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Introduction

Over the past two decades, there has been a resurgence of authoritarianism around the globe.¹ A third wave of autocratization – the declining quality of institutions for clean elections, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly – stalled the global spread of democratic ideas and principles.² In 2023, the US nonprofit organization Freedom House registered the seventeenth consecutive year of the decline in state provision of political rights and civil liberties.³ In particular, the quality of democracy came under assault in postcommunist Europe.⁴ According to some estimates, more than two-thirds of the world's

¹ Anne Applebaum. 2020. *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group; Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Christopher Walker, eds. 2016. *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press; Erica Frantz. 2018. *Authoritarianism: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press; Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

² Lüthmann and Lindberg define an autocratization wave as “the time period during which the number of countries undergoing democratization declines while at the same time autocratization affects more and more countries.” Their empirical analysis is based on data from the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) project for 182 countries from 1900 to 2017. For details, see Anna Lüthmann and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2019. “A Third Wave of Autocratization Is Here: What Is New About It?” *Democratization* 26 (7): 1095–1113, 1102.

³ Yana Gorokhovskaia, Adrian Shahbaz, and Amy Slipowitz, eds. 2023. *Freedom in the World 2023: Marking 50 Years in the Struggle for Democracy*. New York: Freedom House. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2023/marking-50-years>.

⁴ Attila Antal. 2019. *The Rise of Hungarian Populism: State Autocracy and the Orbán Regime*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing; Florian Bieber. 2020. *The Rise of Authoritarianism in the Western Balkans*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan; Vladimir Gel'man. 2015. *Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press; Henry E. Hale. 2015. *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Paul Lendvai. 2017. *Orbán: Hungary's Strongman*. New York: Oxford University Press; Adam Przeworski. 2019. *Crises of Democracy*.

population currently live in autocracies.⁵ The persistence of “democratic regression” has far-reaching implications for the pursuit of political change and social justice by ordinary citizens.⁶

A related global trend is an unprecedented frequency, scope, and size of anti-government protests.⁷ Between 2009 and 2019, the incidence of mass protests annually increased, on average, by 11.5 percent worldwide.⁸ Based on data from the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (NAVCO) project, Chenoweth concludes that the past decade saw the largest number of nonviolent campaigns since 1900.⁹ Furthermore, there was a proliferation of urban revolutions, involving a high concentration of protesters in urban spaces and popular demands for political freedoms.¹⁰ Using an original dataset of 345 revolutionary episodes from 1900 to 2014, Beissinger demonstrates that citizens extensively leveraged urban space to bring down autocrats.¹¹ Thousands of people in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) poured into the streets to oust long-serving incumbents and demand political change in

New York: Cambridge University Press; Regina Smyth. 2020. *Elections, Protest, and Authoritarian Regime Stability: Russia 2008–2020*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁵ A team of researchers at the V-Dem Institute estimated that 72 percent of the world's population, or 5.7 billion people, lived in autocracies in 2022. For details, see Evie Papada and Staffan I. Lindberg, eds. 2023. *Democracy Report 2023: Defiance in the Face of Autocratization*. Gothenburg, Sweden: Varieties of Democracy Institute, University of Gothenburg.

⁶ Larry Diamond. 2021. “Democratic Regression in Comparative Perspective: Scope, Methods, and Causes.” *Democratization* 28 (1): 22–42.

⁷ Dawn Brancati. 2016. *Democracy Protests: Origins, Features, and Significance*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Thomas Carothers and Richard Youngs. 2015. *The Complexities of Global Protests*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Hank Johnston, ed. 2019. *Social Movements, Nonviolent Resistance, and the State*. London: Routledge; Sharon Erickson Nepstad. 2015. *Nonviolent Struggle: Theories, Strategies, and Dynamics*. New York: Oxford University Press; Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds. 2009. *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press; Kenneth Roth. 2019. “World's Autocrats Face Rising Resistance.” In *World Report 2019*. New York: Human Rights Watch. www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/global; Kurt Schock. 2015. *Civil Resistance Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

⁸ Sam Brannen, Christian Stirling Haig, and Katherine Schmidt. 2021. *The Age of Mass Protests: Understanding an Escalating Global Trend*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

⁹ Erica Chenoweth. 2020. “The Future of Civil Resistance.” *Journal of Democracy* 31 (3): 69–84.

