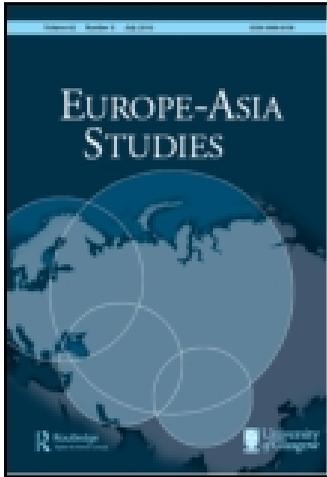


This article was downloaded by: [115.85.25.194]

On: 31 March 2015, At: 19:24

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Europe-Asia Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ceas20>

Between Business and Byt: Experiences of Women Entrepreneurs in Contemporary Russia

Suvi Salmenniemi^{a b}, Päivi Karhunen^{a b} & Riitta Kosonen^{a b}

^a University of Helsinki

^b Aalto University School of Economics

Published online: 13 Jan 2011.

To cite this article: Suvi Salmenniemi, Päivi Karhunen & Riitta Kosonen (2011) Between Business and Byt: Experiences of Women Entrepreneurs in Contemporary Russia, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 63:1, 77-98, DOI: [10.1080/09668136.2011.534304](https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2011.534304)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2011.534304>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Between Business and *Byt*: Experiences of Women Entrepreneurs in Contemporary Russia

SUVI SALMENNIMI, PÄIVI KARHUNEN &
RIITTA KOSONEN

Abstract

This article contributes to the study of women's entrepreneurship in transition economies by examining Russian self-employed women's experiences and interpretations of gender in the context of entrepreneurship. It traces how gender articulates the opportunities for and the constraints on entrepreneurial activities in Russian society. As such, this article engages in the theoretical discussion of gendered patterns of entrepreneurship. The article employs a qualitative methodology and analyses semi-structured interviews with women entrepreneurs conducted in St Petersburg and in two towns in the Republic of Karelia during the period 2005–2006. The respondents represent small and medium-sized enterprises mainly in production, retail trade and services.

PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURSHIP WAS LEGALISED IN RUSSIA in the transition from planned economy and state ownership to market economy and private ownership. The first Law on Small Business and Entrepreneurship was adopted in 1990.¹ The business environment in transitional Russia was characterised by underdeveloped markets for factors of production, ambiguous and unstable legislation, excessive red tape and rampant corruption. In such an environment, a key survival strategy for entrepreneurs was to engage in personal networks with other enterprises and the public sector. Many of the early entrepreneurs also opted to operate in the shadow economy. Although the Russian business environment has become more stable in the 2000s, the institutional system remains unsupportive of small business and entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs continue to be plagued by high taxation, cumbersome state regulation and financial

The authors wish to thank Marja Rytönen, Anna Rotkirch and the two anonymous reviewers for *Europe-Asia Studies* for their helpful comments on the article. We also thank Yksityisyrittäjien Säätiö for the financial support to carry out the data collection for the study.

¹Zakon RFSFR ot 25 dekabrya 1990g. N 445-I 'O predpriyat'yakh i predprinimatel'skoi deyatel'nosti'.

institutions that are not able to provide financing for a reasonable price and under reasonable conditions.

However, the complexity of the Russian business environment does not mean that there are no successful Russian entrepreneurs. The turmoil of the 1990s enabled the rapid enrichment of savvy entrepreneurs, predominantly men, many of whom were former 'red executives'. As in many other countries, the image of an entrepreneur in Russia is associated with masculinity and public discourses tend to portray entrepreneurship as a masculine endeavour requiring energy and toughness (Yurchak 2003, p. 72) and aggressive and competitive behaviour (Bridger *et al.* 1996, pp. 118–19; Kay 2006, p. 102). Business magazines offer representations of young *biznesmeny* and their flamboyant lifestyles and consumption practices (Yurchak 2003), and men also figure considerably more often than women on the front pages of the leading Russian business newspapers (Koikkalainen 2008). However, according to the national labour force survey in Russia, the share of women among the group 'individual entrepreneurs' in 2007 was 41%.² This is a relatively high figure in terms of international comparisons, as the EU-27 average share of women in the self-employed group was 25% in the same year (Romans & Preclin 2008, p. 2). Interestingly, according to Global Entrepreneurship Monitoring (GEM) data, there are four times as many Russian men among nascent entrepreneurs as there are Russian women, but the gender distribution among owners of established businesses is almost equal. This implies that women may be more successful in avoiding business failures in Russia (Verkhovskaya & Dorokhina 2008).

This article addresses these distinctively gendered images and practices of entrepreneurship by analysing how Russian self-employed women experience and interpret gender in the context of entrepreneurship. In the studies of entrepreneurship, the analysis of gender either has often been ignored, or women entrepreneurs have been studied as a separate group and 'added' to the mainstream gender-blind theories of entrepreneurship that position the male entrepreneur as a norm. Thus much of the entrepreneurial research has (re-)produced the dominant masculine image of an entrepreneur and not questioned and deconstructed the male bias embedded in mainstream theories of entrepreneurship (Kovalainen 1993, p. 63; Mirchandani 1999; Bruni *et al.* 2004). One of the most influential frameworks through which entrepreneurship has been theorised is the psychological approach, which seeks to explain and predict entrepreneurial success with the traits and motivational factors of the entrepreneur's personality (Kovalainen 1993, p. 65; Hurley 1999, p. 54). Much of this research measures the extent to which women business owners attain the ideal-typical masculine model of entrepreneurial traits and behaviour (Mirchandani 1999, p. 226). The psychological approach tends to examine entrepreneurship at the individual level and therefore it fails to take into account the structural and symbolic dimensions shaping entrepreneurship. It conceptualises gender as a set of personality traits and thus conceives it as an internally homogenous category. In this way the analysis of differences among women and

²'Maloe i srednee predprinimatel'stvo v Rossii 2009', *Rosstat Statistics Bulletin 2010*, available at: <http://www.gks.ru>, accessed 14 April 2010.

among men and how other identity categories, such as class and ethnicity, intertwine with gender have been neglected.

Women's entrepreneurship and gendered practices of business in transition economies have been studied relatively little. The existing studies have discussed the general characteristics of women entrepreneurs (Izyumov & Razumnova 2000; Gvozdeva & Gerchikov 2002); women's entrepreneurship as a survival strategy and an attempt to adapt to the socio-economic changes (Bruno 1997; Bridger *et al.* 1996; Sätre Åhlander 2007); women entrepreneurs' social networks and their effects on growth expectancies and securing external financing (Manolova *et al.* 2006, 2007; Aidis *et al.* 2007); and the role of the institutional environment for the development of women's entrepreneurial activities (Aidis *et al.* 2007). Scholars have proposed that, on the one hand, women entrepreneurs in Russia face the same challenges as Russian small businesses in general, such as excessive red tape and corruption, but on the other hand, they have argued that women are pushed to entrepreneurship more often than men due to discriminative practices in the labour market (Izyumov & Razumnova 2000).

This article makes two contributions to the existing body of scholarship on women's entrepreneurship in transition economies. First, it makes a methodological contribution, in distinction from previous research which has predominantly drawn on quantitative research methods, by employing a qualitative methodology and analysing thematic interviews with women entrepreneurs in Russia. By engaging in textual close-reading of the interview data, we seek to unpack and understand how self-employed women signify and articulate the interrelationships between gender and entrepreneurship, and what these articulations can tell us about the shifting gender order in contemporary Russia. More specifically, we examine how women entrepreneurs make sense of gender differences in running a business; how they experience and negotiate the boundaries and potential tensions between entrepreneurial activities and their everyday (*byt*) and family responsibilities; and how they tackle gender discrimination in business. In this way, this article provides insights into how women entrepreneurs apprehend gender to shape the opportunities and constraints of entrepreneurial activities.

