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The Economic Empowerment of Women in Russia

A study of the changing position of women in Russian society since the collapse of the Soviet Union

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FOREWORD

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"In order to awaken the people, it is the women who have to awaken. Once she is on move, the family moves, the village moves, the nation also moves". (Pushpa K.S., December 2019)

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INTRODUCTION

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development economic and narratives which are advocated by the United Nations puts a strong emphasis on women's empowerment, as a way to eradicate poverty and increase the global economy (United Nations, 2015). In 2015, 193 UN member countries committed formally to achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030, which are the blueprint to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all. They address the global challenges that the world is facing today such as climate change, environmental degradation, and the advancement of peace and justice throughout the world (United Nations, 2020).

By adopting the SDGs, these countries have also committed to promote gender equality and to empower all women and girls. This is the goal of SDG 5, which aims to end all forms of discrimination and violence, where under trafficking of girls and sexual exploitation. Additionally, its aim is to increase the recognition of the value of unpaid care and domestic work and to ensure the effective participation of women and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life. Finally, UN country members have thus taken a pledge to ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health services and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action (United Nations Liberia, 2020).

Still, on average 9 out of 10 countries fail to achieve gender parity. Globally, the average distance completed to parity is at 68.6 %. The often-cited best case example is Iceland, which managed to close more than 87 % of its overall gender gap (World Economic Forum, 2020). The worst performing country is Yemen, which holds the 153rd place in the ranking, having bridged 49.4 % of its overall gender gap (World Economic Forum, 2020). Belgium ranks 27 and has bridged 75 % of its overall gender gap. It is the economic participation and opportunity sector that lowers Belgium' ranking, holding the 54th position. At the current rate of progress, the World Economic Forum (WEF) announced that it would take another 217 years to close the overall gender gap in female labor force participation and equal opportunities. This is all the more alarming since $28 trillion could be added to the global economy by 2025 if the gender gap was bridged by then. This equates to 26 % added to the global gross domestic

product (Colby L., September 2015).

The founding principles of the Constitution of the Russian Federation include human rights, equality, and freedom for everyone, as stated in Article 19 '*Man and women shall enjoy equal rights and freedoms and have equal possibilities to exercise them*' (The Constitution of the Russian Federation, 2001). Currently, the country has achieved gender parity towards health and education (World Economic Forum, 2020). Equality might sound strange in these fields as women outweigh men in terms of life span and university degrees (World Economic Forum, 2020). However, women are underrepresented in senior positions in businesses and in the State Duma (World Economic Forum, 2020), the lower house of Russia's Federal Assembly, which represents the elected legislative body of Russia.

Despite Russians having legislation in favour of gender equality, such as Article 19 states, their constitution also proclaims that women have rights and obligations of being a mother and taking care of kids. Alongside discriminatory gender stereotypes, a discriminatory religion and therefore, a discriminatory economic and political representation, Russian women are facing many barriers to self-enhancement. In the meantime, the birth rates have dropped in the last decades, which makes Russian authorities fear the future of its population (BBC, January 2020). It becomes vital for Russia to bridge the gender gap in order to ensure a sustainable future for the country.

Additionally, as of today, there is a lack of evidence of how effectively these new laws favoring gender equality are implemented. Russia has reported, in 2019, on its progress achieved and obstacles encountered in the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the outcomes of the Twenty-Third Special Session of the General Assembly. Yet, Russians are dubitative toward the unbiasedness of the information provided, as most of the reforms discussed are in the progress of being implemented (Savenko Y., March 2007). Correspondingly, the country is severely struggling with gender policy execution and fails to take on responsibility for gender discrimination. For example, the Russian government encourages women in the report to seek help if they are a victim of domestic violence. However, in January 2017, Russia's domestic violence laws were changed. Some forms of brutality were decriminalized, first by the Duma, then endorsed by President Vladimir Putin. In this regard, this report runs a timely effort to bridge the gap between gender policy and gender inequality in the Russian Federation today.

In Russia, a first attempted transition to gender equality began in the second half of the 19th century due to the general social modernization agenda which was put forward by the Czarist regime. Russia, at the time called the Soviet Union, was one of the first countries in the world where women gained economic and political rights. In fact, in 1917, women gained the right to vote. Throughout the soviet period, women have gained and lost power. For example, after World War II, women outweighed men in number. Consequently, they had to take over men's jobs and gained power. Meanwhile, abortion was prohibited which hampered their freedom. Russian women economic empowerment has thus varied a lot in Russia's history, even until today, where Russia ranks 81 out of 153 countries in the Global Gender Gap Index 2020 rankings (World Economic Forum, 2020). This decrease in gender equality is mainly explained by the patriarchal system that gained in popularity since the collapse of the Soviet Union. A patriarchal system that is influencing gender norms in women and men's minds. As such, women disenchantment towards feminist movements in Russia is increasing, while these are becoming very popular in Europe (Kondakov A., 2012). Therefore, this thesis will represent an analysis of the changing status of Russian women throughout history and especially since the end of the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics.

The method identified for this research is secondary data analysis, such as policy documents, international reports and statistics, and domestic articles. The data search will cover gender inequality in the Russian Federation in terms of economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. The current statistics will be benchmarked with numbers from 1991, the year where the Soviet Union collapsed. The thesis will also be based on an in-depth analysis of a survey about gender parity answered by 120 Russian citizens. Again, the results of the survey will be compared with national policy in favor of gender equality. The dissertation concludes with observations and an overview of personal and local respondents' recommendations about how the Russian Society could bridge the remaining gap toward gender equality.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

1.1. DEFINITION

At the dawn of the 2020s, building fairer and more inclusive economies must be the goal of global, national and industry leaders. To get there, fostering gender parity across education, health, politics and across all forms of economic participation will be critical (World Economic Forum, 2020). Economic empowerment can be defined as the growth of the power of the historically underprivileged to participate in economic activity that benefits both the individuals in question and the broader society (Kabeer N., October 2017). It is seen as a more efficient and cheaper way to support those who would instead stay dependent on the social welfare system. By enabling people to become economically or financially independent, they do not have to rely on welfare payrolls and they are becoming valuable members of society (Fischer W., September 2013).

When defining economic empowerment, we have to take into consideration gender segregation, which means we have to make a distinction between horizontal and vertical discrimination. Horizontal segregation means that either men or women are more represented in a specific field, such as agriculture, services, and industry. It implies that there is an inconsistent representation of men and women in different sectors of the economy (Blackburn R., Jarman J., 1997). Vertical segregation, on the other hand, is the disparity between men and women in career stratification within any given sector of the economy. This means that women, for example, may be less represented in the board of directors or hold less management positions as men do (Blackburn R., Jarman J., 1997). Gender segregation is emphasized by gender norms. For instance, often women will be assigned to work related to education and men will be allocated to work that requires more physical strength. Nevertheless, women and men should work in sectors and positions related to their capabilities, not their gender (MBA Skool, 2020).

Huge progress has been made in the past century in the area of gender equality. Both gender life expectancy at birth has augmented significantly in the developing world. Two-thirds

of all countries have recorded gender equality with primary education enrolments (World Economic Forum, 2020). Additionally, the average age of marriage has risen, and fertility rates have fallen. Consequently, the global labor force has increased, and unemployment rates have diminished (Adsera A., 2004).

Economic empowerment is often linked to women as they represent, globally, a powerless group. Throughout history, they have had low control over their economic aspirations and have often been limited and restricted by their spouses, their religion and by the government (Blumberg R., August 2005). Currently, women represent more than half of the world's poor population, and this is because they encounter many barriers in accessing economic resources and opportunities. Women, who are food producers, natural resource managers, baby and elderly carers, entrepreneurs and employees, do play a key role in the economy but also in working to build community resilience to climate change and disasters (Melo C., 2019).

Finally, we can use two approaches to find out barriers and opportunities for economic disempowerment. On one side, there is the bottom-up approach that defines disadvantaged people, such as women, by 'acting agent and empowerment from within' which seeks to find limitations in the enhancement of self-esteem and self-confidence (Klaveren M., Tijdens T., 2012). Besides, it helps to determine their motivation for action and decision-making power, regarding underprivileged as equally responsible for their empowerment. On the other side, there is the 'power-to' approach that settles the macro and micro external conditions of economic empowerment such as institutional and societal, which can be viewed as enabling factors by initiating institutional dialogue, financial support and policy planning (Klaveren M., Tijdens T., 2012). Working along these two reinforcing approaches will ease the understanding of how the economic empowerment of women has evolved over the years (Syzova O., February 2017).

1.2. WOMEN ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

Although it has increased in importance in recent years, there is no universally accepted definition of women's economic empowerment, due to the significant body of academic literature dedicated to the subject. For the purpose of this dissertation argument, we will define women's economic empowerment using the following definition provided by the OECD:

'*Economic empowerment is the capacity of women and men to participate in, contribute to and benefit from growth processes in ways which recognise the value of their contributions, respect their dignity and make it possible to negotiate a fairer distribution of the benefits of growth. Economic empowerment increases women's access to economic resources and opportunities including jobs, financial services, property and other productive assets, skills development and market information.*' (OECD, April 2011).

Even though women represent a major workforce of the global population, they have always been disproportionately impacted by poverty, discrimination, and exploitation. In fact, they receive lower wages, unsafety, less senior positions, low access to economic assets such as land and loans, and few decision-making responsibilities (Blumberg R., August 2005). Although it has been established that investing in women's economic empowerment is setting a direct path towards gender equality, poverty eradication, and inclusive economic growth (UN WOMEN, 2019), no countries have currently achieved complete gender parity (World Economic Forum, 2020).

From a historical point of view, the term of global gender parity was first established with the United Nations Charter of 1945, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. With regards to gender, these declarations aimed at striving for women's equality and non-discrimination on the basis of sex. The focus was set on women's reproductive roles, access to food, contraception, nutrition, and health care. Women, back then, were only seen as wives and mothers, and rarely as economic actors in their own right (Viljoen F., 2020). Since the 1960s, there has been a slight increase in women's political participation and in the recognition of their labor capacities to meet national development goals. In 1974, there was the first World Conference for Women Mexico, followed by the UN decade for women from 1976 to 1985, and the promotion of the Women in Development (WID) approach (Sorrentino C., 2012). These events addressed reproductive, productive and community politics. Besides, they aimed to improve women's access to and control over factors of production and decision-making. The main goal of this decade was to ensure that development was empowering women and men to greater self-reliance and assertion of their own capabilities.

A new phase was entered in the late 1980s with the development of the Gender and Development (GAD) approach, which stated that 'removing disparities in social, economic, and political balances between women and men as a pre-condition for achieving people-

centered development (Razavi S., February 1995). The idea was to address the practical gender needs of women, promote access to employment and income, and basic services. Thus, this new model aimed at integrating gender awareness and competence in mainstream development. However, in the 1990s, there is evidence that gender approaches are not obviously stated and implemented into the development agenda of international treaties such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The main emphasis is on gender equality but not enough on the importance of women in other development areas, which would ensure women, not only gender equality, but also empowerment, and equity. This is something that Sustainable Development Goals have included (GWA, 2006).

There is no one-size-fits-all strategy to remedy this problem, as women disempowerment varies across countries and across social classes. For example, the global average female labor force participation rate is 50 % but when looking at cross-regional differences, there are about 40 % women participating in the labor force in the Middle East, North Africa, and Central Asia, and almost 66 % in sub-Saharan Africa and Europe (International Monetary Fund, May 2018). Women need support in achieving economic empowerment in developing countries the most. The World Economic Forum has set general priorities such as policies promoting equal opportunities. These policies should cover topics such as investment in education and health, increase access to financial services, and promotion of equal rights for women in all areas. Another priority is to install measures that would endorse women in having a healthy work-life balance, such as offering accessible, high-quality child and elderly care, providing publicly financed parental leave schemes, or even implementing flexible work arrangements (International Monetary Fund, May 2018).

There are many international commitments supporting women's economic empowerment, including the *Beijing Platform for Action* (1995), which represents the Fourth World Conference on Women, covering topics such as Women and Poverty, Education and Training of Women, Women & Health and Violence against Women (UN WOMEN, 2020). Other big international commitments are the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* and International Labour Organizations (ILO). The latter's primary goal is to promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity. As such, ILO Policy on Gender Equality and Mainstreaming analyzes and addresses the specific needs of both women and

men, and targeted interventions to enable women and men to participate in, and benefit equally from, development efforts are put in place (ILO, 2020).

Women's empowerment is a process of personal and social change, taking place over interlinked and mutually reinforcing psychological, political, social and economic domains, and through which women individually and collectively gain power, meaningful choices, and control over their lives (O'Neil T., Valters C., Domingo P., 2014). It is not a linear, uncontested process but instead a journey characterized by negotiation and compromise, and uncertain outcomes (Cornwall A., Edwards J., 2016).

The last decades have seen crucial improvements in gender equality in the labor market worldwide. Those advancements have been realized by accomplishing other SDGs, such as quality education, which represents SDG4. The latter aims at ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all. Access to education has become more gender-balanced recently yet 262 million children and youth aged 6 to 17 were still not receiving school education in 2017 (United Nations, 2020). Despite recent progress, considerable inequalities remain in many countries. In Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia, there are already inequalities for girls at a young age, as there is a sizable gender gap in primary school enrolment (International Monetary Fund, May 2018).

Meanwhile, good health and well-being, which represents the SDG3, is another enhancement of women's economic empowerment. To measure current progress, we have to consider the mortality rates of females and males at all ages, and the reason behind their death, such as violence, alcoholism, or sickness. Health metrics have progressed over the world even if there remain some imbalances such as high maternal deaths (Sustainable Development Goals, 2020). In 2015, approximately 303,000 women around the world died due to difficulties encountered during pregnancy and childbirth (United Nations, 2020). However, in Russia, for example, the life expectancy of men is 66.4 and of women, it is 77.2 (World Health Rankings, 2020).

Even if one of the main reasons behind this considerable gap can be attributed to socio-cultural factors such as Russian's consumption of alcohol and tobacco cigarettes, Russian women live longer and healthier than men. In Belgium, women also live longer, but the gap is smaller as women live, on average, until 73 years and men until 70.2 years (World Economic

Forum, 2020). Additionally, worldwide, women have gained some access to finances and some legal powers. Yet, there is a long path towards achieving political and economic parity. Indeed, since the 1990s, the world has been marked by fundamental reductions of gender inequities in the workplace, but obstacles persist, such as wage gaps, and political and corporate representation. Globally, women labor force participation rates vary considerably, but economies remain fragmented across gender lines (World Economic Forum, 2020).

In numbers, globally, there is still a 31.4 % average gender gap that remains to be closed globally. On average, the largest gender disparity is the Political Empowerment gap and then Economic Participation and Opportunity. Overall, only 55 % of adult women are in the labor market, versus 78 % of men, while over 40 % of the wage gap and over 50 % of the income gap are still to be bridged (World Economic Forum, 2020). Also, women are slightly disadvantaged in accessing credit, land or financial products, which disables women from being entrepreneurs. Educational Attainments gaps are relatively small as women are becoming more and more educated worldwide (World Economic Forum, 2020). Further, analyzing where women are currently employed with the skills they possess, it turns out that there are some professions where women are under-utilized even if they have the needed talents. Projecting ongoing dynamics into the future, the overall global gender gap will close in 103 years, on average (World Economic Forum, 2020). Finally, Iceland maintains its first position as being the most gender-equal country in the world. It has closed almost 88 % of its overall gender gap. It is followed by Norway, Finland, and Sweden. Belgium in this report ranks 27, the United States 53 and Russia 81 (World Economic Forum, 2020).

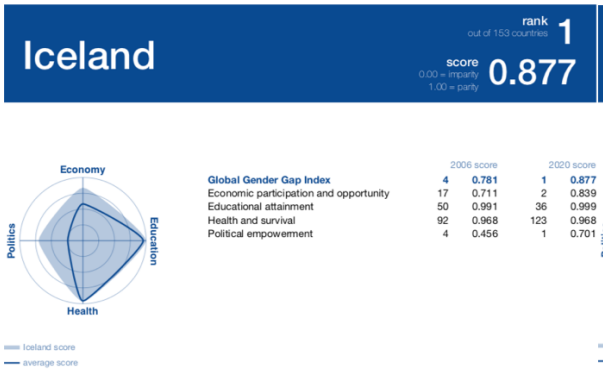


Figure 1: Global Gender Gap Index - Iceland
(World Economic Forum, 2020)

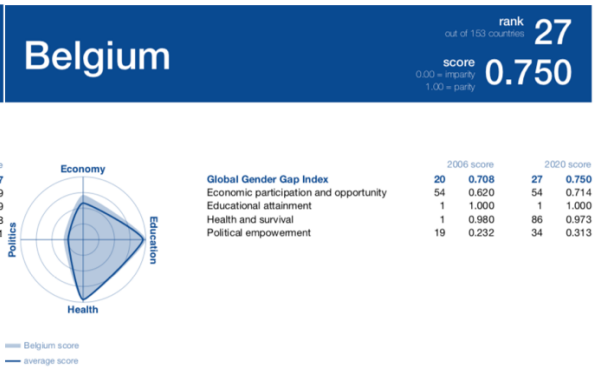


Figure 2: Global Gender Gap Index - Belgium
(World Economic Forum, 2020)

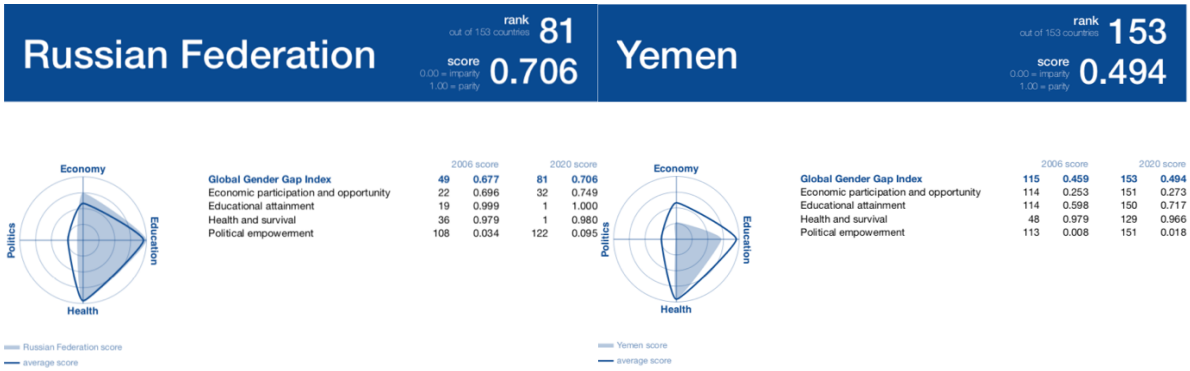


Figure 3: Global Gender Gap Index - Russian Federation
(World Economic Forum, 2020)

Figure 4: Global Gender Gap Index - Yemen
(World Economic Forum, 2020)

Nonetheless, the economic emancipation of women faces a number of ongoing challenges. Due to gender stereotypes, men might have a hard time accepting that their wives gain financial independence, which can sometimes lead to violence, with domestic abuses already being encountered by more than 25 % of the female population worldwide (Flood M., October 2018). And even if it does not lead to domestic maltreatment, money does not guarantee women better living conditions or fewer household charges. They will still carry the duty of exercising a double, or even a triple day of work. A heavy bargain that women in Russia encounter as well (Silverman B., Yanowitch M., December 1996). But why does this triple duty on women persist, knowing that it represents a barrier to economic growth and sustainability? This is why policies and social institutions supporting Russian women in their economic empowerment are going to be analyzed and criticized further in the research.

1.3. SOCIETAL IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

The current disparity in the levels of economic empowerment across genders is alarming and a real societal issue not only since it constitutes a breach of basic human rights, but also because there is evidence that gender discrimination it is an impediment to pursuing sustainable economic growth and the accomplishment of all SDGs. Indeed, the World Bank even says that women's economic empowerment is '*nothing more than smart economics*'. In fact, when women are provided with the same valuable resources as men, they have demonstrated to be as productive as men (Pichette J., April 2012).

Gender inequality is one of the oldest and most pervasive forms of inequality in the world. It ignores women's voices, devalues their work and makes women's position unequal to men's, from the household to the national and global levels. However, reducing inequalities within and among countries, which represent SDG10, is essential to women's economic empowerment. Enhancing equality within a country, especially, is improving the equal allocation of opportunity, income, and power (United Nations, 2020). Although there have been some advancements, no country has succeeded in achieving gender economic equality, and women are more often living in poverty than men (Oxfam, 2019). But why does gender equality matter worldwide? Besides boosting economic growth and productivity, it leads to greater equality in overall income distribution and supports higher corporate profits. These advantages represent the purpose of SDG8, which aims to promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all (Sustainable Development Goals, 2020). The latter represents more of an economic empowerment enhancer, while the other characteristics represent the direct consequence of gender equality in the economy. Likewise, the economic empowerment of women increases economic resilience, supports bank stability and contributes to global development (World Economic Forum, 2020).

Moreover, it is important to underline that increasing gender equality, which is the fifth SDG, has positive synergies with other SDGs. As mentioned before, the economic empowerment of women has a direct impact on the reduction of poverty for everyone (Melo C., 2019). Poverty can be defined as a state or condition in which a person or community lacks the financial resources and essentials for a minimum standard of living (Chen J., November 2019). It covers topics such as insufficient or irregular income, limited access to resources, and lack of power and knowledge (CECI, 2019). Ending poverty is the aim of the first SDG. As a matter of fact, worldwide, extreme poverty declined from 36 % in 1990 to 10 % in 2015, but at the current rate of progress, the aim of realizing a reduction in extreme poverty to less than 3 % of the world is not going to be achieved by 2030 (United Nations, 2020). Poverty is a social problem affecting both women and men, but women are the most affected by it which consequently leads to isolation and omission (Rhein W., 1998). These disparities are defined by a status of inferiority, uneven power relationships and deliberate discrimination in every aspect such as social, economic and political spheres.

No matter the environment, these disparities are hampered by a sexual division of labor that makes women carry the responsibility of supporting the family, which is considered to be less important and is not remunerated. The repercussions of this heavy burden are fewer opportunities in education, employment, economic activities, participation in politics, and less personal time. Additionally, there is a likelihood for domestic violence, submission and economic, social and political dependence on men, which disempower women in every aspect (CECI, 2019).

Furthermore, it is the youngest generations that will benefit most of the women's economic empowerment (Pichette J., April 2012). As mentioned before, gender equality engenders poverty reduction and an increase in education but does also diminish child mortality. It has been proven that when women gain control over household income and access to profitable resources, such as education, the whole society will benefit from it and especially the family. In fact, women tend to inject a bigger stake of their earnings into their households than men do. Also, women's education has a direct impact on immunization rates and enhancements in educational accomplishment among children (Harvard Summer School, July 2014). Likewise, reducing the amount of care and household work for women is strongly stimulating men to take on responsibilities toward the family and to increase its share of caring for the children. This has comparable results on the health and education of future generations. It has been established that it decreases domestic violence and optimizes both female and male own mental health (Pichette J., April 2012).

Gender inequality, in the developing world, costs women $9 trillion a year (Kwatra A., January 2015). A huge amount, representing more than the combined GDPs of Britain, France and Germany, that could contribute to empowering women on one side but also to increase the quality of life of their families and communities. It has been established that countries with more equality among men and women tend to have higher GDP and a diminution in poverty (Melo C., 2019). For example, an analysis of Fortune 500 companies found that those with the greatest representation of women in management positions delivered a total return to shareholders that was 34 % higher than for companies with the lowest representation (UN WOMEN, 2019). Promoting women's economic empowerment, especially in developing countries, is thus key for attaining women's rights, reducing hunger and reaching larger development goals. We need an economy that promotes gender equality, and for everyone, not just for a few favored (Oxfam, 2019).

Measuring gender equality is very important as it enables countries to set up new objectives, see how far they have come, and how it has impacted their economy and society. There are three widely used indices that measure gender inequality and are mutually complementary: The Gender Inequality Index, the Gender Development Index, and the Social Institutions and Gender Index (Geary D., Stoet G., January 2019).