¹⁰ Marco Allegra, Irene Bono, Jonathan Rokem, Anna Casaglia, Roberta Marzorati, and Haim Yacobi. 2013. “Rethinking Cities in Contentious Times: The Mobilisation of Urban Dissent in the ‘Arab Spring’.” *Urban Studies* 50: 1675–88; Mark Beissinger. 2013. “The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution.” *American Political Science Review* 107 (3): 574–92; Mehmet Bariş Kuymulu. 2013. “Reclaiming the Right to the City: Reflections on the Urban Uprisings in Turkey.” *City* 17 (3): 274–78.

¹¹ Mark Beissinger. 2022. *The Revolutionary City: Urbanization and the Global Transformation of Rebellion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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2010–2011.¹² Large-scale anti-government protests also erupted in Belarus, Chile, Hong Kong, Iran, Sudan, Turkey, and Ukraine, to name a few.¹³

Women play a vital role in civil resistance to the entrenchment of authoritarianism,¹⁴ which is closely intertwined with the persistence of patriarchal norms.¹⁵ Across the Middle East, women rose against multiple forms of oppression during the Arab Spring.¹⁶ Likewise, women in Iran joined the Green Movement during the 2009 presidential election and led the 2022 protests against the curtailment of freedoms, abject poverty, and colossal corruption in the country.¹⁷ In Turkey, women protested against the government's

¹² Asaf Bayat. 2017. *Revolution without Revolutionaries: Making Sense of the Arab Spring*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Jason Brownlee, Tarek E. Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. 2015. *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press; Jeroen Gunning and Ilan Zvi Baron. 2014. *Why Occupy a Square?: People, Protests and Movements in the Egyptian Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press; Neil Ketchley. 2017. *Egypt in a Time of Revolution: Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Sarah Anne Rennick. 2018. *Politics and Revolution in Egypt: Rise and Fall of the Youth Activists*. London: Routledge.

¹³ Yu Loong Au. 2020. *Hong Kong in Revolt: The Protest Movement and the Future of China*. London: Pluto Press; Willow Berridge, Justin Lynch, Raga Makawi, and Alex de Waal. 2022. *Sudan's Unfinished Democracy: The Promise and Betrayal of a People's Revolution*. London: Hurst Publishers; Terri Gordon-Zolov and Eric Zolov. 2022. *The Walls of Santiago: Social Revolution and Political Aesthetics in Contemporary Chile*. New York: Berghahn Books; Paul Hansbury. 2023. *Belarus in Crisis: From Domestic Unrest to the Russia-Ukraine War*. London: Hurst Publishers; Ngok Ma and Edmund W. Cheng, eds. 2019. *The Umbrella Movement*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press; Esra Ozyurek, Gaye Ozpınar, and Emrah Altindis. 2019. *Authoritarianism and Resistance in Turkey: Conversations on Democratic and Social Challenges*. Cham: Springer; Navid Pourmokhtari. 2021. *Iran's Green Movement: Everyday Resistance, Political Contestation and Social Mobilization*. New York: Routledge.

¹⁴ For an overview, see Marie A. Principe. 2017. "Women in Nonviolent Movements." Special Report No. 399. United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC.

¹⁵ On the linkage between authoritarianism and patriarchy, see, for example, Cristina Awadalla. 2023. "Authoritarian Populism and Patriarchal Logics: Nicaragua's Engendered Politics." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 3 (2): 701–23; Gökten Huriye Dogangün. 2020. *Gender Politics in Turkey and Russia: From State Feminism to Authoritarian Rule*. London: Bloomsbury; Grewal Inderpal. 2020. "Authoritarian Patriarchy and Its Populism." *English Studies in Africa* 63 (1): 179–98; Valerie Sperling. 2015. *Sex, Politics, and Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶ Nermin Allam. 2018. *Women and the Egyptian Revolution: Engagement and Activism during the 2011 Arab Uprisings*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Mounira M. Charrad and Rita Stephan, eds. 2020. *Women Rising: In and Beyond the Arab Spring*. New York: New York University Press; Sherine Hafez. 2019. *Women of the Midan: The Untold Stories of Egypt's Revolutionaries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Andrea Khalil, ed. 2016. *Gender, Women, and the Arab Spring*. New York: Routledge; Mona Prince. 2014. *Revolution Is My Name: An Egyptian Woman's Diary from Eighteen Days in Tahrir*, trans. Samia Mehrez. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press; Marwa Shalaby and Valentine Moghadam, eds. 2016. *Empowering Women After the Arab Spring*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹⁷ Janet Afary and Kevin B. Anderson. 2023. "Woman, Life, Freedom: The Origins of the Uprising in Iran." *Dissent* 70 (1): 82–98; Raheleh Dayerizadeh. 2017. "Iranian Women and Their Strategic Role During the Green Movement." In *The New Global Politics: Global Social*

