only are paid for”* (FPrD), but *“before doctors were more responsible for health of children than now”* (FPrN, FuY) and it is more difficult to bring up children and to care for their health. They note that medicines are available in drug stores but they are very expensive. For many respondents a big problem (because of high prices) is dental prosthetics.

A pensioner complains about health care. Recently she underwent a surgery (she had her rupture ablated), and had to spend her entire pension to buy medicines, bandages. She says, that doctors and nurses asked her for money. She is not happy about how little is the available information on medical insurance policy, which results in people losing money. She also said, that she was badly treated by the medical staff, *“I am lying on my back on the table as helpless as a cockroach turned around on its back on a smooth surface. My pants are down; I cannot get hold of anything. I wish somebody had given me a hand, or said something”* (FPrM, FPrN, FPuN, case 7).

Medical aid according to obligatory medical insurance system is insufficient and most of respondents come to a doctor for consultation only in the case of emergency. A part of services should be paid already, for example, fluorography. It was necessary to pay for encephalography for the child (108 rubles). Women would like to buy imported vitamins and medicines, but they have to use domestic ones because of high prices.

Since there is not a medical institution in Moscow region village, and there are no doctors (only a nurse), a woman’s son just barely escaped death when he

developed some disease and became allergic to dairy products. The nurse failed to diagnose him, and only an accidental meeting with her acquaintance, a doctor, helped to understand what to do. In the village it is even difficult to call an ambulance, because only a brigade-leader has a telephone, and she might not be available.

Virtually all the gynecological services (including anaesthetic, drugs, gloves, other materials and examination itself) have a price tag as well (all region). Soaring prices for contraceptives have forced women to abandon the pill (mainly in rural area).

Some respondents (FLPuY, FLPuN) is satisfied by the spectrum of medical services in areas of reproductive health and family planning. But they have to switch from effective contraceptives that become unaffordable. It was necessary for them to pay for anesthetics when they had an abortion. But they think that today the situation with contraception is better: more information, there is a choice, treatment of patients is better. The most of the respondents' children were desired, but not planned.

Awareness of contraception is insufficient both among elder women and rural women of all ages, including young ones. A pensioner (Moscow city, case 1) did not use contraception and had 30 abortions in the past. A Kumyk woman (Daghestan, rural, case 12) never planned the family, she gave eight childbirth, no abortions.

Access to education. At present women view access to education as an eventual problem for their children: many women are (getting) educated, but they are not sure of their ability to have their children properly educated at the time of commercialization of education and uncertain earnings.

Most of women (FuN, FLPuY, FLPuN, FLPrN) do not see any big changes in accessibility of education in comparison with the past; they believed that the main change is an opportunity to receive education abroad. One woman from Yakutsk is not happy with her first higher education in pedagogy (teacher of primary classes), therefore she has decided to continue studies. She is going to be a psychologist. The second higher education she has to pay for, and the cost is 16,000 rubles for two years. She thinks about post-graduate courses. But she believes that at first *«it is necessary to prove her own capabilities and to get necessary practical experience»*. She supposes that now a woman's career depends on education more, than a career of a man.

Violence. Folklore traditions and customs still influence people today, especially in rural areas. A book called “Novgorod Tales” reflects some relevant points. Thus, it starts with a “Magic water” (“Nagovornaya voda”) story, telling about magic water that helps a woman to remain silent when her husband is upset. It says that when spouses abuse each other, the wife must fill her mouth

with the magic water and only hear her husband. That is the folklore receipt of obedience for women.

The theme of violence evokes active discussions in different groups. High occurrence of violence, especially domestic violence is shocking: when probed, virtually every other woman acknowledged cases of violence towards her in the family. However, in cases of both street and especially domestic violence women do not go to the authorities but try to cope on their own; they do not believe in the courts of law or any other help.

In reply to the question “What should a woman do if her husband hits her?” we got a reply from rural women “Jump through the window and hide in the neighbors’ house until her husband calms down and falls asleep”.

It should be noticed that rural and urban men (in Moscow and Novgorod regions) have different reactions to the questions on domestic violence. To hit a wife is still a pride and honor for a rural man, but is a shame for an urban one. Compare the answers: “*Who would speak openly about it? A man will hide it.*” (an urban man) and “*It is a must to beat a woman to teach her. Are you a man or not?*” (a rural man).

A rural woman said (with difficulties) that “*it takes all kinds to make the world. We quarreled and had fights, and what not*”. She says, that once she ran away and spent a night in the coffin, hiding from her husband. But in her opinion, women must cope with their problems themselves. There is nowhere to go, and there is nobody to complain to. First, complaining will not help, second, by the time you find somebody who will listen to your complaints, your anger will be gone (FPrM, FrN, case 2).

As a rule, the police does not intervene in cases of domestic violence, and women have to hide, run away and stay with neighbors or friends. Many women do not trust the police themselves. Most of women share the popular opinion that the police does nothing and boldly tells the people, “*we will help you only for money*”. What is more, they refuse to interfere in family conflicts, “*Never. Let the husband and the wife to be alone. They will learn to understand each other in bed*”. She says, “*only the rabble works for the police now. They can hit you, abuse you, whom will you complain to?*”.

Only one case young woman (Moscow region, rural) has experience of getting support from the police. At the age of 14 she was raped by a group of people. She sued them, thus punishing the violators. But at home she still has to withstand her drunken father-in-law.

An active woman believes that if violence is taking place in the street, a woman should “*fight to the very uttermost, fight!*” If the violence took place a woman should go to the lawyer, psychologist, gynecologist. She believes the problem of domestic violence to be very important. “*The most horrible things you can think of can happen indoors, at home. Our women are fools in believing that once they are married, they had the person empowered to act for them all their life. They are wrong to believe that from that moment on all is bound to be*

fine. It is not so. Women refuse to utter a word and resort to courts when they are beaten and raped by their husbands. Violence is very common in Russia. It takes place in every other family". She means that Russian women do not often wish to have independence in marriage, they hope that husband will solve all problems for them. They are ready to obey their husbands. But in reality husbands cannot manage them without violence. There are two problems here. The first is that the society blames everything on the woman. *"They tell you, 'you yourself provoked it' and add, 'there is no smoke without fire'; a stupid saying but it hits the mark"*. On the other hand, even if a woman brings an action against a house violator, she stops it the following day. *"They must change radically. They must be given a printout of the law of marriage (such law needs to be composed). It should be as easy to read as a price-list. It will help women understand, where she is right and where she is wrong"* (FPSuN, case 4).

Scenes of domestic violence were personified by most of the respondents (MrN, MrM, FrN, FPrN, FPrM, etc.). Some women from FLP groups believe it to be a demonstration by a violator of the victim's weakness. Twice a woman's husband has hit her. *"It does not hurt you physically, but it is a display of your weakness. Every successive child in my family was beaten less, because I am becoming stronger"*. *"Why have you done it?"* she asks her husband, *"Well, because I am a man"*. Men tend to associate their strength with fighting. She says that one's real strength is self-control.

A pensioner recalls how she hit her husband on the head with a jar, when he came home drunk. She thinks, it is better to divorce, than to tolerate violence, *"You must not allow to offend yourself. You must make in clear from the very first day. Let a woman be above all this, le her not be afraid to live alone. She may think, that nobody needs her. That is not so!"* She thinks, that nobody can help a woman, *"She will go to the police, but they will not even listen to her. And she does not need advice. They must decide it between themselves"*. She insists that violence is common, because nobody cares. If an accident happens, the woman will be left alone with her problems. *"How is in known, that a woman is always wrong? Why nobody tries to help, to offer a hand, to ask about it. The woman is afraid of her parents, of other peoples' opinion, whereas the violator can pay the judge or the acting lawyer. The woman herself must keep her head high. The society must do something to protect the woman, create laws, to help her feel safe"* (FPuN, case 7).

Most of respondents say that mass media underestimate prevalence of violence against women. They also believe that TV provokes aggression in the youth: *"It is necessary to take off any thrillers from the screen. I think that such films praise violence and humiliation of human dignity. And teenagers can see them - it is wild!"* (MrN, MrD, MuD, FuD, FrD, FPuD, FEuM, case 11, case 13).

A woman from Daghستان (case 11): *"It is dangerous nowadays to be in the street in the evening, for the girls first of all"*. Her granddaughters are good girls, because *"they behave properly and spend their free time at home"*.

