

**The impact of the transition economy on gender composition in employment in
the Russian heavy industry**

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Declaration of Authorship

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Abstract

The emergence of the Russian Federation as an independent country has resulted in vast social, political and economic change; for example, economic instability has led to the diminution of women's labour market participation.

Through in-depth interviews with managers, employees and trade union officials of a case-study organization, 'Ruscoal', and another mining company in the region, this research examines the social and economic dimensions that impact on the gender composition of employment in the Russian coal industry. It will also explain continuity and changes in gender composition during a period of transition, which has implications for both female and male employment in the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company. Through the theoretical lens of patriarchy, this research draws attention to the experiences of women and their interaction with the social and work environments; it also explores their employment and work experience subsequent to transitional restructuring in Russia.

Sixty-five per cent of work placements are legally prohibited for females under the Russian Labour legislation. Prohibited placements are classified as professions with working conditions that are harmful or dangerous for women's reproductive health; the majority of these workplaces are in heavy industry. As a result of this protective legislation, women are often excluded from numerous skilled jobs. Moreover, women are categorized as workers who require more social benefits, and strict rules must be followed for their employment; thus, they have become a second-class group of workers.

This research shows that the pressure of the double burden of paid and unpaid work on women during transition has not only remained but also increased. Gender inequality was present in the Soviet Union, and during the transition period it has been reinforced not only by objective problems of the transitional period but also by a reassertion of the patriarchal system of Russian society. Nevertheless, this thesis emphasizes the importance of considering the role of occupational communities and how their norms and traditions also influence the behavioural norms of the local population.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Background of the Research

On the 8th of December 1991, the leaders of Russia, Byelorussia and Ukraine signed the Belovezhskoye agreement on the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation, on its territory, of 15 independent countries. It remains one of the most significant events of the 20th century. Most authors, such as Clark (1998, 2005), Ahrend (2006), and Gerber and Mayorova (2006), agreed that rapid political and economic changes have had a great impact on the population and their social lives. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, women's participation in the labour market also changed. Standing (1994), Kay (2001) and Linz (1996) investigated the Russian transition economy, claiming that the unstable situation led to the diminution of women's labour market participation. Those industries that had been subject to total government regulation, such as transport, medicine, education and heavy industry, experienced the greatest impact of the transition economy (Teshukova et al., 2001).

The debates within the literature on gender diversity are very limited, as gender research in the Soviet Union was scarce, being considered unnecessary in an 'equal' communist society (Sperling, 1999), and terms such as gender diversity were not explored in depth within Russian academic and civil society. Only after the collapse of the Soviet Union has research about gender diversity and equality issues appeared and universities started to endorse gender studies (Sperling, 1999; Zdravomyslova and Temkina, 2003).

This thesis aims to develop knowledge in the field of gender diversity by collecting primary data from the 'Ruscoal' mining company to explore continuity and change in women's employment within a Russian heavy industry in transition. This thesis contributes to fields of literature such as transitional economy literature, industrial relations literature (Chapter 5.3 - Trade Unions and Women's Activism, which explores changes in Russian industrial relations, and what this activism or the lack of it means for female workers), the sociology of work (Chapter 5.2.2 – where the thesis outlines the importance of the interaction

between work and home, and the public/private in helping us to understand women's acceptance of changes in occupational segregation and exclusion from certain aspects of work), and labour process literature (Chapter 5.2.1 - in particular the gendered nature of skill and masculine control leading to a deskilling of women's work as labour, thereby helping to contribute further examples to Braverman's deskilling thesis).

The literature is examined from a gender perspective to help explain inequalities between men's and women's work in the workplace within the Russian mining industry. Moreover, this thesis contributes to feminist literature through the concept of patriarchy, in particular Walby's theorizing which considers patriarchy to be a set of relatively autonomous relations between the State, the family, the trade unions, employers, and the occupational community.

In the field of transitional economy literature, this thesis engages with the debate about the end of the communist system, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the move to free market capitalism and the economic and social outcomes of this as experienced by male and female workers, which seem to suggest that the new neo-liberal model of capitalism does not necessarily mean economic and social advancement for women. Based on the fieldwork evidence, this PhD research has identified that the transition economy has had a multi-level impact on gender composition within the mining industry in Russia. Thus, this thesis explains what is happening in the Russian labour market. The labour process literature highlights the subjective nature of jobs and job grading [salary structures], and how the more powerful section dominated by men and masculine work benefits from controlling the sexual division of labour through gender job segregation and what this means for salary structures. The sociology of work draws attention to the persistent nature of gender division in the home and at work and how these are strongly socially embedded in occupational communities such as coal mining and are thus difficult to change.

Nevertheless, by using factors identified by Maltseva (2005) in her model (Figure 2.2), this thesis explains how some of these factors did change during the transition time; it also looks at those that did not change, such as women's family responsibilities, and how this helps to explain the impact of transition on gender

diversity within the mining industry. Moreover, this research goes beyond Maltseva's (2005) model and develops it by indicating that the role of the local occupational communities, specific industries' legislation, behavioural norms and the historical background of the local population are also important factors in helping to explain the changing composition of women's work in the Russian mining industry but also how patriarchy influences their choices in whether to embrace activism or non/activism in respect of challenging inequalities that impact on the gender composition of workers in coal production.

This research is the latest in a series of academic studies focusing on gender diversity aspects in transitional Russia. This study used the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company as an example to demonstrate the impact of the transition economy on gender diversity.

Background of the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company

This section will briefly explain the history of the case-study company and the regional background. The case-study, the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company, is situated in the Kuzbass region. The Kuzbass region is the largest coalmining region in the country and is the centre of the metallurgical and chemical industry of Siberia. The majority of the working-age population of the Kuzbass region are employed in the coal industry (approximately 200 0000 people). Moreover, the Kuzbass region provides more than 1,000 kinds of industrial output, such as coal, coke, pig-iron, aluminium, zinc, ferro-alloys, building materials, mineral fertilizers, plastic, chemical fibres and synthetic pitches, for the entire Russian economy and 73 other countries worldwide (Ferguson, 1989).

The 'Ruscoal' Mining Company commenced operations in 1964, with a production capacity of approximately 2 million tons per year. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the entire ownership of the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company passed to its employees as a result of the privatization of the Russian industrial organizations. The period from 1991 to 1994 was marked by deterioration in technical and economic performance due to the overall recession in Russia's economy following the collapse of the planned economy and transition to a market-based economy. In 1994, the current management team took control of the mine's

business operations and developed and implemented a program of production efficiency enhancement for the period 1996-2005; this program sought to increase production volume and labour productivity and reduce production costs by renovating existing facilities, purchasing new equipment, and acquiring new production and processing assets. Today, open-cast mining produces coal in the Mezhdurechensk and Novokuznetsk areas of the Kuzbass region (situated in Eastern Siberia) on two separate sites. The annual productivity of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company in 2012 amounted to more than 6 million tons of extracted coal (Tekton Group, 2007). The main aim of the current research is to discover how these economic and structural changes within the `Ruscoal` Mining Company have impacted on gender composition within the Company.

Heavy industry is the best example of a gendered occupation and the gender division of labour as it is predominantly occupied by men; thus, this industry has a high potential for discrimination against women (Blau, Simpson and Anderson, 1998; Cotter et al., 1997; Reskin, 1993; Wells, 1999). Coal production is a key sector in heavy industry and is the focus of this paper. This research aims to show the experiences of men and women following transitional restructuring in Russia.

1.2 Research Aims, Objectives and Questions, and Structure of the Proposed Thesis

The main aim of this research is to use the patriarchal lens to examine the social and economic dimensions that impact on women's participation in the labour market identity in Russia's coal industry; it will seek to examine how this has been transformed during the last twenty years when the country experienced a change in economic regime, labour law, etc. The current research identifies changes in men's and women's responsibilities for work and home, and how they have been transformed during the past two decades. The overall research question is as follows: *How do the relevant stakeholders of the Russian coal mining industry perceive the impact of the transition economy on gender diversity?*

The research question is concerned with the research objectives that were developed in order to fully reflect its main aspects (Table 1.1):

Research objectives	Structure	Key authors
<i>1. To examine gender regulation rules and policies within the Russian mining industry and define how they have changed since the Soviet Union era for the female labour force;</i>	Examination of: 1. Political and social changes in 1991-2010 2. Social payment system in Soviet Union time for male and female employees: - Maternity leave - Pensions, - Medicine - Education - Demographic crisis 3. Legislation framework in Soviet Union and Russian Federation;	Sylvia Walby; Theodore Gerber; Sarah Ashwin; Rebecca Kay; Susan Linz; Beverly Metcalfe and Marianne Afanassieva;
<i>2. To consider how gender roles affect financial rewards and occupational sectors for male and female employees within the mining industry;</i>	Examination of: 1. Gender pay gap in Soviet Union and Russian Federation; 2. Occupational sex segregation and division of labour; 3. Women's position within the Russian labour market, particularly in the mining industry;	Constantin Ogloblin; Gillian Pascall; Francine Blau; Solomon Polacek; Heidi Hartmann; Barbara Reskin; Janet Elise Johnson and Aino Saarinen; Irina Predborska;
<i>3. To examine continuity and change in the role of patriarchy in the transition period for male and female employees within the mining industry; and identify changes in men's and women's responsibilities for the home and work;</i>	Examination of: 1. Patriarchy under the communist regime; 2. Patriarchy in transition period - Reassertion of the importance of women's reproductive function in the transitional period; 3. Social role distribution in Soviet Union and Russian Federation; 4. Role of local occupational communities;	Sylvia Walby; Karl Marx; Harry Braverman; Cynthia Cockburn; Sylvia Walby; Catherine Hakim; Margaret Mead; Heidi Hartmann; Jeni Harden;
<i>4. To find out role of the trade unions in the process of managing diversity in the workplace;</i>	Examination of: 1. Role and responsibility of the trade union organizations in the Soviet Union and Russian Federation; 2. Trade unions and female activism in Russia;	Simon Clarke ; Rosemary Crompton; Beth Holmgren;

Table 1.1. Research objectives and schedule of literature review

Table 1.1 also provides the proposed structure of the literature review created in such a way that each section focuses on one research objective. The first research

objective is to identify changes in political, economic and social systems during the transition economy time. The second objective is to consider how the gender composition of the workforce affects financial rewards and occupational sectors for male and female employees within the mining industry. The next objective is to explain gender regulation rules and policies, and to review women's position within the mining labour market and gender discrimination, occupational sex segregation and division of labour. Patriarchy is used as a theoretical lens in order to examine continuity and change in the transition period for male and female employees within the mining industry. The literature review presents a variety of different views on patriarchy. The main authors are Harry Braverman, Cynthia Cockburn, Sylvia Walby, Catherine Hakim, Margaret Mead, Heidi Hartmann, Jeni Harden and others. Although all these authors agreed that patriarchy is built upon a concept of gender domination, in a broader sense the term 'patriarchy' emphasizes the analogous structures of power in a society. In this research, patriarchy should be understood as "*a social system in which the status of women is defined primarily as wards of their husbands, fathers, and brothers*", where wardship has economic and political dimensions (Hartmann, 1976). The concept of patriarchy is significant for this study as this research will use a patriarchal lens to emphasize women's domestic role over and above their full-time work, the current situation within the Russian labour market and the reinforcement of occupational sex segregation during the transition period. Moreover, the major element within this is the government's own paternalistic practices that emphasize the protection of women because of their reproductive function.

The final objective of the current study is to evaluate the responsibilities of the trade union organizations in the Soviet Union era and in the Russian Federation. In order to answer this question and achieve the key purpose of this study, the thesis will be divided into five main chapters: literature review, methodology, findings, discussion, and recommendation and conclusion chapters. The main objective of this study is to find out how the main dimensions such as political changes, economic restructuring, occupational sex segregation, and wage gap are influencing the gender composition of workers within Russian heavy industry. Moreover, the current research will show how the proportions of male and female workers

changed during the transition period of the Russian economy and will explain the implications of this for gender diversity.

This Ph.D. research contributes to an understanding of the impact of the transition economy on gender diversity. By directing attention to issues of gender inequality and discrimination in Russia, this research hopes to draw attention to the experiences of women and their interaction with the environment, and to explore their employment and work experience subsequent to transitional restructuring in Russia. This research will also add to our knowledge about the ways in which government, social organizations and management have coped with the transition, as well as highlighting continuity and change in women's experience of work.

1.3 Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of six chapters. The present chapter, the introduction, outlines the background of the case-study company and the Kuzbass region, and presents the research aim, purpose and objectives of the study. Then, the structure of the thesis is introduced.

The literature review presented in Chapter Two draws parallels between the structural and economic changes in Russia during the transition time and the trend of gender composition in heavy industry. The chapter starts with a section exploring the historical aspects of the transition period in Russia followed by an explanation of the demographic crisis as a main consequence of the transition economy. After this, the chapter discusses how the current legal antidiscrimination framework of the Russian Federation helps to maintain equality. This is followed by an example of paternalistic labour legislation and its impact on women's employment in Russia. Next, this chapter examines social policies in Russia and the Soviet Union.

The next section builds the relationship between occupational sex segregation, the wage gap and the transition economy. Buckley (1997), and Hardy and Stenning (2002) suggested that the transition would bring more gender equality and better income levels for women. However, an overview of the literature shows the opposite (Predborska, 2005; Metcalfe and Afanassieva, 2005 a,b; Harden, 2008;

Klimova, 2012; Iakovleva, 2013); thus, this chapter shows that the impact of the transition economy on the wage gap and occupational sex segregation is still uncertain and nuanced. The next section summarizes the previous sections and identifies women's position in the Russian labour market, and how it changed during the transition time. Then, the chapter reaches its core, giving an account of the concept of patriarchy, which is used as a theoretical lens for this study. Lastly, the chapter evaluates the position and status of the trade unions in Russian society and explains the conceptual framework of this study.

Chapter Three, the methodology chapter, explains the research philosophy, design and methodology of the research project. Regarding the research philosophy, this chapter presents a discussion of the multiple-realities ontological position and the interpretivist epistemological approach, which underpins this study. The chapter then explains the specific methodologies adopted in the study. The research design is presented next, including a justification of the case approach applied in this study. This is followed by a description of the research techniques and data analysis process. Finally, the chapter offers a reflective account of the research process and discusses the issue of ethics in research.

Based on in-depth interviews with the senior managers, employees and trade union officials of the case-study company, Chapter Four highlights the findings of the current study. Through an analysis of the responses, this chapter explains continuity and changes in gender composition within the period of transition in the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company. The majority of respondents highlight the decreasing number of female workers within the mining industry during the transition period. This chapter presents an explanation of this phenomenon in the case-study company.

Chapter Five is the most comprehensive chapter of this thesis as it provides the analysis and discussion of the field. It gives a particular account of the role of the transition economy in gender composition through an explanation of dynamic changes in occupational sex segregation, and how the paternalistic approach of the Russian government and the patriarchal nature of the society impact on the working and family lives of the population of Kuzbass region. The chapter continues by setting out women's position in the labour market, and heavy industry in particular, during the transition time from a communist to a capitalist state.

The next part of this chapter identifies the impact of a small occupational community of a mining town, religious beliefs, and trade union activity on gender diversity in Russia. This chapter concludes that the main problem for Russian women in the rise of gender inequality is not the absence of control variables provided by the government but the absence of social activism and enquiry around this problem. However, as explained in the last section of this chapter, the new generation has started to recognize the issue of gender inequality, which is the first sign of a positive movement for the future.

Chapter Six provides a general discussion of the research findings. The research questions are revisited and answered in the light of the research findings. This is followed by an explanation of the original contribution of this research towards a better understanding of the impact of the transition economy on gender composition within heavy industry in Russia, as well as the implications of the study in terms of academic and practitioner understanding. The chapter then presents the theoretical, methodological and policy implications of the research. The thesis concludes with a reflective evaluation of the research approach and explains the limitations of this study. Lastly, areas for future research are highlighted.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to provide a better understanding of the relationship between transition economies and the employment of male and female workers; in particular, it will examine how the gender composition of the workforce may change in a transition and what factors influence it. This chapter starts with a brief overview of a transition economy before explaining the historical background of gender diversity in Russia and its relationship with human resources management. The next section examines the current legal framework of the Russian Federation and explains the specific aspects of labour legislation in mining industry. Next, this chapter reviews the existing literature on social benefits in Russia and the Soviet Union such as education, health services, pension system and parental leave benefits. Then this chapter discusses the occupational sex segregation and wage inequity in Russia, and explains how the economic and structural changes impact on changes in occupational sectors and the financial remunerations of employees of both genders. The literature on women's position in the Russian labour market and in heavy industry in particular, the changes in women's unemployment rates, and feminism and activist movements in Russia during the time of transition is also reviewed. Moreover, the author will attempt to estimate the role and behaviour of the trade unions at this time. In this work, the patriarchal lens is used extensively to explore transitional change in gender employment. Thus, this chapter summarizes the literature on the patriarchal concept and changes in treatment of the "women question" in Russia.

2.2 Change of Direction: Gender Diversity in the Soviet Union and Russian Federation

For many centuries, Russia was an imperial nation ruled by the Tsar. However, 1917 witnessed the October Revolution led by the Bolsheviks, and in 1922 the Soviet Union was legitimately established under the control of the Communist Party, which represented itself as a government of the proletariat (the working class). The USSR was formatted as a Federation of nationalities and included 15

major national territories with more than 100 ethnic groups. The Soviet Union government's aim was to equalize access to education between different regions, rural and urban areas, and families (Bray et al., 2001). The national health system guaranteed every citizen the same access and type of service (Tulchinsky and Varavikova, 1996). By 1937, all hospitals and other health facilities were nationalized and organized under district health management authorities. Virtually all health employees became public workers (Titterton, 2006).

However, in 1989-1991 the main problem of the Soviet economy - the goods deficit - reached its peak; all key products, apart from bread, disappeared from sale. Many regions introduced the product supply system in the form of coupons. Consequently, discontent among the Soviet population grew, and after almost seventy years of the communist regime the country again changed direction under the pressure of the overall economic, social and political crisis. On the 8th December 1991, the leaders of Russia, Byelorussia and Ukraine signed the Belovezhskoye agreement on the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation, on its territory, of 15 independent countries. Thus, during the last century Russia has twice radically changed its political regime, and economic and social systems (Titterton, 2006). The modern Russian Federation has embraced democracy but has also retained some features of the communist system as well as the pre-communist Imperial Russia.

In order to understand the Russian notion of gender diversity, this section firstly examines the transformation of the Soviet Union into the Russian Federation, with the accompanying changes in state ideology, and political and economic regime. Moreover, this section examines the terms and aspects of gender diversity, providing insights into the development of the gender diversity concept in Russia. Afterwards, this section explains the consequences of the transition economy caused by the tough economic situation – the demographic crisis and the shortening of life expectancy in Russia.

2.2.1 Transformation of Soviet Union to Russian Federation

Numerous countries have experienced a transition – the movement from a planned economy to a free market and democracy; the largest are the Soviet Union and China. In the 20th century, both of these countries established command economies following communist revolutions based on the ideas of Karl Marx. Both governments represented themselves as governments of the proletariat (the working class) and the peasantry. Both countries had state ownership and central planning; however, the experience of transition was unique to each country. In China, market reforms began in 1978 in a slow, experimental and step-by-step manner. Russian's reforms began much later, in 1991, and can be characterized as a rapid and radical transformation, which is usually called “shock therapy” (Roland, 2000).

Russian's government decided that the communist regime was an obstacle to economic reform and took the path of democratization. Thus, the economic reform in Russia and other Soviet Union republics was accompanied by a change of political regime. In contrast, China's economic reforms are under the strict control of its communist Government. The Chinese government, in contrast with that of Russia, decided that a communist regime and a market economy are compatible, and that an unstable political situation might lead to the failure of its economic reforms (Roland, 2000). The impact of a transition economy on gender diversity in employment in the Russian Federation and other Soviet Union countries differed from that in other transition economies, such as China or Eastern Europe, because changes in the Soviet Union countries were rapid and concerned all spheres of people's lives (Holmgren, 2013). Therefore, this research will try to identify the consequences of such a great and rapid movement from one political regime to another for the female labour force.

The economic reforms introduced in the Russian Federation since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of Russian Federation, as an independent country, has led to vast and dramatic changes in the Russian economy. These changes have affected not only political regimes and economic indicators but also many social and behavioural variables that have an impact on the welfare, health, wellbeing and moral principles of the Russian population (Zohoori et al., 2003).

In 1992, President Yeltsin ended Communist Party control of the state and economy and introduced a package of “shock therapy” reforms (Gerber and Hout, 1998). According to these reforms, Russia became, for a short period of time, a country with a free market economy including free prices and trade, legalized ownership of productive assets, and enterprise autonomy. Previously state-owned companies were privatized and the new owners built their own `rules` of labour legislation as the new governments were unable to create and develop new labour laws in such a short period of time (Gerber et al., 2006). As a result, many organizations made large-scale redundancies and dismantled the social and support requirements for their employees (Linz, 1996; Ahlander, 2000; Rzhanitsyna, 2000). Moreover, these changes led to monthly inflation levels averaging 15% from June 1992 to December 1994. The consumer price index reflects changes in the overall cost of living for all Russians, but it is an aggregate measure and may not accurately measure the relevant prices faced by poor individuals in 1990s (Rzhanitsyna, 2000). For example, prices increased by 1,100% during 1992 (Gerber and Hout, 1998). GDP declined by 18% in 1992, 12% in 1993, 15% in 1994, and 4% in 1995 (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2009). In January 1996, the Russian economy was only three fifths as large as it had been just four year earlier. Investments declined by almost half in 1992, by 12% in 1993, 23% in 1994 and 13% in 1995 (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Unemployment also rose, from almost zero at the end of 1991 to approximately 15% of the labour force by October 1995 (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Additionally, the Russian economy of 1996 differed dramatically from that of 1991, even though reforms had been fitfully implemented and some features of the Soviet economy persisted (Gerber and Hout, 1998). Since 2010 the situation has changed. In 2012-2013 annual inflation was between 6% and 8% (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Between 2003 and 2013 GDP grew by 61%. Investment in the Russian economy during the same period rose by 43%. Unemployment rates also stabilized: 6.5% in 2011, 5.46% in 2012, and 5.8% in 2013 (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). However, the country still experienced difficulties and faced challenges regarding employment in the 2000s (Klimova, 2012).

According to Monousova (1998), broad social changes and gender ideologies are interactive and have an effect on each other. She assumed that gender, like class,

informs legal systems and is embedded in the operations of the world market, the state, accumulation and social conflict; then, gender ideologies and structures are themselves subject to change. She concluded that changes in gender diversity depend on a country's laws on women and the family, and often follow economic and political change, as well as economic development, the country's policies, and social or political movements. Thus, the world market, changes in the legal system and the political situation all impact on gender and the status of women (Figure 2.1).

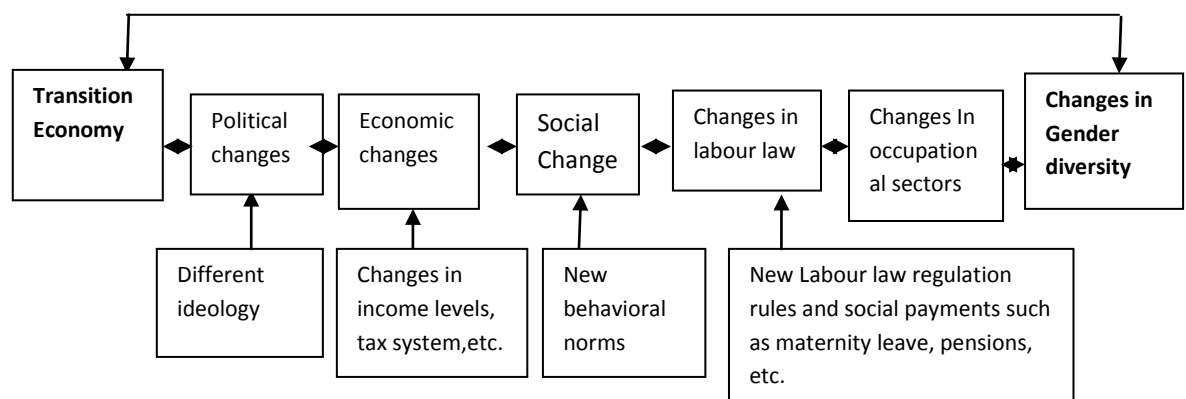


Figure 2.1 Indirect causal relationship: a causal chain

In the Soviet Union, equal opportunities were the main feature of social life (Ashwin, 2002; Standing, 1994). The gender equality principle was based on equalization of the two genders in economic production. The importance of commitment to the government and communist regime was placed above family and social life. Moreover, the family was seen as an economic element maintaining government objectives (Holmager, 2013, Standing, 1994; Puffer, 1996). According to communist ideology, every citizen had both the right and the obligation to work. Thus, female participation in the workforce dramatically increased during the Soviet Union time (Grapard, 1997). This process of women's integration into the labour market was supported by communist ideology in which emancipation and equal opportunities were the main features of society. Moreover, women's participation in the labour market in the Soviet Union era was the highest in any of the world's economies (Ashwin, 2002). Furthermore, the professional managerial level of employees also included the highest percentage of female workers and was higher than the European equivalents (Standing, 1994; Ashwin, 2002; Reza and Lau, 1999; Linz, 1996).

However, with a rapidly increased proportion of female participation in the labour market, the processes of gendered occupation and division of labour were also raised. These two processes were reinforced by the Soviet educational system and, in particular, by vocational training. Heavy industry during the socialist period was mostly staffed by male employees and included the most highly valued and the best-paid jobs (Watson, 1993; Gal and Kigman, 2000). In contrast, the administrative and service sectors were mainly occupied by female employees, who were significantly less well-paid (Ashwin, 2002). Despite the strong sexual division of labour in the Soviet Union, the proportions of female representation in scientific and political employment areas were much higher than in Western countries (Kay, 2001; Wirth, 2001; Gal and Kigman, 2000). This argument on the high percentage of female participation in highly educated professional fields was the key evidence of gender equality in the communist countries, including the Soviet Union (Wilford and Miller, 1998).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the situation regarding women's participation in the labour market changed. Authors such as Standing (1994), Bridger and Kay (1996), and Linz (1996) investigated the Russian transition economy, claiming that the collapse of the Soviet Union led to the diminution of women's participation in the labour market and the rise in unemployment in general. Thus, the hard economic conditions and high unemployment rates of the 1990s led to a demographic crisis in Russia.

2.2.2 Demographic Crisis and Life Expectancy in Russia during the Transition Time

In the time of transition in Russia, the demographic rate of natural increase became negative. In the 1990s, death rates were 1.5 times higher than birth rates. By the end of the 1990s, the rate of the decline in the natural population exceeded 900,000 people per year. For example, during 1986-2001, reproduction rates in Russia fell by 43.4% (43.395% due to a reduction in the birth rate and 0.005% due to increased mortality); only since 2012 has the birth rate started to grow again, and then only by 0.2% in 2012 and 0.4% in 2013 (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Another researcher, Vishnevsky (2010), also claimed that, since the second

half of the twentieth century, Russia has seen a sustained reduction in the birth rate. The beginning of this process started after the Second World War and it continues to this day. In the 1990s, the birth rate was also strongly influenced by a dramatic shift in the unstable political and socio-economic situation in the country.

Frejka and Sardon (2004) suggested that the transformation from a planned economy to a market economy in the 1990s might be considered a main reason for the changes in fertility patterns. As mentioned previously, the collapse of the Soviet Union has led to a difficult economic and social situation in Russia. In the 1990s, about one third of the population lived below the poverty line, which led to a drastic drop in living standards for the state as a whole, and a sharp increase in mortality. Moreover, health services and the education system are no longer free of charge, and a range of benefits at the first stage of reform were cancelled or limited; thus, it becomes clear that, in hard conditions, families cannot afford to have more than one or two children. Thus, in the late 90s the two-child family model became predominant.

Moreover, the average life expectancy in Russia in 2013 was 62 years for men and 71.2 years for women (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2014). In contrast, for the USA, Canada, France, Germany and other developed countries, these figures are respectively 74-75 years and 79-81 years. Japan is the champion of longevity with figures of 77.90 and 83.6 years respectively. Thus, Russian men are living on average 10 years less and women 12 years less than their counterparts in Western countries.

Leon et al. (2009) suggested that the comparatively short life expectancy has been influenced by several factors. First, alcoholism in Russia has been a problem throughout the country's history, as drinking is a pervasive element of society. Many authors such as Cockerham (1999, 2000, 2005) and Tomkins et al. (2007a,b) agreed that the practice of drinking in Russia has evolved through socialization and experience, and a recognized disposition toward drinking has become usual for a large proportion of the male population, in particular working-class and less educated people. Cockerham (2006, p. 949) concluded that *‘drinking was not only a form of socialising, but also a means to cope with the drab conditions of factory life and the disappearance of the supportive features of villages’*. Carlson and Hoffman

(2011), in their research on changes in the occupational structure of the labour force in the former socialist countries during the hyper-development of heavy industry, found that *'Rises in male mortality were correlated with changes in the occupational structure. They note that the expansion of factory employment and the inability of the social environment to assimilate the influx of new workers led to unhealthy lifestyles and self destructive behavior'* (Cockerham 2006b, p. 1807). Moreover, during the first half of the 90s, sales of alcoholic beverages per capita more than doubled. Furthermore, the percentage of low-quality alcohol increased by up to 38 per cent. According to statistics from the National Health Service (2005), deaths from alcohol poisoning increased by double to treble the previous figure. Second, the large numbers of car accidents every year on Russian roads cause the deaths of approximately 35,000 people. Additionally, poor environmental conditions and emissions from industrial waste and car exhausts increase the risk of cancer and respiratory diseases. Third, there is a high level of stress factors such as increased unemployment and poverty, the removal of price controls for food and rent, reduced purchasing power, and narrative conditions of uncertainty in the immediate post-Soviet period (Shkolnikov et al. 1998). As Leon and Shkolnikov (1998, p 58) state, *'the collapse of state socialism and the social, political, and economic change that followed created enormous stress for the population, especially workers who were officially favoured by Soviet political philosophy'* (Cockerham, 2006, p 948). Thus, stress led to increased levels of suicide and cardiovascular afflictions; it also played an important role in the promotion of alcohol use and smoking. Therefore, stress and unhealthy lifestyles are two possible major causes of the long-term unfavourable longevity pattern in Russia, even though the situation clearly does not lend itself to simple cause-and-effect explanations. Cockerham (2006, p.953) concluded that, for men, in particular middle-aged and working-class males who have experienced life in uncertainty and crisis during the 1990s, stress is thought to have advanced heavy drinking and smoking: *'however, the difficulty in assigning stress the dominant causal role for males in the crisis is that the masculine norm of binge drinking has become a well-established lifestyle practice inherent in male bonding, socialising, and hedonism regardless of stressful circumstances. Whereas stress seems a primary factor in the health of Russian women, it is less important for men who seem to subvert it with alcohol and cigarettes'*. However, Vishnevsky (2010) claimed that recent

demographic trends and diversity issues in contemporary Russia have deep roots in Russian history of the 20th century and are closely linked to the *‘evolution of the Russian family in the post-war period’* (p.3). Thus, diversity issues and timeline context are highly important in conditions in the Russian labour economy.

2.2.3 Diversity in Russia and the Soviet Union

The growth of diversity in the labour market has taken on a new urgency in the current era of globalization. Nowadays, the labour market is more narrow and global; the workforce involves a range of people, from white-collar technicians and supervisors, to clerical staff and manual employees (Day, 1982). Within the labour market as a whole, it is possible to identify groups whose characteristics, be they social, demographic, based on geographic location or whatever, influence the extent to which they are able or willing to participate (Decressin et al., 1995). Workers are of different genders, ages, professional skills, marital and family statuses, states of health and ethnic groups. Consequently, their economic and social experiences will be relatively different. The labour market is like any other market – it has buyers and sellers. The buyers are employers and the sellers are workers. Furthermore, the labour market has the demand and supply of the labour force. The supply of the labour force creates the term “diversity of the labour market”.

Many researchers, such as Post et al. (2004), Lynch (1997) and Harper (2004) have tried to define diversity and its influence on social life and employment. However, the term ‘diversity’ can vary across countries, regions and companies. For example, Holton (2005, p.74) described how the term diversity differs across countries. The UK literature on diversity usually includes work on gender, age, ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities. At the same time, in Europe researchers interpret diversity as ‘race, religion, colour, national origin, gender, disability, age, sexual orientation or any other characteristic protected by law’ (Holton 2005, p. 75). Harper (2004) claimed that diversity includes further differentiation including age, ethnicity, physical ability, sexual orientation, class, etc., which are also social constructs and therefore changeable. It is interesting to find that there are few rules about which groups of staff or customers should be included within the term “diversity”. Despite there being no single definition of “diversity”, many authors

have claimed that, in the last decade, the term “diversity” has appeared nearly all over the world (Holton, 2005; Harper, 2004; Lynch, 1997).

Holton (2005) creates a time guideline for the term diversity for the last 30 years. For example, he states that, in the 1980s, equal opportunity issues were not included as a part of business issues, especially in Soviet Union countries where the public sector was ahead of the private sector. In the early 1990s, some companies started reporting on diversity; for instance, Barclays Bank in the UK included diversity issues in its annual company report. By the end of the 1990s, the situation had changed slightly and the business community began to estimate the business relevance of diversity. The main trend of the 2000s is steady growth alongside these diversity reports. There is increased acceptance of the role of a diverse workforce in company performance (Holton, 2005). However, companies estimate and report on diversity in different ways; for example, some companies include gender diversity in their annual development plans as a main diversity feature, while others do not (Harper, 2004).

In the 2000s, the management of diversity has come to the fore in organizations as a result of two factors: accelerating competition due to globalization, and restructuring in the world economy (CIPD, 2005a). The case of the Russian Federation is very interesting in terms of “diversity” as, for the last few decades, the Russian political and social system has experienced significant changes. In the period 1991-1995, after the collapse of the socialist regime, Russia carried out a number of different reforms such as wage and price liberalization, trade liberalization, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and tax and legal reforms. Thus, “diversity”, as well as other indicators in the labour market, was affected by the transition economy (Post et al., 2004).

2.3 Current Legal Anti-discrimination Framework in the Russian Federation

The current legislation of the Russian Federation contains a number of Acts prohibiting discrimination. The main anti-discrimination legal framework of the Russian Federation is the Constitution (from December, 1993), which guarantees

equal rights and freedoms for every citizen and sets out the fundamental principles governing employment relations in Russia:

Human and civil rights and freedoms shall be recognised and guaranteed according to the universally recognised principles and norms of the International law and the Constitution. (Russian Constitution, 1993, Article 17).

Article 17.3 also states that the exercise of these rights ‘*must not violate the rights and freedoms of other people*’ (Colgan et al., 2013).

The major anti-discrimination provisions within the Constitution (1993) are contained in two paragraphs in Article 19:

The state guarantees the equality of human and civil rights and freedoms regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, material and official status, place of residence, attitude to religion, convictions, membership of public associations, or of other circumstances. All forms of limitations of human rights on social, racial, national, language or religious grounds shall be prohibited. (Russian Constitution, 1993, Article 19.2)

Men and women shall enjoy equal rights and freedoms and equal opportunities to exercise them. (Russian Constitution, 1993, Article 19.3)

The second anti-discrimination legal framework is the Labour Code of the Russian Federation (from December, 2001), which has established the prohibition of discrimination in employment and gives the discriminated person the opportunity to seek judicial protection. Article 3 of the Labour Code proclaims that everyone should have ‘equal opportunities to realise his/her labour rights’ and specifically states that:

No one can be constrained in his/her labour rights and freedoms or get any advantages irrespective of sex, race, colour of skin, nationality, language, origins, property, social or position status, age, domicile, religious beliefs, political convictions, affiliation or non-affiliation with public associations as well as other

factors not relevant to professional qualities of the employee (Article 3, Labour Code, 2001)

Furthermore, Russia has a number of federal and local regional government laws intended to protect people from discrimination. However, in reality the anti-discrimination legislation does not always work, as there are multiple examples of discrimination against disabled people and migrants or unjustified refusal to hire on the grounds of age or gender (Roschin, 2003).

2.3.1 Protective Labour Legislation in Russia

In 1978, the Russian government created a list of 456 occupations with harmful or dangerous working conditions (USSR Labour Code (KZoT), Article 160 from 1978) in which women were forbidden to work. This document was intended to create safe and hygienic working conditions, taking into account the anatomical and physiological characteristics of women and seeking to maintain their health on the basis of complex hygienic evaluation of environment factors and work process (Russian Labour Code, 2001).

During the transition period, the government emphasized the importance of allowing women 'to return to their purely womanly mission' at home. At the beginning of 'perestroika', the government revised the rules on female employment in jobs with harmful and dangerous conditions, and added more professions to this list (Russian Labour Code, clause 253 from 2001). However, the revised Labour Code (1993, 2001) 'does not prohibit' women's employment in jobs with harmful and dangerous conditions; it only limits their work unless the employer 'creates safe working conditions' suitable for women. These conditions should be confirmed by the State Examination of Working Conditions and Sanitary Inspection Service of the Russian Federation (Labour Code, 2001).

However, Khotinka (quoted in Darmaros, 2011) claimed that Article 253 can result in a situation where a woman may be excluded from highly-skilled occupations such as machine operator. This disadvantages women seeking skilled, well-paid work, particularly in regions where heavy industry and mining dominate the

economy (Colgan, 2013). Thus, Article 253 has been criticized for promoting a paternalist attitude to women rather than improving working conditions fit for all employees regardless of gender (Bokovikova et al., 2012).

Moreover, in the time of transition the government increased the period of maternity leave and obligated employers to transfer pregnant women to jobs with `lighter working conditions` (if they required them). According to Article 81 of Labour Code of the Russian Federation, an employer cannot dismiss a woman during her pregnancy despite her absence, low work performance or redundancy.

Harden (2008) states that this legal `protection` of women depends on the need for female labour. She argues that, in times of high labour demand, labour legislation on female employment was relaxed, and when demand fell it was reintroduced. The government states that this labour regulation was intended to protect women as mothers or potential mothers from the damaging effects of paid labour (Government Duma Website, 2009). However, the government's manipulation and timing of this legislation on female employment alienated women as a separate group of employees whose participation in the labour force was regarded as transitory (Harden, 2008).

In summary, Russia was the first former Soviet Union republic to sign the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1979). However, progress in tackling gender inequality was limited. Hemment (2007) argues that *`the instrumental application of gender mainstreaming combined with a commitment to liberalisation has undermined Russia's commitments to such international equality instruments`* (cited in Colgan et al., 2013). The UN Committee on women's rights in Russia (2010) criticized Russian legislation on women's employment for its emphasis on the role of women as `mothers and housekeepers, which the UN Committee suggested was more likely to be responsible for discrimination against women rather than promote equality (Smetanina, 2010; Colgan et al., 2013).

2.4 Social Policy in Russia and the Soviet Union

(Maternity Leave, Pensions, Medicine, Education)

The official constitutional position of women under communism was one of equality with men. Marriage and family law were liberalized, sexually exploitative images and writing prohibited, and equal educational opportunities for women promoted. In a society with an almost 90 per cent female labour participation rate, women also do almost all the housework, child care, and family work (such as shopping) without much labour-saving technology (Pascall and Manning, 2000). Since the 1980s, although women have constituted more than half the Soviet labour force, they have tended to be located in poorly-paid sectors of the labour market (Rimashevskaja, 1991) and in the lower ranks of the workplace hierarchy. In the public arenas of power (despite quota system representation), they have also been virtually invisible in positions of political power. Indeed, women held only about 7 per cent of the important secretarial positions in the party, even at the regional and district levels (Strukova 1990, 15).

The so-called women's question was rarely seriously addressed and was certainly never answered within the political system (see Buckley, 1989). In the important sphere of reproduction, as effective contraceptives such as birth control pills, diaphragms, and condoms that do not tear became widely unavailable, abortion was reported as the primary method of family planning. Moreover, a powerful and ideological emphasis on essentialism in sex/gender roles has been evident in much of the discussion of the women's question (see Atkinson, Dallin, and Lapidus 1977; Lapidus 1978; Holland 1985). Despite the persistent occupational segregation and economic stratification along gender lines, the Soviet state did provide benefits to women workers in support of their labour force participation: factories received subsidies from the state to support day care, and some enterprises provided benefits (e.g., shopping services for certain goods) that often eased the work of maintaining and managing a household. Government allowances were granted to the mother of the family. In the Soviet Union, most Russian women participated in the labour force and worked full-time; only one per cent of working women were employed part-time. The government supported female employment by subsidizing medicine, education and child care programs (Lokshin, 2004).

2.4.1 Parental Leave Benefits and Preschool Child Care Facilities in Russia

Maternity leave policy and child care conditions are two components of social policy that directly impact on women's employment. In Russia, parental leave can be provided for both parents. Pregnant Russian women are entitled to take leave 70 days before and 70 days after childbirth. Payments during this time are equal to the woman's average wage during the previous 24 months. Unemployed mothers receive the minimum wage (Russian Labour Code, 2001). Women are also entitled to leave of absence for an additional 36 months when they are guaranteed their employment. During the first 18 months, women receive 40 per cent of their average salary (Russian Labour Code, 2001). After the first 18 months, child care benefit is granted only to families whose income is below the subsistence level (Russian Labour Code, 2001). According to Article 81 of the Labour Code of the Russian Federation, an employer cannot dismiss a woman during her pregnancy despite her absence, low work performance or redundancy. Table 2.1 gives an overview of maternity leave and child care policies before and after the transition.

	Until 1980	1980s	1990s	2000s
Childbirth grant	- only for second and higher-order births	- 50 rubles for 1st child - 100 rubles for 2nd and 3rd child - for working mothers - for non-working mothers 30 rubles for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd birth	- lump sum of 15 times the monthly minimum wage	- lump sum of 15 times the monthly minimum wage - maternity capital for the second child
Maternity leave	- 56 days before and 56 days after childbirth, regardless of the length of employment - after that unpaid maternity leave up to one year after childbirth	- 56 days before and 56 days after childbirth, regardless of the length of employment - after that maternity leave up to 1,5 years after childbirth	- 140-194 days, 70 days before and 70 days after childbirth (may be increased by an additional 14 or 40 days in certain cases) - after that 36 months maternity leave	- 140-194 days (before birth: 70 days, or 84 days if multiple pregnancy; after birth: 70 days, or 86 days in case of complications - after that 36 months maternity leave

Maternity benefit	- none	- partially paid leave of 35 – 50 rubles/month (30-50 pounds) (regional differences) for one year after childbirth	- 100% of the insured gross earnings of the last month before maternity leave - followed by: up to 18 months 40%, and additional 18 months – unpaid	- 100% but not less than the minimum salary multiplied by "north region value" (1 to 2.0) if they work full-time; - followed by: up to 18 months 40%, and additional 18 months – unpaid.
Child sick leave	- for children up to age 14 – seven calendar days (10 for single mothers) - for children over 14, three day limit per episode of illness - no limits in the number of periods	- full salary sick leave for families with three or more children up to age 16 (law from 1975)	benefit is provided for: - the total period of sickness - for children under age 7- 15 calendar days - for children under age 15- 7 days	benefit is provided for: - the total period of sickness - for children under age 7- 15 calendar days - for children under age 15- 7 calendar days
Child sick allowance	- none	- 50% of the full salary for workers with an uninterrupted tenure of under 3 years to - 100% for workers with 8 or more years of tenure	- 60-100% of wages for the first 7 days of illness - there after 30% of wages (50% for single mothers) until recovery	- 60-100% of wages for the first 7 days of illness - there after 30% of wages (50% for single mothers) until recovery

Table 2.1: Family Policy in Russia (respectively former Soviet Union) before and after the Transition

Source: USSR Labour Code (KzoT) 1978; Russian Labour Code 2001; Lokshin 2004.

