HUMAN RIGHTS AND WOMEN RIGHTS IN RUSSIA (1991-2001)

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of requirements for the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

PRIYANKA SINGH



Centre for Russian,
Central Asian and East European Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067
India
2004



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

School of International Studies New Delhi - 110067

Tel.: 2670 4365

Fax: (+91)-11-26717586

(+91)-11-26717603

Centre for Russian, Central Asian and East European Studies

27 July 2004

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "HUMAN RIGHTS AND WOMEN RIGHTS IN RUSSIA (1991-2001)" submitted by Priyanka Singh in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy is her original work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this university or of any other university.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

(Prof. Anuradha Chenoy)
Chairperson

(Prof. Anuradha Chenoy)
Supervisor

Dedicated to My Parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has been the result of the encouragement of several people.

First and foremost, I acknowledge my indebtedness to my supervisor Prof. Anuradha Chenoy, without whose continuous guidance this work would not have been possible. Her keen interest and enormous patience played a significant role in the completion of this project. I am grateful to her for providing unconditional support and encouragement during my difficult times.

My deepest regards to my parents who have always encouraged and inspired me in my academic endeavours. My special thanks to my husband, Shashi for his constant support and encouragement at times when I needed it the most. I am greatly indebted to my Uncle Dr. Suman Kr. Singh who provided me with his invaluable suggestions.

My thanks are due to members of my family and my friends, Ismat, Rachna and Sangeeta for their genuine help and concern regarding progress of my work.

I would like to thank the staff members of the JNU Library, Centre For Women Development Studies, Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA) and University of South Florida Library.

Finally, thanks to Sanjay Photostat for all their cooperation.

Priyanka Singh

CONTENTS

		Page No.
Ackno	wledgement	i
		No.
CHA	PTER – I	1-46
	INTRODUCTION	_
1.1	Human Rights	3
1.2	Women Rights Are Human Rights	8
	1.2.1 Public /Private Dichotomy	28
1.3	Women In Russia: A Historical Perspective	33
СНА	PTER – II	47-77
CIIA.	IMPACT OF SOVIET DISINTEGRATION ON WOMEN	4/ //
2.1	Introduction	47
2.2	Women and Politics	48
2.3	Women and The Economy	60
2.4	Women and Society	70
2.5	Conclusion	75 75
2.5	Conclusion	
СНА	PTER – III	78-126
CIIA	HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST	70-120
	WOMEN IN RUSSIA	
3.1	Introduction	78
3.2	The Historical Background	79 79
3.3	Violence In Contemporary Russia	83
5.5	3.3.1 Domestic Violence	86
	3.3.2 Sexual Violence Against Women	95
	3.3.2.1 Rape	97
	3.3.2.2 Sexual Harassment	102
	3.3.2.3 Prostitution and Trafficking	105
	3.3.3 Abuses Against Women In Custody	111
	3.3.4 Violence in Conflict Situation	114
3.4	The Crises Centres	118
3.5	Conclusion	. 120
		-20
СНА	PTER – IV	127-181
	WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA	
4.1	Introduction	127

4.2 Civil Society	129	•
4.3 Feminism	132	
4.3.1 Forms Of Feminism	137	
4.4 Feminism In Russia	139	
4.5 History of Women's Movement In Russia	144	
4.6 Contemporary Women's Movement	154	
4.6.1 Reason For The Emergence of Women's Movement 157		•
4.6.2 Nature of Women's Movement	163	
4.6.3 Types of Women's Organization	170	
4.6.4 Problems of Women Activism.	173	
4.7 Conclusion	178	
	• •	
CHAPTER – V	182-190	*
CONCLUSION		
BIBLIOGRAPHY	191-208	
APPENDIX – A Russian National Laws Guaranteeing Gender Equality	209-216	
APPENDIX – B	217-222	
Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women		
APPENDIX – C Violence Against Women and International Norms	223-226	
		*
·		

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

We are living in an era of dramatic change and transition, in a world that is being transformed by complex financial systems and revolutionary information technologies into a vast global marketplace. Globalization is creating new patterns of interaction among people and States, promising unprecedented opportunities for material progress in larger freedom, but also threatening to compound many existing challenges before the international community while deepening the economic marginalization of those most vulnerable. In this complex scenario, human rights, which were embedded formally at the United Nations as a great international priority 50 years ago -- by means of the December 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights -have gained prominence as a universally recognized set of norms and standards that increasingly inform all aspects of our relations as individuals and as collective members of groups, within communities and among nations. There is now near-universal recognition that respect for human rights -- the rights of political choice and association, of opinion and expression, and of culture; the freedom from fear and from all forms of discrimination and prejudice; freedom from want and the right to employment and well-being and, collectively, to development -- is essential to the sustainable achievement of the three agreed global priorities of peace, development and democracy.

Human rights are generally defined as the rights, which every human being is entitled to enjoy and to have protected. Human rights are fundamental entitlements of persons, constituting means to the end of minimal human dignity or social justice. They are derived from the dignity and worth inherent in the human person and that the human being is the central subject of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In simple terms,

Weiss, G.Thomas, Forsythe, P.David and Coate, A.Roger. The United Nations and Changing World Politics, Westview Press, p. 105,1994.

whatever adds to the dignified and free existence of a human being should be regarded as human right. All societies and cultures have in the past developed some conception of rights and principles that should be respected. The struggle for the recognition of human rights and the struggle against political, economic, social, and cultural oppression, against injustice and inequalities, have been an integral part of the history of all human societies.²

According to Burns Weston³, five postulates assist in task of defining human rights. Firstly, human rights are general or universal in character, equally possessed by all human beings. Secondly, human rights refer to a wide continuum of value claims ranging from the most justiciable to the most aspirational. Human rights partake of both the legal and the moral orders, sometimes indistinguishably. They are expressive of both the "is" and the "ought" in human affairs. Thirdly, human rights are general and universal in character, in some sense equally possessed by all human beings everywhere. Fourthly human rights are commonly assumed to refer, to "fundamental" as distinct from "nonessential" claims. And finally, human rights limit state power. They represents individual and group demands for the shaping and sharing power, wealth, enlightenment, and other cherished values in community process. Consequently they imply claims against persons and institutions that impede realization and standards for judging the legitimacy of laws and tradition

This chapter will focus on the increased recognition of human rights in the last decade, particularly in the realm of women's issues. Besides analyzing the concept of human rights, the chapter looks into the debate that women rights are human rights, analyzing such issue as to what extent women's experiences been included within the purview of mainstream human rights practices at the international levels; what are the reasons for the limited extent to which women's experiences have been included within that discourse. It's also gives a picture of inequalities faced by women

Dev, Arjun and Das, Supta (eds). *Human Rights: A Source Book*, National Council Of Educational Research And Training: New Delhi, pp.xi-xiv, 1996.

Weston. Burns. "Human Rights", Human Rights Ouarterly, vol.6, 1984.

worldwide. Against this backdrop, the chapter also provides an historical overview of women's position in Russia.

1.1 Human Rights

The expression "Human Rights" is relatively new, having come into everyday parlance only since Second World War and the founding of United Nations in 1945. However, the historical origins of the concept can be traced back to ancient Greece and Rome, where it was closely tied to the premodern natural law doctrines of Greek Stoicism⁴, the school of philosophy founded by Zeno of Citium, which held that a universal working force pervades all creation and that human conduct therefore should be judged according to, and brought into harmony with, the law of nature. The shift from natural law as duties to natural law as rights was made during Renaissance which was characterize by failure of rulers to meet their natural law obligations as well as the unprecedented commitments to individual expression and worldly experiences. The teachings of Aquinas (1224-1274) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) on the European continent, and the Magna Carta (1215), the Petition of Right of 1628, and the English Bill of Rights (1689) in England, were proof of this change.⁵

This modernist conception of natural law as meaning or implying natural rights was elaborated in 17th and 18th centuries. The scientific and intellectual achievements of the 17th century-the discoveries of Galileo and Sir Isaac Newton, the materialism of Thomas Hobbes, the rationalism of Rene Descartes and Gottfried Wilhem Leibnitz, the empiricism of Francis Bacon and John Locke- encouraged a belief in natural law and universal order; and during the 18th century-the Age of Enlightenment, a growing confidence in human reason and in the perfect ability of human affairs led to its most comprehensive expression. Particularly to be noted are the writings

⁴ ibid

Ravindran, J.D. Human Rights Praxis: A Resource Book For Study, Action, and Reflection, Earthworm Books, pp.19-30, 1998.

Fields, A. Belden. Rethinking Human Rights for the New Millennium, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 7-34,2003.

of English philosopher John Locke and the works of the 18th century philosophies centred mainly in Paris, including Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Jean –Jacques Rousseau.

All these liberal intellectual ferment had great influence on western world of late 18th and early 19th centuries. Together with the practical example of England's revolution of 1688 and the resulting Bill of Rights, it provided the rationale for the wave of revolutionary agitation that then swept the world, most notably in North America and France. The philosophy that everyman has the right to dignity is embodied in the US Declaration of Independence (1776). The "grand documents" of human rights are the American and French documents drafted at the end of eighteenth century. These are the US Declaration of Independence (1776), the US Constitution and its first ten amendments, which constitute the Bill of Rights (1789 and 1791), and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789).

Still another effort in the nineteenth century to identify and correct a problem of human dignity on an international basis was the antislavery movement. This trend of focusing on human needs across national borders increased during the League of Nations era, although most efforts met with less than full success. Although the League's Covenant failed to deal with human rights in general, its Article 23 did indicate that the league should be concerned with social justice. More successful were efforts to codify and institutionalize labour rights, the International Labour Organization (ILO) was created and based in Geneva alongside the League.

The founders of United Nations responded to the horrors of the second world war by emphasizing human rights in the organization's Charter, signed on June 26,1945. The United Nations Charter recognized in principle the centrality of the importance of the protection of human

Weiss, G.Thomas, Forsythe, P.David and Coate, A.Roger. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, Westview Press, pp.103-108, 1994.

⁸ ibid

ibid

rights. ¹⁰It states that the aim of the new organization is 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war' and 'to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights'. Article 1 of the Charter states that the aim of the United Nations is to achieve international co-operation in 'promoting and encouraging respect of human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion'. In 1946, the UN established the Commission on Human Rights, the principle body for human rights within the UN system. Under the chairmanship of Eleanor Roosevelt, the commission took up the task of defining basic rights and freedoms.

The General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948 in Paris as a bulwark against oppression and discrimination. In the wake of a devastating world war, which had witnessed some of the most barbarous crimes in human history, the Universal Declaration marked the first time that the rights and freedoms of individuals were set forth in such detail. It also represented the first international recognition that human rights and fundamental freedoms are applicable to every person, everywhere. The Universal Declaration covers the range of human rights in 30 clear and concise articles. 12 The first two articles lay the universal foundation of human rights: human beings are equal because of their shared essence of human dignity; human rights are universal, not because of any State or international organization, but because they belong to all of humanity. The two articles assure that human rights are the birthright of everyone, not privileges of a select few, nor privileges to be granted or denied. Article 1 declares, "All human beings are born equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." Article 2 recognizes the universal dignity of a life free from discrimination. Everyone is entitled to

Human Rights Today- A United Nations Priority, Prepared for the Internet by the Information Technology Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations, December 1998, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.un.org

¹¹ ihid

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 1948. G.A. Res. 217A(III), U.N. Doc. A/810, adopted December 10, 1948

all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Thus Universal Declaration of human rights has four important premises:¹³

- Individual is the bearer of rights
- The state has to be both a protector and also promoter of the rights guaranteed
- The rights include civil, political, economic, social, cultural, aspects of human beings
- The rights are universal

The Universal Declaration has been followed by other declarations, which present in an elaborate form the human rights principles in respect of specific There have also issues and aspects. been many covenants/conventions, which also elaborate statements of specific rights relating to specific aspects. Today, through the United Nations and its halfcentury of enactments, an impressive body of human rights doctrine is embodied in international law. A perusal of these documents would show, an amazing range of the issues covered. There is hardly any human issue or problem, which has not been touched. Each document is an example of the international human concern and sensitivity to the problems, particularly of labour, children, women, indigenous people, refugees, the poor and the disadvantaged sections of the society.

Content and scope of human rights can be studied by help of notion of "three generations of human rights" advanced by French Jurist Karel Vasak in his seminal article, "Pour Une Troisieme Generation Des Droits De l' Homme". ¹⁴ The first generation refers are those rights that were concerned mainly with the civil and political rights of individual or the

Human Rights Today- A United Nations Priority, Prepared for the Internet by the Information Technology Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations, December 1998, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.un.org

Weston. Burns. "Human Rights", Human Rights Quarterly, vol.6, 1984.

'liberty -oriented' rights. These were meant to impose 'negative obligations on governments to desist from interfering with the exercise of individual liberties'. For, example, freedom from racial discrimination; the rights to life, liberty and security of person. The second generation of rights are those rights, which can be said to be 'security -oriented' and provide for social, economic and cultural security and are more positive in nature in that they make it the duty of the state to ensure that these rights are realized. Illustrative are the claimed rights set forth in articles 22- 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, such as the right to social security; the right to work and to protection against unemployment. The third generation consists of collective rights, is what Vasak called "solidarity rights". They have evolved in response to various new concerns over which international consensus has emerged in recent years. For, example, the right to peace, the right to a healthy and balanced environment, the right to economic and social development and the right to humanitarian disaster relief.

Thus, it would appear that there is a world consensus on "human rights". It is true that virtually all governments in the world have signed and ratified one or more human rights agreement. There at least sums to be broad agreement that there is something called human rights, but there is not an agreement on what constitutes that thing. The disagreements is not only over the length of human rights lists, or whether they can be economic and social as well as political and civil, but also over who are holders of these rights; that is, can collectivities as well as individuals claim human rights. There are still some Burkean conservatives who argue that such universalized concepts are meaningless because rights, like democracy, are contingent on culture and tradition. Other conservatives argue that human rights are inconsistent with the principle of national sovereignty that they prize. Then there are still Marxists who argue that human rights are not only empty abstractions but also that they continue to form a vital part of the ideological superstructure

Fields, A. Belden. Rethinking Human Rights for the New Millennium, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 7-34,2003

of capitalist domination. ¹⁶Then there are other schools such as postmodern deconstructionists and critical legal theorists that present an objection similar to that of traditional Marxists but with deeper cultural and legal analyses than traditional Marxists offer. Moreover, feminists criticize the mainstream human rights discourse on the grounds that it is not sensitive to the violation of women rights.

1.2 Women Rights Are Human Rights

Few movements have made so large an impact in so short a time as the women's human rights movement. Working across national, cultural, religious and class lines, advocates promoting the human rights of women have waged a campaign to ensure respect for women's rights as fundamental human rights. The movement's emergence and growth over the past decade have, to a large extent, also transformed the way human rights issues are understood and investigated, both by intergovernmental bodies and by nongovernmental human rights organizations. The result has been to turn the spotlight on-and to place at the center of the social and political debates at the United Nations and between governments—the role that human rights violations play in maintaining the subordinate status of the world's women. Their impact was powerfully apparent at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, when governments recognized women's rights as "an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights." ¹⁷

The proliferation of human rights standards at the international level in the last forty-five years has been a striking feature of the development of international law. This period has also seen some important developments in the recognition by the international community that sex/gender is an important category of analysis when it comes to examining the enjoyment of human rights, a recognition reflected in particular in the elaboration of a number of important instruments dealing with discrimination against

¹⁶ ibid

www.hrw.org

women. 18 As a result, the extent of formal protection of the rights of women under general human rights law and gender specific regimes is quite extensive. A solid network of international conventions on women's rights and gender discrimination exists.

The preamble of the United Nations Charter refers to "the equal rights of men and women". In 1949 the Commission On The Status of Women initiated action leading to the general assembly's adoption, in 1952, of the first legal instrument dealing exclusively with women's rights-The Convention On The Political Rights of Women. This was followed by the 1957 Convention On The Nationality Of Married Women and the 1962 Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages, as well as 1965 recommendation on the subject.

First international conference on women sponsored by UN was held in Mexico City in 1975. Eight thousand women from 133 states and 113 NGOs participated in the conference. It stressed the responsibility of states to remove the obstacles to women's Enjoyment equal status and to find ways to integrate women fully into society, as well as responsibility of men in family life. Several days of intensive discussion saw two measures adopted¹⁹: the Mexico Declaration on Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace and a World Plan of Action for the implementation of the objectives agreed. Once more the agenda for action was moving from the protection to promotion: equal education access, a greater emphasis on literacy and civic education, coeducational training in industry and agriculture; in employment, less discrimination in conditions and terms for female workers and improved welfare services for women and their families; explicit recognition of the value of women's work in the home and in other unpaid activities; and eligibility to vote and hold office and greater participation in policy making.

Byrnes, Andrew. "Toward More Effective Enforcement of Women's Human Rights through the Use of International Human Rights Law and Procedures". In R. J. Cook (ed). *Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

Whittakar, J.David. *United Nations in Action*, UCL Press Limited, pp.148-157, 1995.

This tremendous list of points in the World Plan Of Action was endorsed by the General Assembly who then declared the years 1976-1985 to be a UN decade for women. In brief the objective of the decade were to "transform fundamental relationships within society which excludes the possibility of exploitation", a system with "set targets and priorities... for equitable representation of women at all levels of policy and decision making". ²⁰Two practical steps followed. ²¹ A Voluntary Fund for the decade was instituted, to continue as a UN Development Fund for women as a part of the UN Development Programme (UNDP). International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) was also created. Here research and training would be done in collaboration with UN Specialized Agencies, governments and NGOs with the central idea of promoting the role of women as key agents of development. INSTRAW was located at Dominican Republic and funded by voluntary

Contributions from the UN member states and from many private sources.

Second International Conference on Women was held at Copenhagen.²² The main task of the conference was to work out how to channel into action the objectives of improved provision for education, employment, and health. Workshops, projects, seminars, courses, and study groups were all devised. It was argued that real progress in improving the status of women and of men depended not only on changes in contemporary social structures, but also on changes in the complacent mentality that tolerated those structures. Delegates at Copenhagen spent some time in examining the contribution of UNESCO to the UN decade for women. This took the from of two medium-term plans, one for 1977-83, and 1984-89. Initial concentration on women's status and participation in development

²⁰ ibid

²¹ ibid

²² ibid

work was beginning to move towards identifying obstacles to equal access to education and employment and to determining how best to cope with it

Third International Women's Conference was held at Nairobi in 1985.²³ At Nairobi over 2000 workshops discussed every topic of interests to women. A great number of NGOs actively participated, representing women's and youth groups, trade unions, religious groups, political parties and community groups. Many radical views were expressed from Islamic fundamentalism to advanced positions on women's liberation. A set of guidelines was adopted termed forward-looking strategies for the advancement of women to the year 2000. Taking up the movement in the in the UNESCO medium-term plans were twofold: to enumerate obstacles still needing removal if the goals of the decade were to be overcome and to concentrate on priorities. It was agreed that the issues needing urgent attention were the inadequate remuneration of female labour, and the position of women who were elderly, young, destitute, rural, immigrant, or refugee. Women should have a greater say in decision-making. Special attention was given to violence against women and general questions of women's vulnerability. These strategies were to be reappraised every five years. The Nairobi conference featured particularly a long and detailed look at the economic issues relating to women's emancipation. There was acceptance at the Nairobi conference of the fact that abstract ideas and rhetoric are hardly useful to uneducated and less fortunate women, rather, a meal and a home for the family should come first to them. Meeting direct needs and interest is an indispensable prerequisite to social and economic advance. Possibilities of altering the conventional shackle of dependency, and asserting women's rights, will lie in the hands of the younger man and women in developing countries. Education may build the capacity, open up the opportunities and stimulate the will.

Fourth World Conference on women took place at Beijing in 1995. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action reaffirmed that the human

²³ ibid

rights of women and the girl child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights and established a number of specific strategic objectives to ensure that women enjoy their full human rights

The web of women's rights codified in international conventions is quite dense. Even within several major conventions on more general human rights, there are explicit clauses that include individuals' right to equal treatment, regardless of gender, and the right to be free of sexual discrimination.²⁴Such principles are included in the: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948), recognizes the right to work, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to housing, the right to food, the right to medical care, the right to social security, the right to rest and leisure, the right to necessary social services, the right to security in the event of unemployment, and the right to education. All of these rights are to be realized on the basis of non-discrimination; The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICCPR) (1966) recognizes "the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights," and prohibits discrimination based on, among other things, one's sex; European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (the European Convention) (1950) is the strongest enforcement mechanisms among these many documents, to which Russia is a party. Article 14 of the European Convention, which bans discrimination on the basis of sex as well as other types of discrimination, is therefore a powerful potential tool in the hands of Russian women for protesting cases of gender discrimination and The Vienna Declaration and Platform of Action recognizes that "the human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. The full and equal participation of women in political, civil, economic, social and cultural life, at the national, regional and international levels, and the

McIntosh, Lisa. "International Rights Regimes and Resistant Domestic Norms: Russia and Women's Rights" delivered at the 43rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association New Orleans, 24-27 March 2002.

eradication of all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex are priority objectives of the international community."

Anne Bayefsky ²⁵has noted that there are over 20 international treaties that relate specifically to women and sexual discrimination (Bayefsky 1994). However, in 1967, the General Assembly stated that, the despite such provisions, "considerable discrimination against women" continue to exist. It adopted in that year the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, which was followed up in 1979 by adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women .The period 1975-1985 was declared by the General Assembly as the United Nations Decade for Women. Among conventions related specifically to women, the most important is the 1979 United Nations Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).²⁶The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women recalls that "discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity" This Convention also provides specific standards related to gender equality in the spheres of education, employment, health care, and other areas of economic and social life.

There are also other important international documents in specialized issue areas, such as the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Declaration on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers (1975), and the ILO's Resolution on Equal Opportunities and Equal Treatment for Men and Women in Employment (1985). The Beijing

²⁵ ibid

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). 1979. G.A. Res. 34/180, U.N. Doc. A/Res/34/180. Adopted December 18, 1979.

Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) is the most recent, entirely new international document concerning women's rights. Until recently, there were very few mechanisms in place to enforce states' compliance with these conventions. Very recently, an important international legal tool has become available to women in the form of a new Optional Protocol to the CEDAW. This protocol recognizes the competence of the CEDAW Committee to receive and consider complaints from individuals or groups within states that are party to it, and entered into force in December 2000. Russia signed this Optional Protocol in August 2001, but has not yet ratified it. Only thirty countries have ratified the Optional Protocol, while most, including Canada, the US, and the UK, have not even signed it.

Clearly the international women's human rights movement has raised the visibility of abuses against women, and the international community has made welcome statements supporting women's human rights. One of the most significant achievements of the global women's movement over the past decade has been to convince the countries of the world that women's rights are human rights. This recognition has made it imperative that women's concerns be part of any national development agenda. Yet women's experience has shown that gender equality and women's human rights must be demanded and fought for at every level. Developing appropriate legal instruments by the UN in order to promote women's rights has not gained women total equality. That progress in securing women's rights is slow is very much due to the fact, to quote International Labor Organization²⁷, that "discrimination is subtle but brutal".