3.3.3. Economic constraints

Employment

Many women are much interested in their work, need it and live by it. **Work**, according to some opinions (FPSuN, FPSuM, FGSuM, FLPuN, case 4), can help a woman achieve self-perfection. *“I can do it better. I said to myself, women can do it better, than men. In the past my husband instilled into me, that “you are a woman, and nothing can be done about it. Even if you get a job and work hard, you will not be able to do much. Women in our country do not earn a lot of money, and so will not you”. Everything in me revolted against this approach. There are unworthy people among men as well as among women, and there are worthy people. Whether you are a man or a woman it does not matter, because every person can achieve his/her goals. Women have absolutely equal rights with men. Absolutely! I cannot stand the idea of patriarchy and matriarchy. There is diarchy in everything!”*. Husband of this woman made the first investment in her business. Later their relations took a bad turn, and she developed the business herself: thus, she proved the truth of what she had said before. She thinks all unemployed to be idlers; *“there is always work available”*.

It was only after in-depth discussions that women admitted and recognized facts of **discrimination** against them at the workplace. Quite a few women are unable to find jobs (it is generally believed that employment services are absolutely useless and inefficient): no permanent jobs are available, women cannot find suitable jobs and take low-level jobs, or they have to engage in several jobs simultaneously (each of the jobs can likely be insecure).

That is why employment prospects are a sore problem for many women. Prevalent discrimination in employment is age-related (people over 35 are virtually excluded from employment) rather than sex-related.

Many women acknowledge that women are discriminated at work, *“A man gets 200 rubles, while a woman gets only 150, even if she works better”*. Some of them also had personal experience of unemployment and registered with the employment services, but so far they had been offered very few jobs. Besides, they were all very cheap. Women completed a course of studies in accounting, f.e., but say that unless one has some hands-on experience of this sort, there is no hope of being hired (FuN, FuM, FLPuN, FEuN, FEuM, case 1).

Business woman argues that **male chauvinism** does exist in business. For a while, men allow women to do what they can if the women do not climb higher than some invisible ceiling established informally by the men. *“If men can easily accomplish their tasks unofficially in a bathhouse with the help of vodka, few women resort to such means to cope with their problems. The majority of women is not allowed to reach the top (in business) in our society and, maybe, in other societies”*. When asked, how she manages to pave the way, she said, *“I absolutely did not. This very male chauvinism does not give me a chance. The following theses are common, ‘This is not for a woman’, ‘What can you expect*

from her!', 'Do not have anything to do with a woman', etc. At the same time a woman may be much more disciplined, talented and hardworking" (case 4, case 5).

Young woman (case 14) believes that in the past it was much easier to make a **career**. Today one's progress depends on one's capacities. "*But sometimes it is much easier – and it is paradoxical... You can achieve something. But people could begin to detest you for your capacities and simply to «finish» you*". The respondent notes the main factor in her career, that is clan relationships. It ranks second, after professional capabilities. "*Everything is easy if you are a member of the clan*". Clan relationships are more typical in villages and among people coming from villages (FuN, FuY, MuN, FrD, MrD).

A pensioner believes that it is very difficult for women to make a career now and so it was before. According to her, women should devote more time to the family, instead of work. Otherwise, it is difficult to keep a normal family. But in her own case her work was always the first priority and took a lot of time, even on weekends. Support from her husband helped to combine difficult and responsible work with housekeeping. "*If my husband is at home, then children are well fed, they are dressed, they will not disappear anywhere, and will not do something wrong. I was very calm and happy... I was responsible for checking their school homework. We brought up the children ourselves, nobody helped us*". She thinks that one of the spouses should focus more on the family, giving way for the other (FPrY, FrY, case 15).

According to the respondents, **sexual harassment** is also common, especially in cities. Again, women have nowhere to go with their complaints, and no one could recall any offending boss to have been punished.

In some opinions (FuM, FuN, FLPuN, FGSuM, case 1, case 7), sexual harassment is a usual practice. Women tell us their story, but stresses, that this problem is not urgent, "*Usually women themselves provoke it. Consequently, their salaries rise and bonuses start to materialize. I cannot blame people. Everybody lives one's own life*". When asked whether they had ever heard that a boss was fired for sexual harassment, they laughed and said that it sounds funny. Some women also do not think violence at work as a strong problem: "*If she wishes, let her sleep with him. If she does not wish, let her lead him up the garden path, play with him till the last moment, play*".

Unemployment

The story of woman from Yakutia village reflects high unemployment rate among men in the village. Her son, a television mechanic by profession, has no job, as there is no municipal workshop, and the only private workshop has gone bankrupt after half a year. He repairs TV sets at home. "*Nobody pays for repair. No money. So he takes meat, butter instead of money*". The daughter-in-law is a tutor, but she does not get paid, so since the last year she has become a shuttle

trader, and while she brings goods to sell in the village, her husband stays with their children.

Table 6 shows that unemployment level among respondents is higher than the official unemployment level (see Annex 1, Table A5). There are similarities and differences in the findings of the study and the official data (see also Table 6 to compare). For instance, both sources rank regions in the same way by unemployment rate: in Daghestan the situation is worse, in Moscow it is better, especially in Moscow city that ranks first. Another similarity is that unemployment rate among women is higher than among men.

The differences concern comparisons of urban and rural unemployment rate. According to our data, rural unemployment is significantly higher than urban one. Official data do not reflect this tendency because rural people do not come to register due to barriers in registration procedure: they should often travel in city to register as unemployed, stay in line, while the benefits are very small.

The study data show that unemployment level of our respondents is higher than the official one also because we include in the group of unemployed not only officially registered respondents, but also those who do not work and search for jobs on their own, excluding pensioners and students.

Table 6. Share of unemployed among the focus groups' respondents
(approximately estimated share of respondents, that is "%" of respondents)

	<i>Moscow</i>			<i>Yakutia</i>			<i>Novgorod</i>			<i>Daghestan</i>		
	urban	Rural	<i>total</i>	urban	rural	<i>Total</i>	urban	rural	<i>total</i>	urban	rural	<i>total</i>
male	20	30	25	0	9,1	4,2	10	50	30	9	10	9,5
female	7,2	21,1	13,5	16,9	20	18,4	23	18,8	21	21,5	33,8	27,2
<i>total</i>	8,2	22,4	15,1	14,3	18,5	16,4	21,4	23	22,2	20,2	31	25,3

Intra-household dynamics

Household chores are mostly women's responsibility. It is also women who manage the finances in those families which live on the husbands' modest fixed wages, although husbands often hide some money for their personal use. More well-to-do families seldom have a common budget: husbands try to control their wives' expenses while hiding their own.

Most of women try to save, buying less food, buying cheaper goods of worse quality. Since perestroika many women have stopped using the services (laundry, etc.) as they are unaffordable and many families do not go anywhere on holiday as they have neither time nor money for that.

Young woman applies her term "diarchy" to housekeeping. Everybody must do his/her best. For example, the person, who comes home from the office first, is responsible for dinner (many Slavik respondents' point of view). She failed to apply this term to her own family, though. Her husband would "lie on the sofa", and insist on her making dinner. They ended up dining in different restaurants. They stopped taking joint decisions a long time ago. She says that she

does not have a household, but a breeding-ground. Each of the spouses has a separate budget. *“From time to time he tries to find out how much I earn, but I’ll always be able to dodge and cheat him. In turn, he is not going to tell me what his budget is”*. Although she belongs to a well-off part of the society, there were periods in her life when she had to economize, *“to eat macaroni with sugar”*. If she does not have enough money, she borrows (FPSuN, case 4).

Man (MrM) believes that a man is entitled to keep money, because a woman spends it rather quickly. He is sure, that no matter how much money a woman is given, it would not be enough. That is why he hides some money from his wife (to have something to give to the Road Police, the State Traffic Inspection).

A woman advocates a different approach. She thinks that her husband does not know the value of money, and it is the wife, who must be responsible for it. At least she knows where a better bargain can be made. There are a lot of things that have to be bought; for example, they do not have a proper fridge. What needs to be bought first? Her husband wants to buy a TV; she would prefer a washing machine. They often argue about it. At present they do not have any of these things. Her family is also economizing on food (her dream is to have buckwheat, rice and other cereals of her choice (she is fed up with macaroni) to eat to her heart’s content. One of the biggest problems in her view is high cost of bottle-feeding. Imported canned products, means of hygiene for children (disposable diapers, etc.) are unaffordable. If they do not have money to buy food, they borrow it from their friends, or from the saleswoman in the village shop (FrM, case 3).

