

Index

abortion, 4, 101, 133 Aivazova, Svetlana, 76, 126, 127 Abubikirova, Natalia, 189-90, 195, 237, All-Russian Women's Congress (1995), 238, 239, 246 activists, 34-8 Almanac group, 101, 102 age, 35, 36, 279-82 Almond, Gabriel, 181 and ambition as a post-Soviet ambition, as a post-Soviet phenomenon, phenomenon, 193-5 193-5 attitudes to feminism, 59-73 antinuclear movements, 211 Arbatova, Mariia, 3-4, 7, 84 combining work and family, 268-72 contact with Westerners, 225-7 Archive-Database-Library (ADL) project, and democracy, 93-4 197, 250 on economic conditions, 175-6 Argentinean women, and feminism, 72-3 education levels, 35, 36, 210-11, 279-82 artistic women, and Tvorchestvo, 4–5, 6–7 on equal rights and equal opportunities, Association of Independent Women's 90-2,96Associations, 205, 243 and human rights, 94-5 Association of Women Entrepreneurs, 26, on lack of solidarity among women's 31, 119, 170-1, 280 Association of Women [Film and Theater] organizations, 182-3 leaders of organizations, 36, 210 Directors, 27, 32, 58, 127-8, 166, marital status, 35 172, 184, 185, 280 and mass mobilization, 213, 214-15, Association of Women Journalists, 79, 184, 216-18, 266 251, 280 numbers of children, 34-5, 279 atomization, in women's movement, 196-7 occupations, 34, 279-82 Azhgikhina, Nadezhda, 74, 84 oldtimers and newcomers, 189-92 and organizational pluralism, 195-6 Babukh, Larisa, 127 and resource mobilization, 169-71 baby-food production, 154 suspicion and the state, 183-9 beauty contests, 78 traditionalists vs. feminists, 192-3 beauty salons, newspaper advertisements for, 82-3 transformation of consciousness, 44, 54, Beijing conference (UN World Conference universal concerns of, 272 on Women), 112, 131-2, 133, 187, and WOR, 119-20, 127-8 196-7, 248 ADL, see Archive-Database-Library importance of, 249-54 and Western funding, 231, 233, 236, advocacy organizations, 29, 30, 31, 41, 146 238 - 9Beissinger, Mark, 211-12 and dues collection, 172 and feminism, 62 Belokopytova, Natalia, 209, 249-50 Western influences on, 224, 237 Berezhnaia, Natalia, 197 see also Independent Women's Forum Beslepkina, Liudmila, 121, 129, 130, 135, (IWF); Inform Center 145, 250, 252, 253 Agrarian Party, 117 Bobbitt, Lorena, 79

292



Index 293

civil society in Russia,
absence of, 14, 266
and lack of economic infrastructure,
258–9
and weakness of the state, 144
and Western funding, 241
and women's movement, 23-6, 45, 267
class, ruling, in post-Soviet state, 73
Clinton, Bill, 121
coalition forming, see networks (women's
movement)
cognitive liberation, and development of
Russian women's movement, 44
collective action,
and protest cycle, 211-16
repertoire, 208–11
survey data on public mobilization,
216–18
Committee of Soldiers' Mothers (CSM),
12, 27, 72, 169, 206–7, 217, 280–1
Committee on the Affairs of Women and
the Protection of the Family,
Motherhood, and Childhood,
112–13
communication infrastructure,
and economic opportunity structure,
261–2
in Russia, 170–1, 258
Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 14
and civic associations, 23
and discrimination against women, 17
and political opportunity structure, 100
and SWC, 15, 18, 108
and trade unions, 161
and Women's Forums, 20
and women's organizations, 24, 39, 40
past affiliations with, 188–9
and women's political representation,
116
and zhenotdel (women's department), 16
Confederation of Businesswomen of
Russia, 280
conferences, Western funding of, 230–1
Congress of Soviet Women, 27, 30, 57, 281
and Beijing conference, 249-50
and demonstrations, 206, 217
and dues collection, 172
consciousness, transformation of, 44, 54-
9, 96, 98
consciousness-raising groups, 18, 20, 27,
29, 30, 31–2, 34, 146
and activists' transformation of
consciousness, 55-6
and feminism, 71
Feminist Orientation Center, 32, 55,
224–5