Thus, the new Russian legislation on parental leave has become more `generous`; women receive a childbirth grant/lump sum of 15 times the monthly minimum wage; the maternity leave period has been increased up to three years; children's sickness allowances have also increased; companies have to create lighter working conditions for pregnant women. Moreover, in 2007 the government gave additional benefits to families with two or more children (Rivkin-Fish, 2013). In 2006, Vladimir Putin claimed that

the state has a duty to help women who have given birth to a second child and end up out of the workplace for a long time, losing their skills. I think that, unfortunately, women in this situation often end up in a dependent and frankly even degraded position within the family. We should not be shy about discussing these issues openly and we must do so if we want to resolve these problems. If the state is genuinely interested in increasing the birth rate, it must support women who decide to have a second child. The state should provide such women with an initial maternity capital that will raise their social status and help to resolve future problems (cited in Rivkin-Fish, 2013, p. 701).

Thus, in addition to payments during maternity leave, mothers received maternity capital in the amount of 387 000 rubles (approx. 7,500 pounds in 2012) for the second child (Russian citizens) if the child was born or adopted in the period 2007-2016. The maternity capital will be granted only when the child reaches the age of three years.

However, it should be mentioned that, although official social payments and periods of parental leave in Russia are generous, preschool child care facilities have become more expensive (Rivkin-Fish, 2013). Soviet Union women largely participated in the labour force and costs of children were comparatively low due to the system of child care support, with the government providing a variety of monetary and non-monetary benefits such as free education, low kindergarten fees, and a free health service. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, free child care programs decreased and employment uncertainties increased; for parents, the decision to postpone or delay childbirth became more likely (Pascall et al., 2000). Rieck (2006) also suggested that, in the Soviet Union, one of the main components of government support for families was free public child care facilities. In the Soviet era, the

majority of the cost of child care facilities was covered by federal government or by employers.

Rieck (2006) emphasized that the communist system enabled a woman to combine her working life with being a mother by providing a range of public child care programs. He claimed that, in the late 1980s, about 70 per cent of children aged between one and six years were registered in public child care institutions; however, the proportion of children in preschool facilities dropped by more than 50 per cent between the 1980s and the mid-1990s. He attributes this to the sharp increase in costs of child care institutions. Moreover, high levels of inflation, increased unemployment and the unstable political situation in the 1990s provided people with little incentive to have children. Lokshin (2004) claimed that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, government child support programs were suspended and costs of child care facilities consumed a major part of a household's budget. Moreover, he stated that *'nowadays the opportunity costs are higher, because re-entry into the labour market of women who previously were on maternity leave is much more uncertain and because state benefits to substitute income loss are uncertain, too'* (Lokshin, 2004, p.37).

2.4.2 Pension System in Russia and the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union pension system was comparatively generous to women. Women were allowed to retire at the age of 55 (five years earlier than the normal retirement age for men) after 20 years of service. Calculation of pension benefits was based on the number of working years; 55-85 % of previous wages were replaced; credit was given for years spent out of the labour force while having children, and women with more than five children were allowed to retire at the age of 50 (Fox and Castel, 2001). Fajth (1999, p. 52) emphasized that the aim of the Soviet pension system was not to provide a minimum income for all ages of the population, but to reward long-service records in the state-controlled economy. *'Provisions that particularly benefited long-service workers were a distinctive feature of pension formulas in the Soviet bloc'*. The Soviet Union pension system was divided into four broad categories. The first category, for party officials and key workers, paid 100% of an employee's average salary. The second category was also based on the number of

the employee's working years and remunerated at the rate of 100%, albeit with a maximum monthly payment of 300 rubles. The third category was for employees with shorter lengths of service, and employees in this category were paid 50 per cent of their previous salaries and 75 per cent for service in the Urals, Siberia and the Far East; however, it also had a maximum limit of 300 rubles per month. The fourth category was for low-paid employees, who received 100% of their previous salaries, with a maximum monthly cap of 150 rubles (Kanji, 2009).

Promises of a generous pension reward and guaranteed employment were two main principles by which the communist system demonstrated the high level of general welfare in the Soviet Union. Jones (2002) agreed that the communist pension system allowed the Soviets much ideological leverage in their struggle with capitalist countries; however, he claimed that the pension system programs also laid the foundations for major problems in the future.

In 1991, the Soviet Union pension system collapsed. Black and Tarassova (2003) claimed that pension payments in transition Russia were extremely low; for example, in the 1990s public pension payments fell below the country's official "minimum subsistence" level. In other words, pensioners were living below the "poverty line". The authors attributed this to the fact that, during the 1990s, the majority of `new` private companies avoided paying social safety net taxes. Thus, the state pension agency faced a large deficit, which limited the government's ability to raise the pension level. Mroz et al. (2001) also claimed that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it became difficult to maintain high standards of remuneration for pensioners because of the pressure of economic and political changes. According to Russian statistics, about 25 per cent of Russia's pensionable population are still working to maintain their living standards (ibid).

In 2002, the Russian Federation started to implement a new pension strategy modelled mainly on the World Bank's original "three pillars" scheme: nationwide public pension system; an obligatory privately-funded, defined-contribution system and a complementary, privately-funded, defined-contribution system (World Bank, 2005). Kanji (2009) claimed that, even though the World Bank has provided advice to the Russian government on this reform and granted financial support for this overhaul, the `new` pension reform has not been successful. He concluded that,

Given the uncertainties (and lack of transparency) surrounding Russia's current financial system and markets for bonds and equities, Russian workers have remained understandably cautious with their private retirement system investments — opting largely for holdings in cash or other instruments bearing distinctly negative real returns in an inflationary environment. In Russia, as of 2007, the replacement rate for the public pension system was about 21 per cent. In other words, average public pension remunerations in 2007 were just slightly above the country's penurious poverty line ("minimum subsistence level"); in the 1990s, as already noted, average pension payments had in fact been lower than the "minimum subsistence level". However, Eberstadt et al. (2010, p.34) conclude that *all things have not remained equal since 2007: the Russian government has decreed annual increases in public pension benefits in 2008, 2009, and 2010; in 2009, furthermore, Prime Minister Putin declared that "Poverty among pensioners will be fully eliminated" (implicitly acknowledging that this was a work still in progress).*

Moreover, in contemporary Russia the retirement age is still the same (60 for men and 55 for women) and, compared with developed countries, the standard is low. However, the population is rapidly aging (Kanji, 2009). The percentage of pensioners in the population has gradually increased over the last fifty years from 11.9 per cent in 1960 to 20.7 per cent in 2000, and 24.8 per cent in 2013 (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Eberstadt et al. (2010, p.38) state that *in 2008 Russia had a workforce of about 70 million, and a pension-age population of nearly 30 million; meaning that the ratio of earners to pensionable population was just 2.5 to 1. Over the years ahead, that ratio is set only to decline further.* Buckley (1998, p. 326) mentions that, during the last twenty years in Russia, *claimants for pensions were increasing rapidly while the proportion of possible contributors declined.*

2.4.3 Health and Welfare Systems in the Transition Period

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, health and welfare systems also faced multiple challenges for reform (Titterton, 2006). The main changes concerned the legal basis of welfare and the restructuring of health and social care.

In the Soviet Union, medicine and the healthcare service were free of charge or very low-cost (Manning and Shaw, 1998). The Soviet government built upon the pre-existing Tsarist efforts with massive training programs and hospital construction to create a national system guaranteeing every citizen the same access and type of service (Tulchinsky et al., 1996). By 1937, all insurance and hospital-based sick funds had been closed, and hospitals and other health facilities were nationalized and organized under district health management. Virtually all health personnel became public employees. Parallel services were provided within industries and for special categories, especially the party leadership, some ministries, defence and security personnel, miners, and heavy industry and transport workers (Tulchinsky et al., 1996). The system was highly centralized, bureaucratized and standardized. Services were free to patients and were provided in state-owned facilities, financed by the state budget and payments from industrial enterprises. Professional associations of physicians were eliminated (Barr and Field, 1996).

However, after 1991 the healthcare system in Russia changed. In contemporary Russia, there are two methods of official funding for the healthcare system. First, the Compulsory Medical Insurance is a tax on all workers in the amount of 3.6 per cent of the payroll bill. The second official source comes from local authorities. Tulchinsky et al. (1996) state that there is also a range of informal methods of funding, such as informal user payments and bartering, which are common.

According to Government Russian Committee of Statistics, at the time of transition in 1994, the Russian government spent only 4.8 per cent of GDP on the health system and in 2013 only 3.2 per cent; in comparison, for example, Belorussia, Poland, Lithuania and Estonia spend on average 5.7 per cent and Western European countries spend around 7.7 per cent of their GDP (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013).

2.4.4 Changes in the Education System in Russia

The Soviet education system was known for being free to all and for following high academic standards. Moreover, the state paid careful attention to gender, social and ethnic equality (Heyneman, 1997, p. 32). In other words, the state was aiming to

equalize access to education between different regions, between rural and urban areas, and between different families (Bray et al., 2001). In the Soviet Union, government expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP was higher than in most countries before the transition, and was often higher than comparable OECD levels (UNICEF, 1998). Moreover, enrolment rates were high compared with other countries at analogous levels of development (Micklewright, 1999; Gannicott, 1998, p. 119).

However, Heyneman 1997 (p. 6) claimed that the education system also had a negative side such as *‘ideological interpretation of history; politically driven, inhuman pedagogy; corruption of social science; and authoritarian mechanism of determining occupational choice’*. Moreover, he stated that the Soviet Union education system was not very effective, although it achieved success in a context of central economic planning and central administrative control. He stated that *‘Linking training with employment is a comparatively simple task when individuals are assigned to professions; when internal and foreign travel are monitored; when not working (including searching for employment) is treated as a crime; and when writing, public speaking, political association and participation are controlled. Being effective in this context is a comparatively low achievement for an education system’* (Heyneman 1997, p. 7). Clark (2003) also emphasized that the Soviet education system educated professionals in narrow fields of expertise, where employees were not flexible and mobility occurred through a centralized remuneration system. Bray et al. (2001) conceded the high level of government control under the education system. They stated that *‘Curricula, personnel, criteria for enrolling pupils, and many other dimensions of school systems were controlled by the central authorities, and little autonomy existed at the school or district levels. Universities were also carefully regulated by national authorities. In the planned economies, enrolments in individual courses were supposed to be tied to national plans, and tight control was maintained over the number of universities, size of institutions, admission criteria, curricula and staffing. Education systems were almost entirely operated by the state, and education was provided free of charge’*.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the shift to a market economy, education became increasingly expensive and enrolment rates declined (Cherednitchenko, 2000). Under the pressure of the market economy, the Russian government was

obliged to speed up the creation of not only large, but also capable, education systems which were differentiated according to the educational demands of the `new market` requirements (Bray et al., 2001). The state was unable to provide the quantities of education that had formerly been supplied, and during the transition time young people were forced to drop out of school or university because the direct and/or opportunity costs were too high (Bray, 1996, p. 46; Laporte and Ringold, 1997, p. 8; Cherednitchenko, 2000, pp. 5–21). For example, in 1994 the number of children and young people who left school or university increased seventeen-fold compared to the year 1988 (Bray et al., 2001). Furthermore, McLeish and Phillips (1998), Sobkin and Pisarsky (1998), and Micklewright (1999) observed the significant increase in geographic and social inequality during the transition. Nikandrov (2000, p. 217) agreed that, *‘in contrast to earlier times, there is now no talk about equality of opportunity; differentiation is not only admitted but encouraged’*.

Additionally, shortages of resources at the school level led to a significant drop in quality in the public education sector; however, private schools emerged to maintain quality for those who could afford it (Laporte and Ringold, 1997; Wang, 2000). *‘Schools in the public sector also sought ways to increase the resources received from the government. Some schools raised money from parents in the form of fees and levies, and some embarked on revenue-earning schemes by running factories, renting out premises, and embarking on other mechanisms which led in effect to privatisation within the public sector’* (Bray et al., 2001, p 348).

2.5 Occupational Sex Segregation and Wage Gap between Genders

The term ‘occupational segregation’ appeared in the economic literature more than 40 years ago (Blau and Beller, 1992; Blau and Ferber, 1992; Neuman and Silber, 1996; Oaxaca, 1973; Polachek et al., 1979) and during this period interest in this phenomenon grew. In order to provide an understanding of the mechanisms of occupational gender segregation and proportion of gender assignment of the workforce, the researcher presents Figure 2.2.

Although gender inequality in European countries has decreased in the last 30 years, the household division of labour is still extremely gendered (Bianchi et al., 2000). At the same time, the sexual segregation of labour declined in the 1970s and 1980s but the high level of division between male and female occupations remained (Blau, Simpson and Anderson 1998; Cotter et al., 1995; Reskin, 1993; Wells, 1999). Occupational sex segregation is considered an important factor in explaining the gender pay gap; therefore, the implementation of policies that reduce segregation will also result in a reduction in income differentials (Jacobs, 1989). Furthermore, as has been claimed by Reskin and Roos (1987), the occupational sex segregation of the labour market is a serious obstacle to achieving gender equality.

Maltseva's (2005) model presents the relationship between gender segregation and occupational mobility (Figure 2.2). She argues that, *'as far as the choice of occupation is made considering its expected returns, the double function of women — employee and mother — alters their decision compared to the ceteris paribus situation'* (Maltseva, 2005, p. 15). Ogloblin (1999) agreed with Maltseva (2005), stating that gender segregation in occupational areas in Russia *'has an institutional base and results from introducing patriarchic Soviet-times views on the role of women in society into labor legislation and constantly repeating them in segregation-leading behavior models in employment and career promotion sphere'*. However, the traditions and habits of the local population, especially in a country such as Russia, with its large and multinational population, are also highly important. For example, at 3,000 kilometers from Moscow the Siberian region is traditionally remote from Central Russia and the Western world, its sense of remoteness emphasized by the large geographical distance and the historical aspects of this region (Kizenko, 2013). Many Siberian cities were built by political prisoners around existing natural resource factories where there were a limited number of jobs for women (Klimova, 2012). Thus, in those areas and in industries such as mining the choice of occupation is predetermined by existing ideas on traditional male and female jobs. Women would choose to work in traditionally female occupations because of customs and practices and in order to be accepted by the local community (Klimova, 2012). Thus, Maltseva's model is incomplete and requires further development, for example by including factors such as the impact of local occupational communities and industries where there may be specific

aspects of labour legislation that only apply to them, or the fact that different regions may be located at different geographical distances and have heritages that impact on how men and women accept changes in their employment. This study aims to develop Maltseva's model and explain the structures and practices that reinforce gender segregation mechanisms (see Chapter 5).

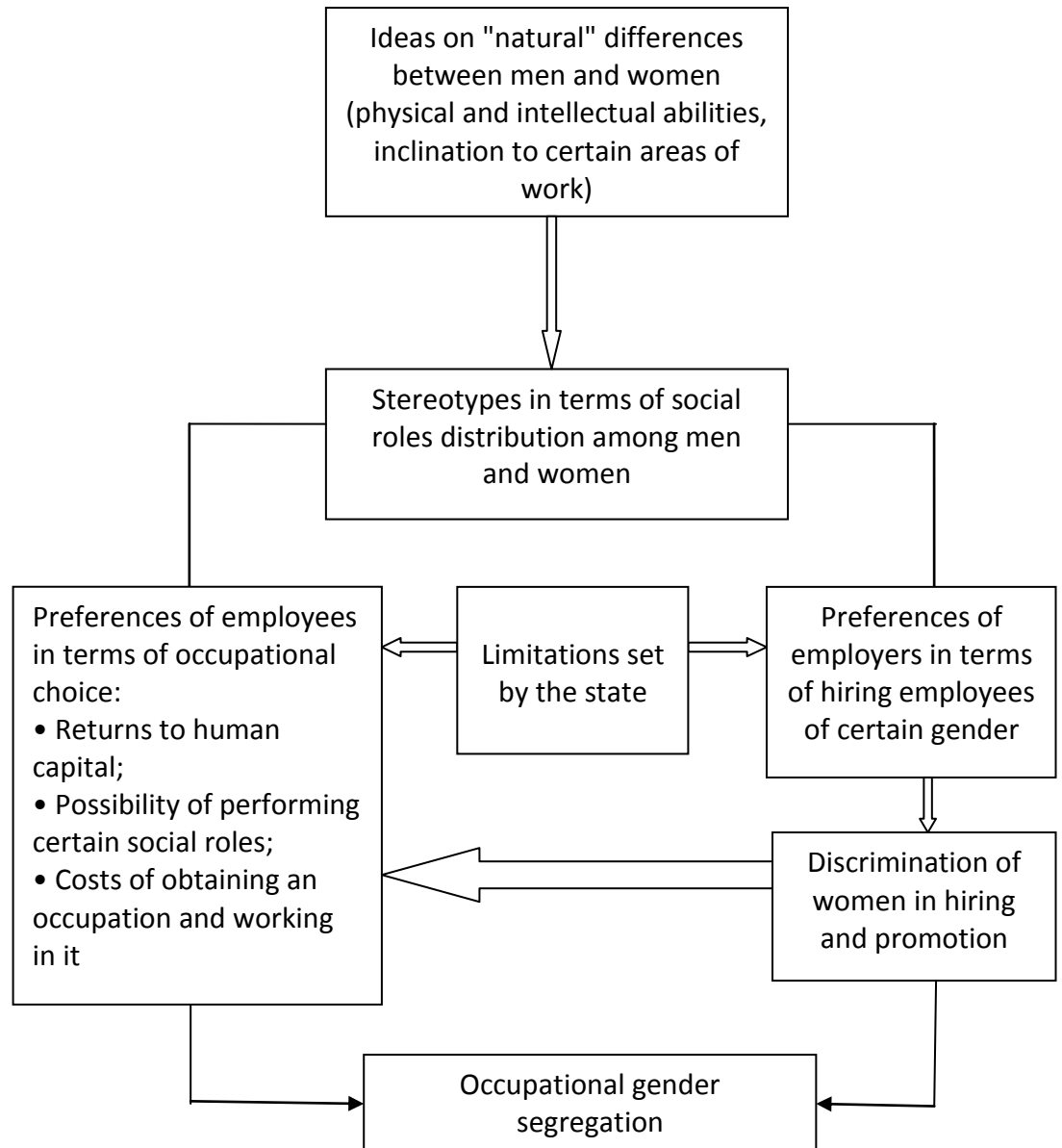


Figure 2.2. Mechanisms of occupational gender segregation, appearance and support. Source: Maltseva, I.O., (2005). *Gender Differences in Occupational Mobility and Segregation in the Labor Market: The Case of the Russian Economy*. Moscow: EERC, 2005.

Polacek et al. (1979) argued that the different career choices made by male and female employees always lead to occupational sex segregation. They claimed that,

`if life cycle labour force participation differs across individuals, and if the costs of these varying degrees of labour force intermittency vary across occupations, then individuals will choose those occupations with the smallest penalty for their desired lifetime participation` (Polacek et al., 1979, p. 144). Moreover, they emphasize the difference between male and female responsibilities within society. In their opinion, women's employment is intermittent because of domestic responsibilities such as childbearing and housework (Polacek et al., 1979). Iakovleva et al. (2013) agreed and claimed that the “double burden” of Russian women limits women’s employment and career development; thus, women are usually involved in manual and low-qualification work. They presented a set of statistics showing that women in Russia worked an average total of 68.6 hours per week - 38.5 hours of “paid work” and over 30 hours of “unpaid work” such as housework and child care; at the same time, men worked only 65 hours per week - 49 hours of paid work and only 16 hours of `unpaid work`. Consequently, sexual role stereotyping has a negative bias for women’s career development, as a career is merely their second role (Iakovleva et al., 2013).

According to stereotypes and prejudices, employers ‘arrange’ male and female employees in different occupations (Darity et al., 1998). Female employees are usually channelled into occupations with low pay, fewer responsibilities and poorer promotion opportunities. In contrast, male employees are more likely to be channelled into occupations with high remuneration and good promotion opportunities (Kramer and Lambert, 2001). Thus, women face a rigid structural obstacle that stops them from entering sectors with predominantly male occupations. Klimova et al. (2012) agreed and emphasized that one of the main features of the Russian labour market is the high level of gender occupational segregation, with women mainly concentrated in low-paying and less prestigious occupations.

According to traditional views on gender roles, women take maternity leave and more often halt their career development in deference to their male partners (Wolfe and Betz, 1981; Klimova et al., 2012). The male in such cases is the ‘breadwinner’ - the leader of the household, who makes the decisions, goes to work and makes the money. According to Hartmann (1981, p. 25), *`The sexual division of labour reappears in the labour market, where women work at women's jobs, often the very*

jobs they used to do only at home As these jobs are low-status and low-paying, patriarchal relations remain intact, though their material base shifts somewhat from the family to the wage differential, from family-based to industrially-based patriarchy`. This statement illustrates the connection between women's domestic responsibilities and their role in the labour market. Klimova et al. (2012) emphasize that women's work preferences in Russia are strongly affected by their domestic duties. They stated that women usually enter occupations that allow them to work fewer hours, with flexible schedules and less responsibility. Moreover, they conclude that strong social attitudes and stereotypes as a heritage of the Soviet era continue to influence both employers' preferences and workers' choices (Klimova et al., 2012, p. 483)

Thus, sexual role stereotyping still exists in the 21st century (Kramer and Lambert, 2001; Kay, 2001; Oglobin, 2005b; Klimova, 2012; Iakovleva, 2013). For example, in the `Ruscoal` Mining Company, female workers dominate in the supportive occupations as well as in the accountancy and human resources departments; meanwhile, the majority of men work in the `traditionally male occupation` - production - which accounts for 58% of the overall number of workers (Bokovikova, 2009). Furthermore, Reskin and Hartmann (1986) claimed, in their study of occupational sex segregation, that "*the occupation of most women not in the labour force, homemaker, is one of the most segregated occupations.*" (p.7), and that selectivity is suitable for studying some labour market dynamics, although it precludes us from evaluating the overall division of labour.

However, Wooten (1997) stated that, in developed countries, women are increasing their presence in many occupations, including those that were considered traditionally male domains, such as mechanical trades and construction, although they continue to account for the majority of the workforce in the traditionally female occupations - teaching and clerical work. Moreover, he emphasized that, in the last 25 years, a number of workplaces saw women's presence increase in the managerial and professional fields. As has been claimed by Wooten (1997), `*if this trend continues, the percentage of women in these fields will surpass that of men in the near future`* (p, 67).

However, the tendency of the Russian labour market differs from those of the other European countries. According to data from the Government Russian Committee of Statistics (2009), women are predominantly located in industries such as telecommunications (67.7%), planning organizations (61.7%), trade (75.3%), catering (75.6%), real estate (61.5%), general commercial activities (79.9%), health services (85.6%), education (82.3%), culture (75.7%), science (58%), and social associations (56.5%). In contrast, men occupied sectors such as heavy industry, governance, economic, financial and scientific associations, and construction. Furthermore, these data also show that pay levels in women's occupational sectors were significantly lower than in predominantly male occupations (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2009). However, a Government Russian Committee of Statistics (2009) observation also shows that, for the last five years, women's participation increased in two occupations: retail trade (10%) and administration (14%).

Additionally, Oglobin (2005a) claimed that, although the level of education among employed men is slightly lower than among employed women, male employees are usually concentrated in industries with traditionally high levels of remuneration, such as heavy industry, mining, construction and installation works, and transport. Klimova et al. (2012, p. 383) conclude that *'the most important factor affecting the degree of potential segregation is not female transfer to such traditionally "male" sectors as mining and processing industries, but expected increase of the share of men in traditional female occupations, such as technicians/associate professionals and sales and services occupations'*. They present the example of Russian military service: when the army became less profitable, female participation in this occupation increased. Thus, it can be concluded that the new trend in Russia is one of women replacing men in occupations which, at the time of transition, started to offer a lower level of remuneration and lower hierarchical status, and are thus no longer attractive to male employees (Klimova et al., 2012).

Sex occupational segregation researchers usually emphasize that reward is the key factor that can help an organization achieve its diversity objectives (Blau, 1998; Bielby and Baron, 1984; Carrington and Troske, 1998; Maslov, 2008; Wooten, 1997; Gvozdeva et al., 2002; Oglobin, 2005a; Klimova et al., 2012). The CIPD (2001) authors claimed that, if an organization lacks gender diversity, the reward

package can be adapted to provide payments or benefits. These are likely to attract male or female workers, especially in times of transition in the economy when there is intense competition for work. Reward can be tied to diversity targets to encourage greater consideration of diversity issues; alternatively, an organization that has moved some way towards achieving diversity might consider adopting a total reward approach to show that it truly recognizes and understands that all its employees are different, with different lifestyles, needs and motivations (CIPD, 2001).

Thus, many previous researchers of occupational segregation, such as Macpherson and Hirsch (1995), Blau (1998), Bielby and Baron (1984), Carrington and Troske (1998), and Oglobin (1999, 2005a, b) focused on the wage gap between men's and women's occupations. In their studies, they found that women have constantly been at lower earnings levels than men in the labour markets; however, they underlined that this gap has narrowed in recent decades (Blau, 1998). Moreover, they emphasized that understanding the sources of sex differences in wages is vital to determine why the wage gap between men and women persists. Klimova et al. (2012) confirmed this argument and claimed that, in the past 30-40 years in the developed countries, the gender pay gap has narrowed significantly and women have entered traditionally male occupations. They argued that the decline in occupational segregation and the wage gap can be explained by a considerable growth in women's labour force participation rates. However, Maltseva (2005) stated that women's high participation rates in the labour market in Russia have failed to eliminate the gender gap in employment.

Klimova et al. (2012, p.483) explain that *providing equal participation of men and women in the labour force is not sufficient for elimination of economic prerequisites of gender inequality, it is necessary to change the demand structure in the labour market and personnel hire and promotion procedures and to raise the significance and the status of positions occupied by women*. They add that the Russian labour market and women's position in it are deeply rooted in history, the Soviet past and the culture of the country.

The Soviet Union and the communist ideology in itself were strongly committed - at least nominally - to gender equality in the labour market. Labour policies such as

comparatively high minimum wages, paid maternity leave and day care benefits had a positive impact on women's participation in the labour force, and female labour force participation rates were high compared with those of other countries. However, Brainerd (2000, p. 138) stated that, *'While women remained over-represented in areas such as health and education, they fared at least as well as their counterparts in most developed and developing countries in terms of female-male wage differentials'*.

In the Soviet Union, wages were calculated on the basis of universal occupational wage scales in each industry, and wages were set as a multiple of the base wage. According to this government wage scale, top managers usually earned at most five times as much as the average manual employee; meanwhile, this ratio reaches 20:1 or more in the United States (Kornai, 1992, p. 324). Moreover, employees such as miners, drivers of technological transport, and machine operators usually received bonuses for plan fulfilment; this element of income became highly important in many countries in the mid-1980s as companies gained flexibility in wage-setting (Brainerd, 2000). Official statistics in the Soviet Union did not show any unemployed population; furthermore, being without a job brought criminal charges and imprisonment. Additionally, housing shortages and an internal passport system (*propiska*) in the Soviet Union largely reduced the geographical mobility of the population within the country. These characteristics of the central planning system resulted in similar labour market conditions across all Soviet Union countries, such as open excess demand for labour (due to soft budget constraints faced by companies and the importance of plan fulfilment rather than cost minimization), narrow earnings differentials between occupations, with a bias favouring manual workforce, and comparatively low levels and slow growth of remuneration (Gvozdeva et al., 2002).

However, Ofer and Vinokur (1982) found that, in the Soviet Union time, women earned less than two thirds of the wage of their male colleagues; they attributed this total differential in wages by differences in returns to characteristics such as human capital and occupational type (49.3 %), and gender discrimination (50.7%) (Ofer and Vinokur, 1982, p. 35).

Newell and Reilly (1996) argued that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, *‘only 11.6 percent [of the gender pay gap in Russia and Soviet Union] could be accounted for by differences in characteristics, leaving some 88 percent due to differences in the estimated parameters, indicating an increase in the level of discrimination’* (cited in Arabsheibani and Lau, 1996, p.763). Katz (1997) reports similar findings, stating that, in Russia, *‘the ratio of female to male monthly wages was 65 percent and for hourly wages was 73 percent’* (cited in Arabsheibani and Lau, 1996, p.764). In addition, Katz (1997) concludes that, for hourly wages, only 15.4 per cent can be attributable to endowment differences, even if the remaining 84.6 per cent is the unexplained difference.

The main researcher of the gender pay differences and occupational segregation in Russia, Oglobin (1999, 2005a,b), suggested that most of the total wage gap between genders in the Russian Federation is attributable to occupational segregation and the legacy of the Soviet era. Other researchers of occupational segregation in Russia, Arabsheibani and Lau (1999), found that, despite the labour codes stating equality for men and women in the workforce and equal access to all types of occupations [legacy of USSR], the earnings of women in Russia appear to be lower than those of men. According to data provided by the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS), in 1998 women’s average salaries were 70% of men’s average pay: in 2000 – 63,2%, in 2005 – 64%, and in 2010 – 63.2% (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2012). Equal pay for equal work for men and women exists only in state-owned companies, where the salary is calculated on the basis of the wage scale or government tariff netting (Gvozdeva, 2002).

Furthermore, Gerber and Mayorova (2006, p. 2050) discovered that the disproportional distribution of employees of different genders differs across occupations and *‘explains more than 44% of total gender wages gap in the USA (Bayard et al., 1999), 30% in Czech Republic and Slovakia (Juraida, 2003) and 15% in Russia (Roshchin, 2003)’*. Moreover, Beller (1982) emphasized that workers in the same positions can receive different payments for their work depending on their gender (male employees usually get higher wages). However, as mentioned previously, the main tendency during recent decades in developed countries has been a decrease in the disproportional distribution of male and female workers across occupations. According to Blau and Hendrix (1979), and Hakim

(1992), the main reason for this change is the significant growth of women's labour force participation rates. The Russian example of a transition economy shows that, during the significant structural changes in the economy, up to 42% of employees changed their occupation (Sabirianova, 2002). Thus, it can be concluded that economic, political and social changes can force people to relocate their labour across sectors and industries, as well as between the states of economic activity and non-activity.

Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a significant gap in Russia between women's and men's pay levels and, thus, a large amount of discrimination by gender. Moreover, a number of modern social studies have shown that men mostly have a higher status in organizations, and that women reach high positions only as "narrow profile specialists" (Gerber et al., 2006). In 2010, women made up nearly half of the labour force; however, they were working mainly at middle or lower levels (Klimova et al., 2012; Maltseva, 2005). The next section will explain in detail women's position in the Russian labour market.

2.6 Women's Position in the Russian Labour Market

The proportion of female employees in the global workforce has been rising continuously during the last 30 years, and paid employment is clearly of growing importance in many women's lives (Maslov, 2008). Thus, women's employment plays a vital role in a country's economy. According to Vickers (1991), '*women are, indeed, directly and indirectly linked to the world economy by visible and invisible threads* (p38)', and as such as they are a significant part of the modern workforce. In societies the world over, women are both producers and carers; they care for children, for old people, the sick, the handicapped, and others who cannot look after themselves. They service the household with food, cleaning and clothing, in many cases planning the family budget (Maslov, 2008). Unpaid work undertaken in women's multiple roles subsidizes production for trade to an extent that cannot be easily quantified (Vickers, 1991; Klimova, 2012; Iakovleva, 2013). As long as these jobs are done by women, they are not assigned any economic value, and their expansion is therefore taken for granted in times of economic adjustment (Maslov, 2008). Moreover, Hartmann (1981, p. 25) states that the occupational segregation of

labour *'reappears in the labor market, where women work at women's jobs, often the very jobs they used to do only at home As these jobs are low-status and low-paying, patriarchal relations remain intact, though their material base shifts somewhat from the family to the wage differential, from family-based to industrially-based patriarchy'*.

The situation regarding women in the labour market has changed drastically over the last fifty years. In 1940–1950 in the Russian labour market, women accounted for only around 36% of the total labour force market; however, in the 1980s nearly 90% of women [of working age] in Russia were officially in the labour force (Maslov, 2008). This almost doubles the pool of candidates in which to find talented people, making the work of human resource managers significant in companies. Thus, over time, demographic and cultural change affects female participation rates in labour forces and women's labour is becoming more significant (Jacobsen, 2007). Moreover, Konrad (2006) claimed that the majority of adult women [in a global context] are now in the labour force, and their representation continues to grow as men's participation in the labour force slowly declines.

As mentioned earlier, the modern Russian Federation has maintained the heritage of the Soviet Union era and communist ideology of gender diversity and the position of women in the labour market, the main feature of which was equality (including gender equality) (Iakovleva, 2013). According to Lapidus (1985), in the Soviet era the proportion of female workers was higher than in almost any other country in the industrialized world. For example, in the 1980s about 90 per cent of working-age women were either employed or went to school (Lapidus, 1985). As a rule, women in the Soviet Union time were employed on a full-time basis and worked the whole year round; just one per cent of the female workforce was employed part-time (Lokshin, 2004). The Soviet Union system supported women in their urge to work and provided a variety of government-subsidized special child care programs such as nurseries, preschools, kindergartens, and after-school programs (see section 2.5.1). For example, in 1985 approximately 70 per cent of children aged between one and seven years were registered with public child care institutions, whereas in 2013 the figure was only 43 per cent (Matthews, 1986, Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013).

However, the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a radical change in the social and economic environment, resulting in dramatic changes to existing systems of social protection and government child care programs. The difficult economic situation compelled a reduction in the number of government-funded programs and state-run child care organizations (Lokshin, 2004; Vovk, 2006; Zavyalova et al., 2010). For example, between 1989 and 1997 the number of children in kindergarten declined by 55.1 per cent and the proportion of preschool facilities was reduced by 35.6 per cent (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Consequently, the costs of private child care facilities become unaffordable for a large number of Russian families. Thus, single mothers became one of the weakest and poorest groups in society (Tchetvernina et al., 2001; Mezentseva, 1998; Linz, 1996).

However, Iakovleva (2013) claimed that, although many state social security programs were dismantled and a massive violation of labour legislation occurred (see section 2.4), women remained an important source of labour in Russia. Klimova (2012) agreed, claiming that the decline in production in the time of transition was not accompanied by a proportionate reduction in female employment rates. However, she emphasized that, although women's employment rates remained high in the time of transition, the occupational distribution of the labour market changed and the wage gap between genders increased (Klimova, 2012).

Authors identify several causes of the worsening situation of Russian women in the labour market during the transition. Firstly, Metcalfe et al. (2005) clarify that, during the transition time, women lost political representation in parliaments and local councils. Secondly, the transition period resulted in a heavier "double burden" for working women *`because of an increase in shortages of consumer goods and a decrease in the state support for social services such as housing, public health and childcare`* (Klimova, 2012, p. 649). Thirdly, labour market opportunities for women declined and discriminatory tendencies towards women increased. For example, Zavyalova et al. (2010) stated that the number of women in managerial positions in the mid-1990s dropped to 5.6 per cent. Fourthly, opportunities for job search and career development were reduced, especially for older women, because the human capital acquired and *`habits`* of work under the communist system was not fully transferable to the "new" free market economy (Meshcherkina, 2002).

As has been discussed in section 2.5 of this chapter, women in Russia have traditionally been employed in occupational categories such as administrative support, sales supervisors and proprietors, engineering workers, retail personal services and health services, while heavy industry such as mining has traditionally been dominated by the male workforce (Wells, 1999; Oglobin, 2005b; Iakovleva, 2013). According to Huber (1991) and Lorber (1994), the gender division of labour is a fundamental issue in gender inequality and gender discrimination. The transition economy and difficult economic situation in Russia in the 1990s led to reflective changes in the labour market and the role of women in it (Klimova, 2012). Clarke (1999) and Tchetvernina et al. (2001) conclude that the transition from a centrally planned economy to a free market economy led to an increase in income inequality and reinforcement of occupational sex segregation, especially in male-dominated industries.

Heavy industry is the best example to demonstrate occupational sex segregation and the gender division of labour as this sector is predominantly occupied by males; thus, this industry has a high potential for discrimination against women. As claimed by Cotter et al. (1997), the main issue of gender diversity is that the female workforce often experience discrimination within the workplace. Many women work in deskilled data entry positions with few opportunities for career development. The next section examines women's position in the highly masculine industry/mining sector.

2.6.1 Women in the Mining Industry in Kuzbass Region

As already described, the labour market is divided into sectors with predominantly male or female occupations. Most women are employed in specific occupational sectors of the economy such as education, culture, administration, services etc. According to Maslov (2008), occupational sex segregation cannot be regarded as a positive factor. Moreover, he argues that women's commitment to some types of work is not only of their own volition but also a legacy of the past. The Government Russian Committee of Statistics (2013) shows that, in those industries, where most working women are located, the salary level was 25-30% below the average.

However, women searching for better-paid jobs often go to work in difficult and hazardous conditions such as mining, metallurgy, defence, and the construction industry, which were traditionally occupied by male workers. Heavy industry plays a vital role in the Russian economy and offers a high level of remuneration. Russia has vast natural resources, including coal, with the world's largest total of inferred reserves at 4.5 trillion tonnes (33% of the world's reserves). The Kuzbass coal basin is the leading coal-producing area and now accounts for over 55% of Russia's output, with over 6 million tonnes, a 13% increase on the year 2012 (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Thus, the Kuzbass region is a predominantly male occupational region, as up to 40% of its population are working in heavy industry.

In 2012, 20 per cent of the workforce in Russian heavy industry was female (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Moreover, the Government Russian Committee of Statistics (2012) presented data showing that, in workplaces with hazardous working conditions [which are not prohibited for female employment] around 44% of employees (about 3.4 million women) were female. However, as noted earlier, the Russian government created a list of professions where women are not recommended to work. The Government Duma official website (2009) clarifies that hard work or work with harmful labour conditions has led to an increased number of female diseases such as infertility, adverse pregnancies and an increased incidence of infant and maternal mortality. Consequently, all of this, in addition to the bias against women's employment, reinforced women's exclusion from the labour force in heavy industry, forcing women to take on the more traditional roles of mother and homemaker.

According to the Government Russian Committee of Statistics (2013), in 2012 67 per cent of registered unemployed were women. Furthermore, research by Teshukova et al. (2001) shows that women in Kuzbass region earn on average 35% less than men. This might be explained by the division of labour in heavy industry, caused by the legislation; women are traditionally concentrated in supportive professions that usually have a lower level of remuneration, while men are working in jobs with dangerous conditions but for higher levels of remuneration. In Teshukova et al.'s (2001) survey results, 54 per cent of male respondents and 57 per

cent of female respondents claimed the existence of discrimination against women within the workforce in Kuzbass region.

In summary, the Russian Government has taken a paternalistic attitude towards women, using their biology as an excuse for excluding them from certain occupations. In other words, the government legally defined women by their reproductive capability. However, this produces an additional barrier to women's employment, particularly in Kuzbass region, where most of the jobs are in the mining industry. Therefore, women in Kuzbass region and in heavy industry in general face many barriers to their employment such as legislation, gender role stereotypes, and high levels of discrimination in the workplace. As a result, the level of female unemployment in Kuzbass region is one of the highest of all the Russian regions (Teshukova et al., 2001).

2.6.2 Women and Unemployment

The persistence of high unemployment rates is a key challenge for any society, and this issue becomes particularly acute in transition economies where unemployment was an almost non-existent term 20 years ago. Iarskaia-Smirnova (2008) claimed that the restructuring of companies and industries in Russia led to a rise in unemployment. The unemployed became the *`nuclei of social services`* in the 1990s (Iarskaia-Smirnova, 2008, p. 63). According to Ashwin et al. (1997), it was predictable that the collapse of the Soviet Union system would lead to high rates of unemployment in the "new" Russia and that women, in particular, would be most affected by reforms. Russian statistics support this argument; for example, between 1989 and 1991 around 60 per cent of employees made redundant were women, and in the managerial field this figure rose to 80 per cent (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2009). Mezentseva (1994) claimed that shifting women from paid to unpaid household work was the result of a drop in production and the closure of a wide range of technically obsolete and uncompetitive sectors.

However, the statistical data on women's unemployment in the 2000s do not confirm the tendency of the early 1990s (Salmenniemi et al., 2011). For example, in May 1999 16.8% of men and 15.3% of women were unemployed while in May

2013 the figures were 6.5% of men and 5.8% of women (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2014). However, another set of labour statistical data shows that women do tend to be unemployed for slightly longer than men. The Government Russian Committee of Statistics (2013) for the year 2012 shows that 7 per cent of men were registered as unemployed for over a year, while the figure for women was 8.5 per cent. In other words, in 2012 the average period of unemployment for women was 4.36 months, while for men it was 4.16 months (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). Unemployed men took an average of 6.6 months to find a job, while women took an average of 7.3 months (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). However, Ashwin and Bowers (1996) report that unemployment in Russia depends on the region. For example, they find that in Ivanovo, a region dominated by the textile industry (predominantly a female occupation sector), men tend to account for a greater proportion of the unemployed than women. Meanwhile, in Kuzbass region, with a predominantly male occupation sector such as the mining industry, women make up a far greater proportion of the registered unemployed than men (Ashwin and Bowers, 1996).

However, the statistical data do not present all the variety of information about unemployment. For example, as claimed by Ashwin and Bowers (1996), *‘unemployment itself is not a particularly useful indicator of welfare in Russia, as is underlined by the fact that, according to an analysis ... surveys carried out between January 1994 and March 1995, 30 per cent of those calling themselves unemployed in these surveys were actually working more than 28 hours a week, and many of the unemployed earned considerably more from subsidiary activity alone than those in full-time work earned from all sources’* (pp. 103-104).

Some authors, such as Lucas and Rapping (1969), and Diamond (1981), tried to determine the interdependence between unemployment and social and economic change. Lucas and Rapping (1969), in their inter-temporal substitution theory, claimed that recurring increases in unemployment occur when people quit their jobs because wages or salaries fall below expectations in times of economic and structural change. The authors suggested that, when wages are unusually low, people become unemployed *‘in order to enjoy free time, substituting leisure for income at a time when they lose the last income’* (Bewley, 1999, p. 400). According

to the theory, workers quit their jobs during the transition period when traditionally voluntary turnover decreases sharply and approximately half of the unemployed become jobless because they are laid off (Bewley, 1999). According to Government Russian Committee of Statistics, the larger percentage of workers who left their jobs were women because they mainly occupied management and administrative sectors, which were the first to be affected by salary reductions in the transition period. Although women's jobs may be safer in a time of transition, women still are at a disadvantage financially.

According to the transactions models of Diamond (1981), unemployment rises during the transition period, because structural economic changes oblige workers to change jobs (cited in Bewley, 1999, p.405). This theory assumes that workers accept only those jobs with higher levels of salary to compare with their previous level of earning. The model describes in detail the determination of job vacancy and unemployment rates, but does not explain why gender differences have a huge impact on downward wage rigidity (Bewley, 1999). Rather, wages are assumed to be completely flexible (Bewley, 1999).