Another rural young woman's family budget is mainly supplied with her husband’s money. She is responsible for housekeeping (cleaning up, cooking, buying food). In contrast with many other families, they can afford to buy good food, and even fruits. They grow vegetables and sell a small part of the harvest, keep hens and rabbits. Her husband goes hunting, and brings home birds, hares, even elks. She emphasizes, that the poor and the unemployed of their village *“live by picking mushrooms and berries and selling them to the people driving along the highways”* (FrN, case 8).

Pensioners (FPrM, FPrN, MrN, MrN, FrN) economize on food, clothes, and fruits, which they have not bought for years. As a rule a saleswoman in a local shop, who lends their food, also helps them (and other people in village).

A pensioner from Daghestan says, that there were many people in her family, including her sons and their wives, and she describes the strategy she used to prevent them from quarreling: she bought all the detergents and the soap (FrD, MrD, case 11).

More well-to-do women also have to economize, this time on the quality of clothes, traveling (FuM, FPSuN, FPSrN, etc.).

In cases of **divorce**, it is usually the woman who keeps the apartment or house as she also retains custody of the children¹¹, except in Daghestan, where divorce leaves the woman humiliated and destitute. Women from this region said that men have more rights than women, when they are getting married. A man may marry even a Christian girl, a woman is not allowed to do the same. Due to migration of people from rural areas to cities rural women become exposed to the new, less restrictive ideas. Women believe the regulation of the divorce procedure is imperfect and often results in conflicts.

There is little property dispute in divorcing families because they possess very little anyway.

3.3.4. Ethnic and religious constraints

Ethnic contradictions and tensions are particularly visible in Daghestan and Yakutia (people demand employment exclusively for indigenous people and complain against suppression of ethnic minorities).

National traditions and customs in Daghestan have especially strong influence on life of women, often restricting their choices in marrying a man of a different ethnicity (FuD, FrD, MuD, FEuD, FErD).

A respondent from Yakutsk believes that her ethnicity did not affect her life (FuY, FNEuY, FEuY, FErY, case 14). She recalls that there were moments, when there was much less Yakut population in the capital than Russian. She asked her mother in kindergarten: *“Why is my face not like Katya’s (Russian)?”*. She does not feel 100% Yakut: *“We are all urban children, have received mixed education”*. Ethnic Yakut customs, laws, practice, traditions have been advertised since recently. *“When we were young, we did not absorb it with education. We have begun to understand it when we have grown”*. Her child is already familiar with some traditions, for example, *«how to feed the spirit of fire»*. *“He takes something good, most tasty, and feeds the spirit of fire”*. She would like her son to grow up as a believer: *“with trust in God. It will support him. It will help him to find necessary forces somewhere, not only from me. But I do nothing to make it happen”*.

Ethnic group in Moscow and Novgorod regions underlined their ethnicity did and does affect their life after transition. Some of them migrate from original regions because national conflicts in 90th, some of them have problems like Caucasian women (registration, and consequently, work and house).

Respondents tend to like the revival of religion and religious tolerance as many women benefit from this. A concern was expressed over the preponderance of religious sects (such as the Evangelists, the Seventh Day Adventists or the Satanists) in the Russian backwaters. Sect members may initially help people, but afterwards they keep them from leaving the sect and force them to sell their homes and other property for the benefit of the sect. The destruction of the

¹¹ In rural area it is a real problem to live separately after divorce. As a rule divorced man and woman continue to live together because could not share a small house.

Russian Orthodox Church at the beginning of the century and collapse of the communist regime at the end of it created a vacuum in the human soul, and people vacillate between religious sects.

3.3.5. *Political constraints*

Many female respondents have grown disillusioned with the present-day politicians, they do not trust anyone and do not believe that their votes can influence political developments. They do not see themselves in politics (have no self-confidence, undervalue themselves and see politics as a “dirty business.”) They would like to see more women to become politicians, but are afraid that they “would be crushed there.”

In spite of changed political doctrine, the same people remain in the government: *“Arrangement of different political forces is the same. Actually nothing was changed. And life ... yes, life has changed. For me personally, life became better. I do not know about the others”*. Most of female and male respondents reckon that women are poorly represented in politics, among the authorities, but each of the women there is a very appreciable person.

Young yakut has noted that in bodies of authority of Yakutia there are a lot of women, but not at the top – the lower is the level the more there are women. She believes that because of existing clan relationships people cannot move upwards, and the leaders of clans are always men. *“Nobody likes women as leaders, for instance, ministers or deputies. Of course, unless they are members of the clan”* (case 14).

Opinions about whether **a woman running for presidency** would win votes were split. The “pro” arguments: “a woman would understand other women,” “a mother-woman will save Russia” and “women are more sensitive and socially responsible” (MuN, MuM, FuN, FLPuN, FrY, MuY, etc.). The positive examples cited included Catherine the Great, Margaret Thatcher, Galina Starovoitova and Irina Khakamada. The “con” arguments: “no woman can cope with such chaos” (FPuN, FuD, FrD, MuD). The negative examples included Ms. Albright in the Balkans crisis.

Many women from Moscow, Novgorod and Yakutia regions would be ready to vote for a woman President, especially if she had children. However their view of political activities is rather narrow and limited to strikes, demonstrations, meetings. They would be willing to vote for a woman President, because *“men are not able to understand the difficulties, that women have to overcome. She will pay more attention to education and health protection. Men seem to have only one idea – to fight. The Balkan crises, the Belovezhsky agreement, things like that worry them. They do not lose sleep over anything else”*(FNerM, case 1, case3); *“If we had a woman as a candidate for presidency, I would vote for her only if I trust her and never because she is a woman”* (FLPuY, FuN, MuN, case 14).

A pensioner would not vote for a woman President, because she does not believe that a woman will manage this job. *“They will eat her up”* (FPrM, case 2). A young woman will not vote either, because she thinks *“women tend to set each other up. No matter what her ambition is, she cannot help thinking whether the other woman is as slim as I am, whether she looks better and has more men and if so let me do her dirt”* (FPSuN, FPSrN, FuM, case 4); *“A man has to be the leader, it is preferable”* (FNErD, MuD, FuD, FrD). A pensioner does not think that the arrival of women into politics will benefit: *“Female psychology is different, they put themselves very high. The intrigue goes from the woman”*. She thinks that women should stay at home until their children become 3 years old: *«small kids are often sick»*. She is against any increase of benefits for women: *“I think, it is necessary to increase salary for men. A man should support his wife and children. He will be the head of the family, he will gain a big prestige.... The state would not suffer from this, because when a woman works, she spends a big part of her salary paying the doctor for issuing a sick leave certificate that would allow her to take care of the child. Let the women to stay with children up to 7 years – it will be good for children and for family”*. Answering a question: *“Whom do you hope for? People, state authorities, yourself?”* she said: *“I rely upon myself only. It is necessary to find the way”* (FPrY, FErY, case 16).

Most of the women surveyed have not heard anything about **women’s NGOs**; they cannot name any of them and do not believe in their effectiveness, although they would be willing to try to approach NGOs for help (without getting involved in any of their activities). Most of respondents do not believe that such organizations could be efficient, for *“our laws are very imperfect”*.

3.3.6. Legal constraints (privatization results)

Virtually no one gained anything from privatization. Many respondents have privatized government housing, and today they are concerned that this may mean additional headache (no repairs will be made in their flats, etc.). At present privatization of housing benefits only those who inherits or sells their flats.

A woman is thankful to privatization (she was able to privatize her flat, to sell it in Sakhalin, and to buy one in Novgorod). But on the part of the country she thinks it a mistake. Those who had the power (heads of companies, heads of collective farms) pocketed the people’s property. It resulted in some people becoming poor and others becoming rich, *“There must have been a law, or something. The privatization must have been supported by something. Why does one person have everything, and another – nothing? How did he manage to get all these cars, machinery, Did he hide it from the people somewhere?”* (About the picture of a current head of a farm in Lesnaya village). *We must take all this property plants, factories, farms back and decide what to do with them, because every farmer, everybody is interested in it...”* (FPrN, FuM, FPSuN, FPSuM, FPuM, case 7).

Moscow region's life history (a rural pensioner - case 2) refutes benefits from housing privatization. Privatization did not give her anything. She sold her voucher, because she needed money to buy food. She has not acquired any property. She would have privatized her house, if it had not been for the chairman of the collective farm. The latter does not allow it. It is not allowed to buy any property in the collective farm. By these means the chairman makes people stay at their work at the farm. The chairman said: "You live in this house until you work for my collective farm". People could not privatize and sell this house and move to another place with the money.