294 Index

constitution of Russia (1993), 75, 121-2 Drakulic, Slavenka, 68 Dubna, Women's Forums at, 5, 8-10, 20, Conversion and Women, 26, 57, 63, 139-40, 151, 160, 182, 191 106, 107 and economic concerns, 165 Duma (Russian parliament), 82 Committee on the Affairs of Women, the cosmetic representatives (saleswomen), 69-70 Family, and Youth, 115, 123, 125, Creativity, see Tvorchestvo crime rates, increase in, 44 Committee on Labor and Social Policy, CSM, see Committee of Soldiers' Mothers 128 - 9and gender expertise, 89 culture, political, 181, 183 cycles of protest, 211-16 lobbying of, 19 Czechoslovakia, and SWC, 110 and sex-based discrimination, 137-8 and WOR, 4, 40, 125, 126-7 Dawson, Jane, 211 women's representation, 117–18, 119 Demeshina, Elena, 166, 184 Dzhenklub (Businesswomen's Club), 26, democracy, 127, 167, 172, 281 and feminism, 87, 93-4 and First Independent Women's Forum, East Germany (former), 260 economic crisis in Russia, and women's political representation, and international influences on women's movement, 52 120 and protective legislation, 92 demonstrations, attitudes to public mobilization, 216-18 and regional differences in women's International Women's Day (1996), 1-3, movement, 40-1 6, 217-18, 219 and women's movement, 146, 174-6 and protest cycle, 212, 214-15 and women's role, 145 women's organizations engaging in, economic opportunity structure, 206 - 7and Russian women's movement, 49-50, 147-58, 174-8, 257-8, 259 discrimination, and activists' transformation of and social movement theory, 261-2 consciousness, 54-5, 56-7 egalitarian approach, in post-Soviet Russia, and advocacy organizations, 31 88 - 9Ekaterinburg, and economic conditions, 176 Confederation of Businesswomen of and feminism, 86-7 and glasnost, 98 Russia, 201 women's groups and unemployment, as international issue, 220 and Labor Code (1996), 130-1 166 - 7labor market, 57, 59, 155-8, 160 email networks, Western funding of, 232 lobbying against, 30 emancipation, public opinion on, 79-80 in post-Soviet Russia, 73-4 employment-training organizations, 18, 19, and practical women's groups, 29 26, 29, 31, 41, 50, 141, 163, 169 protests against, 272 fees, 172 and sexism in Russian government, Encyclopedia for Boys/Encyclopedia for Girls, 137-9 URW conference on (1992), 124 English language influences, 244-6 women's movement focus on, 266 entrepreneurs, dissidents, Soviet women, 101 women, 168, 268 domestic violence, 1, 44 see also businesswomen's organizations and Lakhova commission, 133 equal rights, Moscow Crisis Center for Women and equal opportunities, 90-2, 96, 105 hotline, 167 and WOR, 120-2, 123-4, 126 support groups for victims of, 27 and Soviet ideology, 67-8 and women's organization lobbying, 142 Equality and Peace, 197, 200, 224, 247, women's press coverage of, 81 281 "double burden," 17, 67, 87, 95, 150, 151, equality of suffering, and feminism, 72-3 259, 269 Ershova, Elena, 36-7, 58, 60, 65-6, 126,