Second, this article also makes a theoretical contribution to the existing research on women entrepreneurs in transition economies. Previous research has examined women's entrepreneurial activities from the point of view of the institutional theory (Manolova *et al.* 2008; Aidis *et al.* 2007; Manolova & Yan 2002), and a range of psychological and sociological approaches focusing on the characteristics, orientations and business styles of women entrepreneurs (Gvozdeva & Gerchikov 2002; Chirikova & Krichevskaya 2002; Iakovleva *et al.* 2006). These studies have treated gender as a variable in quantitative analysis and have not employed gender theory in order to explain gendered dimensions of entrepreneurship. This article, in contrast, by drawing on feminist scholarship, approaches gender as a socially and historically constituted relationship of power, which is produced and reproduced in a range of discursive and social practices, and focuses on analysing the cultural meanings gender acquires in the entrepreneurial domain.

The article proceeds by presenting the data and methodology and outlining the key features of the Soviet and Russian gender order and employment patterns. The

following sections investigate the interviewed women's paths to entrepreneurship, their interpretations and explanations of gender differences in the entrepreneurial domain and their experiences of gender discrimination. The section preceding the conclusion focuses on how family and the gender division of labour in the private sphere structure women's entrepreneurial activities.

Data and methodology

Our analysis is based on 27 semi-structured thematic interviews, conducted successively in two geographical locations in northwest Russia during 2005–2006. Twelve of the interviews were carried out in the city of St Petersburg in February–April 2005, and 15 in the Republic of Karelia in May–June 2006 (see Figure 1).³

At the time of the interviews, St Petersburg, a city with a population of around five million, and with a rapidly growing economy and middle class, represented a different business environment compared to the Republic of Karelia which had suffered from industrial decline. Although the post-1998 growth of the Russian economy had also benefited Karelia, it still comprised a difficult market (Logrén & Löfgren 2008).



FIGURE 1. ST PETERSBURG AND THE REPUBLIC OF KARELIA ON THE MAP

³For a list of respondent details, please see Table A1 in Appendix 1.

According to the Federal State Statistics Service (*Rosstat*), the regional GDP per capita in the Karelian Republic in 2005 fell to 12.6% below the national average, while in St Petersburg it was 15.2% higher than the average.

The interview data were collected in the framework of a research project on women's entrepreneurship in Finland and Russia, carried out at the Center for Markets in Transition (CEMAT) and Small Business Center of Helsinki School of Economics.⁴ The aim of the project was to compare the motivations and values of Finnish and Russian women entrepreneurs, the nature of their entrepreneurial activity, and the role of social networks in their daily business activities.

The data collection for the first phase of the project, covering Finland (mainly the Helsinki metropolitan area and southeast Finland) and St Petersburg, combined survey and interview methods. The data collection for the second phase, extending the analysis to the Republic of Karelia, employed the interview method only. The selection of respondents for the survey,⁵ some of whom were interviewed as well, was qualitative rather than statistical. The women entrepreneurs under study had participated in international co-operation programmes for women entrepreneurs, and as a result they were accessible to the researchers through the Finnish and Russian partner organisations of the respective programmes. The participants in the thematic interviews represented the survey sample in terms of background variables (industry, age) and perceptions about entrepreneurship revealed in the survey. Consequently, the respondents represented small and medium-sized enterprises mainly in production, the retail trade and services. The overwhelming majority of them had established their enterprises during the 1990s.

The interviews were conducted in the respondents' native language (Russian or Finnish). They covered the following areas: the beginning, development and activities of the enterprise; the general institutional framework of entrepreneurship; gender and entrepreneurship; and future business perspectives. The interviews were analysed by thematic close-reading, paying special attention to meaning-making practices and cultural articulations. In this article we focus on analysing the interviews with Russian women entrepreneurs.

Gender order and employment

The Soviet gender order was a combination of an egalitarian ideology and an essentialist assumption of natural sexual differences. It emphasised, simultaneously, formal gender equality and biological determinism as a framework for explaining gender differences in all spheres of life (Liljeström 1993; Rotkirch & Temkina 2007). The Soviet gender order was strongly determined by the needs of the state and the communist ideology (Zdravomyslova & Temkina 2007a). Feminine identity was constructed on the basis of a double burden of motherhood and full-time

⁴For more detail see Logrén and Löfgren (2005, 2008).

⁵The initial survey sample was 44 St Petersburg and 45 Finnish women entrepreneurs, who had participated in Finnish–Russian programmes for women entrepreneurs. The number of responses was 25 and 31, respectively.

paid work in production. Motherhood was glorified and the domestic realm was defined as a 'natural' sphere for women. Men were considered as providing political, economic and military leadership in the public sphere. The backbone of masculine identity was paid work and men's role in the domestic realm was culturally weak.

The institutional and ideological templates of the Soviet gender order were transformed by the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, as in the Soviet Union, the majority of women continue to be engaged in paid work (Ashwin 2006a, p. 2) and in Russian culture womanhood is strongly defined in the framework of motherhood. Although the ideology of the male breadwinner was also preserved in the Soviet Union as men tended to earn more than women (Kiblitckaya 2000), this ideology has become more pronounced in post-Soviet Russia (Rotkirch 2000, pp. 244–51; Ashwin 2006b, p. 35; Kay 2006). Gender contracts have become more diverse during the past decade, but the gender contract of a 'working mother' that relies on a women's double burden in production and reproduction is also characteristic of the contemporary gender order (Rotkirch & Temkina 2007). Women carry the main responsibility for domestic chores and child care and they also play a key role in forging and maintaining the social networks of the family. According to Tartakovskaya and Ashwin (2006), women's networks often build upon the family, household and workplace and include a great deal of everyday exchange and emotional support, while men's networks tend to be narrower and based more strongly upon work. It seems that there has occurred a deeper polarisation among Russian men than among women: men predominate both among the deeply marginalised groups marked by early death and heavy drinking and among the political and economic elites (Burawoy *et al.* 2000; Ashwin 2006a). Only a few women have gained access to the economic and political elites, but women's culturally strong role in the private domain has, to some extent, protected them from marginalisation and offered them a sense of continuity during the turbulent years of the social transformation (Ashwin 2006b).

In order to understand women's entrepreneurship, it is essential to examine it in relation to larger labour market patterns and their gendered dimensions (Kovalainen 1993, p. 13). According to Sarah Ashwin, gender trends in the Russian labour market show remarkable consistency with the Soviet era. Women have preserved their presence in the labour force, but men have retained, or even increased, their relative advantage in the sphere of employment (Ashwin 2006a, p. 2). There are no significant differences between women's and men's official unemployment rates (Ashwin 2006a, p. 2), but it has been suggested that hidden unemployment plagues women especially (Martin 1998). The continuation of women's double burden means that women are often perceived as 'second-class workers' in the labour market (Kozina & Zhidkova 2006, p. 58). The labour market is steeply segregated according to gender both vertically and horizontally. The male-dominated sectors of the economy are better paid and considered more prestigious than the female-dominated branches, such as the poorly paid sectors of culture, education and health. Men also tend to occupy the leading positions, while women populate the lower positions of the occupational hierarchy. As in the Soviet era, women's wages are only between 60% and 70% of men's wages (Ashwin 2006a). According to Kozina and Zhidkova (2006, p. 57), there

is a widely shared assumption among both employees and employers about ‘gender-appropriate work’, implying that certain forms of employment and sectors are ‘suitable’ for women and others for men. This legitimises gender divisions and inequality in employment and naturalises gendered power structures.