infringement on women's rights.¹⁸ Moreover, women in Ukraine played a significant role during the 2013–2014 Revolution of Dignity, also known as Euromaidan.¹⁹ Women were also at the forefront of the 2019 revolution that brought down Omar al-Bashir's thirty-year rule in Sudan.²⁰ In Belarus, women's marches were a hallmark of mass mobilization against gross violations of democratic procedures during the 2020 presidential election and police brutality against participants in peaceful postelection protests.²¹ Taken as a whole, women were actively involved in contemporary revolutions and pro-democracy movements that emerged in the aftermath of rigged elections or outside an electoral cycle.

Yet, women's engagement in contentious politics often appears to be invisible in the public discourse. The marginalization of women activists derives, in part, from the media's gendered portrayal of civil resistance, which tends to reinforce a gender-based division of labor within a protest movement. Moreover, the media spotlight often focuses on a handful of movement leaders, which further diminishes the visibility of many rank-and-file female activists. Prior research shows that many African American women who performed various roles comparable to those of African American men were "invisible,

Movements in the Twenty-First Century, eds. Harry Vanden, Peter Funke, and Gary Prevost. London: Routledge, pp. 111–27; Victoria Tahmasebi-Birgani. 2010. "Green Women of Iran: The Role of the Women's Movement During and After Iran's Presidential Election of 2009." *Constellations* 17: 78–86.

¹⁸ For an overview, see Zehra F. Kabasakal Arat. 2021. "Gender Politics and the Struggle for Equality in Turkey." In *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*, ed. Güneş Murat Tezcür. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 627–48.

¹⁹ In this book, the terms Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity are used interchangeably, without a reference to a specific moment in mass mobilization. The term Euromaidan is a combination of the words Europe and Maidan. The Ukrainian-language word *maidan* denotes open space or a town square. Furthermore, given a long record of anti-government protests in the center of Kyiv's Independence Square in the post-Soviet period, the word *maidan* has become synonymous with mass mobilization against the ruling elite. For an overview of sociological research on women's participation in Euromaidan, see Tamara Martsenyuk. 2014. *Henderna sotsiolohiia Maidanu: Rol zhinok u protestah*. Kyiv: Electronic Archive of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. <http://ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/handle/123456789/3511>.

²⁰ Samia Al-Nagar and Liv Tønnessen. 2021. "Sudanese Women's Demands for Freedom, Peace, and Justice in the 2019 Revolution." In *Women and Peacebuilding in Africa*, eds. Ladan Affi, Liv Tønnessen, and Aili Mari Tripp. Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, pp. 103–28; Balghis Badri. 2020. "Sudanese Women Leading Revolution: Impact on Transformation." *Femina Politica – Zeitschrift für feministische Politikwissenschaft* 1 (May): 146–50.

²¹ Elena Gapova. 2023. "Activating and Negotiating Women's Citizenship in the 2020 Belarusian Uprising." In *Belarus in the Twenty-First Century: Between Dictatorship and Democracy*, eds. Elena Korosteleva, Irina Petrova, and Anastasiia Kudlenko. London: Routledge, pp. 161–78; Natallia Paulovich. 2021. "How Feminist Is the Belarusian Revolution? Female Agency and Participation in the 2020 Post-Election Protests." *Slavic Review* 80 (1): 38–44.