Index 295

152, 205, 215, 225, 243, 247–8,	traditionalist vs. feminist networks,
255	192–3
ethnicity and women's movement, 263	and WOR, 95, 96, 122-5
in Cheboksary, 38–9	and women's movement ideology, 59-64
in Moscow and provincial cities, 22-3	see also radical feminism; Western
	feminism
FALTA (Feminist Alternative), 20, 27,	Feminist Alternative, see FALTA
187, 189	Feminist Orientation Center, 32, 55,
families,	224–5, 242, 281
division of labor within, 67, 68	Finland, and SWC, 110
economic status of, 157	First All-Russian Women's Congress, 216
women combining work and family,	First Independent Women's Forum, 5, 20,
268–72	93, 103, 106, 190, 191, 198
family-dependence, and feminism, 70-1	Concluding Document, 229
family law, 114, 143	and protest cycle, 212
and WOR, 126–7	Fish, M. Steven, 144, 188, 199
February revolution (1917), 213	foreign influence, in Russian women's
Federal Assembly, 115	movement, 6
1993 elections, 116–18	Forums, see First Independent Women's
1995 elections, 118	Forum; Independent Women's
see also Duma	Forum (IWF); Second Independent
Federation Council, 118	Women's Forum
Fedorov, Nikolai, 136	framing,
Fedulova, Alevtina, 56, 119, 120, 124,	and activists' transformation of
129, 137, 186	consciousness, 54–5
femininity, and feminism, 7, 68-70	alternative frames, 90–5
feminism, 59–73	and Russian women's movement, 44–5,
antifeminist sentiments, 259-60	87–90, 95–7, 259–60
Arbatova on femininity and, 7	Free Association of Feminist
attitudinal obstacles to, 64–73	Organizations, see SAFO
corruption of, 64–6	freedom, and feminism, 87
and corruption of "equality," 67–8	Friedan, Betty, 76, 222
and equality of suffering, 72–3	
and family-dependence, 70–1	Gabrielian, Nina, 72, 86–7, 192
and pursuit of "femininity," 68–70	Gaidash, Mariia, 4, 242
changing socio-cultural attitudes toward,	GALSI, 216
80–7	Geidar, Laima, 2, 68, 184, 196
and democracy, 87, 93–4	gender analysis, 7, 89, 245–6
equal rights and equal opportunities,	glasnost,
90–2, 96	and discrimination, 73
gynocentric, 63, 64	and political opportunity structure, 98,
and human rights, 94–5	101–3
in India, 265	and pornography, 77
international influences on, 221	and Russian women's movement, 44,
interviewing women on meaning of, 11	52
in the media, 74, 78–9, 81–7	and SWC, 107–12
negative associations of, 60–3, 64, 65–6	globalization of women's movements, 263–5
and "pragmatic" women's organizations,	Gorbachev, Mikhail, 5, 15, 18, 52, 58, 59
168	political opportunity structure under,
public opinion on, 66, 79–80	101–3, 112
public use of, 88–9	and SWC, 109, 110
and Rabotnitsa (Woman worker), 107	and women's councils, 104, 108
radical, 61–3, 122–3	on women's role in society, 153
and SWC, 109–10	Gordeeva, Marina, 114
and strategic women's groups, 28	gynocentric feminism, 63, 64



296 Index

Harder, Sarah, 239 hierarchy, fear of, in women's movement, 197-200 housewives, 151 amount of work undertaken by, 82 human rights, and feminism, 94-5 and WOR, 120 Human Rights Watch, and employment discrimination, 156-7 Ia Sama (I myself; television talk show), 3, 7,84 Iakovchuk, Nina, 54, 127, 167 Ianvarev, Valerii, 129, 130, 131 Iarygina, Tatiana, 129 ILO, see International Labor Organization IMF, see International Monetary Fund independence, and feminism, 70-1 Independent Women's Associations, 185 Independent Women's Democratic Initiative, see NeZhDI Independent Women's Forum (IWF), 20, 21, 28, 33, 37, 38, 59, 182 and atomization, 197 and Beijing conference, 250, 251 and coalition-building, 242, 243-4 and English language, 246 Inform Center, 65, 85, 94, 172, 190-1, 197-8, 204, 226, 237 network, 173, 190, 192, 193 oldtimers and newcomers, 189, 190-2 and political representation, 117, 120 as umbrella organization, 200-1, 204 Western funding of, 233, 237-8 independent women's groups, conflict with Soviet state-identified organizations, Indian feminist groups, 265 indigenous organizations, and women's movement in Russia, 23-6, 44, 45 Inform Center, 142 Innovation Fund of Women's Employment and Assistance to Entrepreneurship, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, International Association of Russian Women-Mothers, 26-7, 224, 227, 228, 250, 281 international influences on Russian women's movement, 51-3, 220-56 creating "artificial coalitions," 241-4 and English language, 244-6 foreign lending agencies, 227 and globalization, 263-5

on organizational structures and priorities, 236-9 see also Western/international funding International Labor Organization (ILO), 126, 149, 220, 246, 247 international laws and standards, 246-9 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 4, International Republican Institute, 230 International Women's Day, 1-3, 6, 207, 213, 217-18, 219 International Women's Forum, 36-7 interviews with women activists, 11–13 isolation, in women's movement, 196-7 Italian political culture, 181 Italy, and International Association of Russian Women-Mothers, 224, 228 Ivanova, Eleonora, 63, 151, 182-3, 191 Ivanova, Tatiana, 109, 186 Ivanovo, activists, numbers of children, 35 on public mobilization, 214-15, 217, 218 views on feminism, 60, 61 Businesswomen's Club, 37, 135, 163, 167, 171, 202, 215, 239 Center for the Social Support of Women and Families, 26, 32, 37, 153, 163-4, 214, 239, 280 Committee of Multi-Child Families, 35, 202, 239, 280 Committee of Single-Parent Families, 135, 164, 172, 215, 239, 240, 280 Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, 12, economic motivations for women's group formation, 163-4 and idea of umbrella organization, 201-3 location, 22 networks, 189 population, 22 trade unions, 162 unemployment, 22, 158-9 Western/international funding, 239, women's council (zhensovet), 24, 39, 40, 164, 202-3, 214, 239 women's economic status in, 157, 158-9 women's movement, 11-12, 24 cohesion, 39, 40 and economic crisis, 40 ethnic leadership, 39 funding, 228 networks, 48 women's political representation, 134-5



