

GENDER BASED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND LGBT MOVEMENTS  
IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **GENDER BASED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND LGBT MOVEMENT IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA**

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This study examines the emergence and development of gender based social movements and LGBT movements in post-Soviet Russia with the legacy of homophobic and sexist policies of Tsarist and Soviet Russia. From a historical perspective, this thesis aims to analyze how gender related social issues have been perceived by the Russian society and how activists desired changes in the Russian society through social movements. In this thesis, social movements and gender related problems are investigated in a historical context because today's movements have been affected by gender policies of the Tsarist and Soviet Russia. The main research problem is how Russian activists make gender related social issues visible and raise their concerns in public sphere through framing gender issue, creating their networks and collective identity for new recruitments, as well as producing their own repertoire and using strategies in social movements under repressive gender policies of the Russian Federation. The thesis argues that despite the regimes changes Russia went through and its recent transition to democracy, there is limited space for social movements related to gender issue in contemporary Russia. Despite that gender based social movements and LGBT movements in Russia are proved to be crucial in terms of challenging gender related social problems like discrimination, inequality and violence. Even if it is difficult to be a significant social change in the short turn, these movements are vital for the visibility of gender related social issues and for raising awareness in public about these issues in the long term in post-Soviet Russia.

**Keyword:** Social Movements, Gender, LGBT, Tsarist, Soviet, Russia

## ÖZ

### SOVYET SONRASI RUSYA'DA CİNSİYET TEMELLİ SOSYAL HAREKETLER VE LGBT HAREKETLERİ

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Bu çalışma Çarlık ve Sovyet Rusya'nın homofobik ve cinsiyetçi politikalarının mirası olan Sovyet sonrası Rusya'da cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketlerin ve LGBT hareketlerinin ortaya çıkışını ve gelişimini incelemektedir. Bu tez, tarihsel bir perspektiften bakıldığında, cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal sorunların Rus toplumu tarafından nasıl algılandığını ve aktivistlerin Rus toplumunda sosyal hareketler ile nasıl bir değişiklik yapmak istediklerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu tezde, sosyal hareketler ve cinsiyetle ilgili problemler tarihsel bağlamda incelenmiştir çünkü bugünkü sosyal hareketler Çarlık ve Sovyet Rusya'nın cinsiyet politikalarından etkilenmişlerdir. Temel araştırma problemi, Rus aktivistlerin cinsiyet sorunlarını belirleyerek, yeni aktivistler için bağlantılar ve kolektif kimlik oluşturarak, aynı zamanda kendi repertuarlarını üretip, stratejilerini kullanarak sosyal hareketlerle nasıl cinsiyet ile ilgili sosyal problemleri görünür hale getirdikleri ve kaygılarını toplumsal alanda, Rusya Federasyonu'nun baskıcı cinsiyet politikalarına rağmen nasıl ifade ettikleridir. Bu tez, Rusya'daki rejim değişikliklerine ve son zamanlardaki demokrasiye geçişine rağmen, günümüz Rusya'sında cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler için kısıtlı bir alan bulunduğunu savunmaktadır. Ancak, Rusya'daki cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler ile LGBT hareketlerinin ayrımcılık, eşitsizlik ve şiddet gibi cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal problemlere meydan okuması açısından önem taşır. Kısa dönemde önemli bir sosyal değişikliğin olması zor olsa da, uzun dönemde bu toplumsal hareketler cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal sorunların görünürlüğü ve toplumun bu sorunlar ile ilgili farkındalığının artması açısından önemlidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sosyal Hareketler, Cinsiyet, LGBT, Çarlık, Sovyet, Rusya

To All the People who are Victim of Discrimination and Violence  
because of Their Gender or Sexual Orientation...



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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Gender and gender orientation issues form a significant part of the Russian social movement, especially in the post-Soviet period. There are many unresolved gender related social issues that goes back to the Soviet, even the Tsarist period. These gender based social issues include discrimination, violence, economic problems, state control over gender, influence of religion and media on gender, government policies to position gender on their citizens in contemporary Russia. In Tsarist period, women did not have an active social life and were deprived of certain social rights like education and were not even counted in the censuses while masculinity was emphasized in society and the government. In Soviet Russia, women acquired many social rights and were included in working life; but this time motherhood was glorified and promoted by government as a state policy, which placed a heavy burden on women again along with their new responsibilities. The effect of the legacy of patriarchal social structure of Russia is an important part of the problem regarding gender related issues but authoritarian government policies are also influential in the problem remaining unresolved.

Besides the gender issue, there is another unresolved issue concerning the homosexual and transgender people. From the Tsarist period to contemporary Russia, there has always been prejudice and hostility towards homosexual and transgender people. Being uncertain about their position as citizens of Russia they have been subjected to social exclusion in the society. In Tsarist Russia, they were almost invisible in the public sphere as female homosexuality was seen as a mental disorder that needed to be cured and male homosexuality was seen as criminal that needed to be penalized. While during the period before Stalin male homosexuality was decriminalized, it was criminalized again in the Stalinist period and remained as a crime until the establishment of the Russian Federation. However,

decriminalization of homosexuality did not change much in the life of the homosexuals in Russia because in 2013, Federal law banned the public demonstrations of LGBT people on the ground that such demonstrations promote non-traditional sexual relations, which affect children in a bad way. All of these government policies related to homosexuals and transgender people have influenced the perception of the Russian society on homosexuality in a negative way. Hence, it can be said that there is an increasing homophobia and transphobia in contemporary Russia.

Although civil society has not developed much throughout the Russian history mainly because of the repressive state regimes, it is relatively strong in the Russian Federation through its resistance to authoritarian government policies. However, the civil society is still not very strong to be influential in the decision making process of the government policies. There are some non-governmental organizations taking the mediating role between the state and the society but they are also under the control of the Russian government. In this respect, social movement and grassroots activism are important to raise gender related issues. While gender based social movements are still not very powerful due to weak networks, low number of members as well as lack of support from the society, any kind of collective action like protest, demonstrations or campaigns is significant in terms of the strengthening of the civil society by voicing gender issue. LGBT people issue also becomes visible in public sphere. LGBT people fight for equal rights despite embedded homophobia and transphobia in the Russian society as well as increasingly repressive policies of the Russian state.

The main goal of this study is to understand how the strategies of activists make gender issues visible, how they react to gender related social problems, what their concerns and demands are, and how the legitimization of homophobia by the Russian state promotes the strengthening of the anti-LGBT feeling in Russian society. This study's main research problem is how activists frame their concerns to create a collective identity, which repertoire and tactics they use to express their demands and what their motivations are for mobilization to raise gender issues in a repressive

political environment with sexist and homophobic policies of Russia. In addition, this study tries to find out how the contemporary gender based social movements are affected by the historical, cultural and political context in Russia, when activists frame their concerns to create a collective identity and raise their demands through using their own repertoires and networking to mobilize and make their problems visible, despite the apathetic attitude of Russian society as well as the sexist and homophobic policies of the Russian state.

In this thesis, gender based social movements in contemporary Russia is analyzed in terms of networks, frames, mobilization tactics and discourse used in social movements by activists from a historical perspective. It is important to analyze the historical context of social movements and gender issue in Russia because in today's Russia gender based social movements and LGBT movements have been affected by the sexist and homophobic implementations and policies of the Tsarist and Soviet Russia. In this thesis, gender related social problems are also examined in a historical context in order to present changes and continuities of these problems in contemporary Russia. Researching on gender related social problems are important also to understand the reasons and demands of social movements related to gender issues. So, despite the transition to democracy, gender based social problems and the biased attitudes in society towards homosexuality remain unresolved mainly because of the historical and cultural legacy of the state repression and control over the gender issue.

This thesis has six parts. Part I is the introduction, which defines the aim and the main topic of the study, the research problem and the research question. Part II includes a theoretical framework for the explanation of concepts related to social movement theories and also gender issue to guide understanding of terms used in this study. Part III gives information about the historical background. This part covers gender based social movements and LGBT movements in Tsarist Russia and Soviet Russia. It also includes gender roles, positioning of gender and gender perception in the Tsarist Russia. Some social problems like gender based violence and discrimination in Tsarist Russia are also covered. Related to the issue of gender in

the Soviet Union, changing gender roles in the family, social and economic life and related gender problems due to the changing status of the Soviet man and woman will be analyzed in this part. Attitudes towards homosexuals and transgender people, their problems and homophobic policies of the Soviet Union will be discussed in this part as well. Part IV includes gender related social problems like new legal arrangements in gender relations like parenthood, marriage and divorce and also perception management related to gender through the media and religion in post-Soviet Russia. Moreover, this part also covers gender based sexual and domestic violence, human trafficking in sex market and gender based discrimination. I will also discuss the social and legal status of homosexual and transgender people and public attitudes towards them in contemporary Russia in this part. Part V analyzes gender based social movements and LGBT movement in today's Russia. How activists frame their problems in order to create solidarity, their tactics and repertoire to raise awareness in public sphere, how they use networks for new recruitment and enhance their area of influence and how they create collective identity for mobilization is evaluated in this part. Part VI is the conclusion where I will discuss the main findings on gender based social movement and LGBT movement in post-Soviet Russia.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Social movement is a network of informal interactions between people and it emerges spontaneously for a social change on the basis of a collective identity (Diani, 1992). It is also a continuous action generally emerge because of a social discontent. It is a series of contentious and collective action which enable people to gather around common aims in order to make collective claims on others. Social movements are also crucial instrument for participation of ordinary people into public action (Tilly, 2004). So, it is a collective challenge by people in order to reach a common purpose. It is unorganized, informal and unpredictable. People feel themselves as connected to each other for a shared objective and they mobilize for a social change in the name of that objective (Van Seters & James, 2014). Besides definition of social movement, studies on social movements indicate that grassroots activism is complex process to determine but social movement theories are significant in terms of drawing general frame of social activism. In this part, basic social movement theories which try to explain emergences and development of mobilization of people in a social realm will be analyzed.

#### 2.1. Social Movement Theories

Social movement theories are important in order to understand structural formation and process of challenges from below. Social movement theories provide integrative approach for all forms of activism and mobilization. Different approaches and theories of social movements are based on the question of how and why people protests for a social change. It is difficult to theorize social movements because they are unpredictable and spontaneous collective actions and there are many variables and conditions that affect dynamics of social movements. In order to present a

systemic way of understanding and explaining grassroots activism, social movement theories are useful.

### **2.1.1. Mass Society Theory**

Kornhauser's mass society theory focuses on mass society as a core of social movement and investigates behavior of members and leaders in such movements. He argues that in any society, there are alienated citizens who have influence over their leaders and also are influenced by these leaders, has possibility to become a mass society. This kind of mass society contributes to the emergence of mass movements under the condition of social unrest in the society. Mass movements seek to change social problems or transform their society. The members of the mass movement generally think that they create better society. Moreover, because they feel isolated they participate in mass society in order to take away from the feeling of isolation by offering a sense of belonging and collective identity. However, Kornhauser (1959) suggest that mass movements are anti-democratic because they promote a change outside of and against the social order.

So, mass society theorists emphasized cultural confusion, atomized and heterogeneous society, a lack of attachment to society and weak social and cultural integration of members of mass society in such movements. From this point of view, they focus on the structure of society and psychological situation of more than analyzing movements directly. Therefore, this theory only explains a particular type of social movement, basically destructive movements like Fascism and Nazism. This theory is not useful to understand the common traits of social movement (Locher, 2002).

### **2.1.2. Collective Behavior Theory**

Collective action can be defined as the shared interests and common actions of group of people in order to reach these interests. Collective action is voluntary and spontaneous action carried by people with shared goals (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2004). Collective action occurs when group of people tend to act to support a common aim

to change the situation of discontent. In other words, if the members of a social movement have a common objective to achieve and if all members would be better off when they reach their aims, these individuals share the interests of a social movement. Informal collective action is important in terms of network of people organizing and coordinating action in order to achieve a common purpose in a social movement. Moreover, participants of a collective action prefer to trust each other because it positively reinforces the collective action and increases cooperation (Olson, 1965).

Smelser prefer to use collective behavior terms to define social movement for a new order of life. So, collective action refers to collective efforts to change social norms and values in the society. Smelser's collective behavior theory emphasizes structural strains that cause the emergence of collective behavior. For instance, the threat of economic deprivation may bring about a panic in the society and people come together around a common goal. Collective behavior is spontaneous and there are strong emotional reactions together with the rational choices of members in the action. Thus, it cannot be controlled experimentally, it can just be observed because the time and place of collective action cannot be predicted. Because it is directed by various kinds of beliefs like wishes, expectations and so on, it is difficult to control it. According to Smelser (1962), in the case of panic, discontent or despair, collective behavior emerges as a reaction to the situation in the society. Collective behavior takes the form of strikes, protests, and demonstrations and it may be reactive or proactive according to the nature of the social problem. Nevertheless, this theory is criticized because it focuses structural strains too much and ignores other dynamics of social movements.

### **2.1.3. Relative Deprivation Theory**

According to Morrison's relative deprivation theory, people are driven into social movements mainly because of the feeling of inequality in the society. Inequality may be related to others or relation to individuals' own expectations. Therefore, activists in a social movement demand for acquiring same social, economic and political

conditions and status with other people who have more power than themselves. In addition, people may desire to improve their situation and conditions because their current status is not enough to satisfy their needs. Because some people possess or easily acquire some opportunities, wealth or status in the society, people feel and think that other people should have, too. Relative deprivation theory suggests that inequality in the society creates social discontent and people desire to legitimate their need for social satisfaction that blocked by social inequality. As a result of such feelings of deprivation, people participate social movements in order to express their demands for fulfilling their expectations (Morrison, 1971). This theory is criticized on the ground that it does not explain why some people participate in social movements even if they do not benefit them directly as in the case of animal rights movement.

#### **2.1.4. Resource Mobilization Theory**

Resource mobilization theory argues that social movements need resources in order to achieve their goals. McCarthy and Zald (1977) suggest the organizational and entrepreneurial model for social movements. So, a social movement is a set of common beliefs and aims in a group of people for social changes in the society. They emphasize organizational aspects and resources because the mobilization of social movements needs organization and resources. According to this theory, resources are seen as a core of successful social mobilization. McCarthy and Zald (1977) also argue that resources are not always provided by people who are beneficiaries of a movement but they are also provided by conscience constituents who contribute to movement but do not get benefit from that movement. Thus, mobilization of conscience constituents indicates the effectiveness of social movements.

Resource mobilization theory focuses on processes of emergence and success in a social movement. In all societies, there is enough discontent for emergence of social movement in any time but not all social movements reach their aim and they fail. The reason behind the success or failure of a social movement is related to existence of resource and organizational support. Scholars suggest five types of resources which are *material resources* like money, *moral resources* like solidarity and



common aim, *social-organizational resources* like network or recruitment of new members, *human resources* like volunteers and leaders and *cultural resources* like experience of previous activism or collective action know-how (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). All of these resources strengthen structural features of a social movement. Therefore, according to this theory, without organization or resource, social movements cannot achieve a social change in the society. This theory is criticized because it does not make assumption about psychological situation of activists or individual motivations for joining a social movement.

### **2.1.5. Political Opportunity/ Process Theory**

While resource mobilization theory focuses on internal factors which are influential in the rise and fall of a social movement, political process theory focuses on external factors like political institutions and environments in a social movement. Political process theory suggests that political structure changes from one country to another and differences in the success or failure of social movements is directly affected by these political systems. According to this theory, a social movement is much more affected by the political structure rather than the psychological structure of a society. Moreover, the form of a social movement generally directly depends on the political system which includes democratic institutions, political repression on civil society, direct participation of people into political decision making process and relations between society and state (Locher, 2002).

In political opportunity theory, effectiveness and expansion of a social movement directly related to political opportunities in a society. In this theory, activists are rational and polity-oriented so, they can seize opportunities by cooperating with political elites and lobbying. If existing political system is not repressive or it is vulnerable to challenges, it provides opportunity for social movements. In these conditions, activists try to use this opportunity for a social change. McAdam (1982) suggests that two conditions are necessary for transforming social instability into political uprising. The first one is available resources and open political opportunities and the second one is cognitive liberation which is the ability of activists' recognition

of their collective strength enable to take advantages of political opportunities. So, political opportunity/ process theory mainly focus on political environment in order to analyze success or failure of a social movement.

#### **2.1.6. Rational Choice Theory**

In rational choice theory, the only reason of a social movement is not social discontents in the society. Instead, a social movement emerges when rational individuals gather around a common aim and transform their desires into reasonable action. So, social movements are rational actions and activists can be mobilized through rational actions in order to overcome the reluctance of individuals outside of social movements. According to this theory, the appropriate type of social movement can be chosen rationally to reflect their demands. Because activists are rational actors, they can act by calculating costs and benefits of any action. Moreover, activists consciously participate in a social movement and their decision to participate in a collective action is depended on maximization of their utility. Therefore, if activists can get benefit from a social movement, they choose to be part of it (Opp, 2009).

#### **2.1.7. Framing Theory**

Frame in a social movement is a schema of interpretation that enables activists to perceive, evaluate and identify the situation related to a social problem and to construct meaning and to guide the actions in the movement. Frames are crucial in social movements because it is about how people make sense of social events and how people perceive and interpret them (Goffman, 1974). Frame and framing process in social movements determine how activists construct their self-presentation in order to express their concerns and draw support of others outside of the movement. Frames are also used to explain acts, rituals and the way of understanding and thinking in the social movement but they are different than ideologies. Framing is a process while ideology is related to content. Thus, frame draws a draft for participants of movement both to evaluate and to determine a social problem and their aims (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003).

Framing theory aims to explain the way in which activists create and use meaning in a social movement. This theory also emphasizes purposeful methods used by activists by constructing their self-representation in order to get support from others and legitimize their actions. According to Benford and Snow (2000) frames are produced in a social movement, so they are action oriented belief and meanings inspire people to belong to a common goal. Therefore, framing theory suggests that frames in a social movement make easy to perceive people who interact with each other in a common action. It also explains the demands and reasons of a social movement to people outside of the movement because every social interaction is understood through frames.

#### **2.1.8. New Social Movement Theory**

New social movement theory is described by social movements related to the post-industrial economic period problems. These problems are different from these social problems emerging during the industrial economy and this change cause a new wave of social movements. These new social movements are focus more on social and cultural concerns instead of political and economic ones. Moreover, actors in these new social movements are the new middle class rather than the lower classes. The new social movements' focuses are not materialistic issues like economic well-being or political problems, their main concerns are related to human rights, cultural and social issue. In addition, they are centered on single but broader issues like gender, environment and pacifism (Buechler, 1995).

Collective identity and network gain importance in new social movements. Collective identity is an interactive and constructive process of an action system. A number of individuals produce shared norms and relations that link actors together in the orientations of their action. Through interactive process of collective identity, members of a social movement contribute for the feeling of "we". Moreover, this process includes a network of active relationships between the members of collective action who communicate and influence each other and also negotiate in order to make decisions. So, through construction of collective identity, actors of a social

movement are kept together and translated in visible mobilization. Moreover, collective identity is socially produced and helps the formation of solidarity which ties individuals to each other and enables them to feel themselves as actors of their actions. A certain degree of feeling is needed in the formation of collective identity which enables individuals to approve themselves as a part of a common unity (Melucci, 1996).

A network in a social movement can be defined as a set of communication tools which connects the actors of the movement by a specific type of relations. Networks provide promotion of mobilization through circulation of information and sharing skills of members in a movement. Moreover, networks are important in terms of construction of organizational culture in the movement for facilitating further interaction between actors at later stages. Although actors in a social movement with similar values, shared concerns and same social traits, they are linked to each other through heterogeneous and complex network structures (Diani, 2002). Networks also provide engagement of new participants into the movement and make it easy to mobilize members of the movement. Besides, prior social ties are important for movement recruitment because activists in a social movement are linked through personal and public ties before they act collectively. Friends, relatives, neighbors and colleagues influence individual decisions to participate in a movement. Since identities are formed and shaped through social interaction, networks play crucial role in identification process an individual in a social movement. Furthermore, networks play a mediating role by connecting participants and also providing them opportunity for mobilization (Passy, 2003). Therefore, a network is the process of individual participation in a social movement and a useful tool for interaction between members during collective action.

In new social movement theory, repertoires, tactics and strategies also change. Repertoires are a set of various tools and actions available in a social movement. Repertoires are produced and shared by members of a social movement and they are likely to spread to others in time (Tilly, 2006). In addition, repertoires change over time and are diverse depending on the place. “They are also determined both by what

the actors know how to do and what is expected from them.” (Tarrow, 1994). Repertoires and tactics also includes any kind of social movements like marches, boycotts, campaigns, occupations, demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins or pamphleteering. These actions are determined according to the needs and aims of a social movement as tactics and strategy of a movement. Activists can engage in a wide range of tactics and actions in order to express their concerns publicly. They can also use symbols, flags, colors, music, caricatures and slogans that are produced during collective action. Tactics, repertoire and discourses used in a social movement is important because it is the way of expression of activists who feel that their voices are not being heard. They also influence perceptions and attitudes of people outside the social movement. Sometimes a social movement is remembered for its discourse or tactics rather than its aims (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004).

New social movement theory belongs to social constructivist approach. Cultural production of social relations, symbols, various kinds of repertoires and attempts to create collective identity through networks are characteristics of new social movements. So, new social movement theory is interested in civil society, grassroots activism and cultural side of collective action (Buechler, 1995).

Before analyzing the emergence and development of social movements in Russia, it is important to review social movement theories in order to understand the theoretical background of issue. Social movement is a new concept for Russia and it is rarely observable in public sphere especially before the establishment of the Russian Federation mainly because of the control of state over civil society. According to the new social movement theory, gender based social movements and LGBT movements are kind of new social movements because they focus on social and cultural side of gender issue. In this study, gender based social movements and LGBT movements are investigated mainly based on collective behavior theory, framing theory and new social movement theory. Collective identity and collective action in gender based social movements and LGBT movements in Russia are defined based on collective behavior theory and framing issue in these social movements are examined with assertion of framing theory. In order to analyze how

activists create networks and use their own produced repertoire in social movements, new social movement theory is used in this study.

## **2.2. Stages of Social Movements**

Three influential scholars specialized on social movements define stages of a social movement in order to understand the dynamics of social movements and find an answer to how social movement work. According to Blumer, Mass and Tilly, social movements have a life-cycle, they emerge and after following some stages they decline whether they reach their aim or not. Blumer (1951) provides four stages for lifecycle of a social movement. The first one is social ferment stage in which there is an unorganized provocation as a result of social unrest in the society. The second one is popular excitement stage. In this stage, the causes of discontent are visible and the aims of action are more clearly defined. In the third stage, formalization, participation is organized and strategies to reach aims of movement are coordinated. In the last stage of a social m is institutionalization stage, the social movement becomes the structural part of the society.

Stages of a social movement are also redefined by Mauss. According to Mauss (1975), there are five stages of a social movement. The first one is incipency and in this stage, the society looks for a collective identity for a definition of their concerns. In the second stage which is coalescence, the members of society get together in order to resist a social discontent. In the institutionalization stage, the message of a social movement reaches the collocutor because movement's objectives are adopted fully by the society. So, this stage is the top point of a social movement and in the fourth stage that is fragmentation, a social movement begins to dissolve after a period of success or failure due to repression. The last stage is demise and in this stage, either a social movement ends because it reaches its objectives and social discontent disappears or it is a temporary end and a preparation period for a stronger movement. Tilly distinguishes four stages in order to explain life cycle of a social movement. These stages are emergence, coalescence bureaucratization and decline

and Tilly's stage of a social movement is parallel to Blumer's and Mauss defined stages

### **2.3. Social Movements and Gender Issue**

While sex refers to biological traits distinguishing female and male, gender refers to social and psychological traits attributed to female and male in the society. So, sex includes female and male differences in the reproductive system, anatomy, hormones and chromosomes but gender is socially constructed characteristics for being female and male. A person is born with a sex but gender is learned in the society. Therefore, sex makes a person biologically female or male but gender makes a person feminine or masculine (Lindsey, 2011). Gender identity is related to how people feel about their gender. In other words, it is about one's innermost feeling of as male, female, both or neither. Gender identity should not be same with the sex assigned at birth. While for some their gender identity matches their biological sex, for others can choose to socially or physically change their gender identity. Since gender identity is internal, it does not have to be visible to others (Anti-Defamation League, 2015). Gender roles are a set of social norms and values attributed to genders and expected types of behaviors generally considered as appropriate and acceptable by society. Gender roles performed based on social norms which determine responsibilities in a society. These norms and behaviors are socially constructed. It means that social and cultural traits are assigned to females and males by society. Gender roles defined by a society as appropriate for each sex, externalize gender identities. Thus, a gender role is the evaluation of a behavior as a masculine or feminine in a society (Guez & Allen, 2000).

The status and position of male and female in the society are generally stereotyped based on traits they are assumed to possess related to their biological features. Although these stereotypes include positive traits, they are often used for negative traits for justifying gender discrimination. However, negative stereotypes can cause sexism which is the idea of the status of female is inferior to the status of male in the society. Females are more subjected to sexist beliefs and attitudes because of

patriarchal order in the society. Patriarchal system is male dominated social structure and it led to oppression of female. Due to male-centered values and norms in all social institution, sexism is reinforced by patriarchal system. As a result of male dominated social system, women have to fight for even basic human rights like voting, education, counting in census and right to inheritance (Lindsey, 2011).

Gender related social movements are mainly centralized around feminist movement which tries to advance social status of women and gender equality. Feminist movement refers to grassroots activism for reforms on issues like violence, discrimination, equal pay, reproductive rights, women's suffrage and sexual harassment. Because social change in gender is not possible without changing gender relations, if socially constructed gender roles are not addressed gender based social problems cannot be solved. In order to understand demands and reasons of social movements, it is considered to analyze power relations between genders. Most societies have patriarchal social structure so gender based social movements generally related to women issue.

As a part of gender issue, sexual orientation is defined as one's emotional or sexual attraction to women, men or both. People can be classified based on their sexual orientation as homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual. Homosexuality emotional or sexual attraction between members of same sex, bisexuality is attraction members of both sexes and heterosexuality is attraction to members of opposite sex. Homosexuality and bisexuality is not a mental disorder, rather it is related to genetic and non-genetic factors. The term lesbian is used for female homosexuals while gay is used for male homosexuals. Transgender is the umbrella term for people whose gender identity or behavior does not match their assigned sexes at birth. The term transsexual is used for to define people change or wish to change their bodies through medical surgery and hormones in order to resemble that of their identified sex. Transgender people may not prefer to live without sex reassignment surgery. So, the initials of the term LGBT refers to lesbian, gay, bisexuals and transgender (American Psychological Association, 2011, 19).



Homophobia is negative feelings and attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexuality. It is a kind of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation of people. Homophobia is hostile behavior and attitude generally because of social norms, religious beliefs and experience. It can be expressed as hatred, fear, insulting, physical violence, antipathy, prejudice or hate crime. Heteronormativity which is a general belief that heterosexuality is the only sexual orientation cause to increase bias and fear toward homosexuality is observable in the society. Transphobia is also biased and hostile attitudes towards transgender people. It is a kind of discrimination against transsexuality and transgender people. Hence, fear of homophobia and transphobia causes to invisibility of LGBT people in the society and make their life difficult (Nagosi et al., 2008).

Moreover, sexual minorities are faced with social injustice like discrimination, violence and humiliation. For equal rights, homosexuals and transgender people also unite in LGBT movement. During certain times of the year, LGBT pride parade is organized in worldwide. Through these marches, people promote their self-affirmation and reflect positive stance against biased attitudes of the society towards them. LGBT movement is influential kind of gender based social movements in terms of achieving their goals. In some countries, they have acquired equal rights with heterosexual people but their struggle continues.

## CHAPTER 3

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### 3.1. Gender Issue in Historical Context

##### 3.1.1. Gender Issue in the Tsarist Russia

When analyzing the gender issue in the Tsarist Russia, it is crucial to understand the social structure of the society. From the Peter the Great to Bolshevik Revolution, Russian society was ordered based on landed property rather than class. The structure of the society is one of the determinants to analyze how social changes affect the gender identity. On the one hand, the social construction of gender has changed as a response to social, cultural, economic and political developments in the Russian society. On the other hand, gender identity also forms the way people define themselves and others in the society. Therefore, gender identity in the Russia is a reciprocal process, which is influenced by dynamics and developments in the society and also affects the ways that people perceive changes in the society. In the Russian society, social changes depending on the polity of the government directly impact gender issues like family and public life, gender roles, marital arrangements, social status and legal rights of gender identities.

##### 3.1.1.1. Positioning of Gender

There were some practices that isolate and segregate women from men in public and also domestic life in the Tsarist Russia. For instance, women in most of the elite families lived in the *terem*, their own separate quarters. They might host visitors there but were prevented from interaction with men except from their close family members. So, generally they lived within four walls without socialization with men outside their immediate family. Moreover, they also travelled in a carriage covered with curtain so, they were hidden from the gaze of strangers. Furthermore, Russian

elite women rarely went outside without their accompanying (Pushkareva, 1997) men. This gender based segregation isolated women from social life. Women had secondary position and were secluded from society.

Moreover, women had no independent civil status. They were not counted in the censuses, neither had to pay taxes. Their status in public life was defined by the rank of their father or husband. The law was implemented more rigidly for women than for men. As a procreative and nurturer of future generations, women's primarily contribution to Russian society was in the family life. Hence, women's most crucial role was determined as motherhood and wifedom (Engel, 2004). In addition, these roles attributed to women were also imposed religiously. The Orthodox Church was very influential in the determination of gender roles in the Russian society. Loyalty between spouses was continuously promoted. Men represented material and public life of family whereas women were the moral center of the family and responsible for domestic part of the family including raising children (Engel, 2004). So, women's positions were determined with men who supported and protected them. Women were not visible in the society and they were only existed with men.

Especially before the reforms of Peter the Great, in family life of elites, marital and kinship relations made them strong and successful in social hierarchy. Elites married their children off according to their family interests. In addition, elite women had active role in arranging the marriages of their children. In that process, they also considered to access political power through these marriages. They had right to approve or reject the possible marriage of their male kin. To this end, they entered the *terem* of other families in order to observe suitability assessment of prospective bride. Therefore, noble women held power to directly interfere with marriage decisions of their family members on the behalf of the status of their family. Although Peter reformed Russia's gender divisions, he did not end the patriarchal order. For instance, women danced in balls but they were still uneducated or they their dress code change and they became less secluded in public sphere but obedient and moderate wives and daughters were desirable in private sphere. Husbands and fathers remained as the control center of families and they had unrestricted power to

influence other family members. Newly arranged marital law still required a wife to accept to her husband as authority symbol and to obey this generally accepted order in the family (Engel, 2004). Thus, there was a strong patriarchal structure in the society and reforms of Peter did not change the status of women in the Tsarist Russia.

Marriage was also encouraged in the countryside. On one hand, there was great pressure on women who did not prefer to marry. On the other hand, men were also expected to marry because peasant men were able to receive their portion of land only after they married. Therefore, most peasant women and men married before the end of twenty years old. Moreover, widowers needed to remarry because of caring for children and helping with the farm work. Widows also needed a husband because they could not handle to support an independent household, especially widows with small children. In addition, single women who wanted to receive her portion of land without marrying were not approved (Engel, 1996). In conclusion, the status level determined the marriages in the Russian noble society while in peasant life, criteria for marriage was to being healthy and good worker.

Furthermore, women were prepared to peasantry life and work in their early life. Until they married, they became the master of agricultural works. As a tradition, before they married, they had to prepare their trousseau. However, different than noble women's life, in the peasantry life, dating with a boy was an enjoyable process if this relationship did not exceed the limits that were determined by society. Marriageable peasant girls and boys got together and dance, sang songs and also took part in games. Therefore, they generally chose their spouses without pressure from their families in contrast to nobles' marriage understanding. Moreover, landlords preferred early marriage because each marriage meant new family and labor force. However, peasant families were not in favor of early marriage because women were seen as an economic resource for their peasantry works. Early marriages were productive marriages since young spouses had the chance to have more children, which meant more work forces. Because they were unconscious of birth control, on the average a peasant woman had seven children if did not die (Engel, 2004).

Marriage in peasant life was like a necessity rather than a preference mainly because of economic reasons. So, young women and men were encouraged to marry when they reached the age of marriage.

### **3.1.1.2. Gender Perception in the Society**

The appearance of women was an indicator on the social status of the family that women belong. It was also sign of honor and shame in the social system. Elite women wore dresses with high necklines, long sleeves and skirts that hide their body's shape. The number of layers that women wear was the indicator of the wealth and social status of them. Thus, wealthier women wore more layers. As their body, women's hair together with shoulders was also hidden by headdress or scarves. Hence, dress codes of women displayed the family's honor. The appearance of women was a sign of family honor which provided a kind of determinant about their status in the social hierarchy. So, women raised and lived up in this honor principle and it was expected from them to abide by the rules (Engel, 2004).

Women in peasant life were also seen as a purity and honor symbol based on their virginity. In the countryside, maidenhood was important as it was in the noble circles. It was seen as women's sexual honor and as saving the family dignity. Through nineteenth century, there were some traditions about virginity of women in the peasantry life. For instance, after the wedding, bloodstain on the bridal dress was the indicator of preserved bride's and her families' honor. The opposite situation was not accepted by peasantry and they were exposed to humiliation (Engel, 2004). So, whether noble or peasant, women's appearance and body were under the control of the patriarchal system. Women were idealized through their beauty and body in the society.

By the end of the eighteenth century, marriage ties were arranged strictly in Russia. The Russian Orthodox Church increased its domination over marriage and divorce. It became the main authority to coordinate recordkeeping and decision making processes. At the same time, the church underlined sacredness and inseparability of marriage. Thus, divorce was made difficult and was only possible if there was

adultery between spouses or there were medically verified sexual problems in the marriage. So, it was impossible to end an unsatisfactory marriage for women unless there was a reason accepted by the church to divorce spouses. Despite Peter's reforms, marriage remained the primary goal of the noblewomen in their lives. Women still lived, as they had no different option from marriage and raising children. Living alone for women was not acceptable in the eyes of the society. Widows or divorced ladies were encouraged to marry again. Unfortunately, women had nothing to say about decision of their life (Brainerd, 2015).

Serfdom intensified the patriarchy in the peasant society. For the early marriages, newly-weds lived in the household of the husband's parents until they had the opportunity to establish an independent household. This situation increased the burden over peasant women because bringing the bride to husband's household meant additional work force for farm works. The women's place was determined according to their age, childbearing situation and ability to fulfill works of the household. However, they began to their new life from the first step of the ladder of the household. Then, with the birth of her first child, preferentially a son, a peasant woman strengthened her place in her husband's household. Her status improved if she continued to bear sons. After the age of forty, peasant couples had their own households and women's position enhanced further with her experience in farm works. In this patriarchal culture, women's status also depended on their husbands' role in the community. If a peasant woman had lost her husband, her status changed once again. However, it was difficult to manage the household work alone as a widow (Engel, 2004). Therefore, a woman was depended on a man whether he was her father or husband. Without a man, a woman was weak, needy and unprotected in the Tsarist society.

Moreover, women were subject to sexual and physical violence. For instance, if a woman's husband was not at home or they were underage, she was sometimes exposed to sexual assault by her father-in-law. In addition to sexual assault, violence against women went unpunished because husbands saw themselves self-righteousness to "guide" their wives (Engel, 2004). Besides, sexual pleasure was

seen as a sinful action for both women and men because sexuality was only for reproduction. Russian Orthodoxy supported this view and emphasized that enjoyed for its own sake; sexuality was a sign of sinfulness. Therefore, even within marriage, the church disapproved sexuality as a joy among spouses but only for reproductive purposes. *Domostroi*, written in the sixteenth century as a set of rules, advices and instructions related to social, religious and domestic life in the Russian society, was an indicator of this view and suggested avoiding regular sexual life. All women would have to give birth to fulfill their reproductive mission. Besides, all young women should remain virgin until they get married. Especially before effects of Westernization, the preservation of sexual honor was seen not only for family honor but also for preserving the Russianness (Freeze, 2002).