In the Daghestan family the whole property was registered in the father's name. The woman interviewed does not see the advantages of the market economy.

Virtually all the respondents laughed bitterly when asked about their privatization vouchers: most of them either sold them right away to buy food or clothes or took them to investment companies which disappeared soon afterwards. Very few people get any dividends. The problem is not men having taken property (such as vouchers) away from women, but the fact that neither men nor women in Russia have gained any real property during the perestroika period.

3.3.7. Legal constraints (obstacles to development of farming)

Farming is underdeveloped in rural areas, and there are many obstacles to its growth, including not only the lack of funds, credit or access to land, but, more importantly, *absence of knowledge and legal, economic and agricultural illiteracy* that does not allow to overcome the entrenched practice of uneducated management, to stand against the omnipotence of local authorities, to keep away envious neighbors and to establish new infrastructure and management patterns.

As a result, it is only possible for the former Communist party functionaries with a vast experience of organizational work, former collective farm directors and people with higher education to set a good example of husbandry in rural areas. All those rare female farmers we came across usually enjoyed the support of their male relatives (in Daghestan a woman cannot run a farm in principle; according to traditions, she lives in a large family headed by a man). The factor of education, expertise and past experience is especially important to women, with organizational skills and knowledge of accounting being even more important than pure agricultural expertise, which can be sourced out. Every former collective or government farm director turns the once public farming unit into his fiefdom by selling land parcels off to urbanites for dachas, by breaching the presidential decree (NO LAW) on turning the land over to peasants (it is rarely that peasants get paid by the end of the year for the use of "their" land – at best they get a sack of grain or a piglet); by handing the land over to the local authorities, by not paying the peasants for the use of their land

(under the pretext of losses) and by keeping the peasants ignorant of their rights and opportunities.

Rural respondents would not start their own farms because:

- No social links from soviet period and no high social status in former soviet hierarchy (in opposite to men);
- “No knack of it”;
- No startup capital;
- No credit is available;
- It is too hard to get credit or to repay it (the interest is too high);
- No technology is available: it is too expensive to buy, while leasing any machinery available from former collective or government-owned farms makes no sense as it is falling apart;
- Very poor land is offered for farming;
- There is no legal protection, nor any tried-and-true management models;
- Climatic conditions make farming hazardous, with insurance a must (except in Daghestan);
- Farming is hard toil that is poorly mechanized, and no one would venture into it;
- People have been weaned away from the land or from private farming; they are willing to work for niggardly wages on public farms but take no responsibility for the harvest: “what we have is what has grown”;
- Neighbors look askance at private farmers, be they men and women, either destroying the fruit of their labor or giving them the cold shoulder;
- Plundering crops is widespread;
- There is no infrastructure for farm produce marketing or processing.

In our view, the lack of private ownership of the land and social instability also are substantial factors holding back the growth of private farming.

There are no farmers in the village, *“we do not have the money, we do not have the means, and we do not have the wish to become ones. That’s because the young learn to prefer the bottle to everything else, and the old are already not able to make it. Our village is dying out, I guess”*. Besides, it is not safe, to be a farmer, *because “people envy you. They envy you, because they do not have the wish to work”*.

Respondents from Novgorod region are able to quote only two the examples of farmers in a large Bronnitsy area (area of Novgorod region), *“he has his own pig-breeding farm, he employs people and across the river refugees have a small farm”* (FrN, MrN, case 8); *“For what we know, all people ignore laws”*(FPrN, case 7).

When rural woman from Moscow region was asked, what she thinks of machinery and fodder being stolen from the collective farm, she says, that it is OK. She did it herself. It is a norm.

3.4. Perception of new opportunities

New opportunities have undoubtedly emerged for women (as well as for men) in both business and politics. There are far more chances to realize one's professional intentions, but a person, being a woman or a man, has to overcome far more barriers that were unknown in the old days (e.g. one has to show initiative, be entrepreneurial, diligent, dynamic and mobile and be able to sell one's skills on the labor market).

Age is becoming a serious factor: people in the 25-35 age group find many opportunities, while elder groups have a lot more difficulties. Women (and men) aged 35 to 55 are in the worst position (*"a job is hard to find," "a well-to-do husband is no longer to be found"*)¹² (MrN, MrM, MuN, FuN, FLPuN, etc.).

Today people are given freedom, they settle. You completed a course in accounting but cannot find a job... Well, do something else. You should be more energetic, then you will succeed" (FGSuN, FPrN, case 7).

Yakut (case 15) supposes that new time has opened new opportunities, including business, and that *"everything will be great"* if the state could provide financial support and observance of the law: *"You take the credits, earn, pay for the credits, receive profit, put the profit in your business, develop the business and receive profit from it... It is impossible to start business without money"*.

In general, the respondents more willingly talk about their problems than about intentions to solve them. As it was already mentioned before, it is partly a socio-cultural phenomenon, but it is also caused by the fact that people took part in focus groups hoping to voice their problems and possibly get help from people from Moscow. In addition, of course the focus group guide was focused on problems more than on opportunities.

3.5. Coping strategies

It is possible to compare coping strategies of focus groups' respondents (below) with the individual case studies (see Table 7) to identify matching sets of strategies. We offer a classification of female and male coping strategies and give the list of them. The strategies are grouped as positive, neutral, and negative ones.

Women. Positive strategies:

- 1) Highly paid jobs in the formal private sector.
- 2) Starting a formal private business of their own.

Women. Neutral strategies:

- 3) Keeping a vegetable garden and small livestock for limited family consumption.
- 4) Second (third) job, as a rule in budget sector.
- 5) Relying on help from pensioner parents or Relying on assistance from grown-up children.

¹² See also section 3.1.

6) Flat renting (urban area).

7) Good marriage.

Women. Negative strategies:

8) Taking such jobs, women agree to receive wages in black cash without any documentary record of their employment. If they start their own business (“shuttle” trading or retailing), they also try to avoid getting registered and paying taxes.

9) Finding temporary extra sources of income, most of which are low-level unsuitable jobs, illegal businesses of unsafe jobs.

10) Prostitution and crime.

Women. Specific strategies, related to particular problems (most frequently found):

To compensate for *a laid-off spouse*, women

11) Take full care of children themselves or with their mother supporting.

12) Get extra jobs without regard for such things as skills, quality or safety but with regard for flexible time or higher level of earnings.

13) Support their husbands or former husbands unable to earn money.

To compensate for *partial employment*, women

14) Attempt to find work through friends (employment services and newspaper ads are considered absolutely ineffective, except for the English-language ads of foreign companies, which most of the respondents cannot not read).

15) Go to advanced training or retraining courses (although this is also a rather ineffective job-hunting strategy since all employers want hands-on experience).

16) Take another part-time job.

17) Start illegal small business of their own (e.g., retailing).

18) Be housewife after full job loss.

To compensate for *insufficient income*, women

19) Hold several jobs (as a rule in budget sector).

20) Find work in private sector.

21) Try to start own business (“shuttle”, network marketing, cooking, gathering, trading of food products from own plot, trading of natural products from factory (when they get salaries in natural form)).

22) Borrow (including products in countryside shops).

23) Resort to assistance from relatives (children, parents).

In Dagestan communal mutual assistance is regular practice, with one large cash “fund” being kept for common use as people live in huge families and intermarry. Urban residents also rely on help from rural relatives.

24) Switch to subsistence economy (self-grown food). Even urban residents resort to this strategy and grow their own vegetables at their dachas.

25) Economizing, depleting their diets, invent new recipes (such as “forest herbs with milk” for life support and “caviar for the pensioners” – grit soaked in herring brine).

In case of *a sick family member*, women

26) Rely on folk remedies.

Negative strategies (strategies 8, 9, 10) are spread mostly in urban focus groups. Starting a formal private business of their own (strategy 2) came mostly from the private sector groups (FPS) from Moscow and Novgorod regions, while finding well-paying jobs in the formal private sector (strategy 1) was the most popular strategy among FPS groups from Daghestan and Yakutia, and among single mothers (FLP) and mixed female groups (F) from various regions. Non-employed women (FNE) believe in the third (7) strategy, a good marriage. All three neutral strategies (strategies 3, 4, 5, 6) are employed by all focus groups, with the difference among receiving help from parents or children – the former is obviously used by younger generations, the latter by the elder ones (FP).