> Index 297

IWF, see Independent Women's Forum	support organizations for, 27, 31, 32, 33 and unemployment, 152
journals,	see also MOLLI
Almanac: Women and Russia, 101	liberal feminism,
FemInf, 20, 86, 229	activists' identification with, 62, 63, 64
feminist, 86–7, 103	public opinion on, 66
Western funding of women's	and strategic women's groups, 29
organization journals, 229	Liborakina, Marina, 76, 78, 85, 89, 90, 93
Women's Reading (Zhenskoe chtenie), 56	142, 197–8, 252
Jowitt, Ken, 183, 194, 195	Lipovskaia, Olga, 4, 56, 82, 87, 190–1
77	Lipovskaia, Tatiana, 84
Kazmina, Maia, 61, 215	Lisiutkina, Larisa, 68–9
Khasbulatova, Olga, 37, 64, 163–4, 214	lobbying, and women's movement in
Khotkina, Zoia, 111, 155	Russia, 113–15, 140–3
Klimantova, Galina, 4, 6, 125, 242	LOTOS (League for Emancipation from
Klimenkova, Tatiana, 72, 198	Societal Stereotypes), 104–5, 106,
Klub F-1 (First Feminist Club), 7, 27, 33,	109–10, 123, 226
126, 127, 200, 226, 281	Lozinskaia, Zhanna, 121
Klub Garmoniia (Club Harmony), 3–4, 7,	Lukianenko, Tatiana, 96
27, 31, 32, 84, 217, 218, 281	Luzhkov, Yuri, 74
Klub Zhenskaia Initsiativa (Club	
"Women's Initiative"), 40, 279	McAdam, Doug, 99
Kochkina, Elena, 112, 243, 248	Malakhovksaia, Anna Natalia, 55
Kollontai, Alexandra, 16, 70	Maliutina, Tatiana, 167–8
Komsomol (Soviet youth organization), 24,	Mariia club, 101
48, 189	maternity leave/benefits, 130, 150
Konstantinova, Valentina, 104, 109, 110,	MCGS (Moscow Center for Gender
193, 195–6, 223, 226–7, 254	Studies), 28, 32, 38, 85, 105, 106,
Konysheva, Tatiana, 138–9	114
Kornilova, Svetlana, 201	and Beijing conference, 251, 253
Kovaleva, Irina, 194	and draft labor code, 248
Kovaleva, Natalia, 134-5, 162, 202, 214	and economy, 177
Kuznetsova, Larisa, 108-9	and gender analysis, 245–6
	as mobilizing structure, 210
Labor Code, 129, 130-1, 142, 248, 255	and Soviet legacy, 184, 185
labor market in Russia,	Western contacts, 222-3, 226, 234-5
discrimination, 57, 59, 155-8, 160	and WOR, 121, 123
and public expression of sexism, 74–5	media,
sex segregation, 68	and feminism,
and women's movement, 147–8	independent women's movement
women's participation, 17, 25-6, 43, 67	press, 86–7
see also unemployment; work and women	mainstream media, 74, 78–9, 83–6
Lakhova, Ekaterina, 113, 119, 121, 122,	women's press coverage of, 81–3
123, 124, 125, 133, 134, 135, 144	glasnost and the women's press, 103
and Beijing conference, 253	and pornography, 77–8
on childcare costs, 153	and post-Soviet woman, 97
on collective action, 215–16	Melikian, Gennadii, 74
on family law, 143	Melnikova, Valentina, 72, 207
on sexism in Duma, 137	men, and feminism, 69, 71, 72–3, 95
League of Women Voters, 230	Mexican women's movement, 260
legal profession, lack of unity in, 195	Meyer, John, 51
legislation, gender-based analysis of, 4	middle-class women, in labor force, 147,
	148
Lenin, V. I., 16	
lesbians,	Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), 102
and feminism, 62–4	Ministry of Justice, 12, 119
and the media, 85	registration of women's groups, 18–19