The Gender Inequality Index is produced yearly by the United Nations Development Programme and represents an inequality index. It quantifies gender inequalities in three key issues of human development: reproductive health, measured by maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rates; empowerment, measured by the proportion of parliamentary seats occupied by females and proportion of adult females and males aged 25 years and older with at least some secondary education; and economic status, expressed as labor market participation and measured by labor force participation rate of female and male populations aged 15 years and older (United Nations Development Programme, 2020).

Figure 5: Correlation Between Gender Inequality and Real GDP per Capita Growth
(International Monetary Fund, May 2018)

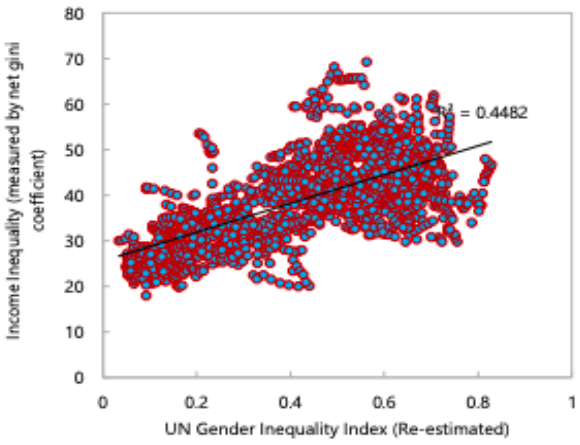


Figure 6: Correlation Between Gender Inequality and Income Inequality
(International Monetary Fund, May 2018)

The next measure is the Gender Development Index which quantifies gender gaps in human development accomplishments by reporting inconsistencies between women and men in three general aspects of human development: health, knowledge, and living standards (United Nations Development Programme, 2020). Finally, the Social Institutions and Gender Index is an inequality index that is made-up of 27 forward-looking variables evaluating social institutions, which are grouped into 4 attributes: discrimination in the family, restricted

physical integrity, restricted access to productive and financial resources, and restricted civil liberties (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2019).

From the data found in the measures mentioned above, we can clearly conclude from numbers that gender equality in economic terms boost, as mentioned before, economic growth and productivity and leads to greater equality in overall income distribution. Also, it supports higher corporate profit and an increase in economic resilience. Finally, it supports bank stability and contributes to other development outcomes, such as improved health for women and children, human development indicators, and the level of competitiveness. With states being aware of this today, we can analyze progress and remaining challenges, and work together to shape a better, more inclusive world.

Ultimately, the importance of the economic empowerment of women today, means there is an urge to bridge the gender gap globally. As there is no economic empowerment without political empowerment and better health and education, societies have to focus on all of these aspects (World Economic Forum, 2020). Again, the Sustainable Development Goal 5, which stands for enhancing gender equality and empowering women economically, goes hand in hand with many of the other 17 Sustainable Development Goals. These are no poverty (SDG 1), good health and well-being (SDG 3), quality education (SDG 4), decent work and economic growth (SDG 8) and reduced inequalities (SDG 10). While these are economic empowerment enhancers or direct consequences, gender equality has become vital for global sustainable development (Sustainable Development Goals, 2020). In other words, countries should implement policies that foster women's participation in economic activities. Policymakers should focus on targeting education, health, infrastructure, financial inclusion, and equal rights. New regulations can, for example, invest in child and elderly care, parental leave or providing work flexibility. Fiscal policy design and budget systems, such as gender-responsive budgeting, can also largely contribute to reducing the disempowerment of women (Elson D., Sharp R., 2010). These are small implementations that could increase women's economic participation and the economy as a whole. Finally, governments and non-governmental organizations have to cooperate to follow up and measure how effectively their new policies are bridging the gender gap (Sustainable Development Goals, 2020).

2. OVERVIEW OF RUSSIA'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

The Russian political and economic systems have always somewhat stood out for their peculiarity compared to the systems of its European neighbors, even despite repeated attempts to copy Western examples (Neumann I., 2017). From a highly volatile currency (Russian Rubble) due to an economy heavily reliant on the price of natural resources such as oil and gas, and a political system run by strong and controversial leaders, Russia constitutes a unique political and economic system in the world (Lawyers Russia, February 2020). Although these singularities vary in time due to the inescapable processes of globalization, they still exist to a large extent and will continue to exist, which is largely due to its vast territory, which unites, like a singular geographical bridge, several continents. A large body of studies examine Russia's political economy and its evolution over the past century, with often divergent positions on the strengths and shortcomings of the Russian political and economic systems. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide one more point of view to this debate, in order to develop the economic empowerment of women in Russia, and to conceptualize the changing position of women in Russian society since the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is nevertheless important to draw a basic picture of Russia's political economy and how it developed overtime.

2.1. POLITICAL OVERVIEW

If you close your eyes and think about the modern history of Russia, chances are that the images that come to mind are those of the Czar's lavish palaces, of the Bolshevik Revolution, of Joseph Stalin's harsh political repression, of decisive victories at the end of World War 2 or the tense climate of the Cold War. But to have a clear overview of the different regimes that dominated the Russian Federation in the modern epoch, we have to start with Peter the Great, ruler of the Russian Empire between 1682 and 1725. As Russia's first truly modern ruler, he was the first to understand, in 1682, that Russia was lagging far behind to Europe (Nikiforov L., February 2020). To remedy that situation, he decided to introduce European culture in Russia by creating the city of Saint Petersburg. As for its military achievement, he defeated the Swedish empire and got Russia access to the Baltic Sea, an opening to trade with Europe (Anisimov E., 1993).

At the end of the 18th century, Catherine II, also known as Catherine the Great, widely recognised as one of the greatest empresses in Russian history, consolidated the country as one of the great world powers. Her reign represented golden years for the Czars and for the aristocracy, especially as she westernized Russia, but the people were suffering, and the living conditions were incredibly disastrous (Oldenbourg-Idalie Z., April 2020). The Czars ruled over Russia until the beginning of the 1900s. In fact, when Nicholas II was ruling over Russia, the people were tired and fed up with defending a tsarist regime that was not defending them. A key historical moment was Russia's participation in World War I, with an army that did not believe in what it was fighting for and was so fragile that it simply could not win (Davidson H., August 2019).

In March 1917, Czar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate after the February Revolution and was sent into exile. The provisional government by Alexander Kerensky was installed in Moscow, while the Petrograd Soviet was established in Saint Petersburg (History, March 2020). When Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known as Lenin, arrived in Russia from Switzerland, it was the beginning of the end of the Czar's regime. With its thesis for April, the October Revolution and the beginning of the Russian Civil War (communist Red Army vs. pro-tsarist White Army), the configuration of Russia changed forever. In 1918, the Bolsheviks decided to annihilate the last members of the Romanov dynasty, thus removing the problem of the pro-Tsarists, and murdered Nicholas II and his family (World History, July 2017).

In 1922, the Soviet Union was born, a model of communist society that abolished the concept of capitalism and private property. With Lenin at the head, and alongside him the figures of Leon Trotsky and Stalin, the Treaty of Creation of the USSR was signed. In 1924, when Lenin died, Joseph Stalin came to power and it was the start of one of the darkest times in the history of Russia (Nove A., 1969). These are the times of Holodomor (Ukrainian genocide) and the Great Purge, a campaign aimed at the persecution of anyone found guilty of criticizing or conspiring against the Communist Regime, personified by Stalin himself (Corning A., Schuman H., January 2000). The repressions were brutal and the gulags, the infamous forced labor camps where millions of Soviets ended, were the physical and graphic proof of the madness of that time. Real numbers about how many people died in those camps are vague, but it is believed that around 15 million Russians were killed. For many people, Stalin was a more devilish figure than Hitler himself (Nations Encyclopedia, 2020).

Stalin died in 1953, in the middle of the Cold War. Succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev, who quickly covered all the crimes during Stalinism as 'the fault of a single man, psychopath and without remorse (Nove A., 1969). Russia then enters a period of 'destalinization', when all the recognitions to Stalin are eliminated. Today, for example, it is very rare to find a statue, a bust or a street dedicated to this communist leader (World History, July 2017).

Nevertheless, during the Second World War, Stalin had signed a nonaggression pact with Hitler, however in June 1941 Hitler unilaterally broke the deal. With Operation Barbarossa, he decided to invade the USSR. The Soviets, with now no choice but to go to war, joined the allied side (Roberts G., 2006). The new fronts and the Russian and American forces weakened the Nazi army. In consequence, Germans lost many battles, such as the battle of Stalingrad and Normandy Landing. Germany was defeated in May 1945, when the Red Army captured Berlin, and a few months later the Pacific War also ends with the capitulation of Japan, following the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When World War II was over, the world was split into two, with on each side a hegemonic power which could not be more different in terms of government and economy, these were the United States and the USSR (Krylov A., May 2015).

As such, after the end of the Second World War, the so-called Cold War began, a continuous clash between those two great post-war world powers, America and the Soviet Union. It was rather a war of influence as opposed to a physical war, since there was never a direct and real confrontation between the two powers, but rather a series of by-proxy incidents (Roberts G., 2006). Though, it was indirect with the support, from both sides, in the Wars of Korea, Vietnam or Afghanistan. These are the years of the construction of the Berlin Wall, the arms and space race and the Cuban missile crisis (Hasanli J., June 2006). This period represented an ideological struggle between communism and capitalism, which later led to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The dissolution of the USSR, and the end of the Cold War, finds its roots when, in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev took over the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he decided to implement a reform program in order to restructure and boost the Soviet economy. Its objective was to maintain a socialist system that would be more open to innovation (Gorbachev M., 2011). His plan was based on two fundamental elements: The **Perestroika**, which was a set of reforms to restore the system, whose ultimate goal was to raise the Soviet

economy which was enduring a crisis. The second element was the **Glasnost**, which represents the desire for greater openness and transparency (Medvedkov Y., Raeff M., March 2020). For the first time since the Stalinist regime, prohibitions on literature and other western cultural outlets were removed, the press could write and publish articles without fear of reprisal and workers had the right to strike (History of Russia, 2020).

However, what Gorbachev achieved was ultimately discontent. The communists were afraid that a capitalist system would be introduced, and those who were more determined to change complained about the slow nature of the reforms. Alongside soaring inflation and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the Soviet Union quickly collapsed (Marples D., 2004). On December 8, 1991, the dissolution of the Soviet Union was signed, and Gorbachev uttered the famous words '*The old system collapsed before the new one began to function*' (Brown A., Shriver G., 1995). With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the USSR broke into 15 independent republics, making America the sole global superpower. The Russian Federation was created, and a new system of democracy arose, bringing up hopes and fears for the Russian population (Medvedkov Y., Raeff M., March 2020).

The first post-Soviet Russian president elected to lead the newly formed Russian Federation was Boris Yeltsin who led the country until 1999. Yeltsin's idea was to transform socialist Russia into a country with a free-market economy promoting privatization (Winston D., April 2000). What happened was that much of the country's heritage ended in the hands of a few oligarchs, the economy was close to collapse, there were large cuts in public spending, and the economic recession was at its highest (Shevtsova L., 2007). It was also a time marked by corruption, scandals, the Chechen wars, and a 'much talked about' constitutional reform. In 1999, Yeltsin announced that he would withdraw from political life and assigned Vladimir Putin to become the next president (World History, July 2017).

Vladimir Putin, who is still in power as Russia's current president, inherited a country whose first experience with democracy, after the fall of the Soviet Union, was shrouded in crime, poverty and instability (Shevtsova L., 2007). Often referred to as being a new Czar of Russia, Vladimir Putin is a self-made man, born in a very humble family. He graduated in law and worked for the KGB, which was the Soviet regime's secret police (Winston D., April 2000). Putin remains a divisive and controversial figure in Russia, and on the international stage. On the one hand he is seen by many Russians, as a strong leader and defender of Russia's

importance as a world leader. He has worked hard to cultivate a strong-man image and oversees many aspects of government with an iron-fist. On the other hand, he is criticized for his actions especially for entering into wars (Crimea, Syria), for curtailing certain democratic rights, limiting political opposition and for impeding the freedom of expression and of the press (Robertson G., January 2017). Additionally, he implemented laws which have been denounced as homophobic, he arrested many journalists and rules in a time of many unsolved political assassinations (Eisenstein Z., October 2013). Perhaps one of his biggest criticisms is the fact that Putin has been ruling over Russia for 20 years already and shows no sign of letting power go. Even though he has in the last 20 years not always been a president, as he was prime minister to Dmitri Medvedev between 2008 and 2012 even if many think he was still de-facto leading the country and orchestrated that move just to circumvent constitutional term limits. He is now trying to prolong its mandate until 2036 (Darlington R., January 2020).

Political, economic and social changes have been painful since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Russians have lost access to social benefits that they have always taken for granted, free health care, education, housing, and guaranteed employment. And the freedoms they have gained, such as movement, assembly, press, and many others, cannot entirely make up for this loss of stability. Many of the hopes of the ‘90s have gone unfulfilled (Shevtsova L., 2007).

2.2. ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

Before the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the entire economy of Russia was fully controlled by the State. When Yeltsin was appointed president of the new Russian Federation, a series of economic transformations began, including privatizations, a new market, and trade liberalization, as communism was not the best option to emerge from bankruptcy (Blasi J., Kroumova M., Kruse D., 1997). For more than six decades, the entire Russian economy was focused on central planning, with strict state controls on all means of production. Decision-making for economic investments was made by the state, as were those of production and consumption. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the one who made the decisions regarding economic policy (Harrison M., November 2017).

The collapse of communism in Russia began in the 1990s and difficulties started to shake its weak economy, which was based on a colossal arms race, mostly nuclear, to compete

with the United States (Leitzel J., 1995). Most of the decisions that were made in economic matters were originated by the conceptions that Joseph Stalin had left. His programs were based on strategies used for five years and every year the State Planning Committee formulated the guidelines. These were then sent to the regional Planning Bodies as economic target units to be used by industrial companies and collective farms, each of which had a specific production target. The assumption was that if each unit did each of its activities perfectly, the demand and supply would be balanced (Harrison M., November 2017).

The Government was supervising and controlling that these goals or objectives were met, so they had a top-down responsibility. There were more than 70 government ministries and committees that were responsible for the production sector and had to supervise all of its activities. The established policies were good in theory, but in practice, the balance between the sectors of the economy was not maintained (Nove A., 1961). The prices in the market were established by the State, however, it is said that prices were simply forbidden. The Soviet Union used, as mentioned before, a system of central planning called material balance planning, which balanced the total output of the economy with the total input, which would, in theory, allow for the most equitable distribution of resources and eliminate waste (Rieger M., August 2017).

This system worked for years and industrialization after the war did develop not only an industry but its defences, which made Russia become a superpower. When Gorbachev came to power in 1985 and made attempts to reform the country through Perestroika. (Harrison M., November 2017), it was too late and too complicated. So, when Boris Yeltsin became the first official president of Russia, it was time to redevelop an economy where prices were not determined by the government anymore, but by the market itself. The new leader established two main objectives: to stabilize the country's macroeconomics and to make a restructuring of the economy by a transition from central planning to a market economy (Johnston M., June 2019).

The years following the collapse of the Soviet Union were very challenging. Adequate fiscal policies had to be established, especially monetary ones that would help promote the growth of the economy with stable prices and formalized exchange rates. To achieve the new exchange rate, commercial entities, banks, established private properties and legal codes for the new trade had to be created (Blasi J., Kroumova M., Kruse D., 1997). For the economic stability of Russia, opening up to markets and foreign trade, and especially investment with

other countries in the world were vital. Gorbachev could not achieve this goal, and when the Soviet Union fell and with Yeltsin in command, the macroeconomy began to stabilize and to restructure. By 1996, the first changes began to make themselves noticed (Johnston M., June 2019).

Today's Russian economy is very particular and is based on the export of large natural resources and consumer goods. Additionally, Russia relies on its growth and advances in the aerospace industry, atomic energy, military services, armaments, and industries. It can be said that it is a service economy because this sector occupies 62 % of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Besides, agriculture occupies 5 % and industries occupy 32 % of the economy (Economy Watch, April 2010). The service sector employs approximately 67 % of the population, an amount that is increasing every year, while employees in industries and agriculture are decreasing. To a lesser extent, the service sector represents the retail market, the tourism sector, and advertising. The industrial sector has around 27 % of the employed population (Economy Watch, April 2010). Its manufacturing industry is deploying especially the chemical, automobile and electronics industries. Its most important businesses are steel, aluminium, and nickel, as well as oil and gas extraction. Agriculture has around 6 % of the population working in it (Economy Watch, April 2010). The sector became very modernized after it entered into a crisis in 1998. The main things being cultivated in Russia are cereals and cattle breeding. The agricultural sector includes forestry, hunting, fishing, farming, and livestock production (Prableen B., September 2019).

Russia's greatest natural energy resources are oil, gas, coal, and wood. Almost three-quarters of these are exported abroad, together with steel and aluminium. All these exports represent 80 % of the national income (Economy Watch, April 2010). The reliability of Russia on its exports explains the variability of its currency.

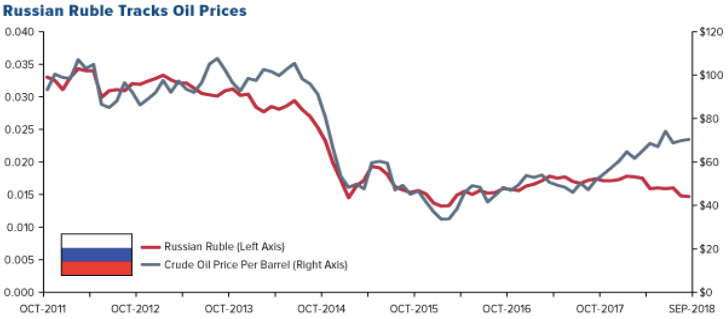


Figure 7: Russian Rubble Tracks Oil Prices

(Kuznetsov V., August 2015)

Furthermore, Russia is exporting its chemicals and military goods. These are mainly exported to the Netherlands and China. Other countries that are part of its export economy are Latin America and are part of the Andean Community, such as Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. Its imports come mainly from China, Germany, Japan, Ukraine, Italy, the United States, and Belarus. These imports consist primarily of equipment and machines, various consumer goods, medicines, meat, and sugar (Lawyers Russia, February 2020).

The GDP of Russia for the year 2019 was worth 1750 billion US dollars. The GDP value of Russia represents 1.44 % of the world economy (Trading Economics, 2020). The income per capita reached 11.510 US dollars last December, which is a net increase from almost 1 % since 2018 (CEIC DATA, 2019). The working population of Russia in February 2020 was 71.1 million, which is a decrease compared to almost 30 years ago, when the Soviet Union collapsed when the working population in February 1991 was at 73.7 million (Trading Economics, 2020). However, this can be related to the population that peaked at 148.7 million just before the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, to a current population of 145.9 million. Besides, the current unemployment rate of Russia, which measures the number of people actively looking for a job as a percentage of the labor force, is 4.6 % compared to 5.1 % in 1991 (Macrotrends, 2020). Lastly, it is important to note that Russia does not give information on its economic indices like other European countries.

Russia's primary economic sector is made up by the wealth of its natural resources. It holds second place worldwide in natural gas production and the first place in oil, in addition to also producing and exporting diamonds, nickel, and platinum (Economy Watch, April 2010). Although it is a very large country, its extensions of arable land are small since, due to its climate, most of its land is being cultivated. It is one of the countries with the largest export of grains and cereals, being cultivated in southern areas and Western Siberia. In the north of the country, the lands are more suitable for cattle raising. Its secondary sector is represented by its large chemical, metallurgical, construction, metal-mechanic and defence industries. The latter is dedicated to the production of military weapons. The tertiary sector is the service sector, such as banking, transportation, and tourism, where two-thirds of its population is employed (Economy Watch, April 2010).

Despite its economic development, Russia still does not manage to have equality between its cities. The largest and most developed ones are Moscow and Saint Petersburg,

where part of the multi-million-dollar Russian population lives. Besides, people living in poverty must pay a high cost of living in these two big cities, which gives them few opportunities to get out of poverty due to a non-existent middle class. It may not be the best economy in the world in terms of equality, but Russia is one of the member countries of BRICS, which represents Brazil, India, South Africa, and China (Mau V., Ulyukaev A., March 2015).

Russia's main activity is the natural and energy reserves it has, in addition to the largest forest area in the world, which makes it the number one exporter of wood. Likewise, it has a quarter of freshwater in the world and large reserves of gas, oil, and coal (Economy Watch, April 2010). It owns the second-largest insured natural gas reserve in the world and its oil reserves are ranked eight worldwide. Despite this, it does not have good regulations and controls, its legal system is not efficient and even after the fall of the Soviet Union, there is still control over the private sector. In agriculture, it produces the largest quantity of barley, wheat, and oats in the world. (Economy Watch, April 2010).

Nevertheless, the problem of corruption still persists in this country, which influences its economic capacity and the confidence that can be placed in the government. Its Index of Economic Freedom is 61, which makes the Russian economy rank 94 in the 2020 Index (Heritage, 2020). The best performing country is Singapore, with a score of 89.4 and Belgium holds the 48th position in the ranking with a score of 68.9. Also, Russia ranks 137 out of 180 countries in the Corruption Index 2019, a number that keeps worsening since the collapse of the Soviet Union. To give an idea about where Belgium stands, it holds the it holds the 17th position in the Corruption Index 2019, which makes it a highly uncorrupted country (Trading Economics, 2020).

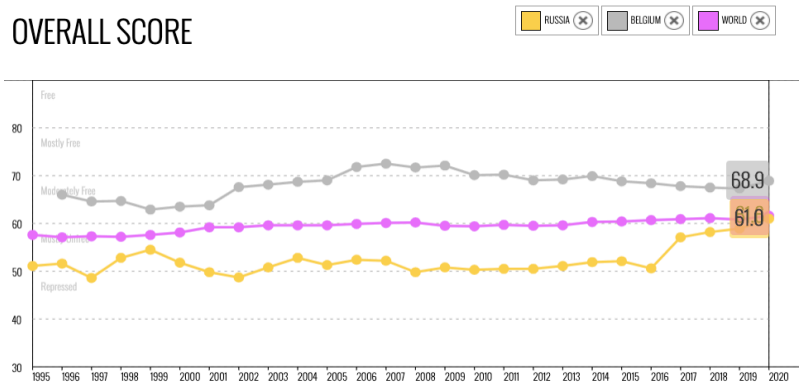


Figure 8: 2020 Index of Economic Freedom
Comparison of Russia, Belgium, World
(Heritage, 2020)

The role of Vladimir Putin in Russia's economy has been crucial. It has been 20 years that Putin has been appointed Prime Minister and that he has been ever since alternating between that post and the Presidency (Johnston M., June 2019). In terms of economic policy, his reign is characterized by four distinct periods: the **reform** years from 1999 to 2003, the **statist** years from 2004 until 2008, the world economic crisis **recovery** from 2008 until 2013, and finally the war in Ukraine and Russia's growing **isolation** from the global economy, and stagnation from 2014 until now (Guriyev S., August 2019).

He gave a turn to the country's economic policies and real GDP values have increased significantly. Also, he managed to stabilize the currency of his country, the Rubble, to control inflation rates and investment began to increase again (Shevtsova L., 2007). In his first two years in office, he fulfilled all of his commitments to pay foreign debt, returning large sums of money from the loans he had acquired from the International Monetary Funds. Meanwhile, he achieved an increase in his reserves in the Central Bank of Russia through the proper management of government budget, business relations, and internal savings (Guriyev S., August 2019). Consequently, Russia regained its status as a superpower and the world's most powerful economy, where it ranks second and third together with China, and just after the United States of America. The most powerful countries are ranked according to five attributes: military alliances, international alliances, political influence, economic influence, and leadership (World Population Review, 2020).

Russia has also established, during Putin's first year of presidency, new relations with China, Belarus, Venezuela, and Brazil, and has had an approach with the European Union to re-boost its energy, oil, and gas sectors, causing the price of oil to increase and managing to reduce tax evasion (Sharkov D., May 2018). In 2018, Russia recorded a government debt equivalent to 14.6 % of its Gross Domestic Product, indicating that it is one of the countries with the lowest debt in the world (Trading Economics, 2020).