### **3.1.1.3. Gender Roles Attributed to Woman and Man**

Together with the Peter the Great's European style modernizing reforms, the transformation of social life began to change the gender roles in the Russian society. It was inevitable to modify the positioning of women and men in the society because reforms were initiated with change in dress codes and also social relations in public sphere. Firstly, the reforms were started in social sphere with the changing the appearance of women and men. He forced to shave beards of men and to stop to put on caftans, which is man's dress reach to knees sometimes to ankles with long sleeves. Especially after a law of 1701 on wearing German style clothes, noble men and women in towns except from clergy and peasants began to change their appearance. For instance, taking the veil before the age fifties was not allowed because this period of life was seen as the procreative years of women. With the aim of European style modernization, the walls of the *terem* were broken down in order to socialize women in public arena. The socialization of women was supported by evening parties. They were expected to wear tight corsets and also low-cut garments especially while they performed Western style dance at these parties (Engel, 2004).

However, these reforms were not reflected in the peasantry life. Peasant women meant work force for landlords. They lacked many of the privileges that noble

women had. They planned their life according to the agricultural workload. Unlike men, women had to balance work and domestic responsibilities. From preparing food, picking and planting vegetables, to selling crops for money were all under the responsibility of women. They also took care of cattle and prepared dairy products like preparing butter or cheese. After agricultural works were done, women had to feed the family and raised their children at the same time. Moreover, they were also concerned with the clothing of their family members. They weaved their husband and children's clothes, which took time as it was a long process (Engel, 2004). Therefore, almost nothing changed or improved in peasant women's life after the reforms of the Peter the Great.

With the edict of 1722 the basic literacy of women was promoted while the edict prohibited to marriage of women who could not write her name. In the Petrine reign, marriage was portrayed for reproduction and social order rather than for emotional and sexual satisfaction. It was encouraged to love and respect each other in the family but it means maintaining mutual life in a patriarchal order. In addition, the edict of 1722 prohibited forced marriage as it was between peasants who were seen as slaves most of time and by their masters. Henceforward, spouses had to take an oath to demonstrate their consent to marry. Moreover, before the Petrine revolution, bride and groom whose parents or close relatives were consented for their marriage generally saw each other for the first time after wedding (Engel, 2004). Peter tried to change this custom by a law of 1702, which required at least six week of engagement period before marriage in order to give spouses time to get to know each other. On the other side, Peter also made it difficult to divorce. Before the Petrine Revolution, the church gave the right to divorce if they had consent from their spouse and if they were capable to fulfill their responsibilities to their children. Peter formalized this process after 1721. Divorce was permitted after the spouses explained the detail of reasons to divorce to their bishop and then applied for the petition to the Holy Synod which was the religious body formed by Peter to lead the Russian Orthodox Church (Wagner, 1991).



The women rulers of the Tsarist period, especially Elizabeth and Catherine the Great gave special importance to the humanistic and civilian features of rule. Throughout their reign, women enjoyed public visibility. Particularly, Catherine the Great continued Peter's reforms and moved forward his ideal of Westernization of Russia. She began with emphasizing women's education. Mothers seen as the moral teachers of their children, so educating women would improve the Russian family and also society. Before her, education of women was depended on the economic situation of their parents. During Catherine the Great's reign, as part of the Western based idea of society required women's participation, education of women increased. Families with good economic conditions hired tutors to teach their unmarried daughters at home. Beginning with Elizabeth, private boarding schools for women increased under Catherine the Great's reign and educating women began to accelerate. Nevertheless, this practice of education was limited because only nobles were able to hire tutors and send their daughters to private boarding schools. These educational institutions cultivate women for motherhood and for public life (Engel, 2004).

Parallel with women's education, literary language began to feminize. Emotionality in Russian literature contributed to make women more visible. Although it put women at the center of civilization, men were the monopoly of the Russian literature, only their themes expanded with sentimental subjects. Because women's capture of literature was seen as a threat for the domination of men in literature so, it remained male competence. Even so, women continued to translate from other languages, to write poems and also prose as long as they fulfilled their social duty like being the moral educator of family and society (Engel, 2004).

### **3.1.2. Gender Issue in the Soviet Russia**

Gender was one of the key issues in the agenda of the Soviet state. In order to consolidate its power, the Communist Party tried to transform the traditional perception of gender roles in the society. This transformation was the symbol of disruption of the old gender system and establishment of the new social order. After the post-revolutionary period, gender roles were defined to serve the new polity in

Russia. Therefore, men and women were given roles to build and sustain the communist system. In this system, women were worker-mothers who had to work and produce new generations as well as taking care of household works. It seemed women were liberated but they had the double burden, their responsibilities increased when they took roles outside of their households. In the meantime, men's higher status did not change in the Soviet Union. They took roles as leaders, soldiers, employers and workers in addition to their traditional masculine roles like fathers, husbands and breadwinners. In the Soviet period, masculinity was socialized and it was indispensable part of the new system (Ashwin, 2000).

### **3.1.2.1.Changing Gender Roles of the Soviet Woman**

The change of women's roles meant social transformation for the Soviet Union. Encouragement of the entry of women into work force and democratic participation of women through suffrage right would make the integration of women possible in the new social order under the Soviet Union. Some scholars emphasize that the women's participation into economic and political sphere liberated them socially but their traditional roles like being a wife or a mother as well as their domestic duties increased the expectations of women. Another view argues that women's position in the society was improved through providing economic independence for women and facilitating their domestic responsibilities thanks to social policies like childcare services provided by the state.

According to Lapidus (1978), the economic independence of women assured their equality with men outside of their marriage and also in their marriage. They did not have to submit to their fathers or husbands because of economic limitations. In addition, in order to ease women's responsibility as a worker, wife and mother, the Soviet state enacted a protective labor law to enable female employment to allow time for work and family responsibilities as well as providing child-care services for working mothers. Education and job training opportunities also helped them to self-development for new job alternatives. All these policies were Soviet-style affirmative action's to make women equal in society. Lapidus (1978) rejected the claims about

gender discrimination in occupations and suggested that the Soviet state arranged working conditions to be appropriate for women, which prohibited heavy or harmful work to women body and psychology. Only in the Stalinist era, there was an exception in these conditions because of the rapid growth of industrialization and World War II. Therefore, Soviet protective measures tried to organize suitable working conditions for women that allowed them to fulfill their domestic responsibilities. Child care service was one of the examples for this affirmative action in favor of women in Soviet Russia. This social service offered a chance for the participation of mothers in industrial labor force and public child care and also an economically efficient alternative for private upbringing of children.

The 1936 marriage law banned abortion, made divorce more difficult and increased payments for child-support. All of these changes lead to changes women's place in the society. The Bolshevik government, as different from the Russian Empire, promoted them to be mother and wife in addition to their responsibilities at work. This legislation was seen as reinforcing traditional patriarchy. Although in economic sphere, the leaders of the Soviet Union tried to equalize men and women, women's domestic duties were not abolished, their burden increased both in household and at work. Therefore, Soviet Union challenged the mainstream gender roles in theory but in practice women's traditional gender roles were emphasized and increased. The New Soviet Woman underlined by the Soviet leaders especially during 1937-1938. According to this definition, it was expected from the New Soviet Woman to combine both her rational side like being self-confident, hard-working and also emotional side like motherhood, beauty and femininity gender attributes. Moreover, outside of her household, she should be an active force in industry and agriculture. Hence, she should accomplish multiple tasks at the same time as being a good Soviet citizen, worker, mother and wife. As a result, women in the Soviet Union became a symbol for development and they were seen as a servant for state ideology. They were also figure of industriousness, at the same they were an ideal image of motherhood and obedient spouse for their family (McCauley, 2013).

### **3.1.2.2.Soviet Motherhood**

Soviet Union underlined motherhood as a primary role in the society. At the beginning of the newly established system, regime used diverse instruments for development of motherhood and childcare concepts in the Russian society. Medical journals, propaganda and newly arranged health care system were the most important tools to emphasize the significance of motherhood and transmitted state policies to the society. In 1920's, many journals on the motherhood and childcare were used for this purpose. The first stage, the Soviet Union interested in, was pregnancy and healthy future generations. Reproduction and producing generations were seen as serving state policies and was shown as a rewarded role for women. The second stage was to control childrearing. Future generation should be raised in parallel with state's ideology. Therefore, state developed a triple relation among itself, women and children. Bolshevik government tried to include women in the social life to provide equal rights and conditions at work and home. However, it also expected from women to contribute production and upbringing future generations according to state's interests. Hence, motherhood became a social matter rather than a private issue, it was also shown as a natural process that every woman experienced and thus should be facilitated and also honored by the state (Issoupova, 2000).

As an attempt to encourage women to have more than one child, the Soviet Union rewarded mothers for childbearing. Women who gave birth and raised at least ten children were rewarded the title of Mother Heroine. Mothers who had seven, eight and nine children were awarded the Order of the Glory of Motherhood and mothers who had five and six children took the Motherhood Medal in the Stalinist period (Buckley, 1981). Moreover, in order to balance the roles of women in work and home, the state provided facilitating solutions for mothers. For instance, maternity leave was introduced in the 1980's, was increased to 11 weeks and the state compensated mother's full wage up to 3 months and partial wage up to 18 months. They also had the right to unpaid leave up to 3 years and then, they could return to their work (Zakharov, 2008). Thus, all of this encouragement demonstrated that

motherhood was seen the highest type of service to the state and to the Soviet society.

Soviet state had a crucial role in framing and re-constituting of the gender roles. The Soviet ideology tried to shape the family as a primary institution of the communist society. The basic function of the Soviet couples was to produce and to bring up next generations and having children was depicted as the greatest felicity both individually and socially. Equitable division of house works in the family was promoted in order to include women in workforce for prosperity and progress of the Soviet state. Women needed help in their traditional and domestic roles to go out to work and being mothers of children at the same time (Tartakovskaya, 2000). Therefore, gender relations were not private anymore; it became a social issue that the Soviet state intervened. The state attempted to re-define the gender system so the relations between women and men were to be shaped according to the state's ideology.

### **3.1.2.3.Soviet Woman in the Family**

According to Lapidus (1978), the Soviet policy related to gender began with re-framing the family structure in order to emphasize women's liberation and promote social cohesion. Transformation of family meant women's emancipation from their traditional roles and expectations from society. The expansion of education and child care institutions together with public assistance for household services helped women to facilitate women's traditional responsibilities related to family. In this way, women were liberated and promoted to participate in social and economic production. So, transformation of family was also seen as a necessity to establish equality between men and women. Moreover, the Soviet state protected women in difficult situation like women who had to give birth alone. Fatherhood was a legal obligation in official marriages so; men could not escape from responsibilities of a child. The Soviet state also protected illegitimate children so, it helped to single mothers. In the marriages, pregnant women or women had a baby under one year of

age could not be divorced by their husbands without consent of women (Lapidus, 1978, 240).

#### **3.1.2.4.Soviet Masculinity**

Some Soviet sociologists claimed that Soviet man was in the crisis of masculinity because of their changing roles and disruption of patriarchal system by the state. Although masculinity was glorified by the state, men tried to keep up with their new roles and they felt abandoned as they were deprived of their social strength. Moreover, there was a domination of women in the private sphere and they also tried to prove themselves in the public sphere while their fatherhood rights were violated by the State. Therefore, the Soviet men's excessive alcohol consumption was seen as result of their low ego and identity crisis. Because the Soviet state determined gender policy over the discourse of weak and dependent woman on man, men felt excluded. In addition, they tried to get used to the new roles of women as breadwinner, head of family and economically independent sex. Men were in a position that almost all roles of men were taken away from their hands. Then, the Soviet man's basic duties were to fight war as a soldier and serve the state as worker and defender of the state ideology. Thus, he was defender of his motherland and worker of progressive economy. The Soviet state rewarded him for his services by making him as hero (Zdravomyslova & Temkina, 2013).

Men felt pressure related to their manhood when they tried to get used to changing status of women in the society. Because the Soviet state was behind women, men attempted to emphasize their masculinity especially in the social sphere for example drinking with their friends or holding their wives responsible for them. Another issue related to men's status was their position at work. Work was a sphere that men dominated to indicate their masculine identity and to deserve the breadwinner role. Particularly in industrialized work environment, masculine identity was depended on work performance. In the economic transition period, professionalism was a significant criterion to find a position in industry or well-paid work. Moreover, any drop in the position in the work affected men's status in the society so that; it was

difficult situation for men to face it. Thus, men's status and their respectability in the society were defined by their position at work (Kiblitckaya, 2000).

#### **3.1.2.5. Soviet Fatherhood**

There were also problems and uncertainties related to the determination of fatherhood of children born in extramarital relations. Any man who had a sexual affair with the mother could be the father of the child if their relations were before the approximate period of pregnancy. Therefore, a child could have more than one father and this situation put men in the second position both legally and economically. The code of laws in marriage could be seen as empowerment for women in the family; but in practice they facilitated the state control in the private sphere. Moreover, fatherhood as motherhood was turned to a formal duty in the Soviet state because from an early age, children grew up outside the family thanks to state's child support opportunities like nurseries and kindergartens (Kukhterin, 2000).

According to Kukhterin (2000), man as a head of the family in traditional structure was seen as a barrier and prohibitive factor for the influence of state on other members of the family. Therefore, for the purpose of controlling the entire society, the Soviet state challenged the power of patriarchy, rather than liberating woman. Men's social roles were defined thoroughly. In order to protect women and children, the state put men in redundant position. The Soviet state desired to eliminate patriarchal authority and put state authority in its place. With the policies and laws related to family, wives legal duty to their husbands was removed so, women could more easily leave their husbands and motherhood was protected by the state. Hence, family relations and women were dependent on the state rather than their husbands or fathers (Kukhterin, 2000).

#### **3.1.3. Attitudes towards LGBT People in the Tsarist Russia**

Same-sex relations between men or women in Tsarist Russia countered various reactions from different institutions. The first state reaction to homosexuality was to

forbid same-sex relations in the navy and army under the reign of Peter the Great in 1716. Then, in 1835, it included all other men and same-sex relations among men were banned in the reign of Tsar Nicholas I. At the beginning of 1830's, sexual intercourse between two men was subject to punishment because it was seen as a moral issue and was claimed that this type of relation was unnatural. However, female homosexuality was not seen as criminal but lesbians were directed to get psychiatric treatment because it was seen as a disease. So, in tsarist Russia, lesbians and gays experienced different reactions from the society and state. Female homosexuality was perceived more emotional as compared with male homosexuality and there was a belief that lesbian relations were based on feelings but gay relations were abnormal. Therefore, while male homosexuality was punished, female homosexuality was tried to be treated (Engelstein, 1994).

### **3.1.3.1. Male Homosexuality**

Homosexuality was not same for men and women in tsarist Russia. Although both female and male homosexuality was seen unnatural, sexuality between men faced with tougher responses both from the society and the government. As in many other cultures, in Russia, the role of men in terms of emphasizing their masculinity in patriarchal system was important for the continuation of the social order according to the rulers' desire. Therefore, men who engaged in same sex relations generally could not express it because of the social roles they played. According to Healy, sexual relations between men formed a subculture of sexual contact, symbols, linguistic signs and gestures in a repressive environment in tsarist Russia. He also claimed that the visibility of homosexual relations between men increased during the late tsarist years and this situation was directly related to the industrialization of tsarist Russia and rapid social transformation. The emancipation of serfs in 1861 accelerated industrialization and many people migrated to the city center to earn money. The majority of people migrating were men as the breadwinner, left their wives and children in the village. Because housing opportunities were poor, they began to share their room and sometimes bed with another man. These working men were at a sexually active age so; this industrialization process was damage heterosexual sexual



life of them. Then, this situation encouraged them for expressing and experiencing sexual intercourse with other males (Healey, 1998).

Another viewpoint of Healey was related to create a homo-social environment in the public institutions. For instance, he claimed that the bathhouses were a place for sexual relations between men. The Russian baths were desexualized spaces but after mid-1600's authorities decided that sexes should be segregated in these bathrooms (Levin, 1989). According to Healey, separated rooms provided gender based environment but also this environment led to the emergence of male prostitution in a later era. Serving boys who were young peasants appeared in these bathhouses to serve male clients. Therefore, at the end of the century, these bathhouses began to turn into male brothels and also help the formation of secret homosexual sphere in tsarist Russia (Healey, 1999).

Prostitution and brothels were legal in tsarist Russia. Both workers and clients were not subject to judicial sanctions. However, sexual intercourse between men remained a criminal act even if both partners had consent for this relation. In 1903, a law code extended the range of sanctions for sexual crimes from sexual relations without consent of either side to sexual acts with children. Legal sanctions were implemented strictly and protected women from sexual aggression (Engelstein, 1994).

### **3.1.3.2. Female Homosexuality**

Different from the homosexuality between men, Russian lesbians had little access to the public sphere. Therefore, to construct female homosexual subculture was more difficult for them. It was problematic for lesbians to form networks in the public sphere in order to facilitate to meet women who felt same-sex desire. For these women, brothels were a meeting point. However, some signs like appearance or attitudes were perceived by other women who desired to experience lesbian relations were tolerated unlike gay relations. There was no law to ban lesbian relations in tsarist Russia but they were seen as patients who needed treatment, instead of isolating them (Healey, 1998).

Homosexuality was seen as a problem to be solved but in time it was noted that it could be neither prevented nor remedied. It just led to extension of police power to gather evidences in order to charge people with homosexual relations. These blames were put on homosexuals on the behalf of protecting society as a whole and revising the old moral order. Law was enforced as if there were no homosexual relations between men in Russia. However, after reactions against government implementations and decisions about homosexuality, liberal officials began to think that consenting sexual intercourse should not be considered as a crime if no one was harmed. Homosexual relations were in the sphere of private life and there should be a clear-cut distinction between private and public life. They also argued that same sex relations between men should only be penalized if men were underage but this type of relationship could not be tolerated in the form of male prostitution. Nevertheless, conservatives criticized liberals and they emphasized that even if homosexual relationship was related to the private life, decriminalization led to break moral consciousness of Russian society. Homosexual relations were seen as unnatural and caused moral corruption like in Europe where heresies like homosexuality were acceptable (Engelstein, 1994).

#### **3.1.4. Homosexuality in the Soviet Russia**

Kon divided the Soviet policy towards homosexuality into three main periods. In the early years of the Soviet Union, homosexuality was decriminalized. From 1917 to 1933, homosexuality was seen as a disease and tried to be rehabilitated. In this period, homosexuals were tolerated relatively. Between 1934 and 1986, homosexuality was criminalized and homosexuals were severely prosecuted. After 1986, status of homosexuals were began to be discussed scientifically and from a humanitarian point of view by academics and journalists. During 1920's, some homosexual intellectuals had important roles in the Soviet culture and they found a chance to discuss the issue but in the Stalinist era, homosexuality became a criminal offense. Penalty of homosexuality was prison up to 5 years. In that time, homosexuality was determined as a moral corruption of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, it was also seen as a disease and lesbians and gays were excluded from the society.

This situation continued until the end of the collapse of the Soviet Union (Kon, 1997).

One of the main reasons of exclusion of homosexuals in the Soviet society was lack of detailed information about homosexuals. Lesbians and gays were victim of anti-homosexuality legislation and mobilization of public by media and press, which were under the pressure of the Soviet state. Homosexuality became a taboo especially after 1930's and they were ignored by the state and the society that pretended, as there was no issue about homosexuality. Only by the end of the 1980's, Russian society began to realize the existence of homosexuals and to accept they had problems under the state's policies against them. The terms of lesbian and gay for the first time in the Soviet history became popularized in relatively liberalized press in the course of perestroika and glasnost. Then, homosexuals were encouraged to defend their rights because experts began to publicly discuss the situation of homosexuals (Buetikofer, 1998).

#### **3.1.4.1. Soviet Homophobia**

Soviet homosexuals were subject to psychological repression besides being arrested by the state. Because they could not find chance to explain themselves, the self-awareness could not be developed. In addition, medicine also did not favor them. The medical books mentioned that homosexuality should be treated as sexual abnormality because it was a kind of disease. Homosexuality was described as a dangerous pathology contradicting with heterosexual relation. Moreover, when AIDS emerged in the Soviet Union, homosexuals were blamed to carry and spread the HIV virus. The Soviet society was generally intolerant towards homosexuals and they were one of the most humiliated social groups. They were assumed to be categorized same with prostitutes and drug addicts in terms of people exclusion from the society. The majority of the society did not have accurate and enough knowledge about homosexuals. Hence, hostility towards homosexuals originated from fear of the unknown (Riordan, 1996).

When homosexuality became an issue in the Soviet Union, this determination generally referred to male homosexuality. However, in the late period of the Soviet Union, women homosexuality was begun to be discussed publicly and the press started to write about lesbians. In a male-dominated state, women homosexuality was excluded from public discussion because women's main role was being the producer of next generations. However, lesbians' position in the society was not better than gays' position. In the criminal code, lesbians were not mentioned but public attitudes towards them were unsympathetic and they were continuously subjected to social exclusion like ridicule, expulsion from university or being fired from work and threatening to take away their children (Riordan, 1996).

Social exclusion and intolerance towards homosexuals was an indicator of homophobia in the Soviet Union. Even in Lenin era when homosexual relations were decriminalized and in the existence of a relatively tolerant environment for homosexuals, they were still subjected to humiliation both by the state and society. For instance, cross-dressed women in the Red Army held high positions; even they could take men's names and lived like men. The Soviet society accepted them as relatively normal as compared with men who dressed as women and had feminine behaviors. Male femininity was not accepted by the society because it was seen as social backwardness. Moreover, as defenders of homosexual rights some intellectuals were against homosexuality and they did not hesitate to show homosexuals as target. For example, Gorky as a cultural spokesman in the Stalin era, argued that if homosexuals are to be destroyed, fascism will disappear. With this idea, he equated two enemies of the Soviet Union, fascism and homosexuality (Wolf, 2009).

Such approaches to the homosexuals increased the homophobia in the Soviet Union. In the glasnost period, according to the study carried out by the Soviet Center for Study of the Public Opinion related to homosexuality among the Soviet citizens. In this study, to the question "what should be done with homosexuals" 33.7 percent responded they should be killed, 30.7 percent answered social exclusion of homosexuals and 10.1 said leave them alone. Only 6.4 percent thought homosexuals

needed help (Duault, 2009). This study also demonstrated the hostility towards homosexuality.

#### **3.1.4.2. Male Homosexuality**

The Revolution of 1917 re-arranged the criminal code and the new criminal codes of 1922 and 1926 de-criminalized gay relations. However, de-criminalization of gay relations did not eliminate the oppression towards gays. In the early Soviet period, homosexuality was associated with bourgeois values and it was seen as an illness to be treated. Even so, during the 1920's, the situation and conditions for gays was relatively tolerable. Decriminalization of homosexuality did not last too long and with the Stalinist pro-family policies, the Soviet Union recriminalized homosexuality by a decree in 1933. According to the new article, the punishment of male to male relations was imprisonment for up to five years. Although the exact number is unknown, many male homosexuals were arrested and this situation led to the formation of prison of homosexuality in the Soviet gay culture. So, in Soviet prisons, a group of men satisfied the sexual needs of the rest and they were seen as lower class. Only gay men from intellectual circles were overlooked. Although they tried to live in a small environment, there was still the possibility of arrest and complaint (Moss, 2000).

Because physical spaces were controlled by the Soviet state, male homosexuals preferred to create a social space in the art and intellectual circle. They could express themselves through art and literature and they felt respected individuals in this environment. These male homosexuals created a gay subculture in the Soviet Union but they had the chance to join intellectual circle to express their ideas and to live their life in spite of law. However, traditional form of male homosexuality continued in men's prison. Some criteria like age, social status, physical strength of man convicts in prisons and Gulag camps determined sexually accessible men. There was a social system in prisons and generally newly coming and young men became so-called pederast of the prison (Healey, 1998).

### **3.1.4.3. Female Homosexuality**

According to Healey, medical reports related to lesbian individuals demonstrated that expression of same-sex relations between women based on social classes. In the early Soviet period, lower class women's same-sex desire normally accepted if they were prostitutes or prisoners. Higher class women were supported by their family to hide their socially unaccepted desires. The importance of economic independence of women could not be underestimated in terms of same-sex relations between women. Because economic independence helped them to detach themselves from their husbands and fathers, they lived by pursuing their sexual orientation. Intelligentsia women and women workers and entrepreneurs were able to achieve personal self-determination in their private life (Healey, 1998,).

In the late tsarist Russia, brothels were the one of the social places in which lesbian relations were experienced. Abolishment of brothels in the Soviet period led to a rise in informal homosexual and heterosexual sex trade and to a decline in control over public spaces where people live their sexual desires. Hence, to tracked licensed brothels records was impossible when Bolsheviks closed them and both same-sex relations and heterosexual relations in exchange for money continued outside of the control of the authorities. Another social place for same-sex relations for women was the Gulag camps. For Healey, these camps had an environment for self-regulation of prisoners, which encouraged homosexuality between women. Generally, masculinized women in prison took the man's role in relation with other women prisoners in these camps and it led to the development of lesbian relations (Healey, 1998).

### **3.1.4.4. Transgender People**

With the Bolshevik Revolution, masculine appearance became popular among some women. The masculine style made easy to occupy social realm dominated by men. Some lesbians also used masculine style as an apparatus for signaling to women who also desired same-sex relations so they wished to attract other women. Until the Stalinist reforms related to femininity in the mid 1930's, masculinized women were

tolerated. However, because of the patriarchal society structure in the Soviet Russia, effeminate males were not welcomed in social life because womanish attitudes or appearance of them damage their manhood in the society. The reason behind the different reactions to womanish men and mannish women was related to the assumption that women consciously adopted masculine social roles to survive in a patriarchal society. Thus, doctors claimed that women who behaved like men or changed their appearance to look like men might not have been homosexual (Healey, 1998).

In the Article 121 of the criminal code of the Soviet Union, women homosexuality or bisexuals, transgender were not mentioned and they were also ignored in public discussions. However, in the late Soviet period, sex-change operations had been carried out in spite of some legal problems. In 1969, Viktor Kalnbers, a Latvian surgeon, carried out the first operation to transform a woman into a man. The operation was not mentioned even in the medical literature. Moreover, he was condemned for carrying out this type of operation, which was unacceptable at that time without approval of the health authorities in the Soviet Union. After Kalnbers was banned from carrying out operations, Professor Kirpatovskii continued such operations and transform men into woman or vice versa in the late Soviet Union (Riordan, 1996).

### **3.2. Gender related Social Issues in Historical Context**

#### **3.2.1. Gender related Social Issues in the Tsarist Russia**

In Tsarist Russia, women did not have equal rights with men and they were lack of many social, political and economic rights. They were almost invisible in public space especially until the reforms of Peter the Great and they did not participate in working life except from peasant women. They had not economic freedom and also right to vote. Violence and discrimination between genders were observable in the Russian society in Tsarist period. Abortion was illegal and other legal arrangements were generally in favor of men. So, men took advantages of patriarchal social structure.

### **3.2.1.1. Violence**

It was difficult to identify the abuse of Russian women and violence against them in tsarist Russia. Scholars reached a conclusion about violence against women by investigating criminal records and diaries written at that time. On the one hand, in a patriarchal society, families generally led by men used all available instruments to control and discipline women to fulfill the expectation of the society. On the other hand, women used all accessible tools to resist all kind of domination over them including violence through law. Generally, women might tolerate domestic violence like psychological repression, humiliation or beating because women in all classes in the society experienced some kind of violence. However, criminal records indicated that women did not accept physical violence as normal although they submitted to the male family members. Although domestic violence was seen as part of the peasantry life or low class behavior, it was perceived as a right by men to control women. Violence against women put them in a position of obedience and they searched for their right legally (Muravyeva, 2012).

Another issue was the sexual exploitation between nobles and peasant women. Sexual relation between noblemen and peasant women was seen as ordinary in the noble society. This situation was gone too far and a marketplace for trading young peasant women emerged. Sexual services, house works and also playing cards or drink with noblemen were expected to be fulfilled by them. Noblemen who took advantages of these women, tried to legitimize what they did by arguing that they protected these women from poverty and bad conditions and also improve their situation. On the other hand, peasant men stayed in desperation and had to ignore their owner's abuse of their women (Engel, 2004).

Furthermore, the idea of discipline through violence in the family was supported by the Church and by the tsarist regime. The Church emphasized the right of husbands to teach and control their wives and the right of fathers to discipline their unmarried daughters. After the reforms of Peter I, marital arrangements provided some changes for women's favor. The father and husband figures were seen as the head of the



family so, this situation positioned women in submissive situation in the family. Wife beating was very common especially in peasantry life and court reconciled the problem between spouses and send women back to their husband when they took a legal action. Therefore, many of wife-abusers went unpunished because the general understanding of the society believed that husbands and fathers had power over their wives and daughters. As a result, domestic violence was generally kept inside the family to hide this behavior of men although some legal arrangements were done together with new ideas about gender in the 1860's (Muravyeva, 2012).

Another type of violence against women was sexual violence. Sexual aggression was defined by the Church and legal enforcement was implemented according to this definition until the seventeenth century, when government took over sexual offences from the Church. According to the Church's definition of rape, it was a crime if it was committed upon a married or virgin woman. So, a non-virgin woman or a widow was kept outside the scope of this definition. Then, the state broadened legal term of rape and according to the Law Code of 1649; rape was defined as the violation of the person's sexual boundaries (Kollmann, 1991). The Military Code of 1716 also included all types of sexual assault but criminal lawyers. According to this law, women did not have to prove their loss of virginity before rape. Nevertheless, rape victims still had to justify they resisted against the rapist. Moreover, potential rapist was only men according to law because it was thought that women could not commit rape, they might be accomplice of them. Therefore, only men committed rape defined by law (Muravyeva, 2012).

### **3.2.1.2.Abortion**

Abortion was illegal in the Tsarist Russia and it was seen as a contraception method. Because childbirth was seen as one of the primary roles of women, any method to end pregnancy was not to be tolerated by the state, the Church and society. Therefore, it was not seen as an individual right or related to women's health in tsarist Russia. More children meant more labor force for work, thus it was expected from women to give birth as much as they could. In the seventeenth century, Tsar

Alexei Nikolaevich Romanov banned abortion and the punishment for abortion was death. Peter the Great abolished death sentence but abortion remained a serious crime until the end of the tsarist Russia. The guilty was punished with exile, or had to fulfill hard work or her/his civil rights were restricted (Avdeev, Blum and Troitskaya, 1995, 39). In spite of the illegality of abortion, it continued to be performed in an unhealthy environment by underground medical personnel. Especially in rural regions, women had abortion under unhealthy conditions (Hyer, 2007).

### **3.2.1.3.Economic Inequality**

There was also gender pay gap in peasant population, which composed the great majority of tsarist Russian population. The most disadvantageous and the poorest population were unmarried women, including widows. Because they were single, land was not allocated to them, so they were excluded from payment. Single women lived together with their relatives but earned lower wages as compared to others' earning (Nafziger & Dennison, 2007). The main reason behind this gender pay gap was related to the immobility of women to work or trade in another place. Because their landlord forbade traveling beyond estate for work, single women remained the poorest part of the population. However, men had the opportunity to take advantages of working in seasonal and factory works except from agricultural works. These inequalities in economic conditions directly led to an imbalance in the living standards of women and men (Nafziger & Dennison, 2007).

### **3.2.1.4.Political Inequality**

The issue of suffrage right of Russian women for full citizenship was not on the agenda until the early twentieth century. The democratic revolutions prepared the ground for constitutional government and multiparty system. Therefore, the new political environment after the 1905 Revolution gave opportunity to women to create democratic social life (Novikova, 2009). The right of women to vote in the Russian Empire was important achievement because women challenged for their rights in a patriarchal society. They fought for right to vote in order to be citizens in an uncertain political environment. Russian women's situation was different from their

counterparts in Europe because Western democracies had a precondition for women's right to vote. So, women's effort for suffrage was significant because the toppling of tsar did not mean women would get their democratic freedoms. The revolution alone did not bring women suffrage rights, it just provided opportunity to women fight for their rights into the public sphere. Therefore, according to Ruthchild, women won their suffrage rights through their own attempts before Bolsheviks took control of power (Ruthchild, 2010).

### **3.2.2. Gender related Social Issues in the Soviet Russia**

According to Hoffman (2003), the Soviet state determined its social policies based on re-structuring of the Russian society and to this end, the state began with re-framing family as the corner stone of the society. Before reframing family structure, the Soviet state attempted to change the position of women who hold and sustain family in the society. However, the roles assigned to women led to inequality between genders. Especially, the Soviet state's pro-natal policies created inequality. This policy viewed women as mothers and other supportive policies like making divorce more difficult or banning abortion were indicator of enforcing woman to become mothers. In this way, motherhood was shown as a natural role for women and the Soviet government limited women's decisions regarding their bodies and lives by imposing on them such a social role different from men's roles. As the Soviet ideology expected from women to become both mother and worker, authorities took care of the unintended influence of work conditions on women's reproductive capabilities. To protect women's reproductive ability, the appropriate job fields for women were listed which led to a decrease in job opportunities for them and this situation also created inequality between genders (Hoffman, 2003).

According to Voronina (1994), the claim that liberation of women was achieved in the Soviet Union is a social myth, because cost of emancipation was paid by the Russian women of that time. The cost of emancipation of women led to the continuation of discrimination against women in the Soviet Union. Equal rights in the constitution did not ensure equality between men and women in practice.

Especially, discrimination and segregation were common and existed in all areas of activity. For instance, they were excluded from works including decision-making process. 48 percent of working men were at managerial positions while only 2 percent of working women were at the same position. Women also experienced greater difficulties to find a job or to get equal pay with men. Among male professions, women were segregated by forming women's jobs which narrowed the field of women's work area. Their fields of work were generally non-prestigious and low paid. Therefore, the Soviet state did not actually break down the perception of men as the breadwinners. Indeed workplace discrimination led to a gender pay gap between female and male workers.

In the field of education, segregation of women also continued in the Soviet period. Enrollment of women in higher educational institutions and universities had limited quotas. Furthermore, girls were oriented towards women professions at the beginning of their education in schools. This was a hidden discrimination against women but it was widespread. Socially, the Soviet's gender policies were not effective to eliminate traditional patriarchy because children and family's well-being were only tied to women. This situation led to social and sexual stratification in the society. Soviet policies on the position of women in the family and society changed under different leaders and periods; in the 1920's family's responsibilities were decreased, between 1930's to 1960's family functions were in background and then it was consolidated again. Thus, the Soviet state determined the place of women according to its ideology and policies but the family remained a crucial instrument for the oppression of woman as an individual. In conclusion, women's liberation was not sincere because the Soviet Union imposed its ideology to and decided on the behalf of women's aim in their life (Voronina, 1994).

The visual appearance of the Soviet women also led to a difference between women and men. In the Soviet Union, posters and films were commonly used as campaign and propaganda instruments. In the first years of the newly established state, female images were used in the propaganda instruments as neutered sex. For instance, in the posters of the First Five-Year Plan neutered female image was used. Women figures

were shown in plain clothes with scowl facial expression. However, in 1930's, femininity and motherhood were come into prominence in the films to serve pro-natalist policies of the state but at the same time to promote women's participation in labor force, women were shown as masculinized figure in posters and films (Hoffman, 2003).

### **3.2.2.1. Soviet Woman as the Worker**

Another changing gender role was related to women's working life in the Soviet Union. Women became breadwinners and it was imposed that being a working woman liberated them. Especially, in the Stalinist period, they gave up their personal lives in the name of work. Nevertheless, it was necessity rather than a choice because of the harsh conditions of the period. The purges, collectivization, rapid industrialization politics and the Second World War played a crucial role in the participation of women in working life (Kiblitckaya, 2000). The Soviet policy also centralized the regular pressure on women to work and their participation in workforce was regarded as a duty. This policy was established on the basis of women's responsibility towards their family so it prevented men from being the only breadwinner in the family. Hence, women's breadwinner position was determined by default (Kiblitckaya, 2000). For these women, earning money was important and it provided economic independence for them but being a working woman was not sufficient to escape from being a mother or a wife. Therefore, many of them did not live, as they preferred although they earned their own money.

According to Mandel (1971), the Soviet Union's attempts to change traditional roles of women and to socialize women through including them into work force affected women's life positively at that time. In the Tsarist Russia, majority of women who held paid occupations worked as farmers, housemaids and prostitutes while only a small part of women worked in health and education field. For Mandel (1971), the important thing is that prostitution was the third most paid occupation among Russian women in the Tsarist Russia. The reason behind this situation was illiteracy and women having no skills. However, this economic situation of women was

changed in Soviet period because the state educated women and opened employment in industry. This policy led to social mobility and save them from underpaid occupations in Tsarist Russia because before the establishment of the Soviet Russia, occupations that were held by women were depended on the level of education provided for women. He claimed that the Soviet Union faced the problem of an uneducated population. A decade after the Bolshevik Revolution, only one-fourth of women worked but 40 percent of women enrolled in education. Therefore, this generation might be the first to have paid jobs except from housework or prostitution.