Similar gender divisions that are characteristic of the Russian labour market can also be identified in the entrepreneurial sector. Men tend to dominate in big business enterprises, while women entrepreneurs are primarily engaged in small and medium-sized businesses. As in many other countries (Kovalainen 1993), the majority of women entrepreneurs in Russia is involved in the service sector. Women are engaged, in particular, in the retail trade, housing and municipal services, science, health care, culture and social security. There is only a small number of women entrepreneurs in the construction and transportation sectors (Gvozdeva & Gerchikov 2002, p. 56; Chirikova & Krichevskaya 2002, p. 39).

The overwhelming majority of the women entrepreneurs interviewed in this study had established their enterprises during the 1990s. Six of the respondents had become entrepreneurs by privatising (part of) a state-owned enterprise, alone or together with other women. As a rule, they also had been employed in this enterprise during the Soviet era. The motivations for becoming an entrepreneur can be classified into push and pull factors (Orhan & Scott 2001). In our data, push factors played a dominant role in women’s decisions to become entrepreneurs. Several respondents had sought their way into entrepreneurship as a survival strategy and as a form of self-help in a volatile socio-economic situation. A similar pattern has also been identified in a number of other studies of women’s entrepreneurship in transition economies (Bridger *et al.* 1996; Smallbone & Welter 2001; Bruno 1997; Aidis *et al.* 2007). Many of our respondents mentioned having started their business reluctantly, only because they saw no other choice in the face of unemployment, declining wages and the need to support their family. However, while initially reluctant, the respondents had gradually grown to enjoy entrepreneurship and did not regret starting up a business. One respondent, a former teacher, told how a friend invited her to work in her firm and they later established a joint business. She explained her move to entrepreneurship as follows:

My husband lost his job. I had two children to support. One of my boys, the older one, was adopted, he’s an orphan; the other one was two years old. We also had a big dog, a Caucasian sheep-dog, that needed to be fed. So I had no choice—I just had to go somewhere where they paid at least something, because at the school at that time they were delaying salary payments for almost three months. But I have no regrets about what happened. (RK9)⁶

One of the respondents in the Republic of Karelia had begun organising training for women willing to start up their own business in the beginning of the 1990s. She recalled that there was a huge need for information about entrepreneurship, in particular among women facing the risk of unemployment in the situation of economic decline:

⁶RK refers to respondents from the Republic of Karelia, while SPb refers to respondents from St Petersburg. The number refers to an interview code (see Table A1).

We suddenly realised that . . . people had no knowledge about what the market economy is, what business is and how to do it. And almost all of the women were left without a job, because there was a sudden cut in production and construction, and a very significant reduction in different research institutes. And that applied precisely to women, 40 years old or so—when the children are already grown up and when there is a certain freedom and experience. That was the situation for them. (RK15)

Only two respondents mentioned pull factors as being decisive for starting up a private business. For them, entrepreneurship had been a conscious choice, something they had a strong personal aspiration for. One of them commented that she had established a private business as soon as it became legal to do so (RK5), and the other one told how she founded her business because of her active, entrepreneurial character and the family tradition in entrepreneurship (SPb9).

Gendering business: qualities and strategies

The absolute majority of the respondents perceived male and female entrepreneurs as differing from each other and these differences were most often explained by referring to gender-specific qualities and orientations. Thus, interestingly, in explaining entrepreneurship the respondents employed a similar psychological approach focusing on character traits that has been popular in academic research. This discourse of gender-based qualities in the interviews portrayed women as more emotional, empathic, persistent, cautious, considerate and responsible in their business dealings than men. Women were also described as being more committed to their businesses, more communicative and social than men. Male entrepreneurs, for their part, were characterised as more ambitious, selfish and taking more risks in business than women entrepreneurs.

However, the aforementioned ‘feminine qualities’ were interpreted in the interviews with Russian entrepreneurs in ambivalent ways. On the one hand, they were seen as hampering women’s entrepreneurial activities, making women’s businesses less viable and causing women to need more business training than men, whose ‘masculine qualities’ automatically facilitate entrepreneurship:

Women are guided more by emotions; their minds are less rational than men’s. Men ponder more . . . It probably wouldn’t be a bad idea, before letting a woman open some enterprise, to test her on her readiness and on how adequately she perceives the situation, to see if the [business] idea is realistic . . . Women are guided by emotions and men by reason. On the one hand it’s good, but on the other hand it leads to mistakes and bankruptcy, because many women don’t understand . . . that not all fancy ideas, abilities or skills can yield good profits. (RK14)

On the other hand, a number of respondents also portrayed feminine qualities in a positive light, as facilitating women’s business activities:

Women make contacts just like that, without any special preparations. Men take a long time to prepare; they think too long and they are lazy. Women are emotional; they will always find

something to talk about. They always solve problems on the basis of friendly relations. They never let each other down. And if you ask a woman to do something, she won't even give it a second thought about how much she will be paid for doing the task, or how much time she would have to spend on it. . . . It's important to note that it is exactly these kind of women who are successful in business. (RK15)

The respondents also explained that women and men entrepreneurs have different working methods and strategies in running their businesses. These methods and strategies were often interpreted as stemming from gender-based qualities. Women's businesses were described as less hierarchical and more democratic than men's. Self-realisation and receiving pleasure from entrepreneurial activities were considered to be more important for women. Women were also regarded as more 'civilised' in their business dealings than men, who were described as only pursuing quick profit and status symbols, such as expensive cars. As one entrepreneur argued: 'I feel it's very important for a woman to do business in a decent way. A woman, as I see it, is more conscious of this; that one has to be honest' (SPb3).

Women were occasionally portrayed as competent business managers by alluding to their maternal identity and the qualities and skills that women's domestic roles were interpreted to bestow upon them. Women as mothers were seen as more ethical, flexible and better able to adapt to changing circumstances. The respondents also argued that because women carry the main responsibility for the household, they simply do not have any other choice but to be active and enterprising. Women tend to be responsible for the household budget in Russia, which was also interpreted as supporting women's entrepreneurship. As one respondent put it: 'I think we have more women in business [in Karelia] in general, family businesses, but the wife is the leader and the husband helps [her]. . . . Well, a woman-mother . . . Women are in charge of the family budget, not a man, you see' (RK3). A similar discursive strategy also has been observed among women civic activists in Russia in the way they make sense of and justify their public engagements (Salmenniemi 2005, 2008). Evidently, references to women's maternal qualities and domestic responsibilities is a feasible strategy in the Russian gender culture, which perceives motherhood and the domestic sphere as the woman's primary and 'natural' mission.

The respondents reflected upon themselves and their activities in relation to the dominant masculine image of an entrepreneur. The attribute most frequently attached to entrepreneurship was harshness or toughness (*zhestkost'*), which was associated with masculinity. Many respondents distanced themselves from this image and described themselves as being 'softer'.

Interviewer: Do you [husband and wife in a family business] have different management styles?