To conclude, the Russian economy today is characterized by power but also with a high poverty rate. In January 2019, 21 million people in Russia lived in poverty (Ryumin A., July 2019). This is mainly due to Western sanctions over the annexation of Crimea and falling oil prices over the past five years that have led to a decline in real incomes and a rise in consumer prices. Additionally, Russia is struggling because of its weak GDP growth, burdened by structural weaknesses, low level of investment, and a poor demographic outlook (Trading

Economics, 2020). As long as Putin maintains its isolationist, nationalist, and protectionist economic policies and keeps a conservative approach to inward foreign investment, the growth of economic freedom in Russia will remain challenging. Finally, a subordinate judiciary, uncontrolled corruption, and relationships between bureaucrats and organized criminal groups jeopardize government integrity (Heritage, 2020).

METHODOLOGY

In drawing upon academic literature, this dissertation seeks to critically explore the economic role and empowerment of women in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union. In previous studies, such as Fong S. (1993), the focus was to study the role of women in rebuilding the Russian economy when Yeltsin came to power. As economic empowerment of women has been proven to be crucial to the development of markets in recent years, it is important to assess what is hampering and what is promoting women's economic empowerment in current Russia. The research asserts that womanhood and feminism are social conceptions, which have been largely ascertained by Russia's politicians and the Orthodox Church. To this end, these notions must be asserted with the perspective of economic empowerment.

Many Russian women I have met during an exchange in Saint Petersburg were unable to find jobs because of their gender. In fact, women are encountering barriers to their economic empowerment because they have the responsibility of increasing the Russian population by giving birth on one hand, and because they have to take care of their children, which makes them work more than men. By discussing notions such as 'feminism' with Russian men, I slowly realized that women were not given enough voice and that gender stereotypes were strongly present in Russia. Combined with a strong interest for Russian women's emancipation history, I decided to write the thesis about women economic empowerment in Russia.

Thanks to the network of the Graduate School of Management, I was put in contact with a couple of women entrepreneurs, such as Daria Shchurik, Ekaterina Kyrianova, and Aleksandra Itskru. They shared with us their experiences as entrepreneurs and strong supporters of the feminist movement. I was then given the opportunity to meet Marina Latuha, Doctor of Economics and Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Management, that shared her expertise on women empowerment in Russia with us. After several appointments with her to discuss which gap in the literature remained to be bridged in women emancipation, I decided to focus my research on women's economic role since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Methodology and design used for this specific study will be based on qualitative design methods, which include a survey of Russians. Besides, the methodology will be based on a thorough data collection and analysis of women economic emancipation through history and the analysis of the four pillars of the World Economic Forum, which are economic emancipation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. Finally, conclusions and recommendations will be drawn from the results of the survey and the in-depth analysis of the World Economic Forum pillars.

Hence, I started this research with a chronological review of women's role in Russian history. Understanding how women's role has fluctuated through history and through different regimes is important. It enables to find the roots of what, how, and why Russia has a low ranking in the Global Gender Gap Index. It starts with the women's status in the 18th century, then investigates women's economic emancipation in the Soviet era, and ultimately explains the stormy shift toward modern Russia.

The report will then assert the evolution of the economic empowerment of women throughout the four pillars of the World Economic Forum. I chose to base my research on the Global Gender Gap Index because its ranking is intended to serve as a basis for designing impact-focused effective measures for reducing gender gaps. Also, the World Economic Forum has drawn four pillars for the economic empowerment of women, where under three are not economic. It is true that without an aggregate representation in politics, a good health and equal opportunities in accessing education, women would not be able to raise themselves higher in the society and in the economy. So, all of these pillars are crucial for the effective promotion of women economic empowerment. Based on the findings and the survey, I would then be able to draw conclusions and recommendations.

The first pillar of the World Economic Forum, representing the economic participation and opportunity for women in Russia will cover topics such as decent work, gender gap pays, entrepreneurship, representation in business, microcredit, unemployment rate, and gender patterns in sectoral employment and distribution. The following pillars, where Russia performs well in terms of gender equality, are educational attainment and health and survival. The latter will cover health in Russia and domestic violence. The fourth pillar, which is the most gender discriminatory in Russia, is the political empowerment that is explained throughout representation of women in politics and legislations.

Ultimately, to gain a clear picture of the problem and possibly identify methods of resolution to improve women's economic emancipation in Russian economy, I sent a survey to collect Russians' opinions about gender norms and the current role of women in Russian society. The population of Russia is to large, this is why the survey represents a sample of 120 Russians, of which 38 respondents were men and 82 respondents were women. The survey was sent through Google Forms via the network of the Graduate School of Management. Thus, it is important to underline that the sample does not represent accurately the whole population of Russia, especially since the survey was sent in English. Only 32 % of the Russian population speaks English (Harrison J., March 2018). This means that it was answered by educated people that are bilingual.

In order to conduct the research in a qualitative manner, it was essential to develop a questionnaire that meet the needs of the research question. The questions were mainly based on the current situation of women in Russian society, such as '*Do you think women and men should be equally* paid'. These types of questions were raised in order to understand how big the place of gender norms was in current Russia. The results were then analysed by evaluating them through Excel sheet. By collecting respondents' opinions about gender norms and the current role of women in Russian society and by researching how Russia was performing towards the four pillars of the World Economic Forum, I included an ultimate pillar representing gender stereotypes. This last pillar is divided into three sections: unpaid care work, patriarchy and feminism, and religion and gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes are the conclusion of the research as it represents the main challenges to women's emancipation. Recommendations were then laid down based upon this quantitative research and the desktop research.

ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN RUSSIA

At the heart of women's empowerment is the need to address gender disparities in the context of decent jobs and full and productive employment. The creation of an enabling environment in Russia for women's economic empowerment to prosper is not without its obstacles. Despite relatively high human development indicators, such as education and health, unpaid work continues to characterize women's daily life. Furthermore, discriminatory social institutions and norms hinder women's economic rights and opportunities (World Economic Forum, 2020).

In fact, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, women's economic empowerment has not been promoted effectively. We can even talk about the disempowerment of women in Russia as a patriarchal system has been reinforced for 30 years. Together with Christian Orthodox religion, gender norms have reappeared (Elder M., April 2013). The place of the woman is in the household, taking care of the family and doing menial house tasks. Russia's traditional intra-family division of labor is not favorable to women's economic empowerment. It impedes their career aspiration, their job application, and their income. Finally, national laws and social institutions are not very supporting gender equality. Even if it is reported that Russia works on gender parity, some laws, as the 'decriminalization of domestic violence' raise questions (Stallard J., March 2018). Thus, there is still a long path toward gender equality in Russia.

Therefore, forward-looking solutions are needed to empower women economically to be agents of change in their families and communities. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development have created an inspirational blueprint for the Russian government to address these constraints. Building on this momentum, this report seeks to present a comprehensive analysis of key challenges and opportunities for women's economic empowerment in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

1. HISTORY, CONTEXT, AND DEVELOPMENT

The path towards equality between men and women in Russia has not been a smooth one and the current achievements in this area are the outcome of an endless process. In the last

centuries, the duties of women in society have consistently changed depending on political regime and doctrine, for the ultimate goal of benefiting those holding the power. Russian women have been fighting for gender equality since the 18th century. Alongside other countries, such as Germany and France, World War II did represent a starting point for the emancipation of women in Russia since they replaced men in the industries. In fact, during the USSR, the Russian workforce consisted of more women than men. When the regime ended, women feared a return to patriarchy where they would have to return to their natural predestination to raise the declining birth rate (Fong S., 1993).

The idea of womanhood in Russia started in the 18th century when Peter the Great, as we mentioned, strongly influenced by Western culture, he removed barriers to education and individual emancipation of women. Alexander Pushkin, one of the greatest poets in Russia stated that Peter the Great '*chopped open a window to Europe*' (Pushkareva N., March 1997). All the major events in the history of Russian women at that time, and all the changes in social, political, legal, and familial status were initiated directly, or indirectly, by Peter the Great. While some aristocratic women became poets or famous writers, the unprivileged women did not benefit from the early feminist concept yet. Maria Trubnikova, Nadezhda Stasova and Anna Filosofova were famous feminist of the time. All of them were poor and born in aristocratic families. They focused their attention on teachings and training and achieved in 1868 to establish the **Bestuzhev Courses**, which was the most notable institute of higher education for women in the czarist period (Yegorov O., February 2018). Besides, some famous literary works described the vulnerable position of women at that time. Perhaps one of the most famous Russian writers of the 19th century, Leo Tolstoy, who was a humanist, described feminism as 'funny and ruinous, messing up women's heads' and his famous book "Anna Karenina" depicts marriage as a form of enforced prostitution and slavery of women (Mandelker A., 1993).

It is only later, during the early 20th century that Russian feminism started to reach the farming and poor classes, pioneering the socialist all-women unions for female factory workers (Hardwick N., December 2014). The most established women organization back then was the League for Women's Equal Rights. During the October Revolution, in February 1917, this institution gained even more power, and when the Czar was substituted by a preliminary government led by Prince Georgy Lvov, the organization achieved the right for women to vote. It is thus not Lenin that attributed women's suffrage. Even though the suffrage was not such a big event as men only gained the power to vote in 1905, it is important to underline that Russia

was one of the first countries to be active in providing equal rights between genders. It did also appoint the first female minister in a ruling government in the world, when Alexandra Kollontai was appointed People's Commissar for Social Welfare in the Bolshevik government between 1917 and 1918. So, Russia being a pioneer of women parity, it sounded very promising for the feminist movement. However, there were numerous setbacks throughout the century to women's meaningful emancipation, especially when Joseph Stalin came to power, and imposed a return to the traditional idea of the family, with men leading and women serving (Pushkareva N., March 1997).

As mentioned before, during the early years of the Soviet Union, women gained a lot of power and their role varied a lot. In fact, despite the difficult years and harsh life conditions that the practical roll-out communist ideal brought about, on paper and in theory the Marxist-Leninist ideology on which it is based does include some positives ideas and tenets with regards to human and women's rights. Indeed, the ideology proclaims that all forms of inequality between humans would be suppressed through the eradication of classes and aristocracy, and the establishment of a classless and egalitarian civilization based on fair distribution of resources among the people (The Red Phoenix, December 2008). Unlike the vast majority of regimes, the communist regime believed that it would really improve people's lives. Lenin, by stating that '*It is necessary to be socialized and for women to participate in common productive labor. Then women will be equal to men.*' (Smith H., 1977), was a strong proponent of women's economic emancipation. The USSR provided the Russian population with free education, efficient and free public transport, free and universal healthcare system, two weeks of paid vacation for all citizens, 7-hour working day with retirement, paid maternity and sick leave, universal suffrage and access for women to free studies and work, free water and electricity, and an environmental policy ahead of its time (i.e. recycling system). If we think of it, we can see that under the communist regime, many of the current SDGs were already in place, almost a hundred years ago. However, in addition to many of the communist utopia's shortcomings, the Russian women's movement fell victim to the inherent and cruel contradictions of the communist dictatorships which followed the early years of the USSR (Pushkareva N., March 1997).

Women in the beginning of the Soviet Union vindicated their rights themselves. The **Zhenotdel** was a branch of the government formed to deal with women's matters. Due to this new department, women could strive for their equality and gain many new rights, such as 7-

hour working days, no late work shifts, and pregnancy leave and care. Besides, a minimum wage, which was still not equal between genders, was incorporated in businesses and equal rights in marriages was legalized (Edmondson L., August 1992). However, men did not like this Zhenotdel branch of the government, as women started to emancipate and their justified that it had a bad repercussion on the domestic work. Men consequently attacked and murdered many female officials. In 1930, the organization was suppressed by Joseph Stalin who declared that the 'women's issue had been dealt with' (Vityazeva A., September 2015).

In 1920, due to insufficient availability of contraceptive methods and the required presence of women in the working class, abortion became legalized. Russians were using this method extensively as a birth control practice. Abortion was later prohibited from 1936 to 1955, in order to promote the family. This ban led to various clandestine abortions, held in disastrous conditions, which in turn increased the birth mortality rate and the maternal mortality rate. (Edmondson L., August 1992) When Stalin died, and Khrushchev took over the power, this practice was legalized again and the number of abortions per year continued to grow dramatically. In 1964, Russia set the record - 5.6 million abortions were recorded that year, which stands for 169 abortions per 1000 women aged 15 to 49 (Sakevich V., Lipman M., 2019). Since the start of the post-Soviet period, due to the transition to a market economy, this number has been decreasing. Women are more educated and more aware of how to prevent pregnancy.

However, even though equal rights of women were acknowledged by the Soviet 'Stalin Constitution' of 1936, the reality was in practice very different. Russian society needed women to reach the Soviet ideology of a single class of workers and peasants. In order to ensure this goal, the government needed women to work and thus fostered access to education (a reminder of SDG 4), to a career, and laws ensuring gender parity. Women could, at that time, aspire to work in various fields. From scientists, to engineers, to truck drivers or even construction workers, they had plenty of career opportunities. Again, Russia was a pioneer in equal opportunities for men and women (SDG 5 and SDG 10). But despite this opening of opportunities for women, they did not enjoy equal rights as they were not supported in achieving senior positions in economic and political jobs (Edmondson L., August 1992). The gender gap between men and women was already present and there were very few legislations concerning sexual harassment at work. Again, their dual, or even triple role, of a wife who cleans the house and takes care of the children and the elderly, while working as much as men, was already highlighted (Spiro H., February 2020).

According to Hedrick Smith (1991), a Pulitzer Prize-winning former New York Times reporter and editor, a popular saying among Soviet women was '*Under capitalism, women are not liberated because they have no opportunity to work. They have to stay at home, go shopping, do the cooking, keep house and take care of the children. But under socialism, women are liberated. They have the opportunity to work all day and then go home, go shopping, do the cooking, keep house and take care of the children.'*

In the 1970s, a sort of underground Soviet feminism arose, but it was not really similar to Western feminism, as the former movement's focus was more on emphasizing gender disparities rather than addressing how women and men should be treated alike. The members of the new Soviet feminism group argued that femininity had to be valued and respected and stressed that the emancipation of Soviet women relied on the acknowledgement that gender stereotypes were both pervasive and detached from reality, as well as ill-perceived by women (Posadskaya-Vanderbeck A., Clarke K., 1994). The Orthodox Church saying that women had a feminine soul 'capable of love and spiritual experience' was also popular, probably because in Russia's feminist movements' beginnings, women were claiming that love and religion could remove the oppression created by patriarchy (Hardwick N., December 2014). Unfortunately, the Soviet regime cracked down on these feminist underground movements and as a result many women were kept captive in jails, banished from the Soviet Union, and silenced by the KGB which led women to stop fighting for their right and obey the state (Posadskaya-Vanderbeck A., Clarke K., 1994).

During the transition period from socialism to democracy, the underground movement was released. As a matter of fact, women were able to organise themselves again and fight for their rights and freedom. The period of Glasnost and Perestroika reintroduced terms such as sex, sexuality and individualism that were previously, in the USSR, forbidden to use. Many gender discriminations that became standardized during the Soviet Union, such as job discrimination, low decision-making power of women, double duty of paid and unpaid work, and patriarchal practices were denounced worldwide. Women, during the transition period, were anticipating a move toward a liberal democracy. In consequence, many women's institutions and gender parity legislations saw the light, such as the political party Women of Russia (Edmondson L., August 1992).

However, it did not take a lot of time before Russian women's hope faded. Actually, Mikhail Gorbachev was a strong partisan of freeing women from their multiple duties by sending them to domestic work, which was their 'natural domain' (Holmgren B., 2013). By creating the **Zhensovet**, a unified system of women's council, Gorbachev was supporting the feminist movement (Reiter E., Luxton M., March 2016). Unfortunately, under the presidency of Boris Yeltsin, many inequalities arose. The primary disparity for women can be attributed to a sharp downfall in people's wealth. The transition period brought some people on top of the economy, but the majority of the population fell into a profound poverty. The problem is that women represented a higher percentage in that underprivileged society, so unemployment rates and poverty estimates were higher among them. Hand in hand with misery goes bigger gender inequalities, especially because of the reinforcement of the traditional patriarchal system (Kondakov A., 2012). A second concern was that women's feminist activities were not homogeneous in their theories, suggestions and demands, which destabilized women's voices. Even though the Russian Constitution of 1993 ensured gender parity, neo-traditional gendered theories were blossoming and were digging the gender gap a step further. Political speeches were re-establishing the position of the women around household duties, in other words unpaid work, and the term feminism was not seen as a positive movement. It was rather viewed as an outrage and an unjustified animosity toward men. To sum up, the liberalization of Russia nurtured a patriarchal, neotraditional vision of gender linkages, reinforcing men in the public world and sending women into the shadow (Watson P., 1993).

With Vladimir Putin ruling over Russia, the disempowerment of women has been reinforced. He is representing a cult figure of the patriarchal system, which has kept strengthening since he became president. He rationalized indecent and primitive open speeches, based on 'private, male-only locker room talk'. For example, when, in 2006, the previous Israeli President, Moshe Katsav, was judged for rape. Vladimir Putin praised him for his sexual prowess, by stating that '*he turned out to be a strong man, raped 10 women*' (Parfitt T., October 2006). In 2010, Putin's party introduced an allegory of Russia's modernization phase: '*I saved a girl from being raped. I just persuaded her*'. Vladimir Putin, being nominated Russia's sex symbol, branding him on horses and bears, he is using his masculinity label to promote gender stereotypes (Bloomberg, May 2017).

In the last 30 years, Russian men have gained a lot of power, reached many senior positions and are being described as protectors. On the other hand, women have lost power,

rights and dignity and are being characterized as needing protection. In spite of the low birth rates in Russia for a couple of decades, Vladimir Putin wants to reinforce the conservative values of families. In consequence, he declared 8 June as the 'Day of Family, Love, and Fidelity', to reinforce his image of a caring father and motivate the Russian population to make more children. This new event was stressing women to perform their duty of child-bearers to the Russian nation. What he did not understand is that creating a new national holiday was not going to motivate women to get pregnant (Rhodin S., July 2008). Hand in hand with Putin's pronatalist discourses, he did however take some initiatives to encourage women to grow Russian population by increasing maternity benefits. These programs were backed by the Orthodox Church. These were for example maternity leave and maternity funding for a second or a third child, around €6000 since January 2020 (Pension Fund of Russian Federation, 2020).

Russia's demographic disaster at the end of the USSR goes hand in hand with the negative perception of Russian nationalists toward contraceptive methods (World Population Review, 2020). Vladimir Putin has had a controversial stance towards abortion, not completely banning it but at the same time discouraging it strongly. However, this did not necessarily yield the desired increase in birth rates and instead led to illegal abortion practices, which moved Russia back in the past, when abortion was forbidden (Johnston R., January 2020). Instead of trying to understand the reasons behind high abortion rates, the president introduced new legislations about abortion which created barriers to the use of this practice, which further restricted women's rights. These obstacles were that women had to receive written permission from their husbands and that they had to do a compulsory ultrasound, in order for women to hear their foetus heartbeat.

In addition, the Orthodox Church described abortion as being a murder (Hardwick N., December 2014). As a consequence, legally reported abortion rates have decreased from 100.3 women of 1000 women of childbearing age in 1991 to 31.7 in 2013 (Johnston R., January 2020). Meanwhile, birth rates have experienced a huge fall from 1991, when it amounted to 12982 births per 1000 women from 1998, when it dropped to 8912 births per 1000 women. However, today the amount approximates the records of 1991, with 12194 births per 1000 people (Macrotrends, 2020). Nonetheless, the actual assessment of death rate in connection with abortion are horrifying, which requires urgent amendment to abortion laws.

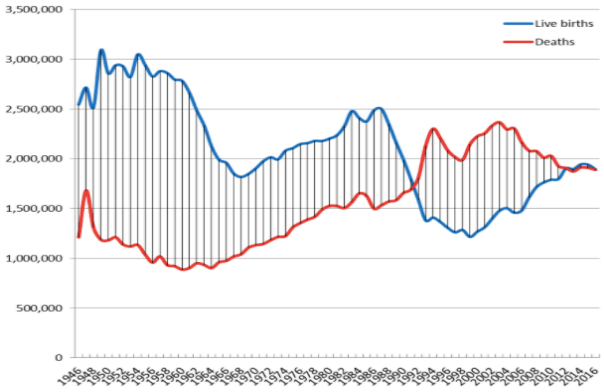


Figure 9: Births & Deaths in Russia, 1946-2016

(Karlin A., February 2017)

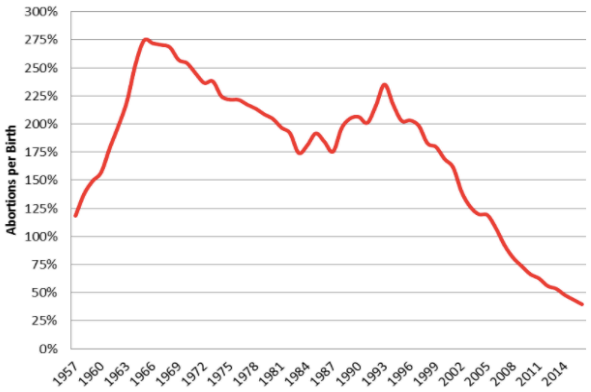


Figure 10: Russia Abortion Rate 1957-2016

(Karlin A., February 2017)

Vladimir Putin's influence and discourses about conservative gender norms and the ultimate purpose of women being at home and taking care of domestic work has obstructed to some extent women from achieving leadership roles in business, politics and in the Orthodox Church. This is why a big part of the female population decided or were forced to perform unpaid care work to prevent the public shame of representing female 'abnormality'. A noteworthy study created by Andrea Mazzarino in 2013 describes how successful Russian business women fight for their power and how Russian women entrepreneurs are fighting in an everyday battle to beat gender norms of 'socially appropriate' behaviour of women in sectors led by men.

In addition to low leadership positions, women lack institutions promoting their power. Today, one of the most famous women's organizations in Russia is the Union of the Committees of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia, which gained power from its traditional and conservative ideology depicting women as 'society's caretakers' and 'inherently altruistic' (Urban M., June 2013). However, due to a high number of female journalists who are very influential, the Association of Women Journalists was created. The journalist Nadezda Azhgikhina began this institution to report and denounce gender inequalities and actions in Russia, such as the murder of journalist Anna Politkovskaya and the assassination of the human rights advocate Natalia Estemirova, who were seen as obstacles to Putin's increasing authoritarianism.

To conclude, the empowerment of Russian women throughout history can be described as paradoxical. From the contradictions found in the imperial period, to a steady phase of women's emancipation in the 1920s, where civil marriages and abortions were legalized, to a

period of severe Stalinist crackdown on feminism and a strict enforcement of the patriarchal model of society, women in Russia have had to navigate complex societal rules and often see the much-deserved acquisition of rights be rescinded by successive leaders. Modern Russia is unfortunately not an objection to the pervasive Soviet Union gender inequality trend. We can even call Putinism a period of disempowerment of women. 21st century Russia's governmental discourses have steadily portrayed the role of women as being good mothers and taking care of the household, particularly because of the falling birth rates since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Women in modern Russia have been oppressed by Putin's dictatorship as there have been new impositions to the abortion law, enhanced political influence, reductions in financing women's institutions according to recent NGO laws, and a widespread animosity toward the word 'feminism', which has a bad meaning in Russia subsequently the Brezhnev era. As the empowerment of women in Russia is more and more vulnerable and the authoritarian regime is becoming more powerful every day, fighting gender norms is becoming very challenging, but without any doubt more crucial than ever before (Hardwick N., December 2014).

2. FOUR PILLARS OF WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

At the dawn of the 2020s, fostering egalitarian and more participatory economies must be the mission of global, national, and industry leaders. To achieve this goal, fostering gender equality across education, health, politics, and across all types of economic involvement will be decisive. For centuries, women in Russia have gained and lost economic power. As mentioned before, their role and status has strongly varied with who was at the head of Russia. In fact, pursuing gender equality and the empowerment of women (the aim of SDG5) has not always been a priority for Russian leaders. Especially since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the country fails to promote gender equality and does not put a lot of input into empowering women through their official programs and legislative initiatives.