### **3.2.2.2. Soviet Man as the Breadwinner**

The main gender role of men was being the breadwinner as part of patriarchal structure of the society. In the Tsarist Russia, the role of male as a breadwinner was embedded in the Russian society. In a peasant community, the father or husband was the main provider for the household and a son was seen as future provider while a daughter would leave home after she married. Therefore, in this social structure, women were identified with domesticity while men with money. The Soviet state tried to change this patriarchal tradition and to end economic dependency of women on men. To this end, women were positioned as independent workers supported by the state rather than being dependent on men. Although the number of female workers was high under the Soviet state, the perception of male's role as breadwinner did not change. Soviet man was encoded as breadwinner by the society and from his childhood, he was expected to earn money to be a "real men". Moreover, the wages paid to workers also contributed this situation. Although paying men more was not an official policy, gender based bias and hard work in industry put women in secondary position in labor force and accepted the men's breadwinner role as natural. Furthermore, as part of masculinity, being able to spend money independently was important for men. Even if their wife worked and earned money, being accountable to his wife about spending money was seen as negative in masculinity perception of the society (Kiblitckaya, 2000).

In the Soviet society to be a man required to have a place in a hierarchy and it was expected to be a part of this hierarchy. Therefore, social status of a man was defined by the position given to him by the state. The New Soviet Man should be masculine, brave and strong both physically and mentally. The Soviet policy on reframing family relations and redefining gender roles also affected men in the society. The main aim of these policies was to break down the traditional structure of patriarchy (Meshcherkina, 2000). In the Soviet family, women were expected to take on reactive role while men were assumed to a humble attitude because they were more prone to alcoholism and violence. Therefore, the ideal Soviet family needed a reasonable and understanding husband. As the Soviet state supported women in the family for social order, it opened space for men to prove themselves in the public sphere and work (Kukhterin, 2000).

### **3.2.2.3. Marriage and Divorce**

As compared with the Tsarist Russian civil code which included wife having no right to work without her husband's approval, the 1926 Marriage Code made spouses legally autonomous. Moreover, divorce was confirmed if either spouse applied or mutual consent while divorce issue was very strict in the Tsarist Russia. After divorce, husbands had to provide their children for alimony. However, with Stalin's 1944 Family Edict, the Soviet state supported alimony and child support to women in extramarital relations. Therefore, these mothers did not have to seek support from their children's fathers. Nevertheless, divorce was made difficult because it was expensive and long process. In the Stalin era, measures like making divorce difficult, prohibiting contraception methods and abortion led to increase in the birth rate. Except from birth rate, these law and prohibitions limited both women's and men's rights to decide on matters related to their own lives. Hence, the Soviet state restricted spouses' self-determination and interfered directly with women's decision to have children. The Family Code of 1968 was a midpoint of the early revolutionary law and strict and intrusive law of the Stalinist era (Stetson, 1996).

#### **3.2.2.4. Abortion Issue**

The Soviet Union was the first country to legalize abortion in the twentieth century. In the Lenin era, the policy was that women could not be forced to bear a child unwillingly. Abortion was first legalized in the Soviet Union in 1920 and the main reasons were to decrease health problems caused by underground abortions (Bullough, 2001). So, the primary purpose was not related to population control. Moreover, the state did not give right to men to prevent abortion decision of their spouses but if women had to find money for abortion, men's decisions were also important for the abortion. This situation was seen as the state protected women and respected their decisions, but economic part of abortion made women subordinate to men (Stetson, 1996).

In 1936, abortion again became illegal in the Soviet Union. Together with illegality of abortion, family allowance and child care services were promised by the state to prevent abortion and encourage the continuation of pregnancy. Abortion could be allowed only the existence of medical problems and a commission decided to the necessity of abortion. Then, it became re-legalized due to a high rate of illegal abortion and deaths or complications associated with abortion in 1955 (Jones & Grupp, 1987).

#### **3.2.2.5. Rape and Women's Trafficking Issue**

According to the Soviet criminal law, rape is sexual relation by physical force, threat or through deception. The crime of sexual harassment also included in this law. These arrangements in the law were important because of the newly established economic system and state policies forced many women away from their families to earn money in men dominated work places. Thus, especially the working women were defenseless against the sexual exploitation. The penalty for this crime was five years in prison but the guilty was prosecuted only upon a complaint of the victim. Besides, sexual assault was not included in the law. In the Stalin's period, penalties were increased but the definition of rape remained same (Stetson, 1996).



The transnational women's trafficking was first began in the Soviet Union during perestroika but the number of women sex worker who hoped to find job and earn money in other countries were not high as compared with numbers in the Post-Soviet Russia has. Only during perestroika the number of women's trafficking crime increased when limitations on international travel was facilitated (Hughes, 2000).

### **3.3. Gender based Social Movements and LGBT Movements in Historical Context in Russia**

#### **3.3.1. Gender based Social Movements and LGBT Movements in the Tsarist Russia**

##### **3.3.1.1. Gender based Social Movements**

In the reign of Alexander II, a law passed that brought some radical changes into the social lives of Russian women and men. Emancipation of serfs and acceptance of secondary school girls for education to schools as well as new judicial and public institutions helped the emergence of a more confident and influential civil society. With these reforms, Russians began to think about the traditional social structure of the society. Intellectuals articulated that patriarchal and authoritarian family structures supported the social hierarchy in the society therefore democratization of family relations would have to contribute to the transformation of the society.

It was realized that women would play a vital role in transforming the new social structure. Women were seen as suffering from the patriarchal order in terms of education social and economic system. Proponents of this view suggested that women had the capacity to generate effect on social regeneration being as a moral center of the society. Opponents argued that it was not the primary role of women and they should continue to devote their energy and time to their family. Therefore, the women question emerged to determine their place in the society (Engel, 2004).

In the mid-nineteenth century, intellectuals including Nikolai Pirogov debated on the education of women. He argued that women had more capacity to be a mother and dance in the evening parties. In his essay "The Questions of Life" he considered the effects of uneducated women on social life. Unquestioned traditions limited the

education of women in Russian society. After he supervised 160 women who worked as voluntary nurses in the Crimean War, he emphasized that patriarchal system underestimated the capacity of women in the society. He played an important role in women's education by arguing that educated women meant educating future generations. In 1858, it was legal to accept secondary school girls for education. The aim was to improve social life by educating future mothers (Robin, 2002).

Especially within the educated society "woman question" was began to be discussed and these discussions moved on the pages of the journals. The support of the press expanded the horizon of women and they began to seek opportunity to get together and to form a sense of common identity. However, in the mid-nineteenth century, reactions to pressure over women were generally at the individual level. They responded some impositions related to being women like expected duties at household or their appearance. In order to reduce emerging income inequality, some of the noble women who joined the movement began to wear simple dress and cut their hair short by expressing the importance of women's shared identity. Whether noble or peasant, nearly all women felt similar oppression. Some of them behaved and dressed like men. They cut their hair, smoked in public and went out alone. All of these actions of women like silent protests were against social repression over them. Primarily, they started to move on their own behalf. For example, in 1859, university lectures were open to women and Natalia Korsini was the first woman who attended lectures in St. Petersburg University. Then, other women followed her and women's attendance to lectures became ordinary (Engels, 2004).

Nikolai Chernyshevskii's novel, *"What Is to Be Done?"* suggested an answer to "women question". He tried to show alternative ways of living and formed a new model for women and men relations. He emphasized the importance of women's education and also that women had capacity to accomplish both having a successful working life and also being a mother thanks to egalitarian family structures and collective principles of the society. He concluded that the full liberation of women was linked to the social transformation that depended on revolution. These thoughts became influential for women's struggle although women had minimal role in the

student uprisings in 1860's. The increasing visibility of women in public area was parallel to the exclusion of women from state services and also universities. For this time, women tried to reach their aims through collective action rather than personal attempts to solve their problems. They gathered signatures in order to attend university courses again and it worked, they gained access to classes. This was an important achievement (Engel, 2004).

Government officials who were afraid of the educational access of women led to an opposition from women students against the social and political order. Because women began to discover other women's experiences and share their ideas, isolation of women was broken down through circles and discussion groups. In meetings of women's circles, women in simple dress began to discuss marriage, family, their life goals and women's place in social sphere. Some of them like, Alexandra Kornilova, had a more radical approach to these issues and they searched for liberation from outdated traditions to be imposed on women by society. Although these exchanges of ideas remain in these women's circle for a time, it was at the beginning of concerning social problems and their solutions related to the women question in the Russian society. Moreover, educating women provide women with the economic empowerment. After graduation, women generally worked as midwives, pharmacists, physicians, medical assistant and teacher. Therefore, education changed women's life economically and also intellectually, while their number was not so high (Engel, 2004). This was the beginning of the redefinition of social roles of women in the society because they refused conventional roles like being a submissive wife or a respectful daughter.

Women's movements before the revolution of 1917 demonstrated a great variety to express themselves. Emergence of women's movement coincided with the period of women's access to education. They began to question their place in the society and this situation led to emergence of diverse women movements from intellectual women who tried to raise awareness about the requirement to escape from predetermined roles of women to women assassins who attempted to change society radically. Although all movements wanted to improve women's status in the society

and to change, there was not a consensus among groups. Some of them were philanthropic while others focused on particular group of women like upper class but education and career of women formed the most significant part of these movements. Tsarist Russia restricted illegal and also legal public activity by women. Therefore, women's movement, especially charitable activities helped Russian women to access civil society. Societies were established and congress were arranged by women were the first steps of Russian women's movement because in that processes women gained experiences in organizing meetings, in fundraising, in lobbying and in coping with government (Ruthchild, 2010).

Russian Society for the Protection of Women was developed by women in response to the trade in women and prostitution. All-Russian Congress for the Struggle against the Trade in Women in 1910 was held and it was an important beginning for voicing the problems of prostitution and preventing the trade in women. Two-thirds of 300 attendees were women and in this congress, government's policies on trafficking of women. Among the resolutions, public education about sexually transmitted diseases and improvement of economic conditions of women and also increasing penalties for enslaving women to prostitution were the first prominent ones. Unfortunately, licensed brothels continued to work but regular medical inspections were provided in police surveillance by government. Therefore, Congress fulfilled its aim to raise public awareness about sexual exploitation of women and it reminded that women were human like men, they were not goods bought and sold for sexual pleasure or any other reasons (Ruthchild, 2010).

Another important example of women's movement was First All-Russian Women's Congress in 1908. The aim of this Congress was to seek to influence people on women's demands in order to improve their status and desire for equal rights and also to gather different women's movements under one roof. Most of the participants were women but no peasant women attended the Congress. Ethics in the family, motherhood including marital problems, status of women in the society, women's education, women workers, prostitution and women's civil right were discussed in the Congress. Although the Congress did not achieve to unite women's movement, it

encouraged them to not remain silent against all kinds of pressure over women (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001). Women's Equal Rights Union was formed before the revolutionary events of 1905 and had an important role for women suffrage and equal rights with men within the movement against tsar's autocracy. However, again members were educated noble women and urban working class because to reach peasant women still seemed difficult (Pushkareva, 1997).

Some Russian women were role models for next generations and became icon of movements that they joined. For instance, Vera Figner was one of them. She had a peasant family background yet she was able to continue her education on medicine in Zurich. Although her family opposed her decision after she got married, she continued her medical education. Then, she participated in a women's group that was later known as the Frichi Circle whose members discussed social problems and exchanged their ideas on socialist readings. After her imprisonment, she continued to work on women's education. She was an important figure for those who followed her by showing an alternative life for a woman was possible (Hoogenboom, 1996).

Anna Pavlovna was also known for her efforts for women's higher education and she was influential in getting women attending in university lectures by lobbying tsarist officials. She also campaigned against those who tried to prevent women from higher education with the fear of radical women movements. Olga Adreevna was another well-known figure for Russian women as a feminist writer. Although her articles were read by only a narrow circle that was generally educated Russian feminists, she tried to change the traditional stereotypes of women perception in the Russian society. She drew a new image of Russian women who achieved self-respect and self-sufficiency by refusing traditional roles of women (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001).

Nevertheless, Pushkareva claimed that men were more inspired figures than women for women's movement in Russia. Some male thinkers and intellectuals like Chernyshevskii and Mikhailov challenged women's inequality in society and

developed revolutionary ideas related to the limited sphere of activity for Russian women (Pushkavera, 1997).

Women Nihilists were influential in women's movement whose members were seen as cultural revolutionaries who rejected to live in the world of their parents. Many of them studied in medicine and science and they believed in equality between men and women in all spheres of life. This movement began in 1850's and continued to 1870's and it was influenced by Vera Pavlovna who was the heroine of Nikolai Chernyshevskii's novel, "*What Is to Be Done?*" inspiring the next generation who were anarchist and populist women in the 1880's (Pushkavera, 1997). Vera Pavlovna was the icon of female nihilist for that period. She wore simple dresses, rejected to make her hair to show her femininity and refused her suitors and married with her brother's tutor in order to escape her traditional family and study medicine abroad. She was portrayed as a rejection of all roles that were given by society to Russian women. Women nihilists hoped to reach equality between men and women by denying their imposed responsibilities and indicators of femininity. With this aim, they began with their appearances; they refused to wear feminine dress and preferred shortly cropped hair. They smoked and spoke freely by ignoring the prejudices of the society for the purpose of removing social differences between genders. They also internalized being unmarried because they were against conventional marriages. Some of them made fictitious marriages with men not for love but for getting away from traditional family ties and female roles like being a mother or a wife. Such arranged marriages provided women for sexual freedom so; they did not have to give birth. All of these challenges were against the cultural norms and created new social relationship between sexes (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001).

### **3.3.1.2. LBGT Social Movement**

In the Russian Empire, there was no social movement to defend gay or lesbian rights. However, some intellectuals whether lesbian or gay, expressed that sexual orientation was a personal decision. Vladimir Dmitrievich Nabokov who was a liberal politician and in favor of gay rights insisted that homosexuality was not a

religious or moral issue rather it came from birth. He also supported the decriminalization of homosexuality issue by emphasizing that homosexuality was not abnormal or reprehensible. Nabokov stated that because sexual intercourse was not only for reproduction in modern societies, homosexuals could not be condemned for their sexual desire for pleasure and love. Nonetheless, conservatives totally rejected the self-determination of individuals, which was in contrast with societies' moral values and reproductive sexuality. This view supported the existing law being implemented for gay individuals. Nabokov was still an important figure to give voice to the rights of gay and normalize different sexual orientation outside the gender definition regarded as normal in the society (Engelstein, 1994).

The period between 1905 and 1917 was a relatively relaxed period for homosexuals because many important figures in Russia tried to lead open gay and lesbian lives through their artworks. Especially, in literature homosexual relations were handled as a social subject. Although experiencing gay relations were criminal, homosexuals in literature and art circle were more tolerated (Haggerty, 2000). For instance, Mikhail Kuzmin's novel, namely *Wings*, written in 1906 was the first Russian novel on homosexuality. This was the story of a man who realized that he was gay; some of the parts of story were in the gay bathhouse in Russia. Kuzmin's *Wings* was important in terms of giving clues about the conditions of gays in that period (Karlinsky, 1989). Zinovieva Annibal as a Russian author wrote openly on lesbian love and her two known novels *Thirty-Three Freaks* and book of short stories *The Tragic Zoo* were seen as lesbian equivalent of Kuzmin's *Wings*. Moreover, her husband Viacheslav Ivanov, being a bisexual, also wrote short stories and poems in favor of homosexuality (Aldrich, 1993). Another important figure who tried to give voice to homosexuality in her poems was Sophia Parnok. She was seen as Russia's first openly lesbian poet and her manner inspired homosexuals (Zimmerman, 2000).

### **3.3.2. Gender based and LGBT Movements in the Soviet Russia**

#### **3.3.2.1. Gender based Social Movement**

The women's movement revived with the Bolshevik Revolution and continued under the socialist regime. However, it was tried to be sustained secretly by informal underground formation of women groups after 1930's. Because the Soviet government took the control of women's issue and mobilized women according to its ideology, women movements were invisible in this period. The Soviet state attempted to improve women's status in the society through its organizations and emphasized that women were liberated and integrated into the social life thanks to their participation into the labor force. Although the state organizations related to women issue worked to change women's position in the society, it also prevented independent formation of women's movement. In the Stalinist period, they were removed with justification that they complete their tasks. For instance, *Zhenotdel*, the women's department of Bolsheviks worked for improving women's conditions however it was closed later as the government had the view that all women's problems were solved in 1930s. Hence, only in the late Soviet period and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, independent women's movements and activist groups emerged. However, women's movement and activism were influential in terms of bringing awareness to gender issue despite their restricted support from the society, indifference and prevention of the state and lack of financial funding (Bingham, 2012).

In 1979, a group of feminist began to publish the first and only independent feminist almanac in the Soviet Union. The first Soviet journal- independent from the state- for women was published by *Woman and Russia*. This journal included art, poems and articles related to a wide range of subjects from patriarchy to marriage, from family to abortion and motherhood. The main aim of this journal was to question the position of women in society, in family and at work. Because this journal was not officially registered, it was distributed from hand to hand. After the Soviet authorities seized copies of the journal, Tatiana Mamonova, the editor of this journal, was warned against any further distribution of the journal. Feminists continued to their



activities though, and in 1980, they divided into two groups. *Woman and Russia* led by Mamonova and another group “Club Maria” continued to publish the journal. For the Maria, tragedy of women demonstrated the deadlock of the Soviet policies and *Woman and Russia* argued that despite the promises of the Soviet Union, the system was same old version of the sexist order. Both Club Maria and *Woman and Russia* criticized the Soviet family structure and gender roles given by the state. They emphasized that men gave up their traditional roles but their traditional rights still continued in the society so; they tried to reach women who were seized with emancipation of women through participating in labor force (Ruthchild, 1983).

In 1991, *Zhenotdel* (Women’s Department of the Communist Party) established by Lenin as an extension of the state was removed by Stalin in 1930. The aim of establishment of this institution was the adaptation to new system. However, women who worked in *Zhenotdel* thought that this institution should also help women to deal with inequality and discrimination by developing social policies for them. Disagreement between the Party and women who headed to *Zhenotdel* continued until it was closed. Although *Zhenotdel* was dependent on the Party, it was important for women who worked in and headed *Zhenotdel* to resist the Party’s imposed orders to implement policies under *Zhenotdel*. Innesa Armand was one the remarkable revolutionary women in the Soviet Russia and the first head of *Zhenotdel*. She had influence over Lenin who supported women revolutionaries but distrusted the idea of an independent women’s movement from the State. However, she did not directly challenge the Bolshevik Party as Kollontai did (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001).

Aleksandra Kollontai was a revolutionary, feminist civic activist and diplomat in the Soviet Union. Her thoughts on women issue were influential not only in the early Soviet period but also after the collapse of the Soviet Union for women’s movement. Although she was a Marxist feminist, her views on women differed from most Marxist women. After she published her dissertation, “The Social Bases of Feminism”, she attempted to organize a socialist movement by fighting traditional restrictions of women (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001). She continued her feminist struggle individually and expressed her concerns about maternity and work

conditions. After becoming the head of *Zhenotdel*, she was under the spot because of her oppositional stance to the Party. She made every effort to improve women's status despite the constraints established by the Party. She was unique and untypical as her socialist and feminist identity because of her criticism of the Soviet policies on women issue (Williams, 1987).

The first congress for women that was independent from the Party was the First All-Russian Congress of Women Workers held in 1918. This was the effort of a group of feminist activists to organize women workers for demanding equal rights for women and improving the status of women and encouraging them to take active role in economic, political and social life. The agenda of the Congress was women workers, social policies for women and housing issue (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001).

Women's movement did not emerge just for themselves. *Obshchestvennitsa* Movement emerged in 1930's, led by volunteer wife activists for improving the living and working conditions of their husbands worked in industry and factories. This movement was initiative by civic-minded female activist who were the wives of engineers, technicians and industrial managers. Therefore, scholars analyze this movement as women's movement arisen from rapid industrialization policies of the Soviet Union in 1930's and as evidence of socioeconomic stratification in the society (Schrand, 1999). Another women's movement was the Soldier's Mother Movement. Different versions of soldier's mothers groups were formed in the 1980's. The Moscow based Committee for Soldier's Mothers of Russia and Soldiers' Mothers of St. Petersburg were known for their activities. These grassroots movements were started by parents whose children died in war or misemployed in the army. It was considered as an initiative for improving relations with the army in order to form a civic control by the parents of soldiers. Thus, the main aim of this movement was to protect the rights of soldiers and their parents during military tenure. This movement also tried to make military service more accountable in terms of missing soldiers and helped parents who could not get information from their sons who served in the army. So, this activism of soldiers' mothers addressed the militarized masculinity

and offered a new channel for transforming societal ideas on military service (Eichler, 2012).

### **3.3.2.2. LGBT Movement**

Despite all the repressive policies towards homosexuals after 1930's in Soviet Russia, a group of gays tried to form the first gay men organization in Leningrad in 1984. Nevertheless, the KGB caught them. They found opportunity to become visible only after Gorbachev's *glasnost* in the late Soviet Russia. Then, the Moscow Gay and Lesbian Alliance were formed and Yevgeniya Debryanskaya headed this formation. *Tema* was the first official gay newspaper and its editor was Roman Kalinin. These were the beginning of visibility of homosexuality and then, number of these organizations and publications increased. These developments were before the collapse of the Soviet Union and in the Russian Federation, they continued to defend their rights (Moss, 2000).

In the late period of the Soviet state, discussions about the question of homosexuality were the beginning of the emergence of LGBT movement. The main topics of these discussions were about the place of homosexuals in the society and abolishing the articles, which criminalized homosexuality. Even though some organizations of sexual minorities were established at the end of the 1980's, they worked secretly and closely with human rights organizations. Moreover, they were financed by International Lesbian and Gay Association to continue their works for liberation and equal rights (Buetikofer, 1998).

Until the late 1980's, gays and lesbians as sexual minorities were victims and they just tried to survive by complaining about the state policy and humiliating public attitudes against them. In order to improve the status of homosexuals and to create public awareness about them, there were some initiatives to establish communities and meetings. In 1984, a small group of thirty men came to gather to establish a 'Gay Laboratory' or the 'Blue Laboratory' by contacting with a Finnish gay and a lesbian organization with the aim of making their voices heard. However, it did not take long before they were arrested and silenced. But especially during *glasnost*, experts began

to speak about status of sexual minorities and homosexuals particularly gays was encouraged to fight for their rights thanks to the press and experts. Additionally, foreign lesbian and gay organizations and publications supported to create public awareness about homosexuality (Riordan, 1996).

The 'Blue Laboratory' was important for LGBT movement in Russia because it was the first organized and stable activist group worked for rights and interest of sexual minorities in the late Soviet period. It was also distinct from other similar activist groups as Aleksandr Zaremba, the founder of this group, could speak foreign languages. So, linguistic qualification of Zaremba helped to contact with homosexual activist and organizations in other countries. In addition, this activist group also took the role of researching about homosexuality and shared scientific information with people to create social awareness and also attempting to get together LGBT activists through contacting foreign organizations. Although this group did not last long and did not form any tradition at that time, it pioneered in forming a sexual minority activist groups and organizations (Nemtsev, 2007).

Moreover, the first international conference about 'The Status of Sexual Minorities and Changing Attitudes to Homosexuality in the Twentieth Century' was held in today's Estonia, in territories of the Soviet Union in 1990. This conference was successful to increase self-awareness and to clarify the social identity of Soviet gays and lesbians. Before this conference, the first Sexual Minorities Association or with another name Alliance of Lesbians and Homosexuals was established in Moscow. Their main focus was to fight for equality of people without discriminating them according to their sexual orientation. This association worked for campaigning against Article 121, which banned homosexuality. Changing public attitudes towards homosexuals by raising awareness about sexual minorities, the rehabilitation of AIDS patients, publishing materials for safe sex and also forming networks for homosexuals were other purposes of the association (Riordan, 1996).

Publication was important tool for homosexuals to be heard. To this end, a publication namely SPID-info published the association's letter to the Soviet Union

leader requesting the removal of criminal code that banned same-sex relations because of its discriminatory status of law. This association also published the newspaper *Tema*, which defended the equal rights for sexual minorities. This was an important development as it was the first officially registered newspaper wrote publicly about homosexuality. The alliance and newspaper opened up opportunity for homosexuals and encouraged them to continue their demands for civil rights instead of humiliation towards homosexuals (Riordan, 1996).

Furthermore, to contact and to cooperate with other activist groups related to gender and gender orientation issues gave motivation to LGBT movement to continue their propaganda and activities. For instance, Moscow Gay and Lesbian Alliance was cooperated with 'Maria' which was the first feminist organization emerged in 1979. Besides, the feminist journal 'Reading for Women' edited and published by Olga Lipovskaya collaborate with sexual minorities activist and groups (Nemtsev, 2007). These connections and collaborations were crucial for both sexual minority activists and also feminist groups to expand their influence in a wider area. Moreover, these sexual minority groups also encouraged their successors after the collapse of the Soviet Union although they were small and informal networks. These networks were vital for international funding of these groups and activist to reach their aims. However, at that time, they needed social and cultural capital rather than financial one because the movement lacked the networks of relationship between public to make the society a livable environment for all people regardless of their sexual preferences or status (Nemtsev, 2007).

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **GENDER AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION RELATED SOCIAL ISSUES IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA**

In contemporary Russia, gender roles are redefined by transition to democratic regime and market economy. Social transformation in post-Soviet Russia changes gender roles and expectations from women and men. The transformation and new gender roles also affect gender relations. Marriage rate has decreased while divorce rate has increased mainly because of socioeconomic reasons. In addition, in the family patriarchal and male domination still continue. Children are not the main focus of the family in Russian society therefore; fertility rate has decreased in the post-Soviet Russia as compared with rates in Soviet Russia. As a father, men have a passive role in the family while women have influential role as mother. Media and the Russian Orthodox Church are effective to define new gender roles. Because media and press generally owned by government and there is a close relationship between the state and the Church, they are influential tools to manage the perception of the society in terms of gender stereotypes. Furthermore, language and discourse are generally sexist and discriminatory regarding gender issue and this situation also affects gender identity. Violence and human trafficking is another issue related to gender based problems in the post-Soviet Russia. Gender pay gap in economic realm and male dominant politics also create inequalities between genders. Furthermore, there are also problems related to sexual minorities in today's Russia. LGBT people are exposed to discrimination and homophobic violence. Their legal and social status is also controversial and public attitude towards them is biased and generally exclusive. In this part, changing gender roles given by society, gender relations, the impact of media and religion on gender issue, gender based violence and discrimination and position of LGBT people in the Russian society will be analyzed.

#### 4.1.Changing Gender Roles given by Russian Society

In post-Soviet Russian society, gender roles and relations are affected by Russia's recent history. It is natural because social climate is changed by the new regime. In the transition period of Russia, getting away from ideologically guided regime and getting used to new social, political and economic environment has not been easy for the Russian society. There is a common complaint about Soviet Union's women emancipation policies which made women and men equal in theory but sustained the patriarchal order in the society. In today's Russia most of the women are aware of taking men's traditional roles like working in economic realm does not mean women's traditional roles in the family and society are shared by men.

**Table 1:** Qualities Attributed to Russian Men

Qualities (Men)	All (%)	Gender	
		Male Respondents (%)	Female Respondents (%)
<b>Intellect</b>	59	57	60
<b>Ability to earn a living</b>	50	48	51
<b>Decency</b>	35	30	40
<b>Faithfulness</b>	26	14	36
<b>Ability to withstand misfortunes</b>	24	24	24
<b>Ambition</b>	21	22	20
<b>Attentiveness</b>	18	10	25
<b>Domesticity</b>	17	16	17
<b>Organization</b>	17	22	12
<b>Independence</b>	10	16	6
<b>Good looks</b>	7	8	7

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Qualities in Men and Women. Retrieved August 15, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/qualities-men-and-women>

**Table 2: Qualities Attributed to Russian Women**

Qualities (Women)	All (%)	Gender	
		Male Respondents (%)	Female Respondents (%)
<b>Domesticity</b>	49	46	52
<b>Good looks</b>	41	49	33
<b>Attentiveness</b>	39	36	40
<b>Faithfulness</b>	33	38	28
<b>Intellect</b>	32	31	32
<b>Decency</b>	29	29	29
<b>Empathy</b>	15	14	17
<b>Easy going character</b>	15	12	16
<b>Sex appeal</b>	12	15	9
<b>Ability to withstand misfortunes</b>	10	6	13
<b>Organization</b>	9	8	10

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Qualities in Men and Women. Retrieved August 15, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/qualities-men-and-women>

As can be seen from Table 1 and Table 2, the survey conducted in 2015 by Levada Center, carried out throughout all of Russia in both urban and rural areas. Qualities and expectations from Russian men and women is asked to respondents. According to survey, intellectuality, ability to earn a living and decency are among the most valuable qualities of Russia men for Russian women. More than half of Russian women think that a man should be intellectual and earn their life. Domesticity, being good-looking and attentiveness are mostly attributed to Russian women by the society.

According to Buckley (1997), there is a view underlining that women are the victims of transition period. They are more vulnerable to economic and social changes than men. Their hope for equal status with men in all spheres has not realized in the post-Soviet Russia. Women have suffered from unemployment, male violence, low wages and socially constructed gender roles like motherhood and wife. Moreover, their political representation has also decreased. Men are also victim of the transition



period. Changing economic conditions have influenced their social roles because they identify themselves with their jobs and income in the society. Nonetheless, Buckley emphasizes that women and men are much more than just victims of transition; they are also agents of this change in the post-Soviet Russia. Gender reactions to all of these changes make them as agents of the new social structure in contemporary Russia (Buckley, 1997).

#### **4.1.1. New Russian Woman**

Although gender equality between Russian women and men was not achieved completely in the Soviet Union, with the transition to new regime, women lost many of their advantages given by the state to support them and their children. Moreover, transition in Russia has not solved the problem of male domination in public and private sphere. Glorified motherhood and social policies supporting mothers has been replaced with competitive market conditions for them. At the same time, decreasing birth rate also has caused women to stay at home rather than work. However, double burden of women also continues in post-Soviet Russia, especially for women who are single mothers or are responsible for elderly family members (Kalabikhina, 2005).

According to Kay, post-Soviet Russian government has not promoted women to continue work but has also not implemented rigid policies to keep women in the household. Particularly, in the first years of the Post-Soviet Russia, women have not given up their jobs although they have faced with discrimination in workplaces. Therefore, their roles in work and home have continued but transition to market economy has been left many women unemployed. Moreover, combining unemployment of women with the decrease in birth rate, the state has not tried to hold women in work places. However, women have been encouraged to get marry and to have children by the society even though it is not seen as a duty for the state (Kay, 1997).

After the Soviet Union, masculinization of Russian woman has been wiped, instead her beauty and femininity has come into prominence. So, women remained a woman

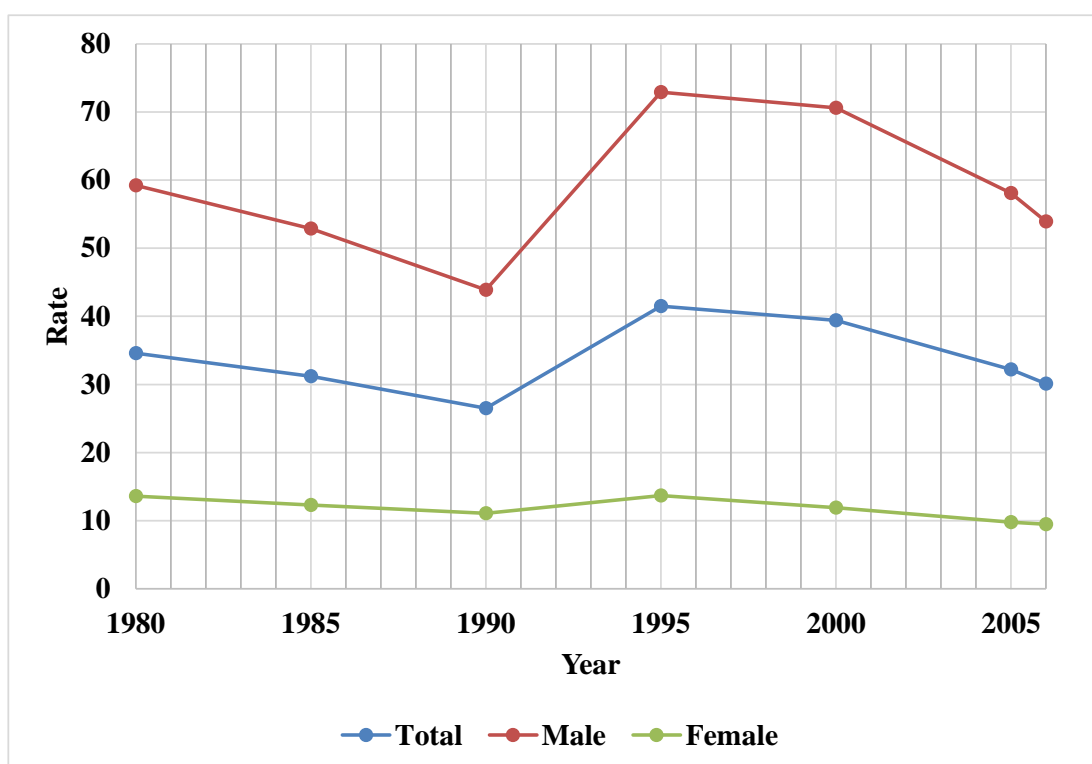
as the new society determines. For the purpose of removal the Soviet Russia's strong, masculine and working women perception, women's appeal, beauty and femininity has been emphasized. The perception of looking good has been created and responsibility to stay fit and to look pretty in the social life has been encouraged. Advertisement and media support this duty of Russian women and their appearance give them an additional responsibility. Discourses like "every woman should look after herself" and "there are no ugly women, just lazy ones" put pressure on women regarding their appearance. Moreover, society expect from Russian woman to be on the moral and ethical side of the social life. She should be supportive to her husband and devote herself to him. In addition, she also should be kind and tender in the society. As a representative of moral values of the society, woman also should be an altruistic mother. These social missions attributed to Russian woman are openly expressed in the post-Soviet Russia (Kay, 1997).

#### **4.1.2. New Russian Man**

According to Lyon, in the transition period, men have suffered from unemployment and low wages problems although the possibility of losing jobs has been less likely in men as compared with women,. They are under gender based pressure, because the Soviet system left them roles only in the economic realm. So, transition period is also painful for men. The Soviet policies on gender emasculated men's social roles in work and family by pushing women into workplaces. Thus, in the newly established state, facing unemployment problem or necessity to find a job is a heavy burden to carry for men. Breadwinner role of men given by society increases this burden. The results of pressure over men can be seen from high level alcohol consumption and suicide rates of men, and sharp decrease in life expectancy for men as compared with women especially after 1990 (Lyon, 2002).

Lyon also emphasizes that men's expected role is the provider of the family. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, work has become a preference for women. Therefore, women work both for financial and personal satisfaction. However, most of men quit their jobs because of low pays even if they were satisfied with their jobs

in order to earn more. The identity of a man is defined by his work because the society expects him to earn money. Thus, any problem related to his work undermines the self-confidence of a man. Although women face more restrictions in the new regime, women have a wider range of gender roles in the society but men have more rigidly and clearly defined singular role. Hence, they are more susceptible to fail when they meet expectations from them in the post-Soviet economy (Lyon, 2002).