Women's human rights have always been violated in almost all countries through political and societal structures, irrespective of the country's economic and political status. Economic, social and cultural rights have a particular significance due to the disproportionate effect of poverty and social and cultural marginalization on women. Inequality with respect to

Bending The Bow: Targeting women's human rights and opportunities, Open Society Institute, New York, 2002.

the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights is a central fact of women's lives in every country in the world, and is a central manifestation of women's lesser social, economic and political power. Ongoing inequality in the sphere of economic, social and cultural rights contributes to the continuing subordination of women and makes them especially vulnerable to violence, exploitation and other forms of abuse.

Millions of women throughout the world live in conditions of abject deprivation of, and attacks against, their fundamental human rights for no other reason than that they are women. In no society do women yet enjoy the same opportunities as men. These disparities generate substantial gaps between how much women and men can contribute to society, and how much they respectively share in its benefits. They work longer hours and they are paid less, both in total and prorata. Their choices as to how they spend their time, in both work and leisure, are more constrained than they are for men. One in the world's three world's worker is female.²⁸ But they earn 10 per cent of the world's income and they own 1 per cent of the world's property.²⁹Domestic work, heavy and lasting long hours, is usually regarded as a duty and is unpaid. In the European Union women constitute 36 per cent of the workforce but only 11 per cent are in all paid jobs with managerial responsibilities.³⁰In 1990 women in UK received 69 per cent of the gross earnings for male manual workers and 55 per cent of the gross earnings for male non-manual workers.³¹In all parts of the world, women generally have fewer job opportunities than men. The employment participation rates of women are on average only 50 per cent those of men (in South Asia 29 per cent and in Arab States only 16 per cent). 32 Women are often paid 30-40 per cent less than men for comparable work. Even in industrialized nations such as Japan, women may receive only as little as 51

Whittaker, J.David. *United Nations in Action*, UCL Press Limited, pp.148-157, 1995.

²⁹ ibid

³⁰ ibid

³¹ ibid

³² ibid

per cent of male wages.³³Women also tend to work much longer hours than men, and perform about two thirds of the world's working hours.

Today, women represent approximately 70 per cent of the 1.2 billion people living in poverty throughout the world. ³⁴Poverty, particularly for women, is more than income deficiency. The World Health Organization has noted that women continue to lag behind men in control over essential resources including cash, credit, property, land, wealth and access to material goods. Women's disproportionate poverty and economic inequality also effectively compromises their full enjoyment of other human rights, including their rights to food, water, and housing and to the highest attainable standard of health, among others. In developing countries, approximately 450 million adult women of reproductive age are disabled as a result of childhood diet deficiencies. ³⁵

If economic disparity holds women at a disadvantage so also do educational opportunities.³⁶ In most countries, a fundamental aspect of these disparities, which is both one of their causes and one of their continuing consequences, is inequality in access to and performance in education. Of the 800 million illiterates in the world, 500 million are women. For every 5 women judged illiterate in Europe, there are 2 in North America, 27 in Latin America, 57 in Asia and 84 in Asia. In their crucial teen years, 95 percent attended school in North America, 47 per cent in Latin America and 20 percent in Africa In every region of the world, women are much less likely than men to be literate, and women make up two-thirds of all illiterate people. Two thirds of the 130 million school aged children without access to primary education are girls. In more than 45 countries, fewer than 1 in 4 girls are enrolled in secondary school. This situation is in part caused by the necessity of child labor to contribute to the household income. Lack of

³³ ibid

Amnesty International, "Economic, social and cultural rights are women rights", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.amnestyusa.org/women/index.htm

³⁵ ibid

Whittaker, J.David. United Nations in Action, UCL Press Limited, pp.148-157,1995.

education reduces women's access to political and economic opportunities, and promotes practices such as child marriage.

If an effort to build a new world with better condition for mankind was to succeed, the equal contribution of men and women was needed. The reality was different: women-half the human race- were not participating fully in public life, they were not given equal rights and opportunities in many countries, and so they were into in a position to use their skills and talents fully. In many countries women's organizations have worked hard to extend the role of women in public life ever since the late eighteenth century, concentrating particularly on universal suffrage for women and men alike. Today women are eligible to vote in 150 of the 185-member state of UN. Yet the percentage of women in policy making positions at local, national, and international levels is still remarkably small, and is reflected in the balance of representation in the General Assembly and the Security Council. In Britain female MPs in the 1992 election increased to 60, but this was still only 9 per cent of all MPs in the House of Commons. Today women's role in law making in some Islamic states is particularly small.

Inequality in the enjoyment of human rights by women throughout the world is often deeply embedded in tradition, history and culture, including religious attitudes. While respect for diversity and for diverse forms of social and cultural expression and identity must guide all human rights principles, equally important is the recognition of the dignity and worth of women as full human beings. International human rights law has repeatedly stressed that women's human rights cannot be violated on the grounds of cultural or religious norms. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women requests states to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women

³⁷ ibid

Women are victims of violence in all the societies worldwide. Contrary to the general belief, even in economically and educationally developed societies, women have experienced worst kinds of abuses. It has also not remained limited to any particular religious or cultural group or society. Violent acts against women have left them apprehensive, weak, demoralized and consequently more vulnerable to recurrence of such acts besides inhibiting them from actualizing their potentials fully, almost everywhere. It presents a dismaying variety of forms from domestic abuse and rape to child marriage and female circumcision.

It is strange to note that in certain parts of the world violence against women begins even before they are born. Dying to have a son, parents get the female fetus aborted because girl child is a curse for the entire family and the community. Even today, in certain societies, girls are subjected to ages old practices like circumcision, which leaves them, maimed and traumatized forever. In others they are compelled to marry at an early age, much before attaining physical, mental and emotional maturity. Women become victims of incest, rape and domestic violence that often lead to trauma, physical handicap or death. Rape can happen anywhere; in family it takes the form of marital rape or incest, in the community a woman can fall prey to any abuser. Rape is still used as a weapon of war wherever armed conflicts have taken place. Conflicts in Mexico, Rwanda, Haiti and Colombia are ample proof of this assertion. Rape has been used to reinforce the policy of ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia

With increase in participation of women in work sexual harassment has increased tremendously. It is a growing concern of the modern society. Employers abuse their authority to seek sexual favors from their female coworkers or subordinates, sometimes-promising promotions or other forms of career advancement or simply creating untenable and hostile work environment. Women, who refuse to give in to such undesirable, immoral sexual advances often run the risk of anything from demotion to dismissal. Many women are forced into prostitution by their parents, husbands or

boyfriends as a result they find themselves in an insurmountably difficult social and economic condition. Violence against women by the very people who are supposed to protect them-- members of the law enforcement agencies and the criminal judicial systems-is also not uncommon. Thousands of women held in custody are routinely raped in police detention centers worldwide.

While expressions of gender-based violence differ with social, cultural and geographical boundaries, the most pervasive form remains the abuse by the male partners themselves. According to a report prepared for the World Bank by Lori Heise³⁸ of the Pacific Institute of Women's Health, one-quarter to over half of women in many countries report having been physically abused by present or former partners. Heise cites a study in Kenya showing that 42 per cent of the women were beaten regularly by their partners. A similar study conducted in Colombo reported higher percentage of abuse (60 per cent). In Colombia, 20 per cent of women are physically abused, 33 per cent psychologically tortured, and 10 per cent raped by their husbands as reported in the same study.³⁹It is difficult to gauge the variety and extent of abuses let alone prosecute the perpetrators of crime against women as in most of the cases the incident go unreported. In many cases victims don't report the incident either because they are socialized to accept such behaviour as 'fait accompli' or out fear of retaliation by the perpetrators or their family members. Strangely, gender violence is often tolerated and even justified on historical and religious grounds, just as many nations once justified slavery. Though the list of nature of crime keeps increasing and innovating itself the following are the common abuses at different age groups:⁴⁰

 Prenatal- Sex-selective abortions, battering during pregnancy, coerced pregnancy (rape during war)

Heise, L. "Violence against women: The hidden health burden", *The World Bank Discussion Paper*, Washington D.C: The World Bank, 1994.

³⁹ ibid

⁴⁰ ibid

- Infancy- Female infanticide, emotional and physical abuse, differential access to food and medical care
- Childhood- Genital cutting; incest and sexual abuse; differential access to food, medical care, and education; child prostitution
- Adolescence- Dating and courtship violence, economically coerced sex, sexual abuse in the workplace, rape, sexual harassment, forced prostitution
- Reproductive-Abuse of women by intimate partners, marital rape, dowry abuse and murders, partner homicide, psychological abuse, sexual abuse in the workplace, sexual harassment, rape, abuse of women with disabilities
- Old Age- Abuse of widows, elder abuse (which affects mostly women)

The impact of violence on women is severe. Aside from psychological damage, women stuck in abusive situation suffer grave health consequences as well. The outward injuries include bruises, cuts, black eyes, concussions and broken bones. The internal injuries are generally far more severe and permanent. A report by US based Population Council records that 22 to 35 per cent of women who visit emergency clinics in US come for the treatment of symptoms related to ongoing domestic abuse⁴¹.

Many societies encourage women to be dependent and submissive, and men to be dominant, aggressive and even violent. The process of rearing children. contributes the differentiation not only and compartmentalization of social roles but also differential expectations from male and female children. The socialization patterns lead men to turn their fear into violence, while women accept as an unavoidable misfortune. It is made to learn in such a way that men are conditioned to ward off their own fear of violence, by using violence competitively with their equals and oppressively with their inferiors. Women on the other hand, are conditioned to fight their real fear of violence, not only by adapting to the violent

⁴¹ "Battered Dreams-A violent reality', Femina, Bombay, August 23, 1994

environment and avoiding violence, but also by learning to live with violence as an intrinsic part of human nature. In other words, fear in men is transformed into aggression, while in women it is expressed as submission. By granting men such power, society condones a double standard for the punishment of violence, depending upon whether it is expressed inside or outside the family and leaves women in a totally vulnerable state. Violence in the home is considered a private matter between the couple.

The past decade has seen women's rights activists from every region of the world mobilize to use international human rights system to raise awareness about and remedy the staggering levels of violence against women. Activists' most significant achievements include proving a state's failure to prevent of respond to domestic violence to be a human rights abuse; creating better fact finding mechanism to document domestic violence; increasing the role of UN agencies in adopting and promoting strategies to combat gender based violence; improving state response to violence against women by private actors, getting a range of gender based and sexual violence in armed conflict codified as a war crime and a crime against humanity; identifying harmful traditional practices like genital mutilation, as violence against girls and women; raising overall public awareness that gender based violence is a chronic human rights abuse; and supporting the efforts of more "mainstream" human rights organizations to integrate women's human rights into their work

Part of integrating violence against women into mainstream human rights movement required the creative use of classical human rights framework to define the violence that women were experiencing and to chart a course of government accountability. Women's rights activists interpreted existing human rights norms and laws in ways to afford women greater protection from violence. For example, The Convention against Torture was used to define rape in armed conflict and custodial sexual violence. Equality before law provision was used to push for more vigorous prosecution of domestic violence. Provision on government obligation to eliminate harmful

Diss 323.340947 Si647 Hu

Th11366

323.340947 Si 647 customary practices was used to address female genital mutilation. However violence against women is rampant in all corners of the world.

The term "violations of women's rights" refers to "gender specific" violations, that is, violations which may be suffered only or predominantly by women or which appears to be based on sex or gender (for example, rape, prostitution and forced trafficking, female circumcision). The term "violations of women's human right" is broader in its coverage, encompassing human rights violations where women "just happen to be the victims", that is, the violations are not gender specific and men are or could be equally well be victims of essentially similar violations, for example, persecution of politically active women, discrimination against members of an ethnic minority, forced eviction.

Kurt Waldheim, ⁴⁴ UN Secretary-General in 1975, insisted "unless we make a joint effort, we risk condemning half the human race to mark time in the march of humanity." The slogan "women rights are human rights" has been invoked frequently. The last decade has seen the emergence of a vast body of writing about women and the international system from a great variety of perspectives. Concern to ensure a greater prominence fro violations of "women rights" in the human rights "mainstream" appears to have gathered momentum in the last couple of years. The term "mainstream" *refers to those institutions entrusted with responsibility for "general" human rights matters-within the United Nations system, primarily the Geneva-based political and expert bodies; within the regional systems, the organs charged with responsibility for the administration and enforcement of human rights. The term is also used to refer to human rights guarantees contained in the "general" human rights instruments.

Byrnes, Andrew. "Women, Feminism and International Human Right Law-methodological myopia, fundamental flaws or meaningful marginalisation: some current issues", 12 Australian Year Book Of International Law.205

⁴³ ibio

Whittaker, J.David. *United Nations in Action*, UCL Press Limited, pp.148-157, 1995.

Byrnes, Andrew. "Women, Feminism and International Human Rights Law-Methodological Myopia, Fundamental Flaws or Meaningful Marginalisation?: Some Current Issues", 12 Australian Year Book of International Law 205.

A number of writers also turned a critical eye on the response of the international system for the protection of human rights to the concerns of women and found it deficient in major respects. Two salient criticisms were made; issues of central concerns to women found little place in the "mainstream" agenda and the institutions and procedures concerned with "women issues" were the poor cousins of the "real" human rights organs and procedures. These critics argued that the "mainstream" human rights community largely ignored or neglected blatant violations of women's human dignity, refusing to perceive them as gross violations of fundamental rights. Such issues were left to be taken up, if at all, as social and humanitarian issues in marginalized, procedurally weak for dealing with women's issues. These perceptions gave rise to demands not only that the women's institutions be strengthened but also that greater attention be given to issues affecting the mainstream organs.

The charges laid at the door of the mainstream human rights community by feminists' critics vary in the extent of their denunciation of the system for its failure to promote the realization of this entitlement. The more sweeping ones argue that these guarantees of equal enjoyment of rights are little more than empty rhetoric and that women are neglected entirely within the mainstream practice. While more moderate critiques argue that there is a low level of awareness of these issues and that the attention paid to them is sufficient. Feminist jurisprudence provides very substantial challenges to human rights law, as it is institutionally understood. These include both fundamental questions about the processes by which human rights are defined, adjudicated, and enforced, as well questions about the substance of what is thereby "protected".

Hilary Charlesworth ⁴⁶has sketched three feminists approaches that might serve to recharacterise rights in order to make them more universally applicable by better accommodating women's pervasive experiences of

Charlesworth, Hilary. "What are 'Women's International Human Rights?" Rebecca J. Cook (ed). In Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. pp. 58-84,1994.

injustice: firstly Liberal feminism attempts to realize the equal treatment guaranteed by existing law, and thereby discounts intrinsic differences between men and women. It identifies sexual equality with equal treatment, rejecting any notion that law should tolerate or recognize intrinsic differences between women and men. The assumption is that the disadvantages faced by women can be compartmentalized and redressed by a simple requirement of equal treatment; secondly the goal of cultural feminism is to celebrate the differences between masculine and feminine way of reasoning; the third strategy is to redress the subordinate position of women of development in feminist jurisprudence is to understand it as product of domination of women by men: inequality as sexual in nature. Radical strand in feminism suggests that value of transforming the masculine worlds of rights, masquerading as "human". By extending it to include protection against all forms of subordination on the basis of gender.

According to Andrew Byres⁴⁷ some of the important criticisms that have been voiced are allegations that: *Firstly* Even those violations suffered by women that appear indistinguishable from those suffered by men are not adequately taken cognizance of within the "mainstream"; *secondly* the failure to be aware that sex and gender are important determinants of the human rights violations means that gender-specific variants of violations may be missed or not adequately responded to; *thirdly* standard interpretations of particular rights and of the entitlement to equal enjoyment of those are androcentrically biased; *fourthly* the pub/private distinction that underpines the traditional civil and political rights framework has the effect of rendering gross violations of women's rights at the hands of private individuals largely invisible; *fifthly* the prevailing preoccupation with the civil and the political rights at the expense of economic and social rights diverts the resources away from the areas in which they could more effectively used to romote the advancement of women and *sixthly* gender is

Byrnes, Andrew. "Women, Feminism and International Human Rights Law-Methodological Myopia, Fundamental Flaws or Meaningful Marginalisation?: Some Current Issues", 12 Australian Year Book of International Law 205.

also largely neglected in the interpretation of economic, social and cultural rights, despite that the fact that considerable effort is now being devoted to exploring the detailed substantive content of those rights.

It is clear the within the human rights "mainstream" traditional civil and political rights have enjoyed and continue to enjoy a particularly privileged position-much of the attention, resources, and activities of those involved in the mainstream is devoted to these issues. For example the practice of the Human Rights Committee, widely regarded as the leading human right treaty body within the UN system, provides a number of examples of instances were gender is neglected. 48 The Committee has adopted the practice of issuing general comments dealing with the articles of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). These are intended to be an authoritative exegesis of the content of the rights guaranteed by the ICCPR and they identify what the committee considers to be most important dimensions of those rights. In these interpretative comments there is virtually no recognition that sex or gender can be a significant dimension in defining the substantive content of individuals rights or that it can affect the choice of methods that must be adopted by states to ensure that all individual within their jurisdiction enjoy those rights equally. For example, in its general comment on the right to privacy, traditional concepts such as restrictions on the use of sensitive personal information by governments and other are major preoccupations of the committee, but there is not even a passing reference to the importance that this right has assumed in the struggle of women in many countries for control over their reproductive lives.

Thus, despite the rhetoric about the interdependence and indivisibility of human rights, traditional civil and political rights have received the lion's share of the attention of the international human rights community. Many of the violation's suffered by women are bound up with the disadvantages they suffer in the economic, social, cultural, rights has accordingly involved a

⁸ ibid

neglect of areas important for the facilitation of the advancement of women. Furthermore, violations of "women 's human rights" are often regarded neither as pressing nor as important as other violations of human rights being perpetrated in many parts of the world or as too sensitive to deal with in light of possible accusations of cultural imperialism. Some clear cases of gross violations of human rights against women attract the same attention as some which are seen not to raise "sensitive" issues of culture and tradition which often spell "hand off" in relation to violations of women rights. Two prominent examples are the practice of female circumcision or female genital mutilation and the position of women in various religions in particular under some interpretations of Islam. In her study of women's health educational campaigns in the rural Sudan, Gruenbaum (1991) found that ideologies of ethnic superiority and religious conservatism have contributed to the continuation of female circumcision despite its illegality there since 1945.

In cases concerning women's rights to equality and freedom from discrimination, there is a great deal more contestation in diverse domestic circumstances. A brief glance at the number of reservations that governments have submitted, excluding them from adhering to certain portions of women's rights conventions (especially CEDAW), reveals the extent to which states are reluctant to accept international provisions on discrimination against women. While 168 states have ratified CEDAW as of 2002, approximately one-third of the state parties to the Convention have entered reservations to its provisions on the basis of claimed national, cultural, or religious principles that the Convention contradicts. Thus, many countries have ratified CEDAW, but have expressed reservations removing themselves from certain key portions of the Convention, such as Article 2, whereby states "agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay

a policy of eliminating discrimination against women". For example⁴⁹, Algeria stipulates that it is prepared to fulfill the provisions of Article 2 and several other CEDAW articles "on condition that they do not conflict with the provisions of the Algerian Family Code". The Government of Kuwait has entered a reservation concerning article 7(a) on electoral rights, since that article "conflicts with the Kuwaiti Electoral Act, under which the right to be eligible for election and to vote is restricted to males. Reservations such as this raise serious questions about the impact of CEDAW.

Focus on direct state violations of individuals rights, an acceptance of a division between the public and private spheres of social life, and a reluctance to address the existence of economic and social conditions which affect the ability to exercise the basic civil and political rights guaranteed poses serious obstacles which need to be overcome if women's legitimate claims in relation to the right to life and the right to bodily integrity are to be addressed within that framework. The conceptual framework of civil and political rights is built on a separation of public and private realms. The cordoning of particular activities from the direct state intervention by adopting the notion of a sphere of private life, the very area in which women suffer many infractions of their rights at the hands of men, renders the vindication of these rights difficult within the framework. Women suffer major violations of their physical integrity at the hands of private individuals as well as state. The primary orientation of civil and political rights analysis has been direct violations of the rights of individuals by the state. These violation has mainly taken on of two forms: practices which discriminate against particular groups, or the actions of state officials directed against individuals which violates their rights-classic cases being torture, wrongful imprisonment.

McIntosh, Lisa. "International Rights Regimes and Resistant Domestic Norms: Russia and Women's Rights" delivered at the 43rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association New Orleans, 24-27 March 2002.

1.2.1 Public /Private Dichotomy

Women are everyday subjects of a system of familial terror that include diverse modalities of violence. Yet the human rights discourse of protection has not been available to women. Human rights framework construes civil and political rights of individual as belonging to public life while neglecting to protect infringements of those rights in the private sphere of familial relationships. Though as a result of the global mobilization of women, both official and private violence against women have begun to be recognized as a human rights concern. Nevertheless, intimate violence is still considered less severe, and less deserving of international condemnation and sanction than officially inflicted violence.

There are essentially two major obstacles to the treatment of intimate violence as human rights violation. Firstly, the role of public/private dichotomy in the International law, and secondly, the fact that intimate violence tends not to be viewed as violence. It is seen as a "personal", "private matter", a "domestic", or a "family matter". Its goals and consequences are hidden and its use is justified as punishment or discipline. Violence against women falls under the realm of 'private' in a number of ways. It is private because it frequently takes place in the private sphere of intimate relations of men and women, husbands and wives and the physical locations of those relations, notably the home. Even when a man attacks women in a public space, the private patriarchal boundary around them may serve to keep others from interfering if he is perceived to be her intimate partner. Thus the conventional human rights approach is based on the assertion in liberal democratic political theory that there is dichotomy between the public sphere of state and the private sphere of the family. This dichotomy sets up a barrier around the family, and the state's law may interfere in a limited way.

The assumption of the separate worlds of the "public" and "private" is perhaps the most regularly addressed question in a feminist critique of human rights theory. This dichotomy is largely a product of classical

western liberal thought in which John Locke sought to deny the legitimacy of the divine right of kings without challenging patriarchal familial structure. Locke argued that the two spheres were separate and different, patriarchal authority was deemed to be divine and political power deemed to originate from the governed. The consequences of this dichotomous perspective for women are fundamental and profound. The separate sphere approach has relegated women to the home, away from political institutions, that make policy and also rendered women subject to the control of patriarchal familial authorities-fathers, brothers, and husbands- with the understanding that the familial matters are "private" and, therefore beyond the scope of governmental authority and interventions. Thus the worldwide rampant physical and sexual abuse of women faced little challenge within a two-sphere understanding of the social order.

Patriarchal systems have traditionally classified violence against women as private thus denoting its distance and protection from legal gaze and thereby from accountability and control. This is fundamentally an issue of spatial politics, with private patriarchal power often exerted behind closed doors of the home and in the private sphere of familial and personal relationships. The protection of the private sphere from the intrusion of public (state) interference has historically worked against women exposed to the excesses of the unregulated male dominance and violence. Feminists have therefore mapped the diverse forms of women's vulnerability to violence across public and private settings as intrinsic to an understanding of patriarchal oppression and gendered identities. The operation of male power across public and private spheres frames women as under the control of men.