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unsung heroes and leaders” of the US civil rights movement.²² Despite significant advances in our knowledge about women’s movements in the US,²³ much less effort has been expended to uncover women’s involvement in broad-based pro-democracy movements and contemporary revolutions around the globe.²⁴ The book seeks to address this empirical gap in contentious politics literature. The empirical focus on women’s engagement in a revolution is informed by feminist standpoint theory, positing that our understanding of state–society relations is incomplete without a critical reflection on the experiences of marginalized groups, including women.²⁵ The book places women at the center of empirical analysis not just as participants in a revolution but also as storytellers.

Theoretically, the book contributes to contentious politics literature by proposing a typology of women’s participation in a revolution. This typology is summarized in Table 1.1. Based on women’s motivations for engagement, modes of women’s participation during a period of mass mobilization, and gender outcomes of revolution, the book distinguishes three models of participation: (1) patriarchal, (2) emancipatory, and (3) hybrid. Reinforcing pre-existing patriarchal norms in society, the patriarchal model of women’s participation in a revolution assumes that motherhood is a key driver of women’s activism, women primarily perform “support tasks” during a revolution, and female revolutionaries retreat into the private sphere in the wake of mass mobilization. The emancipatory model, on the contrary, views feminism as a catalyst for women’s activism, assumes women’s access to formal positions of leadership within the movement, and anticipates considerable progress in gender equality in the postrevolutionary period. Located between these two

²² Bernice McNair Barnett. 1993. “Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders in the Civil Rights Movement: The Triple Constraints of Gender, Race, and Class.” *Gender and Society* 7 (2): 162–82, 162.

²³ See, for example, Lee Ann Banaszak, ed. 2006. *The U.S. Women’s Movement in Global Perspective*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield; Karen Beckwith, Dieter Rucht, and Lee Ann Banaszak, eds. 2003. *Women’s Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Jo Reger, ed. 2019. *Nevertheless, They Persisted: Feminisms and Continued Resistance in the U.S. Women’s Movement*. New York: Routledge.

²⁴ Lisa Baldez. 2010. “The Gender Lacuna in Comparative Politics.” *Perspectives on Politics* 8: 199–205; Karen Beckwith. 2000. “Beyond Compare? Women’s Movements in Comparative Perspective.” *European Journal of Political Research* 37 (4): 431–68; Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, eds. 2006. *Global Feminism: Transnational Women’s Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*. New York: New York University Press; Margaret Randall. 1995. *Sandino’s Daughters: Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press; Aili Mari Tripp, Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kwesiga, and Alice Mungwa. 2011. *African Women’s Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Georgina Waylen. 2003. “Gender and Transitions: What Do We Know?” *Democratization* 10: 157–78.

²⁵ For an overview of feminist standpoint theory, see Catherine E. Hundleby. 2020. “Thinking Outside-In: Feminist Standpoint Theory as Epistemology, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Feminist Philosophy of Science*, eds. Sharon Crasnow and Kristen Intemann. New York: Routledge, pp. 89–103.

TABLE 1.1 *Typology of women's participation in a revolution*

Women's participation in a revolution			
	Patriarchal	Emancipatory	Hybrid
Main motivations	Motherhood	Feminism	Various motivations, including motherhood, feminism, professional service, and civic duty
Women's roles	"Support tasks"	Leadership roles	Stereotypically feminine, stereotypically masculine, or gender-neutral roles
Outcomes	Retreat into the private sphere	Significant progress in gender equality	Mixed record of gender equality in different domains

extremes, the hybrid model encompasses a variety of motivations for women's engagement in the revolution, underscores the diversity of women's roles over the course of mass mobilization, and acknowledges various degrees of success in gender equality in different spheres. This study suggests that a hybrid model might better capture the diversity of women's experiences during a twenty-first-century revolution.