Respondent: Well, I guess it's different; surely the style is different. I think women have a softer style, more communicative, that is, it's always built on interaction [*obshchenie*]. . . . Men are, well, harsher I would say. (RK8)

However, on a few occasions this gendered boundary between soft and tough was also disrupted. As one respondent commented, 'Men have tougher rules, frameworks and

so on. Women also conduct business in a harsh way. A real businesswoman is also harsh, but in a soft form. Harshness in a soft form, I would say' (SPb11).

Many women entrepreneurs associated risk-taking with masculinity. They emphasised that they wished to avoid risks and develop their businesses 'little by little', and interpreted this as a specifically 'feminine' way of doing business.⁷ One entrepreneur, for example, commented: 'Men take more risky steps, women are more cautious in doing business. A woman is ready to run a small business, a stable one. She doesn't like to take risks as men do. A man, he's a forerunner [*pervoprokhodets*]' (SPb10). However, private business in Russia inevitably involves considerable risks and uncertainties for all entrepreneurs regardless of gender, as the institutional framework is fragile and various informal practices play a significant role (Ledeneva 2006; Aidis *et al.* 2007). Russian entrepreneurs also lack such social safety nets as sickness benefit plans and pension schemes that waged-labour usually offers (Kay 2006, p. 114).

Because this study involved only women, it is difficult to assess whether male and female entrepreneurs perceive and take risks differently. However, our interviews show that the women entrepreneurs had taken risks in business, not least at the beginning of their entrepreneurial careers. As explained earlier, for several respondents entrepreneurship had appeared as a survival strategy and only a few of them had any prior experience of running a business. In this way, starting up a business appears as anything but a particularly secure or cautious choice, but rather as one that has required courage and risk-taking. At the time of the interviews, several women entrepreneurs also planned to invest heavily in their businesses so as to develop and expand them (Logrén & Löfgren 2005, p. 126). Earlier research has also demonstrated that many women business owners viewed growth and expansion as important business goals (Wells *et al.* 2003). We suggest that because risk-taking in entrepreneurship is strongly associated with masculinity, it is difficult for women entrepreneurs to articulate and recognise themselves as taking risks.

Although the respondents readily acknowledged that women and men entrepreneurs run their businesses differently, they often found it difficult to explain in more detail how these differences manifested themselves. Several respondents voiced perplexity, hesitation and provisos when explaining differences, such as 'I don't know', 'maybe', and 'I only speak from my own experience'. The essentialising discourse constructing women and men as 'naturally different' is culturally powerful in Russia and it is also familiar from the Soviet era, which helps to explain why it circulates so prominently in the interviews (Salmenniemi 2008; Bridger *et al.* 1996). For example, the following respondent stated as a matter of fact that women and men are different, but showed ambivalence in defining how these differences actually manifest themselves.

Interviewer: Do men and women entrepreneurs differ from each other in the way they work and do business?

⁷Only two respondents openly discussed the risks they had taken during their entrepreneurial career.

- Respondent: Well, I guess since men and women are different, they differ in everything they do, including business.
- Interviewer: Different how? What's the main difference?
- Respondent: Well, I don't know. Perhaps women's business takes longer to go through, it is more difficult. But it's more reliable and, I don't know how to put it, it's more viable ... perhaps not like that ... it's small but good, [while] men's businesses might be big, but unsteady. (RK5)

Although the majority of the respondents interpreted women and men running their business in different ways, three entrepreneurs also challenged this view. They contended that differences in entrepreneurial activities did not stem from gender but from the individual. What is needed, they suggested is a business-like character, which can be found among both women and men. These respondents also regarded women and men as gender groups that are internally heterogeneous:

- Interviewer: Are men and women as business leaders different?
- Respondent: I think it depends on the person Women run [their businesses] also in different ways Of course, accuracy is necessary, but I think it all depends on the person. ... We [the respondent and her husband] have approximately the same views on management, because we work in an alliance. But of course conflicts arise. (...) It also happens that two women can't work together because they have different views on management issues. (SPb4)

Experiences of gender discrimination

A number of respondents discussed gender discrimination (although they rarely used the term discrimination, *diskriminatsiya*) and gave examples of how they had encountered it in the entrepreneurial domain. They explained it was more difficult for women than for men to run a business, because of prejudices and sceptical attitudes towards women entrepreneurs in Russian society. They complained that women were not taken seriously as entrepreneurs and some men simply refused to do business with women. They also argued that it was far easier for men to climb the career ladder and achieve a leader's position. Women were seen as facing more pressure and prejudices in the male-dominated sectors of the economy. For example, construction was mentioned as a particularly difficult sector for women: in order to survive there women had to learn to speak 'men's language' and behave exactly like men. Similar patterns of gender discrimination have also been identified in other transition economies (Aidis *et al.* 2007).

The respondents often mentioned that domestic responsibilities impede women's—but not men's—entrepreneurial activities. (This issue will be discussed in more detail in the next section.) Many respondents had faced the attitude that women should remain in their role as homemakers instead of pursuing entrepreneurship.

I can say absolutely certainly, 100%, that men have more contacts, more opportunities. Not only do they understand each other very well in all respects, but they also support each other.

But they try not to let women in [to business]. Our men think that the woman's place is in the family and in the kitchen. Today this is the case, unfortunately. In order to be appreciated in the eyes of a man, a woman has to earn it first, so that she's appreciated as a partner or colleague, or as an entrepreneur. (SPb10)

Well, starting the business was hard You know, when we were opening our shop, we encountered so many obstacles from male officials [*chinovniki*] They told us openly: 'What do you want? You should stay at home with dishes and children. We won't sign the papers [documents needed for the business] anyway'. (RK9)

Women have developed a number of strategies to tackle gender discrimination. Especially in family businesses, women resolved the problem by taking their husbands along to negotiations and meetings. One self-employed woman (RK6) explained this as follows: 'They [male business partners] assume that my husband is the director. In principle I'm not an ambitious person, I just let them think so'. Another concluded that 'Sometimes my husband goes to the negotiations with me because you already know that you won't be seen as a partner' (RK8). Two respondents (RK6, RK14) explained that they preferred to conduct business with people they already knew beforehand, as they faced considerably less discrimination when dealing with established social networks. Hence, gender discrimination in business may encourage women to rely more on their personal networks instead of dealing through institutional channels.

One of the respondents had participated in international seminars on gender issues and she reflected vividly upon gender inequality in her interview. She articulated her entrepreneurial experiences with the feminist vocabulary of the 'gender question' (*gendernyi vopros*) and 'patriarchy' (*patriakhat*). According to her, seminars on gender issues had opened up to her a new framework for making sense of gender relations and her own experiences of discrimination in entrepreneurship:

[We have] this patriarchy of men [*muzhiki*]; men are not ready to work with women. I've encountered that for the past four years. Frankly speaking, if earlier I reacted somewhat differently, now I'm prouder and more ambitious; I say [to men]: 'You know, I think you are the ones who have problems', because not all men are ready to work with a competent woman. (RK7)

Several respondents considered that men dominate big business while women were seen as being concentrated in small and medium-sized businesses.⁸ However this division was not problematised, but it was interpreted as a 'natural' consequence of gender differences:

Why do men rule big business? I think it's because men are tougher, more self-assured. And we [women] are, well, how to say, 'I'm a leader, but still I'm softer by nature'; you know what I mean. But in big business one has to be sure-footed (*ustoichivyi*). (RK3)

They [women] choose less risky enterprises. Moreover, they have very good intuition. Besides, when a woman takes risks, she evaluates them carefully. Why? Because she thinks about

⁸See also Yurchak (2003, pp. 84–85).

herself, her children, her husband. As a rule, a man, when taking risks, thinks about almost nothing. . . . Well, men prefer something big, significant, while a woman would choose a nice [*krasivyy*] business, you know. A lot of women are in advertising, . . . in public relations, we have a lot of women journalists. . . . Of course there is a preference towards that choice, and it's natural. (RK15)

The discourses of gender-specific qualities and choice employed in the quotes above serve to naturalise gendered power relations. By explaining gender divisions at the individual level, referring to character and choice, these discourses remove from sight the structural and symbolic factors that produce gendered (dis)advantages in the entrepreneurial domain, such as discrimination against women, gender stereotypes, and unequal access to resources such as networks and capital.