Respondents of individual interviews realise the same strategies. According to Table 7, most of female strategies are based on intra-household economy (saving even on quality of food) and on assistance from relatives. Only Cases 4, 5, 6, 13, 15 reflect the choice of active coping strategies, and all of them but one are urban. Having a garden or land cannot change this picture of disadvantaged socio-economic conditions of rural areas due to harsh climate and poor quality of any scarce individual equipment possessed by people.

Table 7. Typical coping strategies derived from the case studies

Cases	<i>1</i> <i>M¹³, urban</i>	<i>2</i> <i>M, rural</i>	<i>3</i> <i>M, rural</i>	<i>4</i> <i>N, urban</i>	<i>5</i> <i>N, urban</i>	<i>6</i> <i>N, rural</i>	<i>7</i> <i>N, rural</i>	<i>8</i> <i>N, rural</i>
Strategies	Changing Of many work places, Economizing	Garden, children’s Assistance, economizing	Husband and his relatives’ assistance, economizing	Personal business (fitness center)	Personal business and political activities	Personal business (large farm)	Migration, economizing	Husband and his relatives’ assistance
Cases	<i>9</i> <i>D, urban</i>	<i>10</i> <i>D, urban</i>	<i>11</i> <i>D, rural</i>	<i>12</i> <i>D, rural</i>	<i>13</i> <i>Y, urban</i>	<i>14</i> <i>Y, urban</i>	<i>15</i> <i>Y, rural</i>	<i>16</i> <i>Y, rural</i>
Strategies	Work and relatives’ assistance, Economizing	Parent’s assistance, Economizing	Large family, economizing	Large family, economizing	Additional employment, potential migrant	Work and parent’s assistance, Economizing	Personal small business	Large family, Economizing

More detailed statement of results of interviews and opinions of individual respondents are submitted in brief reports for each interview (see Annex 4).

Men. Coping strategies.

¹³ *M – Moscow region, N – Novgorod region, D – Daghestan region, Y – Yakutia region.*

We noted a few times before, that most of women's coping strategies are widely used by men (for example, strategies No.1,2,3,4,5,6,10¹⁴,14,16,17,20,21,22,24).

In addition, it was possible to reveal some specific strategies for men in rural areas, such as hunting, fishing, forest berries gathering, migration, seasonal temporary work, including building and repairing summer houses (dachas) for people from the nearby towns.

More, men more often than women are trying to upgrade their skills or learning a new profession.

3.6. Recommendations from the respondents

People **rely only on themselves** in tackling their problems ("No one will help us in any way any time soon"), but stress that many problems cannot be resolved without a **government intervention**. Most of the respondents usually hesitate to offer recommendations, especially concrete ones, and point to the government.

The more frequently voiced general wishes, recommendations and pieces of advice are as follows:

People talk a lot about **thievery in the government** and say that officials only think about themselves, not about the people; they wish the government members and Duma deputies try to live on ordinary people's incomes in their homes; respondents most frequently quote the wishes of **mitigation of the drastic income differentiation, increase of pensions, wages and child allowances**, which should be paid in a timely manner. People want to see **national economic recovery**, growth of industrial output and production of domestic goods. They demand **job security**, new jobs in rural areas, stability of prices for staple goods and utilities/services, stabilization of the situation in the country. Businesswomen want support for small business and lowering of taxes. Many people are concerned about ineffective legislation and demand improvement of the legislative framework, increased legal awareness of the population, better enforcement mechanisms.

Along with that, there were several individual specific recommendations given by the respondents, including the following:

- Nationalization and monopolization of wine and vodka production and power generation.
- Rehabilitation centers for women and "help" phone lines.
- Less advertising on TV.
- Censorship of TV for pornography and violence.
- Priority in employment for indigenous ethnic groups (Russians in Moscow, Yakuts in Yakutsk, etc.).

¹⁴ Male crime strategy develop in the following forms: theft (including summer plot products), robbery, "racket", control of regional business by criminal group, ordered murder (by killer). In Daghestan also witness kidnapping as "business".

- Legislation on property rights and the individual's right to protection.
- Free of charge art and sports additional classes for children.
- Subsidies for baby food and goods for children.
- Fair differentiation of pensions (versus present-day egalitarian approach).
- Uniform land tax instead of farming taxation.
- Government reporting in the press on the application of the taxes we pay.

Let us propose you one voice: *“Raise people's salary, abate farmer's taxes, the government should be less corrupt, provide women with health-care benefits, disqualify doctors that commit grave errors, Introduce a subject in schools, that will help children understand what their rights are. Later, it should be studied in more depth, so that you, for example, a future mother, know, what your rights are. Then by the time you get married, you would know, what awaits you in future, when you have three children or so. Prohibit import of low quality goods (Russia is stuffed with these gammons, while our farmers are being hacked. Can it really be true, that we cannot produce such things ourselves? Take 'Krasny Oktiabr and Bolshevik's sweets! We learnt how to do it. Import of low quality goods needs to be banned; consequently, our producers will spring up. It is profitable for people to buy domestic goods. The businessmen will learn, because they will be liable for the quality of their products. Also, when you buy foreign goods, your money disappears somewhere. When you buy domestic goods, it stays here).* Only the government can encourage farming and domestic production. By doing this, it will increase the amount of money in circulation; thus it will help a family solve its problems (case 3).

The rank of respondent's recommendation see below in Box 1.

BOX 1. Rank of respondents' recommendations (in the order of decreasing frequency)

1. Reduction of income differentiation.
2. Raising pensions, wages and child benefits.
3. Wages, pensions and benefits should be paid in a timely manner.
4. National economic recovery, growth of industrial output and domestic goods production.
 5. Job security.
 6. New jobs in rural areas.
7. Stability or reduction of prices for staple goods and utilities/ services.
 8. Stabilization of the situation in the country.
 9. Tightening of the legislative framework.
10. Nationalization and monopolization of wine and vodka production and power generation.
 11. Rehabilitation centers for women and “help” phone lines.
 12. Less advertising on TV, censorship of TV for pornography and violence.
13. Free interest groups for children, subsidies for baby food and goods for children.
 14. Lower taxes, support for small business.
15. Priority in employment for indigenous ethnic groups (Russians in Moscow, Yakuts in Yakutsk, etc.).
 16. Legislation on property rights and the individual's right for protection.
 17. Fair differentiation of pensions (versus present-day egalitarian approach).
 18. Uniform land tax instead of taxation of farming.
 19. A government report in the press on the application of the taxes we pay.
 20. Increase of the role of local administration.
 21. Strengthening women's role in politics.
 22. Flexible-time work

Concluding remarks

In conclusion we would like to outline the main results of our study.

1. The selected *method* such as discussions at focus group meetings and the construction of typical life histories provided to the purpose of the study that is to assess the range of gender issues that have emerged since the beginning of reforms in Russia, to demonstrate their economic, legal, social, and cultural dimensions, and to study specific factors (socio-economic, demographic, regional) influencing people's adaptation to changes, to draw a full-scale picture of gender strategies in transition.

2. The answers of the respondents in typical *life histories* are close to results and conclusions of the analysis carried out for *focus groups* in the regions.

3. The *more significant differences* are put up between rural and urban areas more than between regions, and between different age respondent than between male and female respondents.

4. People *in rural areas* are mostly concerned about *the lack of basic conveniences* in addition to scarce *job vacancies, medical and educational services*. The most obvious negative differences between urban and rural areas in Russia were connected with *the role of a housewife in the society, street and domestic violence, ignorance of contraception* even among the younger generations, narrowing *employment opportunities*. However, there are *additional coping strategies* in rural areas, as families are able to grow their own food on the subsidiary plots in their possession (vegetable gardens, chickens, etc.).

5. The hallmarks of our times are instability, lack of protection, insecurity, problems with finding stable jobs and stable earnings, and fatigue. As for *the pluses*, people note the newly acquired free speech, free travel, and opportunities to hold more than one job and to receive more than one education, and also to buy flashy and beautiful goods. There have undoubtedly emerged new opportunities for women (as well as for men) in both business and politics. There are far more chances for self-fulfillment, but the woman or man has to overcome far more barriers that were unknown in the old days (one has to show initiative, be industrious, dynamic and mobile and be able to sell oneself). Age is becoming a serious factor: those in the 25-35 years age group have it easier while others find the going harder.