Hypotheses of women's employment: Rubery (1988):

Rubery (1988) suggests three basic hypotheses of women's employment: the flexible reserve or 'buffer' hypothesis, the substitution hypothesis, and the job segregation hypothesis. First, the flexible reserve or 'buffer' hypothesis claimed that women are a flexible reserve – their participation in the labour force increases with economic growth and decreases during downturns. In other words, women's employment moves in upturns pro-cyclically. Second, the substitution hypothesis predicts counter-cyclical trends for women's employment: as the recession or economic and social change intensifies, the search for cost-saving induces substitution towards cheaper forms of labour, such as women (Rubery, 1988). The substitution hypothesis suggests that female labour is comparatively cheap compared to male labour. Thus, in times of economic change (in the Russian case, it was the collapse of the Soviet Union system) and strict conditions of the economy, the demand for female labour increases as a company tries to reduce its costs. According to the third hypothesis, job segregation, the demand for female labour depends on demand in sectors with predominantly female occupation. In other

words, this hypothesis suggests strict sexual stereotyping of occupations, and female participation in the labour force will depend on the impact of the change on these sectors.

These hypotheses can also be interpreted in the light of women's relationship with the wage labour market in times of transition in the economy. The flexible reserve and substitution hypotheses are concerned with labour market flows, and they view the female workforce as a 'reserve army of labour'. However, the job segregation hypothesis is concerned with the allocation of women within the job structure and not with flows into or out of the labour market (Rubery, 1988). The allocation of women from flexible reserve to a stable part of the wage labour force reduces differentiation between men's and women's work in labour supply behaviour, but the *'permanent mobilization of female labour may be associated with deskilling or cost reducing strategies which require a differentiation of labour force'* (Rubery, 1988, p.6).

Hypotheses of women's employment: Gerber and Mayorova (2004):

Gerber and Mayorova (2006) presented three sets of theoretical grounds that explain why women's unemployment and inequality grew on a larger scale than men's. The first hypothesis argues that, *'over time, women's "gross" disadvantages with regard to labor market outcomes (i.e., their aggregate disadvantages assessed in the absence of control variables) increase in magnitude'* (Gerber and Mayorova, 2006, p. 2053). In other words, gender differences in human capital increase over time. Moreover, Shu and Bian (2003, cited by Gerber and Mayorova, 2006, p. 2055) note that, if women in post-socialist societies lag behind men in human capital endowments, an increased emphasis on human capital as the basis for reward implies a greater female disadvantage in the labour market. In their second hypothesis, Gerber and Mayorova (2006) assumed that the 'new' Russian labour economy retained all the features of the sexual occupational and sectional segregation of the Soviet Union period. This hypothesis emphasizes the larger scale of occupational sex segregation within the transition economy. Gerber and Hout (1998) discovered that, during the market transition, earnings in sectors with predominantly female occupations remained the same, while private sector wages become significantly higher than in state-owned firms. Thus, the occupational sex

segregation and gender inequity has increased within the transition economy. The third hypothesis suggests '*increased discrimination against women by employers due to the withdrawal of state protection, a resurgence of patriarchal norms, and/or new competitive pressures for statistical discrimination*' (Gerber and Mayorova, 2006, p. 2053). Moreover, Ogloblin (1999) and LaFont (2001) agreed that patriarchal attitudes of male superiority existed in the socialist regime but they were suppressed to some extent by the Soviet Union system. In the time of the transition economy, the government halted the majority of programs supporting gender equality; thus, social pressure on women forced them to take on the more traditional roles of mother and homemaker (Degtiar, 2000). However, Monousova (1998) and Riley et al. (1999) argued that, in a transition market economy, gender equality may improve in certain aspects. They claimed that, in difficult conditions of a transition market, women are more likely to retain their jobs as they are less able to find employment in the 'new labour' market. Thus, some employers may prefer to employ women as they consider them more reliable and responsible workers. Moreover, women's labour is comparatively cheaper than men's; therefore, in free market economic conditions, women's lower wages mean that they are cheaper to hire and retain (Tam, 1997).

To conclude, the collapse of the Soviet Union has altered almost every aspect of life (such as political, economic and social aspects) in society. Along with the 'new' economic system and political liberty came huge economic problems such as inflation, unemployment and lack of social support programs (Mazzarino, 2013). Struensee (2000) assumed that '*women proved to be major victims of the negative effects of the privatization, globalization, and related changes.*' (p. 72). With less access to the formal labour sector, women are over-represented in unemployment statistics throughout the former Soviet Union, with greater feminization of poverty as a consequence (Struensee, 2000). Klimova (2012) argued that, at the beginning of the 21st century, in the Russian Federation between 55 and 65 per cent of the unemployed were women. In difficult economic conditions and with the reduction of average social levels in the Russian Federation, many women were forced into domestic work or, in some cases, providing sexual services. Moreover, according to Kay (2001), with no possibility of employment and a reduction of public child care services in the Russian Federation, women found themselves with the

responsibility of providing child care and supporting the family. However, not all women agree on the current situation within the Russian labour market and the high unemployment rate among women. The next section will present an overview of feminism and women's activist movements in Russia.

2.6.3 Feminism and Women's Activist Movements in Russia

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many feminist observers hoped that the shift from dictatorship to democracy would bring new opportunities for Russian women, as it had in Latin America (Johnson et al., 2013). However, Waylen (2007) argued that the transition period in Russia and other Soviet Union Republics did not foster women's advancement towards democracy and the rise of women's activism. Johnson et al. (2013) attribute this to Putin's state paternalistic transformation of family violence crisis centres. Another author, Kizenko (2013), points out the relationship between women's position in the labour market and the Russian Orthodox Church; at the same time, Rivkin-Fish (2013) links women's activism in Russia with the 'no-woman's-land of reproductive rights'.

At the beginning of the transition period, Mikhail Gorbachev aimed to help Russian women rid themselves of their double burden. At this time he advocated that women's position be that of 'housewife', which in his opinion was women's main mission (Mazzarino, 2013). Thus, in the transition time the government supported patriarchy and emphasized the importance of women's reproductive function. However, the recent research of Holmgren (2013), Rivkin-Fish (2013) and Johnson et al. (2013) demonstrates that, under Putin's regime, there seems to be even less space for feminist and women's activist movements than in the 1990s. Holmgren (2013), in her research on gendered agency in contemporary Russia, indicated a sharp drop in Western funding for gender centers and non-governmental organizations under Putin's regime. She argues that consolidation of '*exclusively masculinist power under Putin has forced most feminist projects to fold or move under the radar*' (Holmgren, 2013, p. 543). Johnson et al. (2013) agreed and claimed that, under Putin's last presidency, there was little social movement towards feminism and much of it has been lost. In contemporary Russia, feminist organizations that aimed to promote women's rights mainly focus on the notion of

violence in the family and identify their work as social work or psychology. Thus, their actions are less likely to include advocacy or other politically transformative work.

To conclude, in modern Russian society public debates on equal rights and gender diversity are not as common as in Western countries. In 2009-2010, the Russian Ministry of Labor developed a gender strategy in order to improve equality rights for both genders. This document concentrates on equalization of pay levels in "male" and "female" occupational sectors, development of females' small businesses and creation of suitable working conditions for people with families (Government Duma official website, 2012). Despite the 'new' Russian gender studies exploring differentials in labour market employment and the wage gap between genders, public debates on gender equality are not highly esteemed within Russian society (Rivkin-Fish, 2013). Moreover, Putin has forced most feminist projects to fold or come under government control, which does not support the promotion of equal rights in Russia. However, Johnson et al. (2013) argued that some kind of feminist action still remains in Russia, and scholars in collaboration with NGOs and feminist organizations should raise this problem of gender discrimination at the international level to challenge the patriarchal nature of Russian society. The following section will illustrate the role of patriarchy within the Soviet Union and 'new' Russian society.

2.7 Patriarchy Theory

Over the last forty years, many authors have explored the situation of women workers in the labour market, aiming to understand and explain the persistence of gender inequality and gendered job segregation (Milkman, 1998). These works have led to a number of competing theoretical frameworks. Previously, labour process theories, such as human capital theory and Braverman's (1974) concept of labour and monopoly capital, did not pay much attention to the personal motivation of individuals, and mainly concentrated on labour market structures. For example, human capital theory states that an individual's income can be explained in terms of his/her level of human capital, such as education, training and experience. Marxist theory has also been used to understand the segmentation of the labour market. This

theory looks at female labour as useful labour reserve that can be returned to the home when no longer needed (Rees and Brewster, 1995). Marx claimed that capitalists used the technical division of labour to increase the productive potential and reduce the power of employees by throwing a portion out of work and deskilling the rest (Colvin et al., 1983). However, Lazonick (1974) criticized Marx's 'classic' example of the use of technical division to dominate workers, claiming that Marx's theory ignored the role of the hierarchical division of labour in capitalist production. Marx saw the evolution of the labour process creating a 'homogeneous industrial proletariat' that would come together due to its common subjection to capital through the damage to 'traditional' and 'pre-industrial' skills (Lazonick, 1974).

The key author on labour process theory, in his book *Monopoly Capital* (1974), expressed his debt to Karl Marx's theory. Braverman (1974) has claimed that he is not creating a new theory; he is just renewing Marx's work. Braverman goes beyond Marx in constructing a theory of social structure from the analysis of the capitalist labour process (Burawoy, 1978). Following Marx, Braverman criticized the common-sense approach, which sees new technology as something neutral or predictable (Braverman, 1974). Marx claimed that machinery cut jobs or reduced skills; therefore, it is not in the power of human beings to do anything to prevent it (Colvin et al. 1983). However, Braverman argues that it is not technology that cuts jobs, but management. He claimed that management itself existed because capitalism was a system of property relations; in other words, a majority of the labour force worked, while a minority owned or managed capital (Burawoy, 1978).

Braverman explained capitalism as a system 'dominated and shaped by needs of capital' (Braverman, 1974). He claimed that, under pressure of competition, management continuously needed to renew and expand its control over the labour force. Braverman stated that work under capitalism 'degraded' (Braverman, 1974), as the skilled employees 'who dominated the early years of capitalism were replaced with unskilled employees, condemned to demeaning and unpleasant labour'. New skills continuously emerge and are subject to management authority, because capital requires cost reduction and profit maximization; as a result, management is constantly obliged to make work dull and routine (Burawoy, 1978). According to Marx, alienation mainly concentrates on a timeless quality, and the

word referred to a general condition that marked capitalism (Colvin et al., 1983). Harry Braverman modernized Marx's theory, presenting alienation (or in his words, the degradation of labour) as a process that was constantly formed and reformed by capitalist management (Braverman, 1974).

Latterly, authors have divided the labour market into sectors. For example, Barron and Norris (1976) developed the theory of sexual division of labour. In this theory they divided the labour market into sectors with predominantly male and female occupations. Nowadays, labour process theories that take into account individual motivation can be broken down into three types. Firstly, there are those that examine the socialization of women and men into different cultural values, and they include ideas of masculinity and femininity. The second type of theory assumes that basic differences between men and women are essentially ahistorical and have no place for change; thus segmentation of the labour market begins in the labour market itself (Cockburn, 1983, 1991; Matthaei, 1982; Phillips et al., 1980). Such theories show *'how notions of skill are based on unquestioning acceptance of the relative values of men's and women's work, and how this in itself is a socially constructed and politically motivated dichotomy'* (Rees and Brewster, 1995, p. 20). The third type of theory used the ideas of patriarchy and the subordination of women. Hartmann stated that *'two systems of capitalism and patriarchy are seen to be acting together to maintain the subordinate position of women'*.

Hartmann (1976) explain patriarchy as the techniques of hierarchical organization and control, in which men controlled the labour of women and children in the family. She stated that, with the development of public-private separations, a direct personal system of control, men under women, was translated into an indirect, impersonal system of control. There are two methods of indirect control: first, *'the traditional division of labor between the sexes'*; and, second, *'techniques of hierarchical organization and control'* (Hartmann, 1976). The main factors maintaining the superiority of men over women are the division of labour and lower wages for women in the labour market. Low wages keep women dependent on men and require them to marry or find a partner who will provide them with financial support.

Another researcher of patriarchy, Teresa Ebert (1988), agreed that one of the main contradictions of patriarchal capitalism is that the system of gender-differentiated power and property relations is eroded by the labour demands of capitalism itself. She states that women are still used as a cheap and available source of wage-labour at various levels of the economy. Thus, women become dependent and must perform domestic household duties for their partners. In this situation men benefit from both higher wages and the domestic division of labour (Hartmann, 1976). Consequently, the domestic division of labour requires women to choose a passive position in the labour market. Hartmann states that *'this process is the present outcome of the continuing interaction of two interlocking systems, capitalism and patriarchy'* (p.138). In her opinion, the hierarchical domestic division of labour is perpetuated by the labour market, and vice versa. In other words, the interaction between patriarchy and capitalism has created a vicious circle of women's employment. Moreover, she concludes that male domination and the division of labour in society is so long-standing that it will be very difficult to eliminate. In capitalist society, women's labour is used as unskilled and low-paid labour to undercut male workers. She emphasizes that, in order to end male domination, it will be necessary to eradicate the sexual division of labour itself. If women are to be free, they must fight against both patriarchal power and the capitalist organization of society.

However, Hakim (1991, 1995, 1996 and 2000) argues that women's comparatively disadvantaged position in the labour market is not a consequence of the patriarchy or sexual differences factors. Rather, it is the outcome of their varying choices. She makes a classification of working women: the 'committed' and the 'uncommitted'. Members of the first group give priority to their employment careers and usually work full-time; members of the second group prioritize their domestic responsibilities and prefer to work part-time. Her research on part-time working women shows that the second group of 'uncommitted' women express themselves as highly 'satisfied' with their low-level, poorly-paid employment. Hakim states that the pattern of women's labour force participation is mainly a result of women's choices, and that the *'heterogeneity of women's employment statuses reflects the heterogeneity of female choice'* (Crompton and Harris, 1998, p 119). Her statement contradicts the 'feminist' literature, which presents the lack of women's

commitment, job instability, etc as a reflection of the jobs they have been forced into because of patriarchal pressures (Phillips et al., 1980). Hakim claims that women's lack of commitment, job stability, etc. precisely reflect the labour market behaviour of women whose employment is secondary to their domestic involvement. Her study shows that '*some women choose to be home-centered, with work a secondary activity*', and '*some women choose to be career-centered, with domestic activities a secondary consideration*' (Hakim, 1996: 186).

According to Hakim, the existence of the 'committed' and 'uncommitted' types of women lends support to both rational choice and human capital theories. In her opinion, 'uncommitted' women make their own decision to invest less effort in employment, as this is not their main priority. In contrast, 'committed' women, together with the prescriptions of human capital theory, will choose to invest their main efforts in employment and their careers. Thus, her research presents a link between psychological theories of male dominance and the concept of patriarchy (Hakim, 1996). For example, Goldberg (1973, cited in Hakim 1996) claimed that hormonal differences between genders make men more 'self-assertive, aggressive, dominant and competitive', and the fact that females are essentially divided into groups with 'committed' and 'uncommitted' employment increases the effect of these 'natural' masculine characteristics; as a consequence, men are disproportionately successful.

In other words, Hakim created a 'preference theory' in which women chose between domestic responsibilities and paid jobs (Cartwright et al., 2004). She claimed that preference theory '*reinstates personal preferences as an important determinant of women's behaviour and it states that attitudes, values and preferences are becoming increasingly important in the lifestyle choices of people in rich modern societies*' (Hakim, 2000, p.17). Samson (2002) states that Hakim's 'preference theory' is very important for current understandings of women's position on the labour market, and its popularity and impact on other works can be seen through current researchers' application of preference theory in their own work. However, Hakim's theory has attracted a large number of critical reviews in recent years, mainly because she conceptualizes orientations and preferences of women in a simplified and essentially static way (Fagan, 2001).

For example, Charlesworth et al. (2004) argue that Hakim's model divides all women into certain categories and does not account for women who fall between these categories. Fagan (2001, p. 242) emphasizes that *'differences in women's work orientations are explained largely in terms of work plans and educational choices when young. The effect of structural constraints and differences in opportunities are downplayed, producing an excessively voluntaristic account of women's labour market behavior'*. Therefore, Hakim's theory is static and ignores the fact that women can change their decisions about the balance of paid work and domestic responsibilities repeatedly over the years; it thus simplifies women's decisions about work/family choices (Cartwright et al., 2004). Another criticism concerns whether there is a relationship between work orientations and the amount of time people dedicate to their paid jobs. For example, Fagan (2001, p. 289) has claimed that *'it is possible to have a strong commitment to paid work without prioritizing the demands of employment over other life interests and competing claims on time'*. Employees' working-time preferences and orientation are formed by their educational level and work experience, their domestic situation and their estimation of the options they perceive to be open to them (Fagan, 2001). Consequently, employees' options during their lives are structured by the economic conditions in the country, state policies and other social institutions.

In contrast to this essentialist approach, the American researcher Sylvia Walby classifies theories of gender inequality into four groups. The first group *'conceives of gender inequality as rooted in the logic of capitalism'*; the second group argues that gender inequality is the product of an autonomous system of patriarchy. The third group identifies gender inequality as a unified system of "capitalist patriarchy". The fourth group presents the "dual systems theory" in which Walby argues that gender inequality is the outcome of the interaction of two factors such as autonomous systems of capitalism and patriarchy. In this theory, she states that *"patriarchy is never the only mode in a society but always exists in articulation with another, such as capitalism"* (Walby, 1986, p. 50).

In Sylvia Walby's book *Patriarchy at Work: Patriarchal and Capitalist Relations in Employment* (1986), she argues that the concept of patriarchy is critical for understanding both gender inequality and women's position in paid work more broadly. Walby defines patriarchy as *"a system of interrelated social structures*

through which men exploit women" (p. 51). She looks at the patriarchal concept from the historical point of view, and takes as an example the history of women's work in Britain from the industrial revolution to the present, in three specific sectors: cotton textiles, engineering, and clerical employment (Milkman, 1998). She states that *"the notion of changing forms of patriarchy is indispensable to the understanding of historically varying forms of gender inequality"* (Walby, 1996 p. 243). Furthermore, Sylvia Walby highlights two types of patriarchy: public and private. Public patriarchy is a system of gender relations *`in which women are present and active in public areas such as employment and government`* (Walby, 1996, p.11); private patriarchy is a domestic gender regime where females are comparatively absent from such public arenas. She argued that increasing the number of domestic gender regimes will led to greater gender inequality; therefore, these two factors are correlated and should be treated as empirical. Consequently, it can be concluded that Walby's concept of patriarchy helps to explain the changes in women workers' position.

Jeni Harden (2008) applied Walby's dual-systems approach to the communist system and, in particular, to the Soviet Union. She states that Walby's approach of public and private patriarchy is a suitable framework for the study of gender inequality in Soviet Russia (Harden, 2008). She states that *`the focus on the structures of patriarchy operating out with the domestic sphere, in particular in the state and in paid employment, have a degree of resonance given the high level of state intervention in the lives of Russian women and their widespread participation in the workforce`* (Harden, 2008, p. 104). However, she found that Walby's concept of patriarchy provides the framework for an analysis of relations between market and non-market workers rather than between men and women (Crompton et al., 1998).

For example, the author explains that, in Walby's theory, women are usually less economically productive than men and work longer hours within the patriarchal mode of production, as they have their domestic responsibilities. However, Harden states that Walby's theory explains only a certain form of household and does not accommodate the experience of women who live outside it (Harden, 2008). Thus, the author states that it is not possible to use the concept of patriarchy as an independent system to identify gender inequality, as it does not provide much in

terms of its use as an analytical tool and offers a more descriptive mechanism detailing certain aspects of women's experience (Pollert, 2003). Moreover, she argues that woman in the Soviet Union played a significant role in the strategy of social reproduction, and they were also the main productive resources for the size of the labour force and its quality. Furthermore, females were also responsible for the biological reproduction of the nation. Analyzing these factors, she concludes that *'we must move away from a description of the position of women in Soviet Russia in terms of their dual burden towards an analysis of the complex and contradictory ways in which gender relations became enmeshed with labour relations during this period'* (Harden, 2008, p. 112).

As we can see, patriarchy has been used in various ways to provide an explanation of gender inequality. Although patriarchy is built upon a concept of gender domination, in a broader sense the term 'patriarchy' emphasizes the analogous structures of power in a society such as the king and his servitors, the lord and his serfs, the husband and his wife, the master and his apprentice, the officer and his soldiers, and so on. In other words, patriarchy presents various forms of domination (Morrissey, 2003).

Margaret Mead (1970) presents the concepts of patriarchy and labour segregation as a hierarchy of statuses, the higher and lower non-maternal status in societies. She claims that *'Men may cook, or weave, or dress dolls or hunt humming birds, but if such activities are appropriate occupations for men, then the whole society, men and women alike, votes them as important. When the same occupations are performed by women, they are regarded as less important'* (Mead, 1970, p. 168). She gives an example to describe the situation that is relevant in every society. In the United States the profession of medical doctor has a high status and the most doctors are male; in contrast, in the former Soviet Union republics, medical doctors, compared with engineers, had a lower status; thus most doctors were women and the most of the engineering positions were occupied by men. Mead (1970) attributes this situation to psychophysiological reasons. She argues that men originally have a higher psychophysiological level in society; therefore, this high status "motivates" males more strongly than it does females. Moreover, she claims that all societies that have ever existed have related hierarchical dominance with males. Of course, there are exceptions such as Golda Meir in Israel, Indira Gandhi in India, Angela

Merkel in Germany and Margaret Thatcher in the UK; however, the vast majority of other upper hierarchical positions are filled by men. A society can maintain an ideological commitment to hierarchical equality, but the reality is that the achieving of equality is hardly attainable because of the psychophysiological and moral factors entrenched in societies over hundreds of years (Mead, 1970).

In 2006 Professor Michael Ross published the result of his research, making a link between oil production and patriarchy. He argued that, in economies based on the extraction of natural resources, such as the Russian, Azerbaijani, Chilean, Gabon, Mauritanian and Nigerian economies, women's participation in the labour force is lower than might be expected simply based on their income levels. He argues that heavy industry tends to reduce the number of females entering the labour force, thus reducing the number of women with political influence. *Without large numbers of women participating in the economic and political life of the country, traditional patriarchal institutions will go unchallenged* (Ross, 2006, p.5). In other words, he attributes the negligible influence of women in mineral-rich states in the Middle East and the former Soviet Union to the low economic and political representation of women in these countries, as production industries have negative consequences for the economic and political status of women and reduce the participation of women in the workforce by *crowding out the economic sectors* that tend to employ women (Ross, 2006). He claimed that, if women are not active participants of the labour force and are mainly attending to domestic responsibilities, they are less likely to lobby for expanded rights, and less likely to gain representation in government. As a result, mineral-rich countries usually have strong patriarchal institutions. He supports his statement with global data on oil production and female work patterns, female political representation, and public opinion on gender relations (Ross, 2006).

In addition, Eisler (1987, p. 44) stated that *"male dominance, male violence, and authoritarianism are not inevitable, eternal givens. And rather than being just a 'utopian dream,' a more peaceful and equalitarian world is a real possibility for our future"*. He believes that the modern world order contains within it *"the seeds of its own destruction"*; however, the seeds of its rebirth into a *"new, life-affirming world order based upon acceptance, equality and liberation for all"* are also present (Schacht and Ewing, 1996, p. 7).

As has already been said, the main feature of the communist ideology was equality (Ashwin, 2002; Standing, 1994). Gender equality was mainly based on females' equal role in economic production alongside males. Commitment to the ideology and to the country was placed above family interests. According to the communist policy, every citizen had both a right and an obligation to work (Grapard, 1997). After the Second World War, the number of working women rapidly increased, a trend supported by both the social security of working women and the communist ideology. Communist ideology equated employment with emancipation, and the worker-mother contract was institutionally embedded within communist work regimes (Standing, 1994; Puffer, 1996). Moreover, wage levels in the Soviet Union were comparatively low; therefore, it was hard to support a family on just one income.

At the same time, the term 'equality' did not mean sharing the household responsibilities between men and women. Pre-communist patriarchy remained intact; in other words, women not only performed domestic labour but also actively participated in the labour force (LaFont, 2001). LaFont (2001) states that, *'instead of truly liberating women, state communism turned into a system that doubly exploited women in their roles as producers and reproducers'* (p. 205). She argued that women in the Soviet Union worked an average of six more hours a week than men, as they worked in paid employment and still carried out most of the domestic duties. Consequently, they were unable to perform any of their roles adequately and felt exhausted and guilty about this perceived failure (LaFont, 2001). Therefore, it can be concluded that women in the Soviet Union had a dual burden of paid employment and family work.

Harden (2008) identifies several factors which explain the dual burden in Soviet countries. Harden's (2008) work is particularly interesting for the current research. Her research (as well as section 2.3) shows the paternalistic approach of the Russian government to women's employment; it aims to protect women as mothers or potential mothers from the damaging effects of paid labour (Harden, 2008). Thus, her work helps to explain the double burden of Russian women and high unemployment rates within the mining industry. First, she claimed that Marxist theory is an important element in explaining why women suffered a dual burden of labour in Russia, as Marx was the main theorizer of the communist ideology. In his

work, the role of the family in society had a lack of explanation and theory, and it was treated as of secondary importance (Lapidus, 1978; Buckley, 1988; Corrin, 1990). Molyneux (1981) concluded that *'Marxist theory was seen to have both shaped policy towards women and, in part, accounted for its failure'* (see Harden, 2008, p. 2). Second, Lapidus (1978) argued that intentions regarding the emancipation and shared responsibilities of domestic labour were *'rendered obsolete by conditions of war and the need to modernise a largely rural economy'* (see Harden, 2008, p. 101). Thus, it can be concluded that gender equality in the Soviet Union was impeded by investment priorities and intensive production (Heitlinger, 1979).

Moreover, there were primary differences between the Soviet Union and Western countries and how women participated in the labour market. Metcalfe and Afanassieva (2005) state that *'The Marxist doctrine of women's socialised labour and the management of the "double burden" was not seen as progressing women's position in communist societies'* (p. 398). In other words, family was a shelter for both men and women; thus, it became *'the locus of resistance to state power in the communist countries and was not perceived as a locus of gender conflict'* (Metcalfe, 2005, p.399). Another author, Lipovskaya (1994), agreed. She states that the family was the main location of opposition to the government and communist ideology, within which it was possible to achieve greater liberty. She argues that the family was *'bound by strong ties of caring and sharing, where one learns the precious skills of compassion and understanding which, it can be argued, go beyond the usual expectations and demands of the western nuclear family'* (Lipovskaya 1994, p.35). At the same time, in Western countries the private sphere was linked to unfair gender relations (Grapard, 1997, p. 670; Pollert, 2003). Harden (2008, p.3) stated that *'the Western analyses recognised the importance of the economic system, of demographics and of ideology in contributing to the patterns of gender inequality in Soviet Russia'*. However, Haug (1991) claimed that the theory of the 'dual burden' itself is very limiting as it tends to concentrate on the time spent on paid labour and on domestic responsibilities rather than the relations involved in perpetuating gender inequality.

Another researcher of gender equality, Pollert (2003), argued that women in the Soviet Union had greater equality in comparison with other industrialized countries.

However, she agreed with Harden (2008) that, even with the labour law system in the Soviet Union, which guaranteed women and men equality in marriage, women had the double burden of the main responsibility for domestic and paid labour (Pollert, 2003). Gerber et al. (2006) state that average working hours for women in Soviet Russia were approximately 70 hours per week, about 15 hours more than in Western Europe. Moreover, Gerber et al. (2006) claimed that there was a high level of occupational sex segregation in the Soviet Union, and women had mainly been employed in 'light' manufacturing, the services and caring professions, and were over-represented at the bottom of job hierarchies. Consequently, women's earnings were twenty per cent lower than men's.

However, Peers (1985) claimed that women were essential not only as workers but also as child-bearers, especially during the labour shortage. Heitlinger (1979, p.29) claimed that *'the production of children has a paradoxical effect on the position of women in state socialist countries' arising from 'the contradiction between the private nature and collective consequences of biological reproduction'*. Moreover, he states that the government recognized the family as the key factor for the future in terms of reproduction and the demographic situation, and therefore continuously interfered in it (Peers, 1985).

The Soviet Union had a high level of female employment. At the same time, however, there was a wide range of labour codes regarding the usage of female labour. In the time of transition and the demographic crisis, the government made this labour legislation even stricter (see 2.6).

Harden (2008) argued that *'the redistribution of women into the service sector was regarded as an inevitable outcome of the transition of the economy to a primarily intensive path of development and the transition of enterprises to the new economic method of self financing and cost accounting'*. Around 20 per cent of employees in heavy industry during the transition were made redundant (Teshukova, 2001). However, the government stated that this process did not have to be disruptive for women and industry; it claimed that it was *'combining the redistribution of workers with the natural movement of cadres. The only category of workers for whom the real movement between spheres of work connected with a change of workplace is*

expedient and economically and socially justifiable is women employed in heavy manual labour' (Teshukova, 2001, p. 19).

This movement of female labour from manufacturing and heavy industry into the service sector was part of the government plan to develop the service sector and decrease the size of the industrial labour force. Consequently, the female labour force was manipulated by the state through the protective legislation which provided both a legislative instrument and an ideological justification for so doing (Metcalf, 2005b). As a result, this protective legislation's exclusion of women from the industrial sector often meant their exclusion from numerous skilled jobs. Harden (2008) claimed that the state, by forcing managers to provide additional benefits for female workers such as kindergartens, paid maternity leave, time off for sick children and restrictions in their employment, was not creating a privileged class of employees, as it claimed. Women became a second-class group of workers who required more social benefits; moreover, strict rules had to be followed for their employment (Harden, 2008). For managers, *'protective legislation was regarded as an obstacle to their main aim, that is, meeting their performance requirements, and so was often violated'* (Harden, 2008, p.16). In other words, managers saw women as a workforce with limited abilities or as supplementary to the main male workers. Furthermore, women's position within the labour hierarchy can be seen as a result of the protective legislation and discriminatory practices regarding women's employment. Gender was an important element within the Russian and Soviet Union systems of production relations, and the labour hierarchy was at the core of this. Harden (2008, p. 109) claimed that *'the labour hierarchy was ingrained in the nature of the Soviet system'*.

Another researcher of gender equality in Post-Soviet countries, Predborska (2005), stated that the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought many social and economic problems such as growing unemployment, inflation, a decline in real wages, and general social insecurity. In these conditions, society became more materialistic. The privatization and reorganization of companies and general structural changes have led to a modification of the labour force.

The increase of competition in the labour market has forced employees to accept low-paid and less prestigious jobs that were traditionally occupied by female

workers. Eisenstein (1993) claimed that about fifty per cent of women were employed in unskilled manual labour, and Pavlychko et al. (1997, p. 224) argued that another group of women, those who are well-educated and professionally qualified, could have become *'a substantial force of the feminist message and changed the stereotypes of women; but in the political sense they were mostly inert and silent, they belonged to that type that could be called 'a woman-man', who achieved high positions but did not change the nature of authority or its ideology in the interest of women'*.

Additionally, Pollert (2003) stated that the reinstatement of capitalism and efforts to build gender equality upon the communist legacy in Russia and other Soviet Union republics have failed. She claimed that *'the recession caused by the neo-liberal transition economy, and the ensuing growth of unemployment, poverty and inequality, was both a class and a gendered process in which the most vulnerable, including women and children, suffered'* (Pollert, 2003, p. 349). However, she claimed that there is little nostalgia for the 'command-equality' of the communist era. She stated that women's responses during her research on Russian women's attitudes to their changed world have been 'contradictory and varied' (Pollert, 2003). She concludes that *'equality of opportunity to live like a man was part of the old agenda, and the new one replacing it is not popular. Gender mainstreaming, interpreted as a change in paradigm, may hold some promise'* (Pollert, 2003, p. 350).

To conclude, Predborska (2005) shows in her research that the transition required employees to demonstrate such characteristics as competitiveness, independence, decisiveness, willingness to take risks, and aggression, which are mainly inherent in men. Therefore, the transitional period can be regarded as a 're-masculinisation period' for society. Moreover, the pressure of the double burden for women workers has not only been preserved but has also increased. For example, her research on gender inequality in Ukraine shows that *'the most important aspect of women's empowerment is how the government defines and reinforces women's roles in the labour market and family through laws and social policies'* (Predborska, 2005, p. 354). As a result, labour regulation and companies' policies have a great influence on and importance for female labour and gender equality. However, it is important

that women understand their rights and have support from the feminist organizations or trade unions, especially in times of transition.

As mentioned earlier, women in the Soviet Union were well educated and highly likely to work full-time for most of their lives; however the official emancipation of Soviet women *`exhausted and exploited the vast majority of its "beneficiaries"'* (Holmgren, 2013, p. 537). The results of Zavyalova et al.'s (2010) study demonstrate the existence of both external and internal barriers to active social behaviour by women, denying them full participation in the labour process. These barriers manifest themselves in the absence of the ability to plan a career, lower pay requirements, and refusal to engage in intense competition for positions of high office. In other words, the patriarchal nature of Russian society remained the same; furthermore, it was supported by the regime and communist propaganda. Rivkin-Fish (2013) emphasized that the communist government mainly *`skirted the need for reproductive health care, apart from urging women to replenish a workforce drained by shortages, political purges, and war`*.

Interestingly, the literature presented above clearly indicates governmental support for the control and subordination of women. The removal of women from politics and the decreasing number of women at managerial levels indicate changes in the labour market and women's position within it (see 2.6). These changes might be explained by a 'reassertion' of patriarchal theory in the Russian transition to free market capitalism, which appears to be against the trend of other developed nations (ex. Western Europe, USA), which have seen a rise in women's employment and progress.

Chapter 2.3 demonstrates that the paternalism implicit in the government's imposition of more rigid employment laws to protect women's reproductive functions at work seems to conflict with the government's reduction of the level of public support during the transition time for kindergartens and child care, notwithstanding the three years of maternity leave. By using a patriarchal lens, this research will uncover and explain these contradistinctions. The concept of patriarchy runs through the entire thesis and helps to explore transitional change in gender employment and answer the research question.

2.8 Trade Unions: Change of Role, Position and Status

The collapse of the Soviet Union system started with the miners' strike in 1989 (in the south of the Kuzbass region, Mezhdurechensk city) (Clarke et al., 1995; Kostyukovskii, 1990; Lopatin, 1998). According to Clarke et al. (1995, p 5), *'the miners' strike gave birth to permanently functioning workers' committees and eventually to the formation of the Independent Miners' Union (NPG), which has provided the core of the alternative trade union movement in Russia'*. The trade union organizations play an active role in the protection of employee interests within the coal industry and the whole of society (Lopatin, 1998).

Popov (2008) clarifies that, in the Soviet Union time, the trade union organizations mainly served to disseminate the communist ideology among workers' communities. Igorev (1999) supported Clarke's arguments. He stated that, in the Soviet time, the unions were perceived as distributors of social service vouchers, shelter and other social benefits from the employers. Clarke (2005) explains that the trade unions in the Soviet era constituted a 'transmission belt' between the government and the working population, and they were deeply entrenched in the structures of the Communist Party. In other words, the trade unions' main function was not to represent workers and protect their human rights as in other European countries but to control them and subordinate their members' aspirations to the building of a radiant future. The trade unions were formed into a strictly hierarchical structure and were a part of the communist government structure. Nevertheless, membership of the trade union organization was compulsory for all workers. Consequently, the trade unions in the Soviet Union time had great authority derived from the state over the entire working population of the USSR.

However, in 1991, with the end of Soviet era, the trade unions had to find a new role for themselves. Clarke (2005, p.2) claimed that, *'at the same time, with the transition to a market economy and the mass privatization of the system of production, workers have to find some means of representing and defending their sectional and collective interests'*. Thus, in the post-Soviet period, as a result of the difficult situation in the labour market, the trade unions took on other functions (Clarke, 1998, 2005).

Popov (2008) argues that the main 'official' functions of these organizations in the 2000s are to maximize the earnings level of their members, improve employees' working conditions, and fight for the employees' additional social payments and benefits. However, researchers such as Ashwin and Clarke (2002), Clarke (2005) and Taylor et al. (2003) agreed that, after the collapse of the communist system, the trade union was still constituted as a *'branch of management, staffed by management appointees, drawing on enterprise resources and performing management functions and so dependent on management for its own reproduction'* (Clarke, 2005, p. 12). As a legacy of the Soviet past, trade unions are still responsible for the administration of many government social programs and social benefit distribution functions, while also enjoying considerable legal protection. During the first mining strikes in 1989, the trade unions tried to oppose the government bodies; however, in 1993 the Russian trade unions dedicated themselves to a system of 'social partnership' with the state, and declared that they would serve as guarantors of social peace, while keeping their traditional functions, property and privileges (Ashwin and Clarke, 2002).

Thus, during the transition time, the trade unions changed their political status but their institutional form within the enterprise remains the same. Consequently, trade unions in Russia are performing a dual function: first, as in other countries, they are presenting themselves as an organization that aims to protect employee rights; second, as a heritage of the communist past, they still perform a social distribution service. However, trade unions are unable to perform any of these functions particularly well; therefore, they have to decide what functions they consider priorities and what level of autonomy they should enjoy vis-à-vis the state and the employers (Gricenko, 2005). Trade unions are currently losing authority among their members and, as a result, the number of members is in continuous decline (Gricenko, 2005). Clarke (2003, p. 8) emphasized that *'at the beginning of transition it was thought that the traditional unions would try to mobilize their membership to resist market reforms...but since 1993 the trade union leadership has been committed to the constitutional process, and there has been much less pressure on the trade unions from below than many had originally anticipated.'*

In 2011, the President of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions in Russia claimed that, although around twenty thousand new trade union organizations had

been created over the previous decade, the number of trade union members had declined by ten million since that time (Shmakov, 2012). Thus, it could be concluded that the trade unions constitute the biggest national social organization in Russia, representing the majority of the labour force (Clarke, 1995 p.7). However, trade unions in contemporary Russia are less likely to transform themselves into the representatives of employees in opposition to employers or to develop their ambassadorial capacity, as they are unable, first of all, to secure their institutional survival (Clarke, 2005).

2.9 Description of the Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the current research is based on the interaction between broad social changes, patriarchy, gender ideologies, and `rules` of a male-dominated industry such as mining and how they impact on one another. The concept of patriarchy will be used to explain/understand the phenomenon of gender inequality in Russia during and after communism. Patriarchy has been used in various ways to provide an explanation of gender inequality. The current research has reviewed a variety of views on the patriarchy concept. The main authors are Cynthia Cockburn, Sylvia Walby, Catherine Hakim, Margaret Mead, Heidi Hartmann, Jeni Harden and others. Although patriarchy is built upon a concept of gender domination, in a broader sense patriarchy emphasizes the analogous structures of power in a society, such as the king and his servitors, the lord and his serfs, the husband and his wife, the master and his apprentice, the officer and his soldiers, and so on. In other words, patriarchy presents various forms of domination (Morrissey, 2003).

As previously argued, gender equality was not evident under the communist regime, and women were still fulfilling most of the domestic responsibilities. Therefore, it can be concluded that communist ideology and its definition of equality in work obscured the patriarchal nature of Soviet society, in which women still retained responsibility for the domestic domain. The transitional literature (Lafont, 1998, 2001; Predborska, 2005; Gerber et al., 2006; Klimova, 2012) suggests that, despite transitional change in gender employment there is still continuity for women in employment in respect of a patriarchal society, and this is evidenced in Russia in

the banning of women from certain job roles because of the dangers to their reproductive function, thus once again separating men and women because of biological differences in relation to family and home. Consequently, this has implications for women's experience in employment and how managers may visualize women's employment.

Thus, through the use of the patriarchal lens this research explores transitional change in gender employment as well as continuity in respect of how changes in the gender composition of employment are being experienced in an Eastern Siberian mining company. The academic contribution of this work is to point out that this reassertion of patriarchy may have implications for other industries in Russia apart from the heavy mining sector, and it shows the persistence of inequality in respect of women's and men's employment in transitional economies when equality is not politically or socially scrutinized.

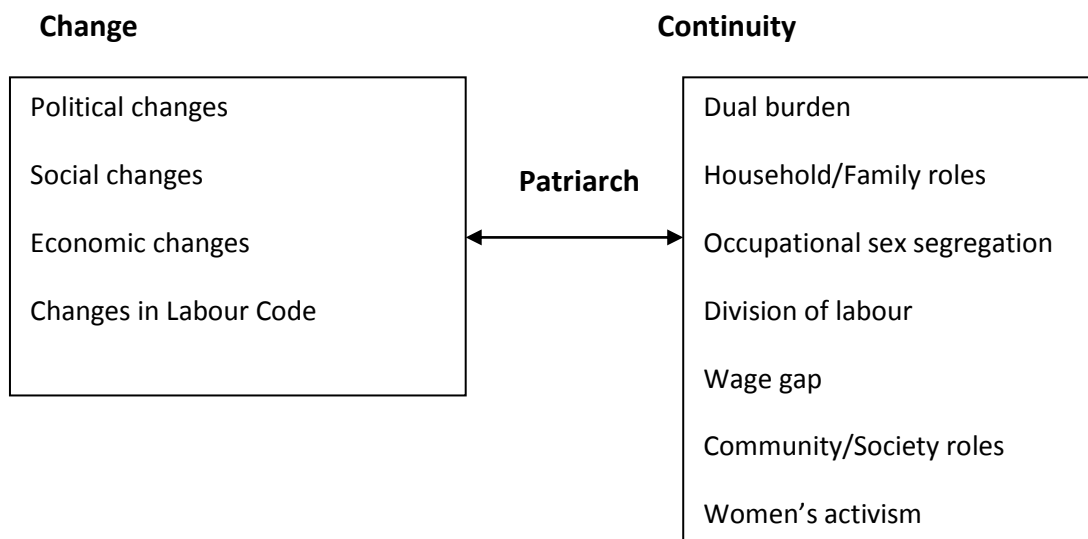


Figure 2.3 Diagrammatical representation of the conceptual framework

This conceptual framework will be informed by the patriarchy theory, including women's household/family roles within society, occupational sex segregation, the wage gap between male and females employees, women's activism within society and how these theories/factors have been influenced by the transition economy. This conceptual framework permits the researcher to investigate changes in the Russian political situation (government structure, law, and labour norms), the social payment system such as maternity leave, pensions, medicine and education, and the Russian pay system and changes in wage gap and women's wage discrimination.

Moreover, the researcher will consider the role of trade unions, their position and status in the process of managing gender diversity, and how their role has changed during the transition time (Clarke et al., 1995), as trade unions play an active role in employee-employer relations within the Russian coal industry and in society as a whole (Clarke, 1995).

Nevertheless, the researcher has also reviewed literature on occupational sex segregation and the division of labour (see, for example: Klimova, 2012; Gerber et al., 2006; Maltseva, 2005; Juraida, 2003; Bianchi, 2000; Bridger and Kay, 1996; Wooten, 1997; Oglobin, 1999, 2005a, b; Polacek et al., 1979), which are the main indicators of gender diversity, especially in the mining industry, a male-dominated industry. By using the Government Russian Committee of Statistics data and `new` and `old` Russian National Labour codes, changes in these indicators and changes in traditional views on gender roles within society can be identified.

2.10 Conclusion

Drawing on the materials presented to arrive at the proposed conceptual framework, this research explains the interaction between gender diversity and the transition economy in Russia. Reviewing relevant literature has been of vital importance, particularly during the first stage of the research project, in order to refine the focus of the research. The analysis of literature concerned with the transition economy helps us to understand the political, economic and social changes in the country during transition. The international literature on gender diversity helps to identify gaps in the existing information on gender diversity processes in Russia. The concept of patriarchy has received particular attention in this research as the author uses it as a theoretical lens in order to explain the changes in gender composition at work and gender roles within the family in Russia during the shift towards capitalism. After the literature review had been written, the author grouped authors into categories in order to help achieve the research objectives, as can be seen in Table 1.1.