Russia's 2024 development agenda contains provisions regarding maternal health (SDG 5.6., sexual and reproductive health) and regarding the creation of an enabling environment for professional careers of mothers (SDG 5.1). Also, the development agenda includes provisions to end all forms of discrimination against women and girls and promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels (Russian Federation, 2019). It should be noted that in 2020, Russia ranks 81st out of 189 according to

the UN Gender Inequality Index (World Economic Forum, 2020). However, when the UN Gender Inequality Index was published in 2017, Russia ranked 53rd, which means their ranking dropped a lot (World Economic Forum, 2020). But how can this huge decrease be explained?

The United Nations has developed, since 1995, a minimum set of gender indicators in order to understand the global advancement in gender parity since the Beijing Platform. When looking at the statistics, we can see that the labor force participation rate for persons aged 15-24 has dropped from almost 15 % from 1995 up until 2017. However, the gross enrolment ratio in secondary education has increased for at least 10 % and literacy rates grew steadily reaching nearly 100 % (Macrotrends, 2020). Additionally, many qualitative indicators, such as maternity protection or gender quota in parliament are not legislated in the Russian Federation (United Nations, 2020).

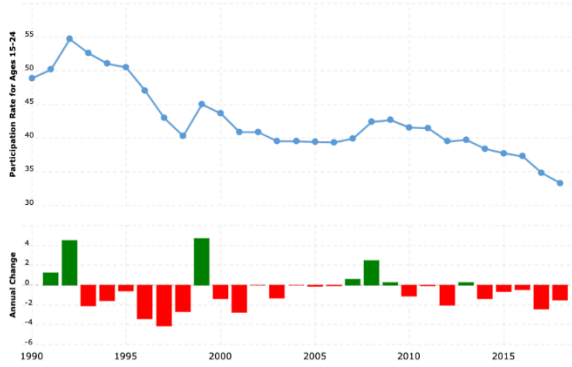


Figure 11: Russian Labor Force Participation Rate 1990-2020
(Macrotrends, 2020)

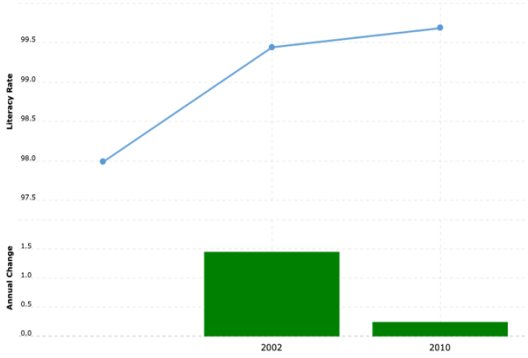


Figure 12: Russia Literacy Rate 1989-2020
(Macrotrends, 2020)

Additionally, Russia lags behind OECD countries in terms of deaths per 1000 births and teenage pregnancy. The most challenging issue is women's involvement in political processes measured according to the share of parliament mandates held by women – in these terms, Russia falls behind not only developed but also the majority of developing countries, including the former Soviet Union (Kolmar O., Sakharov A., 2019).

Published annually by the World Economic Forum since 2006, the Global Gender Gap Index tracks the equality of men and women in 153 countries in four pillars: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment. Within each of the index's four categories, Russia ranks 32nd in Economic Participation and Opportunity, in the 25 best countries in Educational Attainment, in the 39

best countries in Health and Survival, and 122nd in Political Empowerment (World Economic Forum, 2020).

The Russian Federation has closed 70.6 % of its gender gap so far. Russian women are, on average, more educated than men and live longer but seldom achieve positions of leadership. Despite their high level of skills, only 71.2 % of the wage gap and 57.9 % of the income gap have been closed so far. Also, when considering political participation, Russia has closed less than 0 % of its political empowerment gap so far. Not only has there never been a woman as a head of state, but there are few women among ministers and parliamentarians. The report says that '*Despite the fact that Russian society provides women with broad access to education and some segments of the labor market, a glass ceiling is preventing most of them from accessing positions of power either in politics or in the business sector*' (World Economic Forum, 2020).

However, fulfilling all of the criteria of the four pillars of the World Economic Forum's framework is necessary in order to completely achieve women's economic emancipation. Throughout the following section, quantitative and qualitative data are going to be analysed in order to understand the Russian Federation, from the collapse of the Soviet Union until today, through the lens of the four World Economic Forum Pillars. In doing so, we will be able to evaluate how far gender gaps have been bridged and what is still missing in order to achieve women's economic empowerment in Russia. We will delve deep mainly on Pillar 1, as it corresponds more adequately to the overarching question this thesis aims to answer, mainly the economic and business factors which determine the economic emancipation of women in Russia. Nevertheless, we will take a short look at the other three pillars, as many of the more socio-economic factors also play an important part in defining women's status in Russia and all four pillars are heavily intertwined.

2.1. PILLAR I: ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION AND OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN

2.1.1. Decent Work

During the Third BRICS Labor and Employment Ministers' meeting in 2017, Ministers from BRICS countries, alongside other G20 countries made collective commitments to reduce the gender gap in labor force participation and agreed on a set of key policy principles to

improve the quality of women's employment (Mead L., August 2017). These commitments support the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, especially the SDG 8 on inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. Especially through SDG 8.5, member States agreed to '*achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value by 2030*' (ILO, August 2018).

In developing countries, about 75 % of women are working in the informal, or grey economy. This means that they are more likely to lack decent working conditions such as employment contracts, legal rights, decent salary or social protection. Worldwide, 600 million women are working in unsafe and precarious environments (Oxfam, 2019). In Russia, the informal economy is caused by the economic decline, fiscal pressures and the growth of technologies and Internet-markets. In 2016, 15.4 million were employed in the informal economy. This part of the population represents 21.2 % of the total working force of Russia (Egorova K., May 2017). Again, women, pressured by their husbands, represent a bigger share than men in this shadow economy. Wages are around 25-40 % lower in the informal economy, which ponder the low productivity and low working conditions of the jobs, such as harvesting crops, cleaning, tutoring and manual labor (Cordell J., October 2019).

However, during the USSR, the shadow economy appeared only after the death of Stalin, as it was very dangerous to act against the State at that time. When the authoritarian leadership became less tyrannical, people started to work underground, when they could not afford to earn enough to live by working "legally". It has been stated that the shadow economy operators are the legitimate children of the ineffective system of socialism. During the Soviet Union, the informal economy was thus not targeting women especially, but a big part of the starving population (Rutgaizer V., February 1992).

In 2015, 58 % of Russian women reported lack of respect at work, and 21 % of women reported bad working conditions by gender stereotypes (Obukhovskaya K., June 205). Decent work in current Russia is thus heavily hampered by the informal economy and gender norms, which has a negative influence on women's productivity and the country's economy.

2.1.2. Gender Gap Pay

Despite some significant progress in recent years, the gender gaps in the labor market participants remain sizable. Globally, the gender gap persists. For some countries, the gap in gender pay has intensified rather than minimized. Women have always been and are still getting paid lower wages than men. Worldwide, they earn 24 % less than men and with the rate of the current improvements in women's economic empowerment, it should take approximately 170 years to close the wage gap globally (Oxfam, 2019). An interesting day representing this gender gap is the Equal Pay Day and symbolizes how many days in the new year's women have to work extra to get the same amount as men earned last year.

Women in Russia are hard workers and the gender gap in employment there is one of the smallest worldwide, with less than 4 % difference between the employment rates in men and women. Belgium women are not working as much as Russian women do, with an 8% difference between the employment rates in men and women (Eurostat, 2020). This can be explained by Russia's heritage of the Soviet Union, where the equality principle was not only applied to class, but to all groups of society, including male and female. On the other side, the gender gap pay is one of the biggest among high-income countries. The inequality is above 30 % and it can once again be explained by the Soviet era's legacy, where the 'Equal Pay for Equal Work' legislation was favoring jobs for men with higher physical advantage (Atencio A., Posadas J., August 2015). However, in Belgium, women earn on average 6 % less per hour than men, which makes it score better than most other European countries, where the average stands at 14.8 % (StatBel, March 2020).

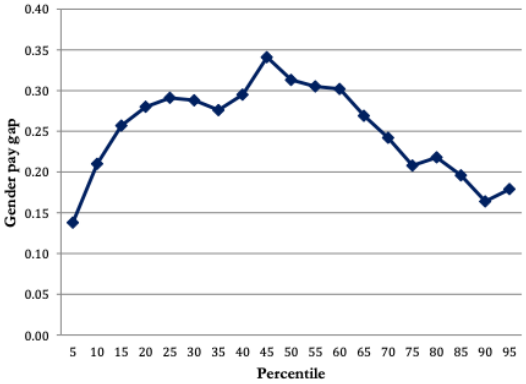


Figure 13: Russian gender pay gap by percentile, 2011
(Atencio A., Posadas J., August 2015)

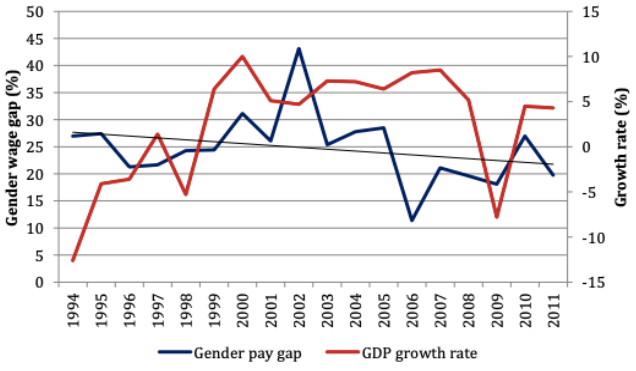


Figure 14: Russian gender gap in pay 1994-2011
(Atencio A., Posadas J., August 2015)

Differences in earnings between men and women are substantive in Russia. One main cause for these pay inequalities is the uneven gender allocation in various areas of employment. During the Soviet Union, there was very little horizontal segregation as there were more women than men because of the war. In fact, in 1936, there were 9 million women in the industrial workforce and by 1945, there were 15 million. Actually, half of Soviet workers were female, and even in the army more than 1 million women were enrolled. However, even though there was no horizontal segregation back then, the gender gap pays widened from 1930 to 1945 (Lynch M., 2013). In present-day Russia, there are more than 450 occupations in which it is illegal to employ women (Kosterina I., February 2011). Besides, historically, some jobs are viewed as male-dominated, such as mechanical engineering, mining or surgery and some as female-dominated, such as education, accounting or communication. The issue is that most of the jobs attributed to women are less paid then jobs assigned to men. This can be explained by the fact that men obtain financial compensation for harmful and dangerous work, which is prohibited to women, as well as for overtime, work on weekends and public holidays, which is not allowed to certain categories of women, such as pregnant women (Vesey-Byrne J., August 2017).

It is important to underline that many factors can influence the choice of a profession for women, even though it is legally mentioned that women can perform the job they want. One of them is the "moral economy", which represents informal norms that force women to make one or another choice (Rivkin-Fish M., 2018). As mentioned before, it is traditionally believed that a woman should pay more attention to the family. In order to perform more domestic work, a woman can decide or be forced to work part-time or choose a job that is easier to combine with raising children, which is reflected in her income. Long maternity leave and the inability to send a child to kindergarten push women to choose a more 'convenient' profession. In the twenty-first century, men are still considered 'earners' and women are 'guardians of the household', which could in other words be a 'fatherhood bonus' and 'motherhood penalty' (Slobodskaya H., Safronova M., Windle M., July 2005). In consequence, many employers consider fathers to be more stable and reliable employees than mothers and will in turn not hire women if they are planning to have children later. Some frequent questions arising in interviews are, for example, 'Are you already married?' or 'Do you have children? Why not?'. Finally, gender stereotypes influence the situation, as a matter of fact it can be more difficult for women to ask for wage increases and they often encounter 'imposter syndrome',

which are traits that are encouraged in men, such as perseverance, determination, and perseverance, which can irritate an employer if they are demonstrated by a woman.

Vertical segregation in terms of authority position has also a big role to play in gender gap pay. Authority in the workplace is a good proxy for higher occupational remuneration because such positions are usually better paid and characterized by more responsibility for and influence over other workers (Kosyakova Y., May 2015). This gap also variates by skill levels, for example among average skilled workers, women get 57 % of men's wages, while among unskilled workers women earn up to 84 % of men's earnings (ILO, August 2018).

On the bright side, it has been reported that a quarter of Russian wives earn more than their husbands. This comes from a project 'Lady Mail.Ru' that conducted a survey with 14700 Russian people, on the attitude of Russians toward the family budget and the difference in wages between spouses. Statistics showed that 25 % of Russian women received a higher wage than their husbands (Wonder, July 2019).

To conclude, the collapse of the Communist regime instigated an unprecedented change in Russia's labor market structure. Job opportunities and wages declined for many vulnerable groups, particularly for women. In December 2015, men's salary amounted, on average, at 38600 Rubbles per month, while for women it was 28000 Rubbles. Currently, women earn on average a quarter less than their male counterparts. However, in 2005, women were earning just 60 % of men's wages (The Moscow Times, September 2017). Traditional intra-family division of labor, sectoral segregation and low-representation in senior positions all contribute to today's gender gap pay. A gender gap that is pervasive as the higher the wage is, the higher the gender differences are, and we should not wait 170 years to bridge this gap.

2.1.3. Entrepreneurship

Small enterprises and ambitious firms are at the heart of every industry. It does, first of all, contribute immensely to the world economy but also has a beneficial effect on the entrepreneur. Investing in women's entrepreneurship is therefore crucial to the development of the world economy but also crucial to women's emancipation. Globally, the number of women entrepreneurs have been growing. Today, for every 10 male entrepreneurs, there are 7 female entrepreneurs (Simovic D., August 2019). Supporting women in the development of their

capacities and in accessing finances requires both the development of their entrepreneurial abilities and skills, as well as the development of social capacities that have an impact on the way women develop their business. To achieve this support, it is necessary to consider the unequal situations and conditions faced by women, such as reduced access to loans and land, that leads to reduced opportunities for entrepreneurship. For many women, entrepreneurship is presented as a new way of doing more inclusive business, where not only profit maximization is important, but the purpose and positive impact that these new companies can achieve. So, entrepreneurship has a multiplier effect, as it has a great impact on the economy, on the lives of women and in all their surroundings.

Before talking about Russian women having an active lifestyle, there is a need to understand the situation in small and medium-sized businesses (SMEs) in general. According to the results of a study of 2000 Russian companies carried by EY in 2017, the business activity of SMEs in Russia is growing (Azizian S., 2017). Barriers to entrepreneurship are the unstable economic situation, the falling demand and the lack of acceptable financial resources (Azizian S., 2017). Additionally, bureaucracy and administrative pressure are a strong barrier to start a business in Russia. The share of people starting a business is gradually increasing, from 2 % in 1991 to 7 % in 2017 (Federov V., October 2017). In fact, the Marxist ideology of the Soviet Union did not favour entrepreneurial development as most of the enterprises were owned by the State. When the USSR collapsed, big changes happened to the Russian economy as it transitioned into a market economy. This new period engendered many new opportunities, and entrepreneurship was one of them.

Despite the unstable economic situation, difficulties with financing, psychological and administrative barriers, there is a small, but steady increase in Russian female entrepreneurship. Feminine entrepreneurship is getting younger and is growing at a fast pace. To have an idea, in Belgium, women represent 33 % of entrepreneurs and 23 % of employers (Degreef C., March 2016). However, in Russia, 23 % of businesses are owned by women, which is already positive even if there is still room for improvements (Azizian S., 2017). This is mainly thanks to the existence of women's entrepreneurship support programs that, for example, contributed to 53 % of participants starting their business after the birth of their child (Azizian S., 2017). The recent slight increase in women's entrepreneurs can also be attributed to the World Bank Group that has acted upon helping women accessing financing needed to become entrepreneurs. The International Finance Corporation has recently provided Transcapital bank with a $50 million

loan to increase access to resources for SMEs, with a quarter of the loan allocated for women-owned and women-run businesses (International Finance Corporation, 2020).

The same survey revealed that women entrepreneurs are more worried about the efficiency of invested funds than men. In addition, women entrepreneurs are less dependent on imports than men. They are in fact more actively looking for domestic counterparts for the production and sale of goods and services. It may be related with the specific areas of activity that are traditionally chosen by women, such as baby products, that satisfy local demand.

Also, according to the study, 92 % of women and 93 % of men heading small companies and medium-sized businesses did not receive government support, and a third of all respondents do not know anything about State support measures. On top, only 7 % of women received subsidies and grants for start-ups from 2012 until 2017. In fact, the credit gap encountered by Russian women-owned small and medium enterprises is a shocking $11.5 billion (International Finance Corporation, 2020). Since family for a woman is always located in the first place, they rely primarily on the support of their husbands or fathers. Russian women receive a higher education, but that does not mean that they have enough knowledge and skills in finance and management. Women also indicate that the cost of training for them is too high. This is because they are mainly focused in the micro business segment for which small investment volumes and reasonable savings is important. Therefore, it is very important to develop free online programs or low-cost formations in order to stimulate female entrepreneurship (Azizian S., 2017).

Even though the entrepreneurship environment is better today than during the communist period, the current state of female entrepreneurship in Russia is reflected in the position of Russia in the Female Entrepreneurship Index. This index was developed by Global Entrepreneurship and Development Institute (GEDI) in 2015 and is basing its ranking on three indicators: the state of entrepreneurial environment, the state of entrepreneurial ecosystem and entrepreneurial aspirations. While Belgium holds the 13th place in the Female Entrepreneurship Index, the Russian Federation is very badly ranked holding the 56th position out of 77 countries (Seliverstova N., Somkova M., 2018). In order to close the bridge and to improve Russia's ranking in women entrepreneurship, efforts are needed in financing, social norms, cultural factors and in reinforcing women’s self-confidence.

Pillar	Indicator	Pillar	Indicator	Pillar	Indicator	Pillar	Indicator
1	Opportunity Recognition	4	Know an Entrepreneur	8	Highly Educated Owners	12	New Technology
1	Equal Rights	4	Internet and Networks	8	SME support and training	12	R&D Expenditure
1	Market Size	5	Executive Status	9	Innovativeness	13	Business Gazelles
2	Perc. Of Skills	5	Access to Childcare	9	Monopolized Markets	13	Female Leadership
2	Secondary Education	6	Opportunity Business	10	Entrepreneurship Ratio	14	Export Focus
3	Willingness to Start	6	Bus Freedom & Movement	10	Labor Force Parity	14	Globalization
3	Business Risk	7	Tech Sector Business	11	New Product	15	1st tier financing
		7	Tech Absorption	11	Technology Transfer	15	3rd tier financing

Individual level indicators are listed in black; Institutional level indicators are listed in blue

Highest score Lowest score

Figure 15: Female Entrepreneurship Index – Pillars and Indicators

(Lloyd A., Terjesen S., 2014)

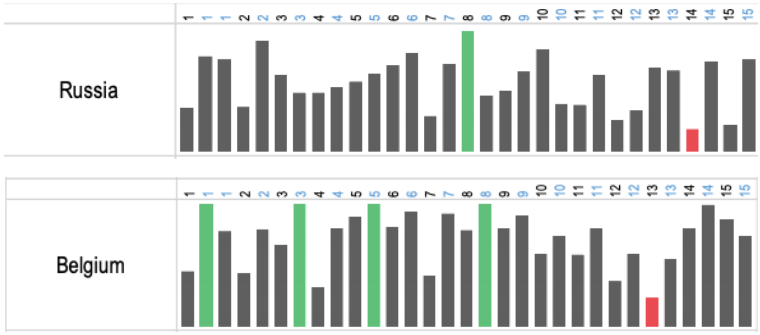


Figure 16: Female Entrepreneurship Results - Russia

(Lloyd A., Terjesen S., 2014)

Figure 17: Female Entrepreneurship Results - Belgium

(Lloyd A., Terjesen S., 2014)

2.1.4. Representation in Business

Women holding leadership positions are needed to develop and sustain the global economy. In 2007, a report led by the non-profit research organization Catalyst showed that Fortune 500 companies with more women in the board of directors were performing better. This result was based on three components where these companies were outperforming: return on equity, by 52 %, return on sales, by 42 %, and return on invested capital, by 66 % (Alender S., March 2015). The value of gender diversity in the business is widely acknowledged. Women add different insights and conceptions to business, contributing to more inclusive workplaces and improved accomplishments for the company (Rockefeller Foundation, May 2016). Lastly, women are role models and have a positive impact on workplace policies.

The notion of 'glass ceiling' is important to understand why despite the positive effects that women bring to a company, they are still underrepresented in senior positions. The glass ceiling effect stands for the invisible upper limit in corporations and other organizations, above which it is difficult or impossible for women to rise in the ranks (Johnson Lewis J., August 2019). The origin of this expression can be traced back to an article published in The Wall Street Journal in 1986. In it, glass ceiling barriers are defined as the obstacles that women face to ascend in the world of business. The article demonstrates that, regardless of the merits and successes of the job, women have more difficulty to grow professionally. The causes of the

glass ceiling are related, among other things, to the underlying idea that women are less committed to the company due to family burdens. The possibility of a pregnancy or the fact that they have children often leads to their failure to promote. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that decisions about promotions are usually made by men and that they are highly prejudiced regarding the worth of women in taking leadership roles. However, the reasons behind the glass ceiling go much further and there is a need to look at the structural situation of society to understand them. The fact that women continue to spend the most hours caring for family and home means that they find less time to fulfil themselves and grow professionally. In consequence, they have less purchasing power and the number of pensions is usually higher for men (Cotter A., Hermsen M., Ovadia S., December 2001).

Today, women around the world represent 6.6 % of CEOs at the companies on Fortune's list, which amounts to 2 % more than in 2015. Another progressive change is that in 2005, women held 15.7 % of board seats at Fortune 500 companies, and today they represent 25.5 % of those seats (Connley C., May 2019). The situation for women in Russia is also improving. On one hand, a 2013 report from Ward Howell found out that Russian women account for just 1 % of CEOs in the country's top 160 firms in comparison with 4.4 % in the Fortune 500 in the US. And women in Russia made up only 8 % of company board members according to Credit Suisse (and less than 5 %, according to the ILO), compared to a global average of 12 % (Lepeksa D., January 2016). On the other hand, a study of 35 countries held in 2015 by the consultancy Grant Thornton revealed that Russia was the country with the most women in senior management positions. In fact, 40 to 45 % of Russian senior managers are women, compared to 27.9 % in Belgium, 22 % in the United Kingdom and 21 % in the United States (Credit Suisse Research Institute, September 2016).

Yet, even though the number of Russian women holding leadership positions is high, PWC indicated that they were most often occupying auxiliary roles with low decision-making power, such as chief accountant or head of human resources (Lepeska D., January 2016). It is surprising to acknowledge the low number of Russian women in leadership considering that education and qualifications are gender equal. Additionally, a survey conducted by Zenger Folkman in 2011 and published in the Harvard Business Review found that women were demonstrating more integrity and honesty than men. A positive and needed trait in a corrupted country such as Russia (Alender S., March 2015). So why are women executives rare in Russia?

The transition from the USSR reinforced gender-specific stereotypes, with women being increasingly considered a 'secondary' labor force in the new Russian labor market. The belief that gender inequality should decrease in a free market is contrary to the harsh reality that women are facing in post-Soviet Russia. Actually, two researchers, Kurakin and Kozyakova, studied gender inequality in the Soviet and post-Soviet markets and found out that between 1965 and 1979, there was no gender discrimination toward achieving senior positions for people working in the same sector and having received the same education. But, by 1980, a trend disfavouring man aroused and developed even more after the collapse of the communist regime (Kurakin D., Kosyakova Y., December 2016).

Accessing senior roles for Russian women has become more complicated and a couple of factors have contributed to that. Firstly, there has been an abrupt change in public institutions which has engendered a reduction in the number of jobs offered in the public sector. In consequence, private employers have a preference toward hiring men, because they have lower parental responsibilities. Then, women tend to choose lower paid careers or to work part-time to be able to carry their dual responsibility of taking care of children. This duty is heavy, especially since the State does not provide a lot of childcare support, which forces women to lower their career aspirations. Lastly, cultural norms such as '*Men are providers and women are homemakers*', supported by the revival of religion, disfavouring more and more the role of women since the breakup of the Soviet Union, are not helping women achieve leadership positions (Kurakin D. and Kosyakova Y., December 2016).