6. Women heading single-parent families stressed as a plus the changing status of single mothers. Women lone mother status has improved because, firstly, the number of them increase year by year, secondly, our current family and labor policies have some special benefits and privileges for one-parent families, third, new possibilities to have high payment work give more and more chances for lone mother to improve her status and incomes.

7. A low level of the basic incomes (salary, pension, allowance), which define necessity to search additional sources of the incomes. Money and wellbeing are the most wide-spread respondents' wishes. Secure stable jobs and decent wages were among the wishes of many female and male respondents. The

more well-to-do respondents ask for clothes and furniture, they would like to travel for leisure, to see relatives.

8. Most respondents stressed that their living conditions had slumped, especially after the August 1998 crisis. We could say that if we held our research before the August 1998 crisis we had could get more optimistic results and estimations of present situation in comparison with Soviet period.

9. Many male and female respondents say that *women are more adaptive to changes in the labor market*: unlike men, women are rather flexible and can find jobs faster. As a rule, however, these jobs do not correspond to professional and educational status of women, so that they mean a sacrifice of knowledge and skills for survival. We observed a higher level of adaptation and viability among intelligent/educated women than among equally intelligent men. However, a half of both female and male respondents argue that life has become harder for women, especially for single mothers or women who have to support their alcoholic husbands. Aggravating employment problems, especially for men in rural areas, make the respondents to focus their recommendations mainly on job security and job creation as the first priorities.

10. Quite a few women are unable to find jobs (it is generally believed that labor exchanges are absolutely useless and inefficient): no permanent jobs are available, women cannot find work according to their training (take low-skilled jobs), or hold several jobs simultaneously (each of them insecure). That is why employment prospects are a sore problem for many women. Prevalent discrimination in employment is age-related (people over 35 are virtually excluded from employment) rather than sex-related. Sexual harassment is also common, especially in cities. Again, women have nowhere to go with their complaints, and no one could recall any offending boss to have been punished.

11. Household chores are mostly women's responsibility. More well-to-do families seldom have a common budget: husbands try to control their wives' expenses while hiding their own. Most women try to save on the amount and quality of food and on their clothes. Since perestroika many women have stopped to use the services (laundries, etc.) as "unaffordable," and many families do not go anyway on holiday as they have neither time nor money for that.

12. Dissatisfaction with quality of free medical service according to obligatory medical insurance, wide-spread official and unofficial payment for medical service and doctor's consultations, practice of purchasing of medicines and bandaging materials for patient's own account (in spite on guarantee of free medical service). Virtually all the gynecological services (including anaesthetic, drugs, gloves, other materials and examination itself) have a price tag as well. Soaring prices for contraceptives have forced women to abandon the pill.

13. The high occurrence of violence, especially household violence, against women is shocking: when probed, virtually every other woman acknowledged manifestations of violence towards her in the family. However, in cases of both

street violence and especially household violence women do not go to the proper authorities; they do not believe in the courts of law or any other help.

14. Indifference to politics, negative attitude to the majority of parties and their leaders; absence of political figures, the people could connect an opportunity of changes to best with¹⁵. Most of the women surveyed have not heard anything about non-governmental women's organizations; they cannot name any of them and do not believe in their efficiency, although they are willing to try to approach them for help (though not get involved in any of them).

15. Misunderstanding of essence and disbelief in results of economic reforms and *privatization* which has been carried out in interests of small group of people at the expense of the majority of the population. Virtually no one gained anything from privatization. At present privatization of housing benefits only those who inherits or sells their flats. The problem is not men having taken property (f.e., such as vouchers) away from women, but the fact that neither men nor women in Russia have gained any real property during the perestroika period. Only a very small group of people in Russia (nobody from our respondents) have got the property from privatization of enterprises (this group mainly consists of men due to social links and higher social status in former soviet hierarchy). Women (grandmothers) have took participation in privatization of flats.

16. Farming is underdeveloped in rural area, and there are a host of obstacles to its growth. It is held back not so much by the lack of funds, credit or land as by *the absence of social links, knowledge and legal, economic and agricultural education* required to overcome the entrenched practice of shoddy management and the omnipotence of the local authorities, to keep away envious neighbors and to organize essentially new infrastructures and economic management patterns. Women are worse off because the lack of social links as a heritage of Soviet period.

17. As far as concerns *coping strategies* we would like to pay your attention that most of women's coping strategies are adopted by men such as formal private sector employment; private business (legal and non-legal); holding several jobs; several temporary or part-time jobs; crime. Like women men could have illegal small business of their own; switching to subsistence economy and grow their own vegetables at their dachas, find jobs without regard for such things as skills, quality or safety. However this strategies less spread among men than among women. There are also some specific rural male strategies such as hunting, fishing, forest berries gathering. Among spreading strategies we could distinguish male labor migration. As a rule this migration has season character.

18. The respondents *more willingly talked about their problems than about intentions to solve them by their own means*. This can be partially explained by

¹⁵ People talk a lot about *thievery in the government* and say that officials only think about themselves, not about people; respondents wish that the government members and Duma deputies try to survive on the ordinary people's incomes and in their houses.

the socio-cultural traditions in Russia, which do not appreciate “excessively active” and outstanding people. It should be noticed that well-being and sufficient income were the burning issues for most of the respondents. In urban areas it is a bit less of an issue due to availability of more options to solve it. The problem of getting a stable job ranks the second. More than a third of the rural respondents noted the lack of basic conveniences as the most pressing problem that existed in the Soviet times but aggravated seriously since then as previously underdeveloped infrastructure has not been maintained and fell apart. Problems of social constraints such as lack of education for children, poor medical services worry the majority. Attitude to the Soviet past came up contradictory: nobody wants to return to the Soviet time, but many people want to get back Soviet social guarantees.

19. Nevertheless most of our respondents were united by the optimistic attitude to life, to changes and problems, the active position in struggle for survival, high working capacity, devotion to family, high responsibility for the children (even if children themselves are adults having their own families), desire to give children good education, belief in their own forces, antipathy to official politics and complete disbelief in the authorities ability and intention to serve ordinary people, unwillingness to return to the past combined with the desire to restore some features of the past (stability, social guarantees, moderate transport tariffs allowing to leave their regions in the summer for vacation or for relatives visiting, absence of ethnic tensions etc.).

20. As far as concerns the most frequent recommendation most respondents call for mitigating the stark income differentiation and for raising pensions, wages and child benefits, which should be paid in a timely manner. They want national economic recovery, growth of industrial output and domestic goods production. They demand job security, new jobs in the countryside, halt in price rise for staple goods and communal services, and also the stabilization of the situation in the country. Businesswomen want support for small business and lower taxes. Many people are concerned over unenforceable legislation and demand the tightening of the legislative framework.

Annexes:

Annex 1. Basic socio-demographic indicators by regions. Tables A1 – A5.

Annex 2. Bibliography.

Annex 3. List of individual case studies.

Annex 1. Basic socio-demographic indicators by regions. Tables A1 – A5¹⁶

Demographic situation and trends in Russia

and basic socio-demographic peculiarities of studied regions in 90-s:

Russian population was declining from 1992 and was 147,1 mln. as of 1.01.1999 (148,7 mln. as of 1.01.1992). The share of females in population is about 53% last 10 years and now number of women exceeded more than 9 mln. males number. The Russian Federation comprises 89 administrative and territorial units called regions in following text and tables.

Negative demographic changes sharpened extremely in Russia in early 1990th. In 1990 the crude births rate (the number of births per 1000 persons) was equal to 13.4, in 1997 it declined to 8.6, in 1998 it was 8,8 promile. In 1997 the total amount of births was 1260 ths., the lowest level in modern russian history: 1987 - 2500 ths. births, 1990 - 1989 ths. births, in 1998 - 1283 ths. births. The total fertility rate (TFR) declined from 2.194 in 1986-87 to 1.887 in 1990 and to 1.230 in 1997. There is reduction of not only first-born children, but also second and third born children. The share of first-born children increases. Birth giving up becomes a common phenomenon and a measure to support the falling down living standard. The number and the share of children, who had born by non-married mothers, grew from 14.6% in 1990 to 27.0% in 1998. In 1987-97 the number of births decreased 49.6%. The number of the second born children reduced from 996 ths. to 370 ths. (-63%), the number of the third born children reduced from 310 ths. to 99 ths. (-68%), fourth and latest children - from 148 ths. to 54 ths. (-64%).