A summary of the above literature shows that most authors, such as Ahrend (2006), and Gerber and Mayorova (2006), agreed that rapid political and economic changes have a great impact on the population and on social life. Authors such as Standing

(1994), Bridger and Kay (1996), Linz (1996), Oglobin (1999, 2005a, b), Metcalfe and Afanassieva (2005), Gerber and Mayorova (2006), Klimova (2012), and Iakovleva (2013) have investigated the Russian transition economy, claiming that the unstable situation led to the diminution of women's labour market participation. The most affected industries were government structures such as transport, education, medical services and heavy industry including mining, which had been under total government regulation (Teshukova, 2001).

Buckley (1997), and Hardy and Stenning (2004) assume that the transition from a planned economy to a free market economy would bring more gender equality and better income levels for women. However, an examination of the transition literature shows that the opposite was true (Predborska, 2005; Metcalfe and Afanassieva, 2005; Harden, 2008; Klimova, 2012; Iakovleva, 2013), which suggests that the impact of the transition economy on gender composition is still uncertain and nuanced.

It seems clear that the transition economy has impacted on gender diversity and equality in Russia. However, it is not clear how, why and to what extent gender composition changed in heavy industry, particularly in mining, as there is a lack of data on men's and women's experiences of employment in these industries. This raises questions such as the following: What role does the occupational sex segregation and division of labour play in shaping men's and women's employment subsequent to transition and continual restructuring? Has the pressure of the double burden for women workers changed? Does Russian society still maintain features of patriarchy? What role have the trade unions played in the process of helping employees understand and manage changes in men's and women's employment and experiences? Are women becoming equal to men? Is the pay gap between male and female workers increasing or decreasing? How is the new labour law impacting on gendered employment in heavy industry?

Based on this review of the literature, the researcher has employed a qualitative approach as the research method in order to answer the above questions and understand the impact of the transition economy on gender composition, as detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology deployed in this study. The chapter starts with an explanation of the research philosophy and methodology of this study. The following section describes the research design, which includes an explanation of the case-study approach and evidence that has been used in this study. The chapter then proceeds to justify the research techniques and the process of data analysis. Moreover, this chapter explains how each research method is utilized in order to understand the impact of the transition economy on gender composition and to answer the research question. Afterwards, this chapter describes the ethical considerations of the current study and issues surrounding participants' anonymity and confidentiality. This chapter concludes with a self-reflexive account of the research process.

3.2 Research Philosophy

The current literature contains a huge number of debates on definitions and classification of modern research philosophies, such as the work by Fitzgerald and Howcroft (1998) and Koro-Ljungberg et al. (2009). Based on their works, this thesis accepts ontology as a reality, epistemology as the relationship between that reality and the current research, and methodology as the techniques used to discover that reality (Perry et al., 1998; Carson, 2001).

In modern research philosophy, ontological positions have been firmly established by various philosophers. Scapens and Yang (2008, p. 16) suggest that "*Ontology is concerned with explaining the ultimate nature of reality, being and the world*". The research philosophy on the ontological level contains two basic approaches to identify reality: positivism ("hard" approach) and interpretivism (or relativism) ("soft" approach) (Black, 2006). According to the positivist approach, individuals have direct access to the real world. Thus, they are able to gain objective knowledge about this single external reality (Giri, 2007). In contrast, the interpretivist ontological approach assumes that individuals do not have direct

access to the real world, as each individual has his/her own view on the external reality, which can be understood through careful use of appropriate interpretation and explanation (Black, 2006). Thus, the knowledge obtained about the real world is subjective as it is processed through the prism of individuals' perceptions, which would include their experiences as men and women (Carson, 2001).

The current research is based on the multiple-realities ontological position, as this study presents a triangulation of viewpoints (organizational, employee and trade union viewpoints) on gender diversity in the transition economy (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). Moreover, the external environment of the current research is a dynamic and continuously changing social setting, and different groups of people have various views on these changes (Neuman, 2006). For example, the viewpoint of a 55-year-old male employee in the production department may differ from that of a 25-year-old female employee in the accounting department. A respondent's age is relevant to the discussion of gender diversity and, in particular, discrimination as people are products of a particular socio-political era. The views on gender diversity of people who grew up in the Soviet era, when gender diversity was assumed as everyone worked to maintain the communist state, differ from those of people from the younger generation who grew up in different socio-political conditions.

Interpretive research highlights the social and political norms or values in those employees as they grew up and focuses on uncovering the 'reality behind reality' (Maylor and Blackmon, 2005). The current gender composition within the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company is a consequence of social, economic and structural changes in the local environment (Bokovikova et al., 2012). The mining industry was and is the crucial industry for both the Soviet state and the current Russian Federation, and 'Ruscoal' is the major player in the local labour market. Thus, the mining industry and 'Ruscoal' have great impacts on the social norms and beliefs of the local occupational community. For example, the political situation, i.e. the collapse of the Soviet Union system, played an extremely important role in changing the labour situation in the country (as it resulted in the National Labour Code system changes and permitted private ownership etc.). Furthermore, as statistical data [national survey] show, individuals have different opinions on these political and social changes (negative or positive) (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2009). Thus, the interpretivist ontological approach was chosen for the

current research as it is “multifaceted” and involves the interaction of individuals with themselves, their families, society and culture (Black, 2006). The advantage of the interpretivist approach is its ability to describe the complexity and meaning of situations (Black, 2006). For example, Byrne (2001, p. 372) argues that interpretive research should be “*contextually laden, subjective, and richly detailed*”. In other words, the data may hold an innumerable number of meanings that are important for this study and the exploration of gender diversity in a continuously changing environment; therefore, it is extremely important to provide detailed explanations and interpretations of the collected data.

The main purpose of the interpretive research is to express in words the meaning of the researcher’s observations, personal interviews with respondents and overall pictures, which are usually subtle, delicate, hidden and contextually bound (Black, 2006). Additionally, interpretive research includes the interpretation of information received through the spoken and written word (which is also influenced by inflections, volume, tone, verbal mannerisms and even pauses in the respondent’s speech), observations of respondents’ actions such as body language (including eye movements, posture and physical closeness), and the use of personal photographs or films (Bank, 1995; Black, 2006).

The different ontological terms and classifications in modern research philosophy and their interaction with human nature create an on-going argument of epistemology. The various assumptions about the world’s nature reflect different grounds for knowledge about the social world (Morgan and Smircich, 1980). Sufian and Jafar (1998, p. 23) suggest that the relationship between the philosophy of science and the social research process is ‘historical that depends on the logical and conceptual dimensions’. Moreover, Johnson and Duberley (2000) state that management research cannot be isolated from epistemological commitments as its diversity leads to various possible ways of approaching and engaging with the research area (Uddin and Hamiduzzaman, 2009). Essentially, epistemology can be explained as the nature and grounds of knowledge about phenomena and reality. In other words, epistemology is a theory about knowledge and knowing, which includes the scope and justification of personal beliefs (Honderich, 1995); this is highly important for this study in order to demonstrate the generational and gendered differences of respondents’ perceptions.

Based on the previously chosen interpretive ontological approach, phenomenological analysis was preferred for this study as it involves the explanation of the respondents' personal experiences and their personal perceptions of an object or event (Smith, 2008). According to Smith (2008, p.53), it is *'intellectually connected to hermeneutics and theories of interpretation'*. In other words, interpretive phenomenological analysis helps to show the problem from the participant's point of view on their personal and social world. Thus, this study is based on participants' subjective views on gender roles, which are influenced by their background, age, sex, profession etc. Moreover, this type of analysis will allow the researcher to ask critical questions about the texts provided by the participants and show that the research task is a dynamic process, which is important in order to show the changes and the respondents' feedback on these changes (Cooper and Schindler, 2003).

3.3 Methodology

As has been claimed by Bryman (1984), the quantitative/qualitative distinction derives from the epistemological issues. Quantitative research is based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured by numbers and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalizations of the theory hold true (Bielefeld, 2006). In other words, quantitative research aims to classify features, count them, and construct statistical models. Quantitative research assumes that information about a research area is comparatively well explored and presented. As has been previously mentioned in the literature review chapter, there is a lack of literature exploring the relationship between the Russian transition economy and gender composition within organizations (Bilton et al., 2002) because, in the Soviet Union, gender research was limited as it was considered unnecessary in an *'equal'* communist society (Sperling, 1999). The situation has now started to change. For the last five or ten years, Russian researchers have explored the differentials in labour market employment and the wage gap between genders; however, public debates on gender equality are not highly esteemed within Russian society (Metcalf and Afanassieva, 2005).

The quantitative research method is based on the assumption that information can be obtained through generalization based on a sampling technique to represent the pattern within the population. The current research is concerned with the human factor and depends on respondents' personal opinion; thus, it requires a more subjective view and an individual approach to each of the respondents. Qualitative research "*seeks the meanings and motivations behind behavior as well as a thought account of behavioral facts and implications via a researcher's encounter with people's own actions, words and ideas*" (Mariampolski, 2001, p.35). Therefore, qualitative research was chosen as the main research techniques for this study because the current research is concerned with the human factor and requires a more subjective view and individual approach to each of the respondents. Thus, qualitative research was preferred for several reasons. Firstly, is based on the principle that human experience is continuously changing; hence, this method describes the subjective meaning of the events for individuals and social groups (Halmi, 1996). In other words, qualitative research aims to understand a social or human problem from various subjective perspectives (Walker and Myrick, 2006). Moreover, qualitative research includes a variety of methods such as interviews, participant observation and case-studies. In this research, interviews were chosen as the research method as they give the interviewee the opportunity to consider things he/she had not previously considered (Saunders et al., 2007) Thus, in business, and especially in human resources management research, qualitative methods are more appropriate than quantitative ones because the research is dealing not only with organizations but also with the people in them (Halmi, 1996).

Secondly, qualitative methodology is naturalistic to the extent that the research takes place in a real-world setting and the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest (e.g., group, event program, community, relationship, or interaction) (Patton, 2002, p, 127). Therefore, it could be concluded that the qualitative approach will allow the research problem to be viewed as a highly complex and dynamic reality, consisting of various layers of meanings and perspectives. As the qualitative paradigm views are influenced by interactions between the environment and the subjective interpretations of the respondents, it is possible to interpret the reality in different ways (Halmi, 1996). Thus, the qualitative research method is particularly relevant to the current study as it will

highlight the influence of the highly dynamic environment (the transition economy) on gender diversity in the Russian coal industry at governmental, organizational and individual levels. Thirdly, according to Marshall et al. (2006, p.1), 'qualitative research has become increasingly an important model of inquiry for social sciences and applied fields such as social work..., community development and management'. Fryer et al. (1994, p.135) suggest that "*qualitative researchers are characteristically concerned in their research with attempting to accurately describe, decode and interpret the precise meanings to persons of phenomena occurring in their normal social context and are typically pre occupied with complexity, authenticity, contextualization, shared subjectivity of researcher and researched and minimization of illusion*".

Likewise, Patton (2002) argues that qualitative research attempts to discover the meaningful connections within phenomena and the influences those relationships have on the social world. In the case of the current research, the researcher will explore gender diversity and the influence of the Russian transition economy on this phenomenon. However, the qualitative research approach is associated with the issue of interpretation. The data collection and data analysis are influenced by the researcher's subjective view and his/her assumptions (Esterberg, 2002). Consequently, different researchers can interpret data in different ways and obtain different results. Therefore, qualitative research needs to clearly outline the problems of analyses and interpretation of data, as discussed in sections 3.5 and 3.6. The current study will try to minimize this problem by using a questionnaire guide in the semi-structured interviews, which will be detailed later in this chapter.

3.4 Research Design

On the methodological level, the current study will be based on an explanatory research design and will focus on 'why' questions. Answering the 'why' questions involves developing explanations. Fundamental explanations argue that phenomenon Y (gender composition in employment) is affected by factor X (transition economy). Attempts to answer the 'why' questions in social science are theories. These theories vary in their complexity (how many variables and links), abstraction, and scope (Neuman, 2006). This study will use a theory-developing

approach because it is a process in which research begins with observations (in this case through interviews) and uses inductive reasoning to develop existing theory from these observations. By using an inductive and theory-developing approach, the researcher will be able to generate a more convincing argument concerning the research question and objectives, which are stated in section 1.2 (research objectives Table 1.1).

Thus, the current research will apply an inductive approach to develop the existing theories and interpret them for the chosen case-study. Theory development is important for establishing the theories needed to support organizational research and practice as it expands the knowledge base with better theory (Torraco, 2009). Therefore, the current research will develop existing theories on gender diversity and patriarchy in conditions of a transition economy using the case-study company. The case-study company for the current research is the `Ruscoal` Mining Company, which is located in the Kuzbass region. Additionally, the researcher will gather data from another mining company in the region in order to make a comparative analysis and draw a more holistic picture, and to increase the validity of the current study by presenting viewpoints of other players in the industry (Torraco, 2009).

Heavy industry has traditionally been the main source of income for Russian governments. Thus, Russia's future growth prospects will depend on the productivity of this industry (Ahrend, 2006). The case-study organization - the `Ruscoal` Mining Company - is situated in the Kuzbass region. The Kuzbass region is the largest coalmining region in the country; it is also the centre of the metallurgical and chemical industry of Siberia. About 20% of the employed population of the Kuzbass region is working in the coal industry (approximately 200,000 people). Over the last ten years, the coal industry of Kuzbass has experienced a high rate of development. Since 1999, annual volumes of output have grown on average by 4.2%, and in 2008 reached 184.5 million tonnes (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2009). The town where `Ruscoal` is located, like many other towns in Kuzbass region, is a mono town [`coal town`] of the coal production industry. Thus, the Company and the coal industry in general are highly important to the local economy.

The case-study approach was chosen for the current study because detailed knowledge about one or two chosen units is more helpful for answering the research question than peripheral knowledge about a larger number of examples (Gerring, 2007). The purpose of case-study research is to develop theoretical propositions. A case-study seeks a variety of different types of evidence (Figure 3.1) included within the case-study setting, which has to be interactive and composed in order to answer the specific research questions in the best possible way. The following Figure 3.1 presents the research flow chart:

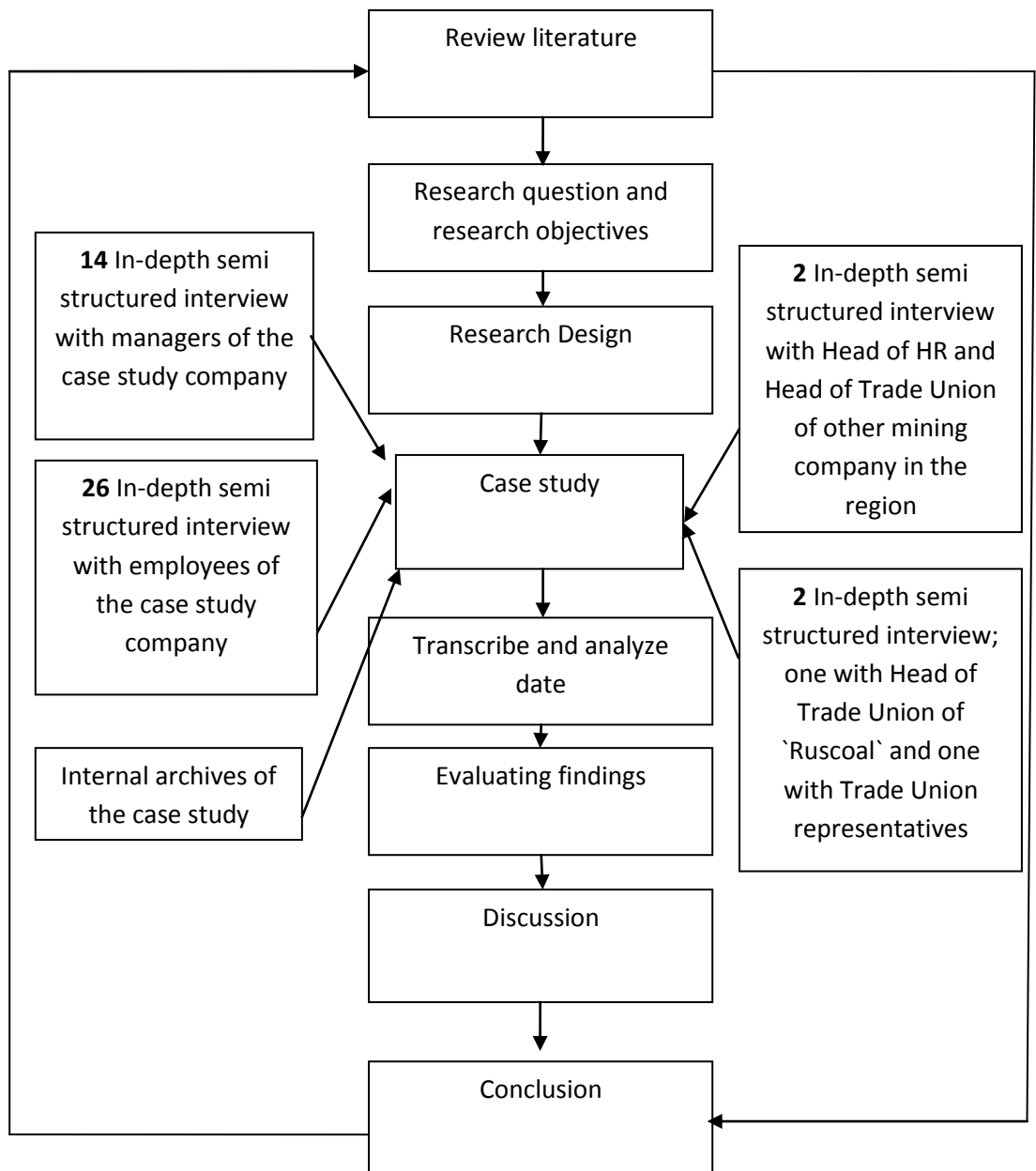


Figure 3.1. Research flow chart

Gillham (2005) claimed that a single source of evidence cannot answer the research question fully; only sets of them can illustrate the whole picture. Using several sources of evidence, each with its strengths and weaknesses, is a key characteristic of case-study research (ibid, p. 87). Another essential point of the case-study method is that the researcher should not start with *a priori* theoretical ideas; in other words, he/she should have an `open mind` because, until the information is collected and researcher understands the problem in its specific context, he/she will not know what theories work best or make the most sense (ibid, p.92).

In order to eliminate the consequences of the traditional criticisms of the case-study research methodology, the researcher developed three critical aspects to address these issues (Johnston et al., 2000). First, the current research begins with theory development. Second, the researcher follows a logical structure that is system-based and links the data to the propositions (Figure 3.1). Third, the researcher found a rigorous criterion for interpreting the findings and they are separately evaluated; in other words, the researcher used separate chains for each source of evidence (source-findings-conclusion). By designing the research project around these aspects, a case-study can provide one or more tools to investigate changes in gender composition during the transition economy (Feagin et al., 1991). Moreover, the use of multiple sources of evidence and the establishing of chains of evidence will help to construct the validity and reliability of the findings through triangulation (Yin, 2003).

Triangulation means observing something from different angles or viewpoints in order to find its true location (Neuman, 2006). In order to indicate the impact of the transition economy on gender diversity within the coal industry, the triangulation of viewpoints (organizational, employees' and outside viewpoints) was preferred. Using triangulation, or observing from different viewpoints, allows the researcher to improve the accuracy of his/her judgements and, thus, the study results. Collecting evidence from different sources (viewpoints) can produce a more complete, holistic and contextual representation of the object under study (Ghauri and Gronhaug, 2005). Moreover, using multiple sources of observers or viewpoints adds alternative perspectives, backgrounds, and social characteristics and helps to construct validity. The semi-structured interviews conducted with senior managers of the organization are carried out with a research agenda (organizational viewpoint) (Bilton et al.,

2002). To represent the employees' point of view, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with employees of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company. Another viewpoint could be acquired through semi-structured interviews with trade union representatives. Additionally, the researcher considered the `external` viewpoint of other players in the mining industry (head of HR and head of trade union department of another big company in the city), as well as an analysis of the internal archives. For more information on the interviewees' profiles, please see 3.5.1 (Tables 3.1; 3.2; 3.3).

Thus, the current research used five sources of evidence: semi-structured interviews with company managers, trade union representatives, employees of the company, and managers of other companies in the industry; and an analysis of the internal archives. The guide questionnaires were developed in order to address the research question. However, they were created as a general guideline for the interviews and are quite flexible.

To conclude, a case-study strategy was considered appropriate for the current research as the study depicts and analyzes data in the context of the environment and defines the relationship between variables. Also, as this research strategy is more suitable for the inductive approach, case-study analysis was found to be an appropriate research tool. The case-study strategy allows the researcher to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as organizational life cycle or social changes (Yin, 2003). Thus, it helps to investigate the relationship between two phenomena such as gender diversity and the transition economy.

3.5 Research Techniques

This section illustrates the data collection process of this research project. The two main sources of data used in this research are documentation and interviews. It first explains the research methods and instruments utilized in the fieldwork, such as the semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and the sample selection; then this section discusses how the interviews were conducted by describing the process of gaining research access to the case-study company. This is followed by an explanation of the set of secondary data.

3.5.1 Primary Data Collection

The interview is one of the most popular methods of collecting primary information, and it is used in all types of business and management research (Riley, 2005). The exchange of dialogue and meaning between the interviewer and interviewee allows the researcher to collect unique data. During the interview procedure, the researcher acquires a deeper understanding of the case-study (Riley, 2005).

According to Chisnall (2005), the interviewee can give three forms of response: free response, limited response and defensive response. In this research, a `free response technique` will be employed as it gives the respondent “a great deal of freedom in answering questions arising from some general point of discussion made by the interviewer” (Chisnall, 2005, p.35). Various communication styles in the semi-structured interview are available, such as face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews or on-line interviews using communication software such as MSN messenger, Skype or ICQ. For the current study, the face-to-face interview style was selected because it allows the researcher to be absorbed into the organization and, hence, the respondents’ internal environment. Moreover, in the local environment [their workplace], respondents feel more relaxed with the interviewer. In order to understand the impact of the economic transition period within the coal industry on gender diversity, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with senior managers, employees and trade union representatives of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company; these were conducted with the help of a questionnaire guide (see Appendixes II, III, IV). The interviews varied according to the requirements of the context and the respondents’ answers. Thus, with the help of in-depth semi-structured interviews, the researcher gained a broader perspective to better understand how respondents interpret gender difference in their work environment and how this influences employees’ social life, rewards and security in the transition economy.

The interview as a data collection method provides the opportunity to probe answers and lead the discussion into areas that are significant for the current research. A good-quality interview requires the elimination of disruptive factors

such as noise, time limits and technical problems. To reduce the disadvantages of this method, the interviewer should establish control of the interview. In other words, the researcher should choose the right way of asking questions, using appropriate comments, a positive tone and suitable non-verbal behaviour. In relation to these interviews, validity refers to the extent to which the researcher has gained full access to the knowledge and meanings of information. The validity of this research is provided by the participants in these interviews because it is senior managers of the organization who have full access to knowledge and information about the organization; meanwhile, the interviews with employees and trade union representatives confer validity because they allow the managerial perspectives to be checked and challenged. The HR manager and the trade union representative from another company also help to put these discussions into a wider business context, thus giving this work greater validity.

The case-study took place in the Kuzbass region of Russia over three months. During this time, forty-three face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted, each lasting up to ninety minutes. Three different groups were interviewed: managers and members of the Human Resources department; employees of 'Ruscoal'; and trade union representatives. For interviews' guide please see Appendixes II, III and IV.

Interviews with Managers and Human Resources Personnel

Interviews were conducted with managers of the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company, specifically:

Name	Gender, Age	Position	Department
<i>Managers</i>			
Irina	F, 52	Head of HR department	HR
Raisa	F, 55	Engineer of employee training	HR
Galina	F, 48	Head of HR department of other mining company in the region	HR
Ira	F, 33	HR specialist	HR
Sergey	M, 53	Head of production department	Production
Vladimir	M, 55	Director of maintenance equipment	Production
Roman	M, 31	Head of Supply	Supply
Evgeniy	M, 34	Site leader	Production
Elena	F, 46	Head of accounting department	Accounting
Maxim	M, 50	First Deputy Chief Executive Officer	Finance
Valentin	M, 57	CEO	
Viktor	M, 49	Head of Sales department	Sales
Maria	F, 70	Head of Financial Department (does not work atm, pension)	Finance
Larisa	F, 56	Head of Planning Department	Finance
Veronica	F, 46	Head of Administration (office)	Administration

Table 3.1. List of respondents: Managers

The interviews with senior managers gave the researcher a strategic view of the Company's actions and intentions. *Thus, a total 14 interviews were conducted with managers of `Ruscoal` Mining Company (7 women and 7 men).*

Additionally, the (female) head of the HR department of another big company in the city (the `second` case-study company) was interviewed. This will help to create a comparison with `Ruscoal` Mining Company and will help to strengthen the analysis of the original case-study.

Interviews with Employees

To discover employees' views about gender diversity, twenty-six employees of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company were interviewed. In mining companies, the majority of employees are men. Thus, in order to maintain the balance of the research, the researcher concentrated on cross-sectional interviews with employees of departments staffed predominantly by females, such as the accountancy department and support workers. The researcher purposely chose a cross-section of participants

of different ages (from 23 to 60) in order to understand the views of different generations, who were raised in different socio-political eras, on gender employment and gender equality at work.

Name	Gender, Age	Position	Department
<i>Employees</i>			
Alexander	M, 26	Engineer	Production
Polina	F, 25	Supply specialist	Supply
Nina	F, 74	Enrichment plant operator (does not work atm, pension)	Dressing mill
Olga	F, 46	Boiler Machinist	Boiler room
Anatoly	M, 52	Rig operator	Department of drilling and blasting operations
Tatyana	F, 47	Storekeeper	Supply
Lubov	F, 70	Crane operator (does not work atm, pension)	Department of drilling and blasting operations
Veronica	F, 33	Economist	Finance
Vera	F, 46	Accountant	Accounting
Katya	F, 48	Planner	Finance
Peter	M, 27	Excavator operator	Site 8
Evgeny	M, 21	Excavator operator	Site 3
Mihail	M, 30	Foreman	Site 8
Nikolay	M, 46	Foreman	Site 7
Lera	F, 58	Planner	Supply
Ekaterina	F, 24	Economist	Finance
Olga	F, 38	Head of Cleaning work	Cleaning
Evgeniy	M, 23	Assistant to excavator operator	Site 8
Alenka	F, 24	Doctor (production)	Production
Ekaterina	F, 21	Intern in accounting department	Accounting
Natalya	F, 42	Mining surveyor	Surveyor
Katya	F, 29	Mining surveyor	Surveyor
Nikolay	M, 38	Bulldozer operator	Site 7
Peter	M, 27	Driver of technological transport	Site 5
Konstantin	M, 34	Drivers of technological transport	Site 3
Sergey	M, 55	Machinists of a dredge	Site 3

Table 3.2. List of respondents: Employees

Total: 26 interviews with employees of `Ruscoal` Mining Company (11 men and 15 women)

Interviews with Trade Union Representatives

The trade union organizations are powerful actors within the Russian mining industry (Clarke, 1995). Thus, to show the main changes in the Company's social politics, national labour politics and labour law, it is important to interview the trade union representatives. One interview was conducted with the head of the trade union of `Ruscoal` Mining Company and one with the trade union representative of `Ruscoal` Mining Company; the third was conducted with the trade union representative of another mining company in the region. All the trade union representatives were men. The trade union of `Ruscoal` is not represented by any female workers.

Name	Gender, Age	Position	Department
<i>Trade Union</i>			
Grigory	M, 41	Head of trade union organization (`Ruscoal`)	Trade union
Anton	M, 28	Trade union representative	Trade union
Dmitry	M, 58	Head of trade union organization (another case-study company)	Trade union

Table 3.3. List of respondents: Trade Union

Total: 3 interviews with Trade Union Representatives

3.5.1.1 Sample Selection

To gain the most complete understanding of the workforce situation in `Ruscoal` Mining Company during the current recession, it is necessary to look at the problem from different points of view because this will help to uncover the relationship between gender diversity and changes in a transition economy as seen by multiple stakeholders, including employees and managers as well as trade union representatives. Interviewing a number of key senior managers in the organization also enables the researcher to gain a strategic view of the Company's actions and intentions, and how these are interpreted by its gendered workforce.

In this research, non-probability purposive sampling was undertaken. The researcher chooses people that he/she believes would be appropriate for the study.

In other words, respondents are selected not randomly but according to the interviewer's judgment (Saunders et al., 2007). Purposive sampling helps to include in the research the organizational point of view (interviews with managers), employee point of view (interviews with employees) and the views of a third player in employment relations (interviews with trade union representatives). The Company's contact person (a member of the human resources team) provided the contact details of the chosen respondents. However, most of the respondents were familiar to the researcher (see section 3.8.2), which made the interview conditions more comfortable for the participants.

Interviews were conducted with ten managers, three employees of the Human Resources (HR) department and one HR manager from other big company in the region. These interviewees were chosen as they are directly connected with employee recruitment and retention, and they were able to describe the main changes and dynamics in the organization over the last 20 years. Of the fourteen managers, seven were women and seven were men.

Twenty-six production and support employees of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company were also interviewed. A cross-section of participants of different ages was purposely chosen (working ages from 21 to 70) in order to understand the views of different generations on gender employment and gender equality at work. For further details of interviewee profiles, please see Tables 3.1; 3.2; 3.3.

3.5.1.2 Instrumentation

Before starting the fieldwork, a pilot study was conducted to adjust the interview guide (Appendix II, III and IV). I amended the interview schedule in line with issues raised by my doctoral supervisors and feedback given during the pilot interviews. Furthermore, I revised the interview guide during the fieldwork, when I identified such a necessity throughout the interviews.

The fact that I had worked in the case-study company (and had relatives who are still working there) before starting my research project put me in a favorable position in terms of accessing interview participants for the stakeholder interviews.

I was able to draw on contacts that I made when working for `Ruscoal` or through personal relationships. I knew some of the interviewees personally and some were even colleagues, neighbours or my parents' friends, which made it easy to approach them. Drawing again on my contacts, I contacted the HR manager and trade union representative of the other company to arrange the interviews. Interviews were usually conducted in the stakeholders' working environment, although some were conducted in the participants' homes.

The interview questions were asked in the Russian language for the convenience of the respondent and out of respect for their culture. The interviews were clearly structured and divided into five sections, which facilitated the analysis process. The first section represented the respondent's own working experience within the Company and his/her experience of work during the transition period in the Russian economy in order to provide an understanding of the individual features and perceptions. This section also enquired about changes in the respondent's work during this time. The second section explained the current gender composition in the respondent's department and the occupational job segregation/division of labour.

Moreover, the respondents (employees' view) were asked about membership of the trade union and their thoughts on its role and effectiveness. Managers were asked about the role of the trade union in their decision-making process. Trade union representatives were asked about their role within the organization, the existence of discrimination in their company and how the trade union supported equality. The third section was concerned with the relationship between work and family responsibilities, as suggested by Walby (1996, 2005, 2008 and 2011) and Predborska (2005). This section explains the pressure of domestic responsibilities on male and female employees, the importance of the respondent's income for the family budget, and continuity and change in the role of men and women within the family since the Soviet Union era.

The fourth section examined how the transition economy impacted on male and female workers in these departments, in particular the effect of new technology on this process. The fifth section shows how the respondents' attitudes towards job security, according to gender and reward level, changed during the time of the

economic transition. The final section explores in more depth how current working conditions differ from those during the Soviet Union period and evaluates these as positive or negative in promoting gender diversity. In addition, at the beginning of each interview the respondents were asked about marital status, number of children, their working hours and the number of hours they spend caring for children or other dependents and undertaking household duties.

3.5.2 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data are pre-existing information, i.e. documentation and other company records that relate to gender composition, rewards and job security in different periods of a company's life cycle (including the transition period of the Russian economy). These kinds of data can be collected from an organization's data archives, workforce database, industry reports and statistical information. Analyzing secondary data can save a researcher's financial resources, time and efforts. However, using the secondary data collection method as the sole method of data collection is insufficient for qualitative research because of the possible lack of relevance, quality and validity; moreover, the researcher is restricted to using data that have already been collected, and they may be difficult to access (McDaniel and Gates, 1996). Table 3.4 shows a number of advantages and disadvantages of using secondary data.

Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has fewer resource requirements; • Saves time for data collection; • Saves money for data collection; • Access to high-quality data; • Opportunity to analyze data longitudinally; • Can provide comparative data and contextual data; • Fully exploitable dataset • Comparing subgroups or subsets from other companies or industries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access may be difficult or costly; • Lack of relevance; • Need for familiarity with the data; • Need to manage large and complex datasets; • Lack of control over data quality; • Inaccuracy and lack of validity; • Limited to data already collected; • Does not build as many research skills as primary data collection method.

Table 3.4. Advantages and disadvantages of secondary data analysis (Adopted from Maylor and Blackmon, 2005 and McDaniel and Gates, 1996)

Secondary data collection was undertaken in this research because these are a key source of information for this research due to their ready availability, their low cost relative to primary data and their usefulness in providing background information relating to the Russian coal industry. Secondary data in this research were sourced from books, journals, the `Ruscoal` Mining Company's library and archive, coal industry reports, Russian recession reports and the Internet. The meticulous selection sources of secondary data allow the researcher to fully exploit the advantages of this collection method and to eliminate the disadvantages such as inaccuracy, lack of validity and lack of relevance. Moreover, they enable the evaluation of the formal rules and policies associated with each workplace culture such as any rules that prohibit employment relations and trade union policies. The researcher examined the underlying assumptions of the rules and policies, and attempted to answer the interview questions. Table 3.5 summarizes the data collection process, showing the research objectives and the data that will be collected in order to answer the research question.

Research objectives	Schedule of Data Collection
<i>1. To examine gender regulation rules and policies within the Russian mining industry and define how they have changed since the Soviet Union time for women's labour force;</i>	1. Relevant literature, government data, statistics; 2. Interviews with managers about their own experience, how the transition period impacted on them personally, how new labour regulation rules, political regime, and `perestroika` impacted on gender composition in their departments; 3. Initial archive of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company, labour legislation documents, national statistical data, etc.;
<i>2. To consider how gender roles affect financial rewards and occupational sectors for male and female employees within the mining industry;</i>	1. Interviews with employees about social payments and compensation in Soviet Union and Russia, wage gap in Russia and Soviet Union; 2. Interviews with managers about male and female attitudes toward job security, social benefits, wage gap in Russia and Soviet Union; 3. Initial archives of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company, documents about average salary for professions in different years, number of social benefits in different years;

<p>3. To examine continuity and change in the role of patriarchy in the transition period for male and female employees within the mining industry; and identify changes in men's and women's responsibilities for the home and work;</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interviews with employees about family and work responsibilities; 2. Interviews with managers about the employment of men and women, their work responsibilities, and also how their caring responsibilities are evaluated in performance at work; 3. Initial archives of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company: extent of employee absence in order to take care of children and sick people; 4. Interviews with managers of other companies in the mining industry about family and work responsibilities, how caring responsibilities are seen in relation to performance at work;
<p>4. To find out the role of the trade union in the process of managing diversity, comparison analysis of Soviet Union trade union system and current Russian trade union system;</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interviews with trade union representatives about trade union's activities, change of responsibilities, what the trade union organization did to protect employees in time of transition; 2. Initial archives of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company, documents about number of trade union members in Soviet Union and Russia, Soviet and Russian decree of the trade union; 3. Interviews with employees about membership and participation in the trade union; 4. Interviews with managers about trade union's role in the `Ruscoal` Mining Company;

Table 3.5. Research objectives and data that will be collected

3.6 Data Analysis

The case-study approach was chosen for this exploratory study as detailed knowledge about one or two chosen units is more helpful for answering the research question than peripheral knowledge about a larger number of examples (Gerring, 2007). 'Ruscoal' (not the organization's real name) Mining Company is the case-study organization. It is a large company with more than 3000 employees and it has experienced several stages of privatization and reconstruction, changing from a state company to a private company. `Ruscoal` has a strict division of labour between men and women. Sixty-five per cent of work placements in Ruscoal are

legally prohibited for females under the National Labour Code of the Russian Federation as they are classified as professions with harmful or dangerous working conditions for women's reproductive health (Bokovikova et al., 2012). Data were also gathered from another mining company in the region to help compare 'Ruscoal's' attitudes with those of other coal producers. A thematic analysis was chosen which enables the identification, analysis and reporting of patterns (themes) within the data. It organizes and describes datasets in rich detail (Daly et al., 1997). The author used Maltseva's (Figure 2.2) theoretical model to identify the themes; however, as this was incomplete, other themes have been used such as occupational community and women's activism (non-activism).

The researcher conducted and transcribed all the interviews with the help of step-by-step data analysis, which also included the NVivo data analysis software program. The data analysis method includes four steps. The first step is coding in order to identify anchors that are utilized to gather the main points of the data. This was done by describing the events taken from the raw data — interview transcripts and secondary sources such as journalists' accounts of the political and economic context — to develop a narrative of the situation within the case-study company (Phillips et al., 2013).

The second step is computerized open coding (collecting similar codes in groups, first-order categories) using NVivo software (also known as computer-assisted qualitative analysis software) in order to help analyze the interviews. NVivo was used to help identify trends showing the relationship between the transition economy in Russia and gender composition in the case-study, and producing diagrams and correlations based on the information received. Moreover, the Nvivo software facilitated the analytical process (Bryan, 2001). The third step is categorizing and summarizing different groups of information of similar concepts from the massive body of data in order to find differences or similarities with other existing theories. The second-order themes are based on Maltseva's model (Figure 2.2) with additional themes that emerge from coding (first-order categorizing). (Figure 3.2). The last step is theorizing, which is developing existing theories and answers to the research question and achieving the research objectives (Denzin et al., 2003). The data analysis, collection and storage, as well as all interactions with

the respondents of the current research, were undertaken according to the UEA ethics policy and with the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality.

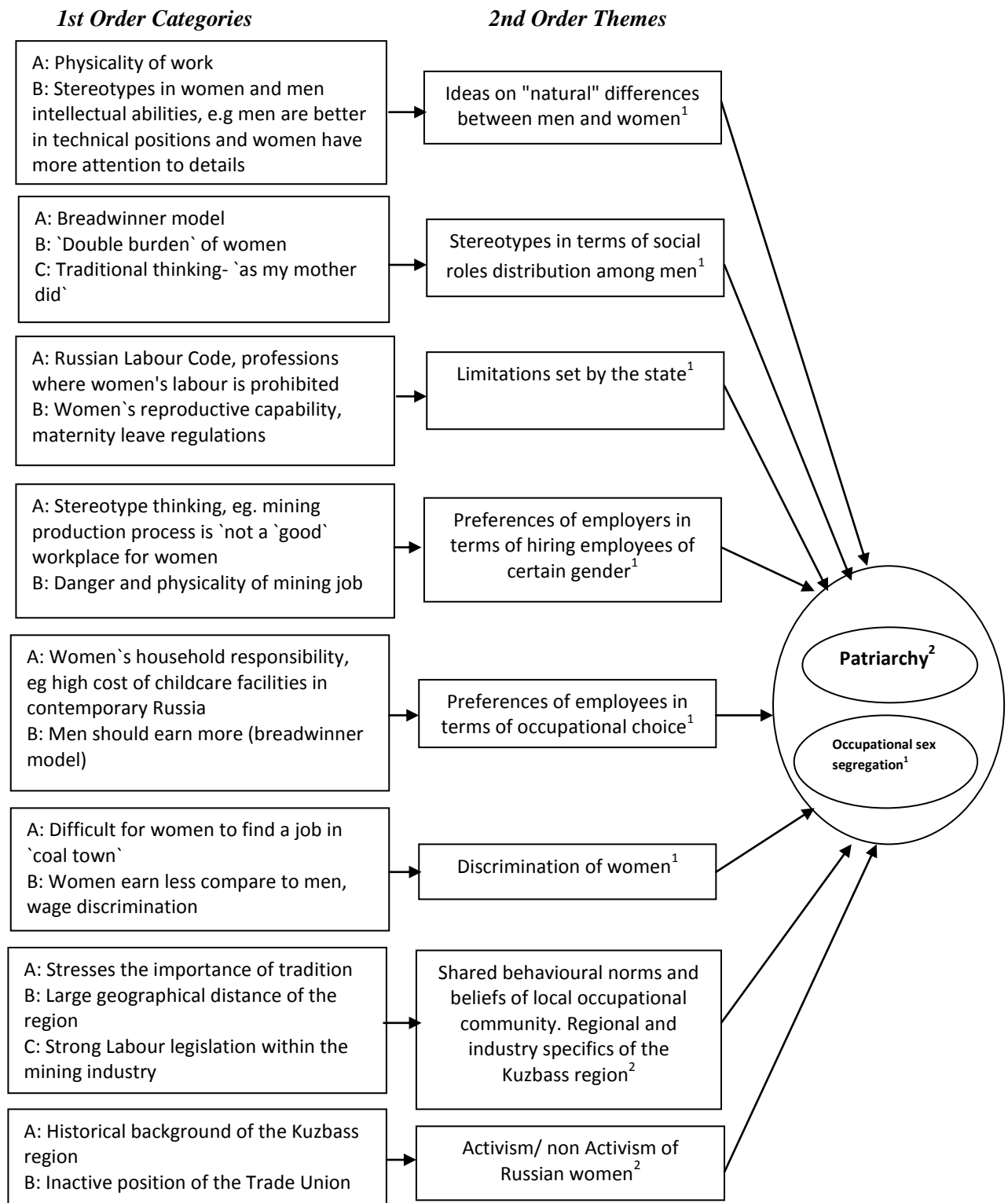


Figure 3.2. Data Structure: themes. Source: Adopted from Phillips et al (2013).

¹ Themes based on Maltseva`s model

² Themes emerging from the data

3.7 Ethical consideration

This research followed the ethical principles set out by Diener and Crandall (1978), which are to minimize harm to participants, ensure informed consent, and eliminate deception and the invasion of privacy. The researcher ensured that the collection, handling and transportation of all data and information of the current research did not cause undue harm to persons or habitats; this was the main priority. The interview participants were fully informed about the purpose and nature of this research. Each of the respondents received an information sheet and consent form before the interviews took place (Appendix V). This information sheet and consent form included all the information about the purpose and procedure of the research, the expected duration of the study, intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entailed and what risks, if any, might be involved. Anyone wishing to withdraw for any reason at any time could do so.

To avoid negative effects on the participants, it is also necessary to think about issues such as anonymity and confidentiality. (Neuman, 2006) The participants were informed about recording equipment and the researcher asked permission to use the given information for the research purposes (Appendix V). The received information was used only for the current research and was protected from external access and distribution. In order to maintain the confidentiality of the interviewed stakeholders from the case-study company, the researcher disguised the company's real name, and all the participants were renamed. Moreover, the recorded interview tapes and transcripts are stored in a secure place, accessible only to the researcher. Anonymity and confidentiality is ensured through these actions.

3.8 Issues of Reflexivity

This section comprises two parts. The first part explains the concept of reflexivity of the current study. The second part presents a description of my personal background and a self-reflexive account of the research process, describing the impact of my dispositions as a researcher on the research process. The description of my personal background is an important part of the research process as I have my

own gendered identity and grew up in the case-study occupational community; this must be discussed in relation to the study.