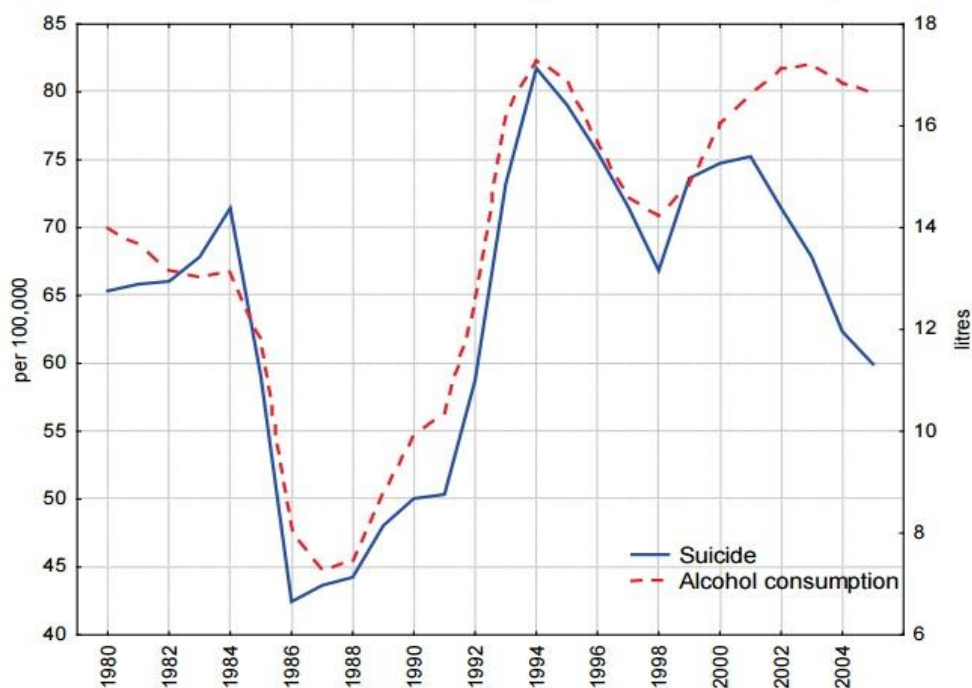


**Figure 1:** Suicide Rates (per 100,000), by Gender in Russia, 1980-2006

**Source:** World Health Organization. Suicide Rates in Russia. Retrieved July 6, 2015, from [http://www.who.int/mental\\_health/media/russ.pdf](http://www.who.int/mental_health/media/russ.pdf)

As can be seen from Figure 1, suicide rate of Russian men has radically increased after 1990's. As Lyon interprets, increase in suicide rates of men demonstrates the difficulties that men have faced in transition. Especially in the first decade of the Russian Federation, there is a sharp increase in suicide rates of men compared with

previous years. As for men being the breadwinner is the only socially defined gender role in their hands, economic transition has directly affected their gender identity. Unemployment and low-paid jobs are a result of transition to market economy and they have undermined gender role of Russian men. Work is the center of their gender identity and determinative feature in their position in the family and social life. So, any problem related to their job made them vulnerable to depression.

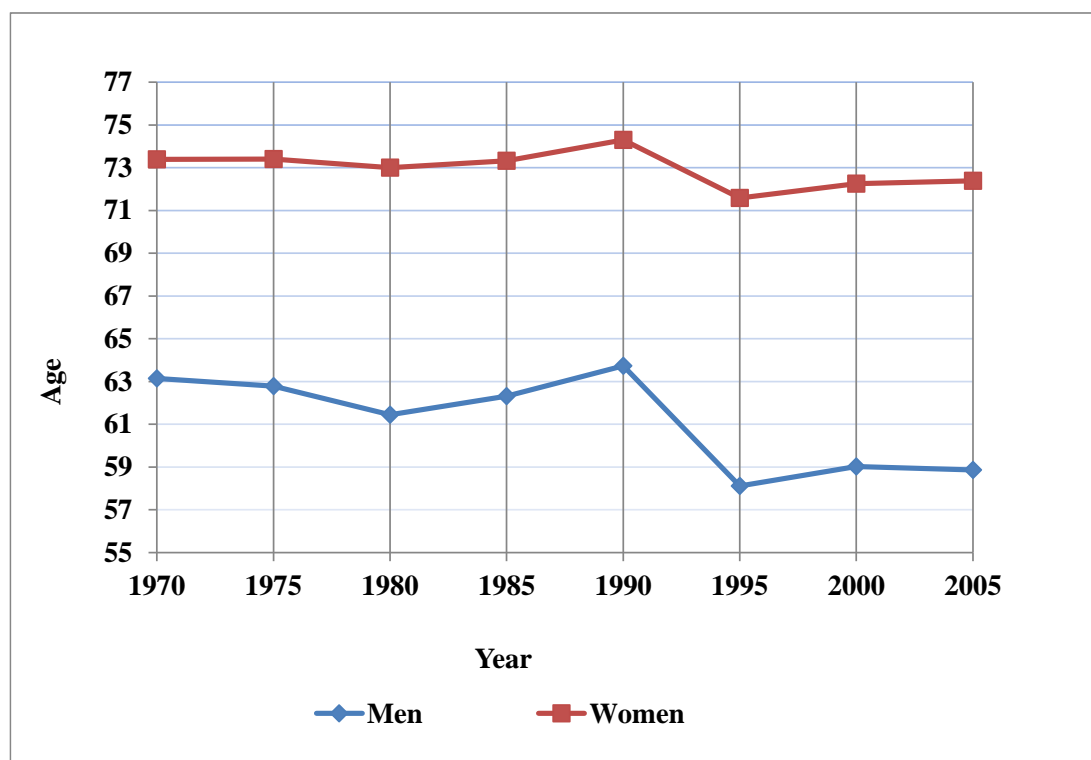


**Figure 2:** Trends in per capita Alcohol Consumption and Suicide Rates for Men in Russia, 1980-2005.

**Source:** Razvodovsky, Yury E. (2011). Alcohol consumption and suicide rates in Russia. *Suicidology Online*. Vol 2, 67-74.

In Figure 2, alcohol consumption and suicide rates for men between the years of 1980 to 2005 is shown. As can be seen from this graph, suicide and alcohol consumption trends are parallel to each other. According to researches, men who are smoker, unhealthy, unemployed and unmarried are more likely to consume alcohol (Bobak, Mckee, Rose, Marmot, 1999). Moreover, alcohol consumption, depression

and economic and social instability affect increase in suicide rates of men especially in the first years of post-Soviet Russia.



**Figure 3:** Life Expectancy (Total Population) by Gender in Russia, 1970-2005

**Source:** The Demographic Yearbook of Russia. (2010). Statistical Handbook. Moscow: Federal State Statistics Service. p. 1-116.

Another indicator of position of the new Russian man is decrease in life expectancy of men. In Figure 3, life expectancy by gender in Russia between 1970 and 2005 is given. According to this graph, in the transition period men's life expectancy has sharply decreased compared to the Soviet period. According to the Demographic Yearbook of Russia 2010, life expectancy for men dropped from 63.73 to 58.12 while life expectancy for women dropped from 74.30 to 71.59 between 1990 and 1995. This fact indicates that Russian men live fourteen years less than Russian women. Gender gap in life expectancy in Russia is the highest among other countries. The main reasons for falling life expectancy of Russian men are increasing alcohol consumption, changing economic situations and suicide (Sergei, 2009).

## **4.2. Gender Relations in Russian Society**

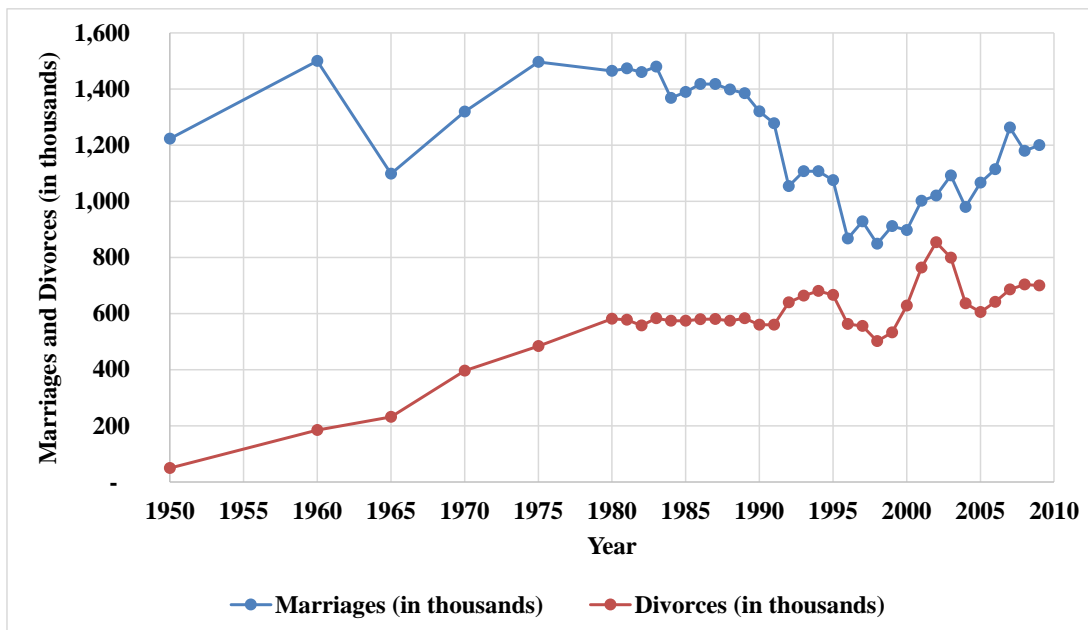
Gender relations also change according to newly determined gender roles in the post-Soviet Russian society. This is observable in marriage and divorce and also fertility rates. Socioeconomic transition causes decrease in marriage rate and economic independency of both women and men while making easy to divorce in contemporary Russia. However, marriage is encouraged by the society and divorce is seen as a negative phenomenon for family institution. Women's role as a breadwinner and mother still continue. Economic transition directly effects number of children and fertility rate. After the collapse of Soviet Union, family has become private issue and men as fathers take economic responsibility of their family in order to fill the gap left by the Soviet state.

### **4.2.1. Marriage and Divorce**

In Post-Soviet Russia, the sole authority to regulate matrimonial causes like marriage and divorce is the government. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, marriage and divorce issues has begun to be arranged according to the New Russian Family Code adopted in 1995. While in Tsarist Russia, marriage and divorce regulations were regulated by the Orthodox Church, in the Soviet Union civil marriage was the only legal form of marriage. Although informal and unregistered marriage was also accepted in the early years of the Soviet Union, Stalin abolished the legal status of informal marriage and divorce was made more difficult to attain. In the Russian Federation, the new Family Code of 1995 updated some regulations. For a married person, marriage is illegitimate but to marry and to divorce consecutively is not illegitimate. The legal age for marriage is eighteen and sixteen with special certificate. Marriage of close relatives and marriage between adoptive parents and adopted child is illegal. Divorce is impossible if the wife is pregnant or spouses have a child under one year old (Simon & Altstein, 2003). These legal arrangements are important to remove traces of the old regime and to adapt the newly established regime. However, historical experiences and traditions cannot be changed as rapidly as law codes are changed.

In today's Russia, there are many factors that influence marriage and divorce rates. The social problems triggered by economic transition affected marriage and divorce decisions of people in Russia. With the collapse of the interventionist state, which made marriage a public issue rather than a private one, marriage has become a private issue in which the state policies do not control it. However, social policies that supported Soviet families, their children and pensioners have been re-arranged. Especially in transition period, spouses have difficulty to build marital relations while they support their older and younger family members at the same time. Moreover, after the long-term state controlled economy, market economy directly affected the social realm. Transition to market economy caused many people to lose their jobs. Therefore, marriage has been postponed by couples because of unemployment. In addition, privatization of housing is one of the dissuasive reasons to get married (Vannoy et. al., 1999).

Divorce rates in Russia have increased as a result of socioeconomic reasons. Growth of unemployment leads to disagreement in the family, which ends with a divorce. Furthermore, as part of the market economy, worker mobility and migration also bring instability to families. According to Avdeev (1998), besides socioeconomic reasons, changes in legislations related to divorce also affected divorce rates in Russia throughout history. Because of concerns related to population, after World War II, divorce was made more difficult. At the end of the late Soviet period, divorce was liberalized and this law code is still valid in today's Russia. Therefore, changing dynamics in divorce issue has been affected by changes in law codes in Russian history. However, at the relations level, alcoholism and drunkenness are the primary reasons for divorce and the second one is disputes between couples, financial problems and adultery is in the third place for divorce in contemporary Russia (Perevedentsev, 1995).



**Figure 4:** Marriages and Divorces (in thousands) in Russia, 1950-2010

**Source:** The Demographic Yearbook of Russia. (2010). Statistical Handbook. Moscow: Federal State Statistics Service. p. 1-116.

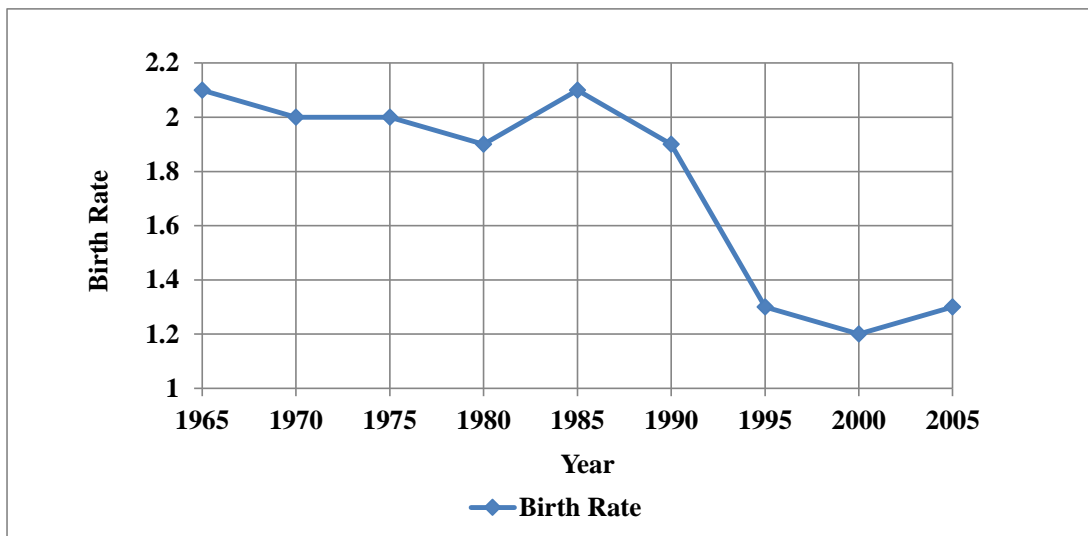
Figure 4 indicates that in Stalinist era, family and marriage politics were very influential on people to get married. In the de-Stalinization period, there was decline in marriages while divorces increased. In addition, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, there has been a decrease in the number of people getting married, although marriage is seen as an essential part of establishing family relations in contemporary Russia. While divorce is seen as a negative phenomenon by the society, it has increased in the Post-Soviet Russia (Pakhomova, 2010). These changes in the number of people getting married and divorced people have been affected both by legal arrangements of marital issues and socioeconomic changes throughout the Russian history. These changes had directed society according to the needs and interests of the state through its policies.

#### 4.2.2. Family

Russian scholars have identified Russian family structure in three main forms. The first one is the patriarchal family structure. In today’s Russia, this type of families



still exists. There is a dominant male figure as the head of the family. The patriarchal family was the most common one until the Stalinist period. Although equality between genders was emphasized by Bolshevik regime, changing the traditional structure of the family took time. However, with the Stalin's harsh marriage and family policies, woman's role as a mother came into prominence and children became very important for Russian families. So, Russian sociologists define families in that period as a child-focused family in which parent give high value to their children. Most of these types of families generally continued their marriage for their children. Another family type is a spouse-focused family in which both spouses shared responsibilities and continuation of marriage is depended on the quality of spouses' relations. This type of families has become prominent in today's Russia although they were not common at the beginning of the 1990's. In today's Russia, the presence of children is still important but it is not the main focus of the family. As can be seen from the Figure 5, fertility rate declined sharply especially after the Soviet regime. Although demographic and economic concerns of the Soviet state were influential in the past, in contemporary Russian society, people decide individually in their family life. Thus, the family issue becomes private in the Post-Soviet Russia. Decline in fertility rate is explained by decrease in marriages, increase in divorces, delayed childbearing and increasing use of contraception (Vannoy et.al., 1999).



**Figure 5:** Fertility Rate (Births per Women) in Russia, 1965-2005

**Source:** World Bank. Birth Rate, crude (per 1,000 People).

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SDYN.TFRT.IN/countries>

Today, the standard Russian family has some differences from the typical families in the Soviet Union. The transition of family structure has been gradual and a long process. In the Soviet Union period, diverse policies were applied to change gender roles in the family and transition of traditional family to contemporary one began at that time. However, scholars generally emphasize that couples were not married to each other rather they were married with the state in the Soviet Union. Because in the Soviet Union family was a public issue rather than a private one thanks to marriage and family policies of the Soviet Union. Despite the policies of the Soviet state, families remained patriarchal and male supremacy continued. In the Russian Federation, especially in urban areas, gender roles are relatively more balanced due to wife being as much a breadwinner as the husband. Moreover, birth is planned and contemporary families have few children so the number of children is limited by common decision of the spouses. Even though families, especially woman, generally prefer to have children; many of them do not want to have two or more children. Even if they want to have children, both women and men would like to first acquire some standards like career, a house or a car before having children. In addition,

except from families who continued to live traditionally, many women have premarital sex experience. The society no longer expects that a woman should be virgin in her first marriage. Thus, it shows that past double standard of men, which limited women, and free men ended (Perevedentsev, 1995).

However, today's Russian families are more prone to divorce. In post- Soviet Russia, women are the first who start the divorce process while they also appreciate family more than men. Moreover, after the breakup of the family, many of them still hope to straighten family relations again. Because women are financially independent from men, they are generally able to provide needs while living alone if they have a job. In the family, women work primarily for economic reasons. Nonetheless, as different from the past women have time after work, so they also work for active social life instead of staying at home (Perevedentsev, 1995).

While the impact of the Soviet policies on family disappeared, spouses face new challenges and different economic restrictions like housing issue, insufficient income, unemployment and lacking state support for women and children. However, in today's Russian families, women strongly prefer to work outside the home. Economic concerns are the primary reason but majority of women choose to continue their works even if their husbands income is enough to provide for family. This is a result of breadwinner roles was taken by women in the Soviet Union period and it indicates that women have similar concerns to work as men. As for men, work is also crucial part of women's identity because they contribute to socioeconomic production. However, the fact that husbands generally prefer their wives to be home might be for escaping domestic responsibilities (Lyon, 2002).

#### **4.2.3. Motherhood and Fatherhood**

In Russia, as in other patriarchal societies, fatherhood experience of men and their responsibilities as fathers are framed as socially constructed and institutional factors. Societal attitudes towards parenting issue and socially embedded expectations from gender roles in the family determine divisions of responsibilities in the family as mothers and fathers. Thereupon, these socially and culturally determined roles are

difficult to change in family. Uniqueness of mother-child relations emphasizes fathers' primary duty as the main provider for family and prevents fathers to take primary responsibilities of their children. Therefore, in post-Soviet Russia, as in the Soviet Russia, motherhood plays an important role in the family whereas the exclusion of fatherhood is a social reality. Kay (2007) explains these social exclusion and obstacles for taking influential role in the family as a father with social and institutional factors.

Kay (2007) argues that as in many other countries, the post-Soviet society also gives men only breadwinner role in the family so their responsibilities are minimalized within the family. In the post-Soviet transition period, economic and social changes promote men and women to work full-time jobs but women's role as a breadwinner is not primary one rather it is symbolic considering women's low wages. Especially in the early years of the Russian Federation, the local economies forced men to work in distant cities from their families and long working hours reduces time that men spend at home with their family. Hence, for fathers, these conditions make difficult to take part in daily interactions with their children. Although they have enough time to devote their children, men face with societal expectations. Kay (2007) gives example about negative reactions a single father faces. Societal attitude is about doubts on men's capability to be good parents especially for single fathers who try to raise their children alone. Because there is an internalized view about child-raising as a female issue and social distrust about men might not be able to take care of their children adequately exclude men from fatherhood role. In addition, men have to deal with official institutions for their fatherhood role. Even though the responsibilities of fathers and mothers have been equally determined in the Russian Family Law of 1995 in a gender-neutral discourse, when the issue is about children, law is implemented by judicial authorities who generally decide in favor of women. For instance, usually mothers take the child's custody. Furthermore, in the social provisions relating childcare, men's access and benefit from these provisions also include difficulties.

According to Kukhterin (2000), in the post-Soviet Russia, changing government policies has created a space for men to redefine their role as father. Some of them continued their passive role by leaving the active role to mothers but many of them try to regain their dominant role in the family. However, it is not easy because after the end of the interventionist family policies of the Soviet Union, parents have to determine their roles in private sphere. Mothers and fathers have different expectations from each other about what their new roles should be. Women generally argue that men should be participant and responsible fathers. So, they do not want to shoulder all responsibilities of children. Nevertheless, men think that society demand more than they do as being father. Moreover, women socialized during the Soviet Union by working outside so, the possibility of taking men's authority seriously in the family diminished.

With the establishment of the Russian Federation, the two-parent family has been idealized. Because of limited social benefits for children, there is a perception that to raise children without financial support of the father is very difficult. So, it is expected from fathers to fill the gap left by the state. In the motherhood issue, it is no longer the state policy in the post-Soviet Russia and individual preferences and responsibilities are emphasized by the press. In the past, large families and motherhood was shown as positive, they were a part of service to the state; rather reproduction has become part of private sphere again. The privatization of motherhood is a gradual process but the break with the past by ending to reward women for their childbearing is an important step. These developments give back women's rights to control over their bodies. However, there is still a dominant notion that motherhood is the main point in woman's life. This tendency can be seen as the continuation of the Soviet policies but it is not a state policy anymore (Issoupova, 2000).

Women who do not want to become a mother as well as single motherhood have newly begun to be accepted by society. Nevertheless, women's rejection of their maternal role is seen as an unfeminine behavior in the society and they are

encouraged to have children. Regarding the single mother issue, almost 16 percent of Russian families are single-parent and most of them are managed by women. Single motherhood in Russia is caused by extramarital relations, widowhood and divorce. Although shortly before the emergence of contemporary Russia single motherhood has been seen as immoral by the society, now it has begun to be accepted by the Russian society (O'Reilly, 2010).

### **4.3.Perception Management related to Gender Issue**

The construction of gender identity is shaped by some social elements like language, media, religion and culture. In Russia, media is very influential to mobilize gender perception of the society. Apart from society, media and press determine gender roles and try to impose them on society. Media forms gender stereotypes depending on the state's needs. Generally, gender identity and roles are reproduced by media and press to canalize perception of the society and because these agencies are at the hands of government in Russia, they are unlikely to just inform society about realities. Language, expressions, public discourses and stereotyped phrases are also used for determining the position of genders. Because daily language is a living, changing and evolving presence, sexist discourses sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously used. Moreover, in Russian society the language and discourse used reflect the trace of patriarchal society due to language fed by culture. However, the language used causes inequality between genders. Religion is also a cultural phenomenon, which has power to shape the perception of gender roles in the Russia. After being exposed to anti-religious policies for a long time, the number of believers has increased in the post-Soviet Russia. The Russian Orthodox Church tries to arrange gender based social issues by creating gender norms and imposing its opinion on the issue of homosexuality, abortion and other gender related social issues. In the next part, the effects of media, language and discourse as well as religion on gender issue in Russia will be analyzed in detail.

### 4.3.1. Gender and Media

Mass media influences the formation of gender stereotypes through imposing social consciousness. It also reproduces gender norms to determine position of genders in the society. According to Selivanova and Mokronosov's study (qtd. in Shemeleva & Pochebut, 2015, p.161) on how Russian media represents gender, today's Russian media reflects patriarchal gender order by putting women in a subordinate position. The discourse used by media is deeply rooted in Russian common sub-consciousness and media revives patriarchal stereotypes. Through movies, news and television programs, some mainstream ideas on gender like "Children are at the center of woman's life." "A man is the provider and head of the family." "A woman has responsibilities towards his family." are imposed on the society. In addition, while media facilitates men's accession to power, it also put barriers for women. In the news and television shows, male domination in Russian society is clearly represented. Gender equality is generally ignored on TV shows and women are represented as mother, housewife or a partner of well-known men. Hence, they are forced into background and put into secondary position by media.

Moreover, agenda in Russian mass media is under the control of politicians and government. Because representatives of social groups generally cannot find a place in mass media, people prefer to use social media channels. For instance, feminist groups use social networks and blogs to deal with the negative impacts of media on gender identity and roles. By using internet and social media, they try to create their own agenda in order to fight against sexism in mass media. In addition to sexist discourse in mass media, women are also used as marketing instrument. Because of rise in commercial culture, in advertising women are shown as commodity to promote products (Bitten, 2015).

In her study, Tartakovskaya (2000) investigates three influential newspapers liberal *Izvestia*, youthnewspaper *Komsomol'skaya Pravda* and opposition newspaper, *Sovetskaya Rossiya* in order to analyze how Russian press addresses the gender issue. *Izvestia* tends to present gender relations as conflictual and pessimistic. In this

conflictual relation, men are strong and take advantages of patriarchal society and women are in a disadvantageous position and also defenseless against masculine violence. Even women who are involved in aggressive or in a criminal case, the tone of news is not accusatory instead sympathetic. However, men are showed in negative manner in 60 percent of the articles in *Izvestia*. News and articles about men is generally related to hooliganism and drunkenness. Only they are shown as innocent if there is an irresponsible mother or cheating wife in the news. *Komsomol'skaya Pravda* tends to focus on family and gender relations rather than opposition between genders. Divorces and infidelity is more prominent than marriages. In *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, family is in the foreground. Women are victims as in *Izvestia* but they are victims of state, not victims of men. So, related to gender issues news are presented by criticizing regime change and neglectful state in Russia.

Censorship in media and press is a problem to inform public correctly. There has been also censorship on gender issues, especially gender violence. For instance, the first articles related to gender violence were on rape. In 1994, the first article related to gender violence was published by *Komsomol'skaya Pravda* and it was written on sexual harassment as a social and serious problem. Some gender related issues like all kind of sexual offence was taboo especially at the beginning of 1990's. After strict censorship, gender related social problems have found wider places in press. However, other gender related social issues like violation of women's right; campaign against gender violence, protest and propaganda against gender discrimination is not covered enough by Russian media as compared with Russian press (Johnson, 2009).

#### **4.3.2. Gender, Language and Discourse**

Martynyuk (1990) claims that Russian, like any other language, has sexist idioms, expressions and words as a reflection of patriarchal society and to change language takes a long time. Language cannot be controlled by one sex but it can be used for manipulation and subordination. Because language is formed by culture and social elements of society which it belongs, to attempt to create innovation in language for



avoiding sexist discourse is not natural and against the nature of language. Especially feminist innovation in language by imposing new gender neutral expressions should be supported by daily usage of language and it should not be limited only by attempts of a group of language consciousness people. However, Martynyuk (1990) also emphasizes that in the post-revolutionary Russia, with the women's participation to work force, new feminine derivatives of some male dominated occupations like driver, pilot, athlete and cosmonaut were formed. Therefore, positional changes of genders in social life influence language and discourses used in the society.

Iarmanova (2008) in her thesis analyzes sexism in Russian explanatory dictionary in 1992 and 2007 editions. According to the findings, woman is identified with their reproductive function in both editions. Moreover, emphasis on differences between men and women's way of acting and thinking is prominent in the 2007 edition of the dictionary. She thinks that it is inevitable to define women through emotional and verbal skills like caring, moral, warm-hearted while men are defined according to their actions like reliable, responsible and loyal. All of these definitions of gender in dictionaries are formal form of daily language.

According to Steinberg (qtd. in Shemeleva, Pochebut, 2015, p.160), there is close discrimination against women in the discourse of Russian society. In the private sphere, there is an inseparable woman, child and household perception comes from deep social consciousness. In economic sphere, this perception is also observed. Although women have higher education as compared to men, women generally work as teacher, nurse and salesperson whereas men are managers and executives. In political sphere, situation is similar. All of this gender based perceptions can be found in correlation of male and leadership in the Russian mind and discourses. For instance, this image of women is also in patriarchal discourse in Russia. "A woman, who had long hair, has also short mind." or "women's logic" is used for humiliating women in Russian discourse.

Women live and work like man in social life but deep-rooted sexist public discourse overshadows equality of genders. Language and discourse on different ways of

women thinking and their psychological difference affect them to be equal part of the society (Feifer, 2010). Ivanova (1995) emphasizes that many people regardless of their gender are unaware of the sexist usage of language and they use sexist words in daily life without questioning real meaning of expressions. Unfortunately, most of the sexist words are used against women. In Russia, especially feminist and women's right activists work to create awareness related to sexist use of language. She claims that reaction for sexism in language is incomprehensible to Russian men. In addition, women are generally oblivious to negative impacts of sexist language. In columnist Feoktistova's interview, she also support this idea and argues that in Russia men use humiliating sexist expression and jokes towards women believing that is normal. Any reaction from women related to this kind of use of language, men interprets as women lack of sense of humor. Unfortunately, a few women and men understand the deepness of this problem and attempt to prevent and to change this situation (Obrazkova, 2015).

#### **4.3.3. Gender and Religion**

After a long anti-religious policy of the Soviet Union, there has been increase in people who have religious beliefs and rituals in today's Russia. In order to evaluate the social basis of religion in contemporary Russia, gender is an important variable. Church attendance, religious rituals and church affiliation are some of the indicators of religious beliefs. In the post-Soviet Russia, women are more likely to identify themselves as religious than men and their church attendance is higher than men's (White, McAllister & Kryshtanovskaya, 1994). As can be seen from the Table 3, the share of Russian women expressing themselves as Orthodox Christians increased 38 percentages between 1991 and 2008 while the same figure for Russian men was 46 percentages in the same time period. The change in religious affiliation of men is greater than women's because both in 1991 and in 2008, Russian women's religious affiliation has higher percentage compared to men's.

**Table 3:** Trends in Religious Identification by Gender in Russia

Gender	% identifying as Orthodox Christians			% with no religious affiliation		
	1991	2008	Change	1991	2008	Change
Men	17	63	+46	76	24	-52
Women	43	81	+38	48	12	-36

**Source:** ISSP Research Group. (2008). International Social Survey Programme (as cited in Pew Research Center, 2014) Retrieved July 28, 2015, from <http://www.pewforum.org/files/2014/02/religion-in-Russia-full-report-rev.pdf>

However, Kizenko emphasizes that in spite of the statistical data, in some cases women's place in religion is limited. After the revival of religion in society, many men become priest and they have role as the community's religious expert. Moreover, only 10 percent of the church council which elects patriarch was women and a religious man was the head of the Russian Orthodox Church. While these implementations distance women from religion, there is still a great participation of women in church activities. Kizenko argues that women's commitment to the Church might be a hope to destroy sexualization of women as a result of the new market economy. Church publications and sermons create a space for them to discuss social matters in life (Kizenko, 2013). At the same time, the Church dominates over social issues as in gender issue. For example, in 2011, Russian Orthodox Church proposed more modest dress code for women. In addition, the Church stated that women dressed mini-skirts provoke men and if they are raped they should not be surprised. A woman painted like a clown in a revealing dress definitely will not find a man to share her life without losing self-esteem (Rotman, 2011). This statement of the Church seems intervention to individual preferences of women and creates discrimination among genders.

Although the Russian Orthodox Church has no right to decide on social issues as in the past like in marriage and divorce issues in Tsarist Russia, it attempts to impact male and female behavior by creating gender norms of femininity and masculinity. The Church tries to endorse societal disapproval of contraception, abortion and

homosexuality. Moreover, discourse of the Church conflicts with issues in feminism in Russia and for Sperling, the Church has patriarchal interest to suppress women's activism (Sperling, 2015).

For instance, in April 2013, Krill, the head of the Church, argued that feminism could destroy Russian society as well as women organizations claiming so-called freedom of women. He also added that man must work and earn money while woman must focus on the children and household. If this function of women is destroyed, family and even the motherland will be destroyed (Elder, 2013). As can be seen from these discourses of the Church, it attempts to determine gender roles and to impose its religious influence on social sphere. Abortion is another issue that the Church disapproves because according to Orthodox doctrine, abortion is a sin and a murder. Related to the abortion issue, the Church holds women responsible for the death of her child and calls them to confess (Kizenko, 2013).

#### **4.4. Gender based Violence**

As in many other societies, gender based violence exists in the Russian society in the form of sexual harassment, rape and attempted rape, domestic violence, marital rape and human trafficking. Although gender based violence both includes man and woman, generally victims of any type of violence are women in Russia. So, gender based violence reflects inequalities between genders and the number of women suffered from any type of violence is much higher for women in Russian society. Even though some type of gender based violence like rape, trafficking in women and forced prostitution are illegal which was stated in specific articles of Russian Federation Criminal Code, other type of gender based violence like marital rape and domestic violence are not included in the Russian law. Nevertheless, many of the victims prefer to remain silent because legal procedures psychologically weaken victims and they are generally blamed by society. In the next part, sexual violence, domestic violence and human trafficking in Russia will be analyzed as different types of gender based violence.

#### **4.4.1. Sexual Violence**

With the revision of the articles regulating sex crimes in 1996, the content of the article has changed. According to Article 133 of the 2002 Criminal Code of the Russian Federation:

“Compulsion of a person to sexual relations of sodomy, lesbianism or other acts of a sexual nature by means of blackmail, threat of damage, destruction or taking-away of property either with the use of material or other forms of dependency of the victim.” (Russian Federation Criminal Code)

Women are not only victims of sexual violence; rather both women and men can be offender or victims of sexual violence in the new criminal code. Furthermore, as different from the Soviet criminal code, the new article includes particular sexual behaviors like homosexual acts. In the previous Soviet article, the only victim was women in sexual harassment crime and different sexual forms of compulsion were not included in the article. Moreover, rape and violent sexual actions are stated separately in the Article 131 and the Article 132 respectively in the Russian Federation Criminal Code of 2002 (Suchland, 2008). However, many scholars claim that in Russia, sexual harassment is seen as of a lesser sexual crime therefore there is no specific law to prohibit sexual harassment in Russian laws. Sexual harassment and abuse terms are used as sexual advances or solicitation in Russian and the meaning of this usage is too narrow and vague (Stuchevskaia, 2011).

Moreover, women are subjected to sexual harassment, especially in work places. However, they rarely complain about the situation for the fear of losing their job and they normalize verbal or physical harassment (Carin & O’Hanlon, 2004). In addition, women in Russia are generally blamed for sexual assault, which they are subjected to. They are seen as guilty as a result of being provocative in their appearance and behavior. When women ask for help from police and legal institutions, procedures are traumatic for victims and they are often condemned by their families (Hughes, 2002).

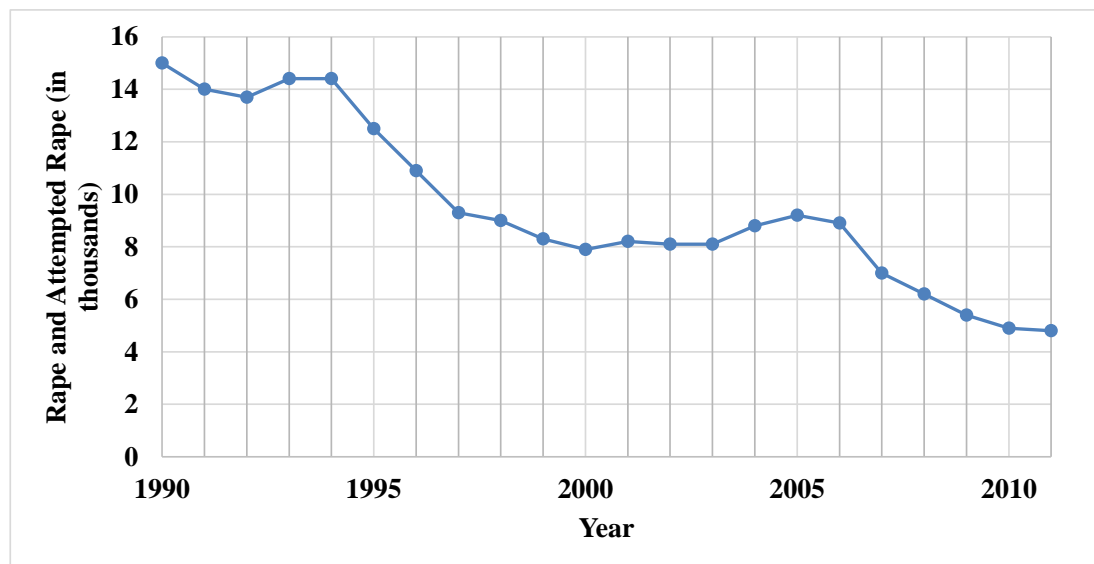
In addition, the lack of trust in the authorities and in the legal system makes them vulnerable to sexual abuse. The media also shapes perception of the society and it often blames both victims and criminals. Most of the time, press is also silenced or it determines “women’s place” and promotes the idea of limits of women both in private and public sphere. The result is that society is subjected to stereotypical women images and there is a perception about sexually abused women. So, sexual harassment is interpreted as the natural destiny of women and women who are provocative deserve this result. Moreover sexual harassment or any kind of violence against women cannot find enough places in public debates, media or publications. Because sexual violence against women is usual in the society, women’s violence against men is seen more remarkable in the society for they are rarely observed as compared with violence against women (Zabelina, 1996).

