

Appendix A: The Organizations of the Sample¹

Organizations based in Moscow

Tol'ko Mama

Tol'ko Mama (Just Mum) an organization of and for single mothers, was established in 1990, and by 1995 its membership had grown to 50 mothers and their 62 children. Structurally, the members of *Tol'ko Mama* were divided into five cells, each with a local leader or coordinator. The cells functioned fairly autonomously and since the organization had no premises and most of its members were living in far from ideal accommodation, where holding meetings was impractical if not impossible, much of its activity was conducted over the phone. General meetings which were held periodically in borrowed premises were open to all members, indeed all were encouraged to attend since it was otherwise not often possible to gather the entire membership in one place.

Tol'ko Mama's activities had changed over its five-year existence, largely as a result of the changing circumstances of the members. Initially the organization had focused on helping members to survive, and had actively sought material aid for members through foreign charities and embassies and distributed humanitarian aid parcels. The organization had also experimented with retailing women's hand-crafts and coordinating members' trading activities. In 1995, the organization still received some charitable aid which was distributed among members. Trading work had ceased, however, and other activities such as cultural excursions and festivities had developed alongside a continued network of emotional and crisis support. A number of women also saw lobbying to improve the situation of single mothers as part of the remit of such an organization; however, this area of activity was not necessarily supported or even approved of by all members.

Aviatrixa

Aviatrixa was described as a club for women in aviation. It was founded in March 1992 primarily as an association of women pilots, although several women from the technical back-up professions and a handful of air hostesses were also members. By September 1995, *Aviatrixa* had grown from its original 13 to over 200 members in Russia and several of the former Soviet Republics. Officially, the organization was registered in Moscow and Moscow Region only, since to register on a federal level would have required the setting up of branches in a number of centres, a procedure considered too complicated and administratively difficult for the time being at least.

The dearth of women pilots and the barriers restricting women's entry to professions in aviation had been a major focus of *Aviatrixa's* work and attention from its inception. The organization functioned on many levels: as an interest group, bringing together women in aviation from across the entire Former Soviet Union and with connections to similar organizations abroad, as a self-help organization, working to provide help and support for retired and unemployed pilots

and veterans, as a lobbying organization, working politically and through the media in an attempt to gain more equality for women in aviation, to secure the rights of and respect for women veterans and retired pilots and to promote opportunities for younger women.

Moskvichka

Moskvichka, an organization with close links to the Russian Orthodox Church, was founded in 1991 and focused primarily on women's creativity, but was not an exclusively female organization. Men were both ordinary members and, more particularly, holders of decision-making and leading roles. This was compatible with the club's ethos, adopted directly from the teachings of Russian Orthodoxy, that to lead is a male role, whilst women should support and follow. The link between spirituality and creativity was the defining factor in the club's activities not the pursuit of issues relating directly to women and their position in society. An overtly anti-feminist organization, *Moskvichka* was, nonetheless, happy to work with other, often more radical, women's organizations and frequently provided music and dance entertainment at women's events organized by the latter.

Organizations based in Saratov

Klub Delovyykh Zhenshchin

Klub Delovyykh Zhenshchin (Business Women's Club) was set up with the help of the United States Peace Corps in 1994. Although nominally an organization for business women, *Delovyye* was understood by members in its broadest sense, meaning active or industrious as well as businesslike, and the organization worked with socially active women in several spheres.

Over the summer of 1995 the Club had reorganized itself structurally, electing a new president and several vice-presidents, each of whom was responsible for an area of activity: business, social, training and so on. The business section organized various presentations and training sessions for members; the training section was setting up and running conflict-resolution seminars for a variety of groups, both locally and in other areas of the country; thematic events were planned by the social section to combine talks by speakers from other organizations, political parties or media groups, with social gatherings.

As well as continued cooperation with the Peace Corps the club enjoyed close links with the Eurasia Foundation, where its president was employed, with the League of Women Voters and Emily's List, in the USA, and with the Women's Consortium NIS-USA. *Klub Delovyykh Zhenshchin* also cooperated with other Russian women's organizations, and regionally with various political and media organizations as well as with local enterprises and business experts.

Assotsiatsiia Zhenshchin Iuristov

In 1995, *Assotsiatsiia Zhenshchin Iuristov* (Association of Women Lawyers) was one of the few nationwide associations to have been originally founded and to still be based outside Moscow or St Petersburg. The Association was founded in April 1994, to organize and coordinate women in the legal professions and to address

legislative and juridical issues faced by Russian non-governmental women's organizations.

In Saratov, the original local branch of *Assotsiatsiia Zhenshchin Iuristov* had set up a free legal advice service for women and especially for mothers of children with disabilities. This service was staffed by the association's members on a voluntary basis. In December 1995 a campaign against violence towards women was organized in cooperation with women working in the law enforcement agencies. This campaign included a citywide fortnight of events protesting against violence against women and children launched in collaboration with several regional non-governmental organizations.

On a nationwide scale, the association conducted conferences and seminars on women and law, was working on the creation of a database and library of legal documents and material relating to women and women's rights, and aimed to set up a monthly round table to discuss legal issues and new legislation. The association also drafted lists of amendments and improvements to legislative bills on housing, labour, citizenship and the family, all of which were presented to the Women of Russia faction at their Congress in 1994. Finally, as experts in the field of legislation and the law, *Assotsiatsiia Zhenshchin Iuristov* pledged to offer advice to other non-governmental women's organizations on their rights and those of their members.

Zhenskaia Liga 'Initsiativa'

Zhenskaia Liga 'Initsiativa' (The Women's League 'Initiative') was founded early in 1995. Its members stressed its role in promoting women in the arts and creative work. However, *Initsiativa* had also cooperated with other local women's organizations to organize a seminar on 'Women in Politics', and its members had been involved in conflict-resolution training and political lobbying work and were planning to work in future on issues relating to social protection for children, women's employment and networking for women's organizations. Leading members also regarded the organization as part of a growing Russian women's movement and ascribed to it a mission of improving and consolidating women's position in society.

In November 1995, *Initsiativa's* leaders were planning various future activities including the organization of art exhibitions and sale of women's art work, work with the media, promotion of women's writing and publishing, and the setting up of a local centre for families and children. Organizationally, *Initsiativa* was still in its formative stages at the time of the fieldwork, and although seven women had been appointed to functions within the organization, there was little coherence or coordination of plans, activities or policies.

Dostoinstvo

Although not officially registered until April 1994, Saratov's *Dostoinstvo* (Dignity) was first set up as an 'independent social organization of women' in 1992. It modelled itself on the Moscow-based organization of the same name which was founded in the Soviet era by two female deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR. *Dostoinstvo* maintained close ties with the Communist Party, and members explained that its main objectives were a reversal of recent market reforms and an end to armed conflict. The organization supported the principle

of equal participation in the workforce and public life for women and 50 per cent quotas for female representation in all legislative and executive bodies.

Dostoinstvo organized both political and social events. Initially founder members had hoped that their organization would offer members the kind of collective leisure activities and festivities previously provided through the local party and the workplace, but the political and economic crisis had forced a change in priorities. In 1995 *Dostoinstvo* was actively involved in political campaigning for the local Communist Party as well as lobbying other political parties and officials. Nonetheless *Dostoinstvo's* leaders were keen that their organization should not be sidelined either as only communist, or as only a women's organization, and were actively involved in the town's growing non-governmental, non-commercial sector.

Organizations based in Tver'

Zhenskii Svet

Zhenskii Svet (Women's Light/Society²) was an overtly feminist organization working on issues of consciousness-raising and education. In the late 1980s, its founder, Valentina Uspenskaia, a senior lecturer and researcher at the University of Tver', began to offer graduate courses on 'the family and relations between the sexes' which developed into special option, gender studies courses. A trip to Western Europe in 1991 inspired her to try and do something on a more public level. The public lectures and readings on feminism and women's history which followed drew a circle of like-minded women to form an organization.