3.8.1 Reflexivity

According to Bradbury and Lichtenstein (2000, 2010), Hallberg (2006), Mauthner and Doucet (2003), Bourdieu (2003), and Hall and Callery (2001), reflexive practice in fieldwork is a highly important process of analysis. Luttrell (2000) states that the researcher can achieve reflexivity by, for example, being aware of personal stakes and in trying “*not to get mixed up between one’s fantasies, projections, and theories of who the “others” are and who they are in their own right*” (p. 515). This is particularly important when conducting qualitative cross-gender research (Sayce, 2005; Alvesson et al., 2008).

In order to aid the reflexivity of this study, the researcher firstly deployed a collection of visual data (photographs); this helps to suspend the researcher’s own preconceptions regarding the researched phenomenon and makes the familiar strange when the researcher’s own experience mirrors that of his/her respondents (Mannay, 2010). Moreover, photos are instrumental here and are used to remind the author of the scale of production, the size of the machinery and equipment and the difficulty of mining work. Even though the author had worked at the case-study company, those photos remind her of the reality of the production operators’ work in relation to the machinery and conditions under which both men and women work.

Secondly, this study takes into account the voices of respondents of both genders - men and women – as, according to Sayce (2005), “*it was important that the research’s feminist empirical approach avoided a total separation between men and women: otherwise there was a danger that women’s work experience could not be compared and explained in relation to men’s contrasting work experiences*” (Sayce, p.123). Thus, by interviewing respondents of both genders, the researcher could investigate and reflect on the context from different perspectives.

Thirdly, this research used an interpretive qualitative approach, which limits barriers between formal and personal relations. Alvesson et al. (2008) claimed that interpretive research has defined reflexivity as research that turns back upon and takes account of itself 'to explore the situated nature of knowledge'. In conclusion, the concept of reflexivity calls upon me, as the author of this study, to be aware of my own social position and disposition within the social field I investigated.

3.8.2 My Personal Background

This section starts by describing my personal background and continues with a reflexive account of the research process. I am female, twenty-eight years old, and I was born in Kuzbass region, Russia. I lived in this region until I reached the age of sixteen, and I can thus identify myself as a part of the local occupational community.

Nevertheless, both of my parents have been working in the coal production industry for the last thirty years; both of them were directed to this town/industry by the Soviet Union's young specialist distribution service after they obtained university degrees. Therefore, I am conducting research on the region and community to which my family belongs and where I grew up; thus, on a native level I share the values, beliefs and behavioural norms of this occupational community.

As described in a previous chapter of this thesis, the most difficult time for the Russian economy occurred at the beginning of the 1990s, when companies were privatized and underwent a restructuring process. As a part of this community, I experienced this for myself. For example, I went to a public school [all of them were still free of charge] which, in the Soviet Union time, was under the patronage of the mining companies [the companies undertook construction work and bought new equipment for the schools]; however, in 1993 my school started to charge parents additional fees for their children's education.

At the same time, at the beginning of perestroika, companies delayed salary payments; thus, some parents struggled to pay these additional fees for their children or even to buy food. These salary delays and reductions of social payments

in Kuzbass region led to a mining strike in 1989, which later spread to other regions of Russia and Ukraine; according to Clarke (1993, 1995), they were concluded by the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Later, during my university studies, for the Summer Internship I was employed in the Human Resources department of the case-study company and was involved in the out-staffing and employment process within the company. This experience helped me to write my diploma for my Bachelor's degree. This period saw the emergence of my interest in exploring the problem of women's employment and position in the Russian labour market, as I saw how women within the mining industry struggled with employment. In addition to this experience, I worked for a year as a recruiter and interviewer in a recruitment agency, which increased my interest in the problem of gender diversity in the Russian labour market and how it has changed over time.

However, I discovered that the problem of gender diversity had not been deeply explored by society and researchers. I therefore decided to write my diploma dissertation about related issues. After obtaining my Master's degree, I joined the Ph.D. program at the University of East Anglia in order to investigate the problems of gender diversity and the 'women' question within the Russian transition economy. I decided to investigate the coal production industry as it was familiar to me and, as a part of this occupational community, I could easily enter quite a 'closed' society.

Thus, my view as an insider can give this research additional value and increase the validity of this study. Moreover, I encountered fewer barriers to entering this occupational community as the respondents perceived me as a part of it. My personal background and experience made it easier for me to cope with and reflect on the challenges faced in conducting this study. Although I undertook an internship at 'Ruscoal' and can categorize myself as an insider with regard to frontline production, at the same time I also consider myself an outsider as I have never experienced the physicality of that type of work. Thus, the photos of the production process were taken to remind me of the reality of production work, as discussed earlier.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter explained the research philosophy, design and methodology of this research project, as well as the reasons for examining reality from a multilevel perspective. Based on the triangulation of viewpoints (Cooper and Schindler, 2003) and the concept of patriarchy as the framework, the current study can link the impact of the transition economy on gender diversity in Russian heavy industry. Qualitative empirical research helps us to understand aspects of gender diversity from various subjective perspectives, which are highly complex, consisting of various layers of meanings (Walker and Myrick, 2006). The choice of this methodology is useful as it has enabled me, the researcher, to examine three different viewpoints on the dynamics of gender diversity in a transition economy.

Acknowledging that achieving full objectivity is impossible in understanding reality, this chapter gave an account of reflexivity in the research process and explained my personal background. In doing so, I used reflexivity in the research process in order to reduce bias. Moreover, I deployed triangulation of viewpoints (organizational, employee and trade union viewpoints) on gender diversity in the transition economy to reduce bias and diversify the data. Research access was secured in various ways. Some participants were contacted directly by me, while others were contacted through relatives and friends of mine. Drawing on my network, I conducted forty-one stakeholder interviews and one single case-study for this research project. Nevertheless, to compare the results I interviewed one HR manager and trade union representative of another mining company in the same region. The next chapter, Chapter Four, presents the results from the interviews conducted at the `Ruscoal` Mining Company and another mining company.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The following sections outline the findings from the fieldwork in East Siberia, Russia. They analyze, within the context of the extant literature, the themes of gender diversity, the role of patriarchy in a transition period, men's and women's responsibilities for work and home, and the sexual division of labour and how it has been transformed. Quotes from interviewees are used to illustrate the key themes emerging from the data. Where appropriate, these quotes are supported with reference to statistical material from the case-study organizations. Respondents' names are changed to preserve their anonymity (Tables 3.1; 3.2; 3.3). The outline of this chapter follows the key themes identified by Maltseva (2005). The first section focuses on the ideas on "natural" differences between men and women. The second section explains the stereotypes in terms of social roles' distribution among men and women within modern Russian society. The next section identifies the limitations that face employees as a result of the `paternalistic` Labour Code of the Russian Federation for heavy industry. The fourth section focuses on social benefits and maternity leave in Russia and the Soviet Union. This is followed by a section on wage differentiation between genders. Sixthly, the chapter identifies the role of technological development in heavy industry and its impact on women's employment.

The results of the fieldwork suggest that the transition from the Soviet Union communist system to a free market economy has had a significant impact on employment rates and the proportions of male and female workers. The interviews have led to a number of findings. Table 4.1 summarizes the main themes [findings] emerging from the data, giving their definitions and examples of quotes.

Themes	Definition	Examples of quotes
Paternalism	The interference of a state or an individual with another person, against their will, and justified by a claim that the person interfered with will be better off or protected from harm (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy).	<i>The number of women in this particular industry decreased during the transition period and it was influenced... by a government decree which prohibited the use of female labour in heavy and dangerous conditions...but in my opinion this is a positive factor` (Anton, male, 28, Trade Union representative).</i>
Double burden	The condition of women who perform paid work outside the domestic sphere as well as home duties and child care work inside the home (Klimova, 2012).	<i>Both my mother and I are working women and I bear the same responsibilities that were previously carried by my mother in the family. She also took care of the children, was cleaning house, cooking.... Yes, I think I am taking a double burden of responsibilities and I think it is discrimination on the part of my husband, but I can't impact on this situation, probably because of my personality, anyway I can't force him to do household responsibilities (Natalya, female, 42, Mining Surveyor)</i>
Breadwinner model	The one whose income is the main source of support for their dependents (Klimova, 2012).	<i>Nowadays, if owners see that the work performed by women is no worse than men working in the same position, they can pay less for female workers than to hire a man, who needs to be the breadwinner for his family (Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper).</i>
Wage pay gap	The difference between the amounts of money paid to women and men, often for doing the same work (Oglobin, 1999).	<i>I've got friends, mainly male heads of the departments, who think that, for women, it is enough to earn 10,000 rubles, while men get 30,000 for the same position (Olga, female, 38, Head of Cleaning Works).</i>

Deskilling Labour	To downgrade (a job or occupation) from a skilled to a semi-skilled or unskilled labour [position] (Wood, 1982).	<i>When I came to the company 30 years ago [respondent working in HR department], the surveyors were mostly all men; now we have 11 surveyors [those engaged in planning and monitoring mining operations, and measuring the volume of work performed], and all of them are women'. Raisa (Engineer) explained that she 'believe[s] this apparent increase in the proportion of women to be the result of declining importance of that role due to the transition to a capitalist economic framework (Raisa, female, 55, Engineer of Employee Training).</i>
Patriarchy	1. A social system in which the status of women is defined primarily as wards of their husbands, fathers, and brothers (Hartmann, 1976). 2. A system of interrelated social structures through which men exploit women (Walby, 1986).	<i>In the Soviet Union, the ministry of coal production and the Politburo were mainly occupied by men; it is the same situation now in the Russian government (Sergey, 53, male, Head of Production Department).</i>
Discrimination	The unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, age, or sex (Katz, 1997).	<i>Nowadays, to find a job for women in a male-dominated profession is becoming more difficult. I think that all the girls who studied with me had experience of discrimination. I am an electro-engineer, a profession dominated by men, and if you send your CV somewhere, the most common answer is: 'Girl? - Sorry, no' (Ekaterina, 24, female, an Economist).</i>
Mentality	Person's view shaped through the prism of experience (Latova, 2003).	<i>There are some things that women do more by tradition such as cooking, child care or cleaning the house. I cannot say that they are purely female or purely male, but Mother Nature has laid the way it is. (Natalya, female, 42, Mining Surveyor)</i>

Table 4.1 The summary of the identified themes, their definition and examples of quotes.

These themes will help to structure the following chapter and each of them will be developed throughout chapters Four, Five and Six. The theme of paternalism emerging from the explanation of Labour Legislation in Russia, and its limitations and consequences as presented in the findings, shows the paternalistic approach of the Russian government [legislation] to women's employment (see 4.3, 5.2.2 and 6.3.1). Themes such as 'double burden' and 'breadwinner model' are used to explain the changes in social role distribution in the time of transition when the double burden for women workers increased (see 4.4, 5.2.2.3 and 6.3.3). Transition from the communist state to a free market economy and company restructuring, together with the changes in labour legislation and social role distribution, have impacted on the gender pay gap in Russia (see 4.6), which also widened during the time of transition (see 5.2.3 and 6.3.2). Another interesting theme emerging from the data is the deskilling of labour; an example from the surveyors' department presented below in Chapter 4.8 clearly shows that the Soviet era merely obscured the gendered nature of the deskilling of labour, occupational segregation and the feminization of labour, and this became apparent during the time of transition (see 5.2.1.1). Consideration of these themes is crucial for the current study as they will help to explain the revival of patriarchy in the time of transition in Russia and the link between the experiences of gender discrimination and respondents' ages (see 4.10, 5.3.3 and 6.3.3). Another important theme derived from the data is 'mentality'. This theme was used by the respondents of the current study to explain their behaviour and the social norms existing within the local occupational community (see 5.3.1, 5.3.3 and 6.4.1). For example, this research shows that the mentality of women in the Siberian mining region is different from that in megacities such as Moscow or Saint Petersburg because of the region's history, 'collective memory', geographical distance, and social and economic conditions. Thus, it is vital to understand terms such as 'mentality', as they will help to explain the specific behavioural aspects of the local occupational community, such as the activism/non-activism of local populations in East Siberia (see 5.3 and 6.4.1). The following chapters, Four and Five, analyze these findings and highlight the complexity of the transition economy and its impact on gender diversity in Russian heavy industry.

4.2 Changing Position of Women in Coalmining during the Transition Economy

From the Human Resources manager's perspective, gender diversity plays an important role in the `Ruscoal` mining company and in the whole coal industry, because 55- 65% of job roles within `Ruscoal` *`are prohibited for women workers (for example, drivers of technological transport, machinists of a dredge, chisel machine tools and locomotives)`* (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department). The main argument for the exclusion of women from the labour force in the mining industry is the perceived physical differences between genders, as many positions within the industry require hard physical labour. Elvira, 61, Chief Engineer, explains:

We moved all women who worked as road technicians to other positions – as it is hard physical labour. We had a woman who worked on the tracks, she was a Holder of Miner's Glory award; she has died at an early age, because her whole life she was working she never complained, but her body – it was solid muscle. You cannot let women in hard physical labor, even though it is highly paid. Thus, for work that requires strength and power, women are usually less preferable employees. As a result, the labour market within the mining industry is gender-segregated as a result of perceived `natural physical` factors. However, some women are in positions requiring `hard physical labour`. Nevertheless, most of the respondents agreed that applying female labour in positions entailing hard labour should be minimized:

`In my team there are women - they work as refuelling operators [hard physical labour], in my opinion this is totally wrong. On the other hand, managers can say: "Well, if your job is difficult for you, you cannot manage it; we can transfer all of you to cleaners' positions, and take men in your workplace". So, women start to be silent. Someone has a couple of years until retirement, and just realizes that there are no other jobs and they want to keep their job'. (Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper) This quote shows that women in the mining industry have a few obvious reasons to keep silent. First is the limited number of positions for women within a masculine industry such as mining. Second is the preferences of the

managers, who prefer to employ men in the production sector (Sergey, 53, Head of Production Department). Third, women understand that, if they complain, they could be moved to positions with lower levels of remuneration. Fourth, women do not feel they receive any support from the trade union or any other organizations that might help to support their rights (see 4.9).

The `Ruscoal` company is situated in a mono-town with a few mining companies, and most of the workplaces within the industry require physical labour. Moreover, some positions are prohibited for female employees, such as shovel man or shuttle-car operator. Thus, women are struggling to find jobs as men are preferable employees for these job roles. However, some women are working in positions that require hard physical labour, and the employment of females in these positions is not prohibited by law. If women are accepting positions requiring hard physical labour, they have to achieve the same standards of work as their male colleagues even though women and men have different physical abilities. Women can do these jobs and are in these roles; however, women suffer from gender bias such as the labour law and gender role stereotypes.

Company management and the government are trying to reduce the number of women who do physical labour by increasing the standards of physical work. Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper, gives an example of labour restrictions at the workplace: *`Porters... we have strict standards of lifting... then, imagine a man on standards can lift and drag from place to place more than fifty tons, and women cannot do more than seven. Even if there are no restrictions on employment, who do you think will be taken on by the owners of the company? And then what happens if something suddenly goes wrong, women can get an injury, and what if she is pregnant? I think even if we will not officially say that we do not take women for some professions, in reality, for example, no one will take women as porters`*. Thus, the physical restrictions and preferences of the employer are important within the mining industry. However, most of the respondents claimed that excluding women from work involving hard physical labour is a positive factor rather than discrimination against women. Even so, if women want to work in positions requiring hard labour, which usually have a higher level of remuneration, they will not be able to find such jobs as the physical labour restrictions or preferences of the employer are creating barriers to women's employment. Nevertheless, most men,

as well as women, would struggle with fifty tons. The standards themselves may only be realistic for young, fit men and not for men aged over forty-five.

Current research shows that female workers in the *'coal towns'* find it difficult to secure employment as mining is an industry with a predominantly male workforce, a situation that that existed during the Soviet era as well as today. The Head of the Production Department of 'Ruscoal' stated that the Soviet Union government supported the employment of women, *'because it was impossible to not work in the Soviet Union - you can be judged punitively by law and society for being unemployed, and now it is a free market economy and the Company is not going to employ the 'weak' [physically and employees with additional social responsibilities such as women] worker as everything is subject to business needs. In general, the transition was a 'good time' to make 'weak' workers redundant'* (Sergey, male. 53, Head of Production Department). These words show that women are considered as an additional workforce to their male colleagues. Moreover, the respondent mentions that, in Soviet times, women had been more protected by the government as their employment was guaranteed because the communist system prioritized full employment for men and women.

At the same time, Alenka, 24, female, a Doctor working with *'manual'* production workers, claimed that *'In general men got more injuries during their employment than women. A lot of guys aged 28-30 came with spinal osteochondrosis when the intervertebral discs are damaged from hard work; post-traumatic stress also affects the mining workers'*. This statement suggests that men are not actually better suited to hard physical labour; however, the government took the paternalistic approach only in relation to women's employment. Government and society present women as physically unsuited to certain forms of work; at the same time, this work is also damaging to men. However, this section indicates that it is not just women who are affected by hard physical labour and thus need protecting. As has been claimed, a greater proportion of men receive injuries during their employment, and this has an indirect impact on social role distribution within families in *'coal towns'*.

However, it is not just physical factors that can be an obstacle to employment. The *'common features'* of each gender and stereotypes can also be a factor in discrimination. Vera, 46, female, an Accountant, states that:

I think only women are able to work in the accounting department because they pay more attention to detail. In our department it is extremely rare to employ men. We have had a couple since I have been working here but they wanted a fast career development, so they left after they understood that, in accounting, people are sitting in the same positions for years. The stereotypes about the main characteristics of each gender also make it difficult for men to enter traditional female occupational sectors. Thus, the natural differences between genders such as physical ability or stereotypes about the common features of each gender form the basis of occupational sex segregation within the mining industry.

4.3 Labour Legislation in Russia: limits and consequences

In 1978 the Russian government created a list of 456 occupations with harmful or dangerous working conditions (USSR Labour Code, clause 160 from 1978) in which women were prohibited from working. The document was intended to create safe and hygienic working conditions, taking into account the anatomical and physiological characteristics of the bodies of working women and maintaining their health on the basis of a complex hygienic evaluation of environment factors and work process. During the transition time, the government developed rules for female employment in jobs with harmful and dangerous conditions, and added new professions to this list (Russian Labour Code, clause 253 from 2001); however, the new legislation `does not prohibit` female employment in jobs with harmful and dangerous conditions, but merely limits their work as long as employers create safe working conditions that are confirmed via job evaluation, approved by the State Examination of Working Conditions and Sanitary Inspection Service of the Russian Federation (Government`s Duma official website, 2009). However, the bureaucracy of the Russian government make this process extremely difficult for employers; thus, despite the softer barriers to women`s employment, employers are still reluctant to employ women in those positions. As a result, the number of women employed in jobs classified as difficult and hazardous is almost zero, despite the changing conditions. Raisa, Female, 55, Engineer of Employee Training (HR), agreed:

I think that we have a lot of professions where women's labour is prohibited. I do remember when I started to work in this Company 30 years ago...track serviceman (hog wards) were all women. Later, government published a new decree which stated that we have to `remove` all women from these positions as this work is harmful for them. Most of the professions we do have are purely male professions. We have about 2800-2900 employees in the Company, and only 600 of them women. Most of the professions require hard physical labour, and women simply can't work in those positions for physical reasons.

The Head of the Production Department added, *`In my department, female labour is mainly prohibited or undesirable. Thus, from 1600 employees in my department just 30 workers are female (10 engineers and 20 mountain dispatchers)`* (Sergey, male, 53, Head of Production Department). Thus, due to the gender segregation of coal mining production, there are very few women working in this area of 'Ruscoal'. Furthermore, in the future, the interviewee wishes to minimize the number of female workers in his department because, in his opinion, *`mining production process is `not a `good` workplace for women`* (Sergey, male, 53, Head of Production Department). Thus, since the Production Manager sees women's employment as 'undesirable', it becomes obvious why the recruitment of women into these areas is declining even though they are capable of doing the work.

Thus, the government is legally defining women by their reproductive capability rather than concentrating on improving work conditions for all employees in order to improve productivity. It is also reinforcing patriarchal divisions where heavy industry work spheres are seen primarily as the domain of men and women are seen as being more closely associated with the private sphere of family and home; this may result in women's greater vulnerability to job loss as employment conditions change. As a result, this protective legislation has had negative consequences for women's employment. Excluding women from the industry sector often meant exclusion from numerous skilled or highly paid jobs. Galina, female, 48, HR Specialist, concluded that:

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the number of female workers became much smaller. I think it is because the number of professions where we employ women is decreasing...hmmm....actually I am sure of that. After the mining strikes in 1990,

the government made a new policy about excluding women from work with hazardous working conditions; and for our company it had a direct impact.

In the Soviet Union women had a greater `freedom` in their employment. During the transition, the government tightened the rules of women's employment. Women became `privileged` workers with additional benefits and better working conditions; at the same time, however, they became a workforce with limited abilities or one that was additional to core male workers. Therefore, female workers were often restricted, by managers, in their access to professional training and thus had limited access to the male-dominated skilled jobs. Furthermore, women's lower position within the hierarchy of labour can be seen as a result of 'protective' legislation regarding women's employment and discriminatory practices (Table 4.1). Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department, explains that:

In the Soviet Union time and now in the `coal town`, it's quite difficult for women to find a job. However, under Communism almost all women were employed anyway, because you had to have a job in the Soviet era. Although, in `coal towns`, there were many women who did not work consciously, because their husbands - miners - were so well paid that they simply did not need to work. Moreover, there was nothing to buy, and for the normal life they had enough. In contemporary Russia, the level of wages for workers in general has sharply decreased; however, for some managers of coal enterprises the level of remuneration has become comparatively high. However, what surprises me is this: When I am interviewing people for hiring, it is mostly young people who do not work or are just starting their careers; around 50% of those men's wives do not work. To the question: Why not? They answer: They do not want to work or can't find a job.

Thus, the changes in labour legislation during the transition time have had a negative impact on women's employment. This movement of female labour from manufacturing and heavy industry into the service sector can be traced back to the government plan to develop the service sector and decrease the size of the industrial labour force (Harden, 2008). Consequently, the Russian government's legislation took a paternalistic approach to women's employment that seems discriminatory for both: for men as they are a `non-protected` group of employees and for women because they are excluded from a number of highly paid jobs. The female labour force was manipulated by the state via the protective legislation which provided

both a legislative instrument and an ideological justification for it. Moreover, the government plays an important role in segregating the labour market and limiting women's earnings potential.

4.3.1 Parental Leave

At the beginning of the transition `perestroika` period, the government emphasized the importance of allowing women `to return to their purely womanly mission` at home. During the transition time, the government devised stricter rules on female employment in jobs with harmful and dangerous conditions and transferred women to more suitable work in the service sector, providing them with additional benefits and longer maternity leave (Gerber and Mayorova, 2006). Olga, female, 46, Boiler Machinist, explains: *`The new Russian labour code regarding the maternity leave absence became more generous towards women. Our mothers had 53 days of paid maternity leave absence but I don't think it's enough. For instance, my mother ran home at lunch time to feed [breast-feed] my younger brother and ran back to work. I have already taken three years of maternity leave absence to care for the baby. Of course, now it is much better`.*

Another respondent, Nina, female, 74, Enrichment Plant Operator (retired), supported this argument:

We had 50 days before and 53 days after giving birth. It's not even two months - a month and 20 days after childbirth, and women had to go to work to the factory to do dirty and hard labour. We did not have any additional days to take care of our sick children as we do now, but we were working for 6 hours per day because there was a shorter working day for mothers with children under 1 year of age. Thus, the maternity leave in the Soviet Union was short compared to the `new` period of maternity leave in the Russian Federation. Respondents from the `Ruscoal` mining company agreed that longer maternity leave is a positive factor of the `new` labour legislation. Katya, female, 48, Planner, explains:

I was at home with my children up to three years. However, it was difficult to live only on one income, especially with two children. I had two girls one after the other

(a bit earlier than three years I gave birth to my second daughter), so in total I was looking after my children for five years, and when they went to kindergarten they were sturdy and healthy. I think that a one-and-a-half-year-old baby is not old enough to go to kindergarten; later, these kids had a lot of sickness and their mother had to take sick allowances anyway to take care of them. Thus, I think three years of maternity leave is definitely a positive action in our labour law. However, nowadays many women who have children do not use these three years of maternity leave in full and go to work earlier, mainly due to financial reasons.

However, Katya emphasizes that three years of maternity leave is a good factor for Russian women, but living on one income during this time is difficult. Thus, a lot of young women have to go to work earlier after the paid period of maternity leave, which is one and a half years. Moreover, it is mostly women who are taking care of sick children. Alenka, 24, female, a Doctor, claimed that,

Usually, mostly women come to get sick allowances to take care of sick children; ... I did not have cases when men wanted to take a sick allowance to care for kids. First, it is the main function of women – child-rearing. Second, salary ... woman really have a lower level of remuneration. Moreover, I think women can give better care for the child as women are more thoughtful. The law of the Russian Federation allows both parents to take sick allowances to look after children; however, women are taking them the most. Thus, apart from absence during maternity leave, women are taking additional days to take care of their children. By providing additional benefits for women, the government established a legal basis for their discrimination, and at the legislative level it excludes women from a certain number of jobs in order to protect their reproduction function. Moreover, parental leave regulations support the traditional view on social role distribution within society and maintain the patriarchal nature.

4.4 Social Role Distribution in the Time of Transition (Dual Burden of Russian Women)

Current research shows that women are working the same 40-hour week as their male colleagues; however, time spent taking care of children and fulfilling

household responsibilities is two and a half times that spent by men. Women spend about 20 hours a week on household duties and men only 6 hours. Veronica, female, 33, an Economist, explains: *‘Both my mother and I are working women and I bear the same responsibilities that were previously carried by my mother in the family. She also took care of the children, was cleaning house, cooking..... Yes, I think I am taking a double burden of responsibilities and I think it is discrimination on the part of my husband, but I can’t impact on this situation, probably because of my personality, anyway I can’t force him to do household responsibilities’*. Natalya (female, 42, Mining Surveyor) supports this and presents some deeply gendered ideas about household labour:

‘There are some things that women do more by tradition such as cooking, childcare or cleaning the house. I cannot say that they are purely female or purely male, but Mother Nature has laid the way it is. These types of activities are just in women’s nature. At the same time, there are purely masculine household duties such as repairing home equipment, cars, electricity and so on. I just support the idea that most of the cooking, cleaning, washing is woman’s responsibility. For example, in my case I do most of it and my mom did the same. However, I don’t want to say that this is purely women’s work and that men should not be engaged in household duties. It’s just nature. For example, for men, cooking is not just a process, it is a creation that can take a whole day; for a woman it is everyday routine which she usually does daily with all the other things’. These statements support the idea of traditional views on gender roles and the patriarchal nature of Russian society. Women in Russia are working on a full-time basis as a legacy of the Soviet era and its ideology regarding women’s employment; at the same time, women are taking on most of the domestic responsibilities as a heritage of pre-Soviet patriarchal society and stereotypes in terms of social roles’ distribution. Both respondents agreed that there is a dual burden of responsibilities (Table 4.1); however, the mentality of Russian women does not allow them to change the situation. Moreover, Natalya (female, 42, Mining Surveyor) divides home responsibilities into ‘men’s’ and ‘women’s’ duties, which she called *‘masculine household duty’*. Thus, the household responsibilities by themselves are believed to be gendered; however, the female part of the duties is much bigger as it includes everyday routines such as cooking, washing and childcare. Another respondent also claimed that she is taking

on most of the domestic responsibilities, although she explains that this is not because of her `nature`; she is performing most of the household duties because of the hard labour conditions experienced by her husband:

I am doing about 80% of household duties. My husband, of course, helps me but I have a more sedentary lifestyle. He works in a mine; although he is an engineer, during his working day he has to walk the entire shift. Thus, although he is not working physically he is still more tired than I am. I am sitting down all day and for me it is a pleasure to stand, even near the oven (Katya, female, 48, Planner). This respondent explains the particular situation in `coal towns` where most of the men do physical work. Thus, men often suffer from disease or injuries caused by their hard labour, and are unable to do the household chores. This quote and Chapter 4.2 demonstrate that the dual burden of women in `coal towns` is sometimes caused by the physical problems of their partners and their disability and incapacity incurred at an early stage of their careers.

However, one of the respondents from the `older generation` stated:

We did not divide our home responsibilities - whoever was free was doing it. If my husband was at home he was cooking and cleaning the house, but washing, of course, I did by myself. Washing is women's work (Nina, female, 74, Enrichment Plant Operator, retired). Nina claimed that she and her husband both did `hard physical labour and worked on 12-hour shifts`; thus, they did not divide home responsibilities according to `who worked harder`. However, the respondent claimed that she nevertheless took on additional duties such as washing, which she considered women's work.

Although women in the Soviet Union enjoyed greater equality than in other industrialized countries, they still undertook most of the domestic work. The double burden for women workers (paid work and caring responsibilities) has increased as a result of the transition to a capitalist state. A female HR specialist in `Ruscoal` argues that, within modern Russia, these social changes particularly affect women: *'In this case for female employees stability is more important, because now [Modern Russia] it is really common to have a civil marriage. Children are born; the women raise children alone more often, so they are responsible for the family,*

for their children and breadwinning. And if they lose their job, they find it much harder than men to find work` (Ira, female, 33, HR specialist). Ira's quote shows that women face a double burden, not only in terms of balancing work and family life, but also due to their geographical location. The gendered division of labour within coalmining, the predominate source of employment in Siberia, means that women are particularly vulnerable to unemployment. Pollert (2003) stated that average working hours for women in Soviet Russia were approximately 70 hours per week, about 15 hours more than in Western Europe. Moreover, she claimed that, in the Soviet Union, there were high levels of occupational sex segregation and women were mainly employed in 'light' manufacturing, the services and caring professions, and overrepresented at the bottom of job hierarchies. Consequently, women's earnings were twenty per cent lower than men's.

In summary, this research shows that the pressure of the double burden for female employees during the transition time has not merely remained but actually increased. Gender inequality was present in the Soviet Union before, when women were essential not only as workers but also as child bearers, especially during labour shortages. During the transition period, the double burden has been reinforced not only by objective problems of the transitional period, but also by women's conservative views, which have been shaped by the reassertion of the patriarchal system of society.

Interviews show the contradictions in the data - women are deemed physically unsuited to certain forms of work, but the respondent Alenka (24, a Doctor) claimed that this work is also damaging to men. Thus, the Labour Code of the Russian Federation only protects women from hard physical labour; it does not take into account men's anatomy. This paternalistic approach of the Russian government results in a division in the labour market, creating men's and women's occupations, which consequently emphasize that women are considered an additional source of labour. Thus, nowadays women in Russia have a traditional social role distribution - men are breadwinners and women are responsible for the household duties. However, in the traditional occupational community in Kuzbass region, behavioural norms do not present a channel through which women might challenge this situation.

4.5 Social Protection in the Time of Transition in Russia

In the Soviet Union, the private ownership of land or means of production did not exist. The economic system under the communist regime was built upon central administration, state ownership, and cradle-to-grave security (Titterton, 2006). All material benefits were provided by the government, such as healthcare, education and housing. However, during the transition and movement to a free market economy, the number of benefits provided by government changed. Lera, female, 58, a Planner, explains:

I think the first major loss in our social benefits was `free housing` provided by the government for all citizens of the Soviet Union. I do remember when I came as an intern to the Company, I was provided with a bed place in a hostel [all large companies had hostels for their employees] as I did not have my own place to live in. Then there was a separate queue (waiting list) for young professionals to receive a flat. And these programs were actually implemented, I received one of those. The Company [government] provided flats for all young specialists, and now it is not there at all. Now, in the best case, the Company can give interest-free loan to build a house or buy a flat. I think this is the main loss in our social benefits compared with the Soviet Union. Second, there was the opportunity to receive higher education. Compared to our children, we had a lot more opportunities to get a higher education. First, due to the fact that government grant for students was 40 rubles per month [government grant for students was provided for all students who had satisfactory marks during the semester]. This amount of money gave the opportunity to support the child, even if the parents did not have the possibility to do it. For example, a smart kid from a broken family had the opportunity to have a future. For 40 rubles he was able to cover all his expenses, as campus cost 10 rubles a year, leaving only a ruble from his grant every month to pay for his housing. Later, this child was directed by the government to the workplace according to his/her specialty. The Soviet Union had a wide range of social programs. Education, medicine and children's facilities were free of charge. However, under the political and economic pressure during the transition, the government scaled down a number of social programs.

In 1991-1992, the inflation rate in Russia was over 300 per cent (Szivos and Giudic, 2004; Shorrocks and Kolenikov, 2001). However, earnings did not rise concomitantly, and actual income decreased by more than 50 per cent in the same year. Under the pressure of a budget deficit, the Russian government reduced a wide range of social benefits. Thus, the Russian population in these years saw a drastic decline in living conditions (Kohler and Kohler, 2002). Unemployment rose sharply in the 1990s. Under the communist regime unemployment did not exist, at least officially. However, in 1992, unemployment stood at 5.6 per cent, almost doubling to 10.8 per cent in 1998 (Government Russian Committee of Labour Statistics, 2012). The level of stability and social security dropped sharply:

In the Soviet Union, employment was more secure and stable; If you got a job, then you would work in that company until retirement. And now the owner is the owner; and they can be different. Now we have such hectic times, everything is continuously changing. In the Soviet era, everything was scheduled according to the government plan. (Larisa, 56, female, Head of Planning)

During the period 1991-1999, the number of people living below the poverty line increased to 35 per cent of the population (Shorrocks and Kolenikov, 2001). Children or, rather, families with children were those most affected by these changes. Raisa, female, 55, Engineer of Employee Training, supported these arguments:

Kindergartens.....their number become much less, even in our city. Once all of this restructuring started in 1990, large numbers of kindergartens were closed. The first reason was that the birth rate began to fall sharply. The second reason was that companies tried to get rid of social obligations. Previously, on the balance sheet of each company was a preschool and school facility. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, new owners started to get rid of the social aspects [selling buildings]. That's it! Most of the social facilities been restructured into offices.

The Soviet Union system supported women in their desire to work, providing a variety of government-subsidized programs for childcare such as nurseries, preschools, kindergarten, and after-school programs. For example, in 1985 approximately 70 per cent of children aged between one and seven years were

registered in public childcare institutions (Matthews, 1986). However, the collapse of the Soviet Union led to social and economic upheaval, resulting in dramatic changes to the existing social protection and government childcare programs. Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper, explains:

.....in 1992 the situation in the country become 'horrible". The fertility rate sharply dropped, almost to zero. There were simply no kids to go to these kindergartens. Imagine that, just to cook porridge with milk for a child, it was necessary to spend almost three hours in the queue to buy milk; then there was the fact that it would not be enough for you. It was just horrible... The miners were in the mine for half a loaf of bread. There was nothing to buy in the shops. The Soviet Union was also in deficit but people had what they needed. In 1992- 1993, they [the government] gave us cards with which you could get 200 grams of cereal as shops were empty. Thus, no one was going to give birth during these years, it was more important to provide for those kids who were born before ...So, when these children were not born during 1992-1995, the kindergartens emptied. The Education Committee closed these unnecessary social facilities or rented them out. Government by this time began to concentrate on other social problems: expanding pension funds, creating insurance companies, and other schemes. Then, when the shock from the transition had gone, life began to improve, and somewhere around 1997 the birth rate rose again. However, all the kindergartens were closed. So, government and private companies began to build new ones. However, I know we still have a big problem with kindergartens, as their number has decreased twofold since Soviet times.

Lokshin (2004) confirmed that the difficult economic situation compelled a reduction in the number of government-funded programs and state-run childcare organizations. The Government Russian Committee of Statistics (2009) also shows that, between 1989 and 1997, the number of children in kindergartens declined by 55.1 per cent and the proportion of preschool facilities was reduced by 35.6 per cent. Thus, the transition had a negative impact on the fertility rate and all preschool facilities. The government has since tried to resolve this issue and increase the birth rate by giving additional payments for the second child, longer maternity leave and other social payments for families with children. As the fertility rate has been

growing over the last 10 years, many women have had to stay at home in order to take care of their children while they are waiting for places in kindergarten.

4.6 Gender Pay Gap in the Russian Mining Industry in the Time of Transition

In the Soviet Union, wages were calculated on the basis of a universal occupational wage scale within each industry, and they were set as a multiple of the base wage. These characteristics of the central planning system resulted in similar labour market conditions across all Soviet Union countries, such as the following: open excess demand for labour (due to soft budget constraints faced by companies and the importance of plan fulfillment rather than cost minimization); comparatively narrow earnings differentials between occupations, with a bias favouring the manual workforce; and comparatively low and slow growth in levels of remuneration (Titterton, 2006). Interviews with managers of the mining company show that gender proportions in the mining industry during transition changed *‘in the direction of the predominance of men’*. The reason for this change is *‘the fact that nowadays owners of the company set up the salary structure..., in the Soviet Union, salaries were calculated according to government standards... Today, we combine several professions, with traditionally low levels of remuneration, into one. We are expanding the service area and using complicated machines and mechanisms. Therefore, the same professions are becoming more and more highly-paid and more attractive to male candidates’* (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department). Irina, the HR Manager, emphasized that male employees usually agreed to work for a higher level of remuneration than women. Vera (46, female, Accountant) agreed:

Managers know that if they employ men then they should pay more but if a woman is on the same work you can pay her much less ... they think that men should support a family, so to feed his family he has to earn more.

Olga, female, 38, Head of Cleaning Works, also supports this argument

I've got friends, mainly male heads of the departments, who think that, for women, it is enough to earn 10,000 rubles, while men get 30,000 for the same position.

Another respondent claimed that *`nowadays, if owners see that the work performed by women is no worse than men working in the same position, they can pay less for female workers than to hire a man, who needs to be the breadwinner for his family'* (Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper).

These quotes show that managers see women as a cheap source of labour. Although the Constitution of the Russian Federation, which states that men and women have equal rights and equal opportunities (Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993), and the Labour Code of the Russian Federation (from December, 2001), which has established the prohibition of discrimination in employment, give people the possibility of seeking judicial protection, it appears that the earnings level of women in Russia is lower than that of men. Alenka (24, female, a Doctor) claimed that, during the transition, the working professions became less `respectable` and prestigious, mostly because of the salary level:

In the Soviet Union, `manual working professions` were more respected and the payment for those jobs was equal to other positions requiring qualifications; ... for example, in most cases the workers received higher levels of remuneration than an engineer. In the Soviet era, if you said "I am a locksmith!" – it was said proudly; and now it has become embarrassing to say. Most manual workers are embarrassed or feel shame about their professions. Maria (70, female, Head of Financial Department, retired) also stated that manual workers in the Soviet Union had a higher level of remuneration than those working in professions that required a qualification:

Accountancy is not really a `popular` profession among men... first, it may be that men are not satisfied with the salary level; men, as the head of the family, should not have such low pay rates; ... for example, in the Soviet Union time the salary of manual workers was 180-200 rubles per month and the accountant got only 110-120 rubles. However, now the situation has completely changed (Elena, 46, female, Head of Accounting Department). Thus, the occupational sex segregation within the case-study company and the Russian labour market has its roots in the wage scale of the Soviet Union. Women are usually employed in professions with lower levels of remuneration.

However, the research shows that, during the transition, the salary structure was reinforced. Elena (46, female, Head of Accounting Department) states that the manual working professions were better paid in the Soviet Union, and the situation has now changed. Workers and accountants are earning approximately the same; in fact, accountants may be earning more. However, it depends on the working site and additional payments for the manual workers. Dmitry, 26, male, an Economist, explains:

The mechanical assistant in the mining industry could earn more than an average economist because mechanical assistants in some cases have really hard labour that is harmful for their health. Professions involving hard labour provide extra payments for harmful labour conditions such as dust, noise and vibration. Moreover, they get an extra payment for night shifts. So, I [an economist] and manual workers have approximately the same salary rate but manual workers may have a higher salary because of the additional payments to their salary rate. However, I think it's justified as their labour is much harder than mine.... I know, as I worked as a mechanical assistant for two years.

Thus, during the transition period the salary structure was totally changed, with the wage gap between male and female remuneration becoming more obvious. In the Soviet Union, salaries were calculated on the basis of the wage scale or government tariff netting; thus, everyone earned more or less the same. In modern Russia, the adoption of a free market economy means that salaries are set up according to the owner's calculation, so some occupations have become less well paid and less attractive to male workers. The Russian example of a transition economy shows that, during the significant structural salary changes in the labour market, up to 22% of employees changed their occupations (Russian Community of Labour Statistics, 2011). Thus, it can be concluded that economic, political and social changes can force people to relocate their labour across sectors and industries, as well as between the states of economic activity and non-activity.

4.7 Women, Coalmining and Technology

Technological development has also played a big role in gender diversity. Over the last 20 years, technical progress and political and social changes have enabled women to contribute in all spheres of business. *‘Twenty years ago, heavy BelAZ (cars) were quite hard to drive; now, driving this 30-ton machine is easier than driving a normal car. So now the owners gave us a task - to create a team of women who will work on heavy vehicles on the BelAZ. However, at the moment these works are forbidden by law for female labour, but we try to decide this question and want to organize the committee to prove that this work is not ‘hard’ any more’* (Valentin, male, 57, CEO). This statement shows that the ‘Ruscoal’ management is trying to challenge the legislation as technology is advancing more quickly than the legislative framework, and some restrictions on women’s employment are irrelevant; therefore, companies have to prove on the government level that, with the use of new technology, some professions are no longer ‘hard’. Hence, there is a contradictory situation: women are able to increase their presence in many occupations, including those that were considered traditionally male domains, such as mechanical trades and construction, but the rules of the Russian labour code do not allow them to do so.

Another respondent, Nina (female, 74, Enrichment Plant Operator, retired), who worked on the dressing mill, the traditional female occupation sector, for 35 years, claimed that:

In the factory [dressing mill] and in the quality control department it was very hard labour and now it has become a lot easier for women to work, due to the fact that different kinds of devices have been installed, and the machines facilitate the tasks of the workers. However, the number of male workers has increased in the quality department over the last 20 years; according to Nina, ‘men did not use to work here, but the work has now become easier, and there is no other place to work. In olden times, if a man worked as a factory operator everyone would laugh at him. And now it's normal as there are not so many workplace options to choose from, and men have to work and feed the family. Thus, men agree to work in what were traditionally women’s positions (Nina, female, 74, Enrichment Plant Operator, retired). Thus, men are replacing women in their traditional occupations even though the labour has become easier in those occupations.

Furthermore, Sergey 53, male, Head of Production Department, considered that new technology did not have a large impact on gender composition in his department, which was still mainly occupied by male employees:

In my opinion technological progress did not have a major impact on gender composition within heavy industry and particularly in my department as perestroika slowed down scientific progress in Russia. Therefore, we do not have a complete automated production such as in Japan; in our industry most of the occupations which were traditionally occupied by man are still the same. The mining industry still requires hard labour. Moreover, most of the positions in my department are prohibited for female labour.

During the last twenty years, machines and equipment have become much easier to manage (physically); however, this has not been recognized in the Labour Code restriction, and it has not challenged traditional thinking about men's and women's work roles. Thus, technology is predominantly a male-dominated industry. Consequently, technological development may reinforce the patriarchal systems of work as technology used by men is considered to require more skills /strength and men will thus receive higher rewards. However, Cockburn (1991) also claimed that, while male employees lost their positions, women did not gain commensurately because, when jobs involving technology become feminized, labour is at the same time cheapened.