Rape is another type of gender violence and the Article 131 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation states that:

“Rape is sexual relations with the use of violence or with the threat of its use against a victim or other persons, or in taking advantage of the victim's helpless condition.” (Russian Federation Criminal Code)

Although rape is criminal according to laws in Russia, legal procedures for victims are psychologically difficult. According to commission report of ANNA National Centre for the Prevention of Violence (2010), law enforcement officials have bias towards sexual violence victims in Russia. At each stages of law enforcement, victims face with suspicious approaches of authorities. Especially police officers tend to perceive victims provoking the violence offenders. Moreover, victim’s behaviors like spending time with suspects, being drunk or lack of resistance are perceived as crime of victims. The report also emphasizes that sometimes doctors avoid medical assessment of victims in the case of rape because of their unwillingness to cope with criminal justice procedures. In addition, behind the attitudes of Russian society towards victims have mentality which ready to accuse them because of their

appearance and behaviors. So, many victims of rape do not complain about their situation and they had to hide it.



**Figure 6:** Rape and Attempted Rape (in thousands) in Russia, 1990-2010

**Source:** The Demographic Yearbook of Russia. (2012). Statistical Handbook. Moscow: Federal State Statistics Service. Retrieved July 21, 2015, from [http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b12\\_13/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d2/10-01.htm](http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b12_13/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d2/10-01.htm)

Figure 6 demonstrates the number of rape and attempted rape in thousands of cases. According to graph, there has been decline in rape and attempted rape rates but scholars and women organizations claim that statistics do not reflect the reality. In the report of ANNA National Centre for the Prevention of Violence (2010), commission argues that despite the Russia-wide declining trend in the number of registered rape and attempted rape, the situation changes from area to area. For instance, in 2009, the rate of registered rape increased by 25 percent as compared with the previous year in Russia while in Tyumen Region, the number of registered rapes decreased by 16.5 percent from 2008 to 2009. In addition, the commission analysis demonstrates that official statistics of rape and attempted rape rates are significantly lower than the real numbers because many victims of sexual

violence, especially women apply to NGO's and crisis centers rather than complaining law enforcement agencies.

In addition, the Report to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights suggests that the number of reported rape cases has been intentionally shown as a downward trend because rape is under-reported. Hence, official statistics has not reflected the reality. In addition, many of the rape victims cannot express their situation and ask for help because of the societal pressure and exclusion as well as the procedural and psychological difficulties in law enforcement agencies, medical institutions and legal institutions. For example, law enforcement officials sometimes delay to send rape victims to hospital for medical assessment and many of police officers are untrained about how to deal with rape cases in a sensitive manner (Carin & O'Hanlon 2004). Therefore, all of these institutional and social obstacles prevent rape victims to complain about their situations.

#### **4.4.2. Domestic Violence**

In Russia, as in most countries, domestic violence is seen as a part of normal family life. In the society, there is mentality that if a man beat, he loves his wife. Victims of domestic violence generally prefer to remain silent. In addition, it was not seen as a problem in society for a long time in Russia. At the beginning of 1990's, domestic violence issue was begun to discuss publicly. Then, domestic violence became a public issue that should be avoided (Voight & Thornton, 2002).

According to a study conducted by the Amnesty International (2005), nearly 14,000 women are killed by their partner, old partner or relatives. It means that every 40-60 minutes a woman is killed by their close relatives, especially by their husbands. In addition, more than 75 percent of the women are killed because they want to divorce. Domestic homicide is composed of nearly one quarter of all murders and violent crimes. In addition, honor killings are also a form of domestic homicide. In the commission report of ANNA National Centre for the Prevention of Violence (2010), honor killings are usually committed by men in the family against women family members in order to restore family honor. The reasons incite men to kill women



include dress of women, their relations with opposite sex, choice of sexual or marital partner, wishing to divorce and refusal to get marry. Because of these reasons, male offenders believe that women become dishonorable and they should be killed by male family members in order to defend their honor. According to report, commission is unable to reach accurate number of honor killings but it is estimated that nearly dozens of women a year are killed because of honor killing in Russia, especially in Chechnya and Dagestan region.

In the survey conducted by Amnesty International (2005), 70 percent of women said that they were subjected to some form of domestic violence like psychological, physical, sexual or economic from their husbands. They also expressed that they felt discomfort, anxiety, helplessness and fear in their relation with their husbands but many of them continue their relations because of sense of dependency on their spouses. In addition, 51 percent of women had to deal with verbal or written threats while 22 percent of them were threatened with physical harm. 18 percent of women were subjected to systemic violence by their spouses and 48 percent of women were attacked while pregnant, having a baby, breastfeeding or having a severe illness. Unfortunately, more than 3 percent of women who suffered from domestic violence needed medical help while 60 percent of them suffered from various injuries.

In the same study, men tended to deny that they use force against their spouses and they were also more likely to blame their wives because their wives' bad behaviors provoke them. 48.7 percent of men accepted that they threatened or used violence against their wives. It is a striking reality that most women did not ask for help after the first beating by their husbands instead they preferred hiding this situation. According to a study, 35 percent of battered women seek help from a doctor or a police while 57 percent of them share it by their closed one. Although 83 percent of women attacked by their husbands believed that the violence will continue. Nevertheless, majority of respondents did not recognize domestic violence as a serious problem. Unemployment, poverty and alcoholism are seen as the main causes of violence in the family. In Russia, majority of women suffered from domestic violence, state that their husband lose control when they are drunk so, they are

violent towards their wives. Besides, gender stereotypes and men's mentality to perceive themselves superior to women and seeing women as their possession cause domestic violence.

Another form of domestic violence is marital rape. Rape between spouses is not legal but it is not specifically criminalized in Russian laws. Rape in marriage is not considered as a distinct form of sexual crime because there is no specific article in the Russian Criminal Code for marital rape. Thus, it is legally treated as any other form of rape in the Article 131. Furthermore, according to the Report to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, social attitude towards marital rape is parallel to the legal approach in Russia. Many people do not think that this is not a crime within marriage. They generally believe that for sexual relation, consent is not necessary between wife and husband. However, almost half of domestic violence cases arise from pressure to have sex (Carin & O'Hanlon 2004).

In the marital rape issue, the statistics in the report of Amnesty International in 2005 is prominent. 23 percent of women are sexually abused by their husbands and they submit to force sexual relations for the sake of keeping peace in the family. 70 percent of respondents do not take into account the wishes of their spouses in sexual relations and do not consider taking their consent for that in marital relationship. Moreover, both men and women have a mentality that spouses give their sexual consent by getting married. Because marital rape is not open to public debate and seen as a taboo, it is not considered as a rape in the Russian society. A significant part of the Russian society does not consider rape to be possible within a marriage and it is not seen as a crime punishable by law (Gryaznova, 2014).

#### **4.4.3. Human Trafficking**

Human trafficking is another problem related to gender violence. Russia is a country of origin, transit and destination of human trafficking. According to report of UNICEF on human trafficking in the Russian Federation, women are in the most high-risk groups in human trafficking in Russia. The most vulnerable women to human trafficking are uneducated, unemployed, single mothers, sex industry worker

and victims of domestic violence and alcoholism (Tiurukanova, 2006). It is estimated that nearly 35,000 to 57,750 women in a year are taken out of the Russian Federation. However, it is difficult to reach exact numbers in human trafficking issue because it violates the official migration regulations so number of people cannot be formally recorded. Approximately 65 percent of victims of human trafficking were women while 35 percent of them were men according to 2008 statistics as Tiurukanova's study states (as qtd. in report 2009 of the International Organization for Migration).

Moreover, the problem of human trafficking issue was recognized as a national security threat at the beginning of 2000s and in 2004, Russia approved and ratified the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons. In addition, human trafficking is also illegal according to the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation. The Article 127.1 states that

“Trafficking in Human Beings, that is, a human being's purchase and sale or his/her recruiting, transportation, transfer, harboring or receiving for the purpose of his/her exploitation. The exploitation of a person shall mean in this Article the use of the engagement in prostitution by other persons and other forms of sexual exploitation, slave labor (services), subjection, as well as seizure of his organ and tissues.” (Russian Federation Criminal Code)

However, it is not easy to prevent human trafficking especially under poor economic conditions in Russia. So, prohibiting human trafficking is not enough for effective prosecution to stop it.

In the report of UNICEF on human trafficking in the Russian Federation, women are more vulnerable to trafficking for sexual exploitation including prostitution and pornography. Moreover, there is trafficking of women for the purpose of marriage, childbearing, caring for sick and elder people and employment as housemaid or baby-sitter. Men are also subjected to trafficking because of need for cheap labor in the market and also shadow economy (Tiurukanova, 2006). Moreover, for study,

almost 80 percent of victims of human trafficking are women and children and 70 percent of them are forced to work in the commercial sex industry. Human trafficking for sexual exploitation has increased in the post-Soviet Russia. According to statistics of the Russian Federation's Ministry of International Affairs, nearly 150,000 women are forced to work in the sex trade industry and the majority of them are employed in Moscow and Saint Petersburg in Russia (Tiurukanova, 2006).

Human trafficking also brings serious health problems both for trafficked persons and public health. Sexually transmitted illnesses like HIV and AIDS and psychological problems are the main health problems in the society. Because the majority of trafficked people are forced to work illegally in sex trade, medical examination of them is difficult to achieve. Furthermore, drugs and alcoholism are also related to psychological problems of trafficked person and usage of drugs and alcohol is very common among them (Hartl, 2010).

Among the reasons, poor economic conditions of victims are prominent especially for women. Many women have been forced out of their positions with the transition to market economy. Besides, with the abolishment of limitation of travel abroad in the post-Soviet Russia, people had not stable income had taken their chance in abroad. In addition to people who are uneducated, drug and alcohol addicts, homeless and people with broken family ties and educated people all became victim of human trafficking because of economic conditions. Educated people, especially unemployed women have begun to seek job in other countries. Because many of them had to support their family or children, human traffickers benefit from their desperate conditions. The existence of highly educated Russian women in the sex industry both abroad and in Russia is an indicator of this situation. Because unemployment is a significant reason for trafficking, generally women who need to earn money to survive are the main targets of traffickers in Russia (Hughes, 2002).

As a result, prostitution and sex trade market are the gender based outcome of human trafficking and it is generally associated with women. The number of people who engage in prostitution has increased in time. Especially big cities like Moscow and

Saint Petersburg, has become the center of sex trade. Although prostitution is illegal in Russia, it is seen as a minor crime because it is punishable by a fine (Webster, Borchgrave & Cilluffo, 2000). In addition, number of sex workers has radically increased with the market-driven economy in Russia. In contemporary Russia, it is estimated that numbers of people who engage in prostitution ranging from 200,000 to 400,000. Moreover, in today's Russia, nearly 70 percent of sex workers start to work in this industry before becoming adults (Zubkov, 2011).

Public opinion about prostitution in Russia is also important to reflect the perception of the Russian society about the problem of the human trafficking. In order to research on attitudes of society towards human trafficking and sex workers, in her study, Buckley conducts a survey with 1,600 people across different regions of Russia. In the Table 4, it is assessed how Russian society perceives working in sex industry. Both male and female respondents agree on to work in sex trade is a morally unacceptable way for women and not a good way for women to work in this market. Only a small part of the respondents supports the idea of working in sex industry as a good way to earn money if workers are unemployed and 9 percent of respondent accept that no matter what the economic condition of sex workers is, prostitution is a good way to make money. It is important that the majority of respondents – 61 percent of them– tend to question morality of the situation before considering the economic conditions of sex workers (Buckley, 2009).

**Table 4:** Public Opinion on Working in Prostitution in Russia

	<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>
	<b>N = 1,600</b>	<b>N = 725</b>	<b>N = 875</b>
<b>A good way for unemployed women to earn money</b>	2.4	3.9	1.2
<b>A good way for women to earn money whether or not they are unemployed</b>	9	9.3	8.8
<b>Not a good way for women to work</b>	22.3	23.8	21.1
<b>A morally unacceptable way for women to work</b>	61.6	59.1	63.7
<b>Other</b>	0.1	0.1	0.2
<b>Do not know</b>	4.5	3.9	5

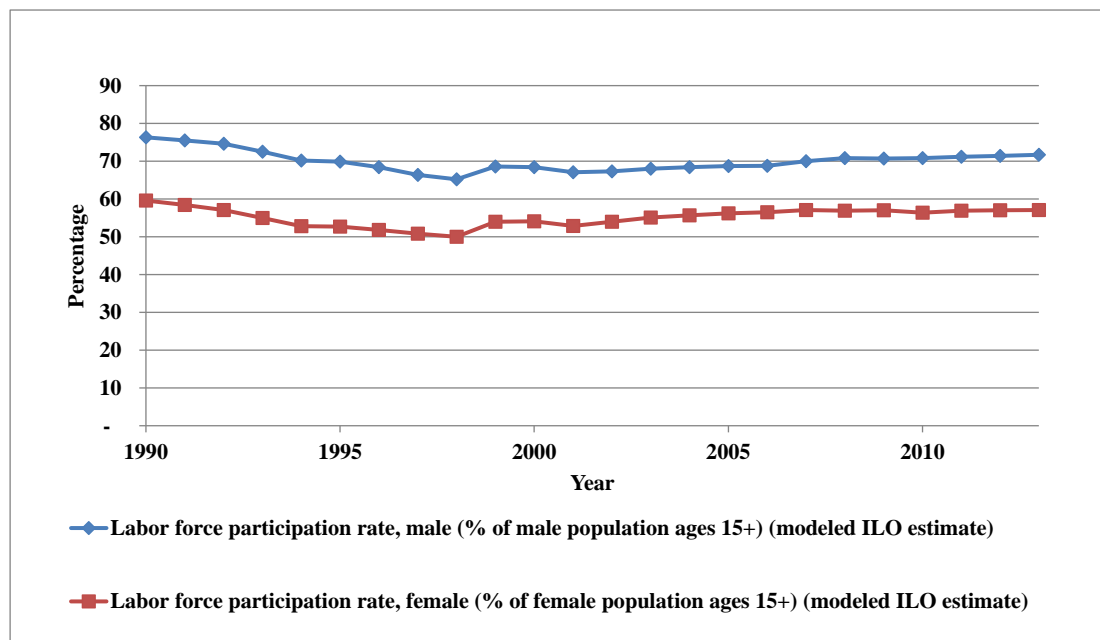
**Source:** Buckley, Mary. (2009). Public Opinion in Russia on the Politics of Human Trafficking." *Europe-Asia Studies* 61.2, 226.

#### **4.5. Gender Discrimination and Inequality**

The political, economic and social transformation of Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union has made gender discrimination and inequality between men and women more apparent in the society. In the economic realm, transition to market economy has caused job segregation by gender and gender pay gap. Because wages are determined according to free market economy in the post-Soviet Russia, wage differences between women and men has increased. Although all changes in economic sphere seem to go against women, poor health conditions and industrial accidents have affected men rather than women. In the political sphere, women representation and influence in Russian politics is very low as compared with women's political efficiency in the Soviet Union. In addition to the low percentage of women deputies in the parliament, many of them have not been appointed to top offices. In education, gender equality seems to be achieved in Russia. However, after graduation, women generally cannot get money they deserved because of economic conditions in the country despite the fact that they are more educated than men. So, in the next part, gender discrimination and inequality between genders in workplace, in the parliament and in education will be discussed.

### 4.5.1. Gender and Economics

Russia's ongoing transition to market economy has increased gender pay gap and also a decline in women participation in labor force. Another important unbalance in economy related to gender issue is job segregation by gender in Russia. After socialist economy, the Russian Federation has applied strict market economy regulations. In this transition, new economic conditions have changed female and male job segregation. Women's participation in labor force is slightly lower than men's and patterns of sector distribution of employment by gender have been formed by new economic system.



**Figure 7:** Labor Force Participation Rate by Gender in Russia, 1990-2013

**Source:** <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS/countries>

According to Figure 7, between 2000 and 2002 almost half of the paid employed women worked in consumer services, education, health care and trade, while only 15 percent of men employed in these industries. More than 45 percent of men worked in manufacturing, transportation, construction, agriculture and protective service, while only 17 percent of women worked in these industries. Sectorial job segregation also

demonstrates type of institutions that women and men work. Because women are generally employed in education and health sector, state owned institutions are dominated by women, while there is domination of men in private enterprises. The type of institutions that people are employed also is reflected in wage paid to women and men (Ogloblin, 2005).

**Table 5:** Industrial Distribution of Employment by Gender, 2000-2002 (%)

Industry	Women	Men
Agriculture	7.2	12.8
Extractive industries	1.6	4.2
Manufacturing, Industrial repair	19.9	27
Construction	2.6	9.5
Transportation	3.6	9.6
Trade, Consumer services	16.6	9
Housing, Utilities, Municipal services	4.4	6.8
Health care	12	2
Education	17.2	3.5
Information, Science, Professional Services	6.2	4.1
Government, Public Administration	3.7	1.6
Protective Services	2.3	8.4
Others	2.7	1.5

**Source:** Ogloblin, Constantin. (2005) The Sectoral Distribution of Employment and Job Segregation by Gender in Russia. *Regional and Sectoral Economic Studies. AEEADE. Vol. 5-2, 5-18*

Moreover, related to job segregation by gender, occupational gender groups in labor force also gives clues about gender discrimination in workplace. As can be seen in Table 5, the basic jobs for women need a high level of education except from services and trade sector but most common occupations for men are not directly related to higher education level like craft workers and unskilled workers. In addition, among the most popular occupations for women, men workers' percentage is high as compared to the percentage of women workers in popular occupations for men. According to Table 6, male workers has increased their share in wide spread female occupational groups in time. Furthermore, some mid-level occupations like



professionals and technicians are dominated by female workers but top level managerial occupations are mostly held by men workers (Maltseva, 2005).

**Table 6:** Changes in Occupational Gender Structure in Russia, 1985-2002(%)

Occupational Groups	1985		1991		2002	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Senior managers and officials	1.89	3	1.36	1.93	4	6.46
Professionals	23.75	12.69	22.74	11.41	21.86	9.89
Technicians and associate professionals	20.43	8.2	22.57	7.09	23.38	8.16
Clerks	12.06	1.17	12.81	1.2	10.19	1.66
Service and market workers	8.48	2.05	9.33	2.3	15.18	4.77
Skilled agriculture workers	0.09	0.25	0.04	0.6	0.14	0.97
Craft and related trades	6.62	27.96	5.43	28.44	4.56	25.36
Operators and assemblers	10.95	34.5	10.22	34.65	6.47	28.68
Unskilled workers	15.5	7.25	15.19	9.07	14.04	12.76
Army	0.23	2.93	0.3	3.31	0.18	1.29

**Source:** Maltseva, Inna. (2005). Gender Differences in Occupational Mobility and Segregation at the Labor Market: The Case of Russian Economy. *Education and Research Consortium Working Paper Series No.05/11*, 1-50.

Another type of discrimination in workplace is gender pay gap in Russia. Employers tend to give unequal pay for equal work depending on the employees' gender. Figure 8 demonstrates gender pay gap in average wages by year in Russia and as can be seen from the graph, there is an increasing trend in gender wage differences in Russia. According to female-male wage ratio, men are paid more than women. There is visible job segregation in Russia and women tend to select less stressful and physically non-tiring jobs, they get fewer wages. However, even if women and men work in the same occupation and perform the same tasks in workplace, women are paid less (Grigorieva, 2013).



**Figure 8:** Gender Pay Gap in Average Wages by Year in Russia, 2000-2006

**Source:** Grigorieva Angelina. (2013). Gender Wage Gap in Russia. Princeton University. Retrieved July 3, 2015, from [http://www.aiel.it/page/old\\_paper/grigorieva.pdf](http://www.aiel.it/page/old_paper/grigorieva.pdf)

Although women are mostly subjected to discrimination in workplaces in terms of wages and occupational position, men suffer from bad working conditions and occupational accidents. According to Table 7, number of male are employed in poor health conditions is higher than female workers under the same conditions with men. Male workers are more likely to be subject to unhealthy working conditions like unhygienic, noisy, dusty working environments. Because of job segregation, they had to work in jobs that require heavy physical force under the non-safety conditions. Table 8 indicates occupational accidents by gender in 1998. As seen on the table, since the sectors of industry shown in the table are male dominated occupations, they mostly suffer from occupational accidents as opposed to women in the same occupations.

**Table 7:** Working Conditions in industry by Gender in Russia, 1999

Types of factors characterizing working conditions	Share of number of employed		Distribution by gender	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Working under conditions not meeting sanitary and hygienic standards	14.9	26.4	29.8	70.2
<b>Working under enhanced levels of:</b>				
noise, ultrasonic, infrasonic	7	12.3	30	70
vibration	0.7	3.1	13.9	86.1
dust content of air in work area	4.1	9.1	25.3	74.7
gas content of air in work area	4	7.5	28.7	71.3
non-ionizing radiation	0.2	0.8	19.1	80.9
ionizing radiation	0.1	0.4	23.3	76.6
Were engaged in heavy physical labor	1	4.2	15.3	84.7
Worked on equipment not meeting safety requirements	0.3	0.7	25	75

**Source:** Belokonnaia, L. (2000). Gender Statistics in Russia. *Problems of Economic Transition* 43.7: 68-85.

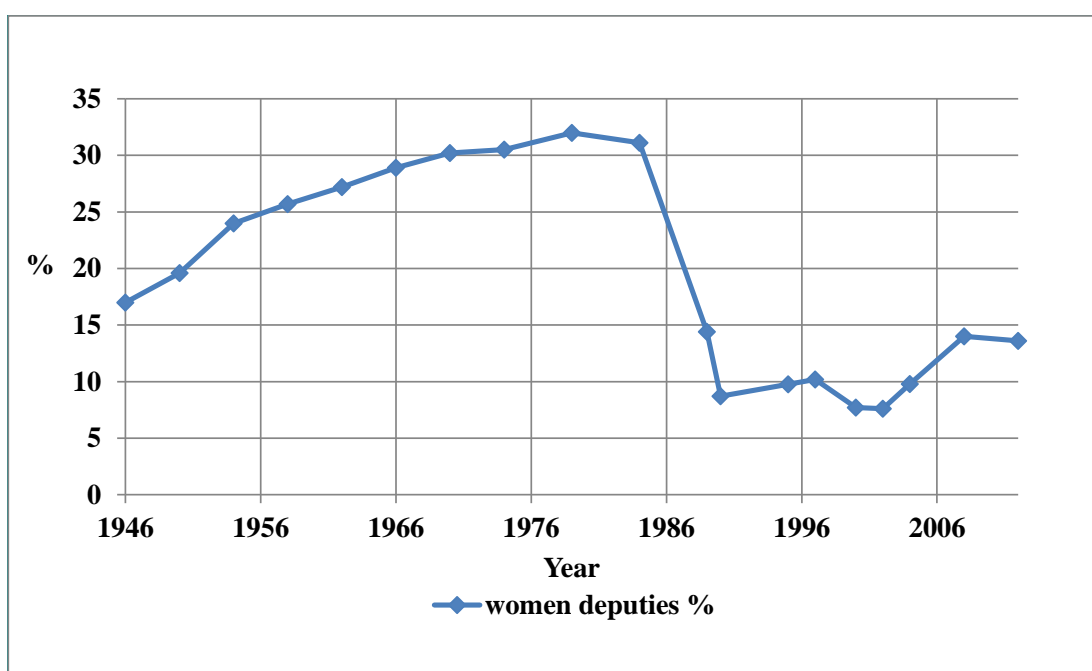
**Table 8:** Those Suffering Occupational Accidents by Gender in Russia, 1998

Sectors of the economy	Total, thousand persons		Distribution by gender, percent	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Industry	13	52	20	80
Agriculture	13	39	24	76
Construction	1	11	11	89
Transport	2	10	17	83
Other sectors	7	11	39	61
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>78</b>

**Source:** Belokonnaia, L. (2000). Gender Statistics in Russia. *Problems of Economic Transition* 43.7: 68-85.

#### **4.5.2. Gender and Politics**

It can be said that the Russian Federation has women unfriendly electoral system and it causes exclusion of women from politics while neglecting women representation in parliament. Unbalanced gender representation results in a government ruled predominantly by male deputies. Women comprise half of the Russian population but they have been underrepresented (Rule & Shedova, 1996). In the Figure 9, change in percentage of women in the Soviet of the Union and State Duma is given. Percentages after the year 1995 is taken from the United Nations report of 2015. According to this statistics, decline in the numbers of women deputies from the Soviet Union to Russian Federation can be seen clearly. In addition to the low percentage of women deputies in Duma, women politicians have not been influential in Russian politics. Moreover, the majority of ministers are men therefore women's political position in the parliament is not as high as men's position.



**Figure 9:** Percentage of Women in Parliament in Russia, 1946-2014

**Source:** Women in Parliaments 1945-1995: A World Statistical Survey. (1995). IPU, p. 212-213. [http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/women45-95\\_en.pdf](http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/women45-95_en.pdf)

Women in National Parliament. (2015). The Official United Nations site for the Millennium Development Goals Indicators. Retrieved July 13, 2015, from <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/SeriesDetail.aspx?srid=557>

In the Gender Assessment Report of United States Agency for International Development, obstacles to women’s political success are listed. According to this list, the domination of male based political culture is the main barrier to ineffective role of women in Russian politics. Other obstacles like lack of support for female candidates by political parties and limited access to political parties and organizations are procedural. The reasons for exclusion of women from politics are both sociological and psychological. Bias towards female candidates in the electoral system, discouraging women in politics, the perception of politics as a man’s business in the society and socially constructed gender norms imposed to men and women are also reasons to keep women away from politics. Media have an

influential role in creating gender images to manipulate voters' choice as well (Somach et. al., 2004).

As an example for the male dominated structure of Russian politics, when Sergei Stepashin in 1999 became the prime minister of the Russian Federation, the first thing he said to his cabinet was "Gentlemen, let's begin to work." These words are a reflection of male dominated parliament in Russian politics. This patriarchal order of the political system offers women little chance to reach top political positions. Those women who have achieved a high position in government are generally appointed to feminized fields of social policy or culture. For example, Ella Pamfilova served as the minister of social protection until 1994 while Lyudmila Bezlepkina held the same position until 1996. Tatyana Dmitrieva was the minister of health between 1996 and 1998 and Natalya Dementeva served as the minister of culture in 1998. There is no women prime minister or president in the post-Soviet Russia. Valentina Marvienko has served as the deputy prime minister responsible for social issues and this is the highest level of any woman in post-Soviet Russia. Only few women have worked in politically significant positions like Tatyana Paramonova, head of the Central Bank (Nechemias, 2000). This situation demonstrates that even if women achieved to find a seat in the parliament, their chance to held high-level executive positions seems very low. Although people elect women as deputy, they are assigned to the position where men see appropriate for them in parliament.

These statistical data show that in the last two decades, there is almost no improvement in terms of gender balance in the Russian parliament. On the contrary, Russian politics has become masculine. According to Ryabova and Ryabov's (2011) article, politicians' masculine characteristics have been emphasized in public. For instance, they have been represented by their athletic features and relations with sports to demonstrate their manliness. Another significant emphasize is related to eroticizing politicians' images. Putin is the most prominent example of this discourse. According to the results of polls and elections, Putin gain much greater support from women than he did from men. The image of Putin in the society is cool, responsible and practical. Moreover, especially in media, politics has been shown as

a male business and politicians have been portrayed as “he-man”. This model is structured as a reflection of modern Russian manliness by the media. Again, Putin’s image being rational, reliable and strong as well as his KGB past is continuously underlined. Re-masculinization of politics has begun in the post-Soviet Russia.

#### **4.5.3. Gender and Education**

According to National Human Development Report in the Russian Federation (2010), gender equality in access to education is achieved in Russia because there are no prominent differences between men and women in education enrolment rates at all levels. The only difference related to gender inequality in education is observed in higher education because the percentage of women in higher education is nearly 1.5 times higher than for men. However, after graduation, women generally have difficulty in finding jobs that they deserved. So, they cannot translate their educational gains into work in qualified jobs.

Furthermore, gender discrimination in access to education is less than in other social spheres. Especially, between 1992 and 2000, in higher education the number of male students increased by 25 percent, while the number of female students increased by 50 percent. At the present, women form the 57 percent and men form the 43 percent of higher education student. In addition, majority of male students prefer to continue in higher education in order to postpone their military service (Mezentseva, 2009).

As can be seen from the Table 9, men are more likely to specialize in engineering and technology, law, state administration and military fields while women prefer to major in education, economics, business and medicine. This specialization of fields by gender determines distribution of employment by gender in the labor market. After graduation, women’s major field provides them for low-paid jobs especially in education but for men they have more chances to find high-paid jobs because of their specialization fields in their higher education (Gerber & Schaefer, 2004). Specialization fields in higher education by gender are directly related to the labor market advantages. For instance, in Russia, engineering, law and state administration are the most profitable specialties while education and social sciences are low-paid

fields. Although women are more likely to enroll in medicine, medicine and science bring lower earnings than engineering.

**Table 9:** Specialization Fields in Higher Education by Gender in Russia, 1931-2000

Field of Study	Men (%)	Women (%)
Engineering and Technology	47.6	20.1
Agriculture	4.4	3.2
Economics and Business	9.8	22.0
Law and State Administration	7.4	4.5
Medicine	4.1	6.2
Natural Science	5.7	8.2
Education	6.6	20.9
Humanities, Art, Culture	2.6	7.0
Social Sciences	3.5	3.7
Military and Police	6.6	0.1
Trades and Others	1.7	4.2

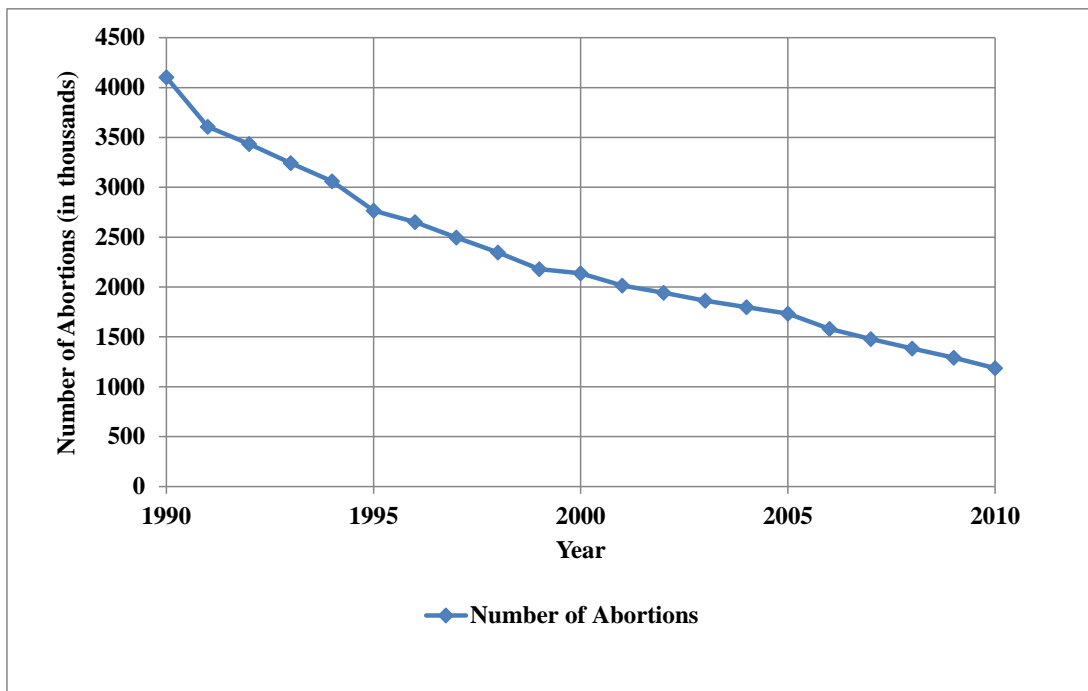
**Source:** Gerber, Theodore & Schaefer, David R. (2004, January). Horizontal Stratification of Higher Education in Russia: Trends, Gender Differences, and Labor Market Outcomes. *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 77, No. 1, 32-59.

Receiving education in different fields reflects professional segregation and different financial returns on men and women. Men's high level of employment in industry as engineers or managers is predictable while they enroll in higher education. However, graduation from higher education does not provides equal opportunity for women and men in Russia. For women, to ensure higher wages, university education is essential but for men, even in unskilled jobs they earn enough money to survive. Discrimination in labor market makes women's higher education level worthless. Therefore, gender inequality is in favor of women in educational level but it does not bring equality in social and economic realm (Roschin & Zubarevich 2005).



#### **4.5.4. Abortion Issue**

Russia is one of the countries with the highest abortion rates although fertility rate in Russia is not very high. Especially at the beginning of 1990's, abortion rate was nearly 120 per 1000 women in Russia. Moreover, it is important to note that according to statistics, in 2005, there were 121 abortions for every 100 births in Russia. It means more than half of all pregnancies resulted in abortion. In 2013, there were 50 abortions for every 100 births. The abortion rate is still high particularly as compared with birth rates but there is a declining trend in abortion rate in Russia especially in the last two decades. As can be seen from the Figure 10, according to official statistics, number of abortions in Russia has decreased in the past twenty years. Although the declining level of abortion is promising, the number is still one of the highest in the world (Solodnikov, 2010).

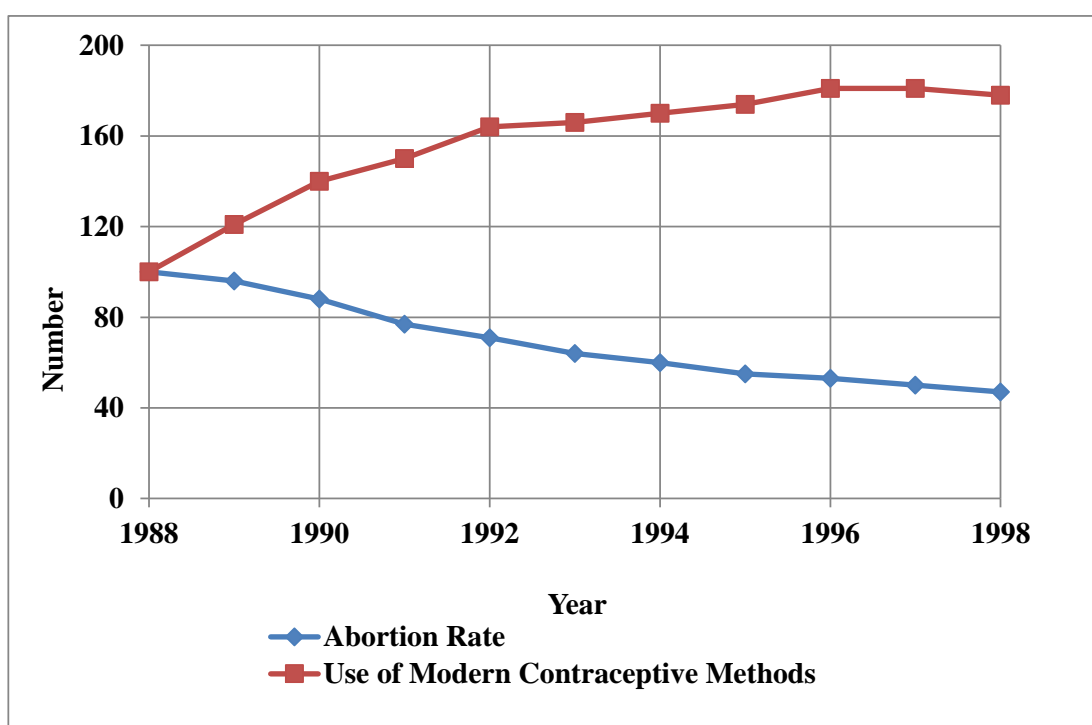


**Figure 10:** Number of Abortions (in thousands) in Russia, 1990-2010

**Source:** The Demographic Yearbook of Russia. (2012). Statistical Handbook. Moscow: Federal State Statistics Service, p. 172.

The Demographic Yearbook of Russia. (1996). Statistical Handbook. Moscow: Federal State Statistics Service. p. 178. Retrieved August 12, 2015, from [http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b12\\_13/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d2/10-01.htm](http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b12_13/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d2/10-01.htm)

The decline in abortion rate can be explained by the widespread use of birth control methods. As can be seen from the Figure 11, there is a radical change in contraceptive behavior. According to researches, wider availability of contraceptive methods and family planning policies has led to the decline in abortion rate in Russia. Because abortion is a financial burden for the state, government has promoted contraception usage. Although economic conditions limit the access to contraception, it is still preferred more compared with abortion (DaVanzo and Grammich, 2001).