Family as an obstacle to and a resource for entrepreneurship

Social networks were highly important in Soviet society in all spheres of life and they continue to play a key role in contemporary Russian society. Friendship and acquaintance networks have functioned as a central basis for starting and developing private businesses in Russia (Ledeneva 1998, pp. 184–85). Social networks are also of central importance in entrepreneurship in advanced Western countries, for example, in accessing resources, providing competitive advantage and enhancing the entrepreneur's opportunity recognition (Aidis & Estrin 2006, p. 18); but in the Russian entrepreneurial environment networks are in many ways indispensable. They are needed to overcome the shortcomings of the institutional system, such as for example, slow and complicated bureaucracy, an underdeveloped banking system, and rapidly changing, contradictory and weakly enforced legislation (Kosonen 2008; Karhunen *et al.* 2008; Smallbone & Welter 2001; Sätre Åhlander 2007). The importance of networks also stems from the distrust that is a structural characteristic of Russian society. Social institutions, such as the government, parliament, and law enforcement bodies, suffer from extremely low levels of trust (Shlapentokh 2006).

Family and the domestic sphere, in general, were ascribed ambivalent meanings in the interviews with women entrepreneurs.⁹ On the one hand, family and kin have been a vital resource upon which entrepreneurial activities have been built, and as was discussed above, women's maternal and domestic roles were interpreted as making women competent entrepreneurs. On the other hand, the gendered division of labour in the domestic sphere was portrayed as impeding women's entrepreneurial activities.

As a rule our respondents had obtained the start-up capital for founding an enterprise through family members and relatives (Aidis *et al.* 2007; Isakova *et al.* 2006, p. 35). Eleven of them ran a family enterprise, broadly speaking, that involved most often their spouse, but occasionally also other family members. A few respondents had also started their business by working at home. Some family businesses were officially

⁹Of those interviewed, 22 were married and four were either unmarried, widowers or divorced (we do not have this information about one respondent). The overwhelming majority of the respondents (20) had grown-up children, while five had children under the age of 16, and two did not have children.

founded and run together by a married couple, with varying forms of division of labour. In some firms the role of the husband was characterised as a ‘helper’ or the ‘right hand’ of the manager-wife, while in others the spouses were described as having a more equal footing and their own areas of responsibility. Several respondents also characterised their husbands and themselves as complementing each other. As one entrepreneur put it, ‘I have a head, he has hands’ (RK3).

In some enterprises, the husband had no official position, but he helped the wife-entrepreneur by running errands and providing skills, expertise and networks for the use of the enterprise. This arrangement was typical in families where the husband was employed in the military forces or in government administration, where employees are not allowed to take part in private enterprise. The business was thus not officially a family enterprise, but the husband played an important informal role in it. This practice highlights how legislation preventing entrepreneurship for certain professional categories can be circumvented. Furthermore, spouses can also help women entrepreneurs to enlarge their networks. Scholars have argued that due to the Soviet-era gendered power structures, men tend to have more contact than women with key stakeholders in the higher echelons of political and economic power (Aidis *et al.* 2007; Welter *et al.* 2006a, p. 8). Contrary to the official declarations of gender equality, women were marginalised from the leading political and economic positions in the Soviet Union, and this has created a structural disadvantage for women entrepreneurs in transition economies.

The difficulty of combining work and family was an issue that was extensively discussed in the interviews with women entrepreneurs. Although the family had facilitated, and in the case of the family’s economic problems, also pushed the women to found an enterprise, the respondents vividly described how family responsibilities and the unequal gender division of labour at home impeded their entrepreneurial activities. The respondents thought it was more difficult for women to be self-employed than for men because of women’s caring obligations in the private sphere. This is consistent with the results of household surveys in Russia, which show that women devote considerably more time to domestic work than men (Ashwin 2006b, pp. 46–47). More specifically, the respondents presented the woman as shouldering the main responsibility for the household, and they presented the husband and children only as helping her:

Interviewer: In your opinion, is it harder for women to engage in entrepreneurship?

Respondent: Yes, it’s very hard. In any case, whether she’s supported by her family or not, it’s harder for a woman to do business; it’s the woman who has to either lead the household or maintain it. Home, family—these are the woman’s responsibilities anyway. Relatives, husband, children—they help. (SPb5)

Another respondent explained how small children were often a major obstacle for women’s involvement in entrepreneurship.

Interviewer: Is it harder for women to do business than for men?

Respondent: It is, because apart from being a business-lady, you are also a mother and no one released you from these duties. . . . For example, I spend a lot of time on caring for the family, my children are still small. (RK1)

Another respondent said:

It is hard [to combine business and family], but I guess it was easier for me because my children were already older. I mean they already went to school, were very independent. . . . But when they were little of course it seemed very hard. It's very hard to combine [family and business] when the kids are small. (SPb7)

Several other respondents also reported that they had started their businesses only after their children had grown up.¹⁰ One entrepreneur from St Petersburg said she had purposely stayed in her unsatisfying job as an engineer while her children were young, and another respondent commented that only when the children had grown up did she feel able to move to entrepreneurship, work independently and take risks. Only one respondent portrayed entrepreneurship as more easily reconciled with domestic responsibilities than waged labour. This woman, a former teacher from the Republic of Karelia, explained she had decided to start up her own business because she wanted to spend more time with her child. Thus, the flexible schedule that entrepreneurship can offer potentially served as a pull factor for her. Studies pertaining to the experiences of women civic activists in post-Soviet societies have revealed similar results, indicating that women have more time and opportunities to engage in activities in the public domain when their caring obligations at home are relieved (Berg 2004; Salmenniemi 2008). Thus, women's 'time poverty' (Lister 1997, p. 133) limits their opportunities to act in the public sphere.

The interviews elucidate how women's cross-generational care chains are an essential factor enabling women's entrepreneurship. The majority of the respondents mentioned that their mothers' help in the home was indispensable, in particular, in taking care of the children. Soviet family life was based upon the practice of extensive mothering—women-centred, cross-generational emotional, social and economic ties—and this gendered practice also continues in contemporary Russia. Due to the traditionally marginal role of men in the family, in the course of time family has become a distinctively female institution in Russia (Rotkirch 2000, p. 120; Rytkönen 2008).