Violence against women is a part of power structure based on male supremacy, which assigns social roles to men and women according to their sex. Women are in charge of raising children and doing housework, and men

Binion, Gayle. "Human Rights: A Feminist Perspective", in *Human Rights Quarterly*, 17(1995), pp.505-526.

are responsible for the economic support of the family. In this structure men are given the authority-endorsed by law and custom- to maintain such distribution of tasks, using physical force if necessary, to impose their will. Thus power is used as a method of social control. Men and women's acceptance of discrimination as a regulatory principle of social relations legitimize this system of patriarchal domination. It is also legitimized by the fear and submission of women faced with such threats of punishment.

Moreover, the patriarchal state serves to entrench this situation.⁵¹A strong indicator of the force of the public/private schism in retarding the emergence of an effective set of legal rights for the women is the overwhelming evidence of state sanctioned or tolerated violence against women. The state is at once representative of institutionalized inequalities between men and women. In its report Broken Bodies, Shattered Minds⁵² Amnesty International states that far from protecting women, states all around the world have allowed beatings, rape and other acts of torture to continue unchecked. Sometimes the perpetrators of violence against women are agents of state, such as police officers, prison guards or soldiers. The report emphasizes continuities of violence against women across public/private boundaries. The continuum exists between those acts of violence committed against women by state agents and those committed by persons close to them in their homes and in their community. This continuum is maintained and reinforced by women's status in society and how society regards them as women.

However, state is not the only actor that wants to limit the reach of human rights to only the "public" domain. The pressure to do so can also come from private real like religious institutions. Sexuality is regulated in a gender specific way and maintained through strict constraints imposed by cultural norms and sometimes through particular legal measures supporting those norms. The community, which can include religious institutions, the

Gillian Youngs. 'Private Pain/Public Peace: Women Rights as Human Rights and Amnesty International's Report on Violence Against Women', Signs, vol 28, no.4, 2003.

Introduction to the Report Available at http://www.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/ACT400012001.

media, family and cultural networks, regulates women's sexuality and punishes women who do not comply.

Feminist campaigns, at the local, national and international levels, have been successful in politicizing and publicizing the "private" pain suffered by women and in demonstrating that it's a matter of public concern, affecting the nature of society as a whole. In this regard women rights have come to be explicitly understood and institutionalized as part of human rights. Feminists argue that gender-based violence deserves the same international condemnation as torture. The UN Convention against Torture has not yet formally acknowledged gender-based violations against women as 'torture'. Human rights activists campaign to identify "private" form of mistreatment of women as torture.

Thus, the notion that the family is separable from the larger society and from the human rights issues therein generated is indeed questionable. Human Rights activists challenge the separations and distinctions between public and private framing and instead emphasize continuities of violence against women across public/ private boundaries. Overcoming the international institutionalization of the public-private dichotomy is one of the feminism's greatest hurdles in creating an inclusive approach to human rights and in incorporating the diverse everyday life experiences of women into its model.

While asserting that women's rights are human rights, the above discussion show how human rights violations are gendered, that is, how ones experience of violations is shaped by being male or female - and also by other factors such as class, race, sexual orientation, age and culture. The violations experienced by men are usually considered more important than those most often experienced by women. Despite the apparently pervasive of gender, a number of gender-specific issues are addressed within the mainstream. Secondly, attention is given to women who are victims of classical human rights violations, for example, issues of discrimination on the basis of sex, torture or arbitrary imprisonment of women, and practices

of particular importance for women, such as trafficking in women, forced prostitution, and female genital mutilation, have a place on the agenda of "mainstream" bodies

Moreover the many successes of the movement for women's human rights are evident in the concrete commitments to women which have been secured in international human rights policy arenas as well as in the extensive global networking among women which has made the policy successes possible. For example The policy gains to date include the appointment of a UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women (1994); the adoption of a UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993). The movement for women's human rights has sought to bring diverse women together around the construction of common political goals. Emerging coalitions then are based on common values rather than determined by identity, geography, culture, ethnicity, etc. Women from different regions around the world have adopted the human rights framework in order to articulate diverse demands in relation to a broad array of issues.

This is not to say that there are not important areas in which the further elaboration or formulation of substantive norms is desirable. Furthermore, like other areas of international human rights the gap between the formal guarantees and the extent to which the rights are actually enjoyed in practice is frequently a wide one. It has taken half a century for the UN and informed world opinion, to push forward the movement for women's rights inch by inch. There has been setbacks but much has been achieved in develop states. In some parts of the world, however, among developing nations, progress has been infinitesimal. The inequalities faced by women are deep-seated, and will require special attention and commitment. The time has come to recognize that denials of individuals' rights on the ground only that they are women are human rights violations, and to require state practices that expose women to degradation, indignity, and oppression on account of their sex to be independently identified, condemned,

compensated, and, preferably, prevented. The challenge now is to find ways to continue building this global dialogue beyond world conferences and bring it into the ongoing work of human rights institutions at all levels. In various events focused around the turn of the century, women must remind the world that defending the human rights of women is crucial to creating a culture of respect for the human rights of all. Indeed, the defense of the human rights of women not only protects the birthright of half of humanity, but also forms the basis for the realization of human rights for all in the 21st century.

1.3 Women In Russia: A Historical Perspective

Women have always played significant roles in Russian life. Russian peasant life acknowledged the equality and high value of women. There the wife was called a man's "companion and friend for life". 53 Family was the basis for material and moral well-being. According to the old saying, "God helps a bachelor and the wife helps her husband."54Working together was what sustained the peasant family: the work a woman did was highly valued and indeed it was thought that family prosperity to a very large extent depended on how skillfully she managed the household. In extended families living together under one roof, relations were strictly regulated in a hierarchy of submission and division of labor, which even into the 20th century, especially in Siberia, preserved patriarchal value. The high social status of women of privileged class continued for a considerable time after the Christianization of Russia in the 10th century. There are examples from feudal Russia of women in power who initiated major reforms, for example princess Olga, the first Russian ruler to embrace Christianity, left a vivid mark on Russian life and promulgated a series of wide-ranging reforms.⁵⁵

Kotovskaya, Maria. "Women in Russian History", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www. me.myi.org/issues/22/index.html

⁵⁴ ibid

⁵⁵ ibid

She carried out the first financial reforms in Russia, setting a fixed sum for tribute to be payed and a system for collecting it.

A number of researchers note that as Christianity strengthened in Russia, women gradually got excluded from male society, and there began a period in the history of Russian women known as the "chamber seclusion." ⁵⁶ Another opinion is that it came in following the Byzantine model of asceticism. The Russian historian Shulgin writes that the seclusion of women came not from Byzantine influence but had to do with the overall general status of women in society. Most researchers think it was in the mid-13th-14th centuries, under the Tatar-Mongol yoke, that conditions led to the full seclusion of women in society. Very indicative of this is that the Russian chronicles of the 13th century say nothing about active women; the wives and daughters of Russian princes are referred to only as "suffering persons, as objects of seizure and violence."⁵⁷ It was the Tatar voke on Russia that strengthened norms of behavior humiliating for woman, sharply lowering her social status. The "Domostroi" became the moral-ethical code governing relations between spouses.⁵⁸ Domostroi codified the submissive position of women and their separation from family property rights, also justifying the need to punish them if they disobey the head of the family. For several centuries, the phrase "the wife shall fear her husband" was axiom. The Domostrio provided detailed descriptions of the punishments to be imposed upon disobedient wives. Prosperous family women and daughters lived in seclusion and were not allowed to go out and visit other people except when necessary and with permission. Most city women spent their lives within the family circle. If rich, they were relegated to total inactivity. The mass of Russian women were illiterate at that time.

Azhigikhina, Nadezhda. "Empowering Russian Women: Will Their Potential Be Tapped", in Isham, Heyward and Shklyar, Natan.M. Russia's fate through Russian eyes: Voices of the new generation, Westview Press, 2000.

Kotovskaya, Maria. "Women in Russian History", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.me.myi.org/issues/22/index.html

⁵⁸ ibid

Among other radical innovations, Peter the Great made mandatory, the presence of nobleman's wives and daughters at court social occasions. Before this, women were confined to, women's part of the house called "terem". 59 It was during the reign of Catherine the Great, that the first school for the young ladies of the nobility, the Smolny Institute for Noble Maidens under the direction of Ekaterina Dashkova, the first women president of the Russian Academy of Sciences was opened in St.Petersburg, together with its counterpart school for daughters of the bourgeoisie. Several prominent women wore male dress and adored hunting and rough male leisure pursuits. Among these women were the empresses themselves, Anna Iovannovna, Elizaveta Petrovna, and Ekaterina II [Catherine the Great]. The historian Mariia Kotovskaya points out that the eighteenth century presented an image of women that combined social brilliance and ambitious mannishness. 60 That century also gave rise to yet another image that of the professional women serving typically as governess or actress. The theater became a sort of school for the development in law of women's independence. Professional actresses were mainly women of the unprivileged classes and their earnings gave them the possibility of at least some independence.

Many scholars consider the true predecessors of Russian feminist to be the wives of the Decembrists. ⁶¹These women followed their husbands into exile and hard labour in Siberia. In 1825 The Russian Supreme Court convicted 121 men and sentenced them to various measures of punishment depending on the degree of their participation in the plot again the Emperor Nicholas I. He allowed the wives of the Decembrists to divorce their husbands, but only three out of 23 women availed themselves of this permission. Eleven wives went to Siberia with their husbands. The recognition by educated Russian society of these women's heroic deeds

⁵⁹ ibid

⁶⁰ ibid

Azhigikhina, Nadezhda. "Empowering Russian Women: Will Their Potential Be Tapped", in Isham, Heyward and Shklyar, Natan.M. Russia's fate through Russian eyes: Voices of the new generation, Westview Press, 2000.

stimulated the birth in the society of a new idea - emancipation. The struggle for women's emancipation in the beginning and middle of the 19th century was all the more complicated in that the dominant stereotype saw woman only as faithful friend to man, and as mother and upbringer of children. Anything women did outside the customary framework of the family met with sharp social displeasure. The intelligentsia distrusted women professional writers, poets, and translators. Even such a progressive critic and publicist as Belinsky⁶² considered that while women should be educated and should follow developments in literature and science, they should not themselves become writers, but use their education for the good of the family.

The beginning of the 1860's saw a turning point in society's awareness of the so-called "woman question." In 1860 the journal "Sovremmenik" (Contemporary) published an article by Mikhailov entitled "Women, their Upbringing and Significance in the Family and Society." For the first time in Russia, formulated the concept of sexual equality. At about the same time the Russian publicist Pisarov also addressed the question of women's equal rights. His pithy phrase, "women are not to blame for anything" became a motto in several strata of enlightened Russian society. The peculiar aspect of women's emancipation in Russia was that at first the idea of emancipation was discussed by men supporters and opponents, while women themselves hardly took part in these arguments. The women's movement in Russia at that time had not taken shape ideologically and had no common platform or program of action. Women fought for the possibility of working on an equal basis with men to get financial independence and for the right to get a higher education. By the second half of the 19th century, the idea of "liberating"

Kotovskaya, Maria. "Women in Russian History", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www. me.myi.org/issues/22/index.html

Azhigikhina, Nadezhda. "Empowering Russian Women: Will Their Potential Be Tapped", in Isham, Heyward and Shklyar, Natan.M. Russia's fate through Russian eyes: Voices of the new generation, Westview Press, 2000.

Kotovskaya, Maria. "Women in Russian History", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.me.myi.org/issues/22/index.html

women through work" was on the whole supported by society. After the publication of Chernyshevsky's novel, *What is to Be Done*? ⁶⁵which describes the work of a sewing cartel organized as a commune, dozens of young women tried to form similar communes, many of which failed even before they really started to function. Chernyshevski ensured that emancipation became on of the most important topics of public debate. Almost all journal of literary and social commentary, as well as outstanding writers in every field, like, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Solovyov, Berdyayev, Fyodorov, and Rozanov, paid great attention to the status of women, the family, and family relations. ⁶⁶

By the end of the nineteenth century, getting specialized education for women became an urgent social mission and an important signpost in the process of emancipation. The women's movement made the struggle for higher education a basic goal. A congress in 1868 stimulated broad discussion of this question, and a letter with 400 signatures was addressed to the Minister of Education, Count Tolstoy. In the autumn of 1869 evening courses open to both sexes started in St. Petersburg with lectures by professors of the university. Women strove to study in universities. Beginning in the 1820's they had attended some lectures in Moscow University, but it wasn't until 1860 that a Russian woman studied in St. Petersburg University on equal conditions with men students

An essential aspect of the women's movement in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century was the active participation of women in revolutionary activity.⁶⁷ The idea of women's emancipation comported well with the revolutionary mood in the second half of the century. Many women from the bankrupt noble families became nihilist, workers in the garment factories, members of the radical people's will organizations, or members of

Voronina, Olga. "The Philosophy of Sex and Gender in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.bu.edu/wcp/index.htm

^{°°} ibid

Lapidus, Gail Warshofsky. Women in Soviet Society: Equality, Development and Social Change, University of California Press: Berkeley, p.37, 1978.

other revolutionary circles. In the 1870s women made up almost 20 percent of all revolutionaries and were represented in almost all secret organizations: Sofis Pervskaia was the first women to be executed in Russia on political charges; Mariia Spiridonova later headed the Social Revolutionary Party.

The views of Marx and Engel's on the nineteenth century oppression of women were essentially unsystematic. Engel's thesis that the first class division was made on the basis of sex in the family provided a useful framework within which to explore the problem of women's liberation, but the problem was never central to the Marxist thought. A firm distinction was drawn between "bourgeois" and "proletarian" women. A women was labeled proletarian only if she adhered to the socialist movement. Thus, the male socialists subordinated women to the revolution and relegated the "women question" to second place after the revolution had been accomplished. This position found expression in the Bolsheviks view that proletarian women were not competitors but worked side by side with their proletarian men for the revolution. Lenin was a firm believer in subordination of women to the revolution. For him there were only two classes of women: the good "proletarian" and decadent "bourgeois". The difference between the two was essentially a distinction between the good women and the fallen women in Victorian moral code. The duty of the proletarian women was to fight for the revolution and to bear revolutionary children.

Lenin himself recognized that that many communists regarded agitations and propaganda work among women with suspicion, either because they considered specific women's section unnecessary or because they felt that the women's work had nothing to do with party goals. From 1917-1944 Soviet Union was a vast laboratory of social experimentation, and the case of Soviet women was commendable. The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 brought with it the great promise of women's equality in Russia: Marxism-Leninism held that as socialism was established women would achieve equality with men. Bolsheviks lost no time in adopting a host of

new laws concerning women.⁶⁸ As one of the its first legislative acts upon taking power in 1917, the Soviet regime proclaimed the equality of men and women in all areas of economic, political and cultural life. A decree of December 19,1917, stipulated that in case of mutual consent divorce was to be granted automatically by the courts or the registry offices. The principle according to which one party must be assigned blame was abolished, and the divorce decree no longer had to be publicized. Russia was the first country in the world to adopt such liberal development policy. Furthermore women were no longer required to follow their spouses to a new residence or to take their surnames. It became illegal to restrict one's spouse's property rights, and the daughters were given inheritance rights equal to sons. Maternity leave and workplace protection were guaranteed. Finally, unrestricted abortion was legalized on November 20, 1920.

Although their first decrees granted women in the new country of Soviets the full extent of legal rights and freedoms but at the same time they banned the activity of all independent women's organizations, thus for many years putting an end to the independent women's movement. The new authorities took full responsibility for teaching women about the new society and their new rights and obligations, and set their best cadres to work. In there emancipate society; Alexandra kollontai, Inessa Armand and Nadezhda Krupskaya contemplated another revolution- a revolution in domestic life. Their plan was to set up a large number of public dining- rooms, laundries, nurseries, and other public facilities, in order to free soviet women from the domestic worries and burden of housework. Women, thus emancipated, were expected in turn to engage in socially useful work. Kollontai openly declared that the new society would need to 'forge an army of women workers and peasant from the female labour reserves'. And so there came into being female work brigades, the Stakhanovite movement, the first women tractor-drivers and the weavers' heroines. This was accomplished by

Navialh, Françoise. "The Soviet Model", in Thebaud, Françoise(ed). The history of women-Towards a cultural identity in the twentieth century, The Belknap Press of Harvard university Press: Massachusetts.

one order after another in presidiums of meetings and congresses. These were the focal points of a widespread campaign to solve the women question.

However the declaration of emancipation condemned women to a double burden -the new power demanded that she should take an active part in developing industry, and at the same time, the national mentality insisted that she fulfill all the traditional women's duties in the home. Right from the first years of the revolutionary era, two female images began to dominate the mass periodicals⁶⁹: that of the woman-revolutionary, inherited from the earlier Bolshevik press, and a new image of the woman-enthusiast, the builder of a new society. Specialized women's magazines were set up to propagandize the latter, such as "Woman-Worker", and "Peasant-Woman". The ideology of these new images was drawn from the main works of Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupaskaya, in which the woman of the new era was presented as "worker and mother", and from Lenin's famous idea that every cook in the land should know how to rule the state. 70 Thus, the ideal woman was seen as a "political woman", an enthusiastic and politically active builder of socialism, whose main energies were directed at achieving social goals, not personal ones. Such an image was utterly in tune with the interests of the state, which needed more cheap labour.

In the 1930s, the image of a woman-revolutionary moved into the background when repression and the revision of Bolshevik history began, and the other image, that of an optimistic builder of a new world moved into the foreground. Finally, in 19936, Stalin constitution declared that the women question had been resolved, a task of enormous historical importance had been carried out and genuine equal rights of women had been ensured. The truth was that women emancipated in this way found it difficult to cope with double burden. The rise of Stalin and Second World War made it even more apparent the party saw women as potential economic

Azhigikhna, Nadezhda. "Women as presented in Russian media", UN Division for the Advancement of Women.

⁷⁰ ibid

and political resources to be manipulated according to changing state requirements. Women were encouraged to work outside the house and were theoretically guaranteed equality in public life; simultaneously, he government launched a campaign to strengthen the family as the "fundamental social institution." the image of socialist women was propagated, according to which, the ideal female laboured during the day in the factory, nurtured her family in the evening, and somehow managed to contribute to the goals of society by attending party's meetings and representing women's groups. Thus, the implicit meaning of women's liberation came to mean increased responsibilities at all fronts.

Thus Leninist image of women as worker was soon modified by the Stalinist regime to create a new "superwomen" image that combined women as worker with women as mother. Because Stalin needed women to support the building of centralized economy, heavy industrialization, and collectivization and to minimize the social disruption that Stalin's policies wrought, the regime decided to cultivate pre-revolutionary family values and the traditional nuclear family.⁷¹ Couples were encouraged to stay together by state regulations that made divorces more difficult to acquire, and abortion was once again made illegal in an effort to ensure rising birth rate. All the achievements of pre-Revolutionary feminists disappeared from the history books, feminism was pronounced a bourgeoisie deviation, and the party policy became the only correct line. The politburo decreed that official women's departments be established in every region, replacing all other women's initiatives. In the later soviet years, these departments were reconstituted as divisions of the Union of Soviet Women, designed as leashes to the government and schools for training female members of the nomenklatura.

It was not until the Brezhnev period that that the state recognized the "double burden" women experienced, but rather than focusing on ways to overcome these conditions, it sought only to ease he difficulties of everyday

^{&#}x27;l ibid

life by narrowing wage differentials. During the period of "stagnation" under Brezhnev in the 70s and early 80s, a rather peculiar situation took shape in journalism: the mass media, as well as Soviet culture as a whole, consisted of three layers⁷² - the official layer, the dissident one, and an intermediate layer, balancing between the other two, but nevertheless legal. Women's images were different in each of the layers. The official propaganda Woman-Worker (Rabotnitsa), (Pravda, Izvestia, Peasant (Krestyanka), etc) was promoting a portrait of a "political" woman. A characteristic example of such image-making may be found in the writings of the famous woman-journalist from Komsomolskaya Pravda, Inna Rudenko, who wrote dozens of essays about women who were social activists, principled Communists, collective-farm workers, weavers; examples for Soviet girls were provided in the life-stories of heroines - a Doctor of Science and a mother of ten children, who symbolized the limitless opportunities open to Soviet women.

The dissident "samizdat" newspapers and magazines did not show any interest in women's images or women's issue as a whole. The topic of women was virtually absent in dissident writing. Exceptions were the radio programmes and articles about women-dissidents, such as Larissa Bogoraz and Elena Bonner, where the style and manner of presentation were close to that of official propaganda, but with the opposite ideological thrust. The "marginal" publications, that is, the relatively liberal, such as the *Literary Gazette, Yunost, Znamya*, energetically promoted the "private", non-political image of a woman dependent on men, mild and lacking any fighting qualities.

So, it is not surprising that with the beginning of "perestroika" the idea of women's "natural inclinations", together with other liberal ideas, started playing an ever-increasing role. In his numerous speeches and the book *Perestroika-New Thinking for Our Country and The World* (1987), Mikhail Gorbachev talked and wrote about the necessity to free women from

² ibid

an excessive load at their workplace. The idea of "natural inclinations" was predominant in all discussions on the "women issue" between 1986 and 1991; however, serious discussion about the lot of women in the period of "perestroika" was never undertaken in the mass media.

Gorbachev's rise to power in the mid-1880s had a profound effect on soviet society and initiated a new era for soviet women. He argued that the root problem facing the Soviet Union was a particular form of socialism, a socialism that neglected the human dimension of organizing production. His ill-defined agenda focused on two main areas-democratizing economic institutions and introducing market element into the economy. To achieve these goals, Gorbachev embraced the notions of openness and democratization. These policies were designed to accelerate socio-economic development through greater efficiency. The reforms were gender neutral, and simply sought to link wages to productivity and eliminate unprofitable industries.

Like most segments of society, women greeted Gorbachev's vision of change and new thinking with enthusiasm. To great extent openness and democratization provided women with small, but nevertheless important benefits as well as sense of hope. For the first time since the 1930s debates were allowed on rape, contraception, and prostitution. The new environment also facilitated objective research on women's issues and the development of independent women-only groups. Yet like, other segments of the population, women quickly became disappointed with outcome of reform. As the economy worsened, and as social problems become more acute, conservative forces made the weak position of women in a changing environment unstable. Frequently male politicians, looking for an easy solution to cutting back the workforce, heralded a new era of women's liberation-one that would free them from their jobs and return them to the home with their children. At the same time, the Gorbachev government betrayed its willingness to protect women from the backlash of conservatism and uphold women's rights. In his book, Perestroika-New Thinking for Our

Country and The World (1987), Gorbachev suggested that the way to deal with the social problems seeming from the weakening of the family was to return women to their 'purely women' mission.