By winter 1995–96, *Zhenskii Svet's* activities and membership had developed and the leadership had changed. Valentina had encouraged other women to take leadership and had herself retired from the role of president, concentrating her energies instead on the establishment of a new organization.³ Other women had left *Zhenskii Svet* to form new groups of their own, but still kept fairly close ties to their mother organization.

The new president of *Zhenskii Svet* was part of the Russian delegation to the NGO Forum on Women 1995 in Huairou in September 1995. *Zhenskii Svet* organized conferences and seminars on a local level and participated in those organized in other regions, or nationally by similar women's organizations. A women's week was organized annually in March, often with guests from other cities, the capital or abroad, and members had participated in vigils against violence and organized publicity and fund-raising events.

Stupen'

Stupen' (Step) was one of the organizations formed by ex-members of *Zhenskii Svet*. It was an overtly feminist organization aiming primarily to attract younger women to the women's movement in Russia by increasing their awareness of women's issues and bolstering their self-esteem. In January 1996, the organization had only been in existence for approximately six months. Its two founder members had abandoned initial plans to set up a rape crisis centre as beyond their capabilities, and were looking instead to what they could realistically offer given their experience, skills and resources. One of these young women managed a warehousing and

retailing outfit and planned to convert an unused part of her building into a drop-in centre for young women. The other, a professional seamstress, planned to run dressmaking courses and organize an open workshop for young women. She saw this firstly as a practical way of helping young women by passing on a useful skill; secondly as a more appealing means of attracting young women to the centre, where feminist literature and information leaflets would be readily available; and finally as a potential source of income for the running of the centre since the garments produced could be sold through her husband's clothes shop.

Klub Zhenskikh Initsiativ

Set up in 1994, this organization worked primarily with unemployed women. *Klub Zhenskikh Initsiativ* (Club for Women's Initiatives) was founded on the basis of an already existing job-creation scheme through which women with disabilities were offered the chance to work from home in garment manufacturing. Since registering officially as a charitable centre for women, the club had broadened its activities: work experience opportunities were offered to young female graduates, whilst support, information, networking and free consultation were available to women entrepreneurs. A women's job club had been set up for unemployed women offering vacancy lists, guidance on job applications and consultations with a woman psychologist, focusing on raising women's self-esteem and assertiveness.

Klub Zhenskikh Initsiativ worked closely with the local department of the Federal Employment Agency and saw itself as a champion of women's rights in this context, actively lobbying official bodies to promote and protect women's rights and interests. In 1995, the leaders of *Klub Zhenskikh Initsiativ* were cooperating with the Regional Committee for Employment and the Employment Fund to elaborate joint programmes to promote the development of women's employment, enterprise and creativity.

The women running this organization were increasingly being drawn into the general activities of local non-governmental women's organizations. They had participated in a vigil against violence and a fund-raising 'Bring and buy' sale organized by *Zhenskii Svet* and *Stupen'*, and often sent a representative to locally-organized conferences and seminars. In January 1996, faced with the possible loss of their rented premises, the Club's leaders called on local women's organizations to protest this and hold a sit-in.

Organizations based in Tarusa

Taruskoe Ob"edinenie Zhenshchin

Taruskoe Ob"edinenie Zhenshchin (Association of Women of Tarusa), developed as a result of the initiative of its president, a dynamic local journalist, who continued to mastermind the group. This organization offered crisis support, advocacy, lobbying and self-help for any local woman who wanted or needed it. Issues important to the membership were taken up by the association as a whole, for example intensive petitioning against the war in Chechnya and in favour of alternative public service. In the winter of 1995–96, *Taruskoe Ob"edinenie Zhenshchin* was the only independent women's organization functioning in Tarusa, although it had links to other women's organizations in Kaluga and Moscow. It

also worked closely with other groups and establishments in the town, for example the local school.

Umbrella Organizations

ADL

The English initials, ADL, stand for Archive, Database, Library. The inspiration for founding this organization came from the two Independent Women's Forums held in Dubna in 1991 and 1992, and ADL retained close links to the Independent Women's Forum (*Nezavisimyi Zhenskii Forum*), sharing its premises and many of its most active members with the *Informatsionyi Tsentri Nezavisimogo Zhenskogo Foruma* (*ITsNZhF*) (Information Centre of the Independent Women's Forum). The project ran for a three-year period, December 1992–December 1995, funded by the German foundation Frauenanschtiftung.

In the three years of its existence ADL accumulated an extensive library of both western and Russian books and journals relating to women and women's issues. The database, holding information on over 200 women's organizations and over 700 women activists working across the Russian Federation and other countries of the CIS, had been transferred to computer and could be accessed under various headings: geographic, thematic or title or leader's name. The archive contained records of the many seminars, conferences and events which ADL had participated in or organized over the years. ADL had a regular space in the information bulletin produced by *ITsNZhF*, in which new additions to the database and up-and-coming events were advertised.

In December 1995, ADL was dissolved and split into three independent organizations, each of them seeking new sources of funding. The archive was removed to the home of a senior researcher at the Moscow Centre for Gender Studies who pledged to seek funding in order to re-house the material and make it accessible to both Russian and foreign researchers and students. The database was to continue to function under the aegis either of *ITsNZhF*, or of the newly-formed *Assotsiatsiia Nezavisimykh Zhenskikh Organizatsii* (*ANZhO*) (Association of Independent Women's Organizations). The library was removed to Zhukovskii, a small town on the outskirts of Moscow where premises were cheaper to rent and where the majority of the women working on this part of the project lived. This move was greeted with regret by many member organizations to the Independent Women's Forum since they felt that the library would no longer be accessible.

***Informatsionyi Tsentri Nezavisimogo Zhenskogo Foruma* (*ITsNZhF*)**

ITsNZhF was formed under the auspices of the Independent Women's Forum's Information–Education project and received sponsorship for a two-year period from the Ford Foundation and the Bank Nefteprodukt. Both *ITsNZhF* and the Information–Education project were initially set up by the organizational committee of the Second Independent Women's Forum in Dubna. The Information–Education project organized various seminars, roundtable discussions and conferences for non-governmental women's organizations, and also acted as a coordinating body for campaigns and long-term activities. Politically, *ITsNZhF* acted as a

lobbying body and promoted expert consultancy on and amendments to draft legislation and national reports and resolutions relating to women, gender and human rights issues. In addition, it worked to facilitate cooperation between non-governmental women's organizations and official government organizations and state structures, although this process was clearly destined to be lengthy and difficult.

The Women's Consortium NIS-USA

The Women's Consortium NIS-USA was an international, umbrella organization working with non-governmental women's organizations in Russia, Ukraine and the USA. The Consortium was funded, up until Spring 1996, by an American government grant, but when this source of funding appeared to be drying up towards the end of 1995 the future of the Consortium was unclear. Its stated aims were to work, 'toward increased women's participation in democracy building by strengthening the organizational capacity of NIS women's NGOs and their leaders' (NIS-US Women's Consortium, 1995). With this in mind, the Consortium organized training seminars and courses. Despite facing financial difficulties itself, the Consortium also offered small, start-up grants to fledgling organizations to help fund the initial costs of technical equipment and support.

The Consortium's members included other Russian women's umbrella organizations such as ADL and the Women's League, and attempts were made to combine efforts in improving networking and communications between non-governmental women's organizations and to seek closer cooperation with official women's organizations and representatives in government bodies. The Consortium was particularly keen to foster links with local and regional women's organizations outside of Russia's major cities.