On a positive note, the share of Russian women in managerial positions has increased between 2006 and 2016 from 38.8 to 42.0 % and has increased more than the share of women in total employment, even though women remain underrepresented in management with between 40 and 45 % of managers being women (ILOSTAT, 2018). This is an encouraging development that will certainly help reduce the gender vertical segregation in the country. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that there is a significant industry differentiation in the number of women leaders. Least of all the ladies in the top management of companies are engaged in mining and most of all women are leaders in the field of education, healthcare and in the hotel business. Noteworthy statistics are that every fifth of top managers in high-tech companies are women (Noskova E., July 2015).

2.1.5. Microcredit

Worldwide, there is a positive correlation between credit penetration, GDP growth and the Human Development Index. The latter has been created to emphasize that people and their capabilities should be the most important factor for evaluating the development of a country. It represents data such as life expectancy, education, and per capita income indicators (United Nations Development Programme, 2020). In fact, microcredits allow people who do not have a guarantee required by traditional banks to start or start their business and, as a consequence, improve their purchasing power and economic decisions. The 3 most influential microfinance organizations in the world are the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, the International Action in Brazil, and Finca International in Bolivia (DAC Network on Gender Equality, April 2011).

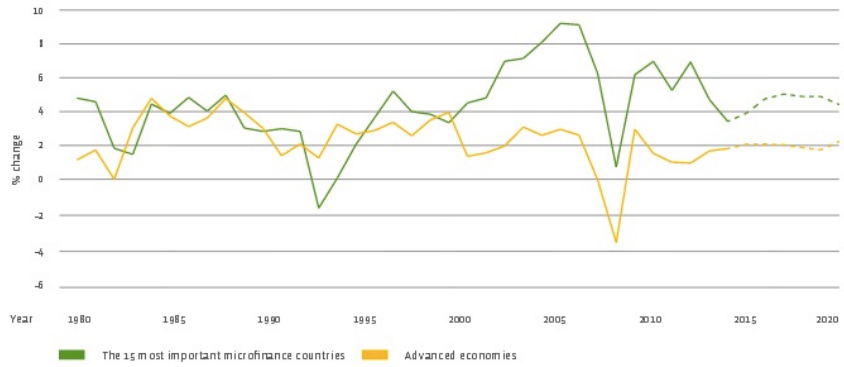


Figure 18: Real GDP growth over time
(ResponsAbility, 2016)

Microcredit in Russia is being delivered by two markets: specialized institutions, which are micro-financial organizations and credit cooperatives, and mainstream banks. However, there is an inconsistency in data, which makes statistics for the officially designated 'microcredit' inaccurate in terms of size, penetration and growth rate. (Korovkin V., January 2014) There is little information on microfinance institutions and organizations in Russia, nevertheless, we can see that most of microfinance users are women. For example, Alternativa, a microcredit cooperative, counted 80 % of women's membership by the end of 2004. Also, Fora Fund, which is a non-commercial microfinance organization distributed over 75 % of its group loans to women (Bossoutrot S., September 2005).

To have an idea of how favourable these institutions are, we take as an example the NGO MFI, which is targeting low-income micro-entrepreneurs concentrated in the retail trade sector and services with a large number of women. The average loan size tends to be below $2000 and interest rates vary between 24 to 72 % per year. Thus, with 24 % interest rates,

which is lower than the global 35 % interest rates for microcredit, it gives the ability to women to repay their loans more easily (Tacis, April 2001).

Also, the Russian Women's Microfinance Network (RWMN), which was established in 1998 as a non-profit partnership with the support of Women World Banking and the Ford Foundation, counted by the end of 2004 more than 5333 active clients. The goal of this organization is to support the development of women-focused microfinance institutions throughout Russia and lend to businesswomen. However, there is no information regarding the existence or activity of RWMN today (Bossoutrot S., September 2005).

Current data show that the Russian microfinance market is growing. Over 6 million people are favouring loans from microfinance companies. There is in fact a high demand for this service and Sberbank, one of the biggest banks in Russia has launched its own microfinance organization. Even Putin's former wife, Lyudmila Putina, has invested in microcredit by buying a 7 % stake in the microlender CarMoney (Sobesednik, November 2019). On top, in 2017, 2302 microfinance companies were operating in Russia and the credit portfolio for the first half of 2017 achieved 88 to 104 billion Rubbles (Suretly, November 2017). Even though the microfinance market is growing, the unavailability of current data regarding its impact on women makes it irrelevant to use it as a factor of economic empowerment of women in Russia.

2.1.6. Unemployment rate

The last 20 years have been positive for the situation of women in the world of work and gender equality in society. Although this is stated in the study of Global Advancement: Trends in Women's Employment 2018, carried out by the ILO, the report indicates that women are not only less likely than men to participate in the workforce, but when they do, they are more likely to be unemployed or to occupy positions where they are legally helpless. In 2018, the global rate of female participation in the labor market was 48.5 %, while it was 75 % for men. In this context, emerging countries are showing the greatest labor disparity, with a difference of 30.5 %. This increase in the participation gap reflects not only the difficulty of access of women at the level of men in terms of job opportunities, but also the increasing number of female enrolments in formal education in these countries, a factor that delays their incorporation into the market labor (ILO, March 2018).

On the other hand, in most developed countries, the participation rates of women are approaching that of men, with a gap of 15.6 %. Despite the fact that the gap in these countries remain wide, the study estimates that the improvements achieved in the last twenty years can be attributed to the fact that the academic achievements of men and women are practically the same, and to the important role played by public policies, through family assistance policies or child care services. However, the wage penalty suffered by women in developed countries is due to discriminatory hiring and promotion practices by employers (ILO, March 2018).

Women who participate in the world of work are less likely to find employment. This is indicated by the study of Global Advancement, where it is stated that the global rate of female unemployment is 6 % while that of men is around 0.8 %, with developing and emerging countries showing the greatest difference in gender unemployment rates. The highest ratio in the unemployment rates is held by developing countries with 1.3 %. Although it is a relatively low rate, it does not indicate a healthy labor market, neither for men nor for women. This is explained by the complexities of informal employment and limited access to social protection systems that pressures the poor to accept any employment opportunity, regardless of its conditions. At the same time, gender roles and discrimination in the labor market make it difficult for women to access decent employments and it is expected that the female unemployment rate will continue to increase in developing countries (ILO, March 2018).

Even though Russia is a developing country, where unemployment rates have been increasing in the last 5 years, and the % of unemployed women has been increasing even faster, the Russian female unemployment rate is lower than the male unemployment rate. Also, the current unemployment rate of Russia is 4.9 %, compared to 6 % in Belgium (Macrotrends, 2020), which is even lower than the eurozone's average unemployment rate of 7.9 % (Yegorov O., April 2019). The current unemployment rate of 4.9 % in Russia is slightly below the unemployment rate in 1991 of 5.2 %. When the Soviet Union crashed, and Yeltsin took over the lead in Russia, unemployment rates have been increasing sharply, achieving a peak in 1998 of 13.26 %. In fact, when Yeltsin became president, he managed to transform the economic crisis in a national disaster. However, under the ruling of Putin, unemployment rates have lowered, except after the economic crisis in 2008, and have achieved the lowest score this year, since the communist regime, with an unemployment rate of 4.9 % (Macrotrends, 2020).

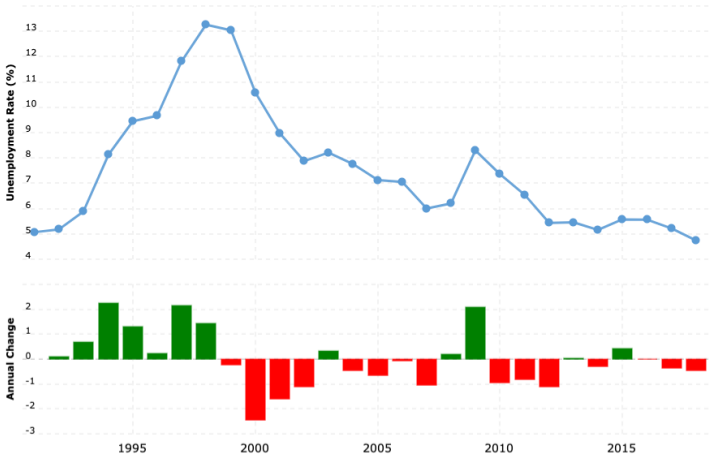


Figure 19: Russia Unemployment Rate 1991-2020
(Macrotrends, 2020)

However, the currently low unemployment rate does not mean that the Russian economy is doing well. The problem is that labor protection legislation does not make it easy for employers to fire people, instead they are going to lower wages. This is why, every time there is a crisis, the unemployment rate is not going up, but wages are going down. So, the number of people participating in the economy is 'immune' to economic fluctuations, while wages are varying accordingly. Accordingly, the Russian legislation is not helping unemployed people, what makes employees stick to their underpaid job. In fact, if they have to rely on employment benefits, they would have to live between 1500 and 8000 Rubbles, which is lower than the minimum wage that stands at 11280 Rubbles. So, when times are tough, it is better for women and for men to stay employed with no future career aspirations and a poor pay then to become unemployed (Yegorov O., April 2019).

2.1.7. Gender patterns in sectoral employment distribution

The difficulties of people in accessing certain professions is called horizontal segregation. Worldwide, some functions are male-dominated, and some other jobs are female-dominated. This is why it may be hard for women to access positions or occupations stipulated as 'masculine', such as engineering. Although less frequent, the same can happen for men, if they want to work in 'feminized' jobs such as nursing. In our society, the traditionalist view of gender continues to be institutionalized in the family, the education system and the business world. Thus, the career orientations of women and men can vary, and it has important consequences on wages and opportunities.

A study realized by the European Commission reported that only 18 % of women are employed in ‘mixed’ professions, and that 69 % of women were employed in what is considered to be ‘feminine’ jobs. Only 13 % of women are thus exercising a male-dominated job (European Commission, 2014). In OECD countries, the service sector is employing 80 % of women workers against 60 % of men. On average, a third of women employed in the service sector are working in sales or in hotels and restaurants. Besides, healthcare is female-dominated by 78 %, followed closely by education where women represent 70 % of job occupations. In developing countries, however, there has been a feminization of the agricultural sector, which leads to often undervalued work or unpaid work (OCDE, 2012).

Additionally, prohibitions of certain jobs for women are in force in 104 countries (Jacobs F., May 2018). Despite the general trend toward democratization, new restrictions still arise. For example, in 2013, Vietnam women were still forbidden to drive tractors with a capacity of 50 horsepower and above. The ban on certain professions for women is motivated by a variety of reasons, and they all fit into the idea of ‘caring’ for women who supposedly need a lot of support. Legislators often talk about the safety of women, for this reason in many countries, they are forbidden to work at night. Such restrictions apply, for example, in Nigeria, in Madagascar, or in Malaysia. In many countries, women are forbidden ‘immoral’ work. In eighteen countries around the world, a husband can prohibit a woman from working under the law, such rules apply, for example, in Bahrain, Qatar, Iran, and Yemen (World Economic Forum, August 2018).

Fortunately, the situation is changing. In many countries’ laws are becoming more liberal. According to the World Bank, in recent years, several countries have relaxed legislative restrictions. For example, in a number of countries the ban on night work was lifted. This happened in Bahrain, Moldova and Tajikistan. Colombia and the Czech Republic allowed women to work as miners, and Slovenia allowed women to work as builders. On top, Mongolia gave them access to the construction and energy sectors, and also allowed them to work as miners, in the transportation of goods and in water production (World Economic Forum, August 2018).

During the Soviet Union, there was no horizontal segregation as women were outnumbering men, especially after World War II, and had to take over male-dominated jobs, such as construction, and mining. Since 1991, horizontal segregation has been growing in

Russia, which reinforces the vertical occupations that were already present during the USSR. These growing gender inequalities in the labor market can be traced back primarily to a worsening of female chances in an economic transition, whereas there was very little alteration for men. So, women have not entirely translated their educational achievements into economic opportunities since the transition from socialism to a liberalized market economy.

Besides, 456 tasks were still prohibited to women under section 253 of the Russian Labor Code until 2019 (ILO, August 2018). Some of these 'non-female' professions included driver, carpenter, as well as a subway driver. Even though this list, which was in place for about 20 years, has been revised because it was judged by Russia's own Commissioner for Human Rights, Tatyana Moskalkova, to be representing discrimination against women, the updated list is still exhaustive. Indeed, in August 2019, the Russian Ministry of Labor approved a new list of jobs and positions that are currently considered 'harmful' or 'dangerous for women'. The list includes about a hundred professions, such as some jobs in chemical industries, underground and mining, metalworking, oil and gas production, and several positions in the textile and food industries, which are much more considered harmful and dangerous for women than for men (Vesey-Byrne J., August 2017).

However, women can still occupy leadership positions in those industries that are not related to the performance of physical labor. The Ministry of Labor justified the new list by saying that the professions banned from women were considering factors that were considered as harmful to the reproductive health of women, affecting the health of the future generation and having long-term consequences. So, while from January 1, 2021, Russian women will be able to legally work in many positions that were previously officially unavailable to them, for example, truck, tractor and train drivers, locksmiths and car mechanics (Weir F., January 2020), the same discriminatory ideology which targets women is still to a large extent in place, with its associated negative consequences.

2.2. PILLAR II: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Education is essential for a highly skilled and productive labor force. This is why it represents the 4th Sustainable Development Goal (SDG4). It has been proven through various studies that greater education is increasing employment possibilities, wages and is fostering economic growth. Greater educational attainment has in fact contributed for half the economic

growth in OECD countries in the past century and this is also because women, through achieving higher levels of education, are contributing more to increasing the world GDP (OECD, 2014). So, increasing women and girls' educational attainment is a milestone of women's economic empowerment and more inclusive economic growth. The paradox is that even though women have gained significant education in past decades, it has not translated into better labor market outcomes (UN WOMEN, July 2018).

In Tsarist Russia, access to education was very limited, and over 80 % of women were illiterate. In fact, only aristocratic women were schooled, and this with a very limited scope in the education they received. During the times of the Soviet Union, women had to learn to operate societal jobs. They received training in their workplace that enabled them to work in the State's central body. So, together with the Bolshevik revolution, working women went from being underpaid slaves to being organizers and administrators of the new Soviet State (Barquero J., March 2017).

Studying women's economic empowerment according to their current access to education is interesting. In fact, the share of male and female students in educational activities at all levels, except the higher education level, is about the same. Actually, 37 % of women have a higher education, while only 29 % of Russian men do (Wandzel M., May 2018). Also, regarding the share of graduates with tertiary qualifications, female students outnumber male students by almost 50 %. For example, women have recently also surpassed men in scientific research, which requires a high education. In fact, according to UNESCO, 29 % of the scientific research worldwide is done by women, compared to 41 % in Russia. A percentage that equals the European proportion of women scientists and engineers. However, at the same there is a belief in Russia that it is important that women learn how to become good wives and mothers, as this is their primary duty in Russia's patriarchal system (Dogmazer O., August 2018).

For Russian women, obtaining a professional education is often not an investment in future high wages, but more a competitive advantage when seeking employment. It remains true that, because of gender biases and discrimination, highly educated women still earn 73 % of men's average salary (Wandzel M., May 2018). Therefore, the most important issue is the extent to which the education system contributes to human development, reduces social inequality and improves the welfare of citizens by increasing the economic empowerment of Russians, and especially women. The focus now is being shifted from access-to-education

indicators to the education quality and equality of access to good quality education (Sustainable Development, August 2014).

2.3. PILLAR III: HEALTH AND SURVIVAL

2.3.1. Health

Good health and well-being are the third sustainable development goal (SDG3). An important factor of people's successful labor activity is the state of their health that will shape their productivity and labor output. Social and political factors, such as access to family planning and healthcare services, have a considerable impact on women's ability to engage in the economy. But this is a "two way street" as the possibility to engage in paid jobs has also permitted women economic actors to invest in their own health and education, as well as in that of their children (OECD, April 2011). Thus, we can argue that improving women's health stimulates their economic empowerment and vice-versa.

The Soviet Union was one of the initiators of the healthcare system worldwide. After the October Revolution of 1917, important results were achieved in health care and particular attention was paid to medical reforms on issues of motherhood and childhood, so that mother and infant mortality numbers started decreasing in the 1920s (Rubakin N., 1912).

In the early 1990s, a series of reforms began, essentially dividing the healthcare system. However, despite many problems of the Soviet healthcare system, it was an exemplary one and it more likely needed to be polished instead of reformed. Tatyana Chubarova, the head of the Centre for Economic Theory of Social Sector of the Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, noted '*Today, we do not have a unified healthcare system, it is breaking into at least two parts. One, paid, is for wealthy citizens, and the other, free, state, is for the poor. The implications for service quality are obvious. Underfunding of the state part leads to the unwinding of a peculiar spiral of discrediting the state health care system.'* (Chubarova T., 2010). The Soviet health care system was based on social solidarity and the rejection of this principle is resulting not only in a drop in the level of health care, but also with serious social upheavals.

2.3.2. Domestic Violence

Domestic violence can be defined as an inhumane specific system of behaviour of one family member in relation to another, which is aimed at suppressing the will, imposing and upholding power, purposefully instilling emotions of fear and maintaining control and submission (Dutton D., 2011). Domestic violence often targets women and results in low self-esteem, increased anxiety, lag in mental and physical development, decreased intellectual abilities, isolation, and poor academic performance of victims. It is thus a threat to sustainable economic development as it hampers women and children from developing their full potential.

Laws against domestic violence exist in 127 countries and protection orders are provided for in the laws of 124 countries. Unfortunately, in Russia, such laws do not exist. And although there is a certain degree of gender equality in Russia in terms of health, domestic violence is inherently present. In fact, 38 % of women in Russia have experienced verbal violence and 20 % have been physically abused during their lives. A survey held in December 2019 by the National Centre on Domestic and Sexual Violence showed that a quarter of Russia's residents consider domestic violence to be a family matter that does not need to be interfered with (National Centre on Domestic and Sexual Violence, 2020).

In 2017, the Russian government decriminalized domestic violence. The law transferred the beatings inflicted on close relatives from the category of criminal offenses to administrative ones. This has led to a sharp drop in the amount of reported domestic violence cases, leading Russian authorities to believe the overall number is declining. However, this is not the case, as it is estimated that over the 16 million Russian women who suffered domestic violence in 2019, only 2 % went to the police (Sahakyan A., August 2016).

Finally, domestic violence in Russia is mainly due to the patriarchal system and the rising problem of alcoholism associated with the fall of the Soviet Union. During the USSR, domestic violence was present. In 2017, Russian statistics showed that 14000 women were murdered every year by intimate partners. We can conclude that even though women in Russia live longer and are healthier, they suffer from violence which impedes their self-esteem and their career aspirations. Therefore, there is an urgent need to change behaviours and implement policies toward domestic violence.

2.4. PILLAR IV: POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

2.4.1. Representation in Politics

Women's representation in politics worldwide is of huge importance when considering their empowerment both socially and economically. In fact, they need to be represented in the political process in order to promote their economic empowerment through the implementation of gender parity legislation. However, the largest gender inequality worldwide remains in political empowerment.

From its inception, the USSR tried to incorporate thousands of women into political life. When the Soviet Constitution was created, it brought many changes in ancient tsarist Russia, where under equal political rights to women. For the first time in world history, working women and peasants had the same opportunity to vote as their male co-workers. They gained the right to elect and be elected and were given the opportunity to elevate their position in factory committees, villages institutions and police stations. As mentioned above, the first woman to be elected in a government anywhere in the world in the USSR, with Aleksandra Kollontai (Barquero J., March 2017).

The Russian Federation today ranks 122 in the Political Empowerment sub index of the Global Gender Gap Index 2020. This represents a huge decrease in ranking from 2006, when it was ranked 108. This means that Russia has closed less than 10 % of its Political Empowerment gap so far and is very slow at closing it. In Russia, not only has there never been a woman as a head of state, but there are few women among ministers (12.9 %) and parliamentarians (15.8 %) (World Economic Forum, 2020). The problem in Russia is that the stereotypical image of a politician remains predominantly male, and as long as the country is ruled along a patriarchal system, women will not have the opportunity to gain voice and politics and fight for new laws favouring their economic empowerment.

2.4.2. Policies

As part of Russia's commitments to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and corresponding Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Russian Federation has prioritized the shaping of an enabling environment for full and equal participation of women in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres of the society. The National Strategy 2017-

2022, that has been recently introduced, includes fundamental measures to improve women's participation in the Russian labor market by improving women's education and enhancing their job opportunities in high-technology industries through scholarships, assistance and professional contests for women innovators. The new strategy also considers actions to diminish the gender pay gap and to support women workers with family responsibilities, through the provision of childcare, and additional training and retraining after parental leave (ILO, August 2018).

The National Strategy 2017-2022 is putting a lot of importance on women's entrepreneurship development and a range of initiatives are proposed to this end: financial and material support; leasing instruments; support to banks that support women; 'plug in' of women enterprises into infrastructure; improvement of normative and legal regulations concerning women's entrepreneurship; and incentives to innovative women's enterprises. The Duma is also strategizing solutions to the unpaid care work or the informal economy (ILO, August 2018).

Even though more than hundreds of jobs are still prohibited to women, the government is reducing barriers they may encounter when applying for some sectors by implementing anti-discrimination measures. To reduce the gender inequality in salaries, the government is slowly increasing public sector wages, especially in education, science, health and culture, in which women outnumber men. This is likely to reduce the gender pay gap, as research has shown that females are twice more likely than males to be directly affected by the minimum wage provisions (Lukiyanova A., 2011).

The Government has also looked into the creation of favourable conditions for combining work with family responsibilities, especially the education of children, in particular, through access to pre-school education by children aged from 3 to 7 years. Mothers have access to 140 calendar days of maternity leave at 100 % of their salary. Paid parental leave can be used by the mother or father or the child's primary caregiver. More recently, tax deductions for families with children have been increased (ILO, August 2018).

However most of the improvements happening in Russian women's lives are happening despite, rather than because of, government policy. The Duma started to address gender equality in policies in 2003, and again in 2011. Every time it was not being effectively covered

and put on hold. For example, the measure of imposing quotas for women's participation in politics, and particularly in the Duma has never been implemented (Lepeska D., January 2016). So, even though we can see that women are experiencing gender parity in health and especially in education, and that they constitute more than half of the Russian population, there is room for improvement. Russians have to bridge the gap between legislation and implementation.

3. SURVEY RESULTS

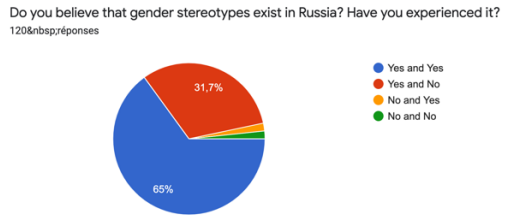
In order to consolidate this research and develop comprehensive conclusions on the current opportunities and barriers to women's economic empowerment in Russia, it was important to find a way to gather real word insights and gain a deeper understanding about the current perception in Russia of Russian women's role in society and in the economy. In order to do so I developed a survey comprising of 19 questions, which I developed in line with the 4 pillars of the World Economic Forum. The survey was sent to 120 Russian people (see Appendix). Out of the respondents, 31.7 % were men and 68.3 % were women. The sample size consisted of 11.7 % of people aged below 18-year-old, 6.7 % of people that were born during the Soviet Union, 62.5 % of people aged between 22 and 25, and 19.3 % of young workers, aged between 26 and 30. So, in total, there were 64.2 % of students and 35.8 % of workers.