Glasnost had brought new dynamism to the zhenskii vopros (women question). New issues have appeared and aspects of numerous problems have been exposed, regretted and deplored. Six main results of the application of glasnost on the zhenskii vopros can be seen. 73 Firstly. past debates about women's roles were sustained, probed more deeply and extended. For most of the Soviet history it has been acknowledged that appalling working conditions existed which harmed women health. Glasnost, nevertheless, has given greater prominence to the problem. Observations about poor conditions for women were no longer restricted to academic dissertations or to the reports of Trade Union Commission or to occasional newspapers article. They were now included in the agendas of political events and given coverage in daily newspapers. Like, they were criticized in 1987 at the All Union Conference of Women and in 1988 at the 19th Party Conference. Thus glasnost facilitated sharper criticism of 'old' issues concerning violations of labour law and of the disadvantages of perestroika for female labour. Moreover, glasnost helped to undermine the often-false distinction between 'bad' working condition under capitalism and 'rosy' ones under socialism. The resulting recognition of shared drawbacks shattered unreal images of the two economic systems propagated in ideological texts.

Secondly, problems long evident but not officially acknowledged, finally became an issue and increasing amount of information about them was imparted. Problems like, prostitution, horrendous conditions in abortion clinics, the lack of contraception, rape and child abuse, were either whitewashed by ideology or not even mentioned. These issue now became topic of discussion. For example, due to glasnost, public recognition has

Buckely, Mary. "Glasnost and women question", in Ruthchild, Rochelle Goldberg(ed). Women in Russia and the Soviet Union: an annotated bibliography, Maxwell Macmillan International: New York: Toronto, pp.202-223, 1993

finally been given not only to the appalling conditions of abortion clinics, but also to the obvious point that not enough attention was devoted to modern means of contraception. *Thirdly*, glasnost resulted in more detailed statistics being released about a range of women's issues. The publication of statistics alerted journalists, academics and policy makers to the extent of particular problems, such as infant mortality and abortion. Data were presented in variety of ways, some extremely incomplete or unreliable. They were only a rough guide to problem solving, rather than a precise reflection on the scale of difficulties. Nevertheless, they did reveal the enormity of the problems.

Fourthly, glasnost facilitated the use of new concepts by female academics, which were previously denied ideological legitimacy,' thus, exerting a fresh influence on the way in which gender roles were analysed. These included: muzhskoi mir (man' world), printsipy muzhskogo prevoskhodstva (principles of male superiority), patriarkhal'nye prefstavleniia (patriarchal notions), muzhekratiia (male dominated bureaucracy) and patriarkhal'noe otnoshenie muzhchiny k zhenschchine (patriarchal relations of man and women). The adoption of these concepts heralded a significant break with the past since 'class' and 'people' have been the central analytic constructs for the entire history of the soviet state. Fifthly, democratization and glasnost combined, facilitated the emergence of a range of women-only groups, particularly after 1988. New concepts and new arguments are sustained by new women-only groups. By 1990 a diversity of women's groups was evident, after democratization made informal groups independent of CPSU possible.

Sixthly, dubbed by some as the negative side of glasnost, images of women as sex objects began to emerge in beauty contests and in the spread of pornography. A relaxation of ideological controls, meant that bans of past were gradually eroded. By 1989, soft pornography was visible in both Moscow and Leningrad and in 1999 it rapidly proliferated. Earlier in 1988 beauty contests had already brought the theme of women as sex objects into

social view. By 1990, full-page photographs of female nudes were being sponsored in the magazines by commercial centers and advertising agencies. Indeed, the Soviet media moved extremely rapidly from a position in which nudity was only just acceptable to one in which it became almost compulsory.

The collapse of the Soviet Union has created political, economic, and social challenges for most Russians. The weakened state cannot provide the health care and pension benefits that Russians were accustomed to during the Soviet era, nor can it guarantee employment. As a result, Russians face high unemployment rates, wage cuts and delays, and unsafe working conditions. Russia is also experiencing the social effects of economic hardship: prostitution, pornography, alcoholism, and drug abuse are all at much higher levels than before 1991. Women have been hardest hit by the unstable conditions. They experience disproportionately high levels of unemployment and poverty, and they are most often victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, and human trafficking. The effects of Soviet disintegration on women and their social, economic and political condition in the transition period are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER - II

IMPACT OF SOVIET DISINTEGRATION ON WOMEN

2.1 Introduction

The fall of the Soviet Union and reorganization of Russian politics and society in the image of western liberal democratic and free market constructs have presented profound challenges not only to country's leadership, but also to its citizens. The segment of the population that has been hardest hit is women. Economic, social and political rights have a particular significance due to the disproportionate effect of economic, social and political marginalization on women in respect of enjoyment of their basic rights as human beings. Inequality with respect to the enjoyment of economic, social and political rights is a central fact of women's lives in every country in the world, and is a central manifestation of women's lesser social, economic and political power. This inequality contributes to the continuing subordination of women and makes them especially vulnerable to violence, exploitation and other forms of abuse.

Gorbachev's rise to power in the mid-1980s had a profound effect on Soviet Society and initiated a new era for soviet women. His reform policies were from the beginning explicitly against the idea of emancipated women. With sharpened social problems and stratification, women often became both the symbolic and actual victims of the changes initiated by perestroika reforms. Western feminists renamed the 1980s policies to "paterstroika" or "domostroika" (from the infamous old Russian codex domostroi)¹. The Russian sociologist and feminist Anastasia Posadskaya used the more restrained description "post-socialist patriarchal renaissance"².

Rotkirch, Anna. "Women's agency and the sexual revolution in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.valt.helsinki.fi/staff/rotkirch.html

² ibid

Although both men and women find themselves affected by the post transition scenario, the literature on the collapse of state socialism and the transition to new market economy suggests that women fare worse than men. Women have suffered more in job losses, in sexualisation of hiring practices, in the general spread of pornography and in violence from men. Percentage of women elected in the legislature has also fallen. On a multitude of fronts, including hiring practices, media portrayals, and treatment by law enforcement institutions in cases of domestic violence, women face blatant gender stereotypes and discrimination. In measures such as unemployment levels, salaries, and representation in positions of power, not to mention informal aspects of "private" life such as division of household labor tasks, women are vastly unequal to men. Women are thus victims of transition.³

This chapter provides an overview and analysis of women's roles in politics, economy and society in the contemporary Russian Federation as it creates a new market economy and a democratic polity. It analyses how emergent situation as the result of Soviet Union disintegration has affected women's social, economic and political condition.

2.2 Women and Politics

Women's political rights are integral and inseparable part of their human rights. Taking into account gendered perspectives and involving women and men in decision-making processes is a *sine qua non* of any democratic framework. Democracy cannot afford to be gender-blind. It must strive towards equality and representation of women and men in decision-making processes and in the opportunities to achieve both these goals.

The collapse of totalitarian regime based on the one-party system seemed to create new opportunities and constraint for the political activity of Russian women. The development of democracy with a male face reflects

Buckley, Mary. "Victims and agents: gender in post-Soviet States", in Buckley, Mary(ed). Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia, Cambridge University Press, pp.3-9, 1997.

the dramatic decline in women's political participation following the collapse of Communism. In Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Women's Discrimination of 1979, signed by the USSR, all states which signed it are bound to ensure the equal rights of women and men to participate in state policy, occupy state posts at all levels of state government, and participate in all state functions.⁴ Nonetheless in the majority of countries in the world, Russia included this obligation is not fulfilled. In Russia, as well as in many other post-communist countries, political, economic and social convulsions have led to the reduction in the number of women in legislative organs.

Across the region, the number of women in national parliaments tumbled when quotas for women were lifted in the first free elections.⁵ In Belarus, only 3 percent of deputies elected in 1990 were women. The decrease was even greater in local bodies, especially in rural areas. Succeeding elections saw little change. In some countries, women's representation worsened. In Albania, for example, women's share of parliamentary seats fell from 36 percent before 1989 to 20 percent in 1991 and 7 percent in 1997. In other countries it improved, although only slightly. In Ukraine, women deputies represented a mere 4.2 percent in 1994 and only 5.6 percent in 1998. Women in Hungary saw their share of parliamentary seats fall to 7 percent in 1990 and rise to only 8.5 percent in the 1998 election.

The Federal Assembly, the legislature of the Russian Government, is bicameral: the Federation Council (the upper house) and the State Duma (the popular assembly). Women's political representation has plummeted in Russia from a high of 33 percent during the Soviet period, to a mere 7.5 percent in both houses of the parliament today.⁶ There is not a single woman

Skuratovskaya, Larissa. "Women political participation in Russia". Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://sdnhq.undp.org/ww/women-power

Bending The Bow: Targeting women's human rights and opportunities, Open Society Institute, New York, 2002

Vandenberg, Martina. "Invisible women shown in Russia's demographics", St.Petersburg Times, oct6.1997.

Mayor of a major city. There is only one female governor. Only 1.4 percent of federal ministers and deputy ministers are women.⁷ For example, in the first convocation of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation there have been 11.4 percent of women, and in the second Assembly only 7.2 percent.⁸In the state Duma, the number of women fell from 13.6 percent to 10 percent. In 1999 there was only 1 woman out of 178 members in the Upper Chamber of the Russian Parliament in the Federation Council, among the deputies of the Lower Chamber of the Russian Federation State Duma there were 34 women that makes up only 7,6 percent of the total number of deputies.⁹ The percentage of women Deputies has been steadily falling. Fourteen percent of deputies in the 1993 Duma were women, but this figure shrank to 10 percent in 1995 and just 8 percent in 1999.¹⁰

In the Soviet era quotas provided women's participation in legislative bodies. This arrangement provided them with one-third representation in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Women also made up about 28 percent of the Communist Party memberships, 52 percent of the Young Communist League, and 36 percent of the Central Trade Union's membership. ¹¹ But the real power structure-the Communist Party - remained overwhelmingly maledominated. In the late 1980s, as legislative bodies began to acquire real power under perestroika, the quota system was abolished. With the lifting of quotas women representation dropped dramatically. They accounted for only 5 percent of the Deputies of the Russian Parliament elected in 1990. ¹² In the

⁷ ibid

Skuratovskaya, Larisa. "Women political participation in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://sdnhq.undp.org/ww/women-power

www.owl.ru/eng/womenplus/index.html

Mereu, Francesca, "What women want: A seat in Duma", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.themoscowtimes.com.

Issraelyan, Yevgenia. "Russian Women: challenges of the modern world", in Wejnert, Barbara, Spencer, Metta and Drakulic, Slobodan (eds). Women in post-communism, JAI Press Inc. Greenwich, pp.157-167, 1996.

¹² ibid

Congress of People's Deputies elected in 1990, women won less than 6 percent of the seats.¹³

It is argued that argue that this change was not actually a step backward for females, since these Deputies, having own their seats in fair competition with males, should be in stronger than the "puppet" female Deputies had been before and would be able to fight harder for women's interests. Infact the years 1994 to 1995 saw the first all female faction in the Russian parliament. Such a development would have been unthinkable in the USSR since factions within the CPSU were banned and divisions according to sex were considered divisive of working class unity. It considered the very idea of all female organizations smacked of 'bourgeois feminism'. ¹⁴

It is too early to be sure, but there is some reason to believe that the drop in female representation will not last long. In the 1993 elections the Federal Assembly, women's representation increased to constitute more than 11 percent of the Deputies. This change represented a successful effort by a new movement, "Women in Russia", were three women's organizations joined forces to set up a women's faction in the lower house of the Parliament, the State Duma. The formation of the political movement "Women of Russia" and its strong showing in 1993 elections to the Federal Assembly raised many expectations. Three women's organizations-the Women's Union of Russia, the Association of Women's Entrepreneurs, and the Russian Navy Women's Association-combined their forces to win over 8 percent of the votes and to set up a women's faction in the state duma 15. By early 1995, there were 69 women in Federal Assembly making up 11 percent of its parliamentarians. 16

Mereu, Francesca. "What women want: A seat in Duma", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.themoscowtimes.com.

Buckley, Mary. "Adaptation of the Soviet Women's Committee: Deputies' Voices from Women of Russia", in Buckley, Mary(ed). Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia, Cambridge University Press, pp.157-181, 1997.

Issraelyan, Yevgenia. "Russian Women: challenges of the modern world", in Wejnert, Barbara, Spencer, Metta and Drakulic, Slobodan (eds). Women in post-communism, JAI Press Inc: Greenwich, pp.157-167, 1996

ibid

Their campaign platform paid particular attention to free health care and education, human rights, family, the prohibition of violence and pornography, and society –wide peace and reconciliation. Their success was seen as reflecting a reaction against the radical economic reforms, which were causing so much pain within the Russian society. Parallel to Women of Russia, other women's groups ran in 1993 election campaign. Several women activists were nominated on the lists of the other parties and movements or ran independent election campaigns. During the first year the faction Women of Russia was very active in the debate on education, trying to prevent the privatization of primary and secondary schools. Other faction initiated the draft of the law on the constitutional courts and suggested that a position –a special representative on human rights-should be set up

The 1995 elections resulted in a decline in women's representation to 9.8 per cent or 44 deputies in the State Duma. ¹⁷This was largely due to the failure of the political bloc "Women of Russia" to overcome the five per cent threshold of the party-list vote. Nevertheless, through its campaign, "Women of Russia" substantially helped to legitimize a place for women in the new nation's politics. As a result of this bloc, other parties were forced to nominate women higher on their lists, and to include women for single-member seats in 1993 and 1995. Further, despite the fact that the proportion of women in the State Duma decreased in the last election, they still constituted almost twice the percentage of deputies as they did in 1990. Moreover, building of women's political coalition was an important development.

By a political coalition it is meant an agreement on forming an alliance between political parties, politicized or non-commercial organizations or other groups that aim at achieving power or putting pressure on the powers that be in order to reach a certain goal or goals during a certain period of time, sharing by an agreement, human, financial,

Shvedova, Nadezhda. "The challenge of transition: women in parliament in Russia", Retrieved from www.idea.org

intellectual, informational, organizational, and other kind of resources¹⁸. In Konstantinova's ¹⁹opinion women's political coalition are few in number, and different from one another from the point of view of their ideology, goals, organizational structure and identification with women's movement. She identifies three types of women's coalitions on the basis of character of the women's organizations forming them-the nomenclature women's organization, the grass roots women's organizations, and the spontaneously formed women's' organization.

The nomenclature type political coalition concerned with one single issue has been formed by the women's organization headed by the representatives of the old and new nomenclature. These organizations have recruited members from the new businesswomen's elite. Together they initiated the formation of the first women's political block "Women of Russia" before the elections to the national parliament 1 December 1993. A coalition of grass-roots women's organizations has been formed by the members of the different independent women's groups and organizations, which, since 1991, have constituted the loosely associated women's network "Independent Women's Forum" (IWF). In the election to national parliament in 1993 IWF, nominated its own members as candidates in different political blocks. Of the spontaneously formed, single-issue women's organizations, the most vivid example is the coalition formed by women from "Committees of Soldiers Mothers", which stands for democratic reform in Russian army.

The participation of "Women of Russia" in the parliament has brought a new element into the political culture in general: namely, the gendered interpretation of politics. Women parliamentarians are redefining "national security" to go beyond armies and arsenals to the quality of life of the people—their health, education, safety, and welfare. They are

Konstantinova, Valentina. "Women's Political Coalitions in Russia", in Haavio-Mannila, Elina and Rotkirch Anna(ed), Women's voices in Russia Today, Brookfield: England, pp.235-247.1996.

¹⁹' ibid

demonstrating the importance of issues relating to children and families ²⁰by working to enhance people's access to health care, education and training; introducing family-friendly workplace policies; and encouraging the broadening of a safety net of social services. Women's interests are being transformed into policies representing the concerns of a special socioeconomic group. In turn, it is hoped that these concerns will be reflected in legislation. Women are increasing accessibility, transparency and accountability and thereby strengthening all levels of government while working in partnership with citizens

Women activists argue that, according to statistics published by the United Nations, parliaments only consider issues regarding childcare and social problems facing women when the share of women deputies is at least 20 percent.²¹ A political victory won by Russian women achieved in the past decade was in April 2002, when a law was passed that guaranteed equal rights and opportunities for women. This law, an initiative by the Consortium of Women's NGOs, included practical measures aimed at gender equality, but not the idea of quotas. The adoption of "the conception of legislature activity to ensure equal rights and equal opportunities for women" by the State Duma on 19 November 1997, should be considered as a significant gain of the Committee on Women, Family and Youth Affairs.²²This has happened due to the broad support of a wide spectrum of women's groups and organizations as well as to the lobbying from within the parliament. With the aim of implementing the concept, the issues related to the status of women in the Russian Federation, should become part of draft legislative norms. This measure as well as the presidential decrees concerning the improvement of the status of women in the Russian

Buckley, Mary. "Adaptation of the Soviet Women's Committee: Deputies' Voices from Women of Russia", in Buckley, Mary(ed). Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia, Cambridge University Press, pp.157-181, 1997.

Mereu, Francesca. "What women want: A seat in Duma", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.themoscowtimes.com.

Shvedova, Nadezhda. "The challenge of transition: women in parliament in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: <u>www.idea.org</u>

Federation is examples of the co-operation between women MPs and the women's movement in the advocacy of women's issues

Russian women still face barriers in promoting women's equal participation within the State Duma.²³ There are three centres of power that impact on the legislative process: the factions and the Deputy's group; the committees; and the Council of the State Duma. The principle decisions are made at the level of a faction. There are five factions and one deputy's group, but there is not a single woman MP among their leaders. The committee level is also very important because this is where the details of legislation are drawn up. There are 27 committees in the State Duma, but only two of them are headed by women: the Committee on Women, Family, and Youth Affairs and the Committee on Ecological Protection. These committees, in line with similar situations elsewhere, are not supposed to be prestigious and powerful. In other words, they do not provide access to influence on politics, the economy or the budget.

Compromise is arranged in the State Duma Council, which includes the faction and group leadership, the committee chairpersons, and the Speaker and Vice-Speakers of the House. The State Duma Council consists of 40 Deputies, but only three are women (7.5 per cent). Thus, there is no true partnership between women and men in decision-making within the Russian State Duma. The traditional managerial structure, oriented mainly towards men, does not reflect the balance of public forces; the new roles adopted by men and women; and women's abilities to impact on society, government and family. In other words, it does not ensure the proper social basis for the development and democratization of society. As MP N. Krivelskaya said: "It is necessary to increase the number of women in the State Duma in order to make the atmosphere in our parliament healthier, to create a civilized dialogue, and to look for a path to resolve problems. We need to increase the number of women not only in the Russian Parliament, but also at all levels and in all sectors of government. This step will help

ibid

men to learn how to notice the presence of women, to listen to them and to take women's voice into consideration, for the purpose of breaking down the currently largely decorative women's representation in the parliament."²⁴

In short, as a recent report by the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Women 2000²⁵, makes clear, women are not participating at the leadership level in emerging democracies and women's rights are not part of the agenda. Women's absence from the policymaking process diminishes efforts to reform economic, social, and legal systems. Enduring gender biases have contributed to the failure to revise outdated employment laws, modify health care fees to ensure equal access for women, and adopt enforcement laws on gender-based violence. This highlights the extent to which gender discrimination still permeates all institutions of society. At a time when laws and their interpretation are taking on greater importance in the lives of individuals, it also shows how critical it is that women participate fully in the process of restructuring the laws.

These developments can be attributed to various factors. For feminist Maria Arbatova, ²⁶ the reason for the low number of women in parliament is "very simple, women did not have and do not have money". According to her the low percentage of women in the Duma is a reflection of the structure of Russian society in general. In support of her claim, Arbatova cites figures from the State Statistics Committee that show that men own 92 percent of private property and this percentage is very similar to one in the Duma. According to Yelena Yershova, ²⁷ the President of the Consortium of Women's NGOs and a member of the government's Commission on Human Rights the reason so few women make it into the Duma is linked to the "patriarchal structure" of Russian society. "Our male deputies are chauvinist

Shvedova, Nadezhda. "The challenge of transition: women in parliament in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.idea.org

International Helsinki Federation Report. "Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States", Retrieved from World wide Web:www.ihf.org

²⁶ ibid

²⁷ ibid

and do not allow women to get into the Duma," she said. According Meta Spencer, "traditions of patriarchy, the role of the socialist state as paterfamilias, women's dual or triple burden and the struggle plus lack of space for grassroots political activity, all explains this situations."²⁸

Moreover, women MPs are divided along political, party and ideological lines. As a result, the absence of mutual efforts and co-ordination of activities among women's organizations and women MPs inside as well as outside parliament weakens the position of women in the parliament. Although the majority of women deputies recognize the importance of cooperating with the women's movement and of networking with women's organizations. Evidence of this can be seen in the following²⁹: firstly The Council of Experts of the Committee on Women, Family and Youth Affairs was established. This Council includes representation of many women's nongovernmental groups and organizations, and its objective is the implementation of the gender dimension in legislation prepared by the State Duma. It has consultative functions and its member's work on a volunteer basis. During 1996 the relationships between the State Duma and women's organizations and groups were actively developed: five hearings were held on women's issues that year. As a result the Council of Experts approved "the conception of legislature activity to ensure equal rights and equal opportunities for women". The conception is based on the assumption that women's rights are an inalienable part of basic human rights. Women's involvement in the political, economic, social and cultural life at the federal, regional and international levels should become a major goal of state policy towards improving the status of women in the Russian Federation.

Secondly many women MPs are the leaders or representatives of the regional affiliations of the Russian Women's Union, created by the

Spencer, Metta. "Post-Socialist Patriarchy", in Wejnert, Barbara, Spencer, Metta and Drakulic, Slobodan (eds). *Women in post-communism*, JAI Press Inc. Greenwich, pp.267-286, 1996.

Shvedova, Nadezhda. "The challenge of transition: women in parliament in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: <u>www.idea.org</u>

Communist Party of the Russian Federation just after the 1995 State Duma election. MP E. Lakhova, a co-leader of the Russian women's political bloc, "Women of Russia", and a former leader of the Women's faction in the previous State Duma, created a new bloc "Women's Movement of Russia" and initiated a women's coalition, the participants of which signed "the Charter of Women's Solidarity". *Thirdly* the Comist Faction one of the leading forces in the Russian Parliament undertook efforts to create the women deputy's group, including more than 30 women MPs from different factions. However, some women MPs are still keeping their distance from the women's movement.

Efforts are required in various directions to improve women political representation and to create conducive conditions for enjoyment of their political rights. Affirmative action measures should be taken to assure representation that reflects the full diversity of Russians, with the target of a "gender balanced" legislative body. In compliance with the legislation of the Russian Federation, women and men have equal access to government service and to participation in international activities. As stated in the Constitution of the Russian Federation, men and women enjoy equal rights and freedoms and equal opportunities for their implementation. However, women are grossly under-represented in the upper echelons of state leadership. These constitutional rights are more declarative than actual, due to the underdevelopment and inefficiency of the implementation measures.