Appendix B: The Women of the Sample

Table 1 Organization, age, marital status, children

No. of respondent or interviewee	Organization ¹	Age							Marital status			No. of children		
		<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60+	Single	Cohabiting	Married			Divorced	Widowed
										Married	Widowed			
1	Avia.				*					*				1
2	Avia.			*						*				3
3	Avia.				*			*						0
4	Avia.				*						*			1
5	Avia.			*								*		2
6	Avia.				*							*		1
7	Avia.				*				*					0
8	TM.		*					*						1
9	TM.			*							*			1
10	TM.		*					*						1
11	TM.		*					*						1
12	TM.			*				*						1
13	TM.		*					*						1
14	TM.		*					*				*		1
15	TM.					*		*						1
16	TM.			*				*						1
17	TM.			*				*						1
18	TM.				*			*						1
19	TM.		*					*						1
20	TM.		*					*						1
21	TM.		*		*			*						2
22	TM.		*					*						2

Table 1 Organization, age, marital status, children (Cont.)

No. of respondent or interviewee	Organization ¹	Age						Marital status			No. of children		
		<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60+	Single	Cohabiting	Married		Divorced	Widowed
23	TM.		*					*					1
24	TM.			*								*	1
25	TM.		*										2
26	TM.			*						*			2
27	Mosk.			*								*	1
28	ZhEd.			*						*			1
29	ZhEd.			*						*			1
30	KDZh.			*					*				1
31	KDZh.					*				*			2
32	KDZh.			*						*			2
33	KDZh.			*						*			1
34	KDZh.		*								*		0
35	KDZh.			*						*			0
36	KDZh.		*	*						*			0
37	AZhiu.		*	*							*		1
38	AZhiu.		*	*						*			1
39	AZhiu.				*								0
40	AZhiu.		*							*			0
41	AZhiu.		*								*		1
42	AZhiu.		*	*						*			1
43	AZhiu.		*	*						*			0
45	Imis.				*					*			1
46	Imis.		*							*			2

Table 1 Organization, age, marital status, children (Cont.)

No. of respondent or interviewee	Organization ¹	Age						Marital status			No. of children	
		<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60+	Single	Cohabiting	Married		Divorced
78	N/O			*					*			0
79	N/O			*					*			0
80	N/O	*						*				0
81	N/O		*					*				0
82	N/O		*					*				0
83	N/O	*						*				0
84	N/O		*					*				0
85	N/O			*						*		1
86	N/O			*					*			1
87	N/O					*					*	1
88	N/O		*						*			0
89	N/O				*				*			1
90	N/O			*					*			2
92	N/O		*						*			1
93	N/O			*								1
94	N/O				*				*			2
95	N/O			*					*			1
96	N/O		*						*			1
97	N/O				*					*		1
98	N/O		*						*			1
99	N/O		*						*			2
100	N/O			*					*			1
101	N/O			*					*		*	1

Table 2 Education, profession, occupation

No. of respondent or interviewee	Education	Profession/specialism	Occupation
1	Special secondary	Pilot and flying instructor	Pensioner
2	Higher	Pilot and flight engineer	Analysis of black box information
3	Higher	Aviation engineer, pilot	Attendant at museum of aviation
4	Higher	Test-flight engineer	Pensioner; attendant at theatre and art gallery
5	Special secondary	Pilot	Pensioner; Accountant.
6	Higher	Aviation engineer	Pensioner; Sells needlework
7	Higher	Pilot	Dispatch pilot
8	Special secondary	Engineer	Administrator at private firm; secretary; travel agent
9	Higher	Technician and engineer in plastics	Cleaner at cinema
10	Higher	History and english	Teacher
11	Higher	Economy and enterprise management	Civil servant
12	Higher	Electrical engineer	Project work institute
13	Higher	Construction engineer	Bilingual secretary for German firm
14	Higher	Economist	Unemployed housewife
15	Higher	Computer programmer	Engineer for private trading company
16	Higher	Economist	Civil servant
17	Higher	Doctor	Doctor; cleaner and administrator at hospital
18	Higher	Electronics and fibre optics	Hidden unemployment (i.e. still on books at factory)
19	Higher	Economist	Works at university (No mention of actual job)
20	Higher	Economist	Civil servant
21	Higher	Technological engineering	Unemployed, caring for severely disabled son
22	Higher	Teacher: Russian language and literature	Worker
23	Higher	Dramatic arts	Theatre attendant
24	Higher	Mechanical engineer	Shop assistant
25	Special secondary	Electrician	Unemployed housewife
26	Special secondary	Trade and commerce	Unemployed housewife
27	Higher	Musician and composer	Music teacher at college of further education

28	Higher	Accountant	Unemployed: occasional work as trainer/consultant
29	Higher	Engineer	Unemployed
30	Higher	Philology	Administrator of charitable foundation
31	Higher	Geologist	Geological research institute
32	Higher	Mathematician	Analyst for pension fund
33	Higher	Doctor	Director of enterprise run by disabled people's society
34	Special secondary	Musician and cultural work	Secretary for private firm/office manager for KDZh.
35	Higher	Teacher of English and German	Administrator at joint venture
36	Higher	Social work	Lecturer at medical institute
37	Higher	Psychology and law	Civil servant, legal expert.
38	Higher	Mathematics	Police officer
39	Higher	Law	Post graduate student; lecturer on criminal law
40	Higher	Law	Solicitor
41	Higher	Law	Solicitor
42	Higher	Law	Consultant at free legal consultancy for women
43	Higher	Law	Student: Workplacement as solicitor
44	Higher	Physicist	Geophysicist
45	Higher	Geography	Head of department in bookshop
46	Special secondary		Artist
47	Higher	Pedagogue, psychologist, social worker	Psychologist
48	Higher	Chemist	Shop assistant
49	Higher	Political economist	Pensioner
50	Special secondary	Teacher of music	Unemployed
51	Higher	Electrical engineer	Project worker at Scientific Research Institute
52	Higher	Biologist	Farmer
53	Higher	Chemical engineer	Teacher
54	Higher	Electrical engineer/business management	Unemployed
55	Higher	Mechanical engineer	Pensioner
56	Higher	Historian	University lecturer; research on women's issues
57	Higher	Engineer	
58	Higher	Lecturer in Social Sciences and English	Business
59	Unfinished higher		Secretary of literary society
60	Higher	Linguist and Lawyer	Student and secretary in private firm

Table 2 Education, profession, occupation (*Cont.*)

No. of respondent or interviewee	Education	Profession/specialism	Occupation
61	Special secondary		Administrator in private firm
62	Special Secondary	Seamstress	Private enterprise
63	Unfinished higher	Historian	Manager of retailing and warehouse enterprise
64	Higher	Economist and engineer	Director KZHI
65	Special Secondary	Bookkeeper and auditor	Temporary work placement at KZHI
66	Higher	Psychologist	Psychologist at KZHI
67	Special Secondary	Fashion designer and Seamstress	Deputy director KZHI
68	Higher	Linguistics	Journalist and editor of private newspaper
69	Higher	Art	Curator of small local museum
70	Special Secondary	Forestry	Private farmer
71	Higher	Medicine and psychologist	Local doctor, psychologist and drug specialist
72	Secondary		Bus conductor
73	Special secondary	Technical assistance in geology	Unemployed
74	Unfinished higher	Electronics	Housewife
75	Higher	Mining technology and engineering	Pensioner
76	Higher	Psychology and business	Co-director of private college
77			
78			
79	Special secondary	Copy editor	Unemployed housewife
80	Higher	Oriental studies and Japanese	Student
81	Special secondary	Medicine	Nurse
82	Higher	Japanese	Student
83	Special secondary	Midwife and laboratory technician	Unemployed
84	Higher	Japanese and office skills	Student
85	Higher	Medicine	Medical worker
86	Higher	Medicine	Medical worker
87	Higher	Medicine	Senior doctor
88	Higher	Medicine	Doctor