4.8 Occupational Sex Segregation within the Russian Mining Industry

In 2011, women comprised 25% of 'Ruscoal's' workforce (668 women), and their main occupations were *`administrative work, cleaning, working with documents, accounting, and supervision (operators) over the equipment`*. *`The percentage of female employees has been decreasing`* during transition time because, first of all, the company has made *`redundant supportive employees who were traditionally female`* (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department).

During the transition period, gender proportions in some departments completely changed. *`When I came to the company 30 years ago [respondent working in HR department], the surveyors were mostly all men; now we have 11 surveyors [those*

engaged in planning and monitoring mining operations, and measuring the volume of work performed], *and all of them are women*'. Raisa (Engineer) explained that she *'believe[s] this apparent increase in the proportion of women to be the result of declining importance of that role due to the transition to a capitalist economic framework'*.

In my opinion, this is due to the fact that this kind of job has become less important for company performance' (Raisa, female, 55, Engineer of Employee Training). In the Soviet Union, surveyors were controlled directly by the government, which controlled all aspects of production such as what products should be produced, in what amount and to whom they should be sold. Moreover, all goods produced belonged to the government. However, respondents felt that, in the new economy, *'Nowadays we have other controllers - the owners. They are primarily interested in money. They are mainly organizing control under economic, accounting, commercial and financial services, areas with traditionally female employees, so gender proportions in this department have changed'* (Natalya, female, 42, Mining Surveyor). Natalya went on to explain that the role of surveyors had declined to the point that it no longer attracted high wages and as such was deemed more suitable for women, *'men had worked in this department for good money, now [since owners allocated the salary] everyone understands that lower level of salary is enough for women. And wages of a good surveyor with extensive experience could be less than an assistant to an engineer excavator, who comes directly from school and has worked for only one or two years'* (Natalya, female, 42, Mining Surveyor). This example confirmed Maslov's (2008) argument that, despite the fact that the level of education among employed men is slightly lower than among employed women, male employees are usually concentrated in sectors with traditionally high levels of remuneration, which is not necessarily linked to education.

The majority of interviewed employees of 'Ruscoal' claimed that, for the last 20 years, gender diversity had changed, with an increasing number of male employees, because *'they began to occupy positions formerly occupied by women'* (Lubov, female, 70, retired Crane Operator). *'Men now no longer want to work physically. Physical labour is now so devalued! It is not because men are bad; on the contrary, they do further education in order to not do physical labour and women can't do so*

because they are responsible for family, children, cleaning, cooking... they simply do not have time for further education` (Olga, female, 38, Head of Cleaning Work).

Moreover, women cannot apply for some highly paid production positions because of the *`labour code restriction; additionally, from a psychological point of view, employing men is more comfortable as employers always think ... to employ women means the possibility of three years' absence [maternity leave], children are going to be sick all the time and she is definitely not going to work overtime` (Ekaterina, female, 24, Economist).* Thus, stereotypes of women's employment are based on the legal restrictions that prevent them working overtime or on nightshifts and traditional assumptions of women's domestic responsibilities. According to stereotypes, prejudices and their own preferences, employers 'arrange' male and female employees into different occupations. Moreover, sex role stereotyping among managers has a negative bias for women's career development, as careers are perceived as their second role. Women are usually channelled into occupations with low pay, fewer responsibilities and poorer promotion opportunities. In contrast, male employees are more likely to be channelled into occupations with high remuneration and promotion opportunities. Thus, women face an obstacle created by stereotyping gender roles within society that stops them from entering sectors with higher levels of remuneration. Therefore, women have less representation in managerial and supervisory positions, especially in heavy industry.

In the Soviet Union, the ministry of coal production and the Politburo were mainly occupied by men; it is the same situation now in the Russian government (Sergey, 53, male, Head of Production Department).

Current research shows that, during the transition period, views on occupations with traditionally male or female predominance changed, with some male occupations becoming associated with women and vice versa. The privatization and reorganization of companies and general structural changes have led to a modification of the labour force. The increase of competition in the labour market has forced employees to accept low-paid and less prestigious jobs that were traditionally occupied by female workers. Olga, female, 38, Head of Cleaning Work, explains:

In the Soviet Union we all had job placements, the government provided them; and I never even imagined taking someone else's job. Thus, we had a really friendly atmosphere inside the Company; there was no strife such as we have now. Nowadays all the places are taken and you have to 'fight'. Job search conditions in the post-Soviet Russian economy have become more stressful and require more 'aggressive' behaviour, as there is a high level of competition in the labour market. This statement shows the general change in work culture during the transition. The labour market has become more competitive and unemployment rates have risen.

Women in the mining industry during transition suffered the most from unemployment. Eisenstein et al. (1993) claimed that about fifty per cent of women were employed as unskilled manual labourers, and Pavlychko et al. (1997, p. 224) argued that those women who were well-educated and professionally qualified could have become *'a substantial force of the feminist message and changed the stereotypes of women; but in the political sense they were mostly inert and silent, they belonged to that type that could be called 'a woman-man', who achieved high positions but did not change the nature of authority or its ideology in the interest of women'*.

4.9 Industrial Relations: Trade Unions' Perspective

The trade union in 'Ruscoal' and in the mining industry in general has a large impact on labour relations and on the management decision-making process. The trade union usually takes an active conciliatory position, in the workers' interests, with the company's management. However, the role of the trade union organization during transition has completely changed. In the Soviet Union, the trade union organizations were mainly used for *'registering a company's employee with the Communist Party, distributing the communist ideology among the workers, distributing social service vouchers, shelter and other social benefits, such as placing kids into kindergarten, organizing a queue for housing...it means that trade unions were absolutely not engaged in labour regulation and analysis and deciding labour conflicts'* (Grigory, male, 41, Head of trade union organization).

However, in 1991, with the end of the Soviet era, the trade unions had to find themselves a new role. *'In 1991-1992 'free' trade union organizations were*

*established that were not based on the company's platform [financial support]; they became self-taught organizations supported by members. Since then, the trade union has had two main roles: the protection of the employee's rights and ensuring normal working conditions, wage levels, as well as the expression of the 'employee's voice'. At the same time, however, the trade union does not deal with social aspects of work such as providing additional financial support for low-income employees and mothers of large families, and distribution of social service vouchers, as they did in the Soviet Union` (Grigory, male, 41, Head of trade union organization). Irina, 52, Head of the HR Department, agreed: `After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Trade Unions changed their function towards the international standards [employee rights protection]; however, in my opinion they are still in the process of restriction as they keep a dual function - partly as "Soviet Union's" distribution service and partly as employee rights protection organization`. As a result, most employees claimed that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the trade union lost its authority: *After our company became 'Ltd', the trade union lost all its power* (Vera, 46, female, Accountant). During the last 10 years, the membership of the trade union organization has continuously declined (internal archives, `Ruscoal`).*

Trade union representatives claimed that the general trend of gender composition in the coalmining industry after the collapse of the Soviet Union was towards *`an increasing number of men...as the labour law was changed`* (Dmitry, male, 58, Trade Union representative). Another respondent agreed that *`the number of women in this particular industry decreased during the transition period and it was influenced... by a government decree which prohibited the use of female labour in heavy and dangerous conditions...but in my opinion this is a positive factor`* (Anton, male, 28, Trade Union representative). Consequently, the trade union is not fighting for women's employment; rather, it is taking the government decree prohibiting female employment as the norm and even as a positive movement.

Secondly, women were forced to leave their jobs due to amendments of the labour law, which restricted the rights of women. For example, in the Soviet Union labour law it was written that single mothers *`can't be used for night shifts or business trips without her personal consent until her child reaches the age of 12; the new*

amendments of the labour law reduce this age to 6` (Anton, male, 28, Trade Union representative). In other words, employers could offer jobs to female workers `but it involves travelling and working in a shift operation, so women have to refuse it` (Anton, male, 28, Trade Union representative). In fact, managers saw women as workers with less flexibility than males. Therefore, managers often restricted female workers' access to professional training, resulting in them having limited access to the male-dominated skilled jobs (Harden, 2008). Furthermore, women's position can be seen as a result of the paternalistic approach and the discriminatory practices regarding women's employment. Gender was an important element within the Russian and Soviet Union systems of production relations, and the labour hierarchy was at the core of this. Forcing managers to provide additional benefits for female workers, such as kindergartens, paid maternity leave, and time off for sick children, in addition to restrictions in their employment did not create a privileged class of employees, as they claimed. For employers, women became a second-class group of workers who required more social benefits, and strict rules had to be followed for their employment.

Trade union representatives [all trade union representatives in `Ruscoal` are men] argued that, through the labour code regulations, women are excluded from certain areas of the labour market and have to work in occupations with lower levels of remuneration. *'Male employees can be employed as miners and women can't. They [women] have to work in supportive functions, for example, in a boiler room, where the job is not much easier but is lower paid` (Grigory, male, 41, Head of Trade Union organization). This structure of payment is mainly the heritage of the Soviet Union time `where the salary was calculated on the basis of the wage scale or government tariff netting, and it has changed. Among the production specialties for women, compared to men, it is very difficult to find a highly-paid job as they have many restrictions in employment`; moreover, in employing women, the employer will face `... more problems, the child gets sick, kindergarten is closed, or there is a parents' meeting at school` (Anton, male, 28, Trade Union representative). Thus, it can be concluded that gender inequality was present in the Soviet Union before and during the transition period; however, it has been reinforced by the social construction of legislation that emphasizes women's reproductive role and the patriarchal system of society, which means it is more difficult for women to*

challenge this situation if employee organizations such as trade unions don't support gender equalization (Predborska, 2005).

Table 4.2 summarizes the findings and presents quotes explaining employees', organizational and Trade Union perspectives on the research objectives.

Objectives	Employee perspective	Managers Perspective	Trade Union Perspective
<p>1. To examine gender regulation rules and policies within the Russian mining industry and define how they have changed since the Soviet Union time for the women's labour force</p>	<p>I think that we have a lot of professions where women's labour is prohibited. I do remember when I started to work in this Company 30 years ago...track serviceman (howards) were all women. Later, government published a new decree which stated that we have to 'remove' all women from these positions as this work is harmful for them (Raisa, Female, 55, Engineer of Employee Training, HR).</p>	<p>The percentage of female employees has been decreasing` during transition time because, first of all, the company has made `redundant supportive employees who were traditionally female (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department).</p>	<p>The number of women in this particular industry decreased during the transition period and it was influenced... by a government decree which prohibited the use of female labour in heavy and dangerous conditions...but in my opinion this is a positive factor (Anton, male, 28, Trade Union representative).</p>
<p>2. To consider how gender roles affect financial rewards and occupational sectors for male and female employees within the mining industry;</p>	<p>Managers know that if they employ men then they should pay more but if a woman is on the same work you can pay her much less ... they think that men should support a family, so to feed his family he has to earn more (Vera, 46, female, Accountant).</p>	<p>The fact that nowadays owners of the company set up the salary structure..., in the Soviet Union, salaries were calculated according to government standards... Today, we combine several professions, with traditionally low levels of remuneration, into one...Therefore, the same professions are becoming more and more highly-paid and</p>	<p>Structure of payment is mainly the heritage of the Soviet Union time `where the salary was calculated on the basis of the wage scale or government tariff netting, and it has changed. Among the production specialties for women, compared to men, it is very difficult to find a highly-paid job as they have many restrictions in employment (Anton, male, 28, Trade</p>

		<i>more attractive to male candidates (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department).</i>	Union representative).
<i>3. To examine continuity and change in the role of patriarchy in the transition period for male and female employees within the mining industry; and identify changes in men's and women's responsibilities for the home and work;</i>	<i>Both my mother and I are working women and I bear the same responsibilities that were previously carried by my mother in the family..... Yes, I think I am taking a double burden of responsibilities and I think it is discrimination on the part of my husband, but I can't impact on this situation, probably because of my personality, anyway I can't force him to do household responsibilities (Veronica, female, 33, Economist).</i>	<i>Mining production process is `not a `good` workplace for women (Sergey, male, 53, Head of Production Department).</i>	<i>In employing women, the employer will face `... more problems, the child gets sick, kindergarten is closed, or there is a parents' meeting at school (Anton, male, 28, Trade Union representative).</i>
<i>4. To find out the role of the trade union in the process of managing diversity, comparison analysis of Soviet Union trade union system and current Russian trade union system;</i>	<i>After our company became 'Ltd', [1991] the trade union lost all its power (Vera, 46, female, Accountant).</i>	<i>After collapse of the Soviet Union. Trade Unions changed their function towards the international standards [employee rights protection], however, in my opinion they still in the process of restriction as they keep dual function now- partly as Soviet Union's distribution service and partly as employee rights protection organization (Irina, 52, Head of HR Department).</i>	<i>The trade union has had two main roles: the protection of the employee's rights and ensuring normal working conditions and wage levels, as well as the expression of the `employee's voice`. At the same time, however, the trade union does not deal with social aspects of work such as providing additional financial support for low-income employees and mothers of large families (Grigory, male, 41, Head of trade union organization).</i>

Table 4.2 Employee, organization and Trade Union perspective on research objectives.

Table 4.2 clearly demonstrates the key differences and similarities between stakeholders' perceptions of the research objectives and, in particular, how union participants differ from the other perspectives. In answering the questions about how the gender regulation rules and policies and proportion of women within the Russian mining industry changed during the transition time, all stakeholders agreed that the number of women in this particular industry decreased during the transition period. Moreover, the Trade Union representative and employees mention the legislation, particularly the government decree which prohibited the use of female labour in heavy and dangerous conditions, as a main factor in the decreasing presence of women. The managers also mention the large scale of redundancies among the support employees, who were traditionally female. Surprisingly, trade union representatives considered changes in legislation as a 'positive factor' for the Russian labour market. This position of the trade union is particularly interesting as they [trade unions] agreed that legislation supported inequality and discrimination against women. Thus, the trade unions in Russia are not seeking more gender equality; in fact, they are supporting the government's paternalistic approach to women's employment, which makes it difficult for women to challenge this situation.

The stakeholders also have a similar perspective on how gender roles affect financial rewards and occupational sectors for male and female employees within the mining industry. All stakeholders agreed that women within the mining industry earn less, and changes in the structure of payments during the transition time widened the gap between women's and men's earnings. Importantly, trade unions emphasize the difficulty experienced by women in mining towns in finding highly-paid job, as there are many restrictions on their employment. Consequently, additional benefits and restrictions on women's employment have a negative impact on women's career advancement and financial rewards. In addition if the union and all its male representatives do not see this as an issue particularly in a mono-town where coal employment is the major employer, then to be active in this environment challenging for gender change has the potential to seriously impact on your already more limited employment opportunities

The third objective shows the stakeholders' perspective on continuity and change in the role of patriarchy in the transition period for male and female employees within

the mining industry. The quote by Sergey, male, 53, Head of Production Department, is particularly interesting as it clearly demonstrates the management position on women's employment. The company's management has a deeply patriarchal view of women's employment and aims to reduce the number of women employees in the future as the *'mining production process is not a good workplace for women'*. The trade union and employees of the company both stated that the patriarchal nature of Russian society and the double burden of Russian women increased during the transition time because of the reduced number of child care facilities and government-subsidized programs supporting working mothers.

The final objective is to determine the role of the trade unions in the process of managing diversity and to compare the Soviet Union trade union system and the current Russian trade union system. All the stakeholders emphasized that trade unions changed their function during the transition time and became organizations that aimed to protect employees' rights and lobby for employees' interests. However, trade unions still have a double function and combine their social distribution service and employee protection activities. The employees' perspective on the role of the trade unions shows that trade unions are not performing well in their new function as they are felt to be losing their authority among their members. Thus, the trade unions in Russia are still going through a development stage and conducting a very limited number of activities in lobbying for the employees' interests. Thus from trade union perspective their male representatives may consider it rational to not focus on the widening inequalities between men and women particularly if the management are not supportive as this may reduce the role of the trade union further.

The understanding of the differences and similarities in the viewpoints of the relevant stakeholders on the Russian coalmining industry and the impact of the transition economy on gender diversity is very important because it will help to answer the research question as well as improve the accuracy of the author's assessments and, thus, the study results.

4.10 Generational Differences and Gender Discrimination

The Kuzbass region (Ruscoal's location) has one industry - coalmining; thus, women find it quite difficult to obtain jobs. Female workers often experience

discrimination in the workplace. Many women work in deskilled data entry positions with few opportunities for career development. This is compounded by social changes in Russian society such as an increased number of unemployed people, a reduced level of social protection from the state and a general impoverishment of the Russian population during the transition. Ekaterina, 24, female, an Economist, gives an example:

My aunt worked as a power engineer and I always wanted to be like her... my aunt got a job without problems, it was in the Soviet Union time and after my graduation I was not able to find a job with my specialty..... Nowadays, to find a job for women in a male-dominated profession is becoming more difficult. I think that all the girls who studied with me had experience of discrimination. I am an electro-engineer, a profession dominated by men, and if you send your CV somewhere, the most common answer is: `Girl? - Sorry, no`).

Another respondent, Ekaterina, 21, female, an Intern in the Accounting Department, agreed that women in Russia face discrimination in employment:

Not only I but also my female friends face discrimination in employment. "Girl... you soon will be pregnant, we do not need you as we don't want to search for another employee after you go on maternity leave for three years." I believe that this is the most basic explanation for the discrimination against young women.

Experiences of gender discrimination appear to be strongly influenced by the respondents' age. About 45 per cent of respondents claimed that they or their friends had experienced a situation where their working rights were impaired, and 90 per cent of these were women workers. Also, the experience of gender discrimination was influenced by the respondent's age. Employees over 50 years old had no concept of gender discrimination (or even what this term means), while younger workers aged 23-35 reported cases of gender discrimination in the workplace. *'In Soviet Union times, salaries in the same positions were paid the same regardless of whether it was a man or a woman`* (Nikolay, male, 46, Foreman). In the Soviet Union, communist ideology equated employment with emancipation, and the worker-mother contract was institutionally embedded within communist work regimes (Standing, 1994; Puffer, 1996). In pictures and leaflets

used by the government to reinforce the communist ideology, women were usually portrayed as doctors, engineers, farmers or technicians (LaFont, 2001). The communist ideology emphasizes the importance of female labour as the key factor in communist industrial development (LaFont, 1998). Consequently, as equality was the main characteristic of the communist ideology and a work was a duty, not a right, women worked the same hours as men in the labour market, as well as remaining responsible for domestic labour (Korovushkina, 1994). Moreover, wage levels in the Soviet Union were comparatively low; thus, it was hard to support a family on just one income, which is still the case in modern Russia. Therefore, women in Soviet Russia were not concerned with gender discrimination as they lived 'in the most equal society in the world'. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the 'new' Russian government highlighted the importance of allowing women 'to return to their purely womanly mission' at home. At this time, the government prohibited women's employment in work involving harmful and dangerous conditions, and it transferred women to more suitable work in the service sector. In other words, older people were socialized within a communist system that emphasized by law that there was no gender discrimination; at the same time, however, it did not make equality between men and women a right, which has meant that, in a transition economy, young people are seeing the reassertion of a patriarchal thinking in relation to men's and women's employment.

4.11 Conclusion

The Russian Federation has maintained a comparatively high percentage of educated, skilled working women; however, the Russian Government has taken a paternalistic attitude towards them, using their biology as an excuse for excluding them from certain occupations. Thus, Russian Law legally discriminated against women by virtue of their reproductive capability. Moreover, in the time of transition the government increased the period of maternity leave and obligated employers to transfer pregnant women to jobs with 'lighter working conditions'. It can be concluded that the government, by forcing managers to provide additional benefits for female workers such as paid maternity leave, time off for sick children, and restrictions in their employment, was not creating a privileged class of employees, as they claimed. Women become a second-class group of workers who

require more social benefits and face the imposition of stricter rules on their employment.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the data obtained from the `Ruscoal` Mining Company to identify relationships between the transition economy and the employment of male and female workers, and, in particular, how the gender composition of the workforce may change in a time of transition and what factors influence it. The key findings from the empirical work are analyzed in the light of the extant literature and the theoretical framework of the study.

The emergence of the Russian Federation, as an independent country, has resulted in vast social, political and economic change (Zohoori et al., 2003); for example, in `Ruscoal`, economic instability has led to the diminution of women's labour market participation. Moreover, since the economic transition the wage gap between men and women has increased. This is linked to women's work being graded lower than men's. This has been caused by the state's manipulation of women's participation in the labour force and the reinforcement of patriarchy in Russian society; this has left women facing an increased burden of paid/unpaid work and an inability to challenge the gender discrimination occurring in the workforce. The inability of women to challenge gender discrimination is related to the occupational community from which the workforce is drawn (mono towns) and the high level of competition in the region, as well as the heritage of the Soviet Union and the geographical remoteness of Siberia. However, research shows that younger generations are recognizing or finding the language to recognize gender discrimination.

In order to analyze the key findings, this chapter is divided into two main sections: changes in gender composition during the transition time; and women's gender activism. The section on changes in gender composition within the mining industry includes five subsections: gendered changes within occupational sectors; changes and the impact of legislation of the Russian Federation; the social role distribution within Russian families; changes to gender pay structure within the mining industry; and the impact of technological change on women in the workplace. The section on activism (or non-activism) of Russian women consists of three main

subsections beginning with the identification of the impact of a small occupational community such as a mining town, religion and class-employment relations on gender diversity in Russia. The second part explains the role of the trade unions in gender equality. The final part examines generational differences in views on gender diversity in Russia.

5.2 Changes in Gender Composition during the Transition Time

The data presented in chapter Four indicate the changes in gender composition in Russian heavy industry during the transition time. By presenting the empirical data from the current study and examining the extant literature, this section outlines women's labour market position within Russia, with particular reference to reinforcement of occupational sex segregation within the industry during the transition time, the paternalism of the Russian government regarding women's employment, and the increased gender pay gap.

5.2.1 Occupational Sex Segregation

The data presented here demonstrate that the percentage of female employees during the transition time decreased. Moreover, research indicates that, during the transition period, gender proportions in some departments changed completely [surveyors department].

Gerber and Mayorova (2006) assume three sets of theoretical bases that explain how women's unemployment and the inequity of their situation increased on a larger scale than men's. Firstly, their hypothesis assumed that gender differences in human capital increased over time in the absence of control variables; this hypothesis contradicts the current research because it ignores the socio-economic transitional context. Difficult economic, social and political conditions during the transition time required the population to focus on basic needs such as food. The current research shows that society has been silent for more than 20 years on the issue of gender discrimination. This is demonstrated in the interview with Grigory, male, 41, Head of the trade union organization of `Ruscoal`, when he claimed that equality rights were not a cause for debate, either in the Company, in the industry or

at national levels. Therefore, during the last two decades inequity increased because society did not think about equality rights as people tried to resolve other problems caused by the transition.

In their second hypothesis, Gerber and Mayorova (2006) explain that the large-scale occupational sex segregation within the transition economy was caused by the fact that the `new` Russian labour market retained all the characteristics of the sexual occupational segregation of the communist era. Moreover, Gerber and Hout (1998) exposed the fact that, during the transition time, pay levels in predominantly female occupation sectors remained the same, while in the private and male sectors wages increased. This theory is partly contradicted by the current research into this most masculine of industries.

Indeed, the Government Russian Community of Statistics (2011) indicates that, during the transition, around 22 per cent of employees changed their occupational sectors. At the same time, Sabirianova (2002) discovered that, during the transition period, the pressure of structural changes caused up to 42% of employees to change their occupations. She concluded that economic, political and social changes can force people to relocate their labour across sectors. However, in the coal towns with mono industries, such relocations across sectors are limited. Thus, at the same time, the general occupational structure within heavy industry still retains features of the Soviet era. This is an important point because women still predominantly occupy the supportive and administrative positions although, during the transition time, these occupations were the first to become redundant. Hence, the general proportions of male and female workers changed because of the large scale of redundancies in predominantly female occupational sectors.

In light of the above, the theory of Hakim (1991; 1995; 1996) is particularly interesting as she argued that women are making choices by themselves. Her preference theory classified working women as the 'committed' and the 'uncommitted', and stated that women's labour force participation is mainly a result of women's choices is not suitable for Russian mining industry and contradict our findings as Russian women do not have much choices. Findings of the current study show that women in the mining industry are mainly working full-time as a heritage of the Soviet Union, part-time jobs are not common in this region [and in Russia in

general], the traditional female occupations provide lower pay, the level of job instability increased during the transition, and the patriarchal nature of Russian society does not allow women to make a choice between domestic responsibilities and paid jobs, i.e. they are required to do both. In other words, the current research demonstrates that women's position in the mining industry labour market is a reflection of the jobs they have been forced into because of the communist ideology, masculine labour market conditions and patriarchal pressures.

The third explanatory point raised by Gerber and Mayorova (2006) suggests that the reduced female representation in the Russian workforce was caused by the revival of patriarchal norms, new competitive pressures of the labour market and lack of state social security, all of which became a basis for discrimination. However, the research agrees in part with the above claim by Gerber and Mayorova that Russian society has a patriarchal nature as a heritage of pre-Soviet tsarist Russia. Even in the Soviet Union time, Russian society always had a patriarchal nature that was hidden under the communist ideology. After the collapse of the communist regime, this was reinforced and became even more obvious and `stronger` than it was in the Soviet Union time. However, the example of `Ruscoal` can only partially support Gerber and Mayorova's (2006) finding about the withdrawal of state social security, which is discussed in the following section. Although the author agrees that some `good features` of the communist regime, such as equal access to education for all, free health services at the point of access, and high levels of social security, disappeared during the transition, it should be recognized that there has been no withdrawal of state social protection and legislation concerning women's reproductive functions and the effects of certain job roles. This has been extended in the Russian legislation, and has been used by some managers [Sergey, Head of Production] to reduce the number of women in certain segments, such as production, in heavy industry.

This suggests that different industries may have different experiences of state social protection, thus suggesting the need for further research into this area to explore both the rolling-back of some state social protection and legislation alongside an increase in state protection for women's reproductive functions. Consideration of the above factors shows that Maltseva's model (2005, p.7), discussed in the literature review (see 2.5), can be used to explain occupational sex segregation only

in part, as other factors, such as occupational community, industrial legislation, geographical distance, and feminist organizations in the region, have to be considered to understand the formation of occupational sex segregation in each region.

Interestingly, most of the respondents in the current study, as well as Gerber and Mayorova (2006), outline increased level of job insecurity as the most negative aspect of the `new` Russian economy. Moreover, the competitive conditions of the `new` Russian labour market and the patriarchal views of some managers [such as Sergey, Production Manager] in heavy industry also accounted for the increased level of inequality and discrimination against women in the labour market. Nevertheless, the respondents in this study mention that reinforcement of occupational sex segregation during the transition led to a deskilling of women's labour. Thus, the current research as well as many other authors, such as Wood (1982), Crompton et al. (1984), Penn et al. (1985), Attewell (1987), Crompton and Sanderson (1990), Cockburn (1991), Agnew et al. (1997) and Stone (2007), identified the phenomenon of deskilling labour in `Ruscoal` Mining Company, which will be further discussed later. This, in conjunction with the inactivity of social organizations such as trade unions and other `women's rights` organizations in `Ruscoal` and Siberia, also renders the situation regarding gender equality in Russia even more difficult for women in heavy industry than that outlined by Gerber and Mayorova (2006).

To conclude, it is too simplistic to argue that occupational segregation is just a legacy of the Soviet era. In `Ruscoal`, the situation is more complex than that, as the research findings indicate that it can also be linked to how employers and employees perceive women as workers. For example, the head of the production department perceived a reduction of women workers in his department as a positive factor. As indicated in Maltseva's model outlined in the literature review, employee and employer perceptions should be considered as well as the state's role in enacting labour legislation (see 2.3; 2.5). The analysis of the findings would seem to suggest that this model needs to be developed further by including a focus on context, in particular the impact of local occupational communities and industries where there may be, as in our case, specific aspects of labour legislation that only apply to them. What also needs to be considered to fully develop Maltseva's model

(2005, p.7) is the fact that, geographically, Russia is a huge and diverse country, and that different regions may have different heritages that impact on how men and women accept changes in their employment.

5.2.1.1 Deskilling Labour

This research clearly shows that the Soviet era only obscured the gendered nature of the deskilling of labour, occupational segregation and the feminization of labour, and this has become apparent in changes in `Ruscoal` that have impacted more on women than men. For example, the difficult economic conditions of transition that resulted in the loss of jobs and redundancies among support employees mainly affected female workers (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department). The importance of some departments in `Ruscoal` Mining Company has changed, with women workers consequently slipping down the hierarchy.

For example, the decline in importance of the role of surveyor led to an increased number of women in the department. In the Soviet Union time, the work of this department was considered essential for the Company's performance as these workers dealt with the planning and monitoring of mining operations, measuring the volume of work performed and forwarding that information to the government to fit in with its plans. In the Soviet period, the department was fully staffed by men. During the transition, the importance of this department declined because the Company's target itself changed. The Company became an organization aiming to make a profit; therefore, the owners mainly organized control under the commercial and financial services departments. Thus, the work of the mining surveyors department lost its high hierarchical status during the transition, and this department is now staffed entirely by female workers. During the internal functional restructuring and transition to a capitalist economy, the position of surveyor lost its high hierarchical status and was no longer attractive to male employees.

Another important reason for the occupational changes in the mining surveyors department can be attributed to the remuneration level. As the role of surveyors declined during the transition, the salary level also decreased. Natalya, female, 42, Mining Surveyor, claimed that the level of remuneration in the surveyors department is no longer attractive to male employees and was deemed more suitable for women; this helps to explain why there are now only women in the department.

Therefore, women have to work in jobs with lower statuses and lower levels of remuneration, where they are perceived to have fewer responsibilities and thus receive poorer promotion opportunities.

On the other hand, the finance and accounting department, which was traditionally a female occupation sector, also underwent a change in hierarchical status during the transition; it has become more important for the Company's performance but the gender proportions in this department have not totally changed. This could be attributed to the fact that pay levels in this department have not changed, as in the surveyors department. The remuneration level of an average accountant is still comparatively low. Furthermore, respondents claimed that the promotion opportunities in this department are low; women retain the same positions for many years or even for the whole of their working lives. However, the top management positions in this department during the transition become occupied totally by men. Hence, men are occupying positions with higher hierarchal status, a higher level of responsibilities and high levels of remuneration. Thus, the research demonstrates that, in positions acquiring a low hierarchical status, fewer responsibilities and lower levels of remuneration, male employees were replaced by women. Thus, women were employed in positions that entail fewer responsibilities and lower social status; such positions are assumed to require less knowledge and thus offer a lower level of remuneration.

At the same time, during the transition period men moved to occupations with a higher status and better salary level, such as the finance department. In the accounting department, segregation is more vertical than horizontal; therefore, this example tells us less about the occupation and more about the masculine conception of the ability required to be promoted. The current research as well as many other authors such as Wood (1982), Crompton et al. (1984), Penn et al. (1985), Attewell (1987), Crompton and Sanderson (1990), Cockburn (1991), Agnew et al. (1997) and Stone (2007) identified the phenomenon of the deskilling of labour, as evidenced in `Ruscoal` Mining Company.

These insights are particularly interesting considering Sylvia Walby's (1986) work in which she explains the patriarchal concept of gender inequality and women's position in paid work from the historical point of view; this is particularly relevant

for this study. As stated earlier, the communist ideology had a major impact on women's employment, but Russian history before the USSR was also an important factor. For example, Mead (1970) explains patriarchy and labour segregation as a hierarchy of statuses; men usually occupy positions with higher status as they are initially at a higher psychophysiological level in society. This confirms how men have occupied departments with high hierarchical status and how, when the work becomes less important, they have changed their occupations. Interestingly, one of the main factors impacting on women's unfavourable position in the labour market is the paternalistic approach of the Russian government to women's employment.

5.2.2 Paternalism within Russian Society

This section outlines the paternalistic approach of the Russian government to women's employment. The government, at the legislative level, excludes women from a certain number of jobs in order to protect their reproduction function (see 2.3.1; 4.3). Women are seen as second-class workers as there are many restrictions on their employment. Moreover, the withdrawal of kindergartens during the transition time made women's lives more difficult. The data presented here present a clear picture of the double burden for women. Female respondents agreed that they are responsible for most of the household duties. However, the explanations for this differed: some of the respondents explained it as a tradition in society or their families; some attributed it to natural differences between genders, such as the notion that women are by their nature responsible for child care and maintaining 'hearth and home'; others said it was necessary because of the hard work and dangerous labour conditions endured by their partners.

5.2.2.1 Limitation by the State

The majority of respondents in the current research highlight the decreasing number of female workers within the mining industry during the transition period. But can this situation be linked to the government imposition of regulations on women's roles in the workplace?

The `Ruscoal` Mining Company and the mining industry in general have a strict sexual division of labour according to the National Labour Code of the Russian Federation. According to the list of professions developed by the Russian National Labour Code, it is prohibited to employ female labour in 456 jobs with harmful and dangerous working conditions (Appendix I). In `Ruscoal`, 65% of the jobs appear on this list. Thus, women are permitted to work in only 35% of the jobs offered by the Company. In reality, female representation in the company is even lower, as women comprise only 23 % of the workforce. The highest level of inequity can be found in the production department of `Ruscoal`, where hard physical labour is involved; women are legally barred from most of the professions in this department and thus comprise only two per cent of the employees. Moreover, the head of the production department argued that his aim was to minimize the number of female workers in his department. The current research shows that the transition time, when state-owned companies were privatized and many organizations made large numbers of people redundant, was a `good time` for women's exclusion from the labour force (Sergey, male, 53, head of production department). In other words, they did it because they could do it, and this helped to protect the masculine dominance at work and the superiority of men's own positions.

Harden (2008) argues that the legal `protection` of women depends on the need for female labour. Consequently, in times of high labour demand, labour legislation on women's employment is relaxed, and when demand falls, the legislation is reintroduced. The example of `Ruscoal` shows that, after the Second World War, in the 1950s and 1960s the social benefits provided to women such as maternity leave and children's sick allowances were really limited; however, in the time of transition with high unemployment rates, the government revised the legislation and become more `generous` regarding women's employment (Klimova, 2012). The Russian government explained that it was its intention to protect women as mothers or potential mothers from the damaging effects of paid labour (Russian Labour Code, 2001). However, this research shows that the government's use of legislation has alienated women of `Ruscoal` Mining Company as a separate group of employees whose participation in the labour force was regarded as transitory. Thus, it could be concluded that women's labour force participation in Russia is manipulated by the state in the form of 'protective' legislation that provides both

legal and ideological justifications for excluding women from the labour market when deemed necessary. Consequently, it becomes obvious that the Labour Code of the Russian Federation is upholding the inequity within the labour force.

Although the communist government was trying to create an equal society and equal opportunities for each citizen, the government introduced legislation that limited women's employment by creating a list of professions with harmful or dangerous conditions (USSR Labour Code, article 160 from 1978). By this decree, the government prohibited women from working in occupations considered harmful for their reproductive health. In the transition economy period, the government reviewed this decree and added new professions to this list, as well as prohibiting women from working overtime or on night shifts (Russian Labour Code, clause 253 from 2001). The reasoning behind this expansion of the legislation may have been linked to the difficult demographic situation in the country. In the 1990s, the fertility rate dropped and the Russian population decreased by hundreds of thousands of people; therefore, the government wanted women to return to their main mission – childbirth (Szivos and Giudic, 2004; Shorrocks and Kolenikov, 2001; Kohler and Kohler, 2002). Thus, the Russian government took a paternalistic approach to women's employment and reproductive health. However, these beneficial conditions attached to women's employment can be viewed as discriminatory practice for both genders; i.e. men are not protected from work that can be dangerous for their health, and women are excluded from a large number of highly-paid jobs.

Therefore, what is the outcome of the protective labour legislation of the Russian Federation? The current research demonstrates that, as a result of restrictions in employment, women are often excluded from various skilled jobs (for example, technological machine drivers). In other words, managers such as those in 'Ruscoal' see women as a workforce with limited abilities or as supplementary to core male workers. Therefore, women were often restricted by managers from receiving professional training and thus had limited access to male-dominated skilled jobs and promotions. Hence, the female workforce has mainly been used in 'light' manufacturing, catering, the services and caring professions, and women are mainly situated at the bottom of job hierarchies (Pollert, 2003). Therefore, women's lower

position in the hierarchy of labour can be seen as a result of protective legislation and discriminatory practices in women's employment.

In summary, in the Russian Federation, compared to other European countries, there is a high percentage of working women; however, the Russian government has taken a paternalistic attitude towards them, using their biology as an excuse for excluding them from creative occupations. Thus, Russian law legally discriminated against women because of their reproductive capability instead of improving working conditions for all employees; it has thereby increased the gender division of labour and reinforced the patriarchal nature of Russian society in the mining regions. Nevertheless, the legislation on parental leave and social benefits for children also changed during the transition, and has had a great impact on women's employment.

5.2.2.2 Parental Leave and Child Care Facilities

Female workers (Olga, female, 46, Boiler Machinist; Katya, female, 48, Planner; Alenka, 24, female, Doctor) argued that a longer maternity leave period is a positive aspect of the Russian labour law system as, at the age of three, children are old enough to go to kindergarten and more adaptable to the external environment (see Table 2.1). However, other young women interviewed (such as Ekaterina, 21, female, Intern) also considered that many employers do not want to employ young women of childbearing age, and that women are often discriminated against on this basis, as employers, who are trying to reduce costs under pressure of the economic and structural changes, do not want to bear the double costs of searching for new employees and employing workers who could potentially be out of the labour force for three years.

Moreover, Alenka, 24, female, Doctor, commented that it is women who are most often taking the allowances to care for their sick children although the law allows both parents to take children's sickness allowances. Although the law on children's sickness allowances is quite progressive, this has not changed the mentality of the Russian population and women's responsibilities in respect of looking after children. Thus, it could be concluded that women with young children still face

difficulties in job searches and career promotion. At the same time, research shows that the number of married couples is falling; this indicates that, in Russia in the time of transition, there were more lone parents and the structure of the family itself has changed. As a result, patriarchal structures and practices in society seem unable to respond to social changes in family life.

The interesting point is that women, especially single mothers, have in effect become `second-rate` employees who, according to the legislation, require more social benefits such as parental leave and birth payments; this has resulted in more work for the employers, who have to comply with strict rules in the employment of women. The research in `Ruscoal` seems to resonate with Harden`s (2008) statement that the government, by forcing managers to provide additional benefits for female workers such as paid maternity leave and time off for sick children, as well as restricting their employment, was not creating any advantages for female workers, contrary to its claims.

Another problem raised by the respondents is the reduced provision of preschool child care facilities. The respondents (Raisa, female, 55, Engineer; Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper; also see 2.4.1) claimed that, in their region, large numbers of kindergartens were closed as child numbers fell; therefore, employers were able to minimize their spending on schools and kindergartens. This is confirmed by figures from the Russian Community of Statistics, which show a one-third reduction in preschool facilities during the first half of the 1990s. This argument is supported by Metcalfe et al. (2005a), who claimed that, in the time of transition, under the pressure of a budget deficit the government reduced the number of government-funded child care programs. Moreover, in the 1990s the birth rate drastically declined, resulting in the huge number of preschool and child care facilities being unused and later sold off for commercial use.

However, the transitional literature and current research show that, in 1997, the situation within the country stabilized, the economy started to grow and inflation rates were brought under control; as a result, the birth rate rose again. However, by then most of the kindergartens had closed or been transformed into commercial organizations. Additionally, the costs of `new` private facilities were comparatively high; therefore some women had to stay at home to take care of their children as

there were no preschool facilities in their area or they simply could not afford them. Consequently, the reduced number of child care facilities during the transition time and the increased social costs passed onto the employer had an impact on women's employment rates. This reorganization of state-owned companies into profit-based organizations led managers to question the benefits of employing women (Ekaterina, 21, female, Intern).

The Soviet government never challenged the idea that women were responsible for the domestic sphere, but the state did provide a high level of support for women workers including a variety of child care facilities, which served the dual function of allowing women to work and ensuring that children were correctly socialized (Zdravomyslova et al., 2003). In the time of transition, women's employment rates declined as many women were made redundant as a result of occupational sex segregation when predominantly female occupational sectors were the first to disappear; alternatively, women returned to their `primary mission` at home because of the protective legislation of the Russian Federation, the reduction in child care facilities or the cost of `private` child care services becoming equivalent to their salary levels. In light of the above, it is interesting to explore how the social role distribution within the family has changed during the transition time.

5.2.2.3 Social Role Distribution in `Coal Towns`

This section provides an understanding of social role distribution within Russian society and how the transition economy impacts upon it. The research identifies several factors that impact on social role distribution within families in the case-study company and the mining industry in general.

Firstly, Alenka (24, female, Doctor) reported that many working-aged men are injured during their employment and are no longer able to participate in the labour force. Interviews and documentation from the case-study company show that, in coal towns, it is common for men aged 40-45 to finish their careers and live on disability payments (`regress`). Most of them lack sufficient professional skills or knowledge to continue their careers in other occupations, especially in `coal towns`. According to the Labour Code of the Russian Federation, companies have to

provide payments to employees who are injured at work. These payments are calculated on the basis of the disability and the employees' average salaries (Labour Code of Russian Federation, 2001). However, besides these payments, it should be remembered that the hard labour conditions and injuries sustained at work also affect the partners of these workers, as men who are working in arduous conditions and doing hard physical labour are usually not able to participate in household duties; sometimes their injuries do not allow them to do so. Consequently, nearly all the household duties fall on their female partners.

This is very interesting, considering the finding of the case-study indicates that, in 'Ruscoal', nearly all women work full-time; only one per cent of the workforce works on a part-time basis. (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department). This may be linked to the Soviet Union legacy when there was a high level of female employment and part-time jobs were not common (Zdravomyslova et al., 2010). Thus, this double burden for women is caused by the hard labour conditions endured by their partners and the inflexibility of the labour market. However, this case is mainly applicable to heavy industry as most of the prohibited hard and dangerous professions are in that industry.

The second factor to impact on social role distribution within families is the mentality of Russian women. Women undertake household duties more by tradition, as their mothers did. Interestingly, even if a woman occupies a higher position than her husband or earns the major part of the family budget, she still considers her husband as a helper with the household duties (Katya, female, 48, Planner). Ashwin (2002) also states that Russian women usually want men to "help", which implies that they identify the tasks and the standards that are required. Thus, women by themselves, mainly by tradition, inadvertently contribute to the cause of this phenomenon by assigning to their partners a merely assisting role in everyday household duties despite the fact that both partners are usually working full-time.

If we review the historical aspects, we can recognize that, for many centuries, Russia has been a patriarchal country, even after 1917 when the government followed the ideas of Karl Marx in an attempt to equalize society, including gender equalization. Thus, women did not fight for their rights, unlike those in other European countries during the 20th century; equality in Soviet Russia was promoted

by the government and not by society and women themselves (Rzhanitsyna, 2000). Thus, even as the Soviet government made progress with the equalization of the two genders within the labour market, equalization was not supported by changes in socio-cultural thinking about women's role in the home. Predborska (2005) also agreed that gender equality was not evident under the communist regime although women had a duty to work and were still taking on the most of the domestic responsibilities. The current research supports this idea and demonstrates that the mentality of Russian women has not changed since the 'patriarchal times' as their equalization with men was brought about by force, and the Russian population missed the feminization process, which helps to change the mentality of each generation step by step (Grigory, male, 41, Head of Trade Union). Moreover, the female respondents in the current study understand and accept the patriarchal nature of society (Veronica, female, 33, Economist; Natalya, female, 42, Mining Surveyor).