In order to increase women representation and their influence within the Russian Parliament, it is necessary to assist women with campaign funding and other resources. Quotas and leadership training can also be key points in promoting women to the elected body. Experience, professionalism, a strong character and an active position are among the key factors affecting women MP's influence on the legislative process within the parliament. The criticism of the present electoral system began before approving the election

Russian Federation. 1993. Constitution of the Russian Federation. Retrieved 21 February 2002 from the World Wide Web: http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/rs00000 .html

law in 1995 and remains ongoing concerning some basic issues. Among the main issues there is the problem of the five per cent threshold. Only four of the 43 electoral associations/blocs on the ballot could overcome the five per cent level, and now are in the Russian Parliament.³¹ Their real representation of the society is very limited in the sense of votes, because the number of votes won by these four groups was comparable with the number of those obtained by the other groups taken together. The five per cent threshold, intended to inhibit the proliferation of parties, has not worked in Russia. Rather it has brought about a gross disproportion in the 1995 Duma. A remedy may well include the complete removal of the threshold, as in Iceland, or a smaller minimum percentage, such as the three per cent in Sweden.³²

Unfortunately, the issue of under-representation of women in the parliament is not properly covered by mass media, thus reflecting, and advancing the lack of public awareness about women's role and issues. Indeed, most Russian women accept their subordinate role. The level of gender consciousness remains relatively low. Nevertheless, there are signs of the beginning of change with many women's grassroots groups being formed throughout the country to work for women's rights. This is described in detail in chapter four. The development of the electoral system in Russia on a democratic basis in terms of involving women into elected bodies will depend on the following factors: The ability of the democratic forces to mobilize people to develop civil society in general; the level of activity and participation of women themselves in the political process; and the level of consolidation of the women's movement and its ability to suggest proper strategy and tactics to promote women in decision-making roles and to get women's issues on the national political agenda. Russia needs a new, professional and highly qualified parliament, in which women are

International Helsinki Federation Report." Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States", Retrieved from World wide Web: www.ihf.org

³² ibid

recognized as equals and are allowed to express their needs for themselves, in order to build democracy in the country besides that for women's rights to improve, the country needs to further develop its civil society and democratic structures.

2.3 Women And The Economy

The economic reforms, which have accompanied Russia's emergence as an independent state have reintroduced the concept of officially, acknowledged unemployment for the first time in some sixty years. It is however, generally recognized that, in the chaotic period of change which has followed the demise of the USSR, women have been the major losers.

Since the 1940s women have comprised half of Soviet workforce. This doesn't mean that no gender differences existed with regard to wages and employment. On the contrary throughout the soviet history women have occupied a relatively narrow brand of positions and remained in lower and mid-level positions. One of the common characteristics of former soviet-bloc countries was high employment rate largely due to the strong ideological commitment of the government to equal social and economic rights to men and women, and to high demand for labour. In the economy while the number of women steadily increased over the decades, the concentration of women employees was in agriculture, unskilled labour, and low skilled and low pay jobs in the service sector, such as secretarial, accounting, or sales. Thus the earning capacity of women lagged behind that of men. Access to better-paying professional jobs, such as engineering, law, top business administration, and management, was at best limited for women. The only high-status job, which was filled primarily by women, was that of the physician. In the 1980s, 70 per cent of medical doctors in Soviet Union were women. 33

Wejnert, Barbara. "Political transition and Gender Transformation in the Communist and Post-Communist Periods" in Wejnert, Barbara, Spencer, Metta and Drakulic, Slobodan (eds). Women in post-communism, JAI Press Inc: Greenwich, pp.3-17, 1996.

With the disintegration of Soviet Union and the emergent economic crises a model of gender relations based overwhelming on women's place in the private sphere of home and family and men's role in the public world of work and political engagement came into picture. The notion that this division of labour is part of natural order which is beyond question and which was disrupted in the Soviet era to the determinant of women's health and well being and of nations social stability and economic performance is reinforced by the use of terminology of 'destiny' and biological predispositions³⁴. Thus, much has been made of women's biological destiny (prednaznachenie) as mother and wife and her 'natural' role as guardian of the home (khranitel'nitsa domashnego ochaga). Meanwhile men are described as natural providers of protection and material goods (dobytchik) and of sturdy, unfailing protection and support (opora).³⁵

Political figures at the highest levels of national, regional and local policy-making began to make statements and gestures calling for reduced role of women in the public sphere and their conviction that a women's place should be in the home. Rebeccay Kay quotes the notorious pronouncement of minister of labour Gennadii Melikian, in 1993³⁶: "why should we employ women when men are unemployed? It is better that men work and women take care of children and do the household. I don't want women to be offended, but I don't think women should work while men are doing nothing."

From the very beginning of this period, women have formed an absolute majority of the officially registered unemployment. It is women, especially women with higher education, who comprise the majority of the officially registered unemployed, while the new economic structures (joint enterprises, cooperatives, private firms,) employ women in a very narrow

Kay, Rebecca. "A liberation from emancipation? Changing discourses on women's employment in soviet and post-soviet Russia", in Fawn, Rick and White, Stephen (eds), Russia After Communism (Frank Cass: London, 2002), pp.51-72.

³⁵ ibid

³⁶ ibid

range of jobs (secretaries, consultants, low paid service staff). According to official statistics, women make up 46.9 percent of the employed population, and that figure has not changed significantly since 1992 (48.6 percent)³⁷. Women make up slightly less than half of the unemployed (about 45 percent) and two thirds of the registered unemployed. While their proportion nationally have hovered around 70-75 percent mark, at the regional level the situation has often been far more severe, with women making up over 85 or even 90 percent of the unemployed in a range of cities and regions across the length and breadth of Russia.³⁸

The Soviet legacy of 'protective' policies towards women ad the family produced a situation in which responsibility for the extensive range of child-care-related benefits rested with employing enterprises. For enterprises dealing with uncomfortable new economic realities, the result was to mark out women as a potentially expensive and troublesome workforce. Where cutbacks have occurred, therefore, women have immediately been targeted for redundancy or for 'administrative leave'. Reduction of women's employment would make economic sense, since the cost of social provision for women, such as maternity leave and child care, is said to make 'the female labour force an extremely unattractive proposition for employers'. A logical answer to the great problem of economic reform- mass unemployment — therefore seemed to be that, instead of attempting to combine several roles, women should be allowed to fulfill their biological destiny of wives and mothers

At the same time, many of the sectors in which women were heavily concentrated, such as health and education, remain primarily publicly funded and, given the parlous state of the economy overall, have seen a massive drop in pay relative to other sectors. The shrinking status of women is

Posadskaya, Anastasia. "A feminist Critique of Policy, Legislation, and Social Consciousness in Post- Socialist Russia", in Posadskaya, Anastasia, ed. Women in Russia: A New Era in Russian Feminism. Trans. Kate Clark. Verso Books, pp.164-182,1994.

Bridger, Sue and Kay, Rebecca. "Gender and generation in the new Russian labour market", in Pilkington, Hilary, (ed). *Gender, Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia*. Routledge, pp.21-37 1996.

reflected too in women's salaries. According to Anastasia Posadskaya, former director of the Moscow Center for Gender Studies, women now earn only 43 percent of the salaries made by men.³⁹ The World Bank's more conservative estimate places women's earnings at 71 percent of men's hourly wage.⁴⁰ But those numbers only reflect the situation for women who still have jobs however many do not. And women are banned from over 460 job categories considered by the Labor Ministry to be dangerous for their reproductive health.⁴¹ Those jobs, incidentally, are among the highest paying.

The fundamental problem women face in seeking alternative employment is the mis-match between the skills they have and the jobs on offer. During the first three years of transition, the majority unemployed women have had a higher or specialized secondary education. Meanwhile, most of the available vacancies have been for manual and/or less skilled work: sewing machinists, secretaries, shop assistants, cleaners, and other unskilled jobs in the service sectors. This situation is not, however, simply the product of a lack of suitable and well –documented preference for selecting men. The combination of market forces and a lack of legal safeguards have, since 1992, simply given free reign to attitudes, which were already well established. Job advertisement commonly express a preference as to the sex of applicants and, in the case of a clear majority skills, it is stated that male applicants only are required.

The State Statistics Committee says women are actually more educated than men; those who find employment have higher qualifications.⁴² But they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired, due to blatant discrimination on the part of male employers. There is overall marginalisation of the female work force in the labour market of Russia, where women are kept in the lowest-paying, lowest-skill jobs. Again, the

Vandenberg, Martina. "Invisible women shown in Russia's demographics", St.Petersburg Times, Oct 6.1997.

⁴⁰ ibid

⁴¹ ibid

⁴² ibid

problem is not one of unemployment alone. As the market grew increasingly competitive and salaries rose, women were pushed to the sidelines. Researchers note a tight correlation between rates of growth in salaries in a profession and the exclusion of women from that profession. For example, the percentage of women in the banking sector dropped from 90 percent to 77 percent between 1990 and 1995. In 1993 alone, the average banker's salary was some 2.4 times higher than that in other professions. As the percentages of women in the lowest-paying sectors of the economy grew, so did a marked discrepancy between the average salaries of men and women. In March of 1994, women's pay went from 70 percent of men's to as low as 0 percent.

Thus the true crisis in the women's labour market is not a strict dearth of jobs, but rapidly declining quality of salaried positions. According to economist Zoya Khotkina⁴⁵ Russian women were pushed out of the professional sector and forced to accept low-pay, unskilled, labour-intensive and often-illegal work. As Russia is a country where single-income households are neither realistic nor traditional, many women have not stopped working, but in desperation resigned themselves to jobs that are beneath their skills, education and abilities. Khotkina notes the predominance of women *chelnoki*⁴⁶, the merchants who people Russia's countless outdoor markets every season of the year. Of the ten million *chelnoki* in Russia, 70 percent are women. Many of them work upwards of ten hours a day on their feet, in inclement weather and are solely responsible for the transport of their heavy goods to and from the market. The work is long, demanding, brutal and largely black market. Women's work is getting more and more illegal and even criminal. It is understood that black market

[&]quot; Economic Crisis Hurts Women and Families First", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.therussianjournal.com.

⁴⁴ ibid

⁴⁵ ibid

⁴⁶ ibid

sellers have no legal rights and no workers- benefits. And they are easily replaced.

In addition to sexism, there is, unfortunately, sex. Many Russian women find it is not discrimination that keeps them from working but their own children. Women under 30 with young children are the first to lose their jobs. The complete dissolution of welfare support, no free childcare and little parental leave is forcing young mothers to stay home. After decades of mythical liberation, Russian women appear more bound by traditional burdens than ever before. In terms of access to jobs, the problem of agebased discrimination is very relevant in Russia, especially in relation to women. As employers try to avoid the requirement of a three-year paid maternity leave for childcare, young women with no children are discriminated against when applying for jobs. Discrimination against persons of pre-pension age is widespread in the labour market and affects both men and women. However, as the pension age is lower for women (55) than for men (60), this form of discrimination affects younger women more. One of the most serious problems on the labour market is unemployment among women between the ages of 50 and 53.47 It is too early for them to qualify for their pension and it is too late for them to retrain. It is practically impossible to live on unemployment benefit. Unfortunately there is no special programme for social and vocational rehabilitation for women of this age group.

Young women fare no better in the labour market. While sexual harassment was neither discussed, investigated nor tackled in the Soviet Union, there were widespread assumptions that it might well come into play when women were looking for promotions or other 'favours' from management. For women seeking work, sexual harassment is a constant consideration. While the growing sexualization of workplace is suggested by the frequent emphasis on the physical attributes rather than skills, no

Bridger, Sue and Kay, Rebecca. "Gender and generation in the new Russian labour market", in Pilkington, Hilary, (ed). *Gender, Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia*. Routledge, pp.21-37 1996.

potential employer is likely to advertise the fact that sex is part of the job. It is rather, the occasional advertisement which adds 'no sexual services required' which gives some indication of how widespread an assumption it is that women should provide whatever their boss demands. One survey conducted by the Moscow Center for Gender Studies found that one in four Russian women have been subjected to sexual harassment in the workplace. Although accurate statistics on sexual harassment in Russia do not exist, one clue to the frequency of the problem is that in the "seeking work" announcements of newspapers, women nearly always specify a preference for employment "without intimate relations". The introduction of an overtly sexual element into the new labour market undoubtedly has bearing on women's direct involvement in the glamour and sex industry. With the demise of the USSR, the sex and glamour industry, which had been developing space under perestroika, was given an added fillip by the advent of the market reforms. An ending of controls, unemployment poverty, ensured rapid development of glamour modeling, pornography and both overt and 'undercover' prostitution. The issue of prostitution, trafikking, and sexual harassment is discussed in detail in chapter three.

The emotional repercussions of economic upheaval have been well documented and grimly experienced by Russia's women. Financial problems are the most common source of stress in Russia. And the fomenting negativity most often finds its target in women, according to psychologist Albina Pashina ⁴⁸who directs a hotline for abused women. Of the half of women callers who volunteered full information about themselves, more than thirty percent were the victims of domestic violence. Pashina says domestic violence in Russia nearly doubled after the crisis. They beat, and they beat mercilessly, she says, referring to the abused women's stressed out husbands or lovers. The violence is not always physical. Many women suffer from what Pashina terms psychological violence, or threats of physical harm,

^{48 &}quot;Economic Crisis Hurts Women and Families First", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.therussianjournal.com.

as well as economic violence, when the husband exacts irrational control over the woman's finances. The effects can be as devastating as beating or rape. Pashina says nearly 90 percent of her post-crisis callers suffer from severe emotional distress caused by problems in the home.

The combination of professional and family roles is a major problem for Russian women and is quite often impossible. Both in practice and in the eyes of society, matters of the family and childcare are a woman's responsibility (except for the financial aspects). The need to often give priority to family matters combined with a lower residential, social and professional mobility results in women's reduced competitiveness in the labour market. Therefore, in carrying out her family duties, a woman often faces the threat of dismissal and frequently has to resign herself to the impossibility of having a career. In terms of gender stereotypes, contemporary public opinion in Russia is inconsistent.⁴⁹ According to opinion polls, 87.1 percent of respondents consider that the husband and wife should make equal contributions to their family budget At the same time, sociological analysis shows that traditional stereotypes rather strongly influence the distribution of roles between men and women, which affects. their behaviour in the labour market. Men as the main workforce and breadwinners, more often aspire to higher wages, while women strive more for guaranteed employment – i.e. a stable job even if it has lower pay and lower prestige. Moreover, 46 percent of women believe that women only need to work for financial reasons and only 2.8 percent of them are focused on having a career.

Among the younger generation, there is an increasing trend to aspire to earn more money and be independent. On the other hand one can observe the obvious increased influence of traditional stereotyped notions of "masculine" and "feminine" professional and family roles. Many commentators felt that it was desirable that men should be given job first and

International Helsinki Federation Report. "Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States", Retrieved from World wide Web: www.ihf.org

women should return to what Mikhail Gorbachev called their 'purely womanly mission'. Influence of traditional gender stereotypes is more evident in small towns and villages, where the situation in the financial sphere and industry is worse than in large cities. The problems of women's employment and opportunities for professional development are also more acute in these areas.

Taken together, these factors have contributed to a steady feminization of poverty in Russia. Women figure prominently in poverty statistics. According to the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey⁵⁰, 31 percent of the elderly lived below the poverty line in 1995. Women make up 70 percent of pensioners. Over 90 percent of such families live below the poverty level. The feminization of poverty in Russia continues .The feminization of poverty has also recently become a significant problem in the countries with economies in transition as a short-term consequence of the process of political, economic and social transformation. In addition to economic factors, the rigidity of socially ascribed gender roles and women's limited access to power, education, training and productive resources as well as other emerging factors that may lead to insecurity for families are also responsible. The failure to adequately mainstream a gender perspective in all economic analysis and planning and to address the structural causes of poverty is also a contributing factor. Women's poverty is directly related to the absence of economic opportunities and autonomy, lack of access to economic resources, including credit, land ownership and inheritance, lack of access to education and support services and their minimal participation in the decision-making process.

In March 1995, Human Rights Watch released Neither Jobs Nor Justice, a report documenting widespread employment discrimination on the basis of sex that was practiced, condoned, and tolerated by the Russian

Vandenberg, Martina. "Invisible women shown in Russia's demographics", St.Petersburg Times, Oct 6.1997.

government. 51 The situation with regard to labour rights has deteriorated in the post-Soviet period. Illegal dismissals and jobs that have no social guarantees and are frequently without any official labour contract have become the norm. At the Government level, national policy and action plans regarding gender - in particularly regarding the situation of women in the labour market - either have not been developed or do not sufficiently address the actual situation⁵². In particular, unplanned and unregulated changes in employment as a result of economic reforms have significantly influenced women's opportunities in the labour market. Discrimination in the labour market and in employment based on gender has also increased. Despite the fact that workingwomen in general are highly educated, their representation at economic and political decision-making levels is only marginal. Women tend to occupy the lowest ranks of the power structures within governments, trade unions and other institutions, concentrated primarily at the support staff level with only very few exceptions. Apparently, the "glass ceiling" exists in Russia as elsewhere but the deteriorating economic situation has worsened women's access to better-paid and more influential jobs.⁵³

Thus, the position of women in economy has profoundly deteriorated. Surveys reveal increasing gender discrimination in payment, recruitment, promotion, and dismissal, as well as growing professional segregation and feminization of poverty. On the other hand opportunities for professional growth, including those for women have considerably expanded. In the Soviet period such opportunities were frequently limited by ideological restrictions, including those related to public opinion on the areas and positions in which women could work. After a certain point, further professional growth was practically impossible.

Human Rights Watch. Russia: Neither Jobs Nor Justice, State Discrimination Against Women In Russia, 1995.

International Helsinki Federation Report. "Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States", Retrieved from World wide Web: www.ihf.org

⁵³ ibid

2.4 Women And Society

The collapse of Soviet Union has profound effect on society as a whole. With the breakdown of the socialist system, there began an overall deterioration of women's status in their families. Domestic violence was increasing in frequency and pornography suddenly became commonplace. Marriage lost its popularity as an institution, with divorce increasing, marriages decreasing, and more women becoming single parents.

Severe psychological stress and conflicts in private life, is making families more fragile. About half of all the marriages were dissolved in 1993; by comparison in 1970 the proportion was less than 30 percent. ⁵⁴Young families are more vunerable: nearly one-third of married couples get divorced during the first yeas of marriage. ⁵⁵In many cases divorce was the result of housing problems, alcoholism, poverty. Unemployment rates continue to increase while social services throughout rural Russia decrease. The resulting frustration fuels alcoholism, higher suicide rates among men and increased levels of domestic violence. Violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. It violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Gender equality will never be realized as long as women live in fear of violence. For many countries, the transition to a market economy has exposed previously hidden gender-based violence, including domestic violence and rape, and fostered other kinds of gender violence, such as trafficking in women and forced prostitution. The alarming declines in the economic well being of the region's women contribute to the steady rise of violence against women in both the public and private spheres. Domestic violence, like trafficking, is hard to document in transition countries. The

Issraelyan, Yevgenia. "Russian Women: challenges of the modern world", in Wejnert, Barbara, Spencer, Metta and Drakulic, Slobodan (eds). Women in post-communism, JAI Press Inc. Greenwich, pp.157-167.

⁵⁵ ibid

difficulty is not that it is new to the region, or denied by governments, but rather that it is so commonplace. Such violence is not seen as a problem because it is so widespread in both private and a social environment that there is the impression that 'non-violent existence' is impossible. Studies reporting a high prevalence of domestic violence in the countries of the region indicate that a woman's religious or ethnic group, age, social class, or level of education seems to matter little in terms of vulnerability to abuse. Women's economic dependency appears to be the determining factor. In 1997 in Russia, according to Human Rights Watch, police had registered over 4 million men as potential abusers of family members, based on reports of prior abuse or threats. ⁵⁶This remarkably high number may actually be an underestimate. Women face numerous obstacles in reporting domestic violence and domestic violence is hard to document.

Women are especially affected by the shrinkage of state expenditure in the areas of education and health. Under socialism, reproductive health services, such as abortions and maternal and prenatal care, were accessible and free to women; contraceptive options, on the other hand, were still not widely available. The transition to capitalism, however, led to government cutbacks in free reproductive health services, making limited care virtually inaccessible to low-income women.

In times of financial uncertainty, it is usually health and education budgets, which are cut first, and preventive health measures for women and young people, are placed even lower on national and local priority lists. Women have the right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. The enjoyment of this right is vital to their life and well-being and their ability to participate in all areas of public and private life. Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. Women's health involves their emotional, social and physical well-being and is determined by the social, political and economic context of their lives, as well as by biology

⁵⁶ www.hrw.org

Women's right to the enjoyment of the highest standard of health must be secured throughout the whole life cycle in equality with men. Reproductive health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes

However, despite the abundance of relevant federal and regional legislation, it has become apparent that the fundamental principle of the individual's right to health, as stipulated in the Russian Constitution, has become vague in practice⁵⁷. Laws are often difficult to interpret and have been amended many times over. Streamlining of the legal framework and adoption of a Public Health Code have become matters of utmost urgency. Current challenges facing Russia include high rates of maternal and infant mortality, a broad decline in health indicators (e.g. health of pregnant women, post natal health and health of new born children), a high incidence of disease among women, and the high frequency of abortions.⁵⁸ The state of child health is marked by growing incidence of disease, disability, drug and alcohol addiction, Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), and HIV/AIDS. This rather gloomy picture is somewhat mitigated by several positive trends, including are reduction in maternal and child mortality rates, and a decline in the total number of abortions. A gender-based approach to healthcare is therefore useful in prioritizing and targeting public health policy goals. Though gender analysis is not yet mandatory for public health reviews in Russia, the existence of strong gender roles within society and the demonstrated potential for fomenting positive change through public policy strongly suggest that such analysis is critical.

Education is a human right, an indispensable element of economic and social progress and an essential tool for achieving the goals of equality, development and peace. Non-discriminatory education benefits both girls and boys and thus ultimately contributes to more equal relationships between

Human development report-Russia, United Nation Development Fund, 2002/2003

⁵⁸ ibid

women and men. Equality of access to and attainment of educational qualifications is necessary if more women are to become agents of change. Literacy of women is an important key to improving health, nutrition and education in the family and to empowering women to participate in decision-making in society

Under communism, women in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union pursued the many educational opportunities available to them, maintaining one of the world's highest levels of women's education, including fields considered nontraditional for women in other parts of the world. However, the end of the Soviet system, the pressure of market forces on the educational sector, and the emergence of diverse cultural values in regard to women's education have changed the landscape of education in the region. Some of the changes, such as the introduction of tuition fees have made higher education less accessible to all. The tidal wave of the rising cost of education threatens to drown this trend of women's education. In Russia, government expenditures on education in 1997 fell to less than onethird of expenditures in 1990. As a result, teachers, who are overwhelmingly women, are badly paid. Patriarchal relations are embedded most deeply in family and home life, they are reinforced in schools, at virtually every level. There is a pressing need for educational reform. Although gender-sensitive and equitable educational models are badly needed in the regional educational systems, they are not always a priority for schools or a realistic option

The current phase of societal reforms has recently been described by Lynn Attwood, a specialist on Soviet and Russian sex roles, as "aggressive re-masculinization", which she defines as "an attempt to reassert male dominance in post-Soviet Russia after decades of concern that women were challenging male supremacy." It has three main and interrelated features, connected to changes in the social, the ideological and the sexual spheres,

Rotkirch, Anna. "Women's agency and the sexual revolution in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.valt.Helsinki.fi/staff/rotkirch.html

respectively: a reorganization of the public sphere; an open devaluation of women and femininity; and increased eroticisation of women. Other feminist scholars have also stressed the degrading of women in the young Russian sexual revolution. The Finnish historian Marianne Liljeström (1995) has interpreted today's eroticisation of the press and commercialization of women's bodies in Russia as a continuation of century-long misogyny and subordination of women. Lynn Attwood deplores the spread of media images where the woman is depicted as a "passive victim of male violence". This is according to her mainly due to the rapidly growing pornographic industry, but she also points to degrading images of nude women in popular mainstream publications and films. The use of female nudity to entertain, titillate, and sell products, is increasing in evidence in Russia.