An in-depth analysis of the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine provides a superb opportunity to examine various motivations for women's involvement in a revolution, diverse domains of women's engagement, and multifaceted outcomes of mass mobilization in a polity with fragile democratic institutions. Since the collapse of communism, the former Soviet republic located between the European Union, on the one hand, and the Russian Federation, on the other, experienced ebbs and flows in the provision of political rights and civil liberties.²⁶ In particular, rampant corruption hampered democratization processes and economic development.²⁷ Nevertheless, Ukrainians repeatedly took to the streets to subvert the entrenchment of authoritarian practices and reaffirm the country's national independence.²⁸

²⁶ For a succinct survey of Ukrainian modern history, see Serhii Plokhy. 2015. *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 305–46; Serhy Yekelchuk. 2020. *Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

²⁷ Anders Aslund. 2015. *Ukraine: What Went Wrong and How to Fix It*. Washington, DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics; Erik Herron. 2020. *Normalizing Corruption: Failures of Accountability in Ukraine*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Taras Kuzio. 2015. *Ukraine: Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism*. Santa Barbara: Praeger.

²⁸ Emily Channell-Justice. 2022. *Without the State: Self-Organization and Political Activism in Ukraine*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Christine Emeran. 2017. *New Generation*

An advantage of focusing on the Ukrainian revolution is that there is a trove of under-explored data on mass mobilization. Ukrainian historians meticulously documented citizens' recollections of civil resistance through oral history projects. Furthermore, Ukrainian sociologists conducted on-site surveys of participants in Kyiv-based protests and fielded a nationally representative survey shortly after the conclusion of protest events. Local journalists also played an important role in chronicling civil resistance to the regime. Drawing on data from large-N surveys, oral history projects, and newspaper articles, the book traces multiple ways in which women participated in the revolution.

The remainder of this chapter elaborates on the study of women and revolutions, provides background information about the Revolution of Dignity and its participants, identifies the main trends in gender inequality in Ukrainian society, and describes data sources.

WOMEN AND REVOLUTIONS

In recent decades, there has been a growing body of interdisciplinary scholarship on women's involvement in different types of revolutions.²⁹ To some extent, the mere presence of women in revolutionary movements is seen as an act of

Political Activism in Ukraine 2000–2014. New York: Routledge; Paweł Kowal, Iwona Reichardt, Georges Mink, and Adam Reichardt, eds. 2019. *Three Revolutions: Mobilization and Change in Contemporary Ukraine II; An Oral History of the Revolution on Granite, Orange Revolution, and Revolution of Dignity*. Stuttgart: Ibidem Press; David R. Marples and Frederick V. Mills, eds. 2015. *Ukraine's Euromaidan: Analyses of a Civil Revolution*. Stuttgart: Ibidem Press; Olena Nikolayenko. 2015. "Youth Mobilization Before and During the Orange Revolution: Learning from Losses." In *Civil Resistance: Comparative Perspectives on Nonviolent Struggle*, ed. Kurt Schock. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 93–120; Olga Onuch. 2014. *Mapping Mass Mobilization: Understanding Revolutionary Moments in Argentina and Ukraine*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; Sophia Wilson. 2022. "The Ukrainian Revolution: Repression, Interpretation, and Dissent." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 45: 157–88.

²⁹ Michelle Chase. 2015. *Revolution within the Revolution: Women and Gender Politics in Cuba, 1952–1962*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Sheila Fitzpatrick and Yuri Slezkine, eds. 2000. *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women from 1917 to the Second World War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Gail Hershatter. 2019. *Women and China's Revolutions*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield; Tabea Alexa Linhard. 2005. *Fearless Women in the Mexican Revolution and the Spanish Civil War*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press; Barbara Oberg, ed. 2019. *Women in the American Revolution: Gender, Politics, and the Domestic World*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press; Jocelyn Olcott. 2005. *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press; Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild. 2010. *Equality and Revolution: Women's Rights in the Russian Empire, 1905–1917*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press; Stephanie Smith. 2009. *Gender and the Mexican Revolution: Yucatán Women and the Realities of Patriarchy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Marilyn Yalom. 2015. *Compelled to Witness: Women's Memoirs of the French Revolution*. New York: Astor and Lenox LLC.