Many respondents emphasised the importance of the support and understanding of their husbands and children for their entrepreneurial activities. The majority of them reported receiving support from their family, but the interviews show that often this tended to mean that the family members did not actively hinder the woman entrepreneur rather than giving her concrete help in everyday life. The husbands did not usually oppose their wives being entrepreneurs *per se*, and especially in family enterprises they also often helped in running the business, but according to the respondents, the husbands were extremely reluctant to renegotiate the gendered division of labour at home. Women's entrepreneurship was accepted only as long as it did not challenge the existing divisions of labour and power in the domestic sphere. Only two respondents reported their husbands being actively involved in running the

¹⁰Women have children at a younger age in Russia than in Western countries. In Russia, women tend to have children at the age of 20–24 and in the West at the age of 25–29 (Rotkirch 2007, p. 17).

household. They expressed gratitude for this several times during the interview and acknowledged that it was an unusual arrangement in Russian families:

My parents were strongly against my becoming the head of an enterprise. . . . I'm very thankful [to my husband] in this sense, because he said to my parents: 'You see, she's a personality [*lichnost*], she is appreciated'. I'm very thankful to my husband for letting me realise myself. . . . There was a time when I hadn't had a vacation for two years. He was taking care of the baby; he took him on vacation. (RK7)

Similarly:

Interviewer: So your husband doesn't think that you should stay at home?

Respondent: No, on the contrary, he thinks that I shouldn't stay at home. Actually, I'm very grateful to my husband for all the housework—I don't have any obligations, absolutely none I have initially built the relationship in this way. I don't think it's necessary for a working woman to do the housekeeping, look after the husband, see whether his socks are clean or dirty—it's total nonsense! My husband cooks by himself . . . he has more free time. The kitchen is his territory. We have a very democratic relationship; everyone . . . takes care of him or herself—daughter, husband. (RK14)

The predominant gender contract emerging in the interviews is that of 'working mother' that was also characteristic of the Soviet era (Rotkirch & Temkina 2007). In middle and upper class families paid domestic servants and nannies have become more common, especially in St Petersburg and Moscow (Rotkirch 2008), but in our interview data the absolute majority of women still ran the household themselves and relied upon their mothers' help. Furthermore, one respondent also commented that even if the family had a domestic servant, a woman (the wife) would still hold prime responsibility for the household, as she would have to make sure that the servant did everything correctly. Only one entrepreneur in our data, a childless woman from St Petersburg, had employed a paid domestic servant. Her family thus followed the gender contract of a career-oriented couple in which both spouses focus upon their careers (Rotkirch & Temkina 2007). Another childless entrepreneur from St Petersburg also voiced a wish to hire domestic help, but had faced resistance from her husband. She had to decide between saving her marriage and freeing herself from the domestic burden:

It's very difficult to convince a man to help run the household. Men have a lot of difficulty accepting it and many families fall apart because of it. In order to keep the family together, I have to be more understanding and do everything by myself, or convince him [husband] very tenderly that a domestic servant can do it. He protests, he wants me to do everything. Although he's very proud of me and tells everyone what a woman I am, he still doesn't want a domestic servant—he wants me to do all the housework. . . . That's the way he was brought up. He thinks that it's the wife's duty. . . . My husband says I should manage my business so that I have time for housekeeping. If I want to keep the family together, I have to respond to that somehow. (SPb9)

Resisting the norms

Earlier research has argued that Russian women often view the domestic sphere as their ‘natural’ responsibility and they do not tend to question the gendered division of labour at home (Ashwin 2002). The women entrepreneurs interviewed here form an interesting and contrasting case to this argument. Several respondents voiced dissatisfaction about their double burden and the way they had to juggle their multiple responsibilities. The ‘naturalness’ of the traditional gender division of labour at home was questioned, for example, by alluding to socialisation practices that were understood to shape women’s and men’s expectations of gender relations. Two of the entrepreneurs also believed that the gendered division of labour in Russian families was bound to become more egalitarian with generational change and saw this as a positive development. As one of them (SPb9) argued, ‘our young people, 20–25 years old, when living together, divide responsibilities, [but] our generation still lives in the old way and it’s hard to change it’. The other respondent commented:

I can see that even in our village, in young families husbands take care of the children. It’s the men who dedicate themselves to children. They take them to dances, to the Hermitage, they travel with them. . . . I’m very glad this is happening. (SPb10)

The interviews show that women entrepreneurs are highly committed to their businesses and they are ready to fight for their right to self-realisation. Some women entrepreneurs had not been willing to put up with the unequal division of labour at home and the husband’s lack of understanding of their entrepreneurship. One respondent had divorced her first husband, because he did not support her. She subsequently remarried a man who shared her interest in entrepreneurship. Another respondent explained her divorce as follows:

My personal life collapsed [*poshla na smarku*] after 1991, right after I started this business. I broke up with my husband, because he couldn’t understand me, I couldn’t understand him . . . and then I just got along with another man and that’s it. . . . Eventually we divorced [my first husband and I], because business is one thing and family is another thing. I was supposed to stay at home, wash, cook and so on, and not to go anywhere. I was supposed to live for my husband. But it turned out that I started living for myself and for the [work] collective. (RK3)

A few respondents reported that their husbands had actively objected to their entrepreneurial activity. These women had, however, persistently pursued their business despite resistance. According to them, their husbands had gradually grown to accept the situation:

My husband was jealous that I succeeded . . . He didn’t understand many things back then and . . . that had a serious impact on our relations. But now he has accepted the fact that I won’t relent. Now he understands that I have my principles and that I’m an independent person, I have my own opinions and it’s useless to try to stop me or influence my decisions. It’s better to find some sort of mutual understanding or split up. . . . Well, there was a period of certain subordination, he wanted to place me under his authority, to make me do what he wanted. . . . I tried not to pay attention to it. (SPb10)

My husband viewed the business negatively. Now he takes it positively, ... but back then he took it in a very hostile way because my business went very well and it started yielding very sound profits. ... And he started feeling his failure; that he couldn't provide for the family. I mean I started providing for the family. ... It was very difficult. I had to work a lot with this man, communicate ... He did everything he could to get me back where I belonged, so that I would just go to work at nine and be home at five, because part of the obligations [at home] were passed on to him, even the biggest part. He takes this OK now, but 10 years ago he just couldn't take it. (RK1)

These quotations illustrate how husbands' negative attitudes towards entrepreneurship stemmed from the destabilisation of the traditional gendered power relations and division of labour in the family. Because masculine identity in Russia is constructed strongly upon breadwinning and paid work, the husbands felt, according to the respondents, threatened and undermined by their wives' entrepreneurial success.

Conclusion

This article highlights how women entrepreneurs tend to employ the discourse of gender-specific qualities, which is highly influential in Russian society, in explaining gender differences in business. By having engaged in entrepreneurship, these women have crossed a gendered boundary and entered a symbolically masculine-marked domain. The discourse of gender-based qualities can be seen as a feasible cultural resource to negotiate and legitimise this border-crossing. By invoking this discourse women can be seen to claim recognition and value for their work.

Gender discrimination in business was discussed by a number of the respondents. This discrimination is highly problematic as it impedes the mobilisation of women's entrepreneurial potential and the development of business life in general. We contend that gender discrimination may also strengthen the role of informal connections and networks in business. It has been argued that the importance of connections and networks tends to diminish in business with the strengthening and stabilisation of institutional frameworks and market mechanisms (Kosonen 2008; Karhunen 2007). However, as the analysis in this article indicates, women rely on informal personal networks not only because the institutions do not work properly, but also in order to avoid gender discrimination. Thus, if the norms concerning gender relations do not become more permissive and flexible we may expect informal connections to hold their importance in women's businesses in combating gender discrimination.