According to the results of the analysis of newspapers in the first six months of 1995, conducted by the Association of Women-Journalists, only about 10 per cent of all descriptions of women had anything to do with "normal", "ordinary" women, the rest were concerned with marginal groups -prostitutes, businessmen's girlfriends, pop stars, etc. Pornographic publications reached their peak in 1991-1993, coinciding with the complete freedom of the press. This phenomenon is easily explained by the fact that for decades sex was taboo. Paradoxically, Gorbachev's decree in the late 1980s about efforts to curb propaganda of violence and pornography produced a backlash and only strengthened the tendency, since the decree was regarded as a step backwards to totalitarianism. As soon as the taboo was lifted, practically all publications contained pictures of naked or halfnaked women. Erotic programmes began to appear on TV, they are shown at any time of the day; cable TV show practically only erotic films.

After 1991, special publications intended for porn-fans started to appear, such as *Man, Mister X, Andrei* (a version of Pent-house), *Mahaon*. 62

⁶⁰ ibid

Azhigikhina, Nadezhda. "Women as presented in Russian mass media", UN Division for the Advancement of Women.

⁶² ibid

More respectable new magazines, such as *Tovarishch*, *Superman*, offer milder versions of porn, using basically Russian models. Women's porn and semi-porn magazines began to appear as well -*Miss X*, *She*; pornographic photographs are regularly published in the newspaper *Women' Affairs*. There are publications like "Red Hat", for instance, which advertise brothels and saloons of "erotic massage". Western Pornographic publications also appear in the Russian market; it is possible to buy Penthouse and Playboy on ordinary bookstalls, as well as their German editions, and recently a Russian version of Playboy came out, in which first-rate Russian journalists and writers publish articles and stories. Russian society, which has not yet invented a mechanism for fighting pornography and has no experience of coping with freedom of the press, is literally drowning in this flood of low-quality literature.

On the whole, the situation appears serious, especially if we take into consideration the numerous problems facing Russian women today. Russian women are indeed the forgotten stepdaughters of the reforms, bearing the burden of unemployment, inflation, the final collapse of the health care system and social security, and finally, negative moral pressure exacerbated by mass culture. Women have thus been adversely affected by Soviet disintegration.

2.5 Conclusion

Politically, economically, and socially, Russia continues to be a state in transition. The group most adversely affected by this political, economic and social transition is women. A disproportionate percentage of women were unemployed. Compared to men, women were disadvantaged compared in the labour market. They were the first to be fired and the last to be hired. The chances of receiving additional training, advancing in their career, and receiving maternity protection were poor. Furthermore, women –

⁶³ ibid

⁶⁴ ibid

and particularly women with a family – were generally regarded as unstable and inefficient workers. The concentration of women in low-paid sectors jeopardized their ability to sustain themselves. The sexual and domestic abuse of women remained a serious problem, but was virtually ignored by officials and, particularly, by law enforcement bodies. Only a few cases of violence against women were brought to court although, according to statistics, tens of thousand of women fell victim to family violence.

From the early 1990s onwards, a wealth of press articles, media broadcasts and reference have been devoted to the issue of re-establishing 'correct' gender identities in post-Soviet women and men and returning to a natural balance of characteristics, behaviour and division of roles among gender lines. Moreover, the recent media surge views women as sex objects and victims of violence. Violence against women in its many forms has increased in post—Soviet Russia. Domestic violence, sexual harassment have become commonplace. The Russian government's most recent report under CEDAW states that 14,000 women die as a result of domestic abuse each year, a number which is also cited by local NGOs and international organizations. Sexual harassment has become an aspect of Russian women's lives. Well-established criminal organizations traffic in women and girls, often capitalizing in rising unemployment and poverty Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia has both been a receiving and sending country for women coerced into the sex trade.

Russian political life is in constant flux it is important to note that in spite of the sharp decline in the number of women in legislative and executive branches, the previous formalized; anonymous, token character of representation of women is now being replaced by exciting and personalized participation. Women participation in decision-making is essential for articulation of their demands. Moreover for overall improvement in their condition, their social, and economic rights need to be protected. It is clear from the above discussion that the disintegration of Soviet Union created as well as aggravated conditions, which were detrimental to the realization of

women's rights in Russia. For women, political empowerment besides socioeconomic well being is essential for realization of their human rights.

Sustainable development and economic growth that is both sustained and sustainable are possible only through improving the economic, social, political, legal and cultural status of women. The success of policies and measures aimed at supporting or strengthening the promotion of gender equality and the improvement of the status of women should be based on the integration of the gender perspective in general policies relating to all spheres of society as well as the implementation of positive measures with adequate institutional and financial support at all levels. An all effort is required in political, social and economic sphere to improve the condition of women in Russia as well to mitigate the ill effects of transition. Enjoyments of their political, economic and social rights are depended on these efforts.

CHAPTER - III

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST WOMEN IN RUSSIA

3.1 Introduction

Violence against women is both a cause and consequence of women's inequality and a violation of women's human rights. Gender-based violence is a learned behaviour, linked to male power, privilege and dominance in the family and society. The social structure which sustains and maintains gender inequalities such as the general acceptance by society of subordination of women to men, and the subordination of certain women to other women, or the socio-sexual roles of men and women driven by their religion, the media, and culture, contribute to perpetuating this way of thinking and acting.

Violence against women is an important equality issue with serious economic, health and social consequences for individuals, families and society. Violence by men against women including beatings, rape, incest and every kind of torture is practiced in literally every country and society. Violence by men -including against their own wives, daughters, sisters, and family members is most widespread pervasive form of violence destroying the lives and health of millions of women. Women are resisting violence everywhere, and have mobilized to ensure security from violence for themselves and their families.

Violence is a physical or sexual act carried out with the intention or perceived intention of causing physical pain or injury to another person It can happen to any woman of any race, age, size or social status. While physical violence like wife battering, rape or sexual assault is widely known and condemned, other forms of violence like psychological and emotional violence can have an equally damaging impact on women's lives. Examples include wives who live under the constant fear of threats; husbands who

control their wives movements/ finances and constantly blame them when things go wrong are other subtle forms of violence.

Violence against women was a taboo topic during the Soviet period, although perestroika and glasnost had brought this problem in open. The disintegration of Soviet Union and the resultant socio-economic changes has increased the incurrence of violence against women. This chapter beginning with a brief background on the violence against women in former Soviet Union, goes on to analyze different kinds of violence committed against women in contemporary Russia.

3.2 The Historical Background

The Bolsheviks aimed to create a new type of person who was committed to socialism and would place the well being of the community above his or her personal desires. Soviet Union will be a society of equals where all people will live in harmony with one another. All form of human exploitation and crime will be eradicated, however in the meantime, some 'relics of the past' or 'vestiges of bourgeois morality' remained in human psyche. Thus, antisocial and criminal activities will continue until people had been appropriately socialized.

One 'relic of the past' was a conviction on the part of some men that they were superior to women by the virtue of their sex, and that this gave them the right to treat women as they pleased. Moreover female couldn't be relieved of their traditional female duties, even if they worked alongside men in factories and farms, and they need these 'feminine' traits in order to perform these duties properly. Accordingly, Soviet propaganda continued to praise traditional masculine and feminine qualities. Teachers and parents were urged to treat boys and girls differently to encourage appropriate gender differences, including 'weakness' in women and 'strength' in man. Thus female equality had to co-exist with natural female vulnerability.

Attwood, Lynne. "She was asking for it: rape and domestic violence against women" in Buckley, Mary, (ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.95-115, 1997.

In the Soviet period, violence against individual including sexual violence was not openly discussed. Though it was not directly forbidden to talk about sexual violence but nonetheless it was a taboo subject. That men might use their superior strength against women was rarely acknowledged. The media observed a virtual total silence on the subject. There were few references to rape in the Soviet press. Wife battery received more attention in the press, but was blamed primarily on alcohol abuse and on those persistent 'relic of the past'. Individual cases, which came out where, explained away as the actions of sex maniacs or common criminal. This also meant that there was virtually no research done on the subject, no public opinion surveys conducted, no statistics published and whatever analytical material that existed where stamped for 'official use only' and left to languish in the ministry of internal affairs. There was no attempt to understand violence against women as something structural, part of the social script of gender relations in Soviet society.

In the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (volume 41,1939), violence was described as 'premeditated action incurring physical pain', that is it was reduced to its definition in Soviet criminal law, which makes no mention of sexual, moral or psychological violence.² Similarly in the Soviet Encyclopedia Dictionary of 1980³, the entry on violence doesn't mention actions against individual at all, however violence in class and interstate relation is mentioned. Thus it would appear that, with time, violence against the individual became more rather than less ideologized, producing several generations of Soviet people unaccustomed to thinking about violence as a violation of the rights of the individual and unable to see the problem of violence towards women and children. Well know problems like prostitution, rape, and child abuse, horrendous condition in abortion clinics were either whitewashed by ideology or not even mentioned.

Zabelina, Tat'iana. "Sexual violence towards women", in Pilkington, Hilary, (ed). Gender, Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia. Routledge, pp.169-182, 1996.

³ ibid

However efforts were made to provide protection to women. The Criminal Code of 1922⁴ contained a number of provisions concerned with unwelcome sexual advances, while local party and trade union organization took up cases of domestic violence. Women were also encouraged to stand for themselves and for each other. They were also accorded protection from violent husbands through official state and party organs. Trade Unions, the Komsomol, and the local Communist Party organization would reprimand or punish members who violated 'socialist morality'. Women could also appeal to the press, for example the women's magazines *Rabotnitsa* and *Krestianka* regularly took up cases of domestic violence.⁵

The modern feminist movement in Russia began in 1979, when an unofficial journal *Women and Russia*, edited by Tatiana Mamonova, began to circulate in Leningrad. The dissident women began discussing issue that were forbidden in Russian press at that time-discrimination of women in politics, the abuse of women in prison, the appalling condition in maternity hospitals and abortion clinics, the increasing incidence of rape in Russian society, and the brutal behaviour of men toward women in backward rural areas.

The inception of Glasnost, initially did not lead to any serious discussion of gender issues, while in the year 1987-89 the media regularly represented women, not as the victim of social evils in Russian society, but as their cause. Social problems, such as crime and drug trafficking, and the spiritual malaise of Russian society, were frequently ascribed to family break-up and workingwomen's neglect of their children. However, the application of glasnost from 1986 to 1990 and beyond has meant that aspects of numerous problems have been exposed, regretted and deplored. The problems have been admitted, albeit with varying degree of frankness and analytical vigour. Glasnost allowed new issues to be defined, although some

Attwood, Lynne. "She was asking for it: rape and domestic violence against women" in Buckley, Mary. (ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.99-115, 1997.

⁵ ibid

problems, like prostitution, crime and drug abuse, received greater attention than others like child abuse and rape. Sex had ceased to be a taboo subject as censorship was relaxed and attitude liberalized. Prostitution was one of the first 'new' issues to be covered by several newspapers and journals. However the tone of reporting was of that of sensational expose rather than critical analysis of the reason behind the emergence of prostitution under socialism.⁶

From middle of the 70s, Soviet writers were arguing that women's high level of involvement in the workplace had led to a distortion of both of female and male personality. Women had given work such a central role in their lives that they were said to have developed a range of masculine characteristics required in the own place, such as independence, rationality, and unemotional, and had ceased to pay sufficient attention to caring for their husbands and children. All that could be done was to encourage a shift in the balance in their lives. Accordingly, a propaganda campaign was launched to persuade women to place the family in the center of their lives and relegate work to second place. For example, the educational reforms of 1984⁷included the introduction of a school course called "The Ethics and Pschycology of Family Life", which contained a large element of gender socialization and was aimed at ensuring that the next generation of adults adopted more traditional gender roles.

Gorbachev views on Russian women proved to be reactionary, similar to those, which has been voiced in Russia by political leaders since the mid-70s. Mikhail Gorbachev, in his 1987 book Perestroika, mentioned the need for the Soviet women, to return to their "purely womanly mission" of traditional household roles⁸. Male Russian leaders, whether following the

Buckely, Mary. "Glasnost and women question", in Ruthchild, Goldberg Rochelle Women in Russia and the Soviet Union: an annotated bibliography, Maxwell: New York, pp.202-223, 1993.

⁷ Kay, Rebecca. "Images of an ideal women: perceptions of Russian womanhood through the media, education and women's own eyes", in Buckley, Mary(ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*, Cambridge University Press, pp.77-97, 1997.

Mikhail Gorbachev. Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World, Harper and Row: New York, pp. 116-17,1987.

trend advocating western pluralism or of that of returning to conservative orthodox value, agreed with platforms advocating a women's place to be the traditional home and family spheres. Thus despite clashes over political and economic policy, there is one thing that current leaders of Russia agree: the market has a male face. Some argue that, since perestroika, the "strong and capable woman worker" of the early Soviet era was replaced with the image of domestic servant. Aggressive, competitive, risk-taking men needed the nurture of supportive wives/ mothers. Violence against women, exploitation of sex in the media, and drastic reduction of women in employment and political leadership positions serve to verify this trend.

3.3 Violence In Contemporary Russia

The fall of the Soviet Union and the reorganization of Russian politics and society in the image of western liberal democratic and free market constructs have presented profound challenges not only to the country's leadership, but also to its citizens. The segment of the population that has been hardest hit is women. The high level of unemployment among women, segregation in the labour market, increasing salary gap between men and women, absence of women at the decision making level, increasing violence against women, the high levels of maternal and infant mortality, total absence of a contraceptive industry in Russia, insufficiency of child welfare benefits, lack of adequate resources to fund current state programsthis is only part of the long list of women's rights violations.

Unofficial statistics estimate that 70 percent of Russian women experience violence at some point in their lives. Available date indicates a serious increase in gender-based violence in recent years. There has been a 74 per cent increase in crime against women between 1993 and 1994, that is, from 331,815 criminal cases of offences against women the figure rose to 56,5000 as reported by Ministry of Internal Affairs. Statistics released by

⁹ www.irex.org

¹⁰ ibid

the Chairperson of the Presidential Commission on Question Of Women, Family and Demographics in 1997 indicated that 30 to 40 per cent of murders took place in families, majority of victims being women. In addition to the 14,000 spousal murders each year, the number of other crimes against women in Russia totals about 650,000 annually.

The move to market economy has placed women in severe disadvantage position. In a society based on competition, their additional domestic and maternal responsibilities make them less reliable and efficient. Furthermore, switch over to market economy has been portrayed as a male phenomenon, thus it has been accompanied by a display of aggressive masculinity, which requires as its counterpart, a passive femininity. Accordingly, the images of women and men as partners in building of socialism began to be replaced by traditional functionalist family in which men and women are emerging to have different but complementary roles. The perceived economic needs of new Russia thus coincided with the desire first expressed in the 1970s, to return to more traditional gender roles.

Alongside this dismal development of post- Soviet gender relations, there has been another development in respect of image of Russian women, propounded by the Russian media: the passive victim of male violence. The most obvious expression of this development is the pornographic press, which is one of Russia's biggest growth industries today. Throughout the world of pornography, the theme is male power and female passivity. The alarming fact is that, such images have transcended the pornographic boundaries to percolate into popular mainstream publications as well. The issues of *Pravda*, *Sobesednik*, or *Komsomol'skia*, frequently carry such images. ¹³Cinema screens have also hoisted a spate of images depicting male violence against women. Savva Kulishi's *Tragedy in the Rock Style (1998)*,

¹¹ ibid

Parker Marina Pisklakova. "Cultural Roots of Domestic Violence", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.isar.org/isar/archive/GT/GT8pisklakova.html

Attwood, Lynne. "The post-Soviet woman in the move to the market: a return to domesticity and dependence?" In Marsh, Rosalind (ed) *Women in Russia and the Ukraine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 255-266.

and Sergei Snezhkin's Extraordinary Incident on a Regional Scale (1989), both to emphasize the passivity of the victims, includes scenes in which women are forced to have sex¹⁴. In Abai Karpykov's Blown Kiss (1990), female submission in male sexual violence is represented in an entirely symbolic form.¹⁵

The media generally adopts a concerned tone, regarding violence against women and rape; however, there is strong tendency to emphasize women's vulnerability, and even to hint at their culpability. In *Sovershenno*, for example, Elena Svetlova cites opinion of number of male experts on rape. They clearly sound 'boys will be boys', and that, 'men simply have strong feelings, which need an outlet' kind of responses. One of the experts feels that women are asking for trouble, if, they are too friendly with strangers. The other puts forward a rather convincing argument that that, women are generally brought up to be potential victims. Thus one can sense a certain resurrection of ancient image of women in the writings of journalists and academics, which invariably consider the behaviour of women in the root of any act of offence committed against them.

The attitude of passivity in Russia is such that, between 1993 and 1996, not a single sexual harassment case went to court in the Russian Federation, and, between 1995 and 1996, the number of rapes reported to the police fell from 12,515 to 10,888.¹⁷ The Russian government recently suggested that violence take place in one out of four families in Russia.¹⁸But the absence of hard data guarantees the invisibility of the problem as well as women who suffer from violence. But the government does not collect specific statistics on violence against women. Such attacks are hidden in

¹⁴ ibid

¹⁵ ibid

¹⁶ ibid

Bennett, Varona. "Violence against women in Russia grows worse", LA Times, December 6, 1997.

¹⁸ ibid

statistical items such as "light, bodily injury," and "hooliganism." Just as the Soviet Union had no sex, the Russian Federation has no sexual harassment.

In recent years the level of awareness and concern has grown significantly among women's rights groups in Russia. As a result, a number of women's crises centers have appeared and they are providing valuable services to the victims. The nature of crime against women in Russia may be categorized as the following:

- Domestic violence
- Sexual violence
- Violence in conflict situations (Chechnya)
- Women in custody

3.3.1 Domestic Violence

The abuse of women by their male partners is among the most common and dangerous form of gender-based violence. A woman's greatest risk of violence is from someone she knows. Domestic violence is a violation of a woman's right to physical integrity, liberty, and more importantly her right to life itself. Partner violence occurs in all countries and transcends social, economic, religious, and cultural groups. A recent World Bank analysis indicates that one-quarter to one-half of all the world's women have been battered by an intimate partner. Often referred to as "wife- beating," "battering," or "domestic violence," intimate partner abuse is generally part of a pattern of abusive behavior and control rather than an isolated act of physical aggression. Patriarchal violence in the home is based on the belief that it is acceptable for a more powerful individual to control others through various forms of coercive measures. Some men feel that the

Vandenberg, Martina. "Invisible women shown in Russia's demographics", *The St. Petersburg Times*, October 6-12, 1997.

Violence Against Women: An issue of human rights, A newsletter of the office of Women in Development, Summer, 1997

use of violence is the only way they can establish and maintain their supremacy within the chauvinist male dominated social hierarchy.

According to Bell Hooks²¹, violence in the home is connected to sexism and sexist thinking. Sexism is 'unfair discrimination on the basis of sex' and occurs at different levels- individual to institutional, but all forms combine to result in inequality. Bell argues that until men unlearn the sexist thinking that tells them that they have a right to rule over women by any means, male violence will continue to be a norm. As long as sexist thinking socializes boys to be "killers", whether in imaginary good guy, bad guy's fights or as soldiers in imperialism to maintain coercive power over nations, patriarchal violence against women and children will continue.

One of the most significant obstacles to the recognition of domestic violence as human rights violation was the belief that international human rights law did not apply to "private" home. This belief was directly tied to prevailing theories of both domestic violence and international law. Historically, theories of domestic violence were based on the premise that such abuse was a "family" or "private" matter that was a consequence of mental illness, alcohol abuse, or poor impulse control. Current theories, however, reflect the understanding that the purpose of violence is the establishment of power and control over another through different forms of abusive, coercive and threatening behaviors. Despite this understanding, the characterization of domestic violence as a private aberration—together with other causes and complicating factors, such as traditional gender roles, economic hardship and some religious practices—continue to impede efforts to protect women and hold batterers accountable.

Throughout the Soviet period domestic violence was a taboo subject, inherited from Russia's traditional male-dominated society. In the Russian mentality, domestic violence has never been considered a crime. Funded by the Ford Foundation²², the survey involving 2,134 men and women drawn

Hooks, Bell. Feminism is for Everybody, South End Press: Cambridge, 2000,pp 61-66

Megan, Merrill. "NGOs: 36,000 Women Beaten", Moscow Times, May 20, 2003.

from all regions of Russia throws light on Russian attitude towards domestic violence. The survey found that 43 percent of all respondents considered a husband's beating of his wife to be a private matter, with one-third advising the victim to think about why she deserved the beating. More than 70 per cent said a woman's consent for sex is not necessary in a marriage.

Domestic violence is considered by Amnesty International to run rife in the Russian home. According to Russian government report to CEDAW (1999) 30 per cent of married women are regularly subjected to physical violence²³. Data compiled by Department of Internal Affairs in 1997 revealed that, 3,60,000 beatings are committed in the families every day.²⁴ Newly established domestic abuse and rape hotlines (or trust lines, as they are called) have registered a steady increase in callers who turn to the hotlines as the only place they can talk freely about the violence they have experienced. Government statistics (1993) indicate that husbands, lovers, or former partners killed 14,000 women in a single year; the total number of murders for that year was 29,000.25 The Soviet Union lost 15,000 troops in its 1979-89 war in Afghanistan. Thus, as Natalya Abubikirova, executive director of 'Stop Violence', an association of crisis centers for women says. the number of women dying every year at the hands of their husbands and partners in the Russian Federation is roughly equal to the number of all soldiers who died in the Soviet Union's 10-year war in Afghanistan.²⁶ Yet domestic violence is still considered a family affair in Russia, and the police usually dismiss it as a private matter.

The situation is exacerbated by the lack of statistics and indeed by the attitude of the law enforcing agencies, for they view such violence not as a crime but as 'a private matter between the spouses'. There are no statistics or studies available that illustrate the real scale of domestic violence. Public organizations provide data on all applications they receive, while state

www.irex.org

²⁴ ibid

Megan, Merrill. "NGOs: 36,000 Women Beaten", Moscow Times, May 20, 2003.

²⁶ ibid

bodies provide data on the number of criminal cases (rape, etc.), among which domestic violence is not mentioned since it is not contained within a special article. Counselors estimate that fewer than 5 percent of women report the crimes to law enforcement. It is estimated that only 5 to 10 percent of domestic violence incidents are reported to state officials.²⁷ Even fewer women manage to convince police to register their report. The Russian government does not collect specific statistics on domestic violence.