**Figure 11:** Trends (relative) in Use of Modern Contraceptive Methods and Prevalence of Abortion among All Women in Russia, 1988- 1998

**Source:** Westoff, Charles F. (2005). Recent Trends in Abortion and Contraception in 12 Countries. *DHS Analytical Studies* No. 8. Calverton, Maryland: ORC Macro. p. 1-48. Retrieved August 18, 2015, from [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/pnadb984.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnadb984.pdf)

In the current health care legislation of Russian Federation, the Article 36 states that pregnancy can be terminated till the 12<sup>th</sup> week at women’s own will, if the pregnancy was the result of rape it can be performed till the 22<sup>nd</sup> week and if there is a medical necessity, it can be terminated at any term during pregnancy (Denisov & Sakevich, 2008). In the previous legislation, legal abortions could be performed until the 28<sup>th</sup> week of pregnancy even if there were no medical indications for abortion. For instance, death of husband during pregnancy or imprisonment of one of the spouses during pregnancy, in the case of divorce and disabled child in the family, with the commission approval, abortion was legal. In the post-Soviet Russia, the legality of abortion has been reduced from 28 to 22 weeks. The study of Denisov and Sakevich state that, (as qtd. in the 2011 report of the United Nations), in 1996 the Russian

Ministry of Health issued additional social indications for abortions after the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. These social indications are the husband's disability, unemployment of one of the spouses, extramarital pregnancy, lack of house and women's status as a refugee. However, these arrangements of abortion law eliminated women's right of abortion for other reasons by commission approval.

Furthermore, in the society, some people argue that men also have the right to express their opinion on abortion, while others support that pregnancy or abortion is directly related to women's decision. In 2011, the Russian government passed a law introducing new restrictions on abortion. According to this legislation, women require written permission of their husbands for abortion. Minors also need their parent's consent in order to have an abortion (Hardwick, 2014). Moreover, as part of the new legislation women who are at least six weeks old pregnant and want to have an abortion, they have to look at ultrasound picture of their baby and listen to baby's heartbeats. They also attend to a session with a psychologist before deciding abortion and they had to wait at least two days after consulting a doctor for having an abortion (Parfitt, 2011). All of these procedures may change a woman's mind but in the case of abortion, they make a pregnant women feel more guilty.

In spite of the widespread application of abortion practices, majority of the society seems to be negative towards abortion according to surveys conducted. One of the surveys in order to assess public opinion about the abortion issue (as qtd. in 2004 Russian Generations and Gender Survey) is conducted in 2004 in Russia. It was questioned respondents whether they agree with the restriction or forbidding of abortion except from medical necessities. As can be seen from the Table 10, according to results, men are against abortion more than women. For Denisov and Sakevich (2008), religious beliefs and education level together with socio-economic standards of people affect the results. However, they interpret results of survey by arguing that abortion issue is an important dividing social matter within Russian society. This disapproval of abortion by significant part of the society might reduce the level of abortion but high number of unplanned pregnancy demonstrates irresponsible productive behavior. Denisov and Sakevich (2008) also argue that

recent anti-abortion discourse of the Orthodox Church, which aims to shape morality about the issue, has begun to show its impact on the Russian society.

**Table 10:** Public Opinion on Restrictions or Forbidden of Abortion without Medical Indications by Law, 2004

	<b>Females (%)</b>	<b>Males (%)</b>	<b>Total (%)</b>
Strongly agree or agree	43	48	45
Neither agree nor disagree	21	25	23
Disagree, strongly disagree	36	26	32

**Source:** RusGGS. (2004). Value Orientation and Attitudes. (as cited in Sakevich & Denisov, 2008). Retrieved June 29, 2015, from <http://epc2008.princeton.edu/papers/80419>

#### **4.6. The Position of the LGBT People**

Although decriminalization of homosexuality is a step towards improving the social status of LGBT people, in today's Russia, their legal rights are limited and they are subjected to discrimination as well as psychological and physical violence. Public attitudes toward LGBT people are biased and hostile and there is a social exclusion towards them. Moreover, according to researches and surveys, homophobia has increased in Russian society. In this increase, the role of media, politics and religious institutions is indisputable. Hate speech, homophobic discourse and humiliation contribute to the alienation of LGBT people. In addition, increasing negative reaction of society towards them causes misinformation or ignorance of sexual minorities rather than personal experience. In this part, public attitudes towards LGBT people, legal and social status of sexual minorities and discrimination and violence with homophobia towards homosexuals will be analyzed.

##### **4.6.1. Public Attitudes towards LGBT People**

Besides legislation, the position of homosexuals depends on public attitudes which cannot be changed overnight. According to Essig (2014), sexuality perception in the Russian history shapes the society's attitudes towards LGBT people and causes the

violation of their rights in the contemporary Russia. She emphasizes that Russian society has become more isolated and exclusive towards LGBT people after the Soviet Union. In the survey of PEW Research Center (2013), conducted in 2007, 2011 and 2013, respondents are expected to answer whether homosexuality should be accepted or not. In 2007, 20 percent of respondents thought that homosexuality should be accepted by the society while in 2011 and 2013, only 15 percent and 16 percent of respondents' approached positively towards accepting homosexuality respectively.

In the Russian society, homophobic discourse towards LGBT people is also clearly observable. According to Heiss (2014), some elected politicians; public figures and religious leaders share homophobic and hateful statements. In his study, Heiss (2014) gives some samples of these expressions. People tend to see homosexuality as a sin and also compare homosexuality with alcoholism to show that homosexuality is a kind of addiction. Moreover, he mentions that some important public figures state that acceptance of homosexuality means giving privileges to people to perform untraditional sexual relations. Another kind of homophobic approach is equating homosexuality with pedophiles. Heiss (2014) argues that religious and political groups consciously impose traditional family values and heterosexuality in the Russian Federation to prevent normalization of homosexuality.

According to Levada Center's (a Russian independent and non-governmental sociological research organization) survey in 2015, 31 percent of Russians believe that homosexuality is a disease while 36 percent say that it is a bad habit and only 20 percent accept that it is a sexual orientation and homosexuals also have equal rights with heterosexuals. Kon (2010) evaluates the results of this survey by claiming that people's attitudes towards LGBT people are hostile because they know little about them and it is quite natural in a country which does not give importance to sex education.

Levada Center (2015) conducted a research about homophobia and tried to evaluate public opinion towards LGBT people in Russia. This survey was conducted among

800 people over the age of 18 both in rural and urban Russia. In the results of survey, 37 percent of respondents still think that homosexuality is an illness and it must be medically treated, while 26 percent of them say it is a bad habit or the result of a bad upbringing. Only 11 percent accept it is a sexual orientation from birth and LGBT people have the same rights as heterosexuals. According to the 2013 results, 34 percent believe homosexuality is an illness and 17 percent think that it is bad habit while 16 percent accept it is a sexual orientation. According to this research, percentage of Russian people who think homosexuality is illness has increased while percentage of people accepting homosexuality as a sexual orientation has decreased in two years.

**Table 11:** Feelings towards Homosexuals in Russia (as % of respondents)

	2003	2013	2015
<b>Kindly</b>	1	1	1
<b>With interest</b>	1	3	2
<b>Calmly, without any particular emotion</b>	45	23	26
<b>Apprehensively</b>	11	22	19
<b>With annoyance</b>	16	20	22
<b>With disgust or fear</b>	21	26	24
<b>It is difficult to say</b>	5	6	5

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Homophobia Survey in Russia. Retrieved July 7, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/homophobia>

**Table 12:** Feelings towards Transsexuals in Russia (as % of respondents)

	2014
<b>Favorably</b>	2
<b>Tolerantly</b>	6
<b>Without any particular emotion</b>	23
<b>Irritably</b>	30
<b>Indignantly</b>	36
<b>It is difficult to say</b>	3

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Homophobia Survey in Russia. Retrieved July 7, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/homophobia>

The results of the Levada Center Surveys are important in terms of understanding public attitudes towards LGBT people. In the Table 11 and Table 12, nearly more than half of Russians have apprehensive or hostile attitudes towards LGBT people. More importantly, annoyance towards them has increased in time. In 2003, almost 47 percent of the respondents who have kind and indifferent attitudes towards LGBT people dropped to 29 percent in 2015. These answers demonstrate increasing intolerance towards people's sexual orientation the society. Besides, Russian government policies are also in this direction and mobilize society. Russian society tends to condemn and exclude the different. As can be seen from the survey results, very small percentage of respondents have a positive approach towards LGBT people.

**Table 13:** Public Opinion on Same Sex Relations in Russia

In Your Opinion, Do Adults Have the Right - When Mutually Consented to Engage in Relations with Someone of the Same Gender?	Respondents, who consider homosexuality...		
	A disease	"An involuntary deviation"	A sexual orientation meriting the right to exist
<b>Definitely yes</b>	1	2	9
<b>Probably yes</b>	13	13	41
<b>Probably no</b>	27	20	25
<b>Definitely no</b>	41	43	8
<b>It is difficult to say</b>	18	22	18

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Homophobia Survey in Russia. Retrieved July 7, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/homophobia>



**Table 14:** Public Opinion on Permission of Same Sex Marriage in Russia

	2005	2010	2012	2013	2015
<b>Entirely positively</b>	4	3	3	1	1
<b>Somewhat positively</b>	11	11	7	4	6
<b>Somewhat negatively</b>	29	30	28	23	26
<b>Entirely negatively</b>	45	54	49	62	58
<b>It is difficult to say</b>	12	4	13	10	9

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Homophobia Survey in Russia. Retrieved July 7, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/homophobia>

As can be seen from Table 13, in the question about the same sex relationship, answers change depending on people who accept homosexuality as an illness and homosexuality as a sexual orientation. According to the answers, only 14 percent of people who believe that homosexuality is a kind of disease do not accept same-sex relationship; while half of people who think that homosexuality is a sexual orientation believe same-sex relationship is as normal as heterosexual relations. At this point, it is important to note that attitude of people towards sexual minorities changes according to their level of knowledge about them. Because most people believe that homosexuality is an illness, they argue that they do not have the right to engage in relationship with someone of the same sex. In the issue of same sex marriage, according to Table 14 answers of the respondents is parallel to previous survey question. More than half of the people are against same-sex marriage in Russia. Moreover, the important thing is that in the past decade, 74 percent of people who have negative feelings towards same-sex marriage have increased to 84 percent in 2015, while percentage of people against same-sex marriage has increased by 12 percent.

#### **4.6.2. Legal And Social Status of LGBT People**

In 1993, criminalization of homosexuality was removed from the Russian Federation Criminal Code, thus homosexuality was decriminalized. Kon (2010) argues that this was not related to social enlightenment or pressure from below, instead it is related to political concerns and joining the Council of Europe. In addition, legalization of

homosexuality has disturbed many segments of the Russian society. For example, older people who were raised in the Soviet culture as well as religious and conservative people were uncomfortable the visibility of homosexuality in the society. Then, in 1999, homosexuality was removed from being a physiological illness. Therefore, homosexuality is not anymore stated as mental disorder that required medical treatment in the criminal code. However, in 2013, Putin signed the bill into law which prohibits gay propaganda in Russia. The article 6.21 prohibits

“Distributing information to minors that 1) is aimed at the creating nontraditional sexual attitudes 2) makes nontraditional sexual relations attractive 3) equates the social value of traditional sexual relations with that of nontraditional sexual relations; or 4) creates an interest in nontraditional sexual relations.” (Article 6.21, Russian Federation Criminal Code).

Instead of using homosexuality or sexual orientation, the term “nontraditional sexual relations” is used in law because other expressions did not pass by the Duma (Essig, 2014).

According to Article 19 (2013), a London-based human rights organization, prohibition of propaganda of nontraditional sexual relationship in Russia is against international human rights for a number of reasons. Firstly, it restricts the freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. It is against human rights to criminalize individual’s propaganda rights, just because an individual has different sexual orientation from the society. Secondly, within the framework of human rights, there is no reasonable link between the restriction of propaganda rights and protecting public morals. On the contrary, the law damages individuals’ rights to access to information about homosexuality. Thus, there is no objective justification for this law. Thirdly, the anti-gay propaganda law is discriminatory because it only focuses on propaganda on sexual orientations other than heterosexuality. It is such a differentiated treatment because it tries to silence LGBT people who want to equal rights while it allows rest of the people other than homosexuals to propaganda.

Therefore, it is a kind of discrimination among citizens due to their sexual preferences.

Furthermore, in June 2013, the bill which bans the adoption of Russian orphans by foreign homosexual couples and also single individuals who come from countries where same-sex marriage is legal was approved by the State Duma. Moreover, same-sex marriage is illegal in Russia, so it is not recognized officially. Parenthood issue in the same-sex relations is a complicated issue. It is illegal to adopt a child by same-sex couples in Russia but a child can be adopted by a single or married individual. Although homosexuality is not an obstacle for child adoption in Russia, refusal of adoption based on sexual orientation on the grounds that the interests of a child will be violated when he or she is brought up by a homosexual parent is possible. In the reproductive rights, the Russian legislation does not prevent reproduction of same-sex couples but there is a discriminatory implementation in terms of the equality of reproductive rights of men and women. Same-sex female couples can benefit from donor impregnation and only biological mother of baby is recognized his/her legal mother. However, surrogate mother is not accessible for same-sex male couples or a single man (Kochetkov & Kirichenko, 2009). In the military issue of gay people, homosexuality was a reason to deny to military service until 1999, when homosexuality is seen as a disease. In 2003, a new medical statute was adopted related to military service. It states that people having problems with their sexual identity and orientation can only fulfill their military service during the war times. Therefore, gays are not banned from serving in the Russian army (Heiss, 2014).

The current legislation allows transgender individuals to gender reassignment and change of official documents and identity cards compliance with the new gender. Moreover, it does not require gender reassignment surgery. Change of documents is a significant part of transition and social integration as their new gender of transgender people because in all sphere of life like in employment, education, health, social security, the passport and ID documents is crucial. However, there are several missing points and gaps in the change of documents and regulations for gender reassignment despite the legal possibility of gender transformation (COWI,

2003). For instance, legislation states a standard document for confirming sex transformation. This standard form has not been approved yet, at the same time registry office for change of documents do not recognize the document given by a health institution. Therefore, in this case, transgender persons have to apply to court by hoping that the court will decide in their favor (Kochetkov & Kirichenko, 2009).

Moreover, it is legal to have sex transformation surgery as a result of a special decision of three doctors from a medical board. Based on their assessment and examination results, the medical board decides to change the civil sex, to refuse it, to postpone it until additional information about the patient is received.. In order to transgender persons have gender reassignment surgery, lack of mental disease, impossibility of social and psychological adaptation of patient with their inborn sex, lack of homosexuality and sufficient sexual and social maturity is required. Therefore, legal status of transsexuals in Russia constitutes a gap in the legislation because current legislation fails to provide for parental and matrimonial legal situation of these people. So, transsexual persons have to live according to legal status corresponding to their innate sex attribute in the society despite the surgical sex transformation, change of ID and passport (Kochetkov & Kirichenko, 2009).

Except from prosecution and violence, association of homosexuality with criminality might be a more damaging result of LGBT people in Russia. Moreover, their chance to explain themselves and to convince public that they also deserve equal rights as other people is undermined. The law tries to silence LGBT people who attempt to counter state's policies and society's perception about them as showing homosexuals as mentally ill or unnatural. Russian state prevents LGBT people from informing society and to eliminate bias about homosexuality; instead Russian state tries to make homosexuality invisible in the society. The ignorance of homosexuality by state and society and reaction of LGBT people against these attitudes towards them drew attention of the national and international media. Thus the status of homosexuals has begun to be discussed publicly in the recent years. Therefore, in post-Soviet Russia, state's anti-homosexuality policies have made homosexuality visible in an unpredictable way (Mole, 2012).

#### **4.6.3. Discrimination, Violence and Homophobia towards LGBT People**

According to Kon (1995), homophobia, irrational fear of homosexuality and hate towards homosexuals is one of the main problems in contemporary Russian sexist culture. Rather than psychological reasons, homophobia in Russia comes from negative public attitudes and prejudices towards homosexuality. Kon (1995) argues that there three main factors to show the level of homophobia in Russian society. Firstly, it depends on the level of social and cultural tolerance of the society. It is also the indicator of the authoritarian regime, which is intolerant to differences. In Russian society, to go beyond the socially constructed patterns is an unsettling situation for many people. Secondly, anti-sexual culture causes more sexual taboos. So, considering that repressive sexual culture and reproductive oriented sexual life in Imperial and Soviet Russia, homosexuality has become undesirable in Russian culture. Thirdly, homophobia in Russian culture is also closely linked with sexism. One of the results of patriarchal system is gender stratification based on male domination. Moreover, coercive heterosexuality in the society also promotes homophobia. Kon (1995) suggests that homophobia due to fear of the unknown and alienation of homosexuals.

As in other societies, in Russian society the level of tolerance depends on various socio-demographic factors. As Kon (2010) emphasizes young people are more tolerant than older people. Women are more tolerant than man and educated people are also more indulgent than uneducated people. Moreover, people living in big cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg are more tolerant than people in rural areas. People who think that homosexuality is a disease or a bad habit tend to blame people for their sexual orientation. According to sociological research, hostile attitudes of people towards sexual minorities generally do not come from the respondents` personal experiences; rather many of them do not have homosexual friends. All of these socio-demographic indicators are the determinants of the level of tolerance in society but political views of respondents are also directly related to tolerance level towards different ones. These political views are shaped through the influence of mass media. Hostility in the society towards sexual minorities is based on traditional

homophobic implementations and approaches. Majority of the society does not have accurate knowledge about homosexuality and also does not have access to information about it.

In addition, homophobia has a negative impact on public health regardless of sexual orientation. It prevents effective sex education and without it to fight against sexually transmitted diseases is impossible. Even if homosexual organizations are not recognized, government should support and cooperate with them to combat these diseases. Ignoring them brings threat for public health. So, according to Kon (2010), eliminating homophobia in Russia is a long and difficult process and it is not only the concern of the sexual minorities. When the Church calls homosexuality as a sin or media and politicians have humiliating and negligible attitudes towards sexual minorities, they violate the freedom of conscience of people in Russia.

In the shaping of public opinion towards homosexuality, religion plays an important role in Russia. The homosexual desire is seen as a sin by the Russian Orthodox Church because it is like a seductive passion and it is believed that it is healed by praying, attending sacraments, reading Holy Scripture and repenting. Therefore, it is thought that dealing with this passion can strengthen people who are out of the right path. Moreover, it is also believed that homosexuality is sinful because it is like being against God's will and attempt to change the naturalness of female and male features given by God (Zorgdrager, 2013). In today's Russia, the Church's homophobic discourse directly affects public attitude towards sexual minorities. It provokes hostile feelings of people and encourages society for the idea of homosexuality as a disease. These strong discourses of the Church on sexual morals are very convincing in the post-Soviet society. Hence, the Church does not offer room for freedom of conscience and it claims right to determine the position of gender and sexuality in the society. Human dignity is denied to LGBT people and in order to achieve the aim of Christian life, person with a different sexual orientation has to suppress or deny his/her sexuality. As a result, discourses of the Church helps to sustain an opposition in the society towards homosexuality and religious

determinations tend to become part of the hate speech against homosexuals (Zorgdrager, 2013).

Furthermore, in the Russian media, the information on LGBT issue is absent or negatively covered. Most of the news and articles includes hate speeches and shows LGBT people negatively in the society. For example, criminal news generally refers to LGBT people by telling stories about them like they commit rape and killings due to their sexual orientations. Therefore, media and press often portrayed LGBT people as negative figures instead of raising awareness about homosexuality and promoting non-discrimination and acceptance (COWI, 2003).

Media and hate speeches are other triggered instruments of hostility and bias towards homosexuality in Russian society. For instance, Kiselev, head of official Russian government owned international news agency Rossiya, attacks on the LGBT people by defining them as an aggressive minority that prevent the healthy upbringing of Russian children. He also said that he believed that anti-gay propaganda is not enough for sexual minorities, donation of blood and sperm should also be prohibited. In the case of transplantation their organs should be buried rather than donated because they are not suitable for a healthy continuation of life. In one of the programs of the channel, it has suggested that 40 percent of the children grew up in homosexual community have venereal diseases. Moreover, the media monitoring agency Medialogiya reports that the number of homophobic news has increased in the TV channel Rossiya. In 2011, there were 11 news on homosexuality, in 2013, there were more than 160 (Ennis, 2014).

Hate crime is another type of violence against LGBT people. LGBT people face abuse, humiliation, blackmailing and harassment in their everyday life on public transportation, on the street, in restaurants and also in job interviews. In many cases, they are beaten, accused of having a different appearance, insulted for being 'abnormal', excluded from the society and even killed. According to the Moscow Helsinki Group report of 2009, in a result of the survey conducted in 2007 among 3,800 LGBT people 27 percent of the respondents said that they were subjected to

physical violence because of their sexual orientation. 37 percent of them were exposed to psychological violence and threats. Therefore, this survey shows that more than half of LGBT people faced with physical or psychological violence in Russian society (Kochetkov & Kirichenko, 2009).

According to the report of the Moscow Helsinki Group (2009), most of the LGBT people usually prefer not to share their sexual orientation at work. According to the results of survey, 78.6 percent of the respondents prefer to hide it while 17 percent stated that they did not hide their sexual orientation in workplace and they said they did not face with any problem from their employer and colleagues in Russia. However, research also demonstrates that disclosure of sexual orientation of a person generally leads to getting fired in workplaces and affects them negatively in finding a new job. Gays and lesbians worked in state institutions and in education field are the most vulnerable ones for discrimination in workplace. The situation is more difficult for transsexuals in workplaces. Especially after sex reassignment surgery, many of them lost their job or faced with refusal of their employment when they apply a job.



## CHAPTER 5

### GENDER BASED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND LGBT MOVEMENTS IN THE POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

In the Imperial Russia and Soviet Russia, social movements related to gender or sexual orientation was not visible in public sphere. Only women's movement has begun to emerge in the late Soviet Union. In the Tsarist Russia and Soviet Russia rather than street protest, women searched solution to their problems in literature, art and lifestyles. Because of repressive and authoritarian state policies and biased society in Tsarist Russian and Soviet Russia, LGBT movement was not influential to change or improve the status of women in the society. After transition to democracy with the establishment of the Russian Federation, people have begun to take to streets in order to protest legal, political, economic or social problems. Although these protests, demonstrations and campaigns are not influential to change the current situation and to solve their problems immediately, all of these social movements are significant in terms of voicing problems of the society. However, the number of these social movements and participation rate of activists are not enough to expand influence area.

A 2015 survey of the Levada Center, which was carried out among 1.600 people from urban and rural regions in Russia measured Russian participation in protests. Respondents were asked the incidence of mass protests for protection of rights. More than half of respondents from different regions of Russia responded negatively to the occurrence of mass protests in their region. It is observable that especially in the last decade, the emergence of a social movement, protests or demonstrations related to any issue for demanding solutions was very low. Nearly 80 or 70 percent of the respondents believe that the emergence of any type of social movement in their region is unlikely. As can be seen from the Table 15, Russian people's participation

to mass protests is very low. When the respondents were asked about their preferences to participate in mass protests, answers were parallel to the first question. The majority of respondents said that they are unlikely to participate in social movements.

**Table 15:** Public Opinion on Social Movements in Russia (as % of respondents)

**In your city or region, how likely are mass protests in favor of the protection of rights?**

**If this type of mass protests took place in your region, would you participate in them or not?**

year	enritely likely	unlikely	difficult to say
2015	23	72	5
2014	17	78	6
2013	22	71	7
2012	27	67	6
2011	25	69	6
2010	25	70	5
2009	22	71	7
2008	18	68	13
2007	21	63	16
2006	28	58	15
2005	23	60	18
2004	24	59	17
2003	20	63	17
2002	17	71	12
2001	15	66	19

year	most likely yes	most likely no	difficult to say
2015	12	81	6
2014	8	86	6
2013	16	77	7
2012	17	77	7
2011	21	72	7
2010	18	74	8
2009	18	74	9
2008	18	70	12
2007	22	63	15
2006	25	63	12
2005	22	61	17
2004	22	63	15
2003	19	65	16
2002	20	68	12
2001	17	67	16

**Source:** Levada Center. (2014 & 2015).Measuring Russian Participation in Protests. Retrieved July 25, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/measuring-russian-participation-protests><http://www.levada.ru/eng/protests-and-peace-marches>

There are some obstacles related to the emergence of social movements in today’s Russia. Despite the fact that the regime of Russia is democracy, state’s capacity for repression is high and constitutional rights related to freedom of assembly is restricted. The state can use any type of legitimate repression tool to end social movements. These tools can be law enforcement agencies, or limited rights of people

to protest in legislation. In Russia, all forms of repression exist to suppress social movements (Williams, 2010). These obstacles make civil society fragmented and underdeveloped in Russia and it weakens the influence of social movements on policy-making process. So, according to surveys and researches, the majority of Russian people and potential activists do not prefer to participate in protest, demonstrations and campaigns because they generally believe that nothing would change if they become part of a movement and seek solution to any social problem. At this stage, self-identification of activists and the formation of collective identity process are not completed in social movements in Russia. In terms of obstacles to the prevent emergence and sustainability of social movements, state is very repressive in Russia. Beside this state oppression, numbers of activists are few and they are seen as marginal. Moreover, socio-political and historical context of Russian civil society infrastructure make it difficult for the formation of collective identity required for the network of voluntary activists. Therefore, the conditions for social movement are not suitable while there is demobilization of civil society in post-communist Russia. State control in all spheres in Russia makes majority of Russian citizens passive and indifferent to civil activism. Low trust in civil society and social movements as well as their own abilities to solve issues are also another reason for the passiveness of the Russian masses (Selivanova, 2003).

As can be seen from the Table 16, according to Levada Center's Russian Public Opinion survey conducted among 1600 respondents, participation rate in any kind of mass protests is very low. Nearly all of them did not participate in any mass protest in the last 12 months. These results demonstrate that only a small part of the Russian society participates in social movements.

**Table 16:** Participation in Social Movements in Russia (as % of respondents)

**Have you participated in any mass protests (picket lines, rallies, marches or demonstrations) in the last 12 months?**

	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>
<b>Yes</b>	3	3
<b>No</b>	95	95
<b>Difficult to answer</b>	2	2

**Source:** Levada Center. (2013). Russian Public Opinion, 2012-2013. Retrieved July 25, 2015, from [http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012\\_eng.pdf](http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012_eng.pdf)

According to another survey about the influence of social movements in finding solutions to a public problem, majority of respondents did not believe that people who take part in any kind of social movement could influence the situation in the country. As can be seen from the Table 17, there is low trust in the society that social movements change the problematic situation. Since people do not believe the influence of social movements, they do not prefer to participate in social movements in Russia. Participation rate in social movements and its influence in the decision making process of the state is interrelated.

**Table 17:** Public Opinion on Influence of Social Movements in Russia (as % of respondents)

**Do you think people like you can influence the situation in the country by taking part in rallies, protests and strikes?**

	<b>2001</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>
<b>Yes</b>	24	22	21	18
<b>No</b>	71	68	72	70
<b>Difficult to answer</b>	5	9	7	12

**Source:** Levada Center. (2013). Russian Public Opinion, 2012-2013. Retrieved July 25, 2015, from [http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012\\_eng.pdf](http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012_eng.pdf)

## **5.1.Men's and Women's Social Movement**

### **5.1.1. Visibility of Gender related Issues in Public Sphere**

As in any other countries, in Russia women related issues are more visible in public sphere. Although Russian men have gender problems like high level of alcoholism, high suicidal rates, pressures to earn money and mandatory military service, they do not tend to protest for equal rights with women. According to Kay and Kostenko (2006), gender-awareness researches for men are relatively not sufficient to clarify their situation compared with women related researches and services. Poor health, low life expectancy and problems with gender roles and social behavior among men deserve further exploration. They also emphasize that because of socially constructed gender roles, men are reluctant to accept their problems. Moreover, men have cultural and physiological barriers to ask for support and help while they raise their problems. Because of features attributed to men as masculinity and being strong, they generally refrain from making their problems visible in the public sphere. So, there is a pressure on them against expressing their gender related issues openly to search for solution.

Furthermore, some women's social movements are invisible due to lack of support from society and weak networking strategies along with problems in forming collective identity in the movement. The Disabled Russian Women's Movement can be given as an example to unsuccessful and invisible women's movement. In the 1990's, movements of disabled women emerged in order to demand equal rights for people without disabilities. Disabled women unlike other women in Russia were subjected to dual discrimination in their social life because of gender and disability issue. For instance, pregnant women with physical disabilities were generally pressured to abort because the risks involved in the child with disabilities mothers not caring for the child properly. So, they tried to resist all kind of discrimination related to their situation and wanted equal treatment by asserting their situation. However, disabled women's movement has received little attention from both society and state in Russia although activists in this movement cooperated to support each

other. They were successful to some degree in raising public consciousness and drawing public attention to their issues (Dunn, 2001).

According to Ruzankina (2010), men's social movements are perceived as a reaction to women's movement in Russia. They represent reactions to socially constructed gender roles so, men's rights are associated with gender and power issues. Ruzankina emphasizes four main characteristics of Russian men's social movement. Firstly, the movement's aim is to transform social norms, instead of the total social structure. Secondly, their social base is men rather than classes. Thirdly, their mode of action is mass mobilization but it is not visible enough. Fourthly, men's social movements are flexible and informal. The men's movement is a social movement attempting to change male gender roles related to military, marriage, unemployment and domestic violence. Appearance of men's movement is interrelated to women's movement because it is both a threat to shade men's movement and also an example to be followed. Women's social movement challenge not only women's problem but also men's problem. So, it makes gender issues visible for both men and women in public. Therefore, men in Russia have become aware of their gender-related problems but these problems are required to be represented in public by men as a gender group shaped through social values. Gender issues are not visible for men so, men's social movements break men's problems into pieces. However, both number of men's social movement is low and their influence is narrow in Russia.

Big cities have been the center of Russian women's movement. In Moscow, as Russia's capital, lobbying and campaigning tend to take place in order to change policies at the national level. Moscow-based women's movement has been more likely to be effective and visible in the country. There have been more women's movements and organizations in the capital and they have more influence on social issues compared with the success and visibility of women's movement in other regions of Russia. Since the location and demographic structure of the city are among the vital elements in the success of social movements, Moscow-based women's movements have more opportunities to focus on raising awareness, professional

support and training in order to increase the effects of the movements (Sperling, 1999).

The low public visibility of women's social movement in the early post-Soviet period made difficult to improve attitudes towards them and decreased the confidence of potential activists outside the movement. This led to the ignorance of existent movements or being suspicious of their actions and aims. With the effects of new emergence and spread of civil society, many women's social movements have failed to make their aims better known to public and lacked the means to explain themselves to the society, their purposes was generally perceived as dishonest in public. However, in order to overcome this mistrust and skepticism towards women's movement, especially in the last years, they have attempted to become more visible through protests, marches, demonstrations, propaganda and campaigns that reflect their objectives. Improving the movement's credibility and standing is crucial to increase its influence towards social attitudes and to challenge common public opinion about gender based social issues (Kay, 2000).

In addition, for the visibility of a social movement, the participation of mass society is not always needed. The protests of a small group or even one person can call the attention of the public. For instance, Petr Pavlensky, a Russian performance artist, undressed and nailed his testicles to the ground in Red Square in 2013. He said that he protested the insensitive and fatalistic attitude of the Russian society against the police state. The immediate reaction came from polices by covering him with blanket and removed him from pavement to take him to hospital and then to the police station. After this protest, he emphasized that if Russian people remain apathetic to what is happening in their country, the patriarchal and police state will continue to be strengthen. According to him, the Russian authorities' aim is to scare and suppress people, however there is nothing to be afraid of because he argued that he did not do any criminal act to feel guilty. He believed that polices' attitudes towards him reduces public confidence towards them (Walker, 2013). This protest is important in terms of the visibility of protests related to a social issue. Activists' location

preference tells something about the society and nailed organ in the protest represents the criticism of patriarchal society and police state in Russia.

Furthermore, with the widespread use of social media, as in any other country, in Russia, social media is also used as part of a gender based social movement. For campaigns or announcement of a demonstration, social media provides activists for reaching many people and making their concerns more visible. In addition, some protests continued through social media. For instance, in May 2015, more than 500 women protested underage marriage in Russia through Instagram, online photo-sharing social media platform, and Twitter, online social networking service for sending and reading short messages. Although the minimum age for marriage is 18 and polygamy is illegal under Russian law, in Chechnya, 47 years old police officer married a 17 years old girl. Moreover, she would be the second wife of him because he has been already married. Then, Pavel Astakhov, the Russian children's rights ombudsman, defended the marriage saying that sexual maturity happens earlier in the Caucasian women. It can be seen from the wrinkles of Caucasian women's face at age 27 that look like 50 compared with Russian women. Then, Russian women began to share their wrinkled selfies on Instagram in order to protests underage marriage of women in Russia. In a short time, more than hundreds of Russian women's selfies were shared on Instagram with the "Wrinkled Women" hashtag and they also commented on their photographs by emphasizing that women's rights are violated in Russia and women could not be treated as objects. After these protests of women Astakhov apologized for his statement (Mortimer, 2015).

### **5.1.2. Framing Gender based Social Movement**

In the 1990's, increasing number of young Russian men tried to avoid their mandatory military service and for the first time, they got together to oppose the Russian military law. Therefore, small interest groups of men entered the struggle for influencing military service policy. So, Anti-militaristic Radical Movement emerged to mitigate the dominance of military concerns of the Russian Federation. Because this movement focused on military issues, it mainly represented men's interests. So,



majority of activists and leaders in this movement are men. However, this movement is not framed military issue as a male issue although military service is not women's duty and it is seen as a requirement of only male citizens. Therefore, this movement did not appeal to young men as a special group of citizens. In addition, activists did not attempt to frame their concerns to inspire young men to respond as men like the ways that women's social movements sought to mobilize women as women. Thus, in this movement, activists did not try to form a sense of male consciousness in the frame of anti-militaristic approach (Caiazza, 2002).

For instance, in the Soldier's Mothers Movement, they have framed their movement based on a military issue. Every year nearly three to five thousand Russian soldiers die due to psychological and physical pressure leading to suicide, beating, and bad living conditions in peace-time. Therefore, many young men tried to avoid the military services. All of these situations mobilized groups of soldier's mothers and bring women's concerns to the masculinized area of the Russian army (Jagudina, 2009). In the framing of the issue, there are two main self-identity frames, human rights related to anti-militaristic frame and motherhood frame. This movement can be seen as an attempt to establish control of civil society over patriarchal military. In the motherhood frame, the image of mother is significant to legitimate its activities and protests and also attract supporters because the protection of their son's rights and life is basic of truth (Zdravomyslova, 2007).

Although women and men were both mobilized against state interests in the past in Russia, women were seen as problematic part of the society when they have voiced their concerns related to the patriarchal state and society. In today's Russia, women's social movements attempt to enlarge and strengthen women's identity in order to frame women's gender roles which are not only based on motherhood. Rather women's social movements seek to frame women as individuals who have rights to self-fulfillment and to benefit all social, political and economic opportunities in Russia (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001).

Women's social movement focuses on a wide range of issues. Many women activists addressed the social rights of women and children, violence against women, gender discrimination in workplace and political arena, poverty among single mothers, and contraceptive methods. In women's social movement, women activists frame their gender based concerns in order to express themselves and to legitimize their actions to take support of other people outside of the movement. Moreover, women are also interested in other social problems besides gender related social issues like environmental degradation and rights of men in the army (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001). Therefore, they frame their issues not only based on their issues but also they protests social concerns not directly related to them. Women take active roles in environmental movements because they consider next generations and other living creatures. They also care about human rights as in anti-militaristic movement of Soldier's Mothers Movement.

In addition, with the transition period, many women lost their jobs and there was a decline in women's economic status so, it is not surprising those women's movements are concerned with employment issues. Besides protests, women frame their economic concerns in movements and try to improve women's economic status through free job training programs, mentoring of Russian businesswomen by providing support to one another and promoting women's entrepreneurship. Another framed issue in women's social movement is maternity and there are different mutual support groups for mothers in Russia. This framing includes problems of single mothers, disabled mothers or mothers of disabled children and also mothers of soldiers who are subjected to injustice in the army. Moreover, some occupational women's movements and groups like women journalists, women directors or women in law enforcement are crucial for financial and psychological support for making Russian women feel that they are not alone. Some non-governmental crisis centers like the Sisters' Rape Crisis Center have been formed in order to deal with domestic violence and rape issues (Sperling, 1999).