89	Higher	Doctor and health worker	Head of admin at polyclinic
90	Higher	Construction engineer	Inspector at polyclinic
91	Higher	Translation, english language	Secretary at polyclinic
92	Higher	Medicine	Works at polyclinic
93	Special secondary	Medicine	Nurse
94	Higher	Doctor	Doctor
95	Special secondary	Nursing	Unemployed
96	Higher	Medicine	General worker at polyclinic
97	Higher	Construction engineer	Deputy rector of college
98	Special secondary	Chemist	Teacher
99	Higher	Trade and commerce	Admin worker at college
100	Higher	Engineer	Bookkeeper at college
101	Higher	Psychologist	Teacher at college
102	Higher	Pedagogue	Teacher at college
103	Higher	Economist	Teacher at college
104	Higher	Bibliography	Bookkeeper at college
105	Higher	Pedagogy	Primary school teacher
106	Higher	Pedagogy	Primary school teacher
107	Higher	Pedagogy	Primary school teacher
108	Higher	Biologist	Biology teacher
109	Higher	Law	Lawyer
110	Higher	English and pedagogy	Primary school teacher
111	Higher		Teacher
112	Higher		Teacher
113	Higher	Chemistry and pedagogy	Headmistress of primary school
114	Higher	German and pedagogy	Primary school teacher
115	Higher		Primary school teacher
116	Special secondary	Artist	Artist

Where categories are left blank, respondent did not provide information.

Appendix C: Conferences, Seminars and Events Attended during Fieldwork

- ‘Femmes en train pour Beijing’, two days of events in Moscow for women from across Europe, travelling by train to UN Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, and parallel NGO Forum, Huairou, 22–3 August 1995, various locations in Moscow, organizers: Women’s League, Union of Women of Russia.
- ‘III Inter-regional seminar in the series: Strategies of the Independent Women’s Forum before and after Beijing’, last in a series of three preparatory seminars for Russian delegates to NGO Forum, Huairou, 25–7 August 1995, Trekhgorka, Moscow Region, organizers: ADL, *ITsNZhF*.
- ‘International Forum of Women in Aviation’, 15–17 September 1995, various venues, Moscow, organizers: *Aviatrisa*.
- Roundtable discussions on Reproductive Rights, 23 September 1995, *Rossiiskaia Meditsinskaia Akademiia po diplomomu obrazovaniiu*, Moscow, organizers: Open Dialogue on Reproductive Rights, a project of the Independent Women’s Forum.
- Information and training on sexual violence against women and the work of crisis centres, 24 September 1995, Moscow, organizers: Moscow Assault Recovery Centre ‘*Siostry*’, Moscow Crisis Centre for women.
- Training Seminar for local and regional non-commercial non-governmental organizations: Closing reception and presentation, 28 September 1995, premises of the MacArthur Foundation, Moscow, organizers: Feminist Orientation Centre.
- Roundtable on Domestic Violence and court cases involving expert witnesses, 21–2 October 1995, premises of the MacArthur Foundation, Moscow, organizers: Women’s Consortium NIS–USA, American Bar Association.
- Tema*: televised debate on abortion and reproductive rights, various women’s organizations present amongst studio audience, 24 October 1995, Ostankino Television Complex, Moscow, organizers: Open Dialogue on Reproductive Rights, Moscow Centre for Gender Studies, *ITsNZhF* Feminist Orientation Centre and others.
- ‘Seminar for local women leaders’: basic introduction to the work of various women’s non-governmental organizations and report back from UN Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 28 October 1995, school no. 5, Tarusa, Kaluga Region, organizers: *Taruskoe Ob’edinenie Zhenshchin*, Women’s Consortium NIS–USA.
- Klub Delovyykh Zhenshchin*, Executive committee planning meeting and introduction to new local representative of American Peace Corps, 1 November 1995, premises of the Eurasia Foundation, Saratov.
- ‘Women’s and children’s rights: International experience’: reports on the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and on various aspects of the Work of the Association of Women

- Lawyers, 3 November 1995, school no. 30, Saratov, organizers: *Assotsiatsiia Zhenshchin Iuristov*.
- 'Content analysis of images of women in the Russian press': presentation of ongoing research, 9 November 1995, premises of the MacArthur Foundation, Moscow, organizers: *Assotsiatsiia Zhurnalistok*.
- Women's Consortium NIS-USA, annual general meeting for representatives of all member organizations, 15 November 1995, premises of Carnegie Foundation, Moscow.
- 'Women in Black': demonstration against violence against women, 19 November 1995, Pushkin square, Moscow, organizers: Women's Consortium NIS-USA.
- Conflict Resolution training seminar, 24-6 November 1995, school no. 5, Tarusa, Kaluga Region, organizers: *Taruskoe Ob''edinenie Zhenshchin, Klub Delovyykh Zhenshchin*, Women's Consortium NIS-USA.
- 'Inter-regional seminar, "From Conclusions to Perspectives"': final seminar for ADL, creation of *ANZhO*, 4-6 December 1995, Dubna, Moscow Region, organizers: ADL, *ITsNZhF*.
- 'A psychoanalysts view of women in politics': evening talk and discussion, 20 December 1995, Moscow, organizers: *F-1 Klub*
- 'Regional Forum for Women's Leaders', 10-12 January 1996, University of Tver', organizers: *Zhenskii Svet*, Independent women's democratic initiative (*NeZhDI*)
- 'Gender Research in Russia: Problems, Cooperation and Prospects for Development', 24-25 January 1996, Academy of Sciences, Moscow, organizers: Moscow Centre for Gender Studies.

Notes

Introduction

1. Where umbrella organizations are referred to which are better known by the English version of their names in the West these names will be used in the text. The Russian name will be given in parentheses the first time each organization is referred to. The grassroots women's organizations of this sample, however, will be referred to by their Russian names.
2. A general description of the main organizations involved in this research, their structures, aims and primary areas of activity is provided in Appendix A. Those umbrella organizations whose work and involvement was most closely researched, primarily through participant observation, are also described here.
3. Throughout the book respondents and interviewees will be referred to by number rather than name in order to protect anonymity. Additional information about women from the sample is provided alongside those quotations where it is considered relevant and useful. The only exception to this procedure is where the names of the leaders of organizations are quoted in the context of discussions which were not considered to be especially sensitive. Details concerning all the women who participated directly in the research and who are referred to by number can be found in Appendix B, Tables 1 and 2.
4. Due to the sensitive issues discussed in these final chapters, I felt that identification might be damaging to the women involved and to their continued activity and relations within the context of Russian grassroots women's organizations. Therefore, in Chapters 8 and 9 all citations have been made completely anonymous and neither a number nor any reference to the organization or town from which the respondent came is given. Where women are referred to by name in quotations used in these two chapters the names have been changed.

Chapter 1

1. Clearly the changes which occurred in Russia following the demise of the Soviet Union were much more far-reaching than simply a change in attitudes to gender. It is not within the scope of this work to examine the general social, economic and political changes which took place; however, various studies have been carried out by western, Russian and East-European specialists into the impact of economic and social reform in formerly communist societies. Of these studies a number have focused specifically on the gender implications of reform and the disproportionately high numbers of women affected by unemployment and severe poverty. These works have noted the uneven effect the loss of social infrastructures and welfare provisions has on women as the primary carers in post-Soviet families. Attention has also been drawn to the consequences of increasing crime, violence and sexual harassment for

women both at home and in the work place (Bridger, Kay and Pinnick, 1996; Buckley, 1997; Charles, 1993; Funk and Mueller, 1993; Moghadam, 1993; Pilkington, 1996; Posadskaya, 1994; Rzhantsina, 1993).