In this period the amount of first born children reduced from 1045 ths. to 737 ths. (-29%). It was determined by the correspondent decrease of amount marriages from 1443 ths. to 928 ths. (-36%).

According to the microcensus data in the period 1989-94 there is a remarkable fertility decline. The share of women, who had born a child, increased from 27.2% to 29.7%, the share of women, who had born 3 and more children, reduced from 22.4% to 18.3% . Since 1989 the share of women in the age 20-29, who had born no child, grew from 30% to 35%.

The main measure of family planning remains abortion. According to the VCIOM-interrogation (April, 1994), 13% respondents intended to keep a child in the case of unexpected pregnancy, 40% intended to make an abortion, 47% had no answer.

According to official statistics the number of abortions (per 1000 women) in the age 15-49 has declined from 114 in 1990 to 65 in 1997, but the abortions amount exceeded more than twofold the births number (more 200 abortions per 100 births in 90th).

Fertility decline is accompanied by the death rate growth (deaths amount per 1000 persons). It was equal to 11.2 in 1990, 15.7 in 1994 and 13,6 in 1998. This situation led to stable natural population decline in Russia from November 1991. In 1992 natural diminution rate per 1000 persons was (-1.5), in 1998 - (-4.8). Average life expectancy reduced from 69,9 in 1988 to 64,0 years in 1994 and was 66,6 years in 1997, for male population - from 64,8 in 1988 to 57,6 year in 1994 and was 60,8 in 1997. Deterioration of nutrition and environment situation, typhoid fever and diphtheria incidents growth, shortage and high prices for medicines create the basis for mortality increase, caused by infections, poisonings, injuries growth. There is a growing number of murders, suicides, victims of military conflicts in regions with ethnical controversies. The number of deaths was 1569 ths. in 1988, 2301 ths. in 1994, 2092 ths. in

¹⁶ Annex 1 was prepared together with Dr. V.V.Elisarov.

1996 and 1989 ths. in 1998.. Infant mortality rose from 17.4 per 1000 births in 1990 to 19.9 in 1993 and was equal to 18.7 in 1994, 17.4 in 1996 and 16.5 in 1998.

Fertility decline began from 1988. From 1990-92 it accompanied by marriage decline. In 1990 the number of marriages was 1320 ths., in 1997 - 928 ths., in 1998 - 849 ths. Marriage reduction is caused by the factor, that the cohort of 20-25-years persons is born in the years of low fertility (the end of 1960-s - the beginning of 1970-s). In Russia marriage rate (per 1000 persons) reduced from 8.9 in 1990 to 7.1 in 1992 and to 5.8 in 1998 (the lowest level).

The marriage reduction accompanied by the divorce growth. The number of divorces was 560 ths. (3.7 per 1000 persons) in 1990, more than 680 ths. (4.6 per 1000 persons) in 1994, but 562 ths. (3.8 persons per 1000 persons) in 1996.

In the few last years the ratio of the legal divorces number to the legal marriages number increased from 424 per 1000 marriages in 1990, to 649 in 1996 and was 591 in 1998. It shows the explicit tendency to family instability in transition period.

Childlessness and small families have been already spread in Russia. As for future decline in fertility, it is likely to go on due to economic and political instability. Sample survey carried on by MSU Population Centre in 1991 has shown weakening in childbearing intentions since the first year of transformation: surveyed Moscow families with one child have expressed their desire to have 136 children per 100 families.

Various data sources indicate changes in women's reproductive plans. According to 1994 microcensus, 24% childless women rejected childbearing, 41% assumed having one child, 31% - two children, 3.4% - three children. In case these intentions come into life, it would be 1,12 child per woman. 76% female respondents with 1 child, 96% respondents with two children intended to complete childbearing period.

Economy crisis also facilitates postponement of weddings, influencing marital pattern, changing it from early "dependent" marriage to a "western" pattern (wedding is postponed until partners achieve financial independence).

Social support measures are not able to keep up with the drop in real incomes and deterioration in childbearing conditions as well as to improve self-preserving behavior.

After the USSR disintegration, refugees and migrants flows into Russia, mostly from warfare regions, became substantive factors of population dynamics, preventing from population natural decline in Russia (4,9 millions during 1992-98). Migratory inflow indemnifies about 50% of population decline.

But net migration was 227 ths. in 1991, increased to 841 ths. in 1994 and reduced to 300 ths. in 1998. Migrants' families use to endure problems of adaptation to new abode and work, getting allowances, etc. Migrants from urban zone are unlikely to work in rural zone.

Russian regions are characterized with remaining considerable differentiation of demographic date between autonomous national territories and "Russian" regions. Than we choused 4 regions for our research (see Tables A1-A5).

Table A1. Population Size and Composition (January 1998)¹⁷

Indicators	Regions					
	Russia	Novgorod region (oblast)	The City of Moscow	Moscow Region (oblast)	Republic of Daghestan	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

¹⁷ Tables A1-A5 show situation in chosen regions direct before our study.

Population Size (in 1000)	147105	738	8629	6564	2095	1003
Territory (1000 sq.km.)	17075,4	55,3		47,0	50,3	3103,2
Population Density (persons per 1 sq.km.)	8,6	13,3		320,8	41,2	0,3
Proportion of urban population (%)	73,1	71,2	100,0	79,7	41,5	64,3
Population, by main age groups (%):						
0-15	21,4	19,8	17,7	17,9	33,5	28,9
16-59 of male and 16-54 of female	57,8	56,2	58,2	58,3	53,1	61,2
60 and older male and 55 and older female (pensioner's age)	20,8	24,0	24,1	23,8	13,4	9,9
Number of males per 1000 females: (*)						
Total population	849	814		821	920	937
Urban population	839	803	839	819	894	931
Rural population	877	837		830	939	949
Average size of family (**) (persons)	3,2	3,0	3,1	3,1	4,3	3,6
Number of persons who live in the place of birth, per 1000 persons: (*)						
Total population	580	541		564	802	522
Urban population	551	518	656	562	658	408
Rural population	658	590		571	911	721

Data sources:

The Demographic yearbook of Russia.1998.

Statistical handbook. M.,1998;

Women in the Russian Federation. M., 1994.

(*)Data of microcensus 1994. (**)Data of census 1989.

Table A2. Reproduction of the population (1998)

Indicators	Regions					
	Russia	Novgorod Region (oblast)	The City of Moscow	Moscow Region (oblast)	Republic of Daghestan	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Births	1283292	5792	67491	45790	41164	13640
Deaths	1988744	12875	125933	100128	15793	8856
Of them infant deaths (under 1 year)	21097	97	873	692	862	269
Natural increase (decrease)	-705452	-7083	-58442	-54338	+25371	+4784
Marriages	848691	3741	66370	45122	12369	5736
Divorces	501654	2063	43110	28913	2491	3847
Arrivals <i>-total</i>	3095500	18386	11665	113761	43972	23879
Departures <i>-total</i>	2795300	14312	50972	75977	43484	43545
Net migration	300200	4074	60693	37784	488	-19666
<i>Per 1000 population :</i>						
Births	8,8	7,9	7,8	7,0	19,5	13,7
Deaths	13,6	17,5	14,6	15,3	7,5	8,9
Infant mortality (under 1 year)	16,5	16,9	12,9	15,2	20,3	19,7
Natural increase (decrease)	-4,8	-9,6	-6,7	-8,3	+12,1	+4,7
Marriages	5,8	5,1	7,7	6,9	5,9	5,8
Divorces	3,4	2,8	5,0	4,4	1,2	3,9
Net migration	2,0	5,5	7,0	5,7	0,2	19,5
Divorces per 1000 marriages	591	552	650	641	201	671
Expectancy of life (1997) - years						
Total population						
Males	60,75	58,34		61,02	65,43	59,21
Females	72,49	72,56		73,02	75,03	70,79
Urban Population						
Males	61,43	60,31	62,77	61,57	66,72	58,94
Females	73,10	72,52	73,43	73,20	76,19	71,14
Rural Population						
Males	58,94	54,16		58,98	64,67	59,57
Females	72,29	72,95		72,48	74,37	69,92

Data sources:

The Demographic yearbook of Russia.1998.

Statistical handbook. M.,1998;

Estestvennoe dvijenie naseleniya Rossiyskoy Federacii za 1998 god.

Stat. byulleten'.M., 1999.