Despite these disturbing statistics, there is virtually no domestic violence intervention system that provides adequate and gender sensitive legal and social services for abused women in Russia. The majority of domestic violence cases without a sexual violence component are subject to Articles 115 and 116 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code. Article 115 of the RFCC punishes "a deliberate infliction of light harm to health that caused a short-term health disorder or a minor but persistent loss of the general ability to work". Article 116 covers lesser injuries defined as "beating or committing other violent actions causing physical pain but not resulting in the consequences stated in Article 115". Long-term domestic violence can be prosecuted under Article 113 of the code, which prohibits the "systematic infliction of blows or other acts bearing the nature of torture".

Russian Federation also has almost no shelters. The only two shelters for battered women in Russia are in St. Petersburg and Langepas, Siberia.²⁹There is no shelter in Moscow.³⁰The two existing centers, with a combined capacity to accommodate nine persons are supposed to cater to Russian population of 148.2 million. Moreover there is a systematic lack of responsiveness to battered women's claims for state protection on the part of

²⁷ www.irex.org

Human Rights Watch. 1997. Russia – Too Little, Too Late: State Response to Violence Against Women. Vol. 9, No. 13. Retrieved from the World Wide Web: http://www.hrw.org/reports97/russwmn/.

Vandenberg, Martina. "Invisible women shown in Russia's demographics", *The St. Petersburg Times*, October 6-12, 1997

³⁰ ibid

the police, prosecutors and the courts. Victims seldom bother going to the corrupt and mostly male police, knowing in advance that they will not get a sympathetic hearing. Domestic violence cases are rarely brought to the court as the police and the legal system consistently blame the victims for the abuse and often refuse to officially report domestic violence incidences.

In the pre-Glasnost era, domestic violence was explained as a vestige of the bourgeois past, which would one day be eradicated. This approach is no longer tenable and a number of alternative explanations for this phenomenon are discussed today. The various reason that lead to and perpetuate, domestic violence against women in Russia can be analyzed under following headings:

(a) Economic Dependency- Taking into account the practice of discrimination in the labour market, women with children quite often live in highly impoverished conditions for them it is nearly impossible to force a man to pay child support. As a result, economic dependence is becoming a serious obstacle to ending a relationship. Women find it difficult to speak out or press criminal charges because their lives are intricately linked to the abusers.

A new trend in Russian domestic violence, very different from the Soviet model, is emerging. Either in families where -- because of the past decade's economic upheavals the husbands can't find work and suffer a drop in self-esteem, or in rich families where a jobless wife is now considered a status symbol for the husband. As compared to the past women have become very dependent, because a lot of women now don't work. In Soviet times, that was not so. Everyone worked under the same conditions. Now a man often forces his wife to leave her job to take care of him and their children. And then, when she wants to leave him, she is unable to divorce because she owns nothing and has not the least hope of earning money.

Women constitute 80 per cent of the unemployed in Russia and the number of housewives is on the increase.³¹The state of affair is welcomed by so-called 'New Russians', men who have made money in private business. It is considered prestigious when a wife doesn't work. This complete dependency on their husbands incapacitates them to defend themselves against abuses. Majorities of victims of domestic violence are the full time housewives of 'New Russians'³², who, as they take up their first steps in business, vent their frustration and stress of their failures on their wives.

- (b) Housing Problem: Acute shortage of housing, which is connected to economic dependency, makes leaving a violent husband almost impossible. Because there is no other place for her to live, the spouse or ex-spouse remains trapped in a cycle of violence. There are a lot of former spouses who continue to live together because they have an apartment that they can't exchange for two separate ones. Often, husband and wife do not have the financial opportunity to live separately after divorce, thus, despite being divorced; they are unable to live separately. The peculiar situation of living together without a liking for one another becomes a breeding ground for abuse of various kinds. Many fugitive wives, by fleeing their family homes, lose their "propiska"- the hard -to -get residence permit and without new permits, it is impossible for them to make a fresh start. Moreover there is no law, which requires police to remove a violent man from the apartment he shares with his wife or ex-wife if this is where he is registered to live. The peculiar structure is no law, which requires police to remove a violent man from the apartment he
- (c) Lack of Trust in Government: Despite recognition of the problem, the state, and particularly its law enforcement agencies, has done precious little

Kay, Rebecca. "Images of an ideal women: perceptions of Russian womanhood through the media, education and women's own eyes", in Buckley, Mary(ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*, Cambridge University Press, p.78, 1997.

Attwood, Lynne. "She was asking for it: rape and domestic violence against women" in Buckley, Mary. (ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997,pp 99-115.

³³ ibid

Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Monitor, 7(5), p.23, March 1995

to denounce domestic violence as a crime or to investigate allegations of domestic violence. According to victims and activists working on their behalf, local law enforcement officials mock at reports of violence by domestic partners and refuse to intervene in what they identify as "family matters". In some instances, police themselves mistreat and harass women who report such crimes with a view to intimidate them and stop them from filing complaints.

It is practically impossible to get police officers to respond to domestic violence complaints or to critical situation. This is partly due to the non-specific nature of the Russian legal provisions and partly due to police unwillingness to deal with such cases. The police refuse to register complaints from women victims of domestic violence, citing the absence of witnesses and the legal invalidity of a doctor's medical evidence. According to accounts of women who turn to 'crisis centres', the police usually refuse to respond to information concerning domestic violence.

Nevertheless, measures undertaken occasionally consist of temporary detention (for less than a day) or several months' imprisonment in cases of further violations. Sometimes police officers suggest that women bring the husband to the station to be beaten there instead of initiating a criminal prosecution. Data shows that 40 per cent of victims of violence do not turn to law enforcement agencies because they do not believe those bodies can recognize and punish acts of violence. In addition, victims avoid these agencies because of their complete vulnerability and often material and other dependence on the perpetrator.

Zinaida Batrakova, Deputy Chair of the Moscow Union of Lawyers, believes that, women's hesitance about pressing charges against their violent partners is the start of a vicious spiral that makes police reluctant to weigh in on their behalf.³⁵A women being beaten by her husband would call for help but then facing jail or fine that would sit on the family budget and the fact

Bennett, Varona. "Violence against women in Russia grows worse", *LA Times*, December 6, 1997.

that the situation would be worse when he gets out of the jail, would beg the police not to put her man in jail. As a result, the police start to think of it as a joke, even when it is very serious.

Criminal sanctions are the only legal protection available to battered women. Despite requests from women's rights groups, neither the Russian federal government nor any municipalities provide a civil protection regime for victims of domestic violence, and none is provided by the draft family violence code. In addition, as described above, most women are unprotected by criminal sanctions because police frequently reject reports of such abuse. The police's failure to act has particularly harsh consequences for Russian women because, without an adequate civil option, they have no other means of seeking protection. They are thus left at the mercy of their batterers. Even if Russian law enforcement officials diligently applied criminal sanctions to domestic assault, a civil protection regime would still offer critical protection to domestic violence victims.

(d) Culture as A Barrier: Social moorings imprison victim women behind rigid walls of silence and shame. Threats of reprisal (from the abuser, his family, and the community) intimidate victims. Socialization may further compound the situation: Women may accept physical and emotional abuse as a husband's prerogative, thus limiting the range of behavior they consider being violent. Cultural standards often blame the victim, holding her accountable for provoking a violent response.

Cultural beliefs remain an underlying obstacle in dealing with domestic abuse and violence against women in Russia. In 16th-century Russian society, there was a concept known as "domostroi" which literally means "household," but it provided the guiding concepts for the role of women.³⁷ They were expected to attend to the children, do the cooking, cleaning, and look after the needs and desires of the husband. Women were

Human Rights Watch. 1997. Russia – Too Little, Too Late: State Response to Violence Against Women. Vol. 9, No. 13. Retrieved from the World Wide Web: http://www.htm.org/reports97/russwmn/.

Parker Marina Pisklakova. "Cultural Roots of Domestic Violence", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.isar.org/isar/archive/GT/GT8pisklakova.html

the property of men. They were not allowed to leave the house without the authorization of the man in the household. They were to be unquestionably obedient. There were guidelines for men on how to keep their wives obedient so that, woman understood their roles. Those guidelines were based on fear. Men were instructed "if your wife does not understand your words, or fails to follow them, you must punish her with beating." Instruction was, however, accompanied by certain caution like avoid beating on women's face or you will not be able to show her publicly or do not beat against her stomach if she is pregnant, you may harm a child. They were further counseled to use a whip, rather than a fist or cane to control a wife. The last caution was: "After you beat her, show her how much you love her. Interestingly, even after four hundred long years —the Russian saying "If he beats you that means he loves you" still holds.

A 1998 report on violence and women in Russia by Human Rights Watch³⁸ - based on interviews with the abusers as well as the abused -- showed that the prevailing mentality tends to see victims as "deserving" their fate This fact coupled with the influence of stereotypes like "a child must have a father" or "a woman must save her family at any cost" — force women to put up with domestic violence.

Recent years have seen significant progress in the awareness of domestic violence. The issue has become more visible in the media and has been addressed by an increasing number of NGOs and other organizations. However, despite these changes, violence against women remains to a large degree, hidden and surrounded by taboos, underpinned by a strong tradition of shame and guilt in the case of disclosure, especially in small villages and towns. It incorporates powerful stereotypes about women and men's traditional roles in family life, and expectations about the appropriate or acceptable response to "inappropriate" behavior by women.

Lambroschini, Sophie. "Russia: domestic violence persists", ISRE newsletter, vol. 16#2.

3.3.2 Sexual Violence Against Women

Sexual rights, the human right to bodily integrity, is an essential component of women's autonomy and empowerment. Sexual violence is pervasive throughout the world. Nearly one in four women experiences sexual violence by an intimate partner during her life, and as many as one – third of all girls are forced into their first sexual experience. Sexual violence against women is rooted in global culture of discrimination, which denies women equal rights with men. Social and cultural norm, which denies equal, rights to female render them more vulnerable to sexual abuse. Sexual violence entails damage and abuse of power.

Sexual violence may occur in families, relationships and outside home, or it may be condoned and perpetrated by a state, e.g. during an armed conflict. It manifests itself in sexual harassment, rape, sexual abuse of a child and incest, female genital mutilation, prostitution and trafficking in women. According to World Health Organization⁴⁰, sexual violence encompasses the following:

- Rape within marriage, in dating relationships, and by strangers
- Systematic rape during armed conflict
- Unwanted sexual advances or sexual harassment
- Forced marriage or cohabitation
- Forced abortion
- Denial of the right to use contraception or to use other measures to protect against sexually transmitted diseases
- Violent act against sexual dignity of women including genital mutilation
- Forced prostitution and trafficking of people for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Rape and, other sexual abuses are one of the most acute problems facing Russian women today. Speaking out against sexual violence has long

www.who.org

⁴⁰ ibid

been anathema to Russian women. Incest, sexual harassment and marital violence had been taboos for Soviet women. The new Criminal Code Russia adopted in 1996 recognizes four types of crimes as sexual violence.⁴¹ The following are the relevant articles:

Under Article 313 of the Criminal Code, rape is defined as "sexual intercourse through the use of force, or through the threat of its use toward the victim or to other persons, or through taking advantage of the helpless state of the victim." The previous law had specified that rape involved the use of *physical* force or the threat thereof. By dropping the adjective "physical" before the word "force," the 1996 law has broadened the definition of rape, including within its parameter sexual intercourse achieved through mental coercion or psychological manipulation. The penalty for rape is three to six years in prison, with two categories of various aggravating circumstances extending that time to four to ten years, or eight to fifteen years.

Article 132 defines the crime of "violent acts of a sexual nature." Its definition is nearly identical to that of rape, except that it focuses on "sodomy, lesbianism or any other acts of a sexual nature" rather than "sexual intercourse".

Article 132, which provides for the same penalties as Article 131, makes clear that other forms of forced sexual acts, including oral and anal rape, are equally grievous crimes.

Article 133, defines other form of sexual violence as "coercion in acts of a sexual nature," The article extends to coercion "through blackmail, threats of destroying, damaging or confiscating property or by making use of the material or other dependence of the victim [male or female], "covers cases of sexual harassment in the workplace.

Human Rights Watch. 1997. Russia – Too Little, Too Late: State Response to Violence Against Women. Vol. 9, No. 13. Retrieved from the World Wide Web: http://www.hrw.org/reports97/russwmn/

Article 134 considers "sexual intercourse or other acts of a sexual nature with persons who have not reached sixteen years of age," as form of sexual violence.

The Russian legislation doesn't stipulate the elimination of criminal liability in the instance of perpetrator's marriage to the victim. Marital rape is a punishable crime but the criminal legislation doesn't differentiate between rape and marital rape. The nature of sexual violence can be better understood by minutely describing the following forms of sexual violence prevalent in Russia:

- Rape
- Prostitution and Trafficking in women
- Sexual harassment

3.3.2.1 Rape

Rape is an extreme form of gender violence, when penile genital penetration is carried out without the consent of the victim. The legislation of the Russian Federation regarded rape as criminal offence punishable by long-term imprisonment. According to the data provided by the "Syostry" Center of Moscow in 1999⁴², close acquaintances and relatives commit 67 per cent of rapes; 47per cent of cases of domestic violence end with pressure to enter into a sexual relationship

The victim must report the rape to the police in order to initiate criminal proceedings. Once the report is received, the victim is issued a warrant to undergo special medical examination. The victim's application is required in order to initiate criminal proceedings in a rape case, unless the rape victim is a minor. In practice, however, victims have to deal with police unwillingness to register their applications and their prejudiced and degrading attitudes. After an application is registered, a police officer authorizes a judicial medical examination and the case is then referred to the prosecutor's office (unless the accused is under-age), where the investigation

⁴² ibid

is carried out. Then, on the basis of accumulated evidence, the case is either submitted to court or closed. According to the Russian Criminal Procedure Code⁴³, witness testimony and judicial medical examinations form the main evidence in rape cases. Frequently, the medical exam is the only evidence that confirms the victim's testimony about the sexual contact and its violent nature. Rape victims in face significant obstacles when trying to obtain that essential proof in Russia.

The complexities of the processes involved in seeking legal remedy can be understood clearly by looking into the each of the desired formalities expected of a victim of violence.⁴⁴

Processing of Complaints: The first obstacle that women face when reporting sexual violence to the police is the routine unwillingness of officers to register their complaints. The police often justify their rejection of complaints of sexual violence by suggesting that the complaints are fabricated, especially in cases where the victim knew her attacker. The police also mistreat and intimidate victims by subjecting them to an unnecessarily grueling process of repeated and sometimes pointless interviews. In addition, reporting procedures, at the police station and again in the courts, are complicated and degrading. In most cases, if a woman reports being raped, she is regarded with suspicion and rarely believed.

Forensic Examinations Victims of sexual assault in Russia encounter substantial obstacles in securing this critical forensic evidence is which is central to the successful prosecution of a sexual assault case. Often, the forensic evidence will be the only corroboration of the complainant's case, confirming not only the fact that sexual contact or intercourse took place, and with a particular individual, but also that such contact took place without the complainant's consent. Unfortunately, from their initial attempts to access forensic examinations to their experience once they do receive an examination, sexual assault victims are consistently thwarted by law

¹³ ibid

⁴⁴ ibid

enforcement officials and forensic doctors in their efforts to preserve meaningful and potentially powerful evidence.

Delayed Referrals: From the moment they first attempt to get a referral for a judicial medical examination to the time the examination is concluded, victims face opposition from law enforcement officers and court doctors in their efforts to obtain or preserve crucial evidence. Rather than promptly referring the complainants to forensic examinations Police officers often intentionally postpone and refuse to send victims for a medical examination, which makes it more difficult to punish a perpetrator since material evidence such as sperm, etc. are perishable. Because some forensic doctors at state-run evidence centers will examine a victim only after the police has questioned her and received an official referral, the failure of the police to provide timely referrals seriously impairs the chances that a victim will get justice.

Investigations: After the police accept the sexual assault victim's complaint and arrange for her forensic examination, police involvement in the cases usually ceases. Except in cases where the defendant is a minor, the prosecutor's office assumes responsibility for the case, and investigators from the prosecutor's office, rather than the police, take over the investigatory process. During this process, the investigators will, interview the victim, defendant, and any other witnesses; evaluate signs of violence; and analyze the scene of the crime. Based on the evidence collected, the prosecutors then decide whether to take the case to court or to close the case. In cases of sexual assault, this decision is made frequently after a preliminary investigation: the prosecution investigator concludes that no crime occurred, and the case is closed. Demonstrating a failure to take seriously crimes of sexual assault, prosecutors and prosecution investigators prove unwilling to conduct investigations, and when they do conduct them, reveal biases against and insensitivity towards victims of sexual violence

Besides these procedural, difficulties the victim of rape confront various other hurdles, in their fight for getting justice. Firstly since Russian legislation does not provide a protective program for witnesses and victims, they are at risk of being contacted by the rapist and the rapist's relatives and friends⁴⁵. Lack of any form of police or court protection, leaves women vulnerable to retaliation. A victim can be forced to withdraw her application and, significantly, according to data provided by a police officer in Murmansk, 70 per cent of women who submit applications concerning domestic violence, including rape, subsequently withdraw them.⁴⁶

Secondly rape in Russia is among the highly concealed crimes. The underreporting of sexual violence, for example, is an increasingly serious problem in Russia, and statistics based on official reports appear unreliable. According to official figures for 1995, rape and attempted rape accounted for 8.7 percent of all reported crimes against the person in Russia, a decrease from 14.1 percent in 1991.⁴⁷ The absolute number of registered rapes and attempted rapes in this period also decreased, from 14,073 in 1991 to 12, 515 in 1995. This decline continued through 1996. There were 10,888 registered rapes and attempted rapes in 1996, representing a 13 percent decline in the context of declining crime rates in nearly every category.⁴⁹

Research by members of the Russian Association of Crisis Center Workers suggests that government figures vastly underrepresented the actual number of rapes. Based upon phone calls received on their hotlines, crisis center workers in Moscow and St. Petersburg estimate that only about 5 to 10 percent of rape victims report to the police and many of those reports are not accepted. According to Syostri, only approximately 3 percent of rape victims have their cases presented to a court. Government statistics as currently maintained would not accurately reflect the full scope of sexual violence in Russia: the Russian government does not keep track of

⁴⁵ ibid

⁴⁶ ibid

⁴⁷ ibid

⁴⁹ ibid

⁵⁰ ibid

⁵¹ ibid

complainants whose attempted rape reports are rejected or whose reports do not reach the investigative stag.

Moreover there is no department that deals specifically with rape cases within the police or prosecutor's office, but each investigator has his/her own specialization and there are some that deal primarily with rape cases. There are no specific training courses for police or prosecutors investigating rape cases, although the issue is studied within the framework of criminal and criminal procedure law courses.

Another problem faced by women is that, the act of rape is surrounded by pejorative stereotypes: women ask for it, they provoke it by their dress or behavior, or they cry rape to take revenge on a man; normal men do not commit rape, and so on. This, bias against victims of sexual violence, also, pervades the Russian criminal justice system. According to Natalya Khodireva⁵², General Director of the St. Petersburg Psychological Crisis Center for Women, police, forensic doctors, prosecutors, and judges view victims of sexual violence skeptically and tend to believe that they brought the attack upon themselves. Law enforcement officials overwhelmingly fail to respond to sexual assault as a crime unless the victim is a virgin, the offender is a stranger, and the violation entails the infliction of visible injury. In interviews with Human Rights Watch, police repeatedly declared that women are to blame for sexual assault if they dress in an alluring fashion, drink alcohol, or stay out late at night.⁵³

1995 RACCW, through its Research Education and Advocacy Project, conducted a survey of Russian attitudes about violence against women in Nizhni Tagil, Polevskoy, Ekaterinburg, Sergeyev Posad, and St. Petersburg. More than half of the survey respondents, men slightly more than women, agreed with certain popular myths about rape. For example, 78 percent of men and 54 percent of women believed that rape happens to

⁵² ibid

⁵³ ibid

⁵⁴ ibid

women who speak to strangers. Many of the respondents suggested that they believed that women provoke rape. More than half the women and over two-thirds of the men believed that rapists target women who wear provocative clothing. Further, more than half of the men and women believed that a woman is largely to blame for her attack if she is raped after going to a man's house to listen to music

Thus from their initial lodging of the complaints until the final resolution of the cases, victims seeking redress for sexual violence regularly confront law enforcement institutions and individuals hostile to and suspicious of their motives and intentions. Women do not report for many reasons: the shame associated with rape; fear of retaliation from the rapist; and fear that her neighbors and colleagues may learn of her rape, moreover women have no faith that the criminal justice system would or could provide any measure of justice.

3.3.2.2 Sexual Harassment

Women throughout the world confront physical and sexual violence as well as sex discrimination in workplace. Public and private sector employees discriminate with impunity against women. Due to fear of losing their job and lack of faith in criminal justice system response to gender based mistreatment, women remain silent in the wake of abuse. The term's origins are generally traced to a course on women and work taught by Lin Farley at Cornell University. In 1979, Catherine MacKinnon, a legal scholar from the United States, made the first argument that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination prohibited by the constitution and civil rights laws of the United States.

Since then many international bodies, national legislatures and courts have prohibited sexual harassment but have not agreed on a universal definition of the term. There are a few common elements in definitions of sexual harassment worldwide.

Generally speaking, behavior-constituting sexual harassment in the workplace must⁵⁵

- Occur in the place of work or in a work related environment;
- Occur because of the person's sex and/or it is related to or about sex;
- Be unwelcome, unwanted, uninvited, not returned, and not mutual; and affect the terms or conditions of employment or the work environment itself

The United Nations General Recommendation 19 to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women reaffirms these elements by defining sexual harassment to include "such unwelcome sexually determined behavior as physical contact and advances, sexually colored remarks, showing pornography and sexual demands, whether by words or actions. Such conduct can be humiliating and may constitute a health and safety problem; it is discriminatory when the woman has reasonable ground to believe that her objection would disadvantage her in connection with her employment, including recruitment or promotion, or when it creates a hostile working environment."

According to New York Times, Russian employers openly advertise for women "without inhibitions" for a variety of jobs.⁵⁷ Although accurate statistics on sexual harassment in Russia do not exist, one clue to the frequency of the problem is that in the "seeking work" announcements of newspapers, women nearly always specify a preference for employment "without intimate relations".⁵⁸In job search section notices such as "except intimacy" or "intimacy is not offered" is visible.⁵⁹ "For hire" advertisements

www.stopgov.org

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). 1979. G.A. Res. 34/180, U.N. Doc. A/Res/34/180. Adopted December 18, 1979.

McIntosh, Lisa. "International Rights Regimes and Resistant Domestic Norms: Russia and Women's Rights" delivered at the 43rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association New Orleans, 24-27 March 2002

⁵⁸ ibid

Khotkina, Zoya. "Sexual Harassment in Russian Workplaces", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.hartford-hwp.com/archive/63/index-m.html.

in Russian papers sometimes read more like personal advertisements than want ads, advertisement that states, "Seeking attractive woman, with European features, under 35, and without hang-ups" are quite common. The latter phrase is even abbreviated as "b/k" (bez kompleksov) and signifies either sex work or that the woman in question should be willing to put up with advances by bosses, clients, etc.—an institutionalized form of sexual harassment.