“gender-bending” (the contestation of dominant gender roles),³⁰ since the revolutionary struggle is traditionally seen as a man’s domain.³¹ Nonetheless, growing literature suggests that many women sought to challenge the prevailing gender boundaries by assuming a wide range of roles in the revolutionary struggle. Research on eighteenth-century women’s history, for example, shows that women assumed multiple roles during the American Revolution, serving as nurses, soldiers, saboteurs, and spies.³² Focusing on a more recent case of a social revolution, de Volo excavates data from primary documents, memoirs of rebel women, and US declassified material to demonstrate “women’s multiple forms of participation” in the Cuban Revolution (p. 6).³³ Another line of inquiry investigates the causes and consequences of women’s involvement in armed rebellions and guerrilla movements.³⁴ Henshaw, for example, analyzes patterns of women’s participation in over seventy rebel groups in the post-Cold War period.³⁵ Specifically, Loken identifies four dimensions of women’s involvement in non-combat labor in rebel organizations: logistics, outreach, governance, and community management.³⁶ Compared to armed insurgencies, nonviolent revolutions

³⁰ On the concept of gender-bending, see Judith Lorber. 1994. “‘Night to His Day’: The Social Construction of Gender.” In *Paradoxes of Gender*, ed. Judith Lorber. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 13–36.

³¹ On women’s participation in revolutionary movements, see Jane S. Jaquette. 1973. “Women in Revolutionary Movements in Latin America.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 35 (2): 344–54; Linda M. Lobao. 1990. “Women in Revolutionary Movements: Changing Patterns of Latin American Guerrilla Struggle.” *Dialectical Anthropology* 15 (2/3): 211–32; Linda L. Reif. 1986. “Women in Latin American Guerrilla Movements: A Comparative Perspective.” *Comparative Politics* 18 (2): 147–69; Julie D. Shayne. 2004. *The Revolution Question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

³² Jeanne Munn Bracken, ed. 2009. *Women in the American Revolution*. Boston: History Compass; Susan Casey. 2015. *Women Heroes of the American Revolution: Twenty Stories of Espionage, Sabotage, Defiance, and Rescue*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press.

³³ Lorraine Bayard de Volo. 2018. *Women and the Cuban Insurrection: How Gender Shaped Castro’s Victory*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

³⁴ Karen Kampwirth. 2002. *Women in Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press; Sarah Parkinson. 2013. “Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War.” *American Political Science Review* 107 (3): 418–32; Susanne Schaftenaar. 2017. “How (Wo)men Rebel: Exploring the Effect of Gender Equality on Nonviolent and Armed Conflict Onset.” *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (6): 762–76; Jakana Thomas and Kanisha Bond. 2015. “Women’s Participation in Violent Political Organizations.” *American Political Science Review* 109: 488–506; Jocelyn S. Viterna. 2006. “Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women’s Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army.” *American Journal of Sociology* 112 (1): 1–45; Reed M. Wood. 2019. *Female Fighters: Why Rebel Groups Recruit Women for War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

³⁵ Alexis Henshaw. 2016. *Why Women Rebel: Understanding Women’s Participation in Armed Rebel Groups*. London: Routledge.

³⁶ Meredith Loken. 2022. “Noncombat Participation in Rebellion: A Gendered Typology.” *International Security* 47 (1): 139–70.

tend to provide a wider range of opportunities for women's recruitment and participation.

The book proposes a typology of women's participation in a revolution based on three dimensions: (1) women's motivations for participation, (2) forms of their participation, and (3) gender outcomes of revolution. The selection of these criteria is informed by three main questions that animate scholarship on mass mobilization: *Why do individuals join a revolution? How do individuals participate in a revolution? What are the outcomes of mass mobilization?* In this section, I briefly discuss how the book speaks to these strands of research.

Women's Mobilization

An influential argument in contentious politics literature is that the movement's strength depends on the effective recruitment of activists and volunteers.³⁷ Specifically, women's participation can bolster the movement's viability, since women represent nearly half of the population in most societies. It is widely upheld that a sizable movement might raise the costs of repression and decrease the likelihood of the deployment of lethal force against movement participants.³⁸ Recent scholarship also shows that a cross-cutting coalition of social forces is a salient feature of contemporary revolutions in non-democracies.³⁹ Against this backdrop, it is crucial to understand why individuals with diverse backgrounds get involved in civil resistance at the risk of their lives.⁴⁰ An examination of factors associated with women's participation in a revolution will enable scholars to provide a partial answer to this question.