registration of women's groups, 18-19



298 Index

Ministry of Labor, Labor Code, 129, 130–1	mutual support organizations, see support groups
and unemployment, 149 Ministry of Social Protection,	National Association of Women
and Beijing conference, 250, 251, 253,	Entrepreneurs, 167–8
254	National Council on Preparation for the
and independent women's movement, 131–3, 135, 145	Beijing Conference, 131–2, 145, 251
and WOR, 125	National Democratic Institute, 230
MOLLI (Moscow Organization of Lesbian	National Endowment for Democracy, 233
Literature and Art), 27, 31, 32, 33,	Navrodskaia, Tatyana, 70
85, 152, 281	Nazarova, Larisa, 215
conference on Women and Society, 230	Network of East-West Women, 232
Western contacts, 226	networks (women's movement), 11, 14,
Moscow,	20–1, 25, 36–8, 42, 44, 45, 107, 278
activists,	Cheboksary, 27, 48
and public mobilization, 218	and communication problems, 170–1,
views on feminism, 61	258
on Western funding, 225–6	email, 232
Center for the Social Support of Women, 26	factors contributing to lack of, 45, 46, 47–8, 182–205
Crisis Center for Women, 27, 32, 167	ambition, 193–5
Dzhenklub (Businesswomen's Club), 26	atomization, 196–7
Institute of Ethnology and	fear of hierarchy, 197–200
Anthropology, 223	former Communist Party affiliation,
Klub F-1 (First Feminist Club), 7, 27,	188–9
33, 126, 127, 200, 226	suspicion and the state, 183–9
Klub Garmoniia (Club Harmony), 3–4,	failure to unite across, 182–3
7, 27, 31, 32, 84, 217, 218	Ivanovo, 48
Moscow Center for Gender Studies, see MCGS	IWF (Independent Women's Forum), 173, 190, 192, 193
Moscow Organization of Lesbian	and sacrifice of independence, 203–5
Literature and Art, see MOLLI	traditionalist vs. feminist, 192–3
public opinion on emancipation, 80	and umbrella organizations, 200–3
"Sisters" Rape Crisis Center, 1, 9, 27,	and URW, 187
32, 84, 207	US–NIS Consortium, 4, 21, 39, 196,
Women of Krasnaia Presnia, 27	204–5, 229, 231, 233, 241–4
women's movement, 12, 21–2, 24, 25	Western funding of, 231–6
cohesion, 39, 40	see also Independent Women's Forum;
and economic crisis, 40–1	Union of Russia's Women; Women's
economic motivations, 165–9	League
ethnic composition, 22–3 ethnic leadership, 39	newspapers, coverage of feminism,
fractionalization of, 49	mainstream media, 78–9, 83–6
funding, 228, 241	women's press, 81–3
lack of collaboration between groups,	Nezavisimaia gazeta (Moscow
47–8, 48–9	newspaper), 3–4, 84
size of, 39	Women's Games (Zhenskie igry), 8–9
umbrella organizations, 201–3, 203–5	women's press, 173–4
mothers,	Nezavisimaia gazeta (Moscow newspaper),
and feminism, 70–1	3–4, 84
and reductions in social welfare benefits,	NeZhDI (Independent Women's
152–4	Democratic Initiative), 105, 106
support groups for, 26–7, 31, 32	NGOs (nongovernmental organizations),
see also single mothers	lack of economic infrastructure, 177
"multiple opportunity structure" model, 53	opinion on public mobilization, 217