2. Similar attitudes towards female violence have been illustrated in Great Britain. In high-profile murder cases involving both male and female defendants, for example Bradly and Hindley, or Rosemary and Fred Woods, the women involved have been subjected to public condemnation and vilification which exceeds that attributed to their male partners in crime. These women's crimes have been deemed all the more shocking since both were involved in the perpetration of violence towards and ultimately the murder of children. Questions of provocation and premeditation have become central to domestic violence cases such as those of Sara Thornton and Kiranjit Alluwalla, both of whom killed their abusive husbands after suffering years of extreme violence.

Chapter 2

1. Similar trends can be observed in western discussions of problems of infertility and reproductive health where the male condition has only recently attracted any significant degree of medical and media attention. Traditionally medical intervention in cases of infertility has been primarily concerned with treating women, and in some cases the male partner's fertility has only been investigated at a relatively late stage after the woman involved may already have undergone several months of uncomfortable and intrusive treatment (Ferri-man, 1995). In terms of the impact men's working conditions may have on their reproductive health, debates and reports published in the mid-1990s began to highlight a fall in average sperm counts and rise in 'serious disorders of the male reproductive system' and suggested that these might be linked to excessive exposure to certain chemicals (Connor, 1995).
2. Ironically, the same question used in the Taganrog study was also the standard question asked of women in Soviet surveys which regularly found that a majority of women declared their desire to go on working regardless of their financial position. These findings were then used to defend and promote the correctness of the Soviet emphasis on women's paid employment.
3. The promotion of a style of home life which is far more luxurious than that enjoyed by the majority of western women and their families is even more illusory when compared with the realities of 'home' for Russian women in this period. The dream of a pleasant semi-detached house with a pretty garden which might still be within the reach of many western families was simply unattainable even for most of the more affluent sections of Russian society. In the early 1990s the overwhelming majority of Russian families still lived in overcrowded flats, many of which were badly in need of renovation. Nor should it be assumed that the communal flats, with their shared kitchens and bathrooms, at least had the positive side-effect of alleviating the problem of isolation frequently described by western housewives and non-working mothers. On the contrary, cramped living conditions not only deprived many Russian families of a degree of privacy and personal space which they continued to crave, they often also produced conflict and animosity and a tendency to avoid rather than cooperate or communicate with neighbours.

4. Similar arguments were also used to support the idea of women's contribution to another sphere from which they were traditionally excluded: the world of business. In this case the point made was that women entrepreneurs were more likely to give back to society than men whose greed and lack of sentiment would lead them instead to hoard all the profits for themselves. Examples of successful businesswomen's generous contributions to charitable and humanitarian causes were not infrequently reported in the Russian press during the early 1990s (Krylova, 1992; Skliar, 1994a; Skliar 1994b). Julia South, formerly of the Women's Training Network, a British based organization involved in extensive business training for women in Russia, reported that 42 per cent of women entrepreneurs interviewed in one such project had stated that they went into business in order to help improve the situation in Russia and not only for the profits (South, 1995).

Chapter 3

1. For discussions of motherhood and its symbolic importance in the Soviet era see: Buckley, 1986; Goldman, 1993; Voronina, 1994; *Woman and Russia: Almanakh for Women by Women*, 1980.
2. By 1993 the annual birth rate had been steadily falling over a six-year period and had reached 1385 million, only 56 per cent of its 1987 level and the lowest rate recorded since the Second World War. This rather dramatic slide appears to have ended here. Thereafter figures indicate a stabilization of the birthrate. Approximately 1.4 million births were registered per annum in 1994, 1995 and 1996 (Nadezhdina, 1996; 'State Statistics Committee...', 1996).
3. Of course the other factor in a declining population apart from a falling birth rate is a rise in mortality rates and lowering of life expectancy. Judith Shapiro pointed out to the annual BASEES conference in 1996 that:

the Russian mortality crisis can be said to be very real, not over and highly significant... it is a substantially unprecedented event, outside of war or famine... male life expectancy at birth has fallen six years since 1991, and female three years... In these circumstances the surprise is perhaps that it is not more politically salient than it has been. (Shapiro, 1996)

4. Such insensitivity towards infertility was exacerbated by the publication of articles offering miracle cures and technological and medical advances in fertility treatments. The tone of articles claiming, for example, that, 'the conception of new life is a controllable mystery' (Ol'khovskaia, 1995, p. 42) and quoting incredibly high success rates for various forms of medical intervention, ranging from 30 per cent for in-vitro fertilization to 50 per cent for repeated artificial insemination, suggested that infertility was no longer an insurmountable problem. The title of the article cited above 'If you want a baby...' itself implied that any woman who seriously wanted a child could now have one (Ol'khovskaia, 1995, pp. 40, 42). Such articles failed entirely to describe the trauma and upheaval involved for women or couples who embark on such programmes of treatment, nor was any comment made on the fate of those women for whom even the most advanced technologies fail.

5. The roots of this trend can also be seen in debates on similar topics conducted through the Soviet press in the late 1980s when public discussion of such negative social phenomena as unwanted children was finally allowed. In this context also, as Elizabeth Waters has pointed out, parents were assumed to be female, and mothers were held primarily responsible and to blame 'for the high numbers of children abandoned to the [children's] homes' (Waters, 1992, p. 129). In the mid to late 1990s, Olga Issupova has found that whilst on the one hand decisions relating to whether or not to keep a child were indeed seen to be women's sole responsibility in most cases, the role of the father was not insignificant. In fact, according to Issupova in her study of women who refused to take their babies home from the maternity clinic, more mothers cited a lack of paternal commitment or even presence as a reason for abandoning their child than concerns relating to housing or material and financial resources (Issupova, 1998).
6. Pronatalist propaganda which began in the Brezhnev years and which has outlived the end of the Soviet Union, consistently promoted the image of the ideal young family (Bridger, 1990, p. 194). During the late 1980s, in the era of glasnost, there was some critical discussion of the tendency for young couples to become young parents, the financial strain this placed on young families and the difficulties encountered by student mothers in finishing their studies. However, this debate seemed to have been forgotten again by the pronatalist lobby of the 1990s which encouraged women to conceive their first child as early as possible so that they would be able to bear more children during the 'optimum period' (Bernatskaia, 1994).
7. A vivid illustration of this differential treatment was provided by the newspaper *Moskovskii komsomolets* when it launched a campaign to find a single mother of female twins, under the age of two, in order to pass on a parcel of children's clothing and toys from Norway. In response to the initial article the paper reportedly received post bags full of letters from mothers many of whose children did not in fact fit the stipulations but all of whom were in desperate need of help. However, they chose to give the parcel to a young widower raising his three children alone, including two 11-month old girls. In addition the newspaper pledged to help and support other widowed fathers if they would send a letter to the editors, but mentioned nothing with respect to help for the thousands of mothers who had already written to them ('*"Ishchem mamu!" A nashli papu...*', 1992).
8. In April 1990, in response to pressure from the Soviet Women's Committee and its chairwoman Zoya Pukhova, the Supreme Soviet passed a resolution granting the right to any family member: mother, father or grandparent, to take statutory leave to care for an infant up to the age of three. These measures were due to be introduced in January 1991 (*'Postanovlenie Verkhovnogo Soveta...*', 1992, p. 2). In April 1992, the Russian government finally passed a law which was clearly modelled on the Soviet resolution.