Social networks are important not only in avoiding gender discrimination, but also in juggling the demands of entrepreneurship and domestic responsibilities. On the one hand, family ties offer important material and emotional resources for entrepreneurship, but on the other hand, the unequal gendered division of labour in the private realm hampers women's involvement in business. The Russian gender order relies upon and reproduces the cultural norm of women's double burden, thus upholding women's cross-generational care chains as indispensable for enabling and supporting women's entrepreneurship. The article also shows that the respondents are highly committed to their businesses: they were not willing to give business up even if they faced prolonged resistance from their family. However, the patriarchal attitudes in the

family and society towards women's entrepreneurship pose a significant barrier for many potential women entrepreneurs.

This article highlights two important avenues for further research. First, there is a need for more qualitative research that is sensitive to self-employed women's and men's own articulations and understandings of gender in the context of entrepreneurship. Ethnographic enquiries about how women and men entrepreneurs create and mobilise their networks, and how their everyday strategies and tactics to navigate the murky institutional environment are gendered would yield important insights into the gendering processes of entrepreneurship in transition economies.

Second, the connections between gender, entrepreneurship and social class merit further enquiry. The steep social stratification, commercialisation of everyday life and the changing patterns of labour markets brought about by the social transformation have crucially reshaped the gender and class orders in Russia. As some women succeed in private business and move upwards in the class structure, other women experience downward mobility and seek employment as servants and nannies (Rotkirch 2008), enabling in this way the professional engagement of the former. It would be helpful to analyse in more detail the shifting boundaries between business and *byt*: how the division of labour is arranged and negotiated in women entrepreneurs' households, and what kinds of conceptions of gender and class are constructed in this context.

University of Helsinki

Aalto University School of Economics

References

- Aidis, R. & Estrin, S. (2006) *Institutions, Networks and Entrepreneurship Development in Russia: An Exploration*, Working paper 833 (Ann Arbor, MI, William Davidson Institute).
- Aidis, R., Welter, F., Smallbone, D. & Isakova, N. (2007) 'Female Entrepreneurship in Transition Economies: The Case of Lithuania and Ukraine', *Feminist Economics*, 13, 2, pp. 157–83.
- Ashwin, S. (2002) 'The Influence of the Soviet Gender Order on Employment Behaviour in Contemporary Russia', *Sociological Research*, 41, 1, pp. 21–37.
- Ashwin, S. (2006a) 'Dealing with Devastation in Russia: Women and Men Compared', in Ashwin, S. (ed.) (2006c).
- Ashwin, S. (2006b) 'The Post-Soviet Gender Order: Imperatives and Implications', in Ashwin, S. (ed.) (2006c).
- Ashwin, S. (ed.) (2006c) *Adapting to Russia's New Labour Market. Gender and Employment Behaviour* (London & New York, Routledge).
- Berg, A. (2004) 'Two Worlds Apart: The Lack of Integration between Women's Informal Networks and Nongovernmental Organizations in Uzbekistan', in Kuehnast, K. & Nechemias, C. (eds) (2004) *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition. Nation Building, Economic Survival, and Civic Activism* (Washington, DC, Woodrow Wilson Center Press).
- Bridger, S., Kay, R. & Pinnick, K. (1996) *No More Heroines? Russia, Women and the Market* (London & New York, Routledge).
- Bruni, A., Gherardi, S. & Poggio, B. (2004) 'Doing Gender, Doing Entrepreneurship: An Ethnographic Account of Intertwined Practices', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 11, 4, pp. 406–29.
- Bruno, M. (1997) 'Women and the Culture of Entrepreneurship', in Buckley, M. (ed.) (1997) *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
- Burawoy, M., Krotov, P. & Lytkina, T. (2000) 'Involution and Destitution in Capitalist Russia', *Ethnography*, 1, 1, pp. 43–65.
- Chirikova, A. E. & Krichevskaya, O. N. (2002) 'The Woman Manager: Business Strategies and Self-Image', *Sociological Research*, 41, 1, pp. 38–54.

- Gvozdeva, E. S. & Gerchikov, V. I. (2002) 'Sketches for a Portrait of Women Managers', *Sociological Research*, 41, 1, pp. 55–68.
- Hurley, A. E. (1999) 'Incorporating Feminist Theories into Sociological Theories of Entrepreneurship', *Women in Management Review*, 14, 2, pp. 54–62.
- Iakovleva, T., Kickul, J. & McFee, E. (2006) 'Legitimacy, Competence and Social Capital: Leveraging Personal and Structural Resources in Women-led SMEs in Russia', in *Nordic Conference on Small Business Research*, Stockholm, 11–13 May, available at: <http://www.ncsb2006.se/pdf/Legitimacy%20Competence%20Social%20Capital.pdf>, accessed 16 September 2010.
- Isakova, N., Krasovska, O., Kavunenko, L. & Lugovy, A. (2006) 'Entrepreneurship in the Ukraine: A Male Female Comparison', in Welter, F. *et al.* (eds) (2006b).
- Izyumov, A. & Razumnova, I. (2000) 'Women Entrepreneurs in Russia: Learning to Survive the Market', *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 5, 1, pp. 1–19.
- Karhunen, P. (2007) *Field-level Change in Institutional Transformation: Strategic Responses to Post-socialism in St. Petersburg Hotel Enterprises*, Doctoral Dissertation HSE Publications A-298 (Helsinki, Helsinki School of Economics).
- Karhunen, P., Kettunen, E., Miettinen, V. & Sivonen, T. (2008) *Determinants of Knowledge-Intensive Entrepreneurship in Southeast Finland and Northwest Russia*, Mikkeli Business Campus Publications N-77 (Helsinki, Helsinki School of Economics).
- Kay, R. (2006) *Men in Contemporary Russia. The Fallen Heroes of Post-Soviet Change?* (Aldershot, Ashgate).
- Kiblitckaya, M. (2000) 'Russia's Female Breadwinners: The Changing Subjective Experience', in Ashwin, S. (ed.) (2000) *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia* (London, Routledge).
- Koikkalainen, K. (2008) 'Zhenshchiny na pervykh polosakh delovyykh izdaniy', in Vartanova, E. L. & Pavlikova, M. M. (eds) (2008) *Obraz zhenshchiny v kul'ture i mass-media* (Tampere, University of Tampere).
- Kosonen, R. (2008) 'Henkilösuhteet ja epävirallinen vaikuttaminen venäläisessä liiketoiminnassa', in Salmenniemi, S. & Rotkirch, A. (eds) (2008).
- Kovalainen, A. (1993) *At the Margins of Economy: Women's Self-Employment in Finland 1960–1990* (Turku, Turku School of Economics and Business Administration).
- Kozina, I. & Zhidkova, E. (2006) 'Sex Segregation and Discrimination in the New Russian Labour Market', in Ashwin, S. (ed.) (2006c).
- Ledeneva, A. (1998) *Russia's Economy of Favours* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
- Ledeneva, A. (2006) *How Russia Really Works* (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press).
- Liljeström, M. (1993) 'The Soviet Gender System: The Ideological Construction of Femininity and Masculinity in the 1970s', in Liljeström, M., Mäntysaari, E. & Rosenholm, A. (eds) (1993) *Gender Restructuring in Russian Studies* (Tampere, Slavica Tamperensia II).
- Lister, R. (1997) *Citizenship. Feminist Perspectives* (Basingstoke, Macmillan).
- Logrén, J. & Löfgren, J. (2005) *Koukussa yrittäjyyteen: suomalaisten ja venäläisten naisyrittäjien motiiveja ja haasteita*, Helsinki School of Economics Publications B-64 (Helsinki, Helsinki School of Economics).
- Logrén, J. & Löfgren, J. (2008) 'Women Entrepreneurs in Russian Karelia: Hooked on Entrepreneurship', in Blom, R. (ed.) (2008) *Managers in Russia: Still So Different?* (Helsinki, Kikimora Publications).
- Manolova, T. S., Carter, N. M., Manev, I. M. & Gyoshev, B. S. (2007) 'The Differential Effect of Men and Women Entrepreneurs' Human Capital and Networking on Growth Expectancies in Bulgaria', *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 31, 3, pp. 407–26.
- Manolova, T. S., Eunni, R. V. & Gyoshev, B. S. (2008) 'Institutional Environments for Entrepreneurship: Evidence from Emerging Economies in Eastern Europe', *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 32, 1, pp. 203–18.
- Manolova, T. S., Manev, I. M., Carter, N. M. & Gyoshev, B. S. (2006) 'Breaking the Family and Friends' Circle: Predictors of External Financing Usage Among Men and Women Entrepreneurs in a Transitional Economy', *Venture Capital*, 8, 2, pp. 109–32.
- Manolova, T. S. & Yan, A. (2002) 'Institutional Constraints and Entrepreneurial Responses in a Transforming Economy: The Case of Bulgaria', *International Small Business Journal*, 20, 2, pp. 163–84.
- Martin, B. (1998) *The Social and Employment Consequences of Privatization in Transition Economies: Evidence and Guidelines*, Interdepartmental Action Programme on Privatization, Restructuring and Economic Democracy, Working Paper IPPRED-4 (Geneva, International Labour Organization).