> Index 299

and resource mobilization of women's	women's groups associated with, 27–8
organizations, 46–7	see also Women of Russia
and social movement organizing, 147	political representation of women, 115–18
and sponsorship, 172-3	politicization, of women's organizations,
and Western funding, 233	29, 30–1
"nomenklatura privatization," 168	Popova, Natasha, 87
Novikova, Elvira, 94, 174–5, 186, 254	pornography, 77–8
0 1 11 1 100	and WOR, 120
Oparina, Alevtina, 128	Posadskaia, Anastasiia, 104, 105–6, 117,
organizational pluralism, and	123, 245–6
fragmentation in women's movement, 195–6	post-Soviet society, women's socio-cultural status in, 73–80
Orthodox Church, and "return to the	Potemkina, Anna, 186
kitchen" campaign, 77	poverty,
Our Bodies, Ourselves, 229	families living in, 157
	feminization of, 152
Pamfilova, Ella, 117	and single mothers, 150
Pavlova, Marina, 71, 170, 225	Preobrazhenie (Transfiguration), 192, 282
Perepodgotovka Center for Business	Presidential Commission on Issues of
Assistance to Women, 225, 227	Women, the Family, and
perestroika,	Demography, 133, 144
and activists' transformation of	privatization,
consciousness, 57, 58–9	and trade unions, 160
and discrimination, 73 and political opportunity structure, 98,	and women's unemployment, 150, 159–60
102–3	professional women, support groups for,
and "return to the kitchen" campaign,	27, 163
75–6	Prolog, 239
and Russian women's movement, 44,	protective legislation, 70–1, 91–2, 96, 112
103–7	and Labor Code (1996), 130
and SWC, 107–12	and WOR, 121
Petersburg Center for Gender Issues, 55,	protest, 271–2
78, 87, 190	cycle of, 211–16
Petrova, Nina, 37, 135, 136, 161, 239–40,	provincial cities, see Cheboksary; Ivanovo
245	public opinion,
Playgirl, 9 Podgorbunskaia, Larisa, 224, 250	on democracy, 93–4 on feminism, 66, 79–80
political culture, 181, 183	on public mobilization, 216–18
political history, 50–1, 179–219, 258	on trade unions, 161
and cycle of social protest, 180	on women and democratization, 103
"defining events" of, 180	women's attitudes to work and home, 76
and framing, 259	publications, Western funding for, 229-30
impact of Soviet legacy, 179, 182–205	publishing, women's organizations, 32,
and nonmobilizational women's	173–4
movement, 205–18	D / ' (W) 1) 105 140 50
political-institutional history, 180	Rabotnitsa (Woman worker), 107, 149–50
and social movement theory, 181, 262–3	radical feminism,
political opportunity structure, 99–100,	activists' rejection of, 61–3 and WOR, 122–3
257, 260–1	Radio Nadezhda, 63, 69, 84, 91, 182
and elite alignments, 99, 139–44	Rakhmanova, Marina, 113
and elite allies, 99, 115–39	rape, 1, 9, 44
and political transition period, 99,	by employers, 156
100–15	support groups for victims of, 27
political parties,	RAUW, see Russian Association of
fragmentation in, 195	University Women



300 Index

Ray, Raka, 73 sexual harassment, Razina, Margarita, 135, 202, 215 publications on, 229-30 of women in labor force, 155-6 Regentova, Marina, 189-90, 195, 237, 238, 239, 246 Sidorova, T. N., 154 Sillaste, Galina, 82, 103, 137-8, 142, 170, research institutes, as mobilizing structures for women's movement, 210 216, 217 "return to the kitchen" campaign, 75-7, single mothers, 104, 174, 268 Committee of Single-Parent Families Riabicheva, Tatiana, 132 (Ivanovo), 135, 164, 172, 215, 239, Riabikina, Tatiana, 5, 102, 194 240, 280 Rimashevskaia, Natalia, 105 outreach to groups, 272 rural areas, 25, 80 Tolko Mamy group, 32, 37-8, 71, 282 and unemployment, 150 Russian Association of University Women (RAUW), 224, 239, 240 "Sisters" Rape Crisis Center, 1, 9, 27, 32, Russian Confederation of Businesswomen, 84, 207 166 - 7Skorokhodova, Galina, 63 Smirnova, Sasha, 62-3 Russian Federation, Congress of People's Deputies, women's representation social movement theory, 13, 43-53, 147 in, 116 and collective action repertoire, 208-11 Russian Supreme Soviet, and women's and cycles of protest, 211-13 movement lobbying, 113-15 and economic opportunity structure, Russia's Choice (political party), 117 261 - 2Russianization of women's movement, and framing, 44-5, 88, 259-60 255 - 6international influences on, 221 and political history, 181, 262-3 SAFO (Free Association of Feminist and political opportunity structure, 99-Organizations), 20, 106, 189, 238 100, 260-1see also FALTA social welfare benefits, St Petersburg, and changes in political opportunity public opinion on emancipation, 80 structure, 113 women's organizations in, 25 reduction in, 18, 98, 152-4 see also Petersburg Center for Gender and WOR, 120, 121 Sofia, 282 Issues Salam Bi, 279 Soviet legacy, Samarina, Olga, 62, 131, 132, 233, 250, impact on coalition-building, 182-205, 251 - 2Samuels, David, 233 and women's movement mobilization, SANTA (women's support organization), 179 Soviet Peace Committee, 120 102, 172, 282 Second Independent Women's Forum, Soviet state, 8-10, 20, 106, 190 affiliation of women's organizations with, and fear of hierarchy, 198-9 32-3, 39, 40 funding of publications from, 229 and attitudinal obstacles to feminism, self-help groups, 18, 19, 29, 30, 31, 32, 41, 64-73, 95-6 163, 176 and informal organizations, 58 and dues collection, 172 and political opportunity structure, 100 sex-role stereotyping, strikes and protests, 213 confronting, 269 and unemployment, 149 and equal rights, 91 Soviet Union, and feminism, 79, 88-9 collapse of, 7, 21, 140 in post-Soviet society, 75-6, 97 women's representation in Supreme and survival issues, 269-70 Soviet, 116 see also Communist Party of the Soviet sexism, 14 public expression of, 74-5 Union in Russian government, 137-9 Soviet Women's Committee (SWC), 15, women's movement focus on, 266 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 48, 105