Chapter 4

1. This competition had been set up by Elena Evseeva of the Moscow Image Centre and advertised through popular youth publications, *Moskovskii*

komsomolets and *Puls*'. The response was overwhelming and the 120 letters handed to me by Evseeva represent only a fraction of the thousands she had received. For a more detailed analysis of the contents of these letters with regard to attitudes to gender and gender relations see Kay, 1997.

2. I witnessed a clear example of how such confusion might arise when visiting the home of one of the single mothers interviewed during the winter of 1995–96. Like many unmarried mothers she and her 10-year-old daughter were living with her parents in their small flat. During the interview this mother expressed the strong opinion that women should be primarily concerned with the home and family and stated that her greatest wish for her daughter's future was to see her happily married to and provided for by a decent and reliable husband. Even as she said this, however, she conceded that her own mother had worked all her life even beyond retirement because she simply could not envisage herself without employment outside the home. This generational difference and the conflicting influence it might have on a new generation of women was further illustrated over tea when the interviewee's mother spoke at some length of her hopes for her granddaughter's future career and reminded the young girl repeatedly that she must continue to work hard and perform well in her schooling in order to secure her financial and professional future.
3. It should of course be noted that this position has never been fully accepted by the mainstream of western society and is most strongly supported in very specific feminist and academic circles. Moreover, ideals of feminine beauty and sexuality have not, of course, been conclusively challenged or freed of prescriptive overtones in western societies.
4. See Chapter 1, page 38, for a discussion of operator roles and their definition in Nielsen, 1978, p. 169. Similar attitudes towards the correct distribution of formal and informal power in relationships between men and women were promoted with just the same fervour in the post-war western societies of the 1950s. In the West the revival of traditional gender relations was promoted as part of a 'getting back to normal' campaign in the aftermath of a world war which, at least for its duration, had deprived most families of adult male authority or even presence. In Russia, although men have not actually been physically absent throughout the much longer period of Soviet rule in question, it is suggested that they have been morally damaged by the state's takeover of traditionally male paternalism and provision, and by the emancipation of women which completed their ousting from traditional male roles and authority (Lissyutkina, 1999). Discussions of the need for a reassertion of male authority and power, as they were conducted in the Russia of the 1990s, ignored completely the fact that the same renegotiation of gender relations was advocated in Soviet society from the 1970s also on the grounds that a revival of 'healthy' masculine and feminine identities was needed ('"Strong husband", "weak wife"...', 1977).
5. This research was part of a project on 'Women and Marketization' headed by Dr Sue Bridger at the University of Bradford. A more detailed account of this research and its findings can be found in publications arising directly from the study (Bridger, Kay and Pinnick, 1996; Bridger and Kay, 1996).
6. It should not be forgotten that similar arguments are perpetually put forward in western debates concerning the rights and wrongs of pornography

and that even the feminist movement is split over which is more important, the fight against sexual objectification or that in favour of freedom of expression.

7. For a discussion of attitudes towards rape and domestic violence in Soviet society in the 1970s and 1980s see Voznesenskaya, 1987; *Woman and Russia*, 1980.
8. Indeed accusations of non-Russianess have been levied against feminism in Russia since before the 1917 Revolution (Stites, 1978; Edmondson, 1984).
9. A similar reluctance to openly identify as 'feminist' was observed in the late 1980s and early 1990s amongst western young women of the post-feminist generation, and this decline in popular support largely succeeded in undermining much of the activism of second-wave feminism in the West and in allowing the introduction of what Susan Faludi termed a backlash against women and women's emancipation in the 1990s (Faludi, 1991; Wolf, 1993, pp. 63–71).
10. Analyses of Soviet representations and propaganda were carried out in the West (see for example: Attwood, 1993; Hinton, 1993); however, these were still not readily available to the Russian general public by 1996. Although some Russian analysis of gender representation had begun, this work had a very contemporary focus and was not generally applied retrospectively to the Soviet era (Voronina, 1993).

Chapter 5

1. Various amendments to the labour code were proposed by the Russian parliament between 1992 and 1995.
2. Ironically, these opinions were expressed by women who in fact represented a particularly active section of Russian society. Not surprisingly, perhaps, it was in voicing these views that women also expressed the most disillusionment and despair in their own work and that of the organizations they belonged to, and in their ability to produce any significant change. Women involved in organizations which are relatively small, financially barely solvent, and socially hardly visible found it difficult to imagine how they and their organizations could possibly succeed, where the state with all its material resources, authority and political power had so clearly failed.
3. The seven requirements made of participating states which are outlined in article 2 of 'The United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women' read as follows:

States Parties [to the Convention] condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women, and, to this end, undertake:

- (a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitution or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;

- (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
 - (c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;
 - (d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;
 - (e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;
 - (f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;
 - (g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women. (Osmanczyk, 1990 p. 1045)
4. Yeltsin's decree called for the implementation of a state programme to improve the position of women at national, regional, district and local levels. It also demanded the establishment of various commissions and committees to oversee the implementation of this programme.
 5. Even had they been strictly egalitarian in their representations of and attitudes towards women, the broadcast of such programmes could only be seen as a token gesture and their influence as doubtful when offset against the mass of traditional and stereotypical imagery about gender which flooded the Russian media in this period.
 6. Attempts by an increasingly unpopular Conservative government in the mid-1990s to influence family relations through the notorious and ill-fated 'Back to basics' campaign were roundly condemned, ridiculed and rejected. At the time of writing, winter 1998, Tony Blair's 18-month-old New Labour government had also embarked on a campaign to revive and revitalize 'Family Values'. What the public reception and political or social outcomes of this will be remain to be seen.
 7. Of course some of these approaches did survive, often under new guises: assertiveness training for women became a popular adult education course, for example. However, the very process by which these courses became part of a mainstream of adult education programmes also co-opted them as part of the official approach.
 8. Black and Third World women have been particularly clear in their rejection of the imposition of a white, western style of feminism and its prescriptions *vis-à-vis* the correct way of organizing a women's movement. In an article entitled 'Angry opinion', which was first published in *London Women's Liberation Newsletter*, with support from the Third World/Black Feminist Group and the Black Lesbian Group, Shaila states:

We, as black and third world women do not need your opinion, your approval or disapproval of our third world or black feminism, politics and actions, especially from uninformed, ignorant white feminists. We can judge for ourselves what is best for us. You cannot. (Shaila, 1984, p. 87)

Chapter 6

1. Unless otherwise stated the start of an organization's existence is assumed to be the date from which the women involved in initiating it told me their activities as an organization or group had begun. For all the organizations of the sample this date was significantly earlier than the date of official registration; indeed, several had not yet decided to undertake this complex and bureaucratic procedure at the time of research.
2. These works were published almost exclusively in the West and in English. To date very little work on this subject has been published in Russia or for a Russian-language readership.
3. The transliterated term '*gender*' (pronounced with a hard 'g') for gender, discussed in Chapter 1, is only understood at all by a small academic elite. '*Feminizm*', on the other hand, whilst it is recognized as a concept by a much wider section of the population, is tainted in its understanding both by resonance from the past and by cultural perceptions of feminism as a concept alien to Russian culture and traditions.
4. For example large families, that is those with three or more children, enjoyed the right to free public transport in Moscow; *Tol'ko Mama's* members felt that this right should be extended to single-parent families also, and in 1995–96 were involved in campaigning and petitioning the local authorities on this issue.
5. The Social Chamber was set up as an official structure by the Social Treaty (*Obshchestvennyi dogovor*) signed by the President, the Council of Ministers, the various republics belonging to the Russian Federation and also by representatives of non-governmental and social organizations, parties and groups. All the organizations which had signed the treaty were entitled to representation in the Social Chamber which, although it had no legislative capacity, acted as an advisory and consultative body to the presidential team.
6. As previously mentioned, where these terms themselves were explicitly used it certainly could not be taken for granted that what was meant bore any close resemblance to a western model of the consciousness-raising groups which became popular in the 1970s.
7. In understanding such apparent contradictions it is necessary to bear in mind the very real importance for such organizations of presenting themselves in ways which they hoped would be acceptable and attractive to western funding bodies and partner organizations. Thus in some cases buzz-words such as civil society and equal rights might have been included without careful consideration of the real relation between such concepts and the actual activities and aims of the organization in question. This issue will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 9.
8. *Moskvichka's* founder member and president, Luiza Savinskaia, explained that women have a special mission to fight for harmony and against evil and that because of their essentially feminine natures, their aptitude for love and warmth and their close ties to the home, women are able through their creativity to promote 'sincerity, tenderness, love, charity, self-sacrifice, industry and divine inspiration'
9. Clearly *Tol'ko Mama's* members were not considering the option of counting single fathers as pseudo women, opted for by certain other women's groups (Ryzhkov, 1993). See Chapter 3, p. 81.