The book makes an empirical contribution to contentious politics literature by demonstrating a wide range of women's motivations for engagement in a contemporary revolution. In her influential article on women's participation in the struggle against Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, Molyneux distinguishes between strategic gender interests aimed at achieving women's emancipation and eliminating gender subordination and practical gender interests directed

³⁷ James DeNardo. 1985. *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Gerald Marwell and Pamela Oliver. 1993. *The Critical Mass in Collective Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

³⁸ On the unintended effects of repression, see Lester Kurtz and Lee Smitney, eds. 2018. *The Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

³⁹ Asef Bayat. 2015. "Plebeians of the Arab Spring." *Current Anthropology* 56: 33–43; Beissinger, "The Semblance of Democratic Revolution"; Gianni Del Panta. 2020. "Cross-class and Cross-ideological Convergences over Time: Insights from the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutionary Uprisings." *Government and Opposition* 55 (4): 634–52; Jack Andrew Goldstone. 2011. "Cross-class Coalitions and the Making of the Arab Revolts of 2011." *Swiss Political Science Review* 17 (4): 457–62.

⁴⁰ For an overview of the literature on mass mobilization, see Paul Almeida. 2019. *Social Movements: The Structure of Mass Mobilization*. Oakland: University of California Press.

at tackling the immediate perceived needs of women.⁴¹ This distinction is relevant to identify different models of women's participation in a revolution. An egalitarian model of women's participation in a revolution assumes that the development of feminist consciousness and the pursuit of strategic gender interests is a driving force behind women's activism.⁴² Meanwhile, in line with a patriarchal model of women's participation in a revolution, maternal identity might serve as a powerful incentive for women's activism.⁴³ In her analysis of women's community work in low-income neighborhoods in New York City and Philadelphia, Naples develops the concept of activist mothering to encompass caretaking not only for biologically or legally related children but also for the community as a whole.⁴⁴ Thus, the politicization of motherhood "turns needs related to children into political demands and thus promotes political action."⁴⁵ The hybrid model assumes that a myriad of social identities, including being a mother or a feminist, might provide a catalyst for women's involvement in contentious politics. In line with a hybrid model, the book illustrates that a broad spectrum of motivations, including motherhood, civic duty, professional service, and solidarity with protesters, provides an incentive for women's engagement in a contemporary revolution. These findings are consistent with Marian Rubchak's astute observation that there are "many faces of women," along with diverse conceptions of feminism, in Ukraine (p. 19).⁴⁶

Moreover, the book contributes to the literature about the impact of biographical availability on protest participation by uncovering conditions under which women might get involved in a revolution. In line with the biographical availability argument, parenthood imposes constraints on

⁴¹ Maxine Molyneux. 1985. "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua." *Feminist Studies* 11 (2): 227–54.

⁴² Eric Swank and Breanne Fahs. 2017. "Understanding Feminist Activism among Women: Resources, Consciousness, and Social Networks." *Socius* 3: 1–9.

⁴³ See, for example, Valeria Fabj. 1993. "Motherhood as Political Voice: The Rhetoric of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo." *Communication Studies* 44 (1): 1–18; Jenny Irons. 1998. "The Shaping of Activist Recruitment and Participation: A Study of Women in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement." *Gender and Society* 12 (6): 692–709; Nancy Naples. 1998. *Grassroots Warriors: Activist Mothering, Community Work, and the War on Poverty*. New York: Routledge; Thomas Shriver, Alison Adams, and Rachel Einwohner. 2013. "Motherhood and Opportunities for Activism Before and After the Czech Velvet Revolution." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 18: 267–88.

⁴⁴ Nancy Naples. 1992. "Activist Mothering: Cross-Generational Continuity in the Community Work of Women from Low-Income Urban Neighborhoods." *Gender and Society* 6 (3): 441–63, 446.

⁴⁵ Graciela Di Marco. 2009. "Social Justice and Gender Rights." *International Social Science Journal* 191: 43–55, 53.

⁴⁶ Marian J. Rubchak. 2011. "Turning Oppression Into Opportunity: An Introduction." In *Mapping Difference: The Many Faces of Women in Contemporary Ukraine*, ed. Marian J. Rubchak. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 1–21.