- Mirchandani, K. (1999) 'Feminist Insight on Gendered Work: New Directions in Research on Women and Entrepreneurship', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 6, 4, pp. 224–33.
- Orhan, M. & Scott, D. (2001) 'Why Women Enter into Entrepreneurship: An Explanatory Model', *Women in Management Review*, 16, 5, pp. 232–43.
- Romans, F. & Preclin, V. (2008) 'Population and Social Conditions', *Eurostat Data in Focus*, 27/2008.
- Rotkirch, A. (2000) *The Man Question. Loves and Lives in Late 20th Century Russia* (Helsinki, University of Helsinki, Department of Social Policy).
- Rotkirch, A. (2007) 'Venäläiset perheet murroksessa', in Korhonen, E. (ed.) (2007) *Venäläiset perheet ja seksuaalisuus murroksessa* (Helsinki, Väestöliitto).
- Rotkirch, A. (2008) 'Uusien venäläisten uudet palvelijat', in Salmenniemi, S. & Rotkirch, A. (eds) (2008).
- Rotkirch, A. & Temkina, A. (2007) 'Sovetskie gendernye kontrakty i ikh transformatsiya v sovremennoi Rossii', in Zdravomyslova, E. & Temkina, A. (eds) (2007a).
- Rytkönen, M. (2008) 'Äidit ja tyttäret. Sukupolvet ja yhteiskunnan muutos nykynaiskirjallisuudessa', in Salmenniemi, S. & Rotkirch, A. (eds) (2008).
- Salmenniemi, S. (2005) 'Civic Activity—Feminine Activity? Gender, Civil Society and Citizenship in Post-Soviet Russia', *Sociology*, 39, 4, pp. 735–53.
- Salmenniemi, S. (2008) *Democratization and Gender in Contemporary Russia* (London, Routledge).
- Salmenniemi, S. & Rotkirch, A. (eds) (2008) *Suhteiden Venäjä* (Helsinki, Gaudeamus).
- Sätre Ahlander, A.-M. (2007) 'Women's Work in Transitional Russia: Women's Strategies for Entrepreneurship and Survival in Russian Regions', in the Aleksanteri Conference *Revisiting Perestroika—Processes and Alternatives*, Helsinki, 29 November–1 December 2007.
- Shlapentokh, V. (2006) 'Trust in Public Institutions in Russia: The Lowest in the World', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 39, 2, pp. 153–74.
- Smallbone, D. & Welter, F. (2001) 'The Distinctiveness of Entrepreneurship in Transition Economies', *Small Business Economics*, 16, pp. 249–62.
- Tartakovskaya, I. & Ashwin, S. (2006) 'Who Benefits from Networks?', in Ashwin, S. (ed.) (2006c).
- Verkhovskaya, O. & Dorokhina, M. (2008) *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor: Russia 2008* (St Petersburg, Graduate School of Management, St Petersburg State University).
- Wells, B. L., Pfantz, T. J. & Byrne, J. L. (2003) 'Russian Women Business Owners: Evidence of Entrepreneurship in a Transition Economy', *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 8, 1, pp. 59–71.
- Welter, F., Smallbone, D. & Isakova, N. B. (2006a) 'Introduction', in Welter, F. *et al.* (eds) (2006b).
- Welter, F., Smallbone, D. & Isakova, N. B. (eds) (2006b) *Enterprising Women in Transition Economies* (Aldershot, Ashgate).
- Yurchak, A. (2003) 'Russian Neoliberal: The Entrepreneurial Ethic and the Spirit of "True Careerism"', *Russian Review*, 62, January, pp. 72–90.
- Zdravomyslova, E. & Temkina, A. (2007a) 'Sovetskii etakraticeskii gendernyi poryadok', in Zdravomyslova, E. & Temkina, A. (eds) (2007b).
- Zdravomyslova, E. & Temkina, A. (eds) (2007b) *Rossiiskii gendernyi poryadok: sotsiologicheskii podkhod* (St Petersburg, EUSP).

Appendix 1

TABLE A1
SUMMARY OF RESPONDENTS

<i>Interview code</i>	<i>Type of business</i>	<i>Location of the interview</i>	<i>Date of the interview</i>
SPb1	Real estate services	St Petersburg	30 March 2005
SPb2	Publishing	St Petersburg	30 March 2005
SPb3	Handicrafts	St Petersburg	9 March 2005
SPb4	Travel agency	St Petersburg	1 April 2005
SPb5	Travel agency	St Petersburg	9 March 2005
SPb6	Clothing industry	St Petersburg	11 March 2005
SPb7	Office supplies, IT services	St Petersburg	1 April 2005
SPb8	Retail	St Petersburg	16 February 2005
SPb9	Wellness products	St Petersburg	15 February 2005
SPb10	Wholesale trade in construction materials	St Petersburg	31 March 2005
SPb11	Clothing industry and retail	St Petersburg	17 February 2005
SPb12	Clothing industry	St Petersburg	31 March 2005
RK1	Heritage tourism	Petrozavodsk	29 May 2006
RK2	Clothing industry	Kostamuksha	16 June 2006
RK3	Retail industry	Petrozavodsk	29 May 2006
RK4	Retail industry	Petrozavodsk	30 May 2006
RK5	Hairdressing salon	Kostamuksha	16 June 2006
RK6	Retail industry	Kostamuksha	16 June 2006
RK7	Furniture retail	Kostamuksha	17 June 2006
RK8	Exhibition services	Petrozavodsk	30 May 2006
RK9	Dressmaker's shop	Petrozavodsk	30 May 2006
RK10	Medical services	Petrozavodsk	31 May 2006
RK11	Medical services	Petrozavodsk	31 May 2006
RK12	Handicrafts	Kostamuksha	17 June 2006
RK13	Dressmaker's shop	Petrozavodsk	31 May 2006
RK14	Medical services	Petrozavodsk	1 June 2006
RK15	Education services	Petrozavodsk	1 June 2006

Note: respondents were granted anonymity, so the names are not revealed.