Index 301

and economic concerns, 165-6, 177 and political opportunity structure, 100, 107 - 8as umbrella organization, 200, 203 and URW, 185, 186, 187 see also Union of Russia's Women sponsorship of women's groups, 172-3 Stalin, Joseph, 16-17 Starovoitova, Galina, 138 street traders, women as, 268 strikes, and Russian women, 159-60 support groups, 19, 26-7, 29, 30, 31, 32, 41 SANTA, 102, 172, 282 survival issues for Russian women, 267-72 suspicion and the state, and women's movement in Russia, 183-9 SWC, see Soviet Women's Committee Tarrow, Sidney, 211, 212, 213 television, and feminism, 84 and pornography, 77 talk show, Ia Sama (I myself), 3, 7, 84 Temnikova, Nina, 35, 202 Tilly, Charles, 147, 208-9 Tishkovskaia, Evgenia, 138 Tocqueville, A. de, 144 Tolko Mamy (single-mothers group), 32, 37-8, 71, 282 totalitarian control, 15, 45, 46 and democracy, 93 legacy of, and coalition-building, 182-205 trade unions, and women's economic rights, 160-3 Transfiguration, see Preobrazhenie transformation of consciousness, 44, 54, 54-9, 96, 98 Troinova, Tatiana, 38, 65, 197, 272 Tvorchestvo (Creativity), 4-5, 6-7, 102, 172, 236, 282 Ukraine Center for Women's Studies, 251 umbrella organizations, 200-5 UN, see United Nations unemployment, benefits, 158 and discrimination, 57, 148 and educated activists, 35 and educated women, 150 and growth of women's organizations, 176 "hidden," 149, 151

to, 166-9 and Presidential Commission on Issues of Women, the Family, and Demography, 133 and regional differences in women's movement, 40 and Russian women, 43, 50, 99, 130, 149–52, 227, 268, 270 and trade unions, 160 and Tvorchestvo, 5, 6 and WOR, 120 and women's support services, 19, 26 Union of Navy Women, 119 Union of Russia's Women (URW), 21, 26, 28, 30, 32–3, 56, 182 and atomization, 196-7 on childcare policies, 153 conferences, 124, 129-31 and economic concerns, 165-6 and family law, 114 and independent women's groups, 48-9 network, 37-8, 192 and political representation, 118-19 and Soviet legacy, 184, 185-7 and SWC, 111, 112 as umbrella organization, 203-4 Western funding and contacts, 233, 234 United Nations, 52 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 111, 133, 138-9, 247, 248, 253, 254 Decade for Women (1976-85), 108, 111,220 Fourth Worldwide Conference on Women, 85, 161, 248, 249 World Conference on Women, see Beijing conference United States, and collective action, 209, 210, 218 fragmentation of social movements, 262 - 3funding of social movements, 262 and middle-class women in labor force, 147, 148 political culture, 181 "rights" framework, 88 women's movement, 25 Urals Association of Women, 167, 280 URW, see Union of Russia's Women US-NIS Women's Consortium, 4, 21, 39, 196, 204–5, 229, 231, 233, 241–4 Russianization of, 255-6