10. By contrast, many of the higher-level, more theoretical, coordination and umbrella organizations almost automatically disbanded once the grant they had received, usually from a western foundation, ran out: only to re-form with a new title and a slight rearrangement of membership, staff and structures in order to seek a new term of funding. Such behaviour is understandable, even logical, in view of the desperate shortage of financial support experienced by these organizations and the work which they hoped to carry out and which they felt could not be achieved without a considerable degree of monetary and material resource. However, this strategy meant that in practice these organizations functioned more as short-term renewable and adaptable projects than as cohesive long-term organizations.

Chapter 7

1. For a more detailed description of the origins of each organization see Appendix A.
2. This was true for both *Tol'ko Mama* and *Taruskoie Ob''edinenie Zhenshchin*. In both these cases, however, the woman wanting to found an organization had also been able to use the informal networks of the specific geographic or social constituency of women whom she was targeting in order to reach a significant number of potential members relatively quickly.
3. *Blat'* in Russian means connections and is used exclusively in the context of using advantageous connections to people in positions of power, authority or wealth to curry favour, speed up bureaucratic proceedings, secure preferential treatment or to procure goods and services not readily available by other means.
4. Small non-governmental and voluntary organizations operating in western societies also frequently rely on similarly informal networks and personal recommendations to increase their membership and influence for similar reasons.
5. In a questionnaire survey carried out as part of this study with a control group of 24 Muscovite women who were not themselves members of any women's organization, 15 women indicated that they did not feel they had any knowledge of women's organizations in Russia. Of the nine who stated that they did have some information, seven pointed out that this information related only to the political faction, 'Women of Russia' or the much feted, 'Committee of Soldiers' Mothers'; the two women who felt they had more general information qualified this, writing, 'Sometimes I read about them in the papers and in magazines, but I don't really remember' [78] or, 'I have some information but it is very vague'. [89]
6. In the run up to the 1995 election these young women had been particularly struck by the contrast between election addresses 'advertising' predominantly male candidates, and the sexual services advertisements which overwhelmingly offered female bodies for hire. In order to draw attention to these tendencies and the socially acceptable attitudes towards men and women which they felt such imagery epitomized, the members of *Stupen'* planned to create a collage, juxtaposing photographs of serious male political candidates with texts such as 'call me if you want a good time!' or, vice versa,

images of half-naked women with the texts of election promises and candidates' profiles.

7. The Soviet authorities also showed a tendency in the past to react particularly viciously to apparently subversive actions by women. Within weeks of the appearance of the first feminist *samizdat* (*Women and Russia*, 1980) its authors were subject to interrogation by the KGB and various forms of intimidation and harassment including, in some cases, threats to their families. The four leading members of the collective which produced the *samizdat* were offered a choice between involuntary exile and imprisonment and had to leave the Soviet Union in July 1980 (See Holt, 1985, pp. 241–2). Although the link between this and the experience of *Stupen'* and *Zhenskii Svet* in the post-Soviet Russia of the 1990s could be seen as tendentious, it does, perhaps, say something about the strength and power of the gender order and the penalties exacted from those who are seen to threaten to undermine it.
8. As illustrated in Part I, the mainstream media on the whole colluded with and was a primary agent in the promotion of the essentialist notions and determinist attitudes towards women and men of the post-Soviet Russian gender climate.
9. *Cosmopolitan* magazine has a policy of not simply translating articles and content from its English and American issues for publication in other countries. This policy, designed to allow for cultural differences and specific interests of readers offered a variety of possibilities for journalists working on the Russian edition. However, Gorიაeva's experience demonstrated the continuing authority and trend-setting power ascribed to the 'original' English-language version.
10. A one-day training session for women leaders did take place the following week; however, because of short notice and a lack of motivation amongst the journalists themselves, it was not possible to organize it in the way in which Tatyana Fediaeva had envisaged and the main participants were in fact teachers from the local school, another important group in terms of disseminating the information and different viewpoints which were shared and discussed. Nevertheless, Tatyana continued to harbour plans for drawing women working in media into closer collaboration in the future.

Chapter 8

1. Throughout this book, I have deliberately attempted to avoid imposing definitions which arise from western experiences and understanding on post-Soviet Russian women's organizations and their activities. The same applies to the concept of a women's movement which will be examined and discussed as far as possible in the terms used by and from the perspectives described by the Russian women of this research sample.
2. In view of the highly sensitive topics discussed in this and the following chapter, all quotations have been anonymized, and where individual women are referred to in quotations their names have been changed.
3. In the Soviet Union, these organizations were theoretically responsible for all aspects of the women's question and were supposed to represent the interests of women and ensure their participation in decision-making processes. In

- practice, however, their activities were often limited to basic problem-solving and distribution tasks (Browning, 1987; Buckley, 1989).
4. All three groups had, in theory, worked cooperatively to ensure the presence of delegations of Russian women both at the official United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995, and at the simultaneous NGO Forum on Women 1995 held in Huairou. Various coordinating and preparatory tasks and activities had been undertaken jointly. However, in the run-up to the conferences, cooperation and communication between the non-governmental organization groups, represented primarily by the Independent Women's Forum, and the official delegation, with whom the Union of Women of Russia was working most closely, began to break down. The tensions and conflicts between these groups worsened during the conference, leading, unfortunately, to a worsening of relations between the Union of Women of Russia and the Independent Women's Forum afterwards (Liborakina, 1995a).
 5. In the aftermath of the 1995 elections and with Presidential elections approaching, the Women's League drafted letters of protest to both President Yeltsin and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, enumerating the unfulfilled commitments made by the Russian political leadership as a result of the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, and demanding swift action. The circulation of copies and gathering of signatures from organizations through the networks of both the Independent Women's Forum and the Union of Women of Russia was coordinated by the Women's League. However, although support for this campaign was attained from both camps, and whilst such a one-point action was indeed welcomed by many individuals and organizations, this did not result in any immediate tangible change in the relationship between the two groups nor, in particular, between their leaders.
 6. The issue of fund-raising was highly sensitive for Russia's non-governmental women's organizations in the early post-Soviet period. Their experience of state patronage and its attendant ideological control made many Russian women's organizations feel more comfortable raising funds from other non-Russian sources. However, this alternative did not always transpire to be as unproblematic nor as liberal as had been initially hoped by those organizations which opted for it (see Chapter 9).
 7. When it was first established in 1993, Women of Russia, which was at that time an electoral bloc, had sought the support and direct involvement of the Independent Women's Forum as well as that of the Union of Women of Russia. The Independent Women's Forum refused to pledge its support to the bloc on the grounds of its non-partisan politically independent principles, and preferred to organize a more general non-party-specific campaign for increased representation of and by women and for increased participation of women in political and democratic processes (Clark, 1994, pp. xi-xii). After its surprise success in the 1993 elections, Women of Russia became a parliamentary faction; however, in the 1995 elections it failed to win the prerequisite 5 per cent and therefore lost the right to parliamentary representation.
 8. Similar academic centres were later set up, often by members of the Forum, in St Petersburg, Tver' and Naberezhnye Chelny.
 9. A case in point was that of the local interorganizational agreement, referred to earlier in this chapter. The agreement itself was not in any way connected

to the work of the Independent Women's Forum nor aimed solely at uniting women's organizations. However, the woman who wrote and proposed it, who was subsequently so attacked for her Communist Party background and who pushed the agreement through in such an undemocratic way, was, in fact, herself an active member of the Independent Women's Forum to which her organization was closely affiliated.