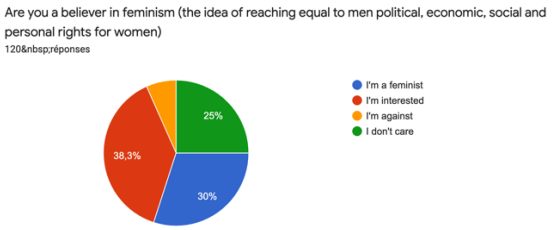
As mentioned, the aim of the survey was to gain a much deeper first-hand understanding of the opinion of current day Russians on questions pertaining to women economic empowerment, the place of women in society and feminism. It was important for the completion of this thesis, to analyse this from a practical and non-theoretical perspective, especially following the analysis of Russian society through the four pillars of the Wold Economic Forum. As we have seen above, our analysis of the four pillars shows that women have limited opportunities for economic empowerment in Russian society and their prospects look bleak, especially as the current political and economic structures remain the same. By conducting a survey, I was hoping to compare, and hopefully validate, the results of my theoretical analysis with the real-life results of my study. As we will see, and despite some survey limitations I will address, not only does the survey largely corroborate the results of my above theoretical analysis, it also provides some interesting nuance and context that

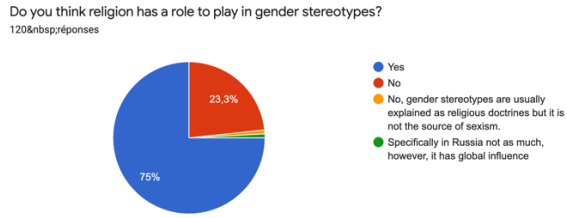
complement the study and helps us further understand the unique nature of women empowerment in Russia today.

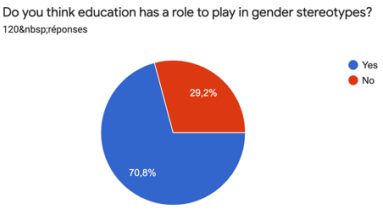
All of the female respondents (82) see themselves working in the future, 16 mentioned creating a family while their future, 11 mentioned creating a firm, 27 mentioned working in a high managerial position, 3 mentioned the importance of work-life balance, 6 mentioned working in Russia, and 17 mentioned working abroad. Out of the male respondents (38), 8 mentioned becoming an entrepreneur, 7 mentioned working in a high managerial position, 2 mentioned working in politics, 8 mentioned working abroad, 4 mentioned working in Russia, and 4 mentioned creating a family meanwhile. We can see that attaining a family life is more present in women's minds, and as such we can tentatively infer that, for the woman surveyed, women have a dual role both as workers and as mothers. This sustains the above-mentioned heavy dual responsibility that women have to carry. However, a higher percentage of women see themselves working in a senior position, which could suggest that their career aspirations are not hampered by the patriarchal system. However, this being contextualized with the low representation of female in senior positions in Russia, it could demonstrate both that the patriarchal system is persisting but also that new generations of women are more ambitious and keen to fight it. Another important factor is the high percentage of females and males that want to work abroad, which represents the lack of economic support and opportunities available in Russia.

Almost all of the respondents believe that gender stereotypes exist in Russia, 60 % of female and male respondents have already experienced gender discrimination, 80 % of surveyed believe that religion has a role to play in gender stereotypes, and 70 % of them think education has a role to play in gender stereotypes. These results suggest that gender norms have a high influence and place in Russian society. To the question 'Are you a believer in feminism, which represents the idea of reaching equal political, economic, social and personal rights for women', 30 % of respondents, out of which 6 males, declared being feminists, almost 40 % of respondents said to be interested by the idea, 25 % expressed an opinion on the matter, and 6 % declared being against it, out of which half are women. As it seems, the supposed negative connotation associated to the word 'feminist' is not necessarily supported by this survey, although a minority expressed some reservations.

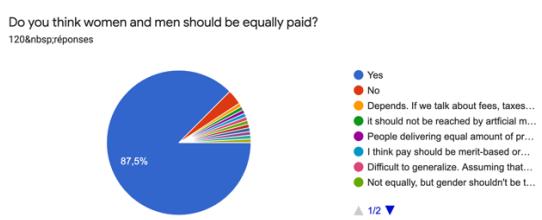


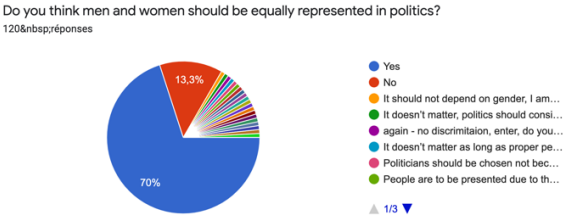


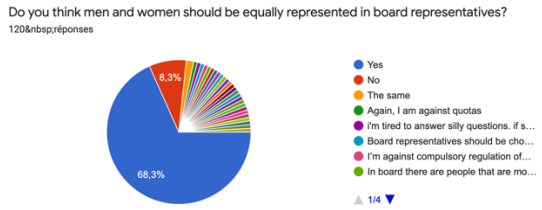




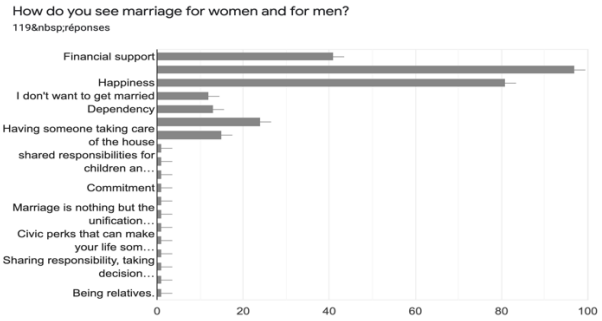
Additionally, 90 % of respondents think women and men should be equally paid, which does not necessarily reflect the persisting Russian gender gap pay which is above 30 %, and 70 % of respondents think men and women should be equally represented in politics and in high managerial positions. However, many respondents underline the fact that they do not believe in quotas but rather in meritocracy and equal opportunities. But when talking about equal opportunities, women and men should have access to the same jobs. However, 60 % of female and male respondents think some jobs should be restricted to women because of health or physical restrictions, which might be dangerous for women as they have to perform their natural duty of giving birth. So, respondents think men are more adequate for working in coal mines and women for working in education. One of the males surveyed stated that '*Yes. Some are just physically hard - work in mining. Also, I wouldn't like to have a woman as a political leader of the country or region. Also, I wouldn't like to have a wife, who is busy all the time with her business problems, thus - particularly for this case, high demanding jobs probably are not completely for women'*. This is in line with the results of the theoretical study, that demonstrated that more than 100 jobs were still prohibited for women in Russia. Nonetheless, except for ensuring there is a future generation and for physical capabilities, most of respondents believe, once again, in equal opportunities.



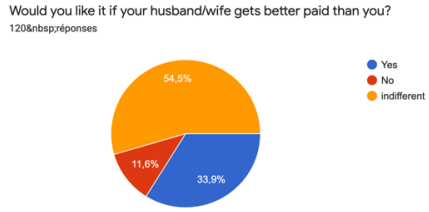




All of the respondents see marriage as an act of love, a third of them see marriage as financial support and 10 % do not want to get married. One female surveyed stated '*I'm not sure if there are reasons to get married since we do not have any laws against domestic violence*'. This further corroborates the results of our analysis of Russian society, through the four pillars of the World Economic Forum, that demonstrated a lack of laws favouring women's economic empowerment and actually a multitude of laws hampering it directly.

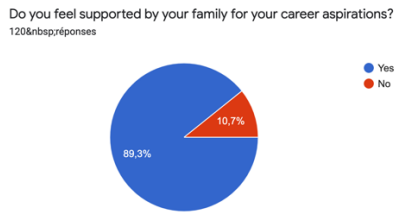


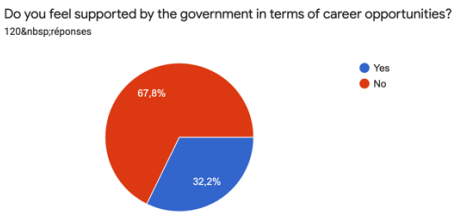
Half of female and male respondents are indifferent whether their spouse brings more money to the house, one third of women would like that their husbands get better paid, and 2 % of women want to gain more money than their husbands. On the opposite, a third of men would not like if their wives gain more income than them and 15 % of men would like that their wives get better paid than them. This shows that, due to gender norms, women rely more on men financially than their male counterparts. This once again suggest that gender norms are ever present in Russian society.



Almost all of the surveyed feel supported by their family toward their career aspirations. However, it is interesting to note that two third of the respondents do not feel supported by the Russian government, which emphasizes the resulting lack of policies and securities supporting Russian economically in the study of the four pillars of the World Economic Forum. For

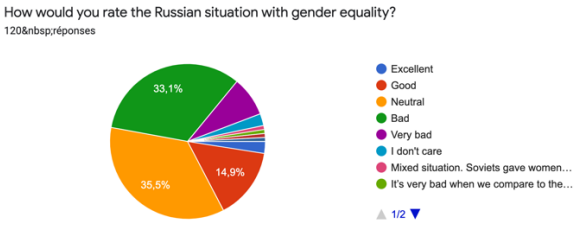
example, the fact that Russians can see their wages halved because of economic recession. Moreover, half of the women do not feel gender disparities in finding a job and the other half of women have knowledge or experience in gender discrimination in job search, further confirming the theoretical analysis we conducted. Women stated that they are mostly discriminated against based on age, appearance, and marital status. One of the female respondents wrote that '*I'm often asked if I am in a relationship (which is extremely unethical) or if I'm planning to get pregnant soon*.', which endorse the barriers faced by Russian women when applying for a job found in our above theoretical study. Other women reported that their bosses were, on the opposite, just employing women to pay them less and to avoid the threat of employing a boy that would aspire to acquire a high managerial position in the company and replace them. Finally, a female respondent wrote that '*Gender stereotypes have always worked for me. As I am beautiful, it sometimes influences decisions but favourably for me*'. This once again, highlights that social norms are important in Russian society. Finally, half of male respondents feel there is no gender discrimination in hiring process and the other half feel gender disparities favouring women in high-skilled jobs as they are better educated than men or because of quotas.





It is important however to highlight that the answers to such questions are of course the product of personal experiences, and how gender perceptions are subsequently formed. Indeed, it is interesting to note that one female respondent wrote '*I am a Russian woman and experienced much more gender discrimination in Europe where I am currently working than in Russia. In Austria employers discriminate against women around the children's age as social policies protect women for very long. This could have been solved by allowing men to take equal leave for child care like e.g. in Sweden and the young generation is ready for the change, however, the government does not work in this direction. Hence, even highly educated women having rare specialization that the country needs are discriminated against. I have not experienced such an attitude in Russia where my expertise was highly appreciated and was above prejudice against women. My grandmother was a rocket engineer and managed more than 50 men. My mom led a lab of spectral analysis, also managing a lot of men. In my opinion it is rather a personal choice of women more often to downgrade in career and stay with*

children rather than employer's discrimination. Have seen a lot of such sad examples that women simply saw children as the ultimate goal in their life and afterwards had a hard time to find purpose.' This statement, while in contradiction with the results of our theoretical study, makes us understand that on an individual basis, experiences of people vary a lot and, while we are confident to assert that women's economic empowerment in Russia is far from being achieved, it is not completely impossible. However, it is more often the exception rather than the rule.



Female and male respondents finalized the survey by writing recommendations to achieve gender parity and economic empowerment of women. The most important factor, according to respondents, is to tackle education. In fact, even though education in Russia is gender neutral and that women are well-educated, this is not reflected in people's minds. Education of the young generation is made by families, schools, and the Church. Thus, girls are raised to become good mothers and boys to work and bring money to their future family.

So, the first recommendation is to adopt a gender-sensitive education in order to change people's mind on typical 'male' and 'female' jobs. In order to achieve that, parents should be educated toward gender equality, religion should lessen its propaganda, and there should be a sex education program in schools. Additionally, the government could introduce laws to ban gender disclosure or picture in job applications, to adopt zero tolerance towards harassment and domestic violence, to ban unequal gender pay, and to implement some government regulations or benefits for employers that achieve gender equality. Also, existing legislation about maternity leave should change to remove employers' fears of women employees becoming pregnant. The government could, for example, introduce a compulsory paternity leave. To play it fair for men, the retirement age should be the same for everyone, gender quotas should not be imposed, and compulsory military service should be cancelled.

Finally, to empower women economically, there should be a presence of powerful women in the media, to display female leaders as role models, and gender stereotypes should

be abolished in mass media. There is a need for more programs empowering women, such as the ‘women leaders’ program of McKinsey. Also, women should support each other, as their male counterparts do, through the creation of a women network. Russian corporations should also introduce gender equality employment programs in order to educate their employees toward gender parity. Besides, Russian feminist movements should be less radical, as their actions are not having a positive effect on women and are even worsening gender stereotypes. Finally, Russian women have to get rid of their internal belief that they are ‘defective’ without a man. Changing women’s minds is the first step toward their own economic emancipation.

This survey was done in English and filled in and sent out thanks to the network of the Graduate School of Management of Saint Petersburg. As such we can confidently assume that the survey results present some bias and any analysis based on these results with suffer some limitations as the respondents represent a rather privileged strata of Russian modern society. They are highly educated, aspiring or working in business fields, living in the cosmopolitan, relatively liberal and progressive city of Saint Petersburg, and, above all, can speak good English. This shows some openness to global norms and ways of thinking. Thus, it does not necessarily represent the views of the entire Russian population, among which culture and norms vary greatly, especially on such a huge territory. Despite these shortcomings, I actually believe that these survey results present interesting insights into the thoughts of the most modern Russia we can find, in other words, of the people who are at the very heart of society’s evolution and at the crossroads between the Russian way of life and globalisation.

So, most of female and male respondents have high career aspirations and believe in equal opportunities. A big percentage of the sample size considers working abroad because of the lack of support of the government and low wages. However, the Duma does not play the biggest role in disabling women’s economic empowerment. While there could be new legislation supporting gender parity in high senior positions and politics, the government does not implement enough anti-discrimination laws. The survey combined with our theoretical analysis suggests that the biggest barriers to economic empowerment in Russia are the very gender stereotypes that are embedded in deepest levels of society and lead to constant discrimination against women, in overt and tacit ways. Therefore, when discussing women empowerment in Russia we need to acknowledge that the socio-economic factors we have discussed are only a manifestation of a phenomenon much more pervasive and which leads to these enduring forms of gender discrimination. This missing pillar is represented by gender

norms. In the following section, we will conclude this thesis by looking more in depth at the roots of the current disempowerment of Russian women and why Russia keeps lowering its rank in the Global Gender Gap Index.

4. GENDER NORMS, THE MISSING PILLAR?

Our above analysis of the place held by women within the Russian economy, through the four pillars as established by the World Economic Forum and the survey, has shown that the current situation for women in Russia is difficult and that it is a result of several historical, cultural, economic and social factors. However, truly understanding the significance of these factors and how these have in practice solidified into Russia's political economy, requires taking a closer look at the gender and societal norms which explain why gender inequality is so pervasive across Russian society and Russia's economy. Our analysis would therefore not be complete without incorporating these norms connected to women's societal roles to institutional theory. The survival of these norms might even imply that Russians tend to conserve the ways the system works, no matter how gender discriminating it is, rather than contributing to changing it.

It is important to understand that in Russia, there is a lack of institutions favouring women's economic emancipation. Institutions are all the restrictions that humans have created to regulate interaction in society. While formal rules can be changed by political decisions, informal rules, such as behavioural norms that are rooted in society, are not quickly changed. We could see that policies were written favouring gender parity; however, their implementation is not efficient yet. In this research, special attention will be paid to surviving norms on gender relations in a post-Soviet context.

Before we delve into our analysis of gender norms in Russia, it is interesting to look at how gender norms affect the economic empowerment of women all over the world. It was recently highlighted in the United Nations Development Programme's (2020) Gender Inequality Index (a generally well-recognized measure of women's empowerment in health, education and economic status) that there must be "*hidden dimensions of gender inequality*" which stifle "overall progress in gender inequality" leading to the fact that "it would take 257 years to close the gender gap in economic opportunity".

The report (2020) goes on to argue that "*Social norms are central to the understanding of these dynamics. For example, societies often tell their girls that they can become anything they want and are capable of, while investing in their education. But the same societies tend to block their access to power positions without giving them a fair chance* […] *Gender inequality has long been associated with persistent discriminatory social norms prescribing social roles and power relations between men and women in society. Social norms held by individuals and their reference groups are values, beliefs, attitudes and practices that assert preferred power dynamics for interactions between individuals and institutions. As broader constructs, norms are operationalized through beliefs, attitudes and practices."* This is exemplified in the below image which shows how characteristics of political, educational and economic dimensions can become embedded into gender norms (United Nations Development Programme, 2020).

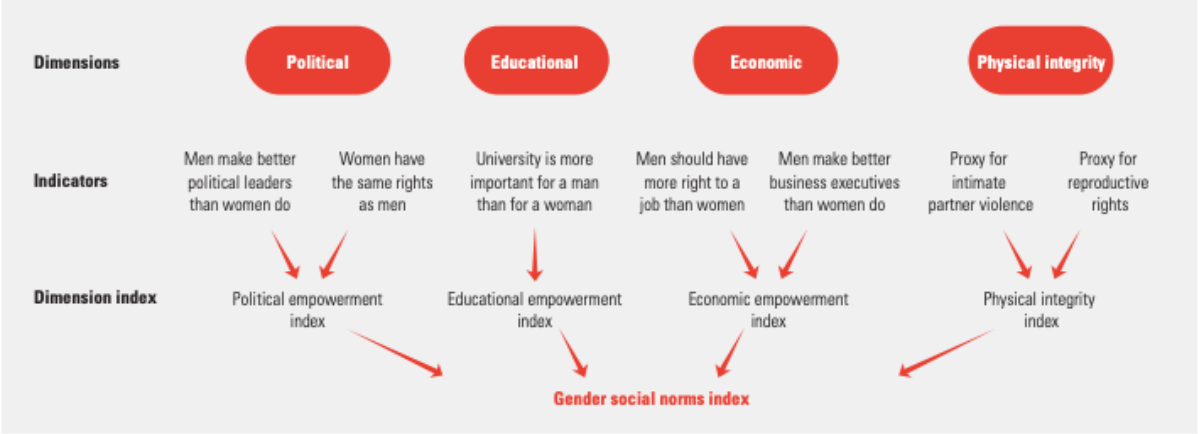


Figure 20: How social beliefs can obstruct gender and women's empowerment
(United Nations Development Programme, 2020)

This is a similar process that happened in Russia, as well as in many other countries. In the above-mentioned report (2020), half of female and male respondents think that women are not as good as men to work in high positions in politics and almost 40 % think men make better business executive. Besides, 30 % of respondents suggest that men have reasons to beat their wives. However, some countries are showing a positive shift in their social norms, such as India. A 2019 survey held in India's urban communities (Alexander S., Kwatra N., April 2019), which is also a BRICS country revealed that 90 % of respondents supported that women and men should be equally paid for the same job and 75 % of male respondents encourages their wives to work outside the house.

In the below 3 sections, we take a closer look at 3 of the most pervasive gender norms which hinder women's economic empowerment in Russia to this day. We will look at how they have developed and how they practically hinder their development.

4.1. UNPAID CARE WORK

Unpaid care work refers to all unpaid services provided within a household for its members. These services are primarily provided by women, but also to varying degrees by their husbands and their children. Unpaid care work includes direct care of persons and housework and voluntary community work. These activities are considered work because theoretically, one could pay a third person to perform them. However, they are typically not included in the System of National Accounts or they may be theoretically included but are often not well documented or accounted for (Ferrant G., Thim A., February 2019).

Universally, women work much more than men as they are doing unpaid care work such as child and elderly care, and housework. In developing countries, women are working three hours more per day than men undertaking unpaid work and this amount is reduced to two hours in developed countries (United Nations, 2015). Yearly, the value of this unsalaried work is estimated to be around $10.8 trillion. Consequently, it has been proven that women work longer days, equating four years more than men over their lifetime (Oxfam, 2019).

Balancing maternity and family responsibilities with work is a daunting challenge. Unpaid care contributes to the world economic growth through educating a future generation of labor force that is fit, productive and capable of learning but meanwhile it does also hamper economic opportunities and aspirations of its female workforce. It has been estimated that if care work were assigned a monetary value it would constitute between 10 % and 39 % of the world GDP. The care economy and its economic value need to become much more important elements in debates within the international development community (OECD, April 2011).

While the Soviet Union was ahead of the West in empowering women as they had the same job opportunities as men, they were still required to conduct housekeeping after a working day. In the beginning of the USSR, the State provided many helps to women in order to motivate them to join the workforce. They provided free education, healthcare, and maternity leave. However, once women were fully trained at performing their jobs, their place after their work was still at home, taking care of children and elders.

When Russia became a democracy in 1991, and especially with Putin as a president, the patriarchal system got reinforced and the place of the woman belongs once again at home. Hand in hand with gender stereotypes, many barriers to their economic emancipation aroused forcing them to either perform a dual job, working to get an income and working to take care of the house and children, either to become good housewives. Meanwhile, promoting family values has become crucial for Russia, as its population is aging, its mortality rate is increasing and there are low fertility rates. In fact, forecasts show a catastrophe for Russia. Its population has decreased immensely since the breakup of the Soviet Union, as there are around 10 times more deaths than births since the end of communism (Economist, September 2004).

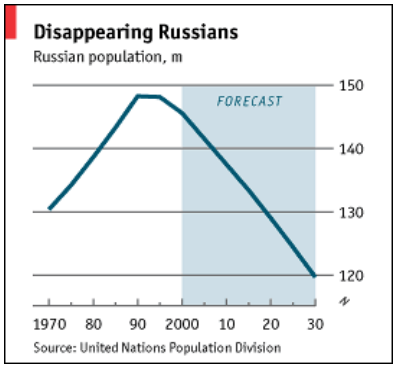


Figure 21: Russian population growth (Economist, September 2004)

Because of this population problem that goes hand in hand with the declining birth rate since the 50s, women are undergoing high pressure for the State. In fact, in 1950, there were 27646 births per 1000 people, a number that declined to 12982 in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed. Under Yeltsin's governance, the birth rate declined even more, reaching a poor 9092 births per 1000 people in 1999. Since then, numbers have slowly increased to reach current 12194 births per 1000 women, but projections are bad. The United Nation calculated future birth rates until 2100, and statistics reveals 10305 births per 1000 women. (Macrotrends, 2020) In 2018, the government planned a three-year budget of $8.6 billion to motivate women to increase the number of births. This money would be allocated in mortgage subsidies and payment to new and growing families (BBC, January 2020). However, from 2018 until 2020, there was a decline of 4.51 % in the birth rates, which means that the measure undertaken by the government did not work (Macrotrends, 2020). Meanwhile, women are getting married later and later, as in 1989, the average age of women at their first marriage was 22.5 (Fong S., 1993) and today, it rose to 24.9. This demonstrates again that women are getting more educated and are searching for jobs before getting married, to be less financially dependent on their husbands (Lyubinskaya D., November 2014).

A major reason why it did not work, is that women are not going to be motivated by receiving a little subsidy from the state. They are experiencing discrimination in finding a job because they might be pregnant in the coming years. They are experiencing discrimination at home, where they have to do all the house works and raise children. Women need a change in state of minds, new legislation and institutions to support them as workers and as mothers. Besides, they also need support from their male counterparts. For example, in 2018, a mere 13700 men went on maternity leave compared to 670000 women (Wonder, June 2019). There is a definite need to find a solution to women's duality, or even triality roles.

4.2. PATRIARCHY AND FEMINISM

The path to freedom for Russian women has been thorny and has still not achieved its end. As a reaction to the inequalities we have described above, a feminist movement in Russia has been active for hundreds of years. The first known woman figure in Russia to fight for her rights, Nadezhda Durova, was born in the 19th century. Known as the 'cavalry girl', she was used to wearing men's clothes and to speak about herself in a masculine gender. Under the male name Alexander Sokolov, she joined the army and served in the Napoleonic Wars (Kamenir V., April 2004).

From that point, the issue of women's equal rights occupied the minds of many intellectuals. The first Russian feminists who fought for the electoral and political rights of women in the second half of the 19th century mainly directed their activities towards achieving the equal rights of women to education. Following the concept of the English feminist Clara Balfour, they believed that improving the status of women was the work of the women themselves. Even though they achieved to allow university lectures for women in 1863, ideas about the natural inferiority of women were widespread and they could not obtain any university degrees. There was a theory that the woman's blood contains more water, that the brain is weaker, and that the function of motherhood seriously weakens the body (Ellis M., March 2015).

