

company, amount of currency and commodities for resale.

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

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

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

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

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

One may assume that this inequality will continue to affect negatively women's rights and opportu-

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

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

* * *

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

7 GENDER EQUALITY AND HEALTH

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

The following factors, among others, strongly influence the differences in expected life-span of men and women and high male mortality rate: accident death rate, death rate from cardio-vascular diseases, high level of alcohol addiction and infectious diseases, primarily TB. Major differences in mortality rates of men and women are prominent in able-bodied age groups. In the age group of 15 to 59, men's mortality rate is 2,75 times higher than women's. No major gender differences were revealed

among children and elderly people. High mortality rate among men results from an integrated impact of many factors. Among other things, it may also be related to different male and female social roles and to different gender susceptibility to stress caused by economic, social and political events. Men's broader involvement in political and economic activities makes them assume greater risks associated with such activities⁴³. Gender segregation in the labour market also results in men's employment in industries with high injury and mortality risks (army, law-enforcement bodies, mining, etc.).

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

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

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

Table 23. Expected life-span at birth, years

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

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

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

Table 25. Industrial injuries (thousand of people)

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

and women equally, but men more frequently end in death, while women end up in broken health⁴⁴.

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

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

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

This problem may be resolved in the context of UN Millennium Goals after defining specific areas with regard to the Russian context. Obvious gender dis-

parities in social diseases and comprehensive character of existent problems require co-ordinated efforts aimed at health promotion and gender equality.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 27. Suicide rate by age and gender in 2001 (per 100 000 people of relevant age)⁴⁵

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

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

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

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

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

The level of suicides in Russia is extremely high, in fact, Russia is one of world leaders by this parameter. Suicides are primarily a male problem

(6 times more common among men than among women). Heavy social and psychological stresses and male inability to adapt to crisis predetermine high level of suicides among men. Women's better capacity at overcoming or adapting to crisis is also reflected in the gender structure of para-suicides (attempted suicides), which are more often registered among women (60%).

Alcohol consumption is an essential suicide factor. As established, an increase of 1 litre of alcohol consumption per capita results in 8 male and 1 female suicides per 100 000 men and 100 000 women. For alcohol addicts the suicide risk is 9 times higher⁴⁵ (Table 27).

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

8 GENDER ASPECTS OF VIOLENCE IN RUSSIA

The problem of violence naturally affects different social and demographic groups: young and aged, men and women. The level of violence in Russia is rather high, and the rate of violent deaths is 3 times higher than the average in the world. Is there gender

asymmetry in violence? Analysis of this problem is complicated due to the fact that no victimological monitoring of registered crimes or research monitoring of victimisation is conducted in Russia. Certain information is available through international

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

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

victimisation surveys⁴⁷, carried out by the Interregional Institute of Criminal Research attached to UNO (UNICRI). According to the survey, violent crimes are more often committed against men. In 1996, 7,6% of men and 4,2% of women respondents in Russia admitted being subjected to violence or threat of violence within one year. The ratio becomes more loen when sexual violence against women is taken into account: 2,1% of women–respondents fell victims to such crimes within one year. According to other data, in 2000 men became victims of violent crimes twice as often as women did⁴⁸.

Probability of victimisation depends on many factors. The analysis based on international data, reveals that the risk of victimisation for all types of crimes, among other things, is higher for women, goes down with age and number of family members, and goes up in case of frequent «going-outs» at night. Thus, young people, especially girls devoid of parental control, are most victimable part of the population⁴⁹. The survey results are applicable to Russia as well.

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

Women are exposed to a greater danger at home than in the street, and violence often manifests itself as sexual harassment.

Sexual violence is primarily directed at women, so one may use the data related to the total number of such crimes. The dynamics of rapes and attempted rapes indicates a certain decrease in the number of such crimes, but one should bear in mind that in many cases victims do not apply to law enforcement bodies. For instance, in European countries in 2000 only 7% of victims of sexual incidents and 37% of assault victims reported to the police⁵⁰. A survey conducted in Russia revealed that law enforcement authorities concealed 15% of reported rapes⁵¹. The low number of registered rapes or attempted rapes may also testify to the growing latency of such crimes (Table 28).

Besides rapes and attempted rapes, another common phenomenon is sexual harassment and coercion to sexual contacts at work place. Tension in the labour market, high unemployment rate and difficulties with employment make resistance to sexual harassment prone with considerable losses. Over half of men and absolute majority of women assume that by opposing sexual harassment at work women face a real danger of losing a job; also, as shared by many respondents, it may turn their professional career impossible or result in reduced wages⁵² (Table 29).

In general, men become victims of violence more often, while women are victims in 93% of the case of domestic violence⁵³. Violence against family members is a serious social problem, primarily because it is latent. It rarely serves as a reason for applying to law enforcement bodies or becomes public, and is often considered a family affair, which should not be

Table 28. Dynamics of victims of sexual crimes⁵⁴

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

Table 29. Dynamics of rape and attempted rape

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

subject to public attention or become a national policy issue.

Information about the level of family violence is mostly based on survey data. For instance, the data of the 1996 survey reveals that 25% of married women were exposed to physical violence and up to 30% of divorced women faced violence in their previous marriages. Family violence is more common for rural areas⁵⁵. The same survey revealed that women also resort to different forms of violence against their husbands. Still, men are more often aggressive, while women are defensive and seldom initiate violent attacks. According to another survey data, one third of respondents (both men and women) admitted that in their families women do resort to violence against husbands, among them only 7% turned against men who had never attacked them⁵⁶. According to data of the same survey, conducted in 2000–2002 in 7 regions of Russia, 41% of women were beaten by their husbands at least once, and 3% of women faced their husbands' beating once a month or more often⁵⁷.

The 2002 survey demonstrated that 87% of men and 93% of women recognise family violence against women in Russia, and 15–20% admit violence does take place in their families. The analysis shows that respondents from «working strata» more often admit all forms of violence in their families, and «tough» forms of violence are five times more common than the average⁵⁸.

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

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

last come law enforcement bodies and lawyers⁵⁹ (Table 30).

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

The share of women among people leaving the country through official migration channels amounts to 12%, but according to expert evaluation, it does not exceed 5% of the overall female labour migration⁶¹. It means that 95% of female migration is illegal, which significantly increases women's chances of becoming victims of violence and sexual exploitation. Marginalisation of female labour migration is under way.

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

* * *

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

⁵⁵ Rimashevskaja N., Vanoj D., Malysheva M. et al. A window into Russian private life. Married couples in 1996. M.: 1999.
⁵⁶ I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAX Press, 2003, p. 69.
⁵⁷ I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAX Press, 2003.
⁵⁸ Russia: violence in the family — violence in society. UNIFEM, UNFPA, M.: 2002.
⁵⁹ I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAX Press, 2003, p. 81–82.
⁶⁰ I. D. Gorshkova, I.I. Shurygina. Violence against Wives in Modern Russian Families. M.: MAX Press, 2003, p.82⁶⁷ Russia: violence in the family — violence in society. UNIFEM, UNFPA, M.: 2002.
⁶¹ Tyuryukanova E.V. Social policy in labour migration. //Economics and social policy: gender dimensions. M.: 2002.