### **5.1.3. Discourse, Repertoire and Tactics in Gender based Social Movements**

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, in the first decade of the transition period, there has been a radical increase in the number of women's social movement. Many of them have been influenced by international women's movement and also they have taken international support. Moreover, new concepts are introduced in Russian language like gender, women's rights, women's and gender studies or expressions like "democracy without women is no democracy" and "women's rights are human rights" are began to be used in both academic research and also in protests. All of these concepts and expressions are crucial in terms of forming and using the language and discourse in women's social movements and protests. These expressions create a common discourse to connect activists and to form a collective identity for effective social movement and also take attention of people outside of the movement. With the introduction of these concepts and expressions into the Russian language, women's awareness about gender issues has increased and they also began to produce their own repertoire in social movements, campaigns and social activism. Their own discourses helped to produce slogans to proclaim their concerns and rights publicly and to legitimize their action (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001).

The Anti-militaristic Radical Movement is a social and political movement internalized non-violence view and opposed to mandatory military service in Russia. This movement emerged in the early and middle 1990's in order to abolish the Russian law for mandatory military service and to offer alternatives to it. Then, it has become an association in time. In this movement, activists prefer to attract attention of the society and politicians to the issue by using anti-militaristic discourse. For instance, in 1998, members plastered stickers in public spheres especially in Moscow subway trains to reach more people. "Call to Military Service? No, thanks!" wrote on these stickers with the phone numbers of the association. So, activists used these types of slogans and formed anti-militaristic discourses in this movement (Caiazza, 2002).

Besides the slogans and discourses used in men's and women's social movements, other strategies and tactics to justify their actions are used as a repertoire of movements in Russia. For instance, in 1996, two young women led the feminist women's movement called *Stupen* for improve young Russian women's situation by underlying the consciousness-raising, women's right, gender based discrimination and education issues (Kay, 2005). Women activists in this movement have been aware of the obstacles like relying on media to attract new members and to reach more people. Thus, the leaders of *Stupen's* movement planned to prepare publicity materials about themselves to distribute to people. In order to be attractive for young Russian women, they use bulletins, booklets, cartoons and caricatures. For the circulation and displaying of these materials about their movement, they planned to distribute them individually. With the hope of reaching a wider audience, they displayed posters and distributed materials at the center of the cities and squares. Through these strategies, they planned to spread their ideas and justify their actions to continue to raise public awareness rather than only increasing the number of members in the movement (Kay, 2000).

Pussy Riot, a Russian feminist punk rock protest group with 10 women members, is known for their guerilla protests in public sphere. The group has demands for women's rights, reform in the Russian legal system and political freedom in Russia. They compose their songs on the basis of women issue and anti-Putin discourse and they share them on internet. They wear eccentric and brightly colored costumes while they sing their song and present their performance in known public areas (Kouznetsov, 2013). In 2012, members of Russian Punk group Pussy Riot performed an anti-Putin protest in the altar of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. They sang their song namely "Punk Prayer: Mother of God, Drive Putin Away" by jumping around and punching the air. The lyrics of song asked Virgin Mary to dismiss Putin from his duty. While they mainly criticized the authoritarian regime of Putin and state-church relations in Russia, the lyrics of song are important for drawing attention to women issue too. "In order not to offend the Holy, women have to give birth and to love" and "St. Maria Virgin, become a feminist" are some part of

their song's emphasis on the femininity. Two members of the Pussy Riot were arrested charging with hooliganism motivated by religious hatred and then were released in 2013 as a result of many protests for their release (El-Hage and Rittenhouse, 2012).

**Table 18:** Public Opinion on Pussy Riot's Protests (as % of respondents)

**Have You Heard About Pussy Riot's Protests at Moscow's Christ the Savior Cathedral and Criminal Prosecution of the band members?**

	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>
<b>Follow these events closely</b>	8	6
<b>I am aware of that</b>	48	54
<b>I have heard something about it, but do not know what it is about</b>	24	23
<b>I have never heard of it till now</b>	21	18

**Source:** Levada Center. (2013). Russian Public Opinion, 2012-2013. Retrieved July 25, 2015, from [http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012\\_eng.pdf](http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012_eng.pdf)

**Table 19:** Public Opinion on the Pussy Riot Members (as % of respondents)

**What do you feel towards the Pussy Riot members?**

	<b>2013</b>
<b>Respect</b>	0
<b>Sympathy</b>	6
<b>I cannot say anything bad about them</b>	5
<b>Neutral, indifferent</b>	20
<b>I cannot say anything good about them</b>	20
<b>Annoyed</b>	14
<b>Dislike</b>	17
<b>Difficult to answer</b>	19

**Source:** Levada Center. (2013). Russian Public Opinion, 2012-2013. Retrieved July 25, 2015, from [http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012\\_eng.pdf](http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012_eng.pdf)

Levada Center conducted a survey in Russia about Pussy Riot's protest and trial. As can be seen from the Table 18, more than half of the Russian society is aware of Pussy Riot's protest. This result shows that whether their tactic is ethical or not, they succeeded in drawing the attention of the society. However, according to Table 19, respondents were asked about their feelings towards Pussy Riot members. The majority of the Russian society dislikes or annoyed but they are not supporting them.

Women's social movements try to use different tactics and strategies in order to reach public and explain themselves. For instance, *Femina* as a feminist oriented movement focusing on the improvement of the status of women in Tatarstan and Russia, has used visual media in order to report results of the research related to the sociological effects of transition to market economy on Russian women. So, in 1991, *Femina* prepared television documentary to share results of this research with public. This movement demonstrated its resistance by a documentary, namely *Kamazonka*, using amateur equipment and volunteers to reflect women's economic conditions in Tatarstan. Thus, they reached nearly 250,000 audiences when this documentary was broadcasted on the local television channel. Moreover, they continued to use video and films for changing the position of women in society emphasizing that woman are shown with negative images on television and media. Therefore, for the purpose of changing media's role regarding the position and perception of women in society, *Femina* arranged the First and Second Russian Inter-Regional Video Festival in Tatarstan. In the festival, videos on a wide range of women's issue like domestic violence, sexual harassment, unemployment, motherhood, and women's excellence (societal expectations) were shown. Hence, *Femina* preferred to use effective way to reach its aim to improve the quality of women's image in media and television, to raise public awareness on women's issues and to strengthen network between women and the mass media (Noonan and Nechemias 2001)

#### **5.1.4. Network and Mobilization in Gender based Social Movements**

Kay and Kostenko (2006) mention about Altai Regional Crisis Center, which aims to give support to Russian men. Besides its assistance service to men, it is important for

consciousness-raising and campaigning for social change in men's life. The Center has tried to raise some key points to deal with socially embedded attitudes and society's expectations from men. It is significant for social movement because attempts of the Center raise awareness about the rights of single fathers or support for eliminating violence from men's life. For instance, on International Human Rights Day, a large public demonstration was planned and media was invited in 2002. At the demonstrations, participants signed a petition against violence, majority of whom were men taking support from this Center. This type of organization leading demonstrations and protests are important for men because they tend not to attend social movements due to their gender position in the society. Through organized demonstrations, collective identity and actions together with shared discourse are achieved in a network.

Since network and mobilization is difficult to achieve in men's movement, women take responsibility for men's rights movement in terms of anti-militarism and violence. As in the gender issue there is an intersection of men's and women's problem, Russian women protest men's rights publicly. The Soldiers' Mothers Movements can be given as an example to this kind of social movement. Conscription in the Russian army and military service became a personal problem and also created grievances for soldiers' families. Since at the end of 1980's, many self-help activists groups have been formed by soldiers' mothers for missed soldiers in Afghanistan and Chechen war and for abused or killed soldiers in garrison during peace time. Between the 1990's and 2000's, this movement mobilized people and increased number of activists in different regions of Russia. It is also influential in terms of their public awareness and formation of networks. Activists of the Soldiers' Mothers campaign to abolish the compulsory military service and they also try to create public support for the formation of a professional army. Moreover, the Soldiers' Mothers movement is a successful example for mobilization and network in social movements (Jagudina, 2009).

In her study, Caiazza (2002) compares Anti-militaristic Radical Movement, predominantly male activists' movement and Soldiers' Mothers Movement whose

activists are mostly women, in terms of network and mobilization strategies. She emphasizes that Anti-militaristic Radical Movement is not a successful movement as a challenge to Russian military service policy. In the transition period, Russia's political opportunity structure gave the opportunity to organize and mobilize young Russian men to change military policy. However, in this movement, activists failed to seize the opportunity to gain media attention and to influence the public opinion because resources to establish networks among potential activists were limited. At this point, it is interesting that while men's social movement over military service issue lacks public influence, women's social movement, such as Soldiers' Mothers Movement, mobilize its campaign over motherhood issue in order to challenge the mandatory military policy in Russia. Although women's feminist approach to social problems does not provide effective results for improving the status of women, they bring their voices to public area in order to make their problems visible. In contrast, the young Russian men's movement working on a similar issue with Soldiers' Mothers Movement did not attract the attention of authorities because men's social movement could not use gender consciousness to mobilize people in their action and also to organize society. In the Soldiers' Mothers Movement, female consciousness was used for solidarity and strengthening network. Activist managed to build a strong grassroots level movement by legitimating their struggle through gender ideologies. Thus, they transformed gender issue to an effective social movement.

One third of women's social movements especially in Moscow, were formed on the basis of friendship, personal acquaintanceship or graduating from the same educational institution. Moreover, other third of women activists and leaders in women's social movements met in conferences, meetings or share the same workplaces. Besides such network types, friendship and collegial relations create core activists in the women's social movements but many of these movements are successful to expand the women's movement into broader society. This expansion requires getting support from new adherents. Sperling (1999) claims that because social networks are not familiar to the Russian society, it is difficult to establish strong networking in social movements for mobilization. Activists have tried to



overcome this difficulty through training sessions, seminars and consciousness raising activities. Russia's largest cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg provide opportunities for both mobilizing new participants and expanding movement through local conferences, protests together with parallel movements and also contacts with other movements. Sperling also argues that in the first decade of transition period, women's social movements have been focused on expanding their participants' number but in today's Russia, they try to initiate social change related to their concerns through different strategies and methods which do not need mass membership and mobilization.

According to Kay (2000), especially in women's social movement, members' views on the movement are the best way to expand membership. The most common way of networking in women's social movement is to hear from another woman about the movement and then become involved in the movement or organization. Therefore, expanding network and increasing number of activists in the women's movement is generally achieved through word of mouth. To fulfill activists' expectation from the movement is decisive in the recruitment of new members. Reliance on the movement's reason also provide for establishing strong networks both within the movement and between movements having different aims but seeking solutions to similar social problems. Hence, Kay (2000) emphasizes that for women's movements which do not have any opportunity to voice their concerns through media or publicity campaign, personal contacts is the best way for improving networks among activists.

All Russian Sociopolitical Movement of Women of Russia is a good example in terms of networking and mobilization in women's social movement. Its main objective was to increase women's influence in Russian civil society and also politics. From 1996, this movement has encouraged women's active participation in the political decision making process and social issues. This movement was also successful for networking. For instance, in 1997, Charter of Women's solidarity, which is a declaration to consolidate and coordinate efforts of women's social movements, persuaded 40 different women's organizations to sign the charter under

the leadership of this movement. Bringing together women's activists was crucial to provide network for solidarity of women's movement (Nechemias, 2000).

#### **5.1.5. Collective Action and Collective Identity in Gender based Social Movements**

Concerning the formation of collective identity and collective action, Caiazza (2002) claims that mobilizing young Russian men, for instance, against anti-militaristic view as a men's issue is not easy in the social system of Russia. So, "male consciousness" is not a potential resource within the Russian social structure to create collective identity in a social movement because this concept is not familiar to Russians. This is a significant difference from female consciousness because male consciousness is not an option for men's social movements like in Anti-militaristic Radical Movement. In this movement, activists lacked this consciousness but in the Soldier's Mothers Movement the important resource to form collective identity is available. So, female consciousness has been one of the important key factors in the success and influence of collective action in Soldier's Mothers Movement. Moreover, male activists despite the absence of gender consciousness tried to build grassroots structure in order to influence public opinion in their favor. Hence, activists attempted to mobilize people who did not participate in the movement by representing them in the anti-militaristic issue.

The Soldiers' Mothers movement has been formed at the grassroots level as a result of women's initiative. Sacred Russian motherhood is used as a symbol to gain support from the society and to raise the issue of soldiers' right. Maternity is important in this social movement because it facilitated the formation of a collective identity. Even if people who are not mothers of soldiers, they internalized the problem of human rights related to military issue and activists identified themselves with motherhood. Motherhood symbol has turned to collective actions committed to social change. Although active volunteer members were generally mothers of soldiers who were subjected to violation of their rights during their term in the army, this movement is supported by the Russian society. Moreover, collective actions in

this movement included holding meeting, protesting the war in Chechnya, consulting with parents of soldiers related to their sons' rights and also organizing civil control over military through propaganda in the media (Popkova, 2004).

Some formations and associations related to women's issues are also important for the development of women's movement. For example, The Association of Women Journalists formed in 1992, concerns with the standardization of women in Russian media and press. This grassroots organization has supported women activism by fighting against women portrayed as sex objects, housewives or mothers in the print media. Therefore, its mission is to act as a bridge between women's movement and the mass media, while to encourage activists to combat stereotypical image of women (Azhgikhina, 2001). Another example of these associations, which support women's movement, is The Association of Women in Law Enforcement. This organization deals with discrimination forced by women working in the security forces and law enforcement institutions. It is significant for collective action and cooperation among women's movement and activists for effective response to workplace discrimination (Gottlick, 2001).

In the social movement, the profile of activists is an important determinant for forming collective identity and collective action. According to Sperling's study (1999), the women leaders of women's social movements are crucial to bring together a diverse collection of women activists in Moscow. In terms of profession, the largest number of leaders in the women's social movement is academic persons, either engaging in teaching or researching. The second largest group works in the leadership position in their occupations, while others work in media, art, government and law. Sperling emphasizes that the distribution of occupation in this study shows that pioneering women activists hold highly skilled jobs that facilitate their self-expression. Moreover, majority of activists work in full-time jobs in addition to their activist identity in the movements. In addition, many of them have families, nearly 62 percent of them are married and 85 percent of them have at least one child. Many women activists are between twenty-seven and sixty-five years old. Although profile of women activists in Moscow could not exactly reflect the whole women activists in

Russia, it might at least give an idea about them. Their education and age level demonstrate that they are capable of expressing the needs of whole society and they are interested in the concerns of the wider parts of the population in Russia.

Other than the gender issue, women also frame their movements based on other social issues. Environmental movements in Russia are an example for this type of framing in which women activists take an active role. Women have become interested in and involved in movements related to environmental degradation from the late 1990's in Russia. Women's contribution to Russian environmental movement could not be ignored in terms of both large female membership and leadership. Concerning their professions, women environmental activists have biologist, geologist and environmental expert background. They form collective identity by meeting the common concern about environmental problems and they form the core of green movement in Russia. In their collective actions, they attempt to create public pressure over government on its environmental policies. Moreover, women environmentalists also actively participated in protests and campaigns related to environmental problems like pollution of the Volga River and Lake Baikal and uncontrolled air pollution in Moscow and other industrial cities of Russia (Noonan and Nechemias, 2001).

According to Noonan and Nechemias (2001), women activists' motivations behind this collective action are related to environmental health. Women approach environmental issues differently than men because environmental problems directly affect women. For instance, women's reproductive health suffered from environmental degradation, pregnant women with anemia, premature births, birth defects, infant mortality has increased depending on the environmental pollution. So, the main motivation is to fight for their children's future. For example, Movement for Nuclear Safety campaigned for an informed society about radioactive contamination and they monitor radiation level. This movement also led to civic protests against governmental nuclear policy in Russia. Other environmental movements that mostly women activists involved in are protests for the closure of some of the polluting factories, prevention of the construction of dams on rivers and

stopping the destruction of forests in Russia. Furthermore, women environmentalists try to influence policy makers through attending public hearings on government's projects that destruct environment. For instance, *Ecoiuris* movement follows environmental cases and attempt to draw public attention to the violation of environmental law in Russia. Interregional Movement of Rural Women produced projects to develop organic farming in order to prevent usage of chemical fertilizers and pesticides in agriculture in the Russian countryside. Noonan and Nechemias emphasize that, women as environmental activists identify similarities between the oppression of women and destructed environment. They perceive that both environment and women are exploited as free resources in accordance with government's needs in patriarchal order.

## **5.2. LGBT Movements**

LGBT activism in Russia emerged and became relatively visible after the decriminalization of homosexuality in 1993. Because of obstacles like social exclusion, homophobia and transphobia, as well as bias and violence against them and financial problems, in the first years of movement they were invisible in public sphere. So, the first LGBT activists turned to journalism to write about their concerns and demands. Despite the fact they could not reach mass society in a short time, they led the sexual minorities to defend their rights in Russia. The second step in the development and resurgence of LGBT movement was to talk about human rights and to use the internet to explain their problems and solutions. The best known is LGBT Network in St. Petersburg focusing on advocacy activities and telephone hotline for psychological help for sexual minorities in Russia (Kondakov, 2013). Because of state's suppression and ignorance of the society, the third step was to pour into the streets to demonstrate their existence and demand their rights. However, silencing comes from heteronormativity and homophobia left little space for LGBT activism in Russia.

### **5.2.1. Demands of LGBT People and Reactions towards LGBT Movements**

A small group of LGBT activists headed by Nikolay Alekseev, who is also the initiator of LGBT Human Rights Project “GayRussia.Ru”, announced that in May 27, 2006, gay pride parade would be held in Moscow. This parade is important in terms of expressing demands of sexual minorities publicly. Because as any other individuals, sexual minorities also have the right to freedom of assembly in order to collectively give voice to their demands, promote and defend their ideas. The term gay pride has attribute manifestation of existence of people having different sexual orientation other than heterosexuality. Because they are seen as a minority in Russian society and they are exposed to socio-psychological damages in social life, with such parades they try to demonstrate their self-respect. However, in Russia, there are no traditions like this parade; conversely it is perceived as a normalization of nontraditional sexuality (Kon, 2010).

The authorities banned Moscow Pride 2006 on the grounds that it would promote the nontraditional sexual relations in public sphere. So, according to Kon (2010), the Moscow pride brought nationalists, fascists and conservative people together to intimidate and humiliate activists in the movement. They openly called for violence by provoking society. This provocation helped the consolidation of homophobic groups in the society and increased humiliation and ignorance of sexual minorities in the society. For nationalists, homosexuality does not belong to the Russian society and culture so it has been transferred from outside of Russia. Especially, anti-Western groups has blamed for Western culture to manipulate the Russian culture through homosexuality. Conservatives have not accepted any demonstration of sexual minorities because they believe that these people try to legitimize a sin. In term of sexual minorities in Russia, they did not have any ways to explain their concerns and motives to organize such a parade. Mass media as the most influential tool to reach people were not accessible for them but they attempted to preserve personal dignity despite all socio-psychological difficulties.

Before the gay pride, The Moscow Mayor's chief of security, Nikolai Kulikov, stated that Moscow Pride should be banned due to negative attitudes of the Russian society towards this parade. He also added that all public expressions also should be banned because these expressions violate heterosexual people's rights and Russian society has traditions and moral values. He also emphasized the opposition of religious leaders and communities towards any demonstrations or expressions of same-sex relations. The chief mufti of Russia's Central Spiritual Governance for Muslims argued that the Moscow Pride should not be allowed and if they did not comply with the ban, then they should be beaten. As they have straggled and any alternative sexuality is crime against God, sexual minorities have no rights to disturb religious and social morals. The Russian Orthodox Church also supported this idea by declaring that homosexuality is a sin which destroys the morality of the Russian society and canalizes people to bad behaviors (Tatchell, 2006). Hence, attempts to prevent the first gay pride parade in Russia demonstrate the deep homophobic attitudes towards sexual minorities in the society.

After a year for the first attempt to organize gay pride parade in Moscow, the organizers of the demonstration changed the name of parade and submit petition to mayor's office with the name of marching for rights of homosexuals. However, authorities did not allow any kind of demonstrations under the name of homosexuality in 2007. Moreover, this time, the state's reaction towards peaceful demonstrators was very harsh. Unarmed people were beaten and arrested by police. Reactions towards police violence were various based on the views and interests of different groups in the society. For instance, the mass media and pro-government parties charged the West with plans to undermine Russian ethical values. Moreover, opposition politicians also stated that they did not support the gay pride parade in Moscow. Thus, it was not supported politically; on the contrary, they showed their unwillingness to recognize rights of LGBT people. Only a few deputies like Mitrofanov from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Russian music group t.T.A.u and TV personalities like Pozner and Maksimovskaia (Kon, 2010).

In Russia, as a reaction of state for LGBT activists' demand to organize gay pride parade, the bill related to banning propaganda on homosexuality began to be discussed before its approval in 2013. Since 2006, then regional legislative bodies in Russia have approved a law, which prohibit propaganda of homosexuality. The next step was the approval of an anti-propaganda law as a federal law. On June 29, 2013, Russian president Putin signed the bill and the federal law banning the propaganda of homosexuality enacted in all regions of the country. According to politicians, the aim of the law is to protect children from information about non-traditional family values (Human Rights Watch, 2014). So, Article 6.21 of the Russian Federation legislation states that propaganda, in other words, distributing information to minors with the aim of creating non-traditional sexual relations, making non-traditional sexual relations attractive, equating traditional sexual relations' social value to non-traditional ones or creating an interest in non-traditional sexual relations are punishable. Hence, Human Rights First organization (2013) claim that definitions like propaganda, distributing information or non-traditional relations in this article are open to interpretation of police and courts. It means that it provides the government a limitless power to persecute LGBT activists and also silence them in public sphere.

In addition, after the Russian LGBT propaganda law which banned any demonstrations or discourse that promote homosexuality, homophobia and transphobia as well as social exclusion and discrimination towards sexual minorities increased in Russia. For instance, in Khabarovsk, Yermoshkin who is the city's known gay rights and environmental activists and a geography teacher drew attention of residents of the city because he organized a rainbow flash mob protests in the city. Then, at the beginning of 2013 school year, his career as a teacher would be terminated because of a letter signed by more than 600 resident of the city. Furthermore, members of the Movement against Sexual Perversions wanted Yermoshkin to be fired from his school because of the negative impact of him on his students. Residents and members of this movement, who signed the letter worried about his nontraditional relations, may be accepted by students as normal.



Yermoshkin emphasized that before anti-gay propaganda law, there has not been any hostility towards him through his 18 years career. Furthermore, Putin's statement guaranteed that this law would not affect the LGBT people's jobs, does not appear to be accurate (Nechepurenko, 2013). Finally, Russian newspaper, *Molodoi Dalnevostochnik*, was accused of violating gay propaganda law because it published an interview with Yermoshkin. Although the interview was published on the fourth page of the newspaper and there was a warning that the content was not for readers under aged 16, the law prohibits any positive demonstration of sexual minorities in the public sphere (Ring, 2013).

After Russia's anti-gay propaganda bill passed into law, 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics became the field of LGBT movement. The protests and reactions of LGBT activists began with the Russian court's decision to not to allow Pride House at 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics on the ground that it provokes social-religious emotions in the society. Pride House serves as a place for LGBT sportspeople, athletes, visitors and volunteers attending the Olympics in the host city and the first one is organized in 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics. However, the application of organizers of 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics for Pride House was refused because it contradicts the basics of social morality and also it is a kind of propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations that can undermine the moral values of Russian society (Lenskyj, 2014).

### **5.2.2. Discourse, Tactics and Strategy of LGBT Movements**

The slogan "Gay is good!" is a response to pushing sexual minorities outside of the society and perception about same-sex love as an immorality. With the gay pride parade and their slogans in the movement, they attempt to show that no one should be other in a democratic society. Therefore, gay pride parade means they are not ashamed of themselves as any other group in the society, so they can go out and walk freely in the streets (Kon, 2010). Especially after the first two attempts to organize gay pride parade in Russia and facing with harsh reaction of the state and the society, LGBT activists shows their fear and pressure over them through social media. For example, in one of the gay websites they shared a photo of a fascist concentration

camp with the note saying that we will face with the same concentration camp. This example reflects the feelings and situations of LGBT people in Russia as minority (Kon, 2010).

In 2008, the organizers of Moscow Pride applied again, as every year from 2006, for marching in front of Moscow City Hall. However, Moscow Mayor did not allow the parade on the grounds that gay pride parade would undermine public order and the possibility of negative reactions of the majority of the people. After Moscow Mayor's ban to gay pride parade, then Nikolay Alekseev, one of the organizers of the parade, applied to the European Court of Human Rights claiming that the ban on the marches by Russian authorities between 2006 and 2008 had violated the rights to freedom of assembly of activists. In 2010, The European Court of Human Rights decided that Russia violated the rights to freedom of assembly of activists by banning gay rights parade. Moreover, it ruled that the applicant suffered from discrimination because of his sexual orientation (Posner, 2010). Russian LGBT activists also applied legal ways to stop injustice and discrimination against them and to take their rights to freedom of assembly in Russia.

Furthermore, these gay pride parade bans did not stop their movements to ask for their rights. For instance, in 2008, the first flash mob protest was carried out in front of the Statue of Tchaikovsky. This time, they were able to have their flash mob protest without being arrested. This flash mob protest was called rainbow flash mob because in this protest, activists released rainbow-colored balloons. Then, LGBT movement activists continued to their flash mob protest symbolically in every year for the rights of sexual minorities, which now become a tradition Russia (Friedman, 2014).

Except from attempts of gay pride parade and flash mob protests of the LGBT activists, public figures from the literature and art circles also support the LGBT rights movement in Russia. For instance, Pussy Riot, a Russian feminist punk rock protest group is known for its unauthorized and provocative guerilla performances in public sphere with their music. Their theme of songs is based on feminism, women

and LGBT rights and opposition to Putin. They also protest by sharing the music video of their guerilla performances through internet. Members of the group were arrested due to their anti-Putin protest in the church in 2012, then, they released from prison in 2013 (The Moscow Times, 2014). Following members' release, they appeared before Sochi Olympics in order to protest an anti-LGBT propaganda law. They planned to prepare a video to protest the Russian legislation banning promotion of homosexuality, which overshadowed the Sochi Olympic Games. When they tried to record their video clips by singing their song namely "Putin will teach you how to love motherland" in front of the Olympic symbol, Cossacks beat members of the Pussy Riot. The video posted on the group's website demonstrates the women with colored masks singing their songs and playing instruments in front of the wall covered in Sochi Winter Olympics logos. The video also includes physical violence against them by security forces (Walker, 2014).

After the ban on the Pride House organization in 2014 Sochi Olympic Games, activists of LGBT people who wanted to protests the decision of the Russian court, were beaten, arrested and subjected to physical violence by security forces. Pride House, a meeting point for LGBT athletes, supporters and visitors in the host country organizing the Olympics, is a symbolic place and has become a tradition after 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics. In addition to this homophobic violence against LGBT people and the reaction of activists both from Russia and other countries, Putin said that gay people would be comfortable in Sochi but they should leave children in peace (Afonasina, 2014).

As a strategy, Russian LGBT people asked for Olympic sponsors like McDonalds, Coca Cola, Visa and Samsung to speak against Russia's anti-gay propaganda law. Nevertheless, neither of them supported the LGBT protests for creating an awareness on LGBT rights in Russia. Then, activists hijacked the Twitter account of McDonalds and shared contents related to Russia's anti-homosexuality law with the hashtag of #cheerstosochi. Moreover, website of Coca Cola was also hijacked and visitors created images of Coke cans. They wrote phrases like "Let's all be gay" and "Help LGBT in Russia" (Elliot, 2014). After the cyber-attacks by LGBT activists,

other sponsors like AT&T and Chobani officially expressed that they are against Russia's anti-LGBT law and they condemn the violence and discrimination against LGBT people in Russia (Garcia, 2014). Moreover, Google also supported Russian LGBT activists by updating its search page with a logo. In the updated logo, there were athletes playing different sports with a rainbow colored background behind them with the slogan "the practice of sport is a human right." (McKirdy, 2014). Therefore, Russian LGBT Movement was successful to draw the attention of the international society through Sochi Olympics, which was an important opportunity for the Russian LGBT activists.

Trans activism stays in the shade of Russian LGBT movement so it has not come to the fore. The development of trans activism was a later development than the in Russia. Trans activism began with internet forums, social media and films about transgender people. They had to follow these strategies for their activism because they did not feel comfortable in public sphere. The first transgender internet forums were formed at the beginning of 2000's and provided medical information about gender reassignment surgery and legal procedures for gender recognition in Russia. Another Russian-language website, transgender.ru, had played an important role to gather trans community and to create a trans support group. Then, public actions began. The first public action appeared in Moscow Pride of 2010 with the slogan of "my gender is my choice." They also used symbols and posters against the violence during the LGBT Rights Demonstration in St. Petersburg (Sitnikova, 2014).

In the Slavic Pride of 2011 in St. Petersburg, the slogan was "Trans rights are human rights." Moreover, in 2011, Russian trans activists participated in depathologization of transgenderism, which was the first street demonstration devoted to transgenderism in Russia. In this protest, the slogan was "Trans people do not need psychiatrists, trans people need surgeons." In 2012, the largest civil protests in the last 20 years of Russian history were organized by the Russian trans people. Trans flag appeared for the first time in the streets of Russia in this movement. During the first Russian LGBT festival, namely "Side by side" in 2008, "The alien body" documentary on trans people was shown and in 2009, a workshop and discussion

“from transsexualism to transsexuality” was conducted by trans activists in Russia. In 2012, trans activists organized a campaign for depathologization of transgenderism. The discourse and language used in their struggle is important for trans people because they stay in the shade of lesbian, gay and bisexual discourse. The week against homophobia was renamed to include transphobia by some LGBT activists and groups but Russian LGBT Network refused to use this change claiming that transphobia is not a different type of discrimination from homophobia (Sitnikova, 2014).

### **5.2.3. Visibility of LGBT Movements and Public Opinion on LGBT Movements**

In Russia, there is extreme bias towards sexual minorities. Along with economic, legal and political discrimination, they are also exposed to social exclusion in Russian society. Despite the humiliation and criminal prosecution they faced, they tried to create their own subculture in order to provide sufficient conditions for their social life. Moreover, until gay pride parade in 2006, they did not cause any problems for the authorities. The LGBT groups and organizations emerged in the 1990's but they had not any effects on solutions related to their concerns, rather they worked on local projects by cooperating public health institutions and state. So, they did not get involved in politics, protests or demonstrations. Therefore, they lived in their spaces and both they and their problems were visible in public sphere (Kon, 2010).

In terms of trans activism in Russia, trans movement is hardly visible in public sphere. The problems and demands of trans people are different than lesbians, gays and bisexuals. So, most Russian trans activists cannot associate themselves with any LGBT movement and they generally prefer individual activism while some of them are members of LGBT activism. “FtM Phonexix” movement emerged in 2008 is the most visible trans activist group in Russia. It has a broader network and its activities include medical expertise, advocacy consultancy. Activists also participate human rights events but these actions are not enough to defend right of trans people. Another trans movement formed in 2013 is the Trans Coalition covering the former

Soviet space. According to Sitnikova (2014), the majority of Russian transgender people are extremely conformist and apolitical. While some of them join activities in order to protect their rights, some oppose to activism and prefer to remain silent because they fear that legislators may introduce a law against them and the situation will get worse. They also argue that the recent law banning the homosexual propaganda is the result of increasing visibility of LGBT movement. Therefore, Russian trans activism is new and it needs to be strengthened. They still search for their place among other social movements.

In 2013 and 2015, the survey conducted by Levada Center throughout urban and rural regions of Russia in 134 different localities provides general public opinion about LGBT movement in Russia. This survey was carried out among 800 people over 18 years old. According to the results, majority of Russian society is insensitive and biased towards LGBT activism.

**Table 20:** Visibility of LGBT Movement in Russia

**Are You Aware of the Existence in Russia of the "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transexual" (LGBT) Movement, which Fights of Sexual Minorities?**

	2013	2015
<b>I don't know about the LGBT movement, and I'm not interested in it</b>	58	56
<b>I don't know about the LGBT movement, but I'd like to learn more</b>	4	4
<b>I've heard something about the LGBT movement, but I'm not interested in it</b>	28	35
<b>I've heard of the LGBT movement and would like to take part in its rallies</b>	1	1
<b>I know about the LGBT movement and I am involved in its activities</b>	2	<1
<b>It is difficult to say</b>	7	4

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Homophobia Survey in Russia. Retrieved July 7, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/homophobia>

According to the research of Levada Center conducted in 2015 with respondents from different regions of Russia, respondents were asked whether they are aware of the existence of the LGBT movement in Russia. This question is important concerning the visibility and influence of the Russian LGBT movement. As can be seen from the Table 20, more than half of the respondents said that they do not know about the LGBT movement, even those who heard about it, they are not interested in it. Furthermore, in 2013, 28 percent of respondents who know about the LGBT movement expressed that they are not interested in it, in 2015, respondents replying the same way increased to 35 percent. Only 3 percent of respondents said that they would like to participate in the activities of the LGBT movement. The results of these surveys demonstrate that the Russian LGBT movement is not visible enough in the society and the majority of Russian people prefer to ignore it.

**Table 21:** Public Opinion on Ban on Homosexual Propaganda in Russia

**In Your Opinion, What is the Primary Motivation behind Enacting a Ban on "Homosexual Propaganda"?**

	<b>2013</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Concern for the population's morals; strengthening moral values</b>	60	67
<b>An attempt to divert public attention from corruption scandals; reduce confidence in the authorities; and increase opposition activity</b>	18	14
<b>An attempt to divide society; ignite hostile sentiments in people against those who are different</b>	8	7
<b>It is difficult to say</b>	14	12

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Homophobia Survey in Russia. Retrieved July 7, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/homophobia>

Related to the ban on homosexual propaganda, Levada Center's survey demonstrate that majority of the Russian society is not interested in the real reason behind this ban. Because homosexual people are deprived of the right to freedom of expression and assembly and state silences them, their visibility and representation in public

sphere is low. According to survey results in Table 21, more than half of the respondents think that the primary motivation behind the ban on homosexual propaganda is related to the concern for the population’s morals and to prevent the destruction of moral values in the society. 14-18 percent of the respondents believe that through this ban, it is attempted to reduce trust to authorities by increasing opposition activity, while less than 10 percent argues that state tries to divide the society by creating hostility towards people who have different sexual orientation.

**Table 22:** Public Attitudes towards Law Banning Homosexual Propaganda in Russia

**What Would Your Attitude be toward a Law Banning Homosexual Propaganda?**

	<b>2013</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Positive</b>	67	77
<b>Negative</b>	14	15
<b>I’m not interested in this</b>	14	7
<b>It is difficult to say</b>	5	3

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Homophobia Survey in Russia. Retrieved July 7, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/homophobia>

Furthermore, the majority of the society’s approach towards LGBT people is suspicious and homophobic, because sexual minorities in Russia could not find any channel to voice their concerns. Table 22 demonstrates that people think that homosexuality is not a traditional way to engage in a relationship in Russia. State also manipulates and mobilizes society through anti-homosexuality propaganda. Hence, according to survey results, more than half of the respondents perceive the law banning homosexual propaganda positively. Moreover, this percentage increased from 67 to 77 for the last two years while the percentage of people who thinks that their attitude towards this ban is negative remained in 15 percent and did not change much recently.