Table A3. Fertility indicators (1997)

Indicators	Regions					
	Russia	Novgorod region (oblast)	The City of Moscow	Moscow Region (oblast)	Republic of Daghestan	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total fertility rate:						
<i>Total population</i>	1,230	1,133		0,999	2,333	1,798
<i>Urban population</i>	1,118	1,083	1,174	0,991	1,746	1,425
<i>Rural population</i>	1,586	1,288		1.032	2,778	2,651
Age-specific births rate:						
15-19	36,2	32,1	22,3	30,6	31,4	44,4
20-24	99,0	95,7	84,6	82,0	168,8	123,3
25-29	66,2	59,8	75,6	51,4	140,6	99,5
30-34	31,5	28,0	36,4	25,7	82,2	57,5
35-39	10,8	9,1	13,1	8,3	35,4	28,2
40-44	2,2	1,8	2,6	1,7	7,4	6,4
45-49	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,7	0,3
15-49	32,8	26,0	29,4	25,4	75,2	48,5
Live births by order of births (%)						
<i>Total, of which:</i>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
<i>1st</i>	58,5	60,7	65,4	64,8	35,8	44,7
<i>2nd</i>	29,4	27,4	28,2	28,7	32,5	30,0
<i>3rd</i>	7,8	6,7	4,8	4,7	19,4	14,4
<i>4th and more</i>	4,3	5,2	1,6	1,8	12,3	10,9
Live births by unmarried women (%):						
1997	25,3	28,1	23,9	22,4	19,6	28,1
1998	27,0	30,7	25,0	23,4	22,0	31,1
Number of children per 1000 females 18 years and older: (*)						
<i>1 child</i>	297	312	440	370	164	235
<i>2 children</i>	354	366	263	354	206	313
<i>3 children +</i>	183	173	46	102	403	285
<i>no children</i>	166	149	251	174	227	167

Data sources:

The Demographic yearbook of Russia.1998.

Statistical handbook. M.,1998;

(*) Data of microcensus 1994.

Table A4. Social indicators (1998)

Indicators	Regions					
	Russia	Novgorod region (oblast)	The City of Moscow	Moscow Region (oblast)	Republic of Daghestan	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Average wage (rubles) Dec. 1998	1515,9	1152,4	2660,2	1547,6	698,5	3813,8
Living standard (subsistence minimum) (rubles) Dec. 1998	717	651	973	638	504	1400
Average wage in % to living standard	188,1	160,1	239,0	216,8	122,3	250,9
Share of population with income less than living standard (%) Dec.1998						
Total population (***)	39,8	40,1	17,8	39,6	61,4	45,0
<i>of them.: females in ages:</i>						
16-19	46,3	39,3	42,2	49,1	59,6	50,2
20-34	42,7	48,8	11,9	42,2	62,8	44,2
35-44	40,7	42,4	15,3	45,3	66,1	46,6
45-54	31,9	27,7	15,0	29,4	48,9	27,5
Provision of population with residential houses (<i>square meters per person</i>)	17,4	19,8	19,2	17,7	15,6	15,2
Number of physicians <i>per 10,000 population</i>	45,2	39,4	75,3	38,5	36,4	46,5
Number of hospital beds (per 10,000 population)	129,4	139,4	125,2	123,1	95,5	188,5
Number of phones per 100 families						
<i>Urban population</i>	41,5	32,6	98,6	41,6	29,5	39,5
<i>Rural population</i>	17,2	16,0		15,1	11,8	30,4
Share of women in employed population (%)	51	52	56	52	51	49

Data sources: Social'no - ekonomicheskoe polozhenie Rossii. 1-1999 г. М.: Goskomstat RF, 1999; Sem'ya v Rossiyskoy Federacii. М., 1994.
 (***) Data of microcensus of household's budgets 1998.

Table A5. Unemployment indicators (1998-1999)

Indicators	Regions					
	Russia	Novgorod Region (oblast)	The City of Moscow	Moscow region (oblast)	Republic of Daghestan	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Number of unemployed (thousands of population)						
01.01.98	1998,7	12,9	37,5	77,9	54,6	10,2
01.01.99	1929,0	12,0	52,5	73,9	41,1	12,7
Female/male share of unemployed 01.01.99 (%)						
Male	36,1	37,8	32,1	34,9	38,1	39,5
Female	63,9	62,2	67,9	65,1	61,9	60,5
Ratio of unemployment [unemployed population to economically active population], (%)						
01.01.98	2,7	3,5	0,7	2,8	6,6	1,8
01.01.99	2,3	3,3	1,0	2,7	4,9	2,3
Unemployment pressure [unemployed population per job vacancy], (persons)						
01.01.98	6,0	28,2	0,7	3,9	67,1	8,6
01.01.99	6,6	26,3	0,9	5,0	52,7	10,3
Length of unemployment (months)						
Male						
01.01.98	6,9	6,6	6,0	7,1	10,7	6,4
01.01.99	6,2	6,6	4,7	6,0	11,3	7,0
Female						
01.01.98	7,5	7,6	6,4	7,5	10,9	6,6
01.01.99	6,8	7,3	5,0	6,6	10,8	6,9

Data sources:

Monitoring registriruemyoy bezrobotitsy. Vyp.2. M., 1999.
(Monitoring of the official unemployment).

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¹⁸ This bibliography also was formed in the period of our research making (April-October 1999).

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Annex 3. List of individual case studies

Case 1. The city of Moscow. Tamara, 53 years old, married for the third time. 3 children (and one child died). Nationality – Russian. Low level of education, changed many jobs and is currently (interview time) looking for a permanent job while working temporary as a charwoman.

Case 2. Moscow oblast, village Belyaev. Evdokiya, 57 years old, widowed, 2 children. Ethnicity – Mordovian. Low level of education, currently (interview time) is a pensioner, living alone.

Case 3. Moscow oblast, village Belyaev. Irina, 25 years old, married, 3 children. Nationality – Russian. Secondary education, currently (interview time) she is a housewife.

Case 4. The city of Novgorod the Great. Elena, 27 years old, married no children. Nationality – Russian. Higher education, now (interview time) she runs a fitness center of her own.

Case 5. The city of Novgorod the Great. Olga, 46 years old, married, 5 children. Nationality – Russian. Higher education; now (interview time) she runs a cafe called “Blinok” (a pancake) and a bar; in addition she leads a Novgorod Association of Businesswomen.

Case 6. Novgorod oblast, village Lesnaya. Galina, 45 years old, married, one child and one grand child. Nationality – Russian. Vocational education, in the past she was a director of a collective farm, now (interview time) she runs a farm of her own.

Case 7. Novgorod oblast, village Lesnaya. Mira, 60 years old, married, one child and 3 grand children. Nationality – Russian. Vocational education, worked and lived in the Far East (Sakhalin) and recently migrated from there, after retirement. Now (interview time) she lives alone.

Case 8. Novgorod oblast, village Priluki. Larisa, 29 years old, married, 2 children. Nationality – Russian. Secondary education, now (interview time) she is a director of the village club.

Case 9. Makhachkala, the capital of Daghestan Republic. Jaminat, a poetess, 44 years old, invalid. Ethnicity – Kumyk. Single, no children, but now (interview time) she lives with an adopted daughter.

Case 10. Makhachkala, the capital of Daghestan Republic. A woman-editor, 40 years old, single, no children, now (interview time) she lives with her parents.

Case 11. Daghestan, village Rutul. Nabisat, 69 years old, married, 3 children (and one child died). Ethnicity - Rutul. She is a daughter of a repressed man. She is the oldest woman of large family (interview time).

Case 12. Daghestan, village Tarki. A 60-year old widow with 5 children. Ethnicity - Kumyk. Now (interview time) she lives with children.

Case 13. The city of Yakutsk. Raisa, 53 years old, married, 2 children. Nationality – Russian. She has retired, but still has 4 part-time jobs to supplement her pension (interview time). Intends to migrate from the North. Secondary education.

Case 14. The city of Yakutsk. Naryjana, 28 years old, divorced, 1child. She lives with her father and stepmother, works in a psychological support service for youth (interview time). Higher education. Ethnicity – Sakha (Yakut).

Case 15. Yakutia, village Amga. Ksenia, 54 years old, widow, 3 children. Ethnicity – Sakha (Yakut). Secondary education. Now (interview time) she is a quasi-businesswoman (small market).

Case 16. Yakutia, village Amga. Ekaterina, 48 years old, married, 5 children. Ethnicity – Sakha (Yakut). Low level of education, currently (interview time) she is a pensioner.