10. This organization was referred to exclusively by its English initials: ADL. A Russian version of the organization's title, *Arkhiv, Baza Dannyykh, Biblioteka* did appear on some written documents, but it was never used in my hearing of oral references to ADL.
11. This omission was not necessarily a disincentive however. In post-Soviet Russian society the concept of a women's movement was most commonly identified either with discredited and officially imposed Soviet women's organizations or with the concept of 'bourgeois feminism' which was vilified and regarded as alien and threatening to Russian society and culture. As a result, alliances based on belonging to the 'in vogue' third sector of non-governmental, non-profit making organizations might seem preferable to a close association with other women's organizations based solely on an allegiance of gender.

Chapter 9

1. See for example: Browning (1987) and Buckley (1989) on women's involvement in Soviet political life and the work of Soviet women's organizations; Holland (1985) for a collection of writings by British feminists on the lives of women in the Soviet Union; McAuley (1981) on women in the Soviet workforce; Bridger (1987) for a detailed analysis of the conditions of life and work of Soviet women in rural areas; and Buckley (1992c) on the impact of perestroika on various aspects of women's life in the Soviet Union.
2. In March 1997, the Soros foundation froze all payments to Belarusian users in the light of political developments and anti-democratic reforms by the Lukashenko government. It subsequently became clear that this freezing of Soros' funds was the result of the forcible closure of Soros-Belarus by the KGB for 'donating grants to people from the political opposition' ('Repression in Belarus', 1997). Thus, not only were those organizations which had previously benefited from Soros' support suddenly left without funding at a time when their work might be particularly crucial in fighting repression, they also came under investigation by the KGB themselves, as potential opposition organizations, because of their previous contact with Soros (*ibid.*).
3. The American-based Ford, MacArthur and Soros Foundations, in particular, established close working links with Russian women's organizations. Several specifically women/feminist-oriented bodies also showed a considerable interest in Russia and supported projects and initiatives set up and run by Russian women's organizations. The German foundation, Frauenanschtiftung, for example, provided a significant portion of the funding for ADL's three-year existence. Several of the organizations in this sample stated their interest in applying to the Global Fund for Women when it announced a new competition for a round of project-oriented grants in January 1996.

4. Towards the end of 1995 rumours began to circulate about the introduction of what were to be known as 'social contracts' from ministries and state organs for which non-governmental organizations would be able to submit tenders. The winning organization would then, it was suggested, receive money from the state for a specified project of socially beneficial work. At the end of the field-work period the details and arrangements for these 'contracts' was still very unclear. None of the women's organizations with whom I was in contact had been able even to submit a tender for such a contract, although the topic was raised and discussed at various seminars and meetings. One of the tasks allotted to the new Association of Independent Women's Organizations was to investigate the terms and conditions surrounding these contracts and advise women's organizations on how best to proceed. At the time of writing in December 1998, reports from Russia suggest that the proposed 'social contracts' have yet to materialize. Given the increasingly parlous state of the Russian economy and of public welfare spending in particular, this proposal and others like it seem likely to remain in limbo for some time.
5. Tapping into the benefits of advanced technology to facilitate networking may seem logical, especially in a country with a notoriously unreliable postal service. However, relying on faxes and modems, effectively obliterates the chances of any organization without these pieces of equipment accessing the information being circulated, to say nothing of the implications for towns like Saratov where in 1996 the telephone exchange network was still particularly underdeveloped and did not cover large sections of the town.
6. Projects for the establishment of information networks and databases, for example, had been particularly successful in obtaining the support of western donors and by 1996 a number of such networks had been set up by various groups, frequently on a competitive rather than a collaborative basis.
7. Russian researcher and writer on women, Larissa Lissytukina, has pointed out that the deep cultural schism between the Russian intelligentsia and aristocracy and the rest of the population, which was established in the eighteenth century, was still significant in the 1990s (Lissytukina, 1999).
8. Feminism in this context was usually understood in terms of easy compatibility with western theory and praxis.
9. The term *tusovka* has been a part of Russian youth slang since the 1960s. The term is used to denote a specific group or gang and conveys a sense of a chosen group differentiated from others and to which access may well be restricted for the uninitiated. As a verb, *tusovat'sia* is used to mean 'to get together' with one's gang (Pilkington, 1994, p. 226). Both these terms were regularly used by women to describe the feminist scene and the events and meetings organized by these groups. They were used far less frequently by members of grassroots women's organizations or in relation to the local activities or meetings organized by these groups.

Chapter 10

1. The gender climate was equally intrusive and prescriptive in its attitudes to men, male roles and behaviour and definitions of masculinity. Men paid a price, in terms of exclusion from the private sphere and the family, exposure to

violent crime and corruption and the ill-effects on male health and life expectancy of practices which were condoned and even encouraged as proof of 'real masculinity'. Unfortunately a detailed examination of this side of the gender climate and its social implications was not within the scope of this study; however, it would certainly offer an interesting and fruitful focus for future research.

2. This was an area of work which the Independent Women's Forum was very keen to develop and was actively engaged in towards the end of 1995. Position papers outlining possible strategies had been written and were presented at various seminars and conferences by women with direct experience of working within state structures (Liborakina, 1995b).
3. Similar sentiments have been expressed by female activists from other previously isolated nations. For example, Flossie Chidyaonga from the Malawi Professional Women's Association spoke at the 'Women Changing the World Conference' in April 1997 of her organization's enthusiasm for closer working relations with women and their organizations in other countries. It was a notable contradiction to the arrogance of assumptions that western resource and experience are of superior value, that Chidyaonga's statement was addressed as much to the Uzbek and Russian women's organizations present at the conference as it was to the British participants (Chidyaonga, 1997).

Appendix A

1. The short summaries in this appendix describe the organizations with which I worked the most closely, between August 1995 and February 1996, as they were described to me by their members. Given the rapid changes characteristic of this area of work in contemporary Russia, many of these details may have altered in the intervening period. Other organizations with which I had less significant contact are not detailed in this appendix, although they may be referred to in the text or in Tables 1 and 2 (Appendix B).
2. The Russian word *svet* can be translated in several ways: light, world or (high) society. Both light and society appeared appropriate to the meaning used by this organization which in some ways presented itself as an elite club and was criticized by some women for its 'bourgeois aspirations' and for being a 'ladies club' (*damskii klub*), rather than a women's organization (*zhenskaia organizatsiia*). The club's logo was a pair of gloves and a candle representing the two meanings of *svet*: high society and light.
3. This new organization, *Assotsiatsiia Nezavisimykh Zhenskikh Initsiativ (ANZHI)* (Association of Independent Women's Initiatives), was conceived as an attempt to coordinate and bring together active women who did not wish to belong to any specific club or organization. At the time of interviewing this organization was in such an embryonic stage of its development that Valentina herself preferred not to discuss it as yet, and concentrated in the interview conducted with her on describing her previous engagement with and development of *Zhenskii Svet*.

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