Moscow-based women's groups response

Ivanovo, 22, 158-9

in Moscow and provincial cities, 22



302 Index

USAID (US Agency for International and equal rights and opportunities, Development), 221, 230, 231, 232, 120-2, 123-4, 126 and feminism, 95, 96, 122-5 Support for Women's Initiatives, 232 First All-Russian Women's Congress, USSR Council of Ministers, Committee on Women's Affairs, 95-6 and Independent Women's Forum, 193 and independent women's movement, Valitskaia, Kreta, 136 125 - 9Vandenberg, Martina, 196, 197, 204, 231, in the mainstream media, 85 236-7,242and political representation, 117, 118 Venediktova, Galya, 117 publications, 173 Verba, Sidney, 181 and US-NIS Women's Consortium, Viatkina, Galina, 151 242 - 3violence against women, Women's Alliance, 23, 109, 172, 174, 282 antiviolence women's groups, 30, 32 Women's Archive, 10 demonstration (1996), 1-3 Women's Games (Zhenskie igry), 8-9 Women's International League for Peace raising the issue of, 103 and WOR, 126-7 and Freedom, 224 workshop on, 9 Women's League, 20-1, 28, 33, 36, 37, 38, see also domestic violence 182, 192 Voronina, Olga, 60, 67-8, 75-6, 192, as umbrella organization, 201, 204, 205 222-3, 226-7, 230 and atomization, 197 Vybornova, Irina, 127 and CEDAW, 247-8 and coalition-building, 242, 243-4 and collective action, 215 wages, and draft labor code, 248 discrimination against women, 155 wage arrears, 157 and dues collection, 172, 173 weak state and society, 143-4 and feminism, 60, 61 Western feminism, networks, 187 access to literature, 220 and political lobbying, 114-15 activists' views on, 63 and Soviet legacy, 184, 187 influence on Russian women's Western funding of, 233 movement, 51, 52, 222-3 Western influence on formation of, 225 negative portrayals of, 78-9 Women's Light, 62-3 and Soviet state, 65 women's movement in Russia, and WOR, 122-3 aversion to public protest, 42, 47 and women's movement globalization, brief history of, 16-23 categorizing organizations, 28-34 Western social movements, 45-6, 218 collective action repertoire, 208-11 Western/international funding, and cycles of protest, 211-16 in Cheboksary, 239-40, 241 economic influences on, 146-78 in Ivanovo, 239, 240-1 economic obstacles to growth, 169-74 of social movements, 262 and economic opportunity structure, 49-50, 147-58, 174-8, 257-8, 259 of women's organizations, 39, 48, 49, 174, 220, 227–32, 255, 258 and feminism, 59-64 and organizational structures and and framing, 44-5, 87-90, 95-7, 259-60 priorities, 236-9 globalization of, 263-5 side effects of, 232-6 and indigenous organizations, 23-6, 44 Women for Social Democracy, 27, 60, international influences, 51-3, 220-56 174, 255 and lack of mobilization, 205-18 Women in Black, 1-3, 6, 207 obstacles and opportunities, 7-8, 14 Women of Russia (WOR), 4, 7, 11, 40, and political history, 50-1, 179-219 111, 118-29, 143, 145 political lobbying, 113-15, 140-3 and Children of Russia program, and politics, 98-9 allies and access points, 115-39 openness in political system, 100-15 and collective action, 215-16



Index

prospects, 265-72 and resource mobilization, 169-74 Russianization, 255-6 and the state, 97 see also activists; networks (women's movement) women's organizations in Russia, closure of, 173 collective members, 33-4 economic motivations for formation of, 163 - 9formation of independent, 103-7 and gender expertise, 89 and group consciousness, 57-9 issue-focus of, 29, 30, 31-2 lack of membership-building strategies, 42,46-7leaders, 36 membership, 36, 277-8 "official and unofficial," 184-5 and politicization, 29, 30-1 "practical" and "strategic" groups, 28-9 regional differences, 38-42 registration of, 18-19, 33 size of, 33-4, 39, 45 and Soviet party-state, 32-3, 39 traditionalists vs. feminists in, 192-3 types of, 26-8 Western funding of, 39, 48, 49, 174, 220, 227–39, 255, 258 WOR, see Women of Russia

combining work and family, 268-72

and "double burden," 17, 67, 87, 95, 150, 151, 259, 269 entrepreneurs, 168, 268 protective legislation, 70-1, 91-2, 96, 112, 121, 130 see also labor market in Russia World Bank, 227 "world society" theory, and social movement development, 51-2 Yeltsin, Boris, 15, 47, 118, 126, 133-4 and powers of implementation, 143-4, 145 shelling of Russian parliament (1993), 47, 50, 118, 139-40 Young Pioneers organization, 120 Zakharova, Natalia, 104 Zakharova, Valentina, 250 Zavadskaia, Liudmila, 121-2, 127, 128, 141 - 2Zeleranskaia, Tatiana, 69, 182 zhenotdel (Communist Party women's department), 16 Zhenskie igry (Women's games), 8–9 zhensovety (women's councils), 23-4, 27, 34, 48, 108 Cheboksary, 40, 164, 167, 239-40, 279 Ivanovo, 24, 39, 40, 164, 202-3, 214, in political transition period, 108, 109 Zhirinovskii, Vladimir, 138

Zimbabwe, 261-2

Zorkaltsev, V., 141

303

work and women,