Therefore, it can be concluded that communist ideology and its definition of equality at work obscured the patriarchal nature of Soviet society in which women still retained responsibility for the domestic domain. In addition, research demonstrates that the transition period has coincided with the re-emergence of traditional norms in gender and family relations. Thus, this research is in agreement with Klimova et al. (2012), and Motiejunaite et al. (2008), concluding that the conditions of the transition economy led to a more unequal distribution of work within the family sphere.

The third important factor to influence social role distribution is to some extent connected with the previous statement and the Russian population's tendency to traditional thinking. Research demonstrates that the majority of women support traditional ideas on the domestic division of labour and the male breadwinner career model. Despite female employment, which usually consists of full-time work, the majority of respondents in the current research stated that their male partners have to earn more; thus, men are responsible for breadwinning in their families. Thus, as section 4.4 shows, Russian women are more likely to sacrifice their career development in order to fulfill their household duties; however, they expect men to be the main (but not the sole) breadwinners for the family. At the same time, considering the fact that those women generally earn less than men, especially in

the mining industry where women are excluded from many highly-paid positions by the labour law, it is not surprising that most men do meet their obligation to earn more. Thus, the occupational structure of the mining industry is itself supporting the traditional social role distribution in families, where men are still considered the breadwinners.

Obviously, it was difficult for men to be the sole breadwinners in the hard economic conditions of the transition economy; however, this practical problem aside, the changed government policy on women's employment had an impact on the norms and expectations of men and women. In contemporary Russia, rather than emphasizing women's duty to work, the government and private authorities are more likely to argue that, in an era of high unemployment, women should leave the jobs for the men (Ashwin, 2002). The development of `softer` labour conditions and the paternalistic approach of the Russian government to women's employment during the transition demonstrates how women are seen as a less important source of labour.

The current research shows that, despite transitional change in gender employment, there is still continuity for women in employment in respect of a patriarchal society, and this is evidenced in Russia by the exclusion of women from certain job roles because of the perceived dangers to their reproductive system, thus once again separating men and women because of biological differences in relation to family and home. This is supported by the arguments of Lafont (1998, 2001), Predborska (2005) and Korovushkina (1994) and shows the traditional views on gender roles and the patriarchal nature of Russian society. This has implications for women's experience in employment and how managers may visualize women's employment.

Lastly, a further interesting aspect is small occupational communities such as mineworkers. This research demonstrates that this occupational community in coal towns still has a strong traditional perception of social role distribution. This community is less impacted by Western society and its traditional views on social role distribution are more difficult to change (Johnson et al., 2013). These views are mainly caused by the strong occupational structure of the employment within the mining industry, where men occupy the leading positions, which consequently offer a higher level of remuneration. Thus, as mentioned above, men are primarily

considered the breadwinners in those communities because of the labour force structure. Moreover, the mentality and psychology of the members of those communities is less well adapted to fighting for their rights, as the town where the `Ruscoal` Mining Company is located as well as many other production towns in the Soviet Union were built by political prisoners who did not agree with the communist regime. This has also impacted on the mentality of the occupational communities in those cities. They are less likely to defend their rights than people in the big cities, who have wider employment options and broader views and knowledge about other societies.

In summary, modern Russian families have combined the Soviet-style family, in which women share the burden of breadwinning, and the patriarchal, pre-communist, traditional family where women have a primary role in the domestic sphere. According to the interview data and recent literature on women's rights, family unity appears to be privileged over women's equality rights, but the government does criticize violence against women and promises to transform the abuser into a non-violent family caretaker (Johnson et al., 2013). However, women in Russia still suffer sexual harassment at the workplace with no legislative provision for protection. They also receive a lower level of remuneration and, at the same time, bear a 'double burden' due to the lack of women's activism aimed at equalizing the gender roles; however, women assume that men will perform the role of main breadwinner.

5.2.3 Gender Pay Gap in Transitional Russia

Many respondents in the current research, such as Vera (46, female, Accountant), Olga (female, 38, Head of Cleaning) and Tatyana (female, 47, Storekeeper), claimed that, in `Ruscoal` Mining Company, a woman in the same position as her male colleague may earn less. Consequently, despite the labour laws, which declared equality for men and women in the workforce and equal access to all types of occupations (Constitution of Russian Federation, 1993), it appears that the earnings level of women in Russia is lower than that of men.

It is clear from the above that the main reason for this is the occupational sex segregation. The current research shows that predominantly male occupations have

a higher level of remuneration. Moreover, women are excluded from particular highly-paid occupations by the Labour Codes of the Russian Federation, such as the machinist of an electric locomotive, shot-firer of coal levels, supplier of fixing materials in the mine, drill-filler, the machinist of a dredge, the machinist of installation on the drilling of trunks of mines, the driver working on the car with a load-carrying capacity over 2.5 tons and many others that usually carry a high level of remuneration. Besides the fact that women traditionally worked in the lower-paid occupational sectors at the time of transition, women and men now receive different remunerations for the same job.

However, this differential treatment of men and women doing the same job is not a legacy of the Soviet era, as has been claimed by Oglobin (1999), who suggested that most of the total wage gap between genders in the Russian Federation is attributable to occupational segregation and is a legacy of the Soviet era. This study confirms that predominantly female occupational sectors have a lower level of remuneration than male occupational sectors as a heritage of the Soviet Union; however, in the Soviet Union employees in the same profession earned an equal amount regardless of their gender. In the Soviet Union, the government set salaries according to the government's set tariffs [the same for all], while the free market economy allows owners to set salaries according to their own preferences. However, during company restructuring and technological development, several professions with traditionally low levels of remuneration were combined into one; thus, the pay level of those professions increased and become more attractive to male employees (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department). This led to the reinforcement of some occupational sectors and changes in pay level structure.

In this context, it could be argued that the freedom of the transition era enabled the utilization of gender stereotypical thinking to emphasize the need for men to earn more than women; the same situation has actually worsened the position of women in this heavy industry despite the declaration of equality by the Russian Federation. Moreover, the paternalistic practices of the state and its concern over falling birth rates have helped male management to directly discriminate against women in terms of income levels, not only by excluding them from certain occupations but also by taking advantage of the unintended consequences of benefit legislation and protection that have created a context where it is seen as acceptable for male

managers such as Sergey (Head of Production Department) to ease women out of his sector, or for them to offer women lower wages than men for the same work.

This is supported by Beller (1982), who mentioned that employees occupying the same positions may receive different levels of remuneration depending on their gender. Other authors, such as Kramer and Lambert (2001), and Darity and Mason (1998), agreed that employers' gender stereotypes 'arrange' male and female employees into different occupations; women are usually channeled into occupations with low remuneration levels, fewer responsibilities and poorer promotion prospects. The example of the surveyors department has demonstrated this (see 4.8). At the same time, the above statements show that these patriarchal practices are not exclusively Russian and are taking place in other countries. However, the transition economy and lack of government control over the equality issue in Russia caused the increased gender wage gap at the end of the 20th century, a time when all other countries were striving to minimize it! In other words, the norms of equality in Russia during the transition went in the opposite direction to those in other European countries, a trend that was particularly obvious in the field of heavy industry.

In 'Ruscoal' Mining Company, the increased gender wage gap was caused not only by the gender stereotypes of the managers and owners of the Company (Sergey, male 53, Head of Production Department) but also by the labour law restrictions on women's employment (Russian Labour Code, clause 253 from 2001). The current research shows that the principal factors maintaining the bias against female employment and career development are the list of professions prohibiting women from working in certain occupations, the patriarchal nature of society, which sees men as breadwinners who have to earn more to feed the family, and gender role stereotyping based on women's reproductive function – women's main mission being to take care of their children and family.

As a result, women in coal towns face difficulties in finding employment, and research shows that, in some cases, women have to marry or find a partner who will provide them with financial support. Hartmann (1976) supports the argument that the key factor maintaining the dominance of men over women is division of labour and lower wages for women in the labour market. Ebert (1988) supports this idea,

stating that if women are used as a cheap and available source of wage-labour, they become dependent on their partners and have to perform domestic household duties. Most of the respondents stated that women's contribution to the family budget is 30-40 per cent. Thus, within the Russian mining industry men are breadwinners for the family and their income forms the basis of the family budget. Therefore, this division of labour and wage differentiation supports the patriarchy in the Russian context and places women in an unfavourable position in the labour market.

5.2.4 Women's Position in the Labour Market in Russia

The respondents in the current research mention that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union women found it more difficult to find jobs (for example, Ekaterina, female, 24, Economist; Olga, female, 46, Boiler Machinist). This is supported by the existing literature, which argues that radical reforms in 1991-1992 resulted in economic and political instability, which brought significant changes for the Russian population: high inflation rates, decreased income levels and high unemployment (Szivos and Giudic, 2004; Shorrocks and Kolenikov, 2001; Kohler and Kohler, 2002). Soviet Union citizens were obliged to work, and unemployment did not officially exist. According to Ashwin and Bowers (1997), it was predictable that the collapse of the Soviet Union and radical ('shock therapy') reforms would lead to high unemployment rates in Russia and that women would be those most affected by these reforms.

Russian statistics support this argument. For example, between 1989 and 1991 around 60 per cent of redundant employees were women, and in the managerial field this figure rose to eighty per cent (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2009). Researchers such as Standing (1994), Bridger and Kay (1996), and Linz (1996), who investigated the Russian transition economy, reported similar findings, noting that during transition time women's participation in the labour market declined and there were fewer women in the labour force. Posadskaya (1994) and Koval (1995) also support this argument; their research shows that, in the 1990s, around eighty per cent of the new unemployed were women. As mentioned previously, the empirical work in the current study also suggests that unemployment among women increased during the 1990s when there were hard

economic conditions and the restructuring processes in companies resulted in mass redundancies throughout heavy industry. This affected women as they were mainly employed in supportive and administrative roles, and they were the first to be dismissed to reduce production costs.

However, the latest statistical data on women's unemployment in Russia do not confirm the depressing prognoses of the early 1990s. The Government Russian Committee of Statistics show that the percentage of women among the unemployed population has continuously declined in the last 10 years. For example, in 1995 men accounted for 9.7 per cent of the unemployed while women accounted for 9.2 per cent; in 2010 the figures were 8 per cent for men and 6.9 per cent for women (Government Russian Committee of Labour Statistics, 2012). However, statistical data (December 2012) show that the number of women looking for work through the Government Employment Service has grown, amounting to 33.2 per cent, while the figure for men is only 25.5 per cent (Government Russian Committee of Statistics, 2013). These statistical data support the argument that unemployment in Russia is a `problem` for both men and women.

In view of the relevant literature and, in particular, considering the findings from the interviews, this study suggests that the collapse of the communist system brought many social and economic problems for employees. Lera, female, 58, Planner, reported that society in Russia after the transition become more materialistic as huge amounts of products such as electronics, clothing and furniture came to the Russian market from all over the world; this presented the Russian population with a `consumer choice`, which they did not have under the communist regime when the variety of products available was limited to the few types of products that had been produced in the Soviet Union (Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper). Companies become profit-making organizations and the number of free medical and educational organizations declined. As a result, the new labour market economy increased competition among the workforce as the government-directed employment of young specialist workers disappeared with the communist regime. Now, the free market requires everyone to compete in the search for employment. Predborska (2005) reported similar findings indicating that the transition economy, the reorganization of companies and the general structural and political changes have led to a modification of the workforce within the country.

Importantly, based on the findings of the current study, the author argues that, during the transition time, the general work culture within companies has changed. This has been caused by several factors such as the following: changes in salary structure; increased competitiveness among workers, as workers no longer settle for `whole-life employment` and frequently change their jobs in order to find the best salary level; responsibilities of many jobs/departments and their importance for company performance changing during the transition time; and general drop in job security, as claimed by most of the respondents. Thus, terms such as whole-life employment, Soviet government salary tariffs, and government allocation of young specialists no longer exist. Consequently, some of the respondents faced difficulties in adapting to a new working culture and thus retained nostalgia for the certainties of the past communist regime.

5.2.4.1 Labour Market and the Mining Industry

The current research also demonstrates that, in towns with mono industries such as coal or oil production, women's unemployment rates are much higher. Women in those cities are experiencing great difficulty in finding jobs in male-dominated industries because of the legislation of the Russian Federation and managers' `negative` perception of female workers in hard and dangerous working conditions (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department; Ekaterina, 24, female, Economist; Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper). Ashwin and Bowers (1997) also argue that unemployment figures in Russia are influenced by industrial regional factors. For example, in Ivanovo, a region dominated by the textile industry (a predominantly female occupation sector), men tend to account for a greater proportion of the unemployed than women. Meanwhile, in Kuzbass region, with a predominantly male occupation sector such as the mining industry, women make up a far greater proportion of the registered unemployed than men (Ashwin and Bowers, 1997). Thus, coal towns have specific labour market conditions that differ from other cities/industries/regions.

Women in the mining industry are mainly employed as support workers, and they were the first to be made redundant in the unstable conditions of the transition economy (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department). Women in `coal towns`

reported difficulty in securing paid employment as they are prohibited by law from doing most of the jobs or managers do not want to employ them in hard physical labour, which they consider `non women professions` (Sergey, male, 53, Head of Production Department). Therefore, women in the `Ruscoal` Mining Company *and heavy industry in general* are those most affected by the social and economic reforms of the transition economy, as the mining industry is traditionally a male occupational sector. As the data presented in Chapter Four indicate, masculine industries such as mining traditionally have a high level of inequity mainly based on the perceived natural physical abilities of each gender. Women are usually seen as physically weaker workers. This restricts women's access to well-paid employment in the mining industry, thus resulting in greater gender disparity.

Nevertheless, the findings from the `coal town` show that, in the time of transition, the labour market become more stressful and requires more `aggressive` behaviour as, during the Soviet Union era, the government provided job placements and now people have to `fight` [compete] for a job placement or promotion (Olga, female, 38, Head of Cleaning; Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper). Thus, the current research and Russian transition literature (Predborska, 2005) both show that the transition economy required new skills from the labour force such as competition, independence, determination, willingness to take risks, and more aggressive behaviour. However, these characteristics are often more associated with men (Pavlychko, 1997; Predborska, 2005). Therefore, this study is consistent with Predborska`s (2005) conclusion that transitional period can be regarded as a `re-masculinisation period` for heavy industry and Russian society.

5.2.4.2 Women in Managerial Positions

The case of Russia, in particular the `Ruscoal` Mining Company, demonstrates the lack of female representation at the decision-making and production levels. In the `Ruscoal` Mining Company, the data show that only seventeen per cent of the top managers are women, and the trade unions have no female representatives. Moreover, during the transition time the situation became even worse, as the majority of the respondents from the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company state that, for the last 20 years, gender diversity has changed, with an increasing number of male

employees, as the Company's owners, following the collapse of the communist system, gained the `freedom` to choose their employees. In contrast, in the Soviet Union era, employment was guaranteed for all citizens, and young specialists were usually directed to an employer following graduation from university; thus, managers did not participate in the employment process. Hence, owners and managers in modern Russia have their own preferences and stereotyping, which produces a negative bias for women's employment and career development.

This is confirmed by Russian statistics; only 14% of the Government Duma in 2010-2013 were women. In legislative bodies of different levels in the year 2013, the proportion of women does not exceed 15-20 per cent, and only three women are Ministers of the Federal Government: Minister of Health and Social Development, Minister of Economic Development, and Minister of Agriculture. In the case of local governments, this figure is even lower; Russia has only two female governors out of eighty-three in total (Russian Government Duma, 2013).

Ross (2006) found a link between women's participation in the labour force, patriarchy and heavy industry. He explains that, in economies based on the extraction of natural resources, governments tend to reduce the number of female workers; they thereby reduce the economic and political representation of women and diminish their political influence. Ross (2006) argues that, if women are not active participants in the labour force and are mainly responsible for household duties, they are less likely to lobby for their interests and rights, and thus less likely to increase their representation in government. Ozbilgin et al. (2004, p. 682) outlines that *`the masculine managerial culture promoted aggressive, domineering behavior`* and excluded women from managerial positions. Sang et al. (2013, p. 173) agreed that the low representation of women in male-dominated industries is a result of masculine stereotypes *`based on a male career model and a culture of long hours and presenteeism`*. As a result, countries with rich natural resources and large heavy industry sectors often have strong patriarchal institutions.

5.2.4.3 Feminization of Employment in the Soviet Union and Russia

In the Soviet Union, the `feminization` of the labour force had increased as a result of the steady rise in female employment rates under the communist regime. However, the current research demonstrates that, despite the changes outlined in the previous sections, gender hierarchies within the labour force remained the same (Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper), and women are occupying positions with lower hierarchical status.

The interview findings and documentation of the case-study company show that women in the Soviet Union time as well as today are concentrated in occupations that are regarded as supportive professions and thus provide lower financial rewards and hierarchical status (Elena, 46, female, Head of Accounting Department). On the national level, statistics show that few women were present in the government structures; women more often occupied service, support or administrative positions, which have traditionally been associated with lower levels of remuneration and status (Government`s Duma official website, 2012). This argument is supported by authors such as Goldman (2002) and Engel (2004), who agreed that the Soviet government had declared the achievement of women`s equality in the country; however, the communist regime did not address the main barriers faced by women in the workplace and the domestic obligations they tacitly absorbed. Thus, women`s participation rate in the Soviet Union was higher compared to Western countries in the second half of the twentieth century, but women were denied high-wage jobs and leadership positions. Consequently, in structural terms women appeared to suffer vertical segregation at the highest levels despite the high level of full-time employment for women.

As previously argued, the current research shows that the changed labour market conditions of the transition economy had a negative impact on women`s participation rates and the feminization of labour in Russia. The legislation of the Russian Federation further limited job roles and women`s labour in the transition economy and shrank the pool of candidates, especially in heavy industry where legislation on hard and dangerous working conditions prohibits female labour from entering most of the professions (Raisa, female, 55, Engineer of Employee Training

(HR). Moreover, the unstable conditions of the transition economy had revived the male breadwinner model and increased unemployment rates for women, who had been the most affected part of the labour force and thus became more dependent on their partners' wages (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department). Irina uses the word 'partner' rather than 'husband'. This shows that the family structure is changing despite patriarchal thinking and the rise of Russian orthodoxy, which supports marriage.

The transition economy in general has had a great impact on the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company in all business aspects such as production, finance, human resources management and strategic management. The examples of the accountancy and surveyors departments of the case-study company demonstrate the feminization of employment; men chose to move out of female-dominated areas, and female work was deskilled or devaluated during the transition period, with the result that women's work now receives less of a pay premium (see section 5.2.3). Thus, it can be concluded that what is happening in the case-study company can be explained in part by the literature that emphasizes the feminization of labour (Bolton and Muzio, 2008). The occupational sex segregation and gender discrimination are constructing barriers to women's employment. The highly-paid industries such as heavy industry are mainly occupied by men; women are concentrated in the light industries, which traditionally had lower remuneration levels (Maslov, 2008). In heavy industry women are used as a flexible labour force. Thus, the example of 'Ruscoal' demonstrates that the phenomenon of feminization is also a reflection of the changing nature of demand in the labour market (Chen et al., 2004).

5.2.5 Women, Coalmining and Technology in Mining

In the last few decades, technology, tools and equipment in the mining industry have developed dynamically. Research shows that, in 'Ruscoal' Mining Company, men dominate the technological professions (Sergey, 53, male, Head of Production Department), even those professions that no longer require hard physical labour. The examples of technological drivers of *BelAZ (cars)* and quality control departments illustrate the backwardness of Russian legislation. Technological progress could help increase the level of equality in the mining industry as the

physicality of the work is reduced (Nina, female, 74, Enrichment Plant Operator, retired). However, research shows that bureaucracy and the Russian labour law is not allowing women to enter these technological occupations, which usually have a high level of remuneration.

Valentin, male, 57, CEO of `Ruscoal`, claimed that the Company is trying to change the situation and use female labour in `prohibited`/non-recommended job roles as technology is developing and many jobs are no longer heavy or dangerous. However, technology advances more quickly than the legislative framework, and some restrictions on women's employment are irrelevant; therefore, companies such as `Ruscoal` have to prove to the government that the use of new technology means that some of those professions are no longer harmful to women's health. However, the bureaucratic structure of the Russian government makes this process incredibly difficult, and it will require a lot of time and effort by the Company's management to obtain permission to employ women in the `harmful` professions (Russian Labour Code, clause 253 from 2001). Therefore, the Company's management does not want to enter this `long` bureaucratic process and, hence, still employs men in those positions.

A paradoxical situation has resulted: technological progress allows women to increase their presence in many occupations, including those that were traditionally considered male domains; however, the legislation base and the bureaucracy of the Russian Federation do not allow them to do so. Additionally, the mentality of Russian managers and their traditional thinking also prevents women from entering certain occupations in which technological development makes the process automated and easy to manage. However, this research shows that eight out of fourteen managers of `Ruscoal` considered that technological and mechanical work in the production department is not suitable for female labour. Wajcman (2000) reminds us that current technology is supported and directed by powerful institutions and masculine interests. Consequently, by excluding women from high-technology occupations, society can eliminate women's representation in areas such as production and thus help support managers' perceptions that production is not an area for women despite the advent of new, user-friendly technology, which makes the role physically much easier.

This is another reason why control of the implementation of technology is important, as it can be used to support equality. Cockburn (1983, 1985, 1992 and 1994) and Wajcman (1991, 2000) both theorize gender-technology relations and argue that technology by itself is not gendered; however, the way in which it is used *is* gendered and, thus, the control of the implementation of technology is used to this end. Cockburn's research shows that men have historically placed themselves in key technological roles: *'metal working in feudal times, and machine tooling in industrial times'* (1985, p. 38). Consequently, technology in modern Russian heavy industry is male-dominated because it has historically demanded certain essentially masculine traits; consequently, the mentality of people (working in this area) has not changed and, in conjunction with the barrier of Russian labour legislation, this supports gender discrimination. Thus, women in Russia have to take an active position in order to eliminate barriers to their employment and change the existing situation in the labour market.

5.3 Activism (or Non-activism) of Russian Women

Drawing on the case-study company's data, this section provides an explanation of the activism (or non-activism/silence) of Russian women. The research identified three main factors that impact on the lack of female activism in 'Ruscoal'. The first is the behavioural norms of the local occupational community, which is 'isolated' from the big cities by the remoteness of the Siberian region and by historical aspects of this region. Secondly, the town has a mono industry - mining production - which is traditionally a highly masculine industry; therefore, the community is masculine-oriented and women face difficulties finding jobs in such regions. The research shows a high level of gender inequality and discrimination, but no feminist organizations are represented in the region. Thirdly, the trade unions, which aim to support gender equality in all developed countries, are going through their formation stage in 'Ruscoal' and do not recognize the need to maintain gender equality as their structural function. Furthermore, this section provides insights into the relationship between the respondents' ages and their relation to gender diversity and discrimination issues.

5.3.1 Occupational Community of the Kuzbass Region

The `Ruscoal` Mining Company is situated in a small East Siberian town about three thousand kilometers from Moscow. The town was built up around coal mines in 1955 by prisoners who opposed or tried to oppose the Communist Party. The main source of income for the town's budget is coal production; about 25 per cent of the working-age population is employed in the mining industry.

The large geographical distance from the central regions and the close mining community impact on the beliefs and behavioural norms of the population in this region. The town does not provide a wide range of employment options as most jobs are concentrated in the coal production sector or service industry. Thus, the mentality of women in this region is different from that in megacities such as Moscow or Saint Petersburg.

The first factor to impact on female activism in `Ruscoal` is the large geographical distance from Europe and the central Russian regions, rendering this community more detached and less exposed to `Westernized` ideas of feminization and gender equality. Interestingly, however, a recent documentary *Modern Russian Feminism: Twenty Years Forward* (2009) has shown that even big cities such as Moscow and Saint Petersburg have few women activist organizations; authors mention the sharp drop in Western financial support for gender activist organizations in Russia, and the consolidation of exclusively masculinist power under Putin has required most feminist projects to accept government control (Holmgren, 2013). Thus, the consequences of opposing President Putin mean that society, the trade unions and feminist organizations are more likely to remain silent.

The second reason for the lack of female activism is the history of many production towns in Siberia. Those towns, including the town where `Ruscoal` is located, were built by `political prisoners` who opposed the communist regime. Consequently, people in those regions are less likely to lobby for their rights, as the local population has a `collective memory` that impacts on its behavioural norms. Thirdly, the strong division of labour supported by the legislation of the Russian Federation limits the number of `female` jobs in the mining industry. Thus, `coal towns` have high levels of competition among the female workforce; because of

this lack of employment, they prefer to keep silent when they find jobs for fear of losing them. Moreover, the salary structures within the industry, where men occupy the leading positions with higher levels of remuneration, maintain the patriarchal nature of society where men are considered the breadwinners. This combination of factors results in a lack of female activism in the region and deep-rooted patriarchal norms in society.

In contrast to the lack of female activism, the mining community used to defend its rights by organizing strikes at the national level. Clarke et al. (1995) even claimed that the collapse of the Soviet Union system started with the miners' strike in 1989. In the Soviet Union, mining communities asked for help from the government structures, who were the sole owners of the companies. The mining strikes in 1989 resulted in the formation of a new Independent Miners' Union (NPG), which became the first alternative organization to the 'government' trade unions in Russia. The next wave of mining strikes in 1998 did not bring such significant changes as they occurred in the last year of Communist Party rule. In 1998, the miners also tried to bring the problem of delays in their wage payments to the national level by blocking the Trans-Siberian railway, which is vital for transporting natural resources to central Russia and Europe. However, this time the government shifted all obligations onto the owners of the companies, who were constantly changing in the 1990s [the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company had three different owners in the 1990s]; consequently, these mining strikes did not bring the desired results. Thus, under the conditions of the transitional economy and, now, the free market economy, the negotiation process has become more difficult, as negotiating with many different owners is more difficult than negotiating with one Soviet Union coal production ministry.

Moreover, this research shows that women in the time of transition were concentrating on survival in hard economic conditions, as described by Tatyana, female, 47, Storekeeper, and Olga, female, 38, Head of Cleaning Work. Thus, women's 'silence' is especially obvious in small towns with a mono industry where it is very difficult for women to find jobs, and mobility is less likely to occur in this region. Moreover, any women speaking out on this issue would be highly visible, and employers [the only tree in the town] would be less likely to employ them in future. This argument is supported by Basu (2010, p13), who claimed that

“women’s movements are less likely to emerge when states are weak and repressive and there is a chasm between official pronouncements and actual politics and practices”.

To conclude, the transition economy had a negative impact on activism in local communities, as the outcome of those negotiations shows that the transition period, the unstable situation and the absence of a strong trade union organization made this less effective. Nevertheless, the lack of female voices in the trade union body and the absence of women in managerial positions make it difficult to articulate women’s concerns or challenge the women’s silence on these matters. At the same time, there is no guarantee that having women representatives would change the culture of a local occupational community such as that of `Ruscoal`.

5.3.1.1 Role of Religion in Russian Society

Religion plays an important role in Russian society, and did so even under the communist regime (Kaariainen et al., 2000). However, in our case-study, respondents claimed that religious beliefs do not influence their everyday lives, and many of them do not identify themselves with any religion. The author links this to the atheism encouraged in the Soviet Union and the specifics of the Siberian region.

Atheism was not formally enshrined in the Soviet Union as a state ideology; however, it was actively supported by the Communist Party and the state authorities until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Mitrokhin, 2006). The communist government aimed to remove religious practice and ritual from everyday life in order to erase religious identity from Soviet society (Kaariainen et al., 2000). As a result of the Soviet anti-religious actions, by the end of the Soviet period most people did not identify themselves with any religion while others hid their religious beliefs. Therefore, most employees of the `Ruscoal` Company do not follow any religion as it was prohibited under communism.

Another explanation could be connected to the multinational background of the population of the Siberian region; many people had been `sent` there after the Russian Revolution and the Second World War, and they had different religious

beliefs that had been lost with the next generation because the families of mixed nationalities had been assimilated and lost their national and religious identities. Thus, in contrast with Kaariainen (2000) and Kizenko (2013), the current research demonstrates that religion in this region does not largely impact on employment.

The interesting point here is that a comparative analysis of men's and women's attitudes to beliefs in Russia shows that women have stronger religious beliefs than their male colleagues (Kizenko, 2013). Kizenko (2013) argues that there is paradox in religious life in Russia: women retained their belief in the Orthodox Church even though religion was prohibited in Soviet Union society. Women shared the values, practices, and Orthodox Church policies that seemed to keep them in subordinate positions. Hidden religious beliefs were not based on the knowledge of religious dogma and ritual; they had their roots in the traditional culture and historical memory (Kruglov, 2012). This hidden religiosity nevertheless contributed to the religious revival of the late 1980s and early 1990s. During the transition time, many Orthodox women have taken advantage of the rapidly changing environment and expansion of the religious field to pursue their religious commitments.

Women's high level of participation in religious life is beginning to change Orthodoxy's patriarchal tradition (Shevzov, 2003). At the same time, the Orthodox Church accepts neither the Soviet nor the Western doctrine of gender equality. The Russian Orthodox Church perceives equality as an antagonistic doctrine that could be harmful to Russia's values and beliefs. Religion encourages women to follow the traditional gender roles, and thus supports the propagation of the patriarchal norms within Russian society (Kruglov, 2012). Hence, religion can be used to support the ideas of patriarchy in Russia even though it is not deeply-rooted in Siberia.

5.3.2 Gender Equality/Inequality and the Trade Unions

It is clear from the above description that challenging inequities in women's employment is not considered to be the role of the trade unions involved in heavy industry, despite research indicating that trade unions in the mining industry have always played an important role in employment relations in the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation (Clarke et al., 1995; Popov, 2008). Trade union

representatives interviewed during the fieldwork claimed that the function of trade union organizations has changed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. No longer playing the role of government social distribution service, they became organizations that aimed to protect employees' rights. Clarke (2005) supported this argument, claiming that the trade unions changed their role during the transition and started to lobby for employees' interests. However, this research partly contradicts this argument as the research data show that the trade union of the case-study company is at the development stage and only partially lobbies for employee's rights.

These findings are very interesting as they show that trade unions are maintaining their traditional relationship with the state and employers; they are providing token guarantees of social silence in exchange for the right to consultation and realization of labour policies and legal recognition of the employees' rights. This 'social agreement' is a resource through which the trade unions are able to secure the reproduction of the governmental and administrative role that they had enjoyed under the communist regime.

Moreover, the current study shows that the trade union representatives of the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company do not function in all areas of employee protection, concentrating on just a few functions such as collective agreements, working conditions and pay rises. Table 4.2 clearly shows that trade unions are not performing well in their new function as they are losing their authority among their members. For instance, the data indicate that the trade union was not concerned about gender equality within the company. Three interviewed employees of the trade union organization [all male] identify the paternalistic legislation of the Russian Federation as the main factor limiting women's employment in the mining industry. However, they do not perceive this as an unequal or unfair approach to women's employment or a factor they have to deal with. The trade union representatives even see the decree prohibiting women's employment as a positive factor of the Russian labour legislation, as it supports women's reproductive function. Thus, the trade unions in Russia are not seeking more gender equality; in fact, they are supporting the government's paternalistic approach to women's employment. Thus, it can be concluded that gender inequality was present in the Soviet Union before, and during the transition period it has been reinforced by the

social construction of legislation that emphasizes women's reproductive role; moreover, the patriarchal system of society (Predborska, 2005) makes it difficult for women to challenge this situation, particularly if labour bodies also do not see it as a problem. This may be partly due to the mentality of the Russian population, in particular the occupational community, including the trade union representatives, of the East Siberian region, as explained earlier in this chapter. All the trade union employees in 'Ruscoal' Mining Company are men who grew up in this environment; their gender and identity also impact on trade union actions and policies within the Company.

Meanwhile, 72 per cent of the respondents argue that, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the trade unions have lost their influence on company management and government bodies. Many workers have left the trade union organization over the last decade years as they find it less effective and not very supportive in representing employees' interests and protecting their rights. This argument was confirmed by Clarke (2005), who claimed that, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the trade unions have become less and less important to the government and working communities, and they run the increasing risk of losing their patronage. This could be explained by the fact that, during the transition time, the trade unions have secured their institutional survival by reproducing their traditional role as social distributors (Chan, 2000). In conditions of the modern Russian economy, in order to maintain their privileges the trade unions offer no real opposition to the government or company management; consequently, they are losing their authority among their members (Clarke, 2005).

To conclude, the trade unions in Russia are still going through a development stage, and are combining their social distribution service and employee protection activities. The present emphasis on development is to secure their institutional survival rather than develop their representative capacity. Consequently, trade unions are trying to position themselves as 'Westernized' organizations that protect employee rights; however, they conduct a very limited number of activities where they lobby for the employees' interests. Currently, the trade union of 'Ruscoal' Mining Company is taking no action in support of gender equality rights or supporting female activism within the Company or the industry in general. As a

result, they are losing authority among workers, especially among the young generation as they are unable to perform any of these roles very well.

5.3.3 Generational Differences

Three respondents - Maria, female, 70, Head of Financial Department (retired), Nina, female, 74, Enrichment Plant Operator (retired), and Lubov, female 70, retired Crane Operator - mentioned that the Soviet Union provided equal opportunities for both genders and in those times no one even thought about any women's activist organizations as they were regarded as unnecessary. The research clearly demonstrates that employees aged over 60 have no concept of gender discrimination and have never even heard of terms such as gender diversity; meanwhile, younger workers, aged 23-35, are familiar with the context and reported cases of gender discrimination at the workplace (Ekaterina, 21, female, Intern; Ekaterina, female, 24, Economist).

The majority of older respondents (over 55) claimed that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a number of benefits that had aimed to support equality, such as free education, flats for young specialists and direct employment, were reduced. All respondents mention the increased level of uncertainty at the workplace and difficulties they faced in their job searches. The free market economy did not provide the stability that had existed in the Soviet Union era. Most employees over the age of 50 had had only one employer during their working lives and they had no experience of a job search. At the same time, younger workers have wider views on employability and mention that they want to change their jobs within the next five years. Thus, the `older` generation characterize the new conditions of the free market economy as uncertain and unstable, as they differ from the communist whole-life employment. At the same time it should be mentioned that the younger generation found these conditions fair and claimed that the changes could provide better opportunities for self-realization.

The current study shows that respondents from the older generation, aged fifty years and above, who worked in the Soviet Union claimed a greater level of equality than the younger generation. The author links this with people's mentalities. The

mentalities of older workers who grew up in the Soviet Union and studied Marx's theory are different from the mentalities of those who grew up after the collapse of the communist system. Harden (2008), who researched women's position in the labour market and the family in Soviet Union countries, claimed that Marxist theory is an important factor in explaining gender equality in Russia.

As previously explained, the communist ideology was based on the works of Karl Marx (see 2.7); however, the role of the family in the society had no theoretical support in his works, as it was treated as of secondary importance. Marx's theory aimed to create a 'homogeneous industrial proletariat' with no gender differences. However, education in the Soviet Union and Marx's ideas impacted on the mentality of the Soviet population, as data provided here demonstrate that Russian women in the Soviet Union did not think about emancipation and feminization as the system taught them that they were living in the most equal society in the world. As a result, the different generations in Russia have different perceptions of gender equality and have even interpreted it differently.

In summary, many researchers such as Pollert (2003), Lapidus (1978), Buckley (1988), Corrin (1990) and Molyneux (1981) agreed that, in the Soviet Union, women had a greater level of equality than in other industrialized countries in the mid-20th century. However, the communist regime did not achieve equality throughout the population, including gender equality, despite its claims. Pollert (2003) adds that efforts to build gender equality on the basis of the communist legacy in Russia have failed. However, the older generation still has nostalgia for the 'command-equality' of the communist Soviet Union.

5.4 Conclusion and Summary

The patriarchal theoretical lens and the two main chosen strands - reinforcement of occupational sex segregation and activism (or non-activism) of Russian women - helped the author to explain gender inequality in the mining industry during the transition period in Russia. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, women's participation in the labour market changed. While some women enjoy the opportunities brought by the transition, such as the dynamic development of private

enterprises, others feel troubled and lost as a result of the same process. Many highly skilled professionals, such as teachers, doctors and engineers, have been unable to adapt to the new free market economy and, during the time of transition, these professions have become less well paid and less prestigious; the working professions have also become lower-status professions with lower pay levels.

This research clearly shows that the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a dramatic change in the social and economic environment, resulting in changes to the existing systems of social security and government child care programs. This section will summarize the significant findings that show the impact of these political, economic and social changes on gender diversity.

The first important point is that work in the mining industry is still based on ideas of "natural" differences between men and women. Physical abilities in the production department are still playing an important role. Male and female jobs are divided on the basis of outdated assessments of physical effort. Furthermore, this is supported by the extensive legislation of the Russian Federation which prohibited women from working in hard and dangerous working conditions; it also emphasized the differences in gender norms in terms of lifting weights and working on night shifts, which might also be problematic for men. Thus, women are excluded from certain occupations based on their reproductive capability. In the time of transition, those "natural" differences became more obvious as the government aimed to increase the birth rate and emphasize the importance of women's reproductive function by providing additional benefits for pregnant women or women with children. The implementation of paternalistic policies to protect women and their reproductive function has had unintended consequences for women's employment.

Secondly, the research shows that based on this legislation and traditional thinking, employers do have preferences for certain employees in terms of occupational choice and hiring employees of a certain gender. Consequently, the demand for female labour in heavy industry is protected by rigid patterns of sex segregation or by the personal preference of employers who are trying to reduce costs under pressure of the economic and structural changes. Most (65%) jobs are legally prohibited for females under the National Labour Code of the Russian Federation as they are classified as professions with harmful or dangerous working conditions.

However, the personal preference of the management also plays a big role in gender diversity within the case-study company, especially in conditions of economic transition. Sergey, 53, male, Head of Production Department, claims that he wants to reduce the number of women in his department as women are unable to perform well in certain job roles, even if those roles are not legally prohibited for women. Thus, those employers' preferences limit women's access to professional training and do not allow women to develop in the career hierarchy, thereby reinforcing vertical segregation.

Thirdly, the research shows a persistence of stereotypes in terms of social role distribution. Men are still considered family breadwinners, especially in the mining industry where females are barred from many jobs. However, as a heritage of the communist system and its obligation to work, most women are working on a full-time basis. At the same time, families retain the patriarchal, pre-communist, traditional family style where women are responsible for the household duties.

Thus, women have a double burden of responsibilities as they share the burden of breadwinning and have a primary role in the domestic sphere. Moreover, in the Russian context we are not talking about women as flexible part-time workers, as Russian women mostly work full-time; this has its counterpoint in Western literature (Walby, 1986; Crompton et al., 1990; Hakim, 2000), where women are considered second-class workers because of their family responsibilities. The divide between public/private structures often means they have little choice but to take on part-time work; however, this is not an option in Russia or `Ruscoal`. And the withdrawal of kindergartens coupled with the physicality of some of the men's work, resulting in a high level of physical injuries, has made women's lives even more difficult.

Communist ideology equated employment with emancipation, and the worker-mother contract was institutionally embedded within communist work regimes (Puffer, 1996). Communist ideology emphasized the importance of female labour as the key factor for communist industrial development (LaFont, 1998). Consequently, as work was a duty, not a right, women worked like men [the same hours] in the labour market for low returns but still took responsibility for hearth and home, maintaining the link with pre-communist patriarchy (Korovushkina, 1994). Interestingly, research demonstrates that the modern labour capitalist neo-

liberal market condition maintains the patriarchal nature of society and impacts on role distribution within families. Women in Russia are still taking on most of the domestic responsibilities.

In light of the above, this research shows that women in the mining industry are facing discrimination in hiring and promotion. Moreover, men are also discriminated against as they are not protected from the damaging effects of hard labour, which the new technology is capable of circumventing. At the same time, one of the main guarantees provided to Russian citizens by the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993) is equality. The current legislation of the Russian Federation contains a number of Acts prohibiting discrimination.

However, the findings of this research illustrate that, in reality, the anti-discrimination legislation does not always work (Irina, 52, Head of HR department) or, in the case of `Ruscoal`, is not even an issue, as there are many examples of discrimination against disabled people and migrants or an unjustified refusal to hire on the grounds of age or gender. At the same time, the current research shows that the labour legislation limits women's employment and discriminates against women on the basis of their reproductive capability (list of prohibited professions). Thus, the legislation of the Russian Federation is contradictory in supporting inequity within the labour force. In the time of transition, the labour law sought to return women to their `primary mission`, and it had a negative impact on equality rights in Russia. Hence, the Russian government has a paternalistic approach to women's employment, and the female labour force is manipulated according to the government's needs.

Nevertheless, the research shows that the Company has only a few women in top managerial positions. The free market economy allows owners to set salaries according to their own preferences, unlike in the Soviet Union era when they were set according to government tariffs; thus, management preferences have become more important in the free market economy. Moreover, the fact that fewer women occupy managerial positions in the mining industry should also be considered as men have become the main decision-makers and have more power than they had in the Soviet Union. Consequently, in the modern Russian Federation, `Ruscoal` can

pay different levels of remuneration for the same position depending on the employee's gender.

Another interesting point is that most women in `Ruscoal` Mining Company have no understanding of the gender diversity concept, especially people aged over 55, who were educated in the Soviet Union. However, the younger generation recognize the issue of gender discrimination but the lack of support from the trade union or other social organizations prevents them from challenging the situation. Sayce et al. (2006, p. 407) outline that *`positive experiences of union activism are also important to maintaining and increasing women's activism`*; in other words, were the trade union to support women in just a few cases, female activism in the region would grow.

However, the data analysis revealed that women do not know how to challenge this unfavourable situation. The lack of activism in this area is related to the occupational community and mentality of the local population. The `Ruscoal` Mining Company is located in a town with a mono-industry, and the nature of the industry has always been the personification of masculinity.

According to Slutskaya et al. (2012), work involving hard or dangerous conditions has habitually been associated with working-class men and masculinity. Therefore, women live by norms dictated by the local `masculine-dominated` community. Moreover, this region is geographically remote from Central Russia, and activism, which started to occur in megacities such as Moscow and Saint Petersburg (*Modern Russian Feminism: Twenty Years Forward* 2009), has little impact on a small Siberian town. Moreover, the region has no organizations to inform women of their rights or support female activism. For example, the trade union does not include supporting gender equality among its functional responsibilities.

This research has answered the question: What has happened in Russia in women's employment during the transition time? It has also explained `why` these changes have happened and why women's equality rights are being infringed in contemporary Russia. The results of this study show that patriarchy had always existed in the Soviet Union but was obscured by women's duty to work. Despite the transitional change in gender employment, there is still continuity for women in

employment in respect of a patriarchal society; this is evidenced in Russia in the banning of women from certain job roles because of the dangers to their reproductive function, thus once again dividing men and women. The remaking of capitalism around a free market economy has allowed the State, the employers, male workers and trade unions to reassert patriarchal notions under the guise of paternalism, in other words protecting female workers while, at the same time, exploiting women as a cheaper labour force by limiting their career progression as well as their occupational mobility.

To conclude, considering all the above, the author argues that the conditions of the transition economy have led to a reduction in the number of women in the workforce of the case-study company and possibly in the whole of Russia's heavy industry, as indicated by Irina, female, 52, Head of HR department of another mining company in the region. Moreover, according to the company management's traditional sex role stereotyping point of view, it is possible to predict that the number of women in the case-study company will decrease in the future. Additionally, drawing on the interview data and relevant literature, this study showed that the transition economy has revealed and reinforced the patriarchal nature of Soviet society that lay just below the communist veneer of the Soviet Union. The transition economy and the new Putin regime show patriarchy as traditionally and commercially masculinist for Russian society (Johnson et al., 2013).