In January 1905, about 20 Saint Petersburg women of liberal views announced the creation of the 'Union of Equality of Women', which lasted until 1908. In 1907, a similar Workers Mutual Aid Society was created in Saint Petersburg. It was acting as a working club, bringing together more than 300 people, men and women, who share the idea of female

equality. When these organisations ceased to exist, the Russian League for Equality of Women, took over their functions at the beginning of World War 1, and had branches in more than 50 cities. In parallel with liberal feminist organizations in Russia, Russian Bolsheviks succeeded in organizing in February 1913 the celebration of International Women's Day. In 1917, women gained the right to elect and be elected and a couple of months later, they started the October Revolution (Rossi E., March 2004).

The first Soviet decrees were promising for women. Their legal equality with men was enshrined in the Constitution of 1918. The Civil Marriage Decree gave the right to women to keep their maiden name, and the 1920 decree implemented the feminist demand for the regulation of women's reproductive rights, by allowing them to abort. The Zhenotdel, which was an organisation created by the feminist Alexandra Kollontai, served both feminism and communism well. The organisation was promoting women as agents of change and that their freedom would transform Russia to a true socialist society. Even Lenin stated that real communism would be achieved only when the issue of domestic duties would be addressed and solved (Whalley Z., September 2018). Motherhood was then defined as a 'socialist duty', which was supposed to complement the obligation of women to work on an equal footing with men. These attitudes, called the 'solution of the female issue', did not really liberate women, but only complicated their lives, although this was not recognized in public discussions of that time. The emotional ties of the family were destroyed, family instability fell on the shoulders of women and made their partners even more distant from responsibility for loved ones, and the weakening of family foundations, caused by the orientation of women towards being involved in productive and socio-political life led to a decrease in the birth rate (Engel B., 1987).

By 1930, the situation had become critical, and a traditionalist rollback began in family-marriage relations. The concept of a woman's maternal and conjugal duty was included in the circulation of ideological and political manipulation. In fact, Russia was constantly preparing for war and needed a high birth rate. In 1935, the production of contraceptives ceased in the USSR and in 1936, a law passed that made it difficult to divorce and abortion was prohibited again. However, after World War 2, the Soviet state abandoned, once again, attempts to tightly control and regulate women's lives and attitudes, as women were needed to perform jobs of deceased men of the war. Facilitation of the divorce procedure was introduced in 1965, the right to a fixed share of alimony was introduced in 1967, and the introduction of paid maternity

leave, benefits for children of single mothers and divorced women were introduced in 1968. However, the equality of men and women was understood as the identity of their legal status, and not opportunities for the disclosure of personal and civic potential. For example, the proposal to supplement the norm on equal rights of men and women in the 1977 Constitution with the words ‘equal duties’ did not find support (Engel B., 1987).

Ideology persistently identified ‘right femininity’ with motherhood, the image and status of a ‘working mother’ was declared an achievable ideal, which was facilitated by the vitality of patriarchal attitudes in raising girls as obliged to serve men in the house and take care of their health. Awareness of the complexity of the problem of combining the role of mother and worker by the end of the 70s led to the establishment of ‘excessive masculinization’ of women, which was decided to overcome through the return of women to the family. The neo-patriarchal attitudes of the official authorities led to the restriction of the presence of women in the public sphere or the formalization of this presence, except for the Committee of Soviet Women, which had very little power. The situation was similar in the manufacturing sector, and in science, healthcare, and education: among ordinary employees, women made up more than half of the employed, but at the decision-making level, there were no more than 5 %. The authorities tried to ignore these imbalances and in 1979, when the UN adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Soviet propagandists believed that Russian legislation had long been consistent with international standards and all the norms of the adopted Convention were not relevant for the USSR (Edmondson L., August 1992).

Reforms of the mid-80s changed the position of women in society. They created the conditions for the emergence of new forms of the women’s movement, for the birth of many public associations that began to seek not just formal legal, but real gender equality. The vast majority of organizations that have emerged and have been active to this day that advocate the interests of women have preferred to be called ‘women’. In fact, the term ‘feminism’ was associated in the public mind with something negative, politicized, ideological, introduced from the West and unnecessary to Russia. This negative association remained until today for the Russian population (Orlova A., 2018).

So even though the number of organizations supporting women grew highly with the collapse of the Soviet Union, as by 1999, 650 women’s associations were registered, of which

9 have a federal status, the bad connotation of the word ‘feminist’ persists. Most of the Russian population refuses to talk about gender inequality and many women are afraid to be characterized as ‘feminist’, while they support equal rights for men and women. This paradox is explained by the fact that business and politics are reserved to men and that a woman would have to abandon her femininity in order to become a leader. Meanwhile, Russian employers justify the gender wage gap by the fact that men have to pay for the family. And because of that, women have to stay feminine and become good housewives in order to find a husband that will provide for her and her family. This is why the word ‘feminist’ even has a bad connotation in women’s minds and why most of feminist are not supported, neither by women, nor by men (Aghavni, December 2017).

However, there is a need for feminism in Russia because while the Russian constitution declares that men and women are equal, gender discrimination is not prohibited, which hampers women’s economic emancipation. For example, in 2019, the director of Tatprof company, Sergey Rachkov, said that he would pay a bonus to all employees who would come to work in skirts and dresses, an action called the ‘Femininity Marathon’ (Oppenheim M., May 2019). Such actions could only be allowed in a patriarchal country. Therefore, some movements, such as Pussy Riot, which are perceived as hostile and dangerous to Russia, arose. However, Putin, sustained by the Orthodox church is seeing these movements as enemies to the State. The patriarch Kirill stated that ‘*Feminism is dangerous because it assumes that there is a destiny for a woman beyond marriage and family*’. So, in Russia there is a frame of anti-feminism that portrays feminism as a hostile force to be resisted (Elder M., April 2013).

4.3. RELIGION AND GENDER STEREOTYPES

At the end of the 20th century, there were more than 50.000 churches and more than 125 million Orthodox Christians in Russia. Obviously, communist thought was atheistic. In fact, Lenin said that believing in God was an ideological necrophilia. The position of the Soviet Union was to end the strength of the Orthodox Church in power. Nonetheless, the Bolsheviks never prohibited religion, but they oppressed the Church instead. For example, they deleted the right to vote for priests (Yegorov O., October 2018). A paradox considering the fact that women gained the right to vote the year the Orthodox Church, who is favouring gender discrimination, lost it.

When the Soviet Union collapsed, the government adopted a new law on religious freedom. The Orthodox Church gained a lot of power since then and is today even influencing education with its conservative values. So, it is now controversially trying to fill the niche of sex education, promoting abstinence and the non-use of contraception. Additionally, the Church is educating Russians, since their younger age, that the woman has no power and that her place is at home, educating children and taking care of their husbands. For instance, in 2017, schools in more than 60 regions of Russia were using a textbook written by Nina Krygina, a Russian Orthodox nun, and Dmitry Moiseyev, a Russian Orthodox priest, that was teaching women to obey their husbands (Litvinova D., November 2018). The Orthodox Religion is thus impeding career aspirations of little girls and forming boys to think less of a woman, thereby strongly hampering the economic empowerment of the future generation of women.

Christian Orthodoxy is a powerful force in Russian society. Around 80 to 90 % of Russians are adherents to the Russian Orthodox faith. The dominant role of men and submissive role of women is well-established in religion. This theological concept, combined with the political influence and legitimacy that the Orthodox Church enjoys in Russia, has lent itself to the promotion of traditional gender roles. Together with Putin, that has been reinforcing the patriarchal system for 20 years, gender norms and stereotypes are influencing women's emancipation more than any legislation.

Measuring discriminatory social norms is important for the economic emancipation of women in Russia. The Social Institutions and Gender Index measure gender-based discrimination in social institutions, for example formal and informal laws, social norms and practices across 120 countries. This Index is grouped into four dimensions and a low percentage indicate low level of discrimination and a percentage close to 100 indicates a very high discrimination. In the Social Institutions and Gender Index 2019, Russia has an average score of 22.3 % which means it does not reveal a high level of discrimination. The discrimination in the family was scoring at 22.6 %, which demonstrates the importance of the woman in upbringing children and taking decisions. The restricted access to productive and financial resources was scoring very low at 5.1 %, which demonstrated that the State is not truly impeding women's carriers. However, restricted civil liberties are scoring 31.5 %, so we can conclude that gender stereotypes have a huge role to play in gender inequality in Russia (OECD Stat, 2019).

So Russian society has gender traditional roles. Russian men are most often seen as the one paying for women in restaurants in being gentlemen's, while women have to be good housewives. There are no barriers in terms of education, but women are underrepresented in politics and businesses. But although men, the Church, and the patriarchal system can be blamed for that, women do not always dream of emancipation. Valentina Ushakova, a Russian sociologist and director of the Gender research institute stated that men and women could not picture a female president in Russia in the near future. '*Russian women want to see a strong man, a father, a husband and a grandfather as a head of the country. Putin has fulfilled the role so far: he does not smoke; he does not drink; he does sport and stands to what he says. He is a father; a grandfather; he is a man'.* And this traditional culture is not ready to change (Smolentceva N., 2020).

CONCLUSION

As we have seen throughout this dissertation, the place of women in Russia's political economy and their associated economic empowerment, has been a complicated, if not volatile, issue throughout Russia's modern history. In imperial times, despite the formidable reign of Catherine The Great, women were almost all illiterate and destined to perform maternal duties. The arrival of the Soviet way of life initially announced some increased opportunities for women, but Stalinist rule reversed these meagre improvements and almost annihilated the role of the women as a valuable economic actor in the Russian economy, beyond her role as child bearer and servant to the patriarchy. After the fall of communism, a new era of hope came about. An era in which women, free from the communist restrictions, could finally play their part in the Russian economy and gain economic empowerment as Western nations were. However, under Putin's leadership, and despite some advances both in the job market and rights, Russian society persisted in the propagation of limiting and biased gender norms, which all but cast women in their historical second place, behind men.

However, we have also seen in this dissertation that reality is complex, layered and not black and white. Women and men are almost equally presented in the Russian labor market, female unemployment is lower than men. Women's competitive disadvantages are longer job search and youth unemployment. At the same time, women have certain competitive advantages, surpassing men by the level of education and health. Differentiation in labor remuneration of men and women is not necessarily being caused by economic factors, but by the gender norms which are at the heart of Russian society. Indeed, women's social role is viewed as caring for children, their upbringing, housekeeping often at the expense of employment and career. As for institutional reasons, the significant conflict between formal and informal institutions is that even if the system of formal rules guarantees equal rights for men and women in almost every sphere, the system of informal rules (customs, traditions, social attitudes) presupposes a secondary position of women. This is why the social roles of women are then viewed as natural and not discriminatory.

Throughout the report, it has been demonstrated that we need women in politics and in high senior positions. They are crucial to achieve sustainable and stable economic development. Whether the Orthodox and Russian idea that 'biology' is destiny raises questions

toward biology becoming social conditioning and of when protective motherhood is a social, and socialized, rather than purely biological role. It may be that attitudes toward traditional gender roles, not gender alone, shape political and behavioural attitudes. Women are legally equal but not in fact, and do not always aspire to be.

But does this mean that gender norms cannot be combatted, and that women's condition cannot change in Russia? After all, how can these very practices and behaviours change in order to redefine traditional gender roles? Indeed, norms can change as economies strengthen and develop, people have more access to education, especially nowadays with the progress in communications technology, such as the internet, and with new laws, policies or programmes (United Nations Development Programme, 2020). For instance, the situation of women in even the most progressive countries is not today what it must have been about a 100 years ago. This is why it is key that women, and men, keep engaging in social and political activism to make things changes. It is key that women keep engaging in the economy, by gaining an education, applying for the same jobs as men, setting up businesses and showing entrepreneurial spirit. By doing so, slowly gender norms will shift, albeit slowly, and this will resonate with the political and economic elites and slowly disrupt the status quo. It is by challenging the very gender norms that underpin Russian society when engaging in the economy, that women will manage to slowly gain more economic empowerment. And this will surely benefit Russia in the long run, as it has been proven that woman economic empowerment is not only desirable from an ethical and normative point of view, but also brings concrete benefits to the economy.

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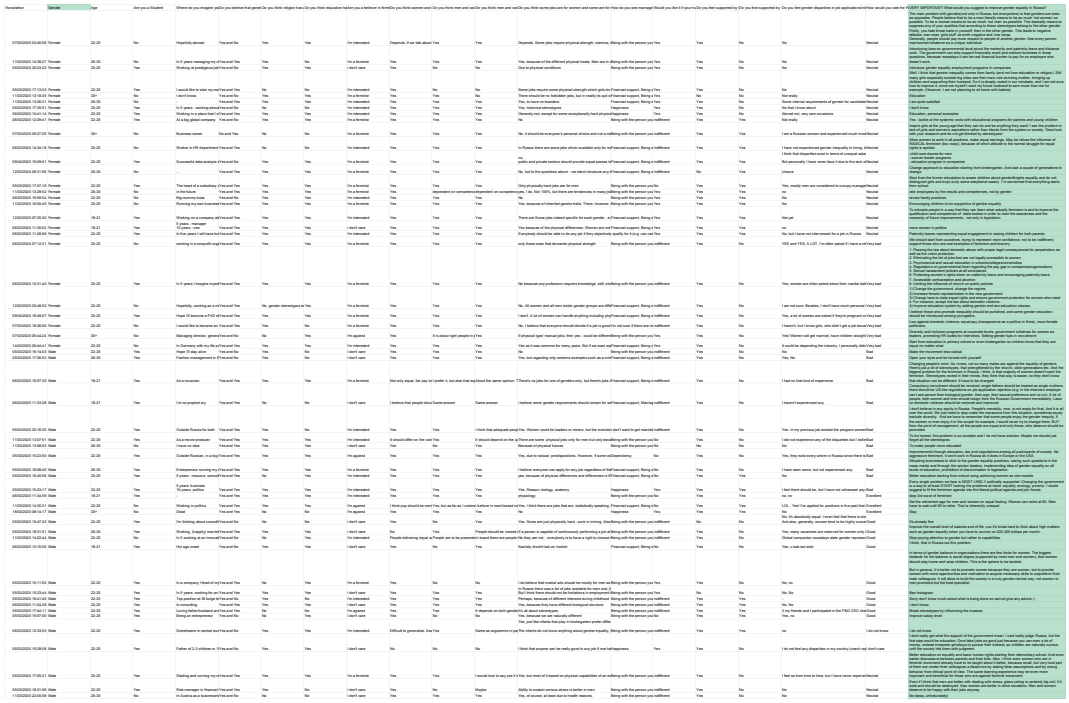
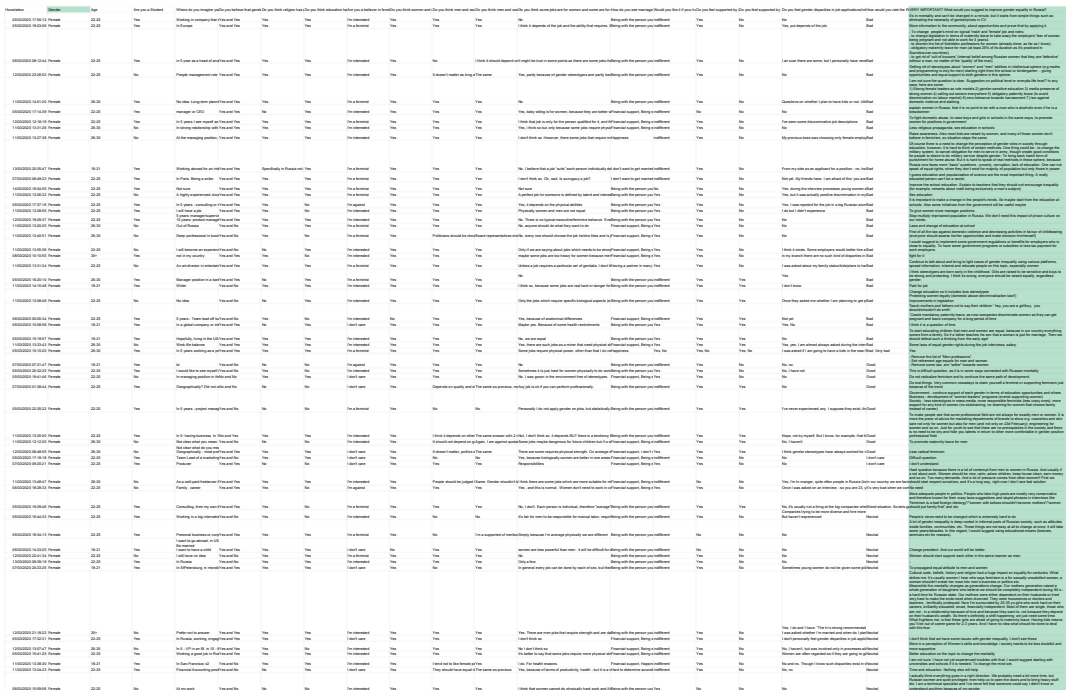
APPENDIX



Homelatour	Gender	Age	Are you a Student	Where do you imagine yo	Do you believe that gende	Do you think religion has	Do you think education ha	Are you a believer in feminis	Do you think women and	Do you think men and wo	Do you think men and wo	Do you think some jobs are for women and some are for	How do you see marriage	Would you like it if you h	Do you feel supported by	Do you feel supported by	Do you feel gender disparities in job applications	How would you rate the	HURRY IMPORTANT! What would you suggest to improve gender equality in Russia?
07/03/2020 01:45:55	Female	22-25	No	Hopefully abroad	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Depends. If we talk about	Yes	Yes	Depends. Some jobs require physical strength, stamina.	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neutral	The main problem with gender(sex) only in Russia, but everywhere is that genders are seen differently. Men are seen as strong, women as weak. Men are seen as the ones who can do all possible. To be a woman means to be as much 'not men' as possible. This basically means it suppress any of your qualities that according to these stereotypes belong to the other gender. Also, stereotypes are very strong in Russia and they are very toxic. They do not suppose different men ones, girls stuff, as both negative and vice versa. Also, I think that the main problem is the source of this not 'gender', that every person mentioned/observed as a unique individual.
11/03/2020 14:39:27	Female	26-30	No	In 5 years managing my o	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, because of the different physical treats. Men are m	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neutral	Interfering laws on governmental level about the material by and paternity leave and distance between them. Also, I think that it is important to start to talk about gender equality and gender questions, because nowadays it can be real financial burden to pay for an employee who doesn't work.
05/03/2020 20:23:22	Female	22-25	Yes	Working at prestigious jo	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I don't care	Yes	No	No	Due to physical conditions	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neutral	Introduce gender equality employment programs in companies. Start from the former education (I mean not only about gender but more education on religion). Still many girls especially outside big cities see their main role as being mother, bringing up children and supporting their husband. So it is deeply rooted in our mindsets, and I am not sure that it will be changed in the nearest future. Also, I think that men have more fear for example. Shamone. I am not planning to sit home with babies)
05/03/2020 17:13:03	Female	22-25	Yes	I would like to start my o	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I'm interested	Yes	No	No	Some jobs require some physical strength which girls ha	Financial support, Being a Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neutral	Education
11/03/2020 12:18:35	Female	30+	No	I don't know.	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	No	There should be no forbidden jobs, but in reality its quit	Financial support, Being a Yes	Yes	No	Not really	No	Neutral	Education, satisfied
05/03/2020 17:35:13	Female	22-25	Yes	In 5 years - working abroad	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, historical stereotypes	Happiness	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neutral	I don't know.	Neutral
09/03/2020 15:41:14	Female	22-25	Yes	Working in a place that I	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Generally not, except for some exceptionally hard phys	Happiness	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neutral	Education, personal examples	
09/03/2020 12:29:41	Female	22-25	Yes	At a big global company.	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not really	Neutral	Yes - tackle all the systemic roots with educational programs for parents and young children inspire girls at the young age that they can do and be anything they want! I see the problem in the roots and I think that it is important to start to change it from the system in society. Stand from with your research and do not get bossed by stereotypes!
07/03/2020 20:27:25	Female	30+	No	Business owner	No and Yes	No	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	No - it should be everyone's personal choice and not a m	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	I am a Russian woman and experienced much more	Neutral
09/03/2020 14:54:18	Female	22-25	No	Worker in HR department	Yes and No	Yes	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	In Russia there are some jobs which available only for m	Financial support, Being a Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	I have not experienced gender inequality in hiring, b	Neutral	Allow women to work in all professions, make equal earnings. May be reduce the influence of religion (at least in the cities), because of which attitude to the normal struggle for equal rights is better
09/04/2020 18:09:01	Female	22-25	Yes	Successful data analyse	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	no - public and private sectors should provide equal exams	Indifferent	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	I think that disparities exist in terms of unequal sala	Neutral
12/03/2020 08:31:00	Female	26-30	No	-	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	- education program in companies No, but to the questions above - we stand introduce any	Financial support, Being a Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	But personally I have never face it due to the fact of	Neutral	Change approach to education starting from kindergarten. And wait a couple of generations to see the result.
03/03/2020 17:07:18	Female	22-25	Yes	The head of a subsidiary	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Only physically hard jobs are for men	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, mostly men are considered to occupy managerial	Neutral	Start from the former education to aware children about gender&rights equality and do not distinguish girls and boys (only some exeptional cases). I'm concerned that everything starts from childhood
11/03/2020 13:28:52	Male	26-30	No	in the future	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	dependent on competences	dependent on competences	Yes	Yes, like 100%, but there are tendencies in many fields	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	no	Neutral	seek employees by the results and competences, not by gender
09/03/2020 16:09:54	Female	22-25	No	Big mommy boss	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Neutral	review family practices
11/03/2020 18:05:43	Female	22-25	No	Running my own business	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, because of inherited gender traits. There, however,	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Neutral	Encouraging children to be supportive of gender equality
12/03/2020 07:25:30	Female	18-21	Yes	Working on a company wit	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	There are Some jobs indeed specific for each gender , e	Financial support, Being a Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet	Neutral	To educate people in a way that they can learn what actually feminism is and to improve the situation in the country because I think that it is important to raise the awareness and the necessity of future improvements , not only in legislation.
09/03/2020 11:30:02	Female	18-21	Yes	5 years - manager	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes because of the physical differences. Women are not	Financial support, Being a Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	no	Neutral	more women in politics
09/03/2020 11:28:58	Female	22-25	Yes	In five years I will have b	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Everybody should be able to do any job if they objectiv	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	I have not experienced gender inequality in hiring, b	Neutral	Yes, but I have not interviewed for a job in Russia.
09/03/2020 07:12:21	Female	22-25	No	working as a nonprofit lea	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	only those ones that demands physical strength	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	YES and YES, A LOT. I'm often asked if I have a ref	Very bad	We should start from ourselves, trying to represent more confidence, not to be indifferent, support those who are not examples of feminism and bouncy. Compulsory recruitment should be enacted: single fathers should be treated as single mothers, there should be US-like regulations on job application rejection (e.g. in the interview employer cannot ask you about your marital status, etc.). Also, there should be more support for single people, both women and men should assign from the Russian Government immediately. Loans should be provided for single people.
09/03/2020 10:31:43	Female	22-25	Yes	In 5 years I imagine myself	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	No because any profession requires knowledge, skill, ebi	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	No	Yes, women are often asked about their marital stat	Very bad	I don't believe in any equity in Russia. People's mentality, now, is not ready for that. And it is all over the world. We just need to stop make the nonsense from this situation, sometimes equity is when you don't notice it. Also, I think that we should start from the former education. Also, I think that the women or men enjoy it in the couple for example. I would never try to change them. BUT from the point of management, all the people are equal and only those, who deserve should be here.
02/03/2020 20:18:35	Male	22-25	Yes	Outside Russia for both	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	I think that adequate penal Yes. Women would be leaders or miners, but the would/us don't want to get married indifferent		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, to my previous job existed the program seemed Bad		To be honest, this problem is so complex and I do not have solution. Maybe we should just forget all the stereotypes.
11/03/2020 13:07:51	Male	22-25	Yes	As a movie producer	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	It should differ on the cast Yes		Yes	It should depend on the p There are some physical jobs only for men but only benefiting with the person you		Yes	Yes	No	I did not experience any of the disparities but I belie Bad		To make people more educated
11/03/2020 13:08:53	Male	26-30	No	I have no idea	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	I don't care	Yes	No	Yes	Because of physical future	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neutral	Interfering laws on governmental level
11/03/2020 15:23:03	Male	22-25	Yes	Outside Russia, in a big c	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, due to natural predispositions. However, if some ex	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, they exist every where in Russia since there is Bad		Yes, I think that the main problem is in the stereotypes, law and negotiations among all participants of society. No suppressive feminism, I won't want in Russia as it does in Europe or the USA.
05/03/2020 18:08:45	Male	26-30	Yes	Entrepreneur running my o	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	I believe everyone can apply for any job regardless of th	Financial support, Being a No		Yes	Yes	Yes	I have seen some, but not experienced any	Bad	Allowing businesses to stick to the gender equality practices, raising such questions in the society and making it more open for discussion, more information about all gender equality as well as kinds of education, eradication of discrimination in legislation.
05/03/2020 18:45:55	Male	22-25	Yes	5 years - moscow. consult	Yes and No	Yes	No	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	yes, because of physical differences and partly beallowing	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No	Bad	Better education starting from school using, achieving women as role models
05/03/2020 15:23:17	Male	22-25	Yes	5 years business 10 years politics	Yes and Yes Yes and Yes	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	I'm interested I'm a feminist	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	Yes. Reason: biology, anatomy physiology	Happiness Being with the person you	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	Yes yes, no	I feel there should be, but I have not witnessed any Bad		Better education starting from school using, achieving women as role models I think that the main problem is in the stereotypes, law and negotiations among all participants of society. We suppose that the government is a result of each EVERY society in order to self-realize and self-express themselves. I would suggest to fill the feminism agenda into the liberal political agenda and join forces.
05/03/2020 14:34:55	Male	18-21	Yes														stop. But sense of feminism	Excellent	
11/03/2020 16:35:31	Male	22-25	No	Working in politics	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Neutral	Set the retirement age for men and women on equal footing. Women can retire at 55. Men at 60. This is not fair. There is extremely unequal.
11/03/2020 09:19:17	Male	30+	No	Good	No	No	No	I'm against	I think pay should be mad	Yes, but as be as I underst	I believe in merit-based so	Yes. I think there are jobs that are, statistically speaking,	Financial support, Being a Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	LOL. Yes! I've applied for positions in the past but Excellent		
09/03/2020 09:14:37	Male	30+	No	Good	No	No	No	I'm against	No			No	Happiness	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Excellent	
05/03/2020 15:47:32	Male	22-25	Yes	I'm thinking about consult	Yes and No	No	No	I don't care	Yes	No	Yes	Yes. Some are just physically hard - work in mining. Also	Being with the person you	Indifferent	No	No	No. It's absolutely equal. I even feel that there is one		
03/03/2020 19:31:01	Male	26-30	Yes	Working. (happily) married	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	I don't care	No	Yes	People should be viewed if a person is capable of continuously performing a job	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, many vacancies are reserved for women only	Closed	It's already fine
11/03/2020 14:53:44	Male	22-25	Yes	In 5 working at an consult	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	People shall/wrong visual of People are to be present there are people like they are not	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Global companies nowadays take gender representa Open		Improve the overall level of salaries and of life, cuz it's kinda hard to think about high-matters such as gender equality when you have to survive on 200-300 dollars per month.
09/03/2020 12:18:05	Male	18-21	Yes	Hot sign smart	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I don't care	Yes	No	Yes	Kashtoly should ban on hooker	Financial support, Being a No		Yes	Yes	No	Yes, a bab-ish kidd	Closed	Also, I think that there should be more attention to gender issues in the sphere of education. Gender stereotypes are very strong in Russia and they are very toxic. Stereotypes should not be suppressive, because nowadays it can be real financial burden to pay for an employee who doesn't work.
05/03/2020 09:11:52	Male	22-25	Yes	In a company: Head of the	Yes and Yes	No	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	No	No	I do believe that martial arts should be mostly for men a	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	No	No, no	Closed	But in general, it is better not to promote women because they are women, but to provide women with more opportunities and motivation to acquire necessary skills to outperform their competitors. Also, I think that the main problem in the society in a truly gender-neutral way: not women or men promoted but the best specialists.
05/03/2020 16:23:44	Male	22-25	Yes	In 5 years - working for an	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	In Russia there was a list of jobs available for men only,	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	No	No, No	Closed	Men instagram
05/03/2020 15:41:43	Male	22-25	Yes	Top position at IB or big c	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Perhaps, because of different interests in employment.	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	They don't know much about what is being done so cannot give any advice t	Closed	I don't know.
09/03/2020 11:24:28	Male	22-25	Yes	In consulting	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I don't care	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, because they have different biological structure	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	No. No	Closed	I don't know.
09/03/2020 11:48:11	Male	22-25	Yes	Living father/husband and	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm against	It depends on both genders	No	Yes	All about stereotypes	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	2 my friends and I participated in the FSO CEO Ch	Closed	Break stereotypes by influencing the masses.
05/03/2020 15:07:00	Male	22-25	Yes	Being an entrepreneur	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I don't care	Yes	No	Yes	Yes, because we are naturally different	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, no	Closed	improve salary level
09/03/2020 12:33:53	Male	22-25	Yes	Somehwere in randal And	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Difficult to generalize. Ass	Yes	Yes	Same as arguments to pay	The rolerbs do not have anything about gender equality.	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	no	I do not know	I do not know.
05/03/2020 09:28:08	Male	22-25	Yes	Father of 2-3 children in 10	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I don't care	No	No	No	I think that anyone can be really good in any job if they	Financial support, Being a No		Yes	Yes	Yes	I do not feel any disparities in my country (usersh | ep) don't care	Bad	Also, I think that we should start to talk about gender equality and gender questions in the society. Maybe education on gender issues in schools/universities. Also, I think that we should start to talk about gender equality and gender questions in the society. Maybe education on gender issues in schools/universities. Also, I think that we should start to talk about gender equality and gender questions in the society. Maybe education on gender issues in schools/universities.
05/03/2020 17:05:21	Male	22-25	Yes	Starting and running my o	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	I would love to say yes if Yes, but most of it based on physical capabilities of an suffering with the person you		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No	I feel as from time to time, but I have never experi Neutral		Even if I think that men are better with dealing with stress, jobs calling is certainly big and, if it exist and should be destroyed. Also women are better in stire situations. Men and women means to be happy with their jobs anyone.
05/03/2020 16:31:55	Male	22-25	Yes	Risk-manager in financial	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I don't care	Yes	No	Maybe	Ability to sustain serious stress is better in men	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No	No	Neutral	Women is the happy with their jobs anyone.
11/03/2020 22:00:05	Male	26-30	No	In Austria as a businessm	Yes and No	No	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, of course, at least due to health reasons.	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	No	No	No	Neutral	No ideas, unfortunately.