**Table 23: Public Opinion on Homosexual Propaganda**

**In Your Opinion, can the Following be Considered Homosexual Propaganda:**

<b>Talk shows, television programs, and articles on lifestyles of sexual minorities?</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2015</b>
Yes	75	80
No	18	16
It is difficult to say	6	5
<b>Educational programs that talk about the nature of homosexuality?</b>		
Yes	65	67
No	28	27
It is difficult to say	8	6
<b>Meetings and rallies in defense of rights for sexual minorities?</b>		
Yes	81	84
No	13	11
It is difficult to say	5	5
<b>Books and movies about same-sex relationships?</b>		
Yes	74	79
No	19	17
It is difficult to say	7	5
<b>...gay pride parades?</b>		
Yes	83	87
No	11	9
It is difficult to say	6	4
<b>Public displays of affection between homosexuals (kissing, hugging)?</b>		
Yes	84	85
No	13	11
It is difficult to say	5	4

**Source:** Levada Center. (2015). Homophobia Survey in Russia. Retrieved July 7, 2015, from <http://www.levada.ru/eng/homophobia>

Respondents were asked about their opinion on which action can be considered as homosexual propaganda. As can be seen from Table 23, respondents considered that gay pride parades, meetings and rallies in defense of the rights for sexual minorities, public displays of affection between homosexuals like kissing and hugging and upbringing in a family where both parents are the same gender can be considered as homosexual propaganda. The respondents who consider all of these actions are homosexual propaganda are over 70 percent. Moreover, they also think that television programs, articles, educational programs on homosexuality, books and movies about homosexuals are also considered as propaganda for homosexuality.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Russian history suggests that civil society in general is not visible and influential in Russian society. Because of the authoritarian attitude of Russian polity, grassroots activism for contribution to social change has been prevented since the period of Tsarist Russia. There was not much space for creating networks, discussing different viewpoints and challenging mainstream social structure available for effective social activism against social issues in Russian history. Due to Russia's repressive politics and authoritarian regimes throughout its history, civil society is generally under the control of the state. In Tsarist Russia, there were not any influential social protests with participation of mass society related to gender issue. There were only public figures like intellectuals and artists guided social movements. Thus, individual resistance against gender related social problems began to emerge in the late Tsarist Russia. As a reaction and resistance to overemphasized masculinity and oppressed femininity, some women began to dress like men, cut their hair short and went out alone.

In Soviet Russia, gender issue became one of the key issues in state policy related to economic concerns. Women engaged in working life but at the same time their motherhood was encouraged through social policies and institutions. Men's status as leaders, politicians and workers and also traditional roles as a head of family did not change. Although there was some primitive women's movement related to their status and rights, civil society was under the control of the Soviet Union. In the late period of the Soviet Union, women began to organize without any state sponsorship. Relatively influential and visible social movements related to gender issue emerged in the first decade of the Russian Federation and continued to strengthen despite the repressive policies of the Russian government.

In Tsarist Russia, there was no prominent mass movement for defending rights of homosexual and transgender people. Some important figures in public like Nabokov, fought for decriminalizing of homosexuality and authors and poets expressed their ideas through their works in order to explain that homosexuality is a normal lifestyle. In the last periods of the Soviet Union, homosexuals and transgender people had the opportunity to organize and they preferred to give voice their concerns through newspapers and magazines. They also researched about homosexuality and share scientific information with public in order to raise social awareness about them and also decrease prejudices against them. They also reacted against the law banning on homosexuality and demanded the abolishment of this law. In the contemporary Russia, homosexual and transgender people's concerns are nearly same as in the Soviet Russia. Although political regime has changed with the establishment of Russian Federation, democratic culture has not been embedded in the society mainly because of repressive and authoritarian attitude of the Russian government. LGBT activists try to change the law banning gay propaganda as they fought for decriminalization of homosexuality in Soviet Union. It seems that almost nothing changes in the status of LGBT people in Russia, only the forms of problems change but they still remain unresolved.

In this thesis, the emergence and development of social movements are analyzed in a historical context because contemporary gender based social movements and LGBT movements in today's Russia have been affected by gender policies of the Tsarist and Soviet Russian governments. Moreover, gender perception of society has been also shaped by governments' gender policies in Russian history. Therefore, gender related social problems are also discussed in this thesis because they are origins of social movements related to gender issue. For instance, LGBT movement has emerged and continued to develop in Russia because of increasing homophobia and homophobic legislations of the Russian Federation towards LGBT people. Women movement for equal rights or Men's anti-militaristic movement are also examples to reflection of the gender related social problems which turn into social movements for

demanding social changes related to gender issue. So, both gender related problems and social movements are interrelated issues in the contemporary Russia.

The main aim of this study is to analyze gender based social movements and LGBT movements in terms of their frames, networks, mobilization strategies, their own produced repertoire and tactics. In order to understand activists' demand and concerns related to gender issue, it is important to research on gender related social problems. From this perspective, this study focuses on how activists in a social movement legitimize their actions against government promoted sexist and homophobic feelings in the Russian society. Examples from social movements related to gender issue, some statistical data and surveys are given in this study in order to show that social movements emerge as a result of social problems related to gender issue and these problems in post-Soviet Russia mainly caused from gender policies of the past and contemporary Russian governments.

The findings of this thesis suggest that there is not enough space for civil society and participation of public in decision-making process of government policies. At the same time, gender related social problems still continue in Russia mainly because of the repressive Putin government and also due to the legacy of the Tsarist and the Soviet Russian implementations on gender issue. According to surveys, sexist and homophobic attitudes of society is increasing and some public institutions like media and the Church are also responsible for gender related social problems remain unresolved. Although majority of the Russian society do not believe in influence of social movements for social change, both number of social movements and also their focus areas increased. Gender based social movements seems to continue their presence in Russia in order to raise gender related social problems by networking, framing, using their own repertoire and tactics.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu tezde günümüz Rusya'sındaki cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler ile LGBT hareketlerini incelenmektedir. Bu toplumsal hareketler yeni aktivist katılımı için kullandıkları bağlantılar, sorunları nasıl bir çerçeveye oturttukları, kolektif kimliği ve aksiyonları nasıl oluşturdukları, hangi söylemleri ve stratejileri kullanıp, kendi ürettikleri repertuarları kullanarak bu sosyal hareketleri ve cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal problemleri nasıl görünür kıldıklarını incelemektedir. Rusya Federasyonu'ndaki cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal problemler Çarlık Rusya ve Sovyet Rusya'nın cinsiyetçi ve homofobik mirası olarak bugüne aktarıldığından, cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler ve LGBT hareketleri tarihsel bir perspektiften ele alınmıştır. Rus toplumunun tarihsel süreçte cinsiyeti ve cinsel yönelimi sosyal alanda nasıl konumlandığını analiz edip, aktivistlerin toplumda sosyal hareketler yoluyla nasıl bir değişiklik yapmayı amaçladıkları araştırılmıştır. Bu süreçte aktivistlerin istek ve sorunlarına Rusya Federasyonu öncesinde ve sırasında farklı rejim ve devletlerin nasıl tepki verdiğine de değinilmiş, cinsiyet odaklı devlet politikalarına da yer verilmiştir. Bu politikaların, uygulamaların ve hukuksal düzenlemelerin cinsiyet ile ilgili sosyal problemlerin ortaya çıkışında ne kadar etkili oldukları da tartışılmıştır.

Tezin temel araştırma problemi, Rus aktivistlerin cinsiyet sorunlarını belirleyerek, yeni aktivistler için bağlantılar ve kolektif kimlik oluşturarak, aynı zamanda kendi repertuarlarını üretilip, stratejilerini kullanarak sosyal hareketlerle nasıl cinsiyet ile ilgili sosyal problemleri görünür hale getirdikleri ve kaygılarını toplumsal alanda, Rusya Federasyonu'nun baskıcı cinsiyet politikalarına rağmen nasıl ifade ettikleridir. Bu tez, Rusya'daki rejim değişikliklerine ve son zamanlardaki demokrasiye geçişine rağmen, günümüz Rusya'sında cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler için kısıtlı bir alan bulunduğunu savunmaktadır. Ancak, Rusya'daki cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler ile LGBT hareketlerinin ayrımcılık, eşitsizlik ve şiddet gibi cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal problemlere meydan okuması açısından önem taşır. Kısa dönemde önemli bir sosyal değişikliğin olması zor olsa da, uzun dönemde bu toplumsal hareketler cinsiyetle

ilgili sosyal sorunların görünürlüğü ve toplumun bu sorunlar ile ilgili farkındalığının artması açısından önemlidir.

Cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim konusu Rusya'da hala çözülmemiş sosyal bir problem olarak durmaktadır. Henüz çözülemeyen bu problemler Sovyet Rusya'ya, hatta Çarlık Rusya'ya dayanmaktadır. Bu problemler ayrımcılık, şiddet, insan ticareti, cinsiyetler arası ekonomik ve politik eşitsizliklerden kaynaklı sosyal problemler, taciz, tecavüz psikolojik şiddet, toplumdaki dışlanma, homofobi gibi topluma yerleşmiş cinsiyet algısından ortaya çıkmaktadır. Toplumdaki cinsiyet algısı devlet politikalarından ve yaklaşımından etkilenmesi dışında, medyanın ve Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin söylemlerinden etkilenmektedir. Dolayısıyla, devletin cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelimle ilgili uygulamalarının yanında, medya ve din tarafından bu konularda topluma yönelik bir algı yönetimi vardır.

Tez beş kısımda oluşmaktadır. İlk kısımda bu çalışmanın amacı, temel araştırma problemi ve çalışmanın ana fikrinden bahsedilmektedir. İkinci kısımda tez konusuyla ilgili kullanılan cinsiyet ve sosyal hareketlerle bağlantılı kavramların açıklaması ve sosyal hareketlerle ilgili teoriler yer almaktadır. Üçüncü kısımda, Rus toplumunun cinsiyet algısı, cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim ile ilgili sosyal problemlerin ve sosyal hareketlerin tarihsel süreci incelenmektedir. Cinsiyet rollerinin ve toplumun cinsiyeti nasıl konumlandığı Çarlık dönemi ve Sovyet döneminde nasıl şekillendiği ve devam ettiği analiz etmektedir. Ailede değişen cinsiyet rolleri, yeni sosyal ve ekonomik hayatın getirdiği cinsiyetle ilgili problemler bu kısımda sunulmuştur. Dördüncü kısımda, Rusya Federasyonu'nda ebeveynlikte, evlilik ve aile gibi sosyal alanlarda cinsiyet rolleri ile ilgili sosyal alandaki problemler ve medya ile din aracılığıyla cinsiyet üzerindeki algı yönetiminin nasıl yapıldığı araştırılmıştır. Bu konulara ek olarak, cinsel şiddet, aile içi şiddet ve cinsiyet odaklı insan ticareti ve cinsiyet ayrımcılığının Sovyet sonrası Rusya'daki durumu analiz edilmiştir. Ayrıca homoseksüel ve trans bireylerin sosyal ve legal statüsündeki değişiklikler ve toplumun eşcinsellik algısı yine bu kısımda tartışılmıştır. Beşinci bölümde Rusya Federasyonu'nda cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler ve LGBT hareketlerinin güncel durumundan bahsedilmiştir. Birlik oluşturmak için aktivistlerin cinsiyet temelli

problemleri nasıl bir çerçeveye oturttuğu, kendi ürettikleri taktikleri ve repertuarlarını kamu farkındalığını arttırmak için nasıl kullandıklarını ve kendi etki alanlarını genişletmek amacıyla kullandıkları bağlantıları ile kolektif kimliğin nasıl oluşturulduğu bu kısımda tartışılmaktadır. Son kısımda ise araştırma sonucu ulaşılan temel bulgulara yer verilmiştir.

Sosyal hareketler insanlar arasında resmi olmayan etkileşim ağlarından oluşmaktadır. Kendiliğinden bir anda ortaya çıkan sosyal hareketler toplumdaki sosyal bir sorundan dolayı ortaya çıkar ve sosyal bir değişimi amaçlar. Örgütsüz ve öngörülemez bir şekilde ortak bir amaca ulaşmak için insanların kolektif kimlik oluşturmasıyla sosyal hareketler ortaya çıkar. Sosyal hareketler ilgili teorileri incelemek Rusya'daki cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketleri ve LGBT hareketlerini analiz edebilmek için önemlidir çünkü bu teorilerden yararlanarak günümüzde Rusya'da yaşanan cinsiyet konusuyla ilgili sosyal hareketleri teorik bir çerçeveye oturtabiliriz. Bu amaçla, tezde kitle toplumu teorisi, kolektif davranış teorisi, politik süreç teorisi, kaynak mobilizasyonu teorisi, çerçeveleme teorisinden, göreceli yoksunluk teorisi ve yeni toplumsal hareketler teorisine değinilmiştir. Cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler genel olarak yeni toplumsal hareketler teorisi ile açıklandığı için ağırlıklı olarak cinsel kimlik, kültür, eşitlik, farklılık ve katılım gibi konulara odaklanan yeni toplumsal hareketler teorisinden yararlanılmıştır. Bunun dışında anlam inşası için ve aksiyonlara rehberlik etmesi açısından aynı zamanda aktivistlerin algılayış ve değerlendirmelerini kolaylaştırmak için sosyal hareketleri bir çerçeveye oturtmasını sağlayan çerçeveleme teorisinden faydalanmıştır. Ek olarak, Rusya'daki cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler için kolektif davranış teorisindeki kolektif kimlik ve aksiyon gibi kavramlardan yararlanılarak incelemeler yapılmıştır.

Cinsiyet rollerinin ve cinsel yönelimin toplumda ne anlama geldiğini ve nasıl konumlandırıldığını tarihsel süreç içerisinde incelediğimizde, Çarlık Rusya'da kadın sosyal alanda daha arka planda kalmıştır. Kadının statüsü eşlerinin ya da babalarının statülerine göre belirlendiği için bir birey olarak kadınların toplumda ataerkil sosyal yapı dışında bir duruşları yoktu. Özellikle Rus Çarı I. Petro'nun reformlarına kadar kadınlar sosyal bir ortama yanlarında erkek olmadan katılımları mümkün değildi.



Dolayısıyla Çarlık dönemi Rusya’da genel olarak kadınların toplumdan izolasyonundan söz edilebilir. Kadınlar yüksek öğrenim, nüfus sayımında sayılma, mülk sahibi olma, oy kullanma gibi birçok sosyal haktan da mahrumlardı. Kadınlara toplum tarafından atfedilen birincil rol annelik ve itaatkar bir eş olmalarıydı. Erkekler ise ataerkil toplum yapısının avantajlarından yararlanmaktadır. Toplumun erkeklere yüklediği öncelikli rol ailenin geçimini sağlamaları ve ailenin koruyucusu olmalarıydı. Bu roller sadece toplum tarafından değil, hem Çarlık rejimi hem de Ortodoks Kilisesi tarafından desteklenmekteydi. Sonuç olarak Çarlık dönemi Rusya’da kadınlar sosyal alanda akşam baloları dışında fazla görünür değillerdi, yalnızca yanlarındaki erkekler ile birlikte toplumda bir yerleri vardı. I. Petro dönemi ve sonrası dönemde reformlar sayesinde kadınlar kısıtlı da olsa eğitim hakkına ve sosyal hayata biraz daha dahil olmaya başladı.

Sovyet Rusya döneminde kadınlar hem ekonomik ve politik hem de sosyal hayata daha iyi entegre olmaya başladı. Kadınlar seçme ve seçilme hakkı, eğitim hakkı, nüfus sayımında sayılma gibi haklara sahip oldular. Belki de cinsiyet rolü olarak kadınların hayatındaki en büyük değişiklik ekonomik bağımsızlıkları elde etmeleri ve çalışma hayatına dahil olmalarıydı. Bir devlet politikası olarak yeni kurulan bir devletin kalkınması ve ilerlemesi açısından kadınların iş gücüne katılması önem taşımaktaydı. Kadınların ekonomiye dahil olmasının yanında annelik yine Sovyet devleti tarafından sürekli olarak yüceltilip teşvik ediliyordu. Çocuk sayısına göre madalya veya plaket verilerek ve anneliğin bir kadının en önemli rolü olduğu vurgulanmaktaydı. Gelecek nesillerin yetiştirilmesinde ve sistemin devamlılığı açısından kadının annelik rolü devlet için önem taşımaktaydı. Sovyetler döneminde kadının hem ekonomik hayata katılması hem de annelik rolünün sürekli olarak teşvik edilmesi kadının üstüne fazladan bir yük yüklenmesine neden olduğu birçok araştırmacı tarafından vurgulanmaktadır. Bunun yanında erkeklerin geleneksel rolü Sovyet Rusya’da da devam etmekteydi. Aileyi geçindirme rolü erkekler ve kadınlar arasında paylaşıldığı için bazı araştırmacılar erkeklerin sahip olduğu en önemli cinsiyet rolünü kaybettiklerini hissederek cinsiyet kimliği krizine girdiklerini söylemektedir. Bunun dışında, devlet kadınların hem çalışıp hem de birden fazla

çocuk sahibi olabilmelerini kolaylaştırmak amacıyla devlet imkanlarıyla çocuk bakımevleri ve çocukların beslenmeleri ile eğitimleri gibi ihtiyaçlarını büyük çoğunlukta karşılamaya çalışıyordu. Bu da erkeklerin babalık rollerinin ikinci plana atılmasına sebep oluyordu. Devlet kadınların ekonomik hayata dahil olmasına teşvik ederek ve aynı zamanda çocukların bakımlarının büyük bir kısmını üstlenerek erkeklerin cinsiyet rollerini büyük ölçüde ellerinden almış oluyordu. Sonuç olarak Sovyet Rusya döneminde devlet politikalarının cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim üzerinde etkisi yüksektir. Bazı araştırmacılar ve uzmanlar kadınların ekonomik hayata dahil olmalarının erkeklerle eşit haklara sahip olmaları açısından önemli bir gelişme olduğunu savunsalar da hem işçi hem de popülasyonun artması açısından cinsiyet rollerinin kullanıldığını savunanlar da vardır.

Sovyet sonrası Rusya'da erkeklerin ve kadınların cinsiyet rolleri Sovyet dönemindeki haliyle devam etmektedir. Rusya Federasyonu'nda devlet cinsiyet üzerinden politikalarına devam etmektedir ancak Sovyet Rusya dönemindeki kadar ailedeki cinsiyet rollerine dahil olmadan bunu yapmaktadır. Ataerkil toplum düzeni devam etmektedir ancak demokrasiye geçiş ile de birlikte en azından teoride cinsiyetler arası bir eşitlik sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Anelik Sovyet sonrası Rusya'da yine kadının önemli bir rolüdür ancak Sovyet Rusya'da olduğu kadar baskıcı bir şekilde teşvik edilmemektedir ki bunu doğum oranlarındaki azalma da göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak Rusya Federasyonu'nda rejim değişikliği ve demokrasiye geçiş cinsiyet rolleri açısından büyük bir değişikliğe sebep olmamış gözükmektedir.

Tezde incelenen bir diğer konu ise cinsel yönelimlerin toplumda nasıl algılandığı ve Çarlık, Sovyet ve sonrası dönemdeki yönetimlerin homoseksüel ve trans bireylere nasıl politikalar uyguladığıdır. Heteroseksüel olmayan bireylerin Rusya'nın farklı dönemlerinde nasıl uygulamalarla karşılaştığını analiz etmek bugünkü Rusya'da sahip oldukları konumu ve üstesinden gelmek zorunda kaldıkları durumları anlayabilmek açısından önem taşımaktadır. Çarlık dönemi Rusya'da homoseksüellik hoş görülmemekte ve toplum tarafından kabul edilmemektedir. Devlet de homoseksüelliği yasal olarak kabul etmemektedir ve heteroseksüel bireylerle eşit haklara sahip değillerdi. Homoseksüel erkeklere ve kadınlara farklı şekilde

yaptırımlar uygulanıyordu. Erkek homoseksüelliği bir suç olarak görülmekteydi ve çoğu zaman hapis ile cezalandırılmaktaydı. Kadın homoseksüelliği ise zihinsel bir hastalık olarak kabul edildiği için psikolojik olarak tedavi edilmeye çalışılıyordu. Erkek homoseksüeller özel hayatlarını genellikle hamamlarda devam ettirmeye çalışırken, kadın homoseksüeller ev toplantılarında hayatlarını devam ettirmeye çalışıyorlardı. Dolayısıyla homoseksüel ve trans bireylerin toplumsal alanda görünürlüklerinin olmadığını söyleyebiliriz. Çarlık Rusya'da homoseksüel ve trans bireyler toplumdan dışlanmakta ve kendilerine karşı toplumsal bir önyargı mevcuttu. Ortodoks Kilisesi ise toplumdaki bu önyargı ve düşmanca algıyı arttıracak açıklamalarda bulunarak homoseksüelliğin geleneksel bir ilişki biçimi olmadığından dolayı bir günah olduğunu vurgulamaktaydı. Sonuç olarak homoseksüellik Çarlık Rusya'da bir tabu olarak görülme ve cezalandırılmakta ya da tedavi edilmeye çalışılmaktaydı.

Sovyet Rusya'nın ilk dönemlerinde homoseksüellik bir suç olmaktan çıkarılmıştı. Ancak bu homoseksüel ve heteroseksüel bireylerin eşit haklara sahip olması anlamına gelmiyordu. Çünkü toplumda yer edinen homofobik düşünceler devam etmekteydi. Bu durum da homoseksüel ve trans bireylerin toplumda bir yer edinmesi ve kendi ekonomik özgürlüklerinin olmasını engellemekteydi. Kadın homoseksüelliği Sovyet Rusya'da bazı entelektüel kişiler arasında ve yazılı kaynaklarda tartışılmaya başlansa da erkek homoseksüelliği hala kabul görmemekteydi ve suç olmaktan çıkarılmasına rağmen sosyal ve yasal hakları göz ardı edilmekteydi. Bunun dışında homoseksüel ve trans bireyler üzerinde psikolojik baskı uygulanmaya devam etmekteydi çünkü kendilerini açıklayabilecekleri bir ortam bulmaları zordu. Sovyet dönemi tıp kitapları da homoseksüelliğin tedavi edilmesi gereken bir hastalık olduğunu vurgulamaktaydı. Erkek homoseksüelliğinin suç olmaktan çıkarılması çok uzun sürmedi. Stalin döneminde homoseksüellik tekrar yasaya suç olarak eklendi ve hapis ile cezalandırılmalar, tutuklamalar tekrar yaşanmaya başladı. Genel olarak homoseksüelliğin devlet ve toplum tarafından hoşgörü ile karşılanamaması homoseksüellik hakkında doğru ve tam bilgi sahibi olunmamasından kaynaklıydı. Eğitimlerine devam etmeleri ve geçimlerini

sağlayabilmek için iş bulmaları da oldukça zordu. Dolayısıyla, Sovyet Rusya'da da Çarlık Rusya döneminde olduğu gibi toplumdan dışlandılar, ötekileştirildiler ve ikinci planda bırakıldılar. Özellikle erkek homoseksüelliği kadın homoseksüelliğine göre çok daha fazla tepki aldı ve devlet tarafından sert bir şekilde karşılandı. O dönemde Rusya'nın farklı bölgelerinde yapılan araştırma ve anketlerin sonucunda homoseksüellere ne yapılmalı sorusuna ankete katılanların yarısından fazlası öldürmeyi ve toplumdan dışlamayı önerirken sadece yüzde beşlik bir kısım yardıma ve desteğe ihtiyaçları olduğunu söylemiştir. Bu araştırmalar ve özellikle Stalin döneminde uygulanan psikolojik ve fiziksel şiddet, devletin teşvik ettiği toplumdaki homofobik yaklaşımı göstermektedir.

Sovyet sonrası Rusya'da homoseksüellik suç olmaktan çıkarıldı ve yasal hale getirildi. Ancak bu homoseksüel ve trans bireylerin hayatlarını kolaylaştırıcı bir adım olmadı çünkü bugünkü Rusya'da homoseksüel ve trans bireylerin yasal hakları kısıtlanmış ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalmaya devam ediyorlar. Toplumun homoseksüel ve trans bireylere olan yaklaşımı Rusya Federasyonu'nda da hala ön yargılı ve düşmanca devam etmektedir. Homofobik yaklaşımın devam etmekte olduğunu yine araştırmalar ve anket sonuçlarına bakarak söyleyebiliriz. Toplumdaki bu yaklaşımın temelini medyanın kullandığı dil, Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin homoseksüelliği bir günah olarak görmesi ve halkı sürekli olarak bu konu ile ilgili uyarması ayrıca tanınmış kişilerin ve politik figürlerin yaptıkları nefret söylemleri ve aşağılayıcı konuşmalar homoseksüel ve trans bireylerin toplumdan yabancılaştırılmasına sebep olmaktadır. Geleneksel olarak kabul görmüş bir ilişki yaşamadıkları için ya da çoğu zaman eşcinsellik pedofili ile bir tutulduğu için toplum varlıklarını kabul etmeyip genellikle yok saymaktadır. Yasal statülerine baktığımız zaman homoseksüel ve trans bireylerin herhangi toplanma, yürüyüş yapma veya gösteri yapma hakları yasa ile engellenmiştir. Gerekçe olarak geleneksel ilişki biçiminden farklı bir ilişki durumu içerisinde buldukları için çocukları olumsuz yönde etkileyebilecekleri için bir araya gelip eşcinselliği vurgulayıcı propaganda yapılması yasaklanmıştır. Bunun dışında aynı cinsiyete sahip bireylerin evlilikleri yasaktır ve çocuk evlat edinme hakları yoktur. Sonuç olarak Çarlık dönemi ve Sovyet dönemindeki homoseksüel ve

trans bireylere olan yaklaşım Rusya Federasyonu'nda da şekilde deęiřtirerek devam etmektedir.

Bu tezde cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler ve LGBT hareketlerinin ortaya çıkışı ve gelişimini incelemeyden önce bu toplumsal hareketlere neden olan ve deęiřmesi için tepki gösterilen cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim temelli sosyal problemler incelenmiştir. Çarlık Rusya'da ataerkil sosyal toplum yapısının da bir sonucu olarak kadının arka planda bırakılması, kadına yönelik şiddet ve ekonomik, politik, sosyal alanda maruz kaldıkları ayrımcılık dönemin cinsiyet ile ilgili problemlerini oluşturmaktaydı. Aile içi şiddet çoęu zaman eşlerin veya babaların ailedeki kadınları disipline sokma şekli olarak görülüp Ortodoks Kilisesi tarafından desteklenirken, cinsel saldırı sadece evli olmayan bekar kadınlar için bir suç olarak görülüp ceza verilmekteydi. Erkeklerle karşı cinsel saldırı ise yasa da herhangi bir şekilde yer almamaktaydı. Kürtaj yasal deęildi, bu da devletin kadının bedeni üzerindeki kontrolünün bir göstergesiydi. Ekonomik alanda kadınların iş sahibi olması erkeklere göre daha zorken ve aynı zamanda cinsiyetler arası maaş dengesizleri de söz konusuydu. Buna ek olarak politik alanda da oy kullanma haklarını elde edememişlerdi.

Sovyet Rusya'da devletin kadınların annelik rolünü yüceltmesi ve annelięi teşvik edici politikaları sayesinde kadınlar üzerinden nüfus planlaması yapılmıştır. Kürtaj Sovyet Rusya'nın ilk dönem dışında yasal deęildi, boşanma yasal olarak Çarlık dönemine göre daha çok zorlaştırılmıştı. Bunun yanında devlet çocuk bakımlarının bir kısmını karşılamakta ve belli bir çocuk sayısına göre anneyi madalya veya plaket gibi ödüllendirerek Sovyet sisteminin devamlılıęını için gelecek nesilleri yetiřtirmesini teşvik etmektedir. Kadın seçme ve seçilme hakkını elde etmiş ancak siyasi alanda çok etkin olamamıştır. Belki de cinsiyet rollerinde en önemli deęişiklik kadının ekonomik alana dahil olması sonucunda aynı zamanda annelik rolünü de devam ettirmeye çalışırken üzerlerinde fazladan baskı hissetmelerine neden olmuştur. Fakat ekonomik alanda cinsiyetler arasında ücret dengesizlięi söz konusuydu ve erkeklere göre kadınların iş bulma ihtimali daha düşüktü. Kadınların ekonomik hayata dahil olması sonucunda erkeklerin en önemli cinsiyet rolü olan evi geçindirme ve ailenin reisi olma durumu sarsılmış, kadınlar ekonomik özgürlüklerini

çoğunlukla ellerine almışlardı. Bazı araştırmacılar bu durumun erkeklerde cinsiyet kimlik krizine neden olduğunu savunmaktadır. Erkeklerin içinde bulunduğu durum özellikle Sovyet sonrası Rusya’da erkekler arasında artan alkol tüketimi, intihar oranı ve beklenen yaşam süresindeki düşüş ile açıklanabilir.

Rusya Federasyonu’nda devlet cinsiyet üzerinden politikalar üretmeye devam etmiştir ama devlet politikalarına ek olarak medya ve Ortodoks Kilisesi’nin cinsiyet üzerinden söylemleri, cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim temelli sosyal problemlerin ortaya çıkması ve çözümsüz hale gelmesinde önemli bir etken olmuştur. Kullanılan dil ve ifadeler, medyada cinsiyetlerin üzerine yüklenen roller ile Kilise’nin açıklamaları toplumun cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim ile ilgili algısını yönetmektedir. Kadınlar televizyon programlarında annelik ya da ev hanımı olmalarıyla ön plana çıkarılırken, Kilise’de bu algı yönetimine paralel bir şekilde katkı sağlamaktadır. Doğum kontrol yöntemlerinin, kürtajın ve eşcinselliğin günah olduğu ve toplumda kabul görmemesini desteklediği görülmektedir. Günümüzde Rusya’da dinin ve medyanın da desteğiyle toplum cinsiyet ile ilgili bu durumları bir tabu haline getirmeye başlamıştır. Bunun dışında kadın haklarının Rusya’da demokrasiye geçiş ile birlikte daha çok korunduğunu göz önünde bulundurulsa da pratikte aile içi şiddet artarak devam etmekte ve anket sonuçlarına göre aile içi şiddet çoğunluk tarafından kabullenilmektedir. Sovyet Rusya’daki cinsiyet ile ilgili problemler dışında kadınların uluslararası alanda cinsel amaçlı para karşılığı ticaretinin yapılması Rusya Federasyonu’nda önemli bir problem haline gelmiştir. Serbest piyasa ekonomisine geçişin ve sınırların kaldırılmasının bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmış olan bu problem artarak devam etmektedir. Rusya Federasyonu’nda yine politik ve ekonomik alanda kadın ikinci planda kalmakta, kadın milletvekili ve bakan sayısı erkeklere göre çok daha az, kadın müdür ve üst düzey yönetici sayısı da yine aynı şekilde erkeklere göre daha azdır. Tüm bu problemler cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketlerin çıkış noktası olarak görülebilir.

Cinsiyet temelli ve LGBT sosyal hareketlerinin Rusya’daki tarihsel sürecine bakacak olursak, Çarlık döneminde erkeklerin dahil olduğu toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ile ilgili bir sosyal harekete rastlanmamaktadır, ancak kadın hareketi olarak görülebilecek

feminizmin yavaş yavaş ilk oluşumlarını gözlemleyebiliyoruz. Kadının sosyal hayatta ikinci planda bırakılması sebebiyle buna karşı çıkmış ve toplum baskının dayattığından çok daha farklı bir şekilde yaşamını çizmeye çalışan kadınların diğer kadınlara örnek olması ve onların da hayatlarını değiştirmesi açısından önemli bir harekettir. Nikolai Chernyshevskii'nin "Nasıl Yapmalı?" adlı romanından da etkilenen bir çok kadın yurtdışında eğitim hayatlarına devam edebilmek için kağıt üzerinde evlilikler yaparak toplum baskısından kurtulmaya çalışmıştır. Bunun dışında kadının yeri edebiyatta tartışılmaya başlanmıştır ki bu da kadınla ilgili sosyal problemleri daha görünür kılmıştır. Bunun dışında kadının dış görünüşü üzerinden belirlenen sosyal statü kavramını yıkmak için kadınlar bir dönem erkek gibi giyinmeye ve saçlarını kısa kestirmeye başlayarak bir akım yaratmışlardır. LGBT hareketine baktığımız zaman homoseksüellik bir suç ve hastalık olarak görüldüğü için kendilerini hep saklamaya çalışmışlardır. Bir kaç küçük sosyal hareket dışında çok başarılı olamamış ve toplumdan destek alamadan devlet tarafından bastırılmışlardır. Sadece bazı entelektüeller homoseksüelliğin bir günah, suç veya hastalık olmadığını yazıları ile topluma ulaştırmaya çalışmışlar ancak bu çaba herhangi toplumsal bir harekete dönüşmemiştir.

Sovyet Rusya döneminde devlet kontrollü bir sivil toplum oluşturulmuş ve kamuoyu bunun üzerinden yönlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Devlet politikası olarak kadın örgütlenmeleri oluşturularak Sovyet sistemini bu şekilde devam ettirmeyi amaçlamışlardır. Yine de devletin kontrolü dışında kadın sorunları ile ilgili konferanslar düzenlenmiştir. Erkeklerin aktivist olarak katıldığı herhangi göze çarpan bir sosyal hareket olmamıştır ancak bir kadın barış hareketi olarak erkeklerin toplumsal cinsiyet rolü olan militarizmle ilgili Asker Anneleri Hareketi oldukça etkili olmuş, Sovyet Rusya sonrasında da etkinliğini devam ettirmiştir. Sovyet Rusya'da LGBT hareketi rejimin son dönemlerine doğru etkinlik kazanarak kamusal alanda görünürlüğünü arttırmıştır. Özellikle yazılı kaynaklar oluşturularak toplumu homoseksüellikle ilgili bilgilendirerek önyargıları yıkmaya çalışmışlardır.

Sovyet sonrası Rusya'da yine çok etkili bir sivil toplum yapılanması ve devlet politikalarına karşı kitlelerin katılım sağladığı cinsiyet temelli bir sosyal harekete

rastlayamıyoruz. Ancak küçük ve çok etkili olmasa da çok sayıda protesto, gösteri, kampanya ve eylem yaparak hem devletin karar alma sürecine etkiye bulunulmaya hem de toplumun dikkatini cinsiyet ile ilgili sosyal sorunlara çekilmeye çalışıldığını gözlemleyebiliyoruz. Erkek aktivistlerin katıldığı sosyal hareketler genellikle anti-militarist konular iken, kadınlar eşit ücret için, şiddet karşıtlığı ile ilgili, çevre ve doğa ile bağlantılı ya da cinsiyet ayrımcılığını içeren geniş kapsamlı bir çerçeve oluşturmaktadırlar. Sovyet sonrası Rusya’da LGBT hareketinin oldukça görünür ve etkin olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. 2013 yılında federal yasa ile homoseksüel ve trans bireylerin geleneksel olmayan ilişki biçiminin propagandasını yaptıkları gerekçesiyle eylem yapma hakkını yasaklayan Rusya Federasyonu’nda LGBT hareketinin bir parçası olan Onur Yürüyüşü’nü de Putin hükümeti engellemiş ve 2006’dan beri yasal izin vermemiştir. Yine de gördükleri şiddete rağmen LGBT aktivistleri eylemlerinden vazgeçmeyip taktik ve söylem değiştirerek protestolarına ve eylemlerine devam etmektedirler.

Sonuç olarak günümüz Rusya’sında toplumun büyük bir kesimi sivil toplumun ve sosyal hareketlerin herhangi bir sorunu çözeceğine inanmadıkları için eyleme katılmadıklarını yapılan araştırma ve anketlerde belirtmektedirler. Bu tezde, sosyal hareketler ve cinsiyetle ilgili problemler tarihsel bağlamda incelenmiştir çünkü bugünkü sosyal hareketler Çarlık ve Sovyet Rusya’nın cinsiyet politikalarından etkilenmişlerdir. Temel araştırma problemi, Rus aktivistlerin cinsiyet sorunlarını belirleyerek, yeni aktivistler için bağlantılar ve kolektif kimlik oluşturarak, aynı zamanda kendi repertuarlarını üretip, stratejilerini kullanarak sosyal hareketlerle nasıl cinsiyet ile ilgili sosyal problemleri görünür hale getirdikleri ve kaygılarını toplumsal alanda, Rusya Federasyonu’nun baskıcı cinsiyet politikalarına rağmen nasıl ifade ettikleridir. Bu tez, Rusya’daki rejim değişikliklerine ve son zamanlardaki demokrasiye geçişine rağmen, günümüz Rusya’sında cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler için kısıtlı bir alan bulunduğunu savunmaktadır. Ancak, Rusya’daki cinsiyet temelli sosyal hareketler ile LGBT hareketlerinin ayrımcılık, eşitsizlik ve şiddet gibi cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal problemlere meydan okuması açısından önem taşır. Kısa dönemde önemli bir sosyal değişikliğin olması zor olsa da, uzun dönemde bu toplumsal hareketler



cinsiyetle ilgili sosyal sorunların görünürlüğü ve toplumun bu sorunlar ile ilgili farkındalığının artması açısından önemlidir.

## Appendix B: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : SECKIN  
Adı : ECEM  
Bölümü : EURASIAN STUDIES

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : GENDER BASED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND LGBT MOVEMENTS IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**