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to present the conclusion in consideration of the research question and objectives of this thesis. The conclusion consists of four further sections. Firstly, this chapter presents the overall conclusion of this thesis; it then revisits the original research questions and research objectives. The next section identifies the original contribution of the current research in light of the theoretical and methodological implications and the implication for policy and practice. Lastly, this chapter outlines the research limitations and offers suggestions for future research.

6.2 Overall Conclusion

This research was conducted in Russia with the aim of contributing to the knowledge about gender diversity in the time of transition. However, the evidence obtained from this research may differ from that derived from other countries, depending on the cultures, traditions and values of those countries (Cubillo and Brown, 2003). The major finding of this research was that the transition economy had a negative impact on women's participation rates in the labour force in Russia and that the modern Russian mining industry still has a high level of gender inequity.

The high level of female participation in the labour force is a heritage of the Soviet Union system, where the government used women as an additional source of labour in conditions of labour shortage after the Second World War. However, the majority of female employees have traditionally occupied the administrative and support sectors of heavy industry, sectors that were the most affected in the transition period. At the same time, companies try to retain their production employees, who are usually male, and maintain the men's superior earnings level. Consequently, the proportions of male and female employees in the case-study company have changed, and there are a lower percentage of women in the `Ruscoal` Mining Company.

Moreover, the mentality of the local `occupational community` has played a big role in those changes. The Company's managers have very traditional ideas about gender roles in society, and in times of economic crisis these views became more obvious as, in a climate of large-scale redundancies, most of the redundant employees were women. In the managers' opinion, in times of recession (such as in the 1990s) women should concentrate on their secondary roles as housewives and carers of children, while men should be the main breadwinners for their families, despite the changing nature of families and the fact that fewer couples are marrying.

The current research and the literature review show that Russian society still has a strong social role distribution. Women are performing most of the household duties while men are the family breadwinners (Lokshin, 2004; Bianchi et al., 2000). The communist system provided social benefits such as child care facilities, women's social protection and equality rights, for which women in capitalist countries had to fight. Thus, Russia has no history of any feminist actions, and society remains silent on the issue as there are no organizations to inform women of their rights and support them (Maslov, 2008). Moreover, trade unions in Russia are going through a development stage and do not recognize the protection of equal rights as one of their functions.

Communist ideology and Soviet propaganda proclaimed equality between all social classes, and genders; in reality, however, men earned more than women because of the occupational sex segregation in the labour market where women were employed in positions with lower remuneration levels (Roshchin, 2003). During the transition period, the salary structure was totally changed. Subsequent to this, the gendered pay gap widened. In the Soviet Union, salaries were calculated on the basis of the wage scale or government tariff netting; thus, everyone was earning more or less the same. In modern Russia, with its free market economy, salaries are set according to the owners' calculations; consequently, some occupations became lower paid and less attractive to male workers, thus leading to a feminization of labour in those occupations. This explanation is linked to the long-standing but obscured patriarchal nature of Russian society and its influence on structures and practices.

Additionally, the older workers in the current study had no concept of gender discrimination, while younger workers could readily identify examples of

discrimination against women but lacked the social and political resources to be able to challenge the gender discrimination. Thus, the situation has started to change as the younger generation is already familiar with the concept of gender diversity and the problem of gender discrimination; however, changes in mentality and behaviour will not occur overnight. Although the current research shows that young Russian women are moving towards the idea of shared roles (such as Ekaterina, 21 female, Intern in Accounting Department, and Ekaterina, 24 female, an Economist), it will be some time before women receive the support of government, men and other bodies such as trade unions. Such support is essential to put these ideas into practice, particularly in industries with a strong heritage of state protection for women and in occupational communities that are politically and socially distant from activities in other parts of Russia, where there may be more activism pursuing equal rights for women (*Modern Russian Feminism: Twenty Years Forward*, 2009).

To conclude, considering all the above arguments, Russia, in contrast to the Western world, is going backwards in terms of maintaining gender diversity and protecting women's rights. The Soviet Union had greater equality rights forty years ago than modern Russian society has today. The main reason for this is the paternalistic labour legislation of the Russian Federation; this contradicts the Constitution of the Russian Federation, which proclaimed equality for all citizens regardless of gender, race, religion and age. Moreover, the transition period was regarded as the 're-masculinity' period for Russian society and the revival period for patriarchal norms. Most of the child care facilities were closed during the transition time, which made women's lives more difficult as part-time work in Russia and in the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company in particular does not exist; most women are in full-time employment. Thus, the pressure of the double burden has increased and, in addition to the restrictions on women's employment, women are becoming second-class workers who receive lower levels of remuneration. The inactive stance of the occupational community in the Siberian region, its historical background and the lack of support from trade unions or any feminist organizations in Russia at the time of transition have regressed the struggle for gender equality in this industry.

6.3 Revisiting the Research Questions and Research Objectives

This paper has reported findings from a study that aimed to understand how the transition from a communist state (the Soviet Union) to a capitalist state (Russia) has influenced gender diversity within one particular sector: heavy industry. In other words, the aim of this thesis was to provide an explanation of the indirect relationship between the transition economy and the employment of male and female workers, showing how the gender composition may change at a time of transition and identifying the factors that impacted on it. This added to research on other transition economies, such as China or other BRIC countries, while expanding our knowledge of what is happening in Russia in a very important political and social context but also in a crucial resource industry (Roland, 2000; Lissyutkina, 1993).

Heavy industry is the best example of the occupational sex segregation and division of labour, as this industry is predominantly occupied by men and thus has a high potential for discrimination against women (Blau, Simpson, and Anderson, 1998; Cotter et al., 1997; Reskin, 1993; Wells, 1999). Coal production is a key sector in heavy industry and is the focus of this paper. By considering the issues faced by women in heavy industry during transition, this research hopes to draw attention to the experiences of women and their interaction with the environment, and to explore their employment and work experience subsequent to transitional restructuring in Russia.

The overall research question is as follows: *How do the relevant stakeholders of the Russian coalmining industry perceive the impact of the transition economy on gender diversity?* In order to answer the research question, this research project gathered data from fieldwork utilizing qualitative research methods, such as a case-study approach and semi-structured in-depth interviews. This study presents a triangulation of viewpoints (organizational, employee and trade union viewpoints) (see Table 4.2) on gender diversity in a transition economy (Cooper and Schindler, 2003) within a dynamic and continuously changing social setting (Neuman, 2006). In this research, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the research method as they allow the interviewee the opportunity to consider things he/she had not

previously considered about gender diversity in the Russian coal industry on governmental, organizational and individual levels (Halmi, 1996). This is in line with qualitative empirical research that aims to understand a social or human problem from various subjective perspectives (Walker and Myrick, 2006).

Through forty-three in-depth interviews with the senior managers, employees and trade union representatives (stakeholders) of the case-study organization and the Head of the HR department of another key mining company in the region, this research examined the political, social and economic dimensions that impact on the gender composition of employment in the Russian coal industry. It also explained continuity and changes in gender composition during a period of transition, which has major implications for both female and male employment in the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company. A thematic analysis was chosen, which enables the identification, analysis and reporting of patterns (themes) within the data. It organizes and describes datasets in rich detail (Daly, Kellehear & Gliksman, 1997) and helps to achieve the four main research objectives.

6.3.1 To examine gender regulation rules and policies within the Russian mining industry and define how they have changed since the Soviet Union era for the female labour force

Chapter two provided a literature review, which discussed legislation of the Soviet Union and Russian Federation and changes in social payments such as maternity leave payments, preschool facilities, medicine and education during the transition time (Roschin, 2005; Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993; USSR Labour Code, from 1978; Russian Labour Code, from 2001; Metcalfe and Afanassieva, 2005b; Ashwin, S. 2002). Chapter Four illustrated that it is important to consider the paternalistic legislation of the Russian Federation in maintaining gender diversity. During the transition time, the government extended the list of professions prohibited for female labour, stating at the same time that they were only recommendations; however, interviews with the management of the 'Ruscoal' Mining Company show that the high level of bureaucracy within the Russian government structures makes women's employment in these positions 'impossible'. Moreover, in the time of transition, when the country had a deep

demographical crisis and a falling birth rate, the government increased the social benefits that female workers received in order to support their reproductive capability. Thus, the government took a paternalistic approach to women's employment. However, this approach had the unintended consequences of making women's employment more difficult and more expensive for employers.

Key to this was the government's 'protection' policy, in that sixty-five per cent of work placements in 'Ruscoal' are legally 'not recommended' for women under the National Labour Code of the Russian Federation. Prohibited placements are classified as professions with harmful or dangerous working conditions for women's reproductive health; therefore, the majorities of these jobs are in heavy industry and are classified as skilled jobs. In addition, women are categorized as workers who require more social benefits, and strict rules must be followed for their employment; thus, they became a second-class group of workers. However, unlike in Western patriarchal literature (Walby 1986, 1996; Harden, 2008), which is about women being seen as suitable for flexible and part-time work, a significant feature of the Russian labour market is that, when one is talking about women and employment, one is talking about full-time employment. Nevertheless, due to paternalistic labour laws, these full-time women workers find themselves in support roles that offer limited career development opportunities.

6.3.2. To consider how gender roles affect financial rewards and occupational sectors for male and female employees within the mining industry

This research objective was to identify changes in financial rewards structure and occupational sectors during the transition time. Chapter Two presented a review of the literature on occupational sex segregation (Johnson and Saarinen, 2013; Holmgren, 2013; Kruglov, 2012; Gerber and Mayorova 2006; Sabirianova, 2002; Darity and Mason, 1998; Koval, 1995) and the gender pay gap (Kramer and Lambert, 2001; Oglobin, 1999, 2005a, b; Ashwin, 1999; Hartmann, 1976). The single-company case-study was used to explain the impact of the social and economic changes on occupational and pay structures within the mining industry, which is explored in Chapter Five. The HR Manager and trade union representative from another large company in the region were interviewed to eliminate the

limitations of a single case-study and to provide a sense of whether what is happening in the company is unique or whether something similar is happening in other coal companies.

The literature review (see 2.5) and research findings show that the Russian labour market has strong occupational sex segregation and that women have tended to be employed in jobs that paid less. In heavy industry, occupational sex segregation is stronger than in any other industries as it is built upon the Labour Law of the Russian Federation. Men have had higher levels of remuneration in every category of employment, including during the previous socialist era and the more recent private sector era (Oglobin, 1999, 2005a, b; Arabsheibani and Lau, 1999). Nevertheless, the research shows that managers in the mining industry prefer not to employ women as their employment is subject to many special government regulations and conditions, and compliance with these regulations makes employing women a more bureaucratic process (see Table 4.2). At the same time, in occupations with low levels of remuneration managers are employing women as they consider that men will not be attracted by the salary level (Irina, female, 52, Head of HR Department; Vera, 46, female, Accountant; Elena, 46, female, Head of Accounting Department). `Ruscoal` Mining Company has demonstrated how women continue to be excluded from prestigious and highly-paid jobs, even though the physicality of the work itself has changed. Moreover, in the time of transition the wage gap became even larger because Russian managers set salary levels themselves rather than according to government net settings, as in the Soviet Union era; thus, the same profession might offer different levels of remuneration depending on employee gender.

Sabirianova (2002) states that the majority of employees change their occupational sectors in order to find the `best remuneration level`; the current research shows that there is little significant movement between occupations among the labour force. The researcher suggests that this `non-active behaviour` by the local population is dictated by the conditions of the local labour market, such as the mono industry in the town and the influence of the local occupational community culture. The research demonstrates that the general occupational structure within the case-study company maintains features of the Soviet era, and women still occupy the positions of support and administrative workers. However, some changes are taking place;

positions that have undergone a negative change in hierarchical status or that offer lower pay are now occupied by women (such as the surveyors' department). Thus, the mining industry and heavy industry in general have strong occupational sex segregation, and women are in positions at the bottom of the salary scale.

6.3.3. To examine continuity and change in the role of patriarchy in the transition period for male and female employees in the mining industry; and to identify changes in men's and women's responsibilities in the home

The concept of patriarchy has been used to explain/understand the phenomenon of gender inequality in Russia during and after communism. In this thesis, patriarchy has been used in various ways to provide an explanation of gender inequality. In Chapter Two this study is informed by the works of Walby (1986, 1996), Cockburn (1983, 1991, 1998), Hakim (1991, 1992, 1995, 2000, 1996), Mead (1970), Hartmann (1976), Harden (2008) and others. Walby (1990, p. 20) defines patriarchy as a '*system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.*' Notions of the male breadwinner and the public-private divide for women are both considered to be patriarchal structures. Although patriarchy is built upon a concept of gender domination, in a broader sense it emphasizes the analogous structures of power in a society such as the king and his servitors, the lord and his serfs, the husband and his wife, the master and his apprentice, the officer and his soldiers, and so on. In other words, patriarchy presents various forms of domination (Morrissey, 2003).

Chapter Four demonstrates that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, communist ideology and its definition of equality in work obscured the patriarchal nature of Soviet society in which women still retained responsibility for the domestic domain. LaFont (1998, 2001), Predborska (2005), transitional literature, and the current research show that, despite transitional change in gender employment, there is still continuity for women in employment in respect of a patriarchal society; this is evidenced in Russia in the banning of women from certain job roles because of the dangers to their reproductive function, thus once again dividing men and women because of biological differences in relation to family and home. Consequently, this

research concludes that the concept of patriarchy has implications for women's experience in employment and how managers visualize women's employment.

In Chapter Five this research shows that the pressure of the double burden for female employees during the transition time not only remained but also increased. Gender inequality was present in the Soviet Union before, when women were essential not only as workers but also as child-bearers, especially during labour shortages. During the transition period this was reinforced, not only by objective problems of the transitional period but also by many women's conservative views that have been shaped in part by the reassertion of the patriarchal system of society.

Most importantly, this study shows that patriarchy has become more explicit and prevalent in modern Russia as the country has shifted to a neo-liberal capitalist market economy. This finding contributes to Walby's work where she explains patriarchy as relatively autonomous relations and includes the State, the family, the Trade Unions, the employers, and the occupational community to outline how the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy in respect of gender relations is unequal. The paternalism of the Russian government and the reduction in the level of public support for kindergartens and child care, together with the inactive stance of the Trade Union organizations in Russia, have uncovered the patriarchal nature of Russian society (see Table 4.2).

Thus, through the use of the patriarchal lens this research explores transitional change in gender employment as well as continuity in respect of how changes in the gender composition of employment are being experienced. This reassertion of patriarchy may have implications for other industries in Russia beyond the heavy mining sector, and it shows the persistence of inequality in respect of women's and men's employment in transitional economies when equality is not politically or socially scrutinized.

6.3.4. To find out the role of the trade union in the process of managing diversity in the workplace

In order to achieve this objective, the research also considers the role of trade unions, their position and status in the process of managing gender diversity, and how their role has changed during the transition time (Clarke et al., 1995). Chapter Two presented a literature review (Clarke 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999) of the role of trade union organizations in Russia and the Soviet Union. In Russia and the Soviet Union, the trade union has been the largest national social organization and represents the majority of the labour force. However, in the time of transition, trade unions changed their role. Modern trade union organizations in Russia play an active role in employee-employer relations in the coal industry and other industries (Clarke, 1995). However, this work shows that trade unions are in their formation stage and are only taking on certain responsibilities for protecting employee interests.

The findings illustrated the changed role of the trade union organization in the case-study company; a decline in union size and influence means it has less authority among members and employers. Thus, it was concluded that trade unions in Russia are still going through their formation stage and are still looking for a `new role`. Trade union representatives mentioned the paternalistic approach of the Russian government and the lower level of remuneration in predominantly female occupations, but they showed no inclination to challenge this discriminatory status quo on behalf of female full-time workers. Thus, this inactive position of the Russian trade unions in protecting women rights has led to the lack of female activism in the region, as women have no support from trade unions, NGOs or other feminist organizations.

6.4 Original Contribution

There is a paucity of research documenting and explaining gendered working relations in the Russian context following the economic transition. This project has developed knowledge in this field by collecting primary data from `Ruscoal` Mining Company to explore continuity and change in women's employment in

Russian heavy industry. Based on the fieldwork evidence, which includes interviews with trade unionists involved with other coal companies, this research identified that the transition economy had a multi-level impact on gender composition in the mining industry in Russia. Moreover, this research contributed to the literature on patriarchy in the transition period for male and female employees, showing how the patriarchal structures and paternalistic government legislation can limit women's activism and increase gender inequality.

6.4.1 Theoretical and Empirical Contribution

The current research contributes to the area of gender studies. The current Russian literature, compared to the Western literature, provides little information on gender diversity in Soviet Union times. In the Soviet Union, gender research was limited as it was considered unnecessary in an 'equal' communist society (Sperling, 1999). Only since the 1990s has gender inequity research appeared, and universities have started to promote gender studies (Sperling, 1999; Zdravomyslova and Temkina, 2003). Notwithstanding the lack of Russian literature on gender diversity and the 'women' question in the workforce, the 'best' Western literature does not translate well into Russian (Sperling, 1999; Ashwin, 2002; Temkina and Zdravomyslova, 2003). According to Metcalfe and Afanassieva (2005), *'the commitment to equality between the sexes endorsed by state political ideology reinforced the view that Western female experiences and Western feminism were irrelevant to everyday Russian females'* (p. 56). Thus, Western feminist philosophy is not embedded within the Russian social, political and economic context, including the one outlined in our case-study and its trade unions (Metcalfe and Afanassieva, 2005). Therefore, further research into other occupational communities and other regions may be needed to examine this factor in more depth.

A body of Russian gender literature exploring differentials in labour market employment (Klimova, 2012; Iakovleva et al., 2013; Holmgren, 2013) has recently developed, although it is not highly esteemed in Russian society (Klimova, 2012). However, a positive movement has also taken place, and activism and feminism are emerging in Russia (*Modern Russian Feminism: Twenty Years Forward*. 2009); every year, more and more researchers are publishing their research on gender

diversity and gender discrimination in Russia. In 1997, the Russian State Commission of Statistics published, for the first time, a complete set of gender and employment statistics (Gvozdeva and Gerchikov, 2002; Chirikova and Krichevaskai, 2002).

Thus, this study will add to the knowledge in the field of gender studies, which is highly important due to the lack of research in Russia in this field, especially in heavy industry. Moreover, this study evaluates the role of patriarchy (Walby, 1986, 1996; Cockburn, 1983, 1991, 1998; Hakim, 1991, 1992, 1995, 2000, 1996; Hartmann, 1976; Harden, 2008) in managing the diversity process, and extends the knowledge in this field. The current research found that transition was a revival period for the patriarchal norms within society. The traditional social structures, such as men being breadwinners and women being responsible for household duties, have become stronger since the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, the current research contradicts the literature on the impact of religious beliefs on patriarchy. The current research shows that the literature (Kruglov, 2012; Kizenko, 2013) overstates the influence of religious beliefs on patriarchy. In the case of `Ruscoal` Mining Company, religious norms do not greatly impact on gender diversity, social role distribution and employee relations. The interviewees of the case-study company did not mention religion as a factor that impacts on their family or work lives. At the same time, the research found that the occupational community's norms and traditions have a greater impact on the behavioural norms of the local population than the patriarchal religious norms, which seem to be coming to the fore elsewhere in Russia.

Moreover, this study has developed Maltseva's (2005) model (Figure 2.2), which presents the relationship between gender segregation and occupational mobility. The current research shows that, apart from the factors presented by Maltseva (2005) in her model, other things need to be considered for an understanding of the occupational sex segregation in Russia. The consideration of specific aspects of each industry is important. For example, the Russian labour legislation has different regulations for each industry. Masculine industries such as mining have a greater impact on employment relations than others. The paternalistic approach of the Russian government to women's employment by itself builds the occupational sex segregation and adversely affects women's employment. Moreover, when one

examines the occupational sex segregation in Russia, one must consider the role of the occupational communities' specific characteristics and structure.

The area where the case-study company is located has a mono industry - coal production - and people have no options in their career choice or development. Thus, people are less likely to change their occupations and, in the instance of gender inequalities [such as in `Ruscoal`], they are more likely to remain silent because of the lack of job opportunities. Moreover, the historical background of this region is an important element with which to explain the collective silence and lack of feminist organizations, as this region was built by political prisoners who opposed the communist regime. Consequently, this has had an impact on the collective thinking and behavioural norms of this occupational community and geographical location. Nevertheless, the case-study company is situated at a great geographical distance from central regions of Russia and Western countries; thus, this community is less affected by Westernized ideas of equality and gender diversity. This factor has not been emphasized before in Maltseva's (2005) model but the research shows that it is an important element for managing diversity and promoting equality in this part of Russia. This seems to indicate that care should be taken when generalizing Russian research as, in such a vast and diverse geographical country, there may be differences not only between regions but also between the industries and their occupational communities that have emerged in these regions.

The other aspect highlighted that was added to Maltseva's model (Figure 2.2) was the notion of activism and non/activism. It is clear from chapter Four that the trade union employees recognize that there are inequalities for women in the changing composition of employment in `Ruscoal` and coal production in general. Furthermore, trade union also see the protection of women in work as a positive, which seems to suggest that the representatives and officials would not be prepared to support the women if they tried to take action in this area. In addition, the trade union is trying to develop its role within the industry and to the membership as density reduces. Thus, it may seem rational to the union official to focus on issues that affect its higher numbers of core male members than the more peripheral women workers.

When the lack of interest in inequalities in `Ruscoal`s` industrial relations is combined with the present direction of the government`s paternalistic practices protecting women`s reproductive functions and the embedded nature of patriarchal practices which reinforces women responsibilities to the home in conjunction with the close nature of the occupational community in a coal mono-town all of this has had a cumulative effect on women`s activism (or in this case non-activism). Thus women who do not necessarily agree with the changes in gender composition post transition have few opportunities to articulate and take action in this respect. This indicates that in order to fully understand the dynamic nature of gender relations and how this may change or are maintained in a transition economy and the impact this has for men and women`s composition in work it is also important to consider how the categories in Maltseva`s model (Figure 2.2) about occupational sex segregation are also influenced by patriarchy and how it strongly embedded not only in the local occupational community but also the trade unions which together influences women`s choices in challenging the women`s segregation in both public and private domains of work and home. The argument here is that without recognizing these factors Maltseva`s model is not fully recognizing the lived complexity, the mentality of the occupational community from which managers, trade unions official and workers are drawn and how this interaction of work and home life of `Ruscoal` workers, reinforces a sexual division of labour.

6.4.2 Methodological Contribution

The research has taken a multi-layered approach to explore how the gender composition of the workforce in `Ruscoal` has changed in the transition period. Firstly, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with company managers, who represented the company`s organizational viewpoint and helped the researcher to understand the `general policies` of the company in the hard economic time of transition and how they regard women and women`s employment within the company. Secondly, employees of the case-study company allowed the researcher to identify the main issues regarding gender diversity faced by the local population in the time of transition. Thirdly, to show the main changes in the company`s social

politics, the national labour politics, and labour law, the head of 'Ruscoal's' trade union, its representative, and the head of the trade union of another coal producer were interviewed.

In this research, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the research method as they allow the interviewee the opportunity to consider things he/she had not previously considered about gender diversity in the Russian coal industry on governmental, organizational and individual levels (Saunders et al., 2007; Halmi, 1996). They also show how these issues dynamically interact, such as state protection. Fourthly, the internal archives were used to inform the participants' arguments. A cross-section of participants of different ages was purposely chosen (working ages from 21 to 70) in order to understand the views and relationships of different generations to gender employment, gender equality and activism.

The case-study approach was deployed for this study as, according to Gerring (2007) and Gillham (2005), in-depth data about one or two case-study units are more helpful for answering research questions than peripheral knowledge about a larger number of examples. The case-study company - 'Ruscoal' (not the organization's real name) - was chosen for this research for several reasons. Firstly, 'Ruscoal' went through several stages of privatization and reconstruction from a state-owned to a private company; thus, its employees can explain their experiences during this restructuring process. Secondly, 'Ruscoal' is a large company with more than 3000 employees and it operates within the mining industry - one of the most masculine industries in Russia. Therefore, 'Ruscoal' indicates the strength of a strict division of labour, between men and women. Data were also gathered from the HR manager of another mining company in the region to help compare 'Ruscoal's' attitudes to employment and payment policy with other coal producers.

Thus, this study draws on multiple sources of data: secondary data in the form of scholarly and practitioner literature overview, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, and a single-company case-study. This multi-method framework allowed the researcher to explore the impact of the transition economy on gender composition in its complex multi-layered context. Using various methods helps to increase the reliability and validity of the findings through triangulation (Torraco, 2009; Yin, 2003). Using multiple sources of observers added additional

perspectives, backgrounds, and social characteristics and helped to construct validity in relation to the experience of the men and women in `Ruscoal`. In addition, I have used my own experiences of growing up in this occupational community and this region to help make sense of the men's and women's differing interpretations of patriarchal structures.

6.4.3 Implications for Policy and Practice

Drawing on the interviews, literature review and case-study evidence, this study suggests a number of implications for policy and practice. First, the government of the Russian Federation should review the legislation on women's employment. The research demonstrated that the legislation prohibiting women's employment in hard and hazardous professions is biased against women workers as it prevents them from entering highly-paid occupations even though those occupations are not damaging to their health (example of BelAZ car). It became clear that the current legislation supports inequality and gender discrimination not only for women workers but also for men, who work in conditions that are harmful to their health. Thus, reviewing the current labour legislation while considering how far technological development has moved on could reduce gender disproportion within the mining industry. Additionally, legislation should aim to protect all employees from working in dangerous and damaging professions, not just women. Currently, the Russian legislation is taking a paternalistic approach to women's employment that seems discriminatory against both sexes: against men, as they are `not a protected` group of employees, and against women as the legislation forms the legal basis for discriminating against them.

Second, the trade union organizations have to accept that they have a role to play in bringing about gender equality, and they should follow the international trade union bodies' standards of managing diversity (Clarke, 2005). The research shows that trade unions and their male representatives are acting only in some areas of employee protection and do not accept gender discrimination as an issue. At the same time, the research shows a high level of gender inequity among workers in the mining industry, especially in the time of transition. Thus, it is really important that the trade unions, with their heritage of industrial action, review their internal policies

in the way of developed Westernized countries and become the main power in supporting equality.

Third, it is important to challenge the existing traditional perceptions of gender roles in local society and increase female activism in the region. However, the current legislation and lack of support from NGOs or any international feminist organizations render all attempts to deal with gender-related issues ineffective. Moreover, while the history of this region and the Soviet Union past cannot be changed, the treatment of history can be changed, as it only exists through its everyday reproduction of individuals. The formation of and support for women's activist organizations would help women to realize their rights in work and family spheres. Thus, women in small occupational communities who have a double burden of responsibilities either `by tradition` or because of a lack of information would have a broader view of their rights and could find support in those supposedly growing feminist organizations in Russia (Johnson et al., 2013).

Additionally, the Russian government proclaimed equality in the Constitution of the Russian Federation in 1993. However, there is a chasm between official pronouncements and actual politics and practices (Basu, 2010). To change the situation, feminist organizations should take an active stance to support this change. Moreover, the trade unions should also support gender equality in the workplace by taking up the issues and being prepared to represent women in court in cases of discrimination. Therefore, changes to the current legislation will only be possible if feminist organizations and trade unions unite to educate people in Russian society and help them understand the norms and practices of gender equality.

6.5 Research Limitations

This Ph.D. study provides a number of rich insights into gender composition in the mining industry and how it has changed during the transition time in Russia. Nevertheless, this study also has its limitations.

The first limitation of the current research concerns the use of a case-study example and its generalizability. The study examined one industry (mining production) to

understand the impact of the transition economy on gender diversity, and its findings were based on the subjective opinions of the senior managers, employees and trade union representatives of the `Ruscoal` Mining Company, although evidence was also gathered from other trade unionists and another HR manager operating in this occupational community. Nevertheless, the majority of the data relate to one local example of the transition's impact on gender diversity; therefore, other industries, such as finance, construction and retailing, or other occupational communities may not necessarily follow the same patterns identified in this research. Moreover, in this cross-sectional research it is not clear whether the current pattern of managers' decision-making concerning gender diversity in transition might change in time.

The second limitation is the matter of external participation (the researcher is not a `Ruscoal` employee); thus, not all knowledge generation processes were shared. Moreover, the research had a limited amount of respondents drawn from managers, employees and trade union representatives; consequently, the results do not fully reflect the overall view on the issue although key respondents such as the production manager were identified. Furthermore, from the outset the choice of experts could have been selected from a wider area and not confined to the local environment; for example, external experts might have been included, such as coal industry experts or the manager of a rival organization. A broader choice of experts might have revealed other points of view not considered by the organization's employee perspective.

In addition, it is necessary to emphasize the subjectivity of the researcher's point of view on gender diversity as the researcher in this study is herself female and was raised in the occupational community. She may therefore have had her own unconscious bias to deal with. However, this is an issue of which she was aware from the outset. She has also included the original voices in the data so that the interpretation of the data might be mapped (Neuman, 2006; Patton, 2002).

6.6 Suggestions for Future Research

This section provides suggestions for future research, which have emerged during the course of this study. This study, which examines the impact of the transition economy on gender composition in the Russian mining industry, is multilevel and relational. Following are some aspects of this research that other researchers might like to assess in terms of directions for future research.

Firstly, research could evaluate other single-industry samples. This thesis takes as an example a company from heavy industry. Future research might aim to examine other industries, and the results may differ from the current research as heavy industry has a very specific gender composition in the workforce and a strong history of a sexual division of labour.

Secondly, this research explored changes in gender diversity during the transition time from organizational, employee and trade union perspectives. Thus, future research should be conducted not only with internal participants (staff members) of organizations or trade unions but also with an external perspective on an organization's actions and intentions, such as government structures and any NGO organizations or family members of employees of the case-study company. This would give us a broader perspective on this problem.

Thirdly, the impact of transition on gender diversity can be developed further. Future research might take secondary data from transition periods in other countries, such as China, to determine the fluctuation of the gender composition during these periods. This will allow us to observe the role of the changes in gender diversity during the transition period to gain an understanding of whether these patterns are unique to the Russian coal industry or are replicated in coalmining in other transition economies.

Finally, it might be useful to set changes in gender diversity during the transition time within the equal employment opportunity. Future research might investigate the recruitment and redundancy processes during the transition time in order to explore how discrimination against women occurs and how it might be controlled.

6.7 Conclusion

This study contributes to the arguments about gender composition in employment in Russian heavy industry and how it was impacted by the transition economy. This thesis provides a fuller understanding of gender issues in Russia because it looks at political, social and economic aspects of transition from organizational, employee and external viewpoints, thereby allowing the researcher to examine the research topic in depth. However, apart from providing this understanding, the study also revealed the boundaries in employment faced by Russian women in the mining industry. These boundaries were mainly created by the legislation of the Soviet Union and the new Russian Federation and were informed by the unexposed patriarchal mentality of the Russian population. Here, `close` occupational communities also play an important role in maintaining inequality as women in those communities lack the necessary support to challenge existing patriarchal structures such as the notion of the male breadwinner and the female responsibility for the domestic sphere; consequently, they remain silent when they encounter discrimination even though the younger generation to a certain extent appear more capable of recognizing gender discrimination.

The research contributes to theory and practice in a particular culture. Ignorance of gender issues in Russia results in the mentality of the Russian population and the heritage of the Soviet Union, which proclaimed equality as its main achievement. Thus, the majority of the population educated in communist times still does not realize that there are gender issues. Moreover, the unstable conditions of the transition economy meant that the equality issue was no longer a priority, as the 1990s brought many `first need` problems for the Russian population, such as food and security needs.

However, the research shows that the younger generation are aware of the problem of gender discrimination and are more open to the ideas of gender diversity and equal opportunities; therefore, they are more likely to defend their rights to maintain equality. In other words, gender discrimination is difficult to eliminate from Russian society, but the mentality of the population is showing a positive

movement, and the young generation at least realize the existence of the gender issue and the importance of managing diversity.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: The List of professions with harmful or dangerous working conditions (Government Decree)

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

THE DECREE

From February, 25th, 2000 N 162

ABOUT THE LIST OF PROFESSIONS WITH HARMFUL OR DANGEROUS WORKING CONDITIONS

WHERE PROHIBITED TO APPLY FEMALE LABOUR (part which can be apply to Mezdureche mining company, full version of this document consist 456 professions)

- I. Works connected with lifting and moving weights (manually)
 - II. Underground works
 - III. Metal working
 - IV. Building, assembly works
 - V. Mountain works
- Open cast mining works and surface of the operating
Construction mines, enrichment, agglomeration,
Briquetting
53. The borer
 54. Shotfirer of coal levels, the master - shotfirer
 55. The miner under the prevention and suppression of fires
 56. The supplier of fixing materials in mine
 57. Timberman
 58. The smith – drill filler
 59. The machinist of chisel installation
 60. The machinist of a loader
 61. The machinist of installation on drilling of trunks of mines by full section
 62. The machinist of a dredge
 63. Working with trolleys
 64. The drifter
 - XXX. Railway transport works
 368. The machinist of the diesel train and his assistant

369. The machinist of a motor-cart and his assistant, working on broad gauge railroad lines
370. The machinist of a steam locomotive and his assistant
371. The machinist of a diesel locomotive and his assistant
372. The machinist of the traction unit and his assistant
373. The machinist of an electric locomotive and his assistant
374. The machinist of an electric train and his assistant
375. The adjuster of a way (at excess of the established norms of maximum permissible loadings for women at lifting and moving of weights manually)
376. The porter occupied with moving of luggage and hand luggage
377. The inspector - the repairman of cars
378. The mechanic on the rolling stock repair
379. A conductor on support of cargoes, occupied with support of cargoes on an open rolling stock
- XXXI. Motor transport
387. The driver working on the bus with quantity of places from above 14
388. The driver working on the car as load-carrying capacity over 2,5 tons
389. The car`s mechanic, carrying out manually a sink of details of the engine of the car working on gasoline
390. The mechanic on the fuel equipment, occupied in motor transport services on repair of fuel equipment of the carburetor engines

Appendix II: Interview guide for the interviews with case study company managers

Interviews questions for Managers

Date _____ No _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Position: _____

Job title: _____

Number of employees in your department: _____

Working in current position since: _____

Status: Married _____

Single _____

Living with a partner, but not married _____

Have partner, but do not live together _____

Do you have any children? If yes, how many? _____

How many hours per week do you work? _____

How many hours per week do you spend caring for children or other dependents and household duties?

1-5 hours _____

6-10 hours _____

11-20 hours _____

20-30 hours _____

30 hours and more _____

Member of Trade Union: Yes _____ No _____

Section 1. Own experience

Q: Walk me through your work experiences before your current position.

Q: What do you think was the most significant change since you've been working here?

Q: How did the transition from Soviet Union to Russian Federation impact on you personally?

Q: Did you work in Soviet Union time (before 1991). In your opinion how is it different from the youth (or you, if respondent young) who work at the same positions now?

Section 2. Current gender composition in his/her department, occupational job segregation/division of labour

Q: Explain the gender composition in your department. For example, what proportions are male / female?

Q: The gender composition changed in your department for the last 20 years? If so, why?

Q: In your department, do you have any professions which are prohibited for women?

Q: Can be all jobs done by men/women (psychological/mental)?

Q: What role does the trade union played in your organization when you make decisions about social benefits or redundancy?

Section 3. Patriarchy theory

Q: Do staff in your department request day offs in order to take care of children and sick people? How often?

Q: Have you noticed any gender differences in the patterns of time taken for caring responsibilities?

Q: How do you think caring responsibilities affect performance at work?

Q: How do you share domestic responsibilities within your family? (Childcare, household tasks, organising family events)

Q: Did the role of men and women within the family changed since Soviet Union time?

Q: What proportion does your income make up of the total household income?

Q: Which do you think should come first between your family and your work?

(Identity, domestic responsibilities) How do you choose?

Q: How do you balance your childcare responsibilities?

Section 4. Changes during last period

Q: Has the gender composition has changed in your department during last 20 years? If yes, why do you think that has happened?

Q: How new labour regulation rules, political regime and `perestroika` impact on it?

Q: How could, or how does technological development impact on gender composition?

Section 5. Social benefits

Q: How do you think social benefits have changed for male and female workers?

Q: Do you think that male and female workers have the same attitudes toward job security? (Yes/No) Why?

Q: Did your company ever paid for your holidays (flight tickets, sanatorium)?

Q: How did childcare institutions changed?

Section 6. Impact factors

Q: To summarize, tell me, please, main features which differ work in Soviet Union conditions from current work?

Q: Which of these changes positive and which are negative?

Q: Do you think the Soviet labour regulations which protect women rights were better than now?

Appendix III: Interview guide for the interviews with case study company employees.

Interviews questions for Employees

Date _____ No _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Position: _____

Job title: _____

Working in current position since: _____

Status: Married _____

Single _____

Living with a partner, but not married _____

Have partner, but do not live together _____

Do you have any children? If yes, how many? _____

How many hours per week do you work? _____

How many hours per week do you spend caring for children or other dependents and household duties?

1-5 hours _____

6-10 hours _____

11-20 hours _____

20-30 hours _____

30 hours and more _____

Member of Trade Union: Yes _____ No _____

Section 1. Own experience

Q: Walk me through your work experiences before your current position.

Q: Did you work in Soviet Union era (before 1991). In your opinion how is it differs from the youth (or you, if respondent young) which work at the same positions now?

Q: What do you think was the most significant change since you've been working here?

Q: Does the transition from Soviet Union to Russian Federation impact on you personally? How?

Section 2. Current gender composition in his/her department, occupational job segregation/division of labour

Q: Explain the gender composition in your department. For example, how is the work split between men and women?

Q: Has the gender composition changed during your working time in this company? If so, why do you think this has occurred?

Q: What, in your opinion, does gender discrimination mean? Do you personally have any issues about that?

Q: Of which organization or trade union are you a member at the moment? What are the unions' activities? How often do you participate? Of which organization or Union were you a member before 1991?

Section 3. Patriarchy theory

Q: What proportion does your income make up of the total household income?

Q: How do you think caring responsibilities affect performance at work?

Q: How do you share domestic responsibilities within your family? (Childcare, household tasks, organising family events)

Q: How has the role of men and women within the family changed since Soviet Union time?

Q: Which do you think should come first between your family and your work?

(Identity, domestic responsibilities) How do you choose?

Q: How do you balance your childcare responsibilities?

Section 4. Changes during last period

Q: Do new labour regulation rules impact on you (such as new rule about maternity leave, holiday compensations and etc.)?

Section 5. Social benefits

Q: How has the social payments and compensation changed since Soviet time?

Q: How do social benefits influence on your work quality?

Q: Do you think that male and female workers have the same attitudes toward to job security? (Yes/No) Why?

Q: Did your company ever pay for your holidays (flight tickets, sanatorium)?

Section 6. Impact factors

Q: To summarize, tell me, please, main features which differ work in Soviet Union conditions from current work personally for you?

Q: Which of these changes for you are positive and which are negative?

Q: Do you think the Soviet labour regulations which protect women rights were better than now?

Appendix IV: Interview guide for the interviews with case study company Trade Union Representatives.

Interviews with Trade Union Representatives

Date _____ No _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Position: _____

Job title: _____

Working in current position since: _____

Status: Married _____

Single _____

Living with a partner, but not married _____

Have partner, but do not live together _____

Do you have any children? If yes, how many? _____

How many hours per week do you work? _____

How many hours per week do you spend caring for children or other dependents and household duties?

1-5 hours _____

6-10 hours _____

11-20 hours _____

20-30 hours _____

30 hours and more _____

Member of Trade Union: Yes _____ No _____

Section 1. Own experience

Q: Walk me through your work experiences before your current position.

Q: Did you worked in Soviet Union time (before 1991). In your opinion how is it differs from the youth (or you, if respondent young) which work at the same positions now?

Q: What do you think was the most significant change since you've been working here?

Q: Does the transition form Soviet Union to Russian Federation impact on you personally? How?

Section 2. Current gender composition

Q: Explain the gender composition in the company. For example, what proportions are male / female?

Q: What the Trade Union doing to support equality and avoid discrimination?

Q: What, in your opinion, gender discrimination means? Did you personally have any issues about that?

Section 3. Changes during last period

Q: Did gender composition changed during your work in this company as trade union representative? If so, why do you think so?

Q: Does new regulation rules impact on it?

Q: What Trade Union do to protect women rights in this company?

Section 4. Comparisons with Soviet period (based on archival documents)

Q: Did the company changed number of social payments for workers in your company since Soviet time. How does it influence on gender composition and work quality in your company?

Q: How many members in your organization at the moment?

Q: What are the Trade Union`s activities?

Q: What a proportion between active and passive members?

Q: How many members you had before 1991?

Q: Is your responsibilities changed since that time?

Q: Do you think responsibilities of the Trade Union organization changed since collapse of the Soviet Union?

Q: What the Trade Union organization did to protect employees in time of transition?

Section 5. Social benefits

Q: Did the social payments and compensation changed since Soviet time?

Q: How do social benefits impact on your work quality?

Q: Do you think that male and female workers have the same attitudes toward to job security? (Yes/No) Why?

Q: Did your company ever paid for your holidays (flight tickets, sanatorium)?

Section 6. Impact factors (opinions)

Q: Tell me, please, main features which differ work in Soviet Union conditions from current work?

Q: Which of these changes positive and which are negative?

Q: Do you think the Soviet labour regulations which protect women rights were better than now?

Section 7. Patriarchy theory

Q: What proportion does your income make up of the total household income?

Q: How do you think caring responsibilities affect performance at work?

Q: How you share domestic responsibilities within your family? (Childcare, household tasks, organising family events)

Q: Have you noticed any gender differences in the patterns of time taken for caring responsibilities?

Q: How has the role of men and women within the family changed since Soviet Union time?

Q: Which do you think should come first between your family and your work?

(Identity, domestic responsibilities) How do you choose?

Appendix V: Interview participant's information sheet and consent form

University of East Anglia, Norwich Business School.

Project title: Impact of transition economy on gender composition in employment in the Russian heavy industry

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of our project 'Impact of transition economy on gender composition in employment'. The goal of this research is to help better understand the relationship between the transition economies and the employment of male and female workers, and, in particular, how the gender composition of the workforce may change at a time of transition and what factors influence it. This research hopes to draw attention to the experiences of male and female workers, their interaction with the environment and explore their employment and work experience subsequent to transitional restructuring in Russia. This will also add to our knowledge about the way organizations, management and male and female employees cope with the transition.

I would like to ask you a range of questions relating to the transition economy, employment and balance between work and home responsibilities. Please answer all questions as honestly as possible. All responses will be anonymised and the interviews will not be shared beyond the research team at University of East Anglia. The interview is being recorded as a memory aid for the researcher, and all recordings will be destroyed at the end of the interview.

You are free to withdraw from the interview at any time without providing an explanation. Ethical approval has been secured from the University of East Anglia

For further information please contact:

From University of East Anglia:

Elena Bokovikova, PhD student

e.bokovikova@uea.ac.uk

Thank you again for your participation in the study!

Interview participant's consent form

University of East Anglia: Norwich Business School

Consent form:

I agree to take part in this interview. I understand that what I say may be used for research or to compile a report.

I agree to the interview being recorded and understand that this recording will be used as a memory aid for the researcher. I understand that every effort will be made to respect my confidentiality and anonymity.

I understand that I am free to stop the interview at any time, without giving any reason for doing so.

Name (please print)

Signed

Date