Homelatour	Gender	Age	Are you a Student	Where do you imagine yo	Do you believe that gende	Do you think religion has	Do you think education ha	Are you a believer in feminis	Do you think women and	Do you think men and wo	Do you think men and wo	Do you think some jobs are for women and some are for	How do you see marriage	Would you like it if you h	Do you feel supported by	Do you feel supported by	Do you feel gender disparities in job applications	How would you rate the	HURRY IMPORTANT! What would you suggest to improve gender equality in Russia?
05/03/2020 17:58:12	Female	22-25	Yes	Working in company that it	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	No	No	Bad	It's ironically cool and the change for a minute, but it starts from simple things such as eliminating the necessity of gender(state) in CV
05/03/2020 18:03:05	Female	22-25	Yes	In Europe	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	I think it depends of the job and the ability that require.	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	No	Yes, put stepmoths of the job.	Bad	More information is the community, about opportunities and power that by applying it. - To change people's mind on typical 'male' and 'female' job and roles, - To change people's mind on typical 'male' and 'female' job and roles, Employers' fear of women being pregnant and not able to work for 3 years! - To change people's mind on typical 'male' and 'female' job and roles, Employers' fear of women being pregnant and not able to work for 3 years! - obligatory maternity leave for men (at least 20% of its duration as it's practiced in Scandinavian countries)
06/03/2020 08:12:44	Female	22-25	Yes	In 5 year as a head of wal	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	No	I think it should depend onl might be true in some parts as there are some jobs beallbeing with the person you		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No	I am sure there are some, but I personally have neve Bad		To get rid of "cult of bosses" (internal relict among Russian women that they are "defective" without a man, no matter of the "quality" of the man)
12/03/2020 20:26:52	Female	22-25	No	People management role	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	It doesn't matter as long a The same	Yes, partly because of gender stereotypes and partly beallbeing with the person you		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No	No	Bad	Education, starting from kindergarten, law and negotiations among all participants of society. Also, I think that the main problem is in the stereotypes, law and negotiations among all participants of society. No suppressive feminism, I won't want in Russia as it does in Europe or the USA. Allowing businesses to stick to the gender equality practices, raising such questions in the society and making it more open for discussion, more information about all gender equality as well as kinds of education, eradication of discrimination in legislation.
11/03/2020 16:01:20	Female	26-30	Yes	No idea. Long-term plans	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Questions on whether I plan to have kids or not. Unfort		1) Strong female leaders as role models 2) gender-sensitive education 3) media presence of successful women 4) Laws against domestic violence and stalking 5) Laws against discrimination on labour market 6) more tolerance towards harassment 7) Law against domestic violence and stalking
05/03/2020 17:14:39	Female	22-25	Yes	manager or CEO	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, because of anatomical differences	Financial support, Being a Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No	No	Bad	Start from the former education in Russia, that it is no point to be with a man who is alcoholic even if he is a breadwinner.
12/03/2020 12:19:19	Female	22-25	Yes	In 5 years I see myself as	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	I think that job is only for the person qualified for it, and Indifferent	Financial support, Being a Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	I've seen some discrimination job descriptions.	Bad	To fight domestic abuse, to raise boys and girls in schools in the same ways, to promote equality in families, to fight stereotypes
11/03/2020 13:31:25	Female	26-30	Yes	In envoy relationship with	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, I think so but only because some jobs require physi Financial support, Being a Indifferent		Indifferent	Yes	No	No	Bad	Law religious emancipation, sex education in schools
11/03/2020 12:27:35	Female	26-30	No	At the managing position,	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	I don't think so. However, there some jobs that require Indifferent		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	My previous boss was choosing only female employee Bad		Raise awareness. Also most kids are raised by women, and many of those women don't believe in feminism, so situation stays the same.
13/03/2020 20:30:47	Female	18-21	Yes	Working abroad for an Int	Yes and Yes	Specifically in Russia not	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	No. I believe that a job "suits" each person individually a	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	From my side as an applicant for a position - no. Ind Bad		Of course there is a need to change the perception of gender roles in society through education, starting from the very early years of children's lives. Also, there is a need to change the military system. In some religions, women are not allowed to serve in the army, though in some post-conditions women are forced to serve in the army. I think that this is a very important issue. Also, there is a need to change punishment for home abuse. But it is hard to speak of real methods in these sphere, because they require huge changes in the whole system of values in the society. Also, I think that there is a need of equal rights, when they don't base for majority of population but only those in power.
07/03/2020 08:49:23	Female	22-25	Yes	In Paris. Being a writer.	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	I don't think so. Ch- sad. Is surrogacy a job?	I don't want to get married indifferent		Yes	Yes	Not yet. My friends have. I am afraid of this: you are Bad		I guess education and popularization of science are the most important thing. A really educated person can't be a sexist.
14/03/2020 16:04:53	Female	22-25	Yes	Not sure	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not sure	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, during the interview processes young women ofbad		Raise awareness, Also most kids are raised by women, and many of those women don't believe in feminism, so situation stays the same.
11/03/2020 13:36:32	Female	22-25	Yes	A highly experienced stud	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	A perfect job for someone is defined by talent and Indifferent	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes, but it was actually positive discrimination in myBad		Sex education.
03/03/2020 17:37:16	Female	22-25	Yes	In 5 years - consulting or f	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm against	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, it depends on the physical abilities	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, I was rejected for the job in a big Russian compBad		It is important to make a change in the people's minds. So maybe start from the education of children. Also, I think that there should be some governmental set weeks maybe
05/03/2020 15:15:02	Female	26-30	Yes	In 5 years working as a m	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, there are some jobs as a miner that need physical Financial support, Being a Yes		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	I was asked if I am going to have a kids in the near Bad		To ignore women more energetic positions
12/03/2020 09:29:27	Female	22-25	Yes	5 years: manager/supervis	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	No. There is no typical masculine/feminine behaviour. E	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Bad	Also multiply improved population in Russia. We don't need this impact of prom culture on our society.
11/03/2020 13:25:25	Male	22-25	No	Out of the country	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, because of the physical. So what they want to do	Financial support, Being a Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Lack and change of education at school	Bad	Even if I think that men are better with dealing with stress, jobs calling is certainly big and, if it exist and should be destroyed. Also women are better in stire situations. Men and women means to be happy with their jobs anyone.
11/03/2020 13:40:01	Female	26-30	No	Deep professional in bankTes and No		No	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Politicians should be chos Financial support, Being a Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Bad	First of all the law against domestic violence and decreasing activities in favour of childbearing (everyone should assume his/her opportunities and make decisions him/herself)
11/03/2020 15:55:38	Female	30+	No	I will become an experienc	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Only if we are saying about jobs which needs to be stror Financial support, Being a Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	I think it exists. Some employers would better hire a Bad		I would suggest to implement some governmental regulations or benefits for employers who is ready to hire women. Super weak governmental programs or subsidies or maternity pay are not such employers.
09/03/2020 15:10:03	Female	30+	Yes	not in my country	Yes and Yes	No	No	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	maybe some jobs are too heavy for women because men Financial support, Being a Yes		Yes	Yes	No	In my branch there are no such kind of disparities in Bad		light fix it
11/03/2020 15:31:24	Female	22-25	No	As an adviser in order/ma	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unless a job requires a particular set of genitalia, I don't Being with the person you		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	I was asked about my family status/obligations to hellBad		Start to talk about and bring to light cases of gender inequality using various platforms, spread information, interest and educate people on this topic, especially women
05/03/2020 16:20:10	Female	26-30	Yes	Manager position in a bank	Yes and Yes	No	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	No		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Bad	I think stereotypes are born early in the childhood. Girls are raised to be sensitive and kept to cooking and protecting. I think is wrong, everyone should be raised equally, regardless gender.
11/03/2020 14:15:48	Female	18-21	Yes	Writer	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	I think so, because some jobs are real hard or danger for Being with the person you		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	I don't know	Bad	Paid for job
11/03/2020 13:08:45	Female	22-25	No	No idea	Yes and No	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Only the jobs which require specific biological aspects (e.Being with the person you		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Once they asked me whether I am planning to get pBad		Change education so it includes less stereotypes Improve maternity leave (women abuse abortion/contraception card) Improvements in legislation Teach mothers-pre fathers not to say their children " boy, you are a girl/boy. you should do this/that"
09/03/2020 09:05:54	Female	22-25	Yes	5 years - Team lead of ad	Yes and No	Yes	No	I'm interested	No	Yes	Yes	Yes, because of anatomical differences	Financial support, Being a Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet	Bad	Create mandatory paternity leave, as now companies discriminate women as they can get pregnant and leave company for a long period of time
05/03/2020 15:08:55	Female	18-21	Yes	In a global company or red	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I don't care	Yes	Yes	Yes	Maybe yes. Because of some health restrictionsmits	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, No	Bad	I think it is a question of time.
03/03/2020 15:15:07	Female	18-21	Yes	Hopefully, living in the US	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	No, we are equal	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Bad	Start from the former education that men and women are equal, because in our country everything starts from a family. So if a father teaches his son that a woman's job for marriage. Then we should defeat such a thinking from the early age.
09/03/2020 12:08:01	Female	22-25	Yes	In 5 years - working in the	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, there are hard jobs as a miner that need physical Financial support, Being a Yes		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes, yes. I am almost always asked during the int Bad		We have all equal gender rights during the job interviews, salary
05/03/2020 15:13:22	Female	26-30	Yes	In 5 years working as a m	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, because of physical power, other than that I do not Financial support, Being a Yes		No	Yes	Yes	Yes	I was asked if I am going to have a kids in the near Bad		Start from the former education
07/03/2020 07:31:47	Female	18-21	Yes	lol	Yes and No	No	No	I'm against	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No	No, no	Closed	- Remove the list of "dev professions" - Set retirement age one for both women and women.
05/03/2020 20:32:25	Female	22-25	Yes	I would like to see myself	Yes and No	No	No	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Sometimes it is just hard for women physically to do so	Being with the person you	Yes	Yes	No	No, I have not	Closed	This is difficult question, as it is in some ways connected with Russian mentality
05/03/2020 15:41:05	Female	22-25	No	In managing position in ord	Yes and Yes	No	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	No. I was grown in the environment free of stereotypes.	Financial support, Being a Yes		Yes	Yes	No	Do not celebrate him/her and to continue the same path of development	Closed	Do not celebrate him/her and to continue the same path of development
07/03/2020 01:08:44	Female	22-25	Yes	Geographically? Did not alla	No	No	No	I don't care	Yes	Yes	Yes	Depends on quality and in The same as previous, we ha	My job is to ask if you can perform professionally.	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No	Closed	Do not things. Very common nowadays to claim yourself a feminist or supporting feminism just because it is cool.
05/03/2020 20:35:12	Female	22-25	Yes	In 5 years - project manag	Yes and No	No	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	No	No	Personally I do not apply gender on jobs, but statistically	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	I've never experienced any. I suppose they exist. In Closed		Government - continue support of each gender in terms of education opportunities and others. Business - development of "women bodies" programs (events supporting women)
11/03/2020 13:35:53	Female	22-25	Yes	In 5 - having business. In 10	Yes and Yes	No	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	I think it depends on other The same answer with 2 I think, I don't think so, it depends BUT there is a tendency	Being with the person you	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Nope, not by myself. But I know, for example, that H Closed		Raise awareness, Also most kids are raised by women, and many of those women don't believe in feminism, so situation stays the same.
11/03/2020 15:13:20	Female	26-30	No	Not clear what do you mea		No	No	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	It should not depend on ju Yes, I am against quoted Some jobs require dangerous for future children but it is Financial support, Being a Indifferent		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes, I haven't	Closed	To promote maternity leave for men
12/03/2020 08:48:55	Female	26-30	No	Geographically - most pro	Yes and Yes	No	Yes	I don't care	Yes	It doesn't matter, politics a The same		There are some requires physical strength. On average Financial support, I don't t Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	I think gender stereotypes have always worked for Closed		Less radical feminism
09/03/2020 21:19:18	Female	22-25	Yes	I have 2 year of a marketing Yes and No		Yes	No	I'm interested	Yes	No	No	Yes, because biologically women are better in one areas Financial support, Being a Indifferent		Yes	Yes	No	No	I don't care	Bad	Less radical feminism
07/03/2020 09:25:21	Female	22-25	Yes	Producer	Yes and No	Yes	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Financial support, Being a Yes		Yes	Yes	No	No	I don't care	Bad	I don't understand
11/03/2020 13:48:47	Female	26-30	No	As a well-paid freelancer (IT	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	People should be judged I Same. Gender shouldn't bi	I think there are some jobs which are more suitable for Indifferent		Indifferent	Yes	No	No	Yes, I'm to manger, quite often people in Russia (tech-	Neutral	I don't question because there is a lot of confirmed from men to women in Russia. And usually it is not about merit. Women should be nice, calm, active children, keep house clean, learn mommy and daughter's interests, be ready to sacrifice career for family and children. Men should be respect ourselves, and it's a long way, right now I don't see fast solution
09/03/2020 18:28:33	Female	22-25	No	Family - owner	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I'm against	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes - and this is normal. Women don't need to work in m Financial support, Being a Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Once I was asked on an interview - so you are 25, y Bad		More adequate people in politics. People who take high posts are morally very conservative and don't want to change anything. Also, more women in politics and business would help.
05/03/2020 18:29:40	Female	22-25	Yes	Consulting, then my own fi	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	No, I don't. Each person is individual, therefore "average Being with the person you		Indifferent	Yes	Yes	No. It's usually not a thing at the big companies whe Great education. Society policy		Tolerance is a bad foreign ideology? Turnover still believe shouldn't become mother? Women
05/03/2020 18:44:33	Female	22-25	Yes	Working in a big internatio Yes and No		Yes	No	I'm interested	Yes	No	No	It's fair for men to be responsible for manual labor, respo Being with the person you		Indifferent	Yes	No	But haven't experienced	Neutral	People's views need to be changed which is extremely hard to do A lot of gender inequality is deep rooted in informal parts of Russian society, such as attitudes and stereotypes, which are hard to change. Also, I think that there is a need to change the state system, which is also deep rooted in Russian society. In this regard, I would suggest using educational means (lectures, seminars etc for masses).
05/03/2020 16:54:13	Female	22-25	Yes	Personal business or royal	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist

Homelatitur	Gender	Age	Are you a Student	Where do you imagine yo	Do you believe that gende	Do you think religion has a	Do you think education has	Are you a believer in femi	Do you think women and c	Do you think men and wo	Do you think men and wo	Do you think some jobs are for women and some are for	How do you see marriage	Would you like it if your s	Do you feel supported by	Do you feel supported by	Do you feel gender disparities in job applications	And how would you rate the	PLEASE IMPORTANT! What would you suggest to improve gender equality in Russia?
11/02/2020 13:26:15	Male	20+	No	0. In Russia. 10. In Russ	Yes	Yes	I don't care	Not equality, but gender of	Yes	Not equality, but gender of	Not equality, but gender of	Yes, but only connected to physical abilities	I don't want to get married	Indifferent	Yes	No	Yes	Neutral	Exclude gender factor from decision making
07/03/2020 09:18:13	Male	26-30	Yes	BigD Consulting company	Yes and Yes	Yes	No	I'm interested	Yes	They should have equal o	Even above	I'm for the equality of opportunities	To be best friends, who a	Indifferent	Yes	No	CEO assistants are always women and I haven't bet	Neutral	To make equal opportunities but don't touch outcomes. In other words don't persuade companies to hire a fixed number of people with the same gender, aspire companies to look for the best candidates
09/03/2020 15:48:15	Male	22-25	Yes	It's years. Manager in Big	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I don't care	Yes	No	No	Not really, maybe the ones that require more physical	pattering with the person you like	Yes	Yes	No	Nia and no	Neutral	Women should just wait and keep working and pursuing their goals more, and complain less. Some people of older generations / with archaic/ sense probably are not going to change, so just don't pay attention, and wait till they pass away.
09/03/2020 18:55:54	Male	22-25	Yes	Marketing Brand Manager	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Financial support, Being a fa	Indifferent	Yes	No	I feel that it exists but have not experienced it	Neutral	Domestic violence regulation
09/03/2020 19:27:10	Male	22-25	Yes	Middle management rob	Yes and Yes	No	Yes	I don't care	I believe that we should fi	I believe that we should fi	I think so, because there are some differences that stem fr	Financial support, Being a fa	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes, right now with gender quotas it's easier for everybody		Get rid of gender quotas and start focusing on professional skills
11/02/2020 13:28:09	Male	26-30	No	Russia, consulting. Russi	Yes and No	Yes	No	I don't care	It should not be reached b	again, - no discrimiden, so it's tried to answer silly qui	don't think so	Happiness	Indifferent	Yes	Yes	Yes	women	Neutral	Solve social problems in principal and don't spend time and money to resolve exaggerated problems
11/02/2020 13:39:13	Male	20+	No	In New York or L.A.	Yes and No	No	No	I don't care	It depends on education,	Gender is not a indicator t	Use the previous answer	Physically job more for men	Happiness	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Neutral	Work and study
09/03/2020 15:48:42	Male	22-25	Yes	Marketing manager in a B	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm a feminist	Yes	Yes	I'm against compulsory vo	No, there is no scientific proof for it, only the way of upbri	Financial support, Being a fa	Indifferent	No	No	Yes, a big corporation was reluctant to hire me as a Very bad		Update of education program in schools
10/03/2020 00:39:50	Male	22-25	No	In a place where I have a	Yes and Yes	Yes	Yes	I'm interested	Yes	Yes	Yes	Well, definitely, some of them are, but if anybody thinks s	Two people agree that the	Indifferent	No	No	I felt some, but it is possible, that women of my age t	Very bad	Revolution