Problem of sexual harassment in workplace proves to be social, invisible, and "transparent" problem. Though it is a common phenomenon, it is hardly discussed, and, often accepted as the natural course of relations between men and women. In fact, a low percentage of victims of sexual harassment apply to the courts, and high percentages of crimes are hidden. The reason for this is that victims of sexual harassment do not know their rights, they are afraid of publicity and undesirable consequences. They also don't believe in the possibility of receiving legal protection. In addition, due to society's widely held patriarchal stereotypes, a victim of sexual harassment quite often condemns herself for her employment surroundings and perceives that she provokes these surroundings. The woman doesn't see herself as victimized. For example, in the Russian Federation Criminal Code, Article 118 prohibits utilization of office position and material dependence for coercion of sexual interactions. However, in practice, under this article, until 1990, there were annually 20-25 legal cases, in the beginning of 1990, there is no more than 2-3 cases and in 1994 there was not one case. In 1996, only eight cases of sexual harassment came to the courts in all of Russia⁶⁰.

Sociologist, Alexander Krautsin⁶¹, of Russian Academy of Sciences, who conducted the first empirical investigation on this problem in St. Petersburg says that, about one –third of women have been victims of sexual harassment, ranging from verbal comments to actual sexual relations.

Khotkina, Zoya. "Sexual Harassment in Russian Workplaces", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.hartford-hwp.com/archive/63/index-m.html

Varoli, John. "Sexual Harassment, Russian Style", St. Petersburg Times, March 9,1999.

Moreover, the problem is, rarely recognized and admitted by woman. The vast majority, some 80 to 90 percent, prefers to pretend that nothing serious has happened, or to settle the problem themselves with aggressor, not asking from any help from family or relatives.

Growing unemployment hampers women. Those who still have work, are for the most part, in poorly paid sectors: only 25 percent of women in private sectors are female and they are generally confined to relatively low paid traditional female posts such as secretary, assistant and receptionists. ⁶² The increasing competition for work means that their bosses can more easily exploit women.

Perhaps the main obstacle on the road to fighting sexual harassment is the lack of any awareness that it is a problem. In fact, the word only recently entered the Russian language, often translated, seksualnove domogatelsva. The standard treatment of women as second-class citizens is a deep-seated cultural tradition. As the Russian folk saying goes, "A chicken is not a bird, and a woman is not a human being". With such attitudes prevalent, it's hardly surprising that the country's legal and law enforcement systems pay little heed to the problem of women. And with the country's dire economic straits, women are thankful for any job and willing to do whatever it takes not to lose it.

3.3.2.3 Prostitution and Trafficking

Forced prostitution and trafficking is internationally recognized as human rights violation, with the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women⁶³, specifically requiring states under Article 6 to "suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women". Thousand of women and girls around the world are lured, abducted or sold into forced prostitution and involuntary marriages.

Attwood, Lynne. "The post-Soviet woman in the move to the market: a return to domesticity and dependence?" In Marsh, Rosalind (ed) Women in Russia and the Ukraine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 255-266

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). 1979. G.A. Res. 34/180, U.N. Doc. A/Res/34/180. Adopted December 18, 1979.

They are bartered at prices that vary depending upon their age, beauty, and virginity, and exploited under condition s that amount to a modern form of slavery. Sex slavery like, arms smuggling and narcotics trafficking are a vast and lucrative global criminal enterprise.

Russia has one the worst trafficking problems in the world. Trafficking in women from the Soviet Union has exploded since 1989, with their percentage in the international sex market matching or overtaking previous sources of supply in Asia and Latin America. According to a report in The Economist, the brothels off Wenceslas Square, in central Prague, [where] sexual intercourse can be bought for USD 25 - about half the price charged at a German brothel... Slav women have supplanted Filipinos and Thais as the most common foreign offering in (Europe).

Criminal groups make an estimated \$7 billion annually by trafficking in women from Russian and other former Soviet Republics⁶⁶ Each year, thousands of Russian girls and women are recruited to go abroad in search of work and other opportunities only to be deceived and coerced into slavery and prostitution. Russia acts primarily as a country from which women are exported to other states and also, serves as a transit country for a large proportion of women trafficked from the newly independent states to some third country. The main destinations for Russian sex slaves are Germany, Italy, Greece, Belgium, China, United States, and the Persian Gulf States. In some Middle Eastern countries, Russian women's names have become slang for prostitutes. The situation has become so blatant that prostitutes in Turkey are now commonly referred to as "Natashas".⁶⁷

The problem has become mass phenomenon in Russia. In a 1999 survey sponsored by the United Nations Development Fund for women, 20 percent of the Russian respondents reported knowing someone who had

⁶⁴ Ling, Christina. "Rights Activists Rap Ex-Soviet States on Sex-Trade," *Reuters*, 6 November 1997.

The Economist. August, 2000,p.18

⁶⁶ Caldwell, Gillian. Global Survival Network, Reuters, 6 November 1997

Weir, Fred. "Russia battles its sex trade", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.csmonitor.com.

been pressed into sexual slavery.⁶⁸There are an estimated 70,000 to 100.000 women and children prostitute in Moscow alone⁶⁹. According to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, more than 500,000 women from the former Soviet Union have been trafficked abroad in the past five years.⁷⁰

Prostitution is illegal in Russia, although it is an administrative misdemeanor and not a criminal offence. 71 According to Article 164 of Russian Federation Criminal Code, either a warning or a fine of up to 100 rubles punishes prostitution. The same actions committed repeatedly within one year of the imposition of an administrative punishment carry a fine of up to 200 rubles (USD 7.20). According to Article 240 of the RFCC, involvement in prostitution-related activities by the use of violence or threat of violence, blackmail, destruction of or damage to property or by means of deceit shall be punished by a fine in the amount of 200-500 minimum wages or 2-months lost wages or other incomes of the convicted person, or imprisonment for up to years. If there are aggravating circumstances (i.e. committed by an organized group) the punishment shall be a fine in the amount of 700-1000 minimum wages or 7-12 months' wages or other incomes of the convicted person, or by imprisonment for up to 4 years. A fine of 700-1000 minimum wages or 7-12 months wages or other incomes of the convicted person or imprisonment for the term of up to 5 years shall punish the establishment and maintenance of prostitution dens.

The problem is not exclusive to Russia but several factors have converged to make Russia one of the world's leading exporters of involuntary prostitutes.

⁶⁸ ibid

⁶⁹ Hughes, M. Donna. "The Natasha trade-the transnational shadow of trafficking in women", Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2000

Stolyarova, Galina. "Russia: with no jobs at home, women fall victim to trafficking (part 2)", retrieved from World Wide Web: www.referl.org

International Helsinki Federation: <u>Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States-5 Nov 2000.</u>

Many women have been led into prostitution as a result of economic desperation. Trafficking in women is promoted by the economic crisis and the absence of the normal practice of foreign employment. Women have no chances to find a job to ensure dignified living standard. The economics transition sweeping Russia has left large number of workers unemployed, and women have been particularly hard hit. Various studies indicate that they are now between 60 and 70 percent of the registered unemployed and, in some regions, more than 90 percent.⁷² Women with notable education and skills are now been told that they no longer needed, moreover, besides being more likely to loose jobs, women today find it difficult to get new ones.

Recruiters, traffickers and pimps who engage in trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation have developed common methods of operation. One method of recruitment is advertisements in newspapers offering lucrative job opportunities in foreign countries for low skilled jobs, such as waitresses and nannies. Some advertisements promise good salaries to young, attractive women who will work as dancers and hostesses.

According to a recent survey conducted in the city of Saint Petersburg, as many as 70 percent of women between the ages of 18 to 30 would like to leave the country to find work abroad. Visa restrictions, however makes it impossible for young women to gain legal working status abroad, leaving them with only one option of buying visas from so called "employment" agencies who force them into prostitution and slavery, once they cross the border. Fred weir explains a typical pattern of deceit-women are lured by advertisements or recruiters who promise well paid jobs as maids nannies, waitresses, or dishwashers in a foreign countries. Tour agencies working with the criminal gangs provide visas and arrange

Russian Federation, Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: Fourth Periodic Reports Submitted by States Parties in Accordance with Articles 16 and 17 of the Covenant, (United Nations, 2001), 10, 14, 16. http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf.

Stolyarova, Galina. "Russia: with no jobs at home, women fall victim to trafficking (part 2)", retrieved from World Wide Web: www.referl.org

Weir, Fred. "Russia battles its sex trade", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.csmonitor.com.

transportation. When the women arrives in designated country, she is met by local criminals, who seize her passport, warn her that she is in the country "illegally" and will have to pay off the "debt" for her travel expenses. Large-scale cooperation between criminal gangs, shady businessmen, and corrupt official within Russia and working links with international crime, facilitate this deceit.

Once they discover that they have been deceived, women who have been trafficked have almost nowhere to turn. They have no knowledge of their rights in the foreign countries where they work. They owe large sums to recruiting agencies and are unable to protect themselves against employers. Above all, they fear deportation, which would leave them destitute and prey to traffickers who go after them for unpaid debts

Another method of recruitment is "marriage agencies," sometimes called mail-order-bride agencies or international introduction services. According to the International Organization for Migration, all mail-order-bride agencies with women from the republics of the former Soviet Union are under the control of organized crime networks. Many of these agencies operate on the Internet. Recruiters use "marriage agencies" as a way to contact women who are eager to travel or emigrate. This route into the sex industry can take several forms. The recruiters may be traffickers or work directly with traffickers. The woman may meet with a man who promises marriage at a later date. The man may use the woman himself for a short period of time, then coerce her into making pornography and later sell her to the sex industry, or he may directly deliver the woman to a brothel

Transnational crime networks also take advantage of patterns of migration to traffic women. An example is the increased migration and trafficking of women from the former Soviet Union to Israel. For example, after 1989, Soviet Jews started immigrating to Israel, resulting in 800,000

new immigrants to Israel. Russian and Ukrainian traffickers used this cover to bring 10,000 women into Israel for the sex industry.⁷⁵

Moreover Russia's lack of reliable law enforcement is one of the major reasons the flesh trade thrives on such a large scale. ⁷⁶Despite its scale, the Russian government does still not treat human trafficking seriously. There is a great reluctance to recognize and address this problem, there are not any known specific measures undertaken by law enforcement bodies in order to prevent the export of women for the purpose of sexual exploitation, moreover, there are no known special programs for victims of trafficking. No special assistance from state services is stipulated either. In Russia there is still no specific legislation that decrees illegal the trade in humans.

Levels of violence and discrimination against women trafficked into prostitution are extreme. The heap are discovered, often in police raids, they are arrested or jailed pending deportation. Almost no services exist that address the needs of victims of trafficking who are suffering from trauma, poor health, and physical injuries. Assistance to victims is hampered by the lack of recognition of the harm to trafficked and prostituted women. Studies on the health of women in the sex industry indicate that many women have serious health problems and are exposed to life-threatening risks. Women suffer from infectious diseases, sexually transmitted diseases, and injuries from violence, drug and alcohol addictions, depression and other mental health problems as a result of trauma.

From the above facts it is evident that the trafficking of women for purposes of sexual exploitation has become a highly profitable shadow market for organized crime networks. The trade stems from a mixture of poverty, naivete, a weak legal system and a prevalence of well-organized criminal groups. So long as Russia remains mired in its economic and social crises, prostitution will continue to flourish.

Hughes, M. Donna. "The Natasha trade-the transnational shadow of trafficking in women", Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2000

⁷⁶ ibid

⁷⁷ ibid

3.3.3 Abuses Against Women In Custody

The punishment of incarceration for women is often compounded by rape, sexual assault, and groping during body searches. For many women prisoners, being held in detention or in custody, deprive them of their liberty, physical security and dignity. Male jailers often sexually and physically abuse and mistreat women held in custody, especially those held without access to the courts, to counsel, or to their families. Correctional officials frequently coerce women into providing sex for "favors" such as extra food or personal hygiene products, or to avoid punishment. Victims are often reluctant to report such abuses as they anticipate that their accusations will be disregarded, and for fear of retaliation from the perpetrators.

According to the Human Rights Watch⁷⁸, these abuses- forced vaginal, anal, oral sex; inappropriate sexual touching and fondling; beatings; excessive strip searches; and the use of vulgar sexualized language by guards towards women prisoners- are facilitated by the power of male guards in the daily lives of the female prisoners and by the official tolerance of the abusive guard behaviour. In addition, prison guards and staffs hold over female prisoners the threat of further abuse or retaliation should women report misconduct or seek redress.

Russian prison system heaving under the strain of nearly a million convicts is the second largest prison population in the world. The number of women convicted has continued to increase, but their share in the total number of convicted persons has remained rather stable: 121.6 thousand (11.7 per cent) in 1995, 124 thousand (11.6 per cent) in 1998 and 144.1 thousand (11.8 per cent) in 1999. Conditions inside these jails can be atrocious for women. Amnesty International has documented women prisoners given only a square meter of living space per person, suffering

⁷⁸ www.hrw.org

Kravchuk, N and Lukashevsky, S. "Women's rights in Russia: A brief overview"

⁸⁰ ibid

Russian women locked in cycle of violence (Jan 25, 2002), Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.amnestyusa.org

from appalling nutrition, and denied basic supplies, such as sanitary products. Tuberculosis, the world's biggest killer, is rife in the cramped, poorly ventilated cells.

In soviet times local authorities were obliged to guarantee work for everyone released from prison, and provide accommodation to the worst cases. Now that infrastructure no longer exists. Ludmile Aipern⁸², Deputy Director of the pressure group, Moscow Center of Prison Reform, says: "The recidivism rate is so high because there are no programmers to help women outside of prison. Some are not in society long enough to look for a job before they return to prison".

Report by the Justice ministry supported the Penal Reform International says that 50,000 of Russia's 920,000 prisoners are women and many suffer from the fact that Russian law prescribes minimum sentences of three years for even minor crimes. 83 Russian women prisoners are left psychologically damaged by overlong jail sentences and separation from their children. Only 10 female prison colonies out of 30 have accommodation for children, but actually children live separately, like in orphanages, and they are practically raised without their mothers.⁸⁴Moreover, even though the law states that convicted criminal should serve their sentences in the area where they are registered or where the crime has been committed, the lack of facilities for women means, that they are usually sent far away from home.

Corrective institutions for women also house children. Like other Russian prisons, these institutions are marked by overcrowding and poor conditions. Pregnant women and mothers, while imprisoned are entitled to better conditions and food than other prisoners. In view of the principal insufficiency of funds allocated to keep the inmates, it is obvious that even, "increased feed rations" cannot fulfill the minimal needs of pregnant women

International Helsinki Federation: Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States-5 Nov 2000

⁸³ ibid

⁸⁴ ibid

and nursing mothers. Moreover, few women inmates are believed to be aware of these rights and therefore do not always benefit from these entitlements. The condition of pregnant women depends on the attitude of the administration. There are reports about; pregnant women kept in the same conditions as the ordinary inmates, about refusal to transfer women to a maternity home.

Condition of Russian women in the country's numerous jails is appalling, as conditions in pre-trial detention facilities and prison colonies are unimaginable and reminiscent of the Stalin era: overcrowded, unhygienic and inhuman. Due to overcrowding condition, the living space per capita norms, including those reserved for women are often nit met. For instance, the women SIZOs (investigation isolation wards) are overcrowded 1.5 times.85 Research conducted by the Public Center for Assistance to the Reform of Criminal Justice contains the following information⁸⁶: "Women report verbal insults, rudeness, the use of batons without sufficient reasons, intimidation, and shaving all their hair off. One of the most disgusting forms of inhumane treatment, is the full personal body search, which at the administration's will and on unspecified grounds may include a gynecological examination frequently carried out by non-specialists and without due observance of the rules of hygiene. That is especially horrifying when one takes into account the fact that half of the SIZO inmates are syphilis-infected and that there are HIV-infected inmates there as well.

According to the information from the Public Centre of Criminal Justice, there are three women –only investigation isolation wards (SIZOs) in the city of-Ekaterinburg, Moscow and Saint Petersburg⁸⁷. All other SIZOs are mixed. Rape can occur in police custody and in penitentiary facilities. One third of women interviewed in the SIZO-6 of Moscow and colony –ITU

⁸⁵ ibid

Kravchuk, N and Lukashevsky, S. "Women's rights in Russia: A brief overview", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www. google .com

International Helsinki Federation: <u>Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States-5 Nov 2000.</u>

ODI/1 of the city of Vladimir positively replied to the question of sexual harassment and violence at militia stations and temporary custody wards. According to one of the women interviewed, she was fastened with handcuffs with central heating appliance and kept on the floor through the night for her refusal to engage in sexual relations.

3.3.4 Violence in Conflict Situation

Armed conflicts remain a characteristic feature of the international system in our time. Wars have always been seen perceived as men's domain, a masculine endeavor for which women may serve as victim, spectator or prize. However, anyone who looks at war through women's eyes and lives can see the ravages war wreaks on them. War has profound effects on women. Women suffer from war in many ways, including dying; experiencing sexual abuse and torture, and losing loved ones, homes and communities. Women as civilians are more likely to be killed in war than soldiers. Today 's conflicts happen where people live and they take a brutal toll on women and children. Around 90 percent of war casualties now are civilians.

The issue of gender in the context of the law of armed conflict is not one that has attracted attention from feminists. It is, however, an area that raises acutely the invisibility and powerlessness of women when faced with the most visibly destructive expression of the power of the state: the use of force. Women and children in war zones around the world need protection from violence, rape, exploitation and forced military servitude. The consequences of victims of sexual violence in war are grave and may affect women for the rest of their lives. These include serious and chronic medical problems, psychological damage, forced pregnancy, infertility, stigmatization and/or rejection by the family members or the community.

Women are also most likely to be uprooted by war. More than fourfifths of the war refugees are women and girls, whom have experienced additional and sexualized violence during their flight. By the end of 1992 more than 46 million people had lost their homes; about 36 million of these were women and girls. Even those women and girls stationed in camps and refugee settlements as well as in new habitation, frequently suffer sexual abuse, abduction and forced prostitution. History has demonstrated the link between war and control over women 's sexuality and reproduction, through rape sexual harassments and militarized prostitution. Rape and sexual assault of women are an integral part of conflicts, whether internal or international. In every conflict investigated by Amnesty International in 1999 and 2000, the torture of women was reported; most often in he forms of sexual violence.

Russia is now engaged in full-scale war with Chechnya. Two periods of hostilities in 1994 and 1999 and ongoing-armed confrontation between federal forces and Chechen fighters since then have taken a heavy toll on civilian population. Around 10,0000 Russians have been killed in this conflict. Some 60 percent of the population in central and southern parts have difficulty meeting their daily food needs and thousand are displaced. Access to healthcare, work and school is problematic. Civilians run the constant risk of being caught up in operations of federal security forces or attacks by Chechen fighters.

The ongoing conflict in Chechnya is another context in which violence against women is pervasive. Women in Chechnya are subjected to violence particularly during "cleansing up" operations and at checkpoints. For example according to Amnesty International reports 2000, a 14-year-old girl died in detention in Chernokozovo as Russian guards had repeatedly raped her. ⁹⁰ She had reportedly been detained at a checkpoint while traveling on a bus and was among 60 women held together in cell number 25 in Chernokozovo, who were subjected to beatings by the guard. Women human

Glasser, Susan.B. "War in Chechnya has hidden toll on Russian as suffering persists", Washington Post, June 21.2003

⁸⁹ ibid

Amnesty International Report 2000, Retrieved from World Wide Web:www.amanestyusa.org

rights defenders have also been killed disappeared, tortured, and threatened as a result of their work in Chechnya.

Russian security forces committed serious human rights violations and breached international humanitarian law in the continuing conflict in Chechen Republic, with almost total impunity. Human rights violations by government forces took place in the context of the conflict in the Chechnya Republic, including indiscriminate killings of civilians, detention without trial, ill treatment and extra judicial executions, "disappearances" and torture, including rape. There are numerous reports of torture and ill treatment of civilians in so called "filtration points", detention camps set up by Russian army. People apprehended by the security forces were sent to these secrets "filtration camps", where they held without access to their relatives, lawyers or the outside world. Torture in these camps was routine and systematic. There are numerous reports of detainees being raped, beaten with hammer and clubs, given electric shocks or tear-gassed. Witnesses questioned by the agency testified that Russian soldiers while in detention raped pregnant Chechen women.⁹¹ After the Moscow hostage taking incident, the attitude of federal forces towards local population hardened still further. They have set up more checkpoints and the number of detentions reportedly increased. Raids by Russian forces, the so-called zachistki continues to be carried out with great brutality.

In the Report to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, January 2002⁹², Human Rights Watch has stated that investigations into abuses committed in Chechnya since the recurrence of major military clashes in the region in September 1999, has documented credible accounts of violence against women in the region, including sexual violence. Human Rights Watch researchers found that rapes occurred on the outskirts of villages, at checkpoints, and in detention centers. Fear of rape by Russian forces was pervasive, causing some

⁹¹ ibid

⁹² www.hrw.org

families, particularly those with young women and girls, to flee and motivating desperate attempts to hide female family members. Women reported that male guards forced them to strip inside the detention facility. Sexual violence in the form of forced nudity served to threaten and humiliate detainees.

Moreover, Russia has resisted a meaningful accountability process. Russian law enforcement agencies have failed to launch serious investigations into most cases of abuse, and have failed to prosecute the perpetrators. The government's failure to investigate abuses against civilians vigorously has fostered an atmosphere of impunity among Russian troops in Chechnya. The Russian government has failed to conduct necessary investigation and hold anyone accountable in vast majority of cases despite strong evidence Russian forces have committed rape and other sexual violence against women in Chechnya: Russian soldiers know that they can treat Chechen civilians however they like, and will not face any consequences.

Moreover Human rights abuses by Chechen armed opposition groups are also reported. Human rights watch uncovered evidence of serious abuses by the Chechen fighters in the conflict. ⁹³Chechen fighters, particularly those who considered themselves Islamic fighters, have shown little regard for the safety of the civilian population, often placing their military positions in densely populated areas and refusing to leave civilian areas even when asked to do so by the local population. Village elders who tried to stop Chechen fighters from entering their villages have been shot, or severely beaten, on several occasions. In short, Chechen fighters have added to the civilian casualty count in Chechnya by not taking the necessary precautions to protect civilian lives.

Such war experiences are inevitably psychologically traumatic for women who find themselves in the conflict zone. Unfortunately however,

Amnesty International, The Russian Federation: Denial of Justice (London: Amnesty International Publications, 2002), 10, http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/engeur460272002.

special (both state and public) programs and projects for the social and psychological rehabilitation of women victims of conflict are completely non-existent, although psychologists operate on a private basis in some places. There are no special groups and organizations but NGOs that provide general assistance to refugees (such as "Civil Assistance") have recently begun engaging professional psychologists in their work.

3.3.5 The Crises Centres

Until, recently, no crises center, shelters, or the hot lines existed in Russia to give women a helping hand and sympathy in times of despair, thus they were deprived of psychological support in the times of sexual abuse and domestic violence. However, recent successes in the issue of violence against women, has been, achieved through a highly successful Russian NGO movement to battle domestic violence. Although there are only a few shelters for battered women in Russia, a network of crisis centers that offer services such as telephone hotlines, counseling, and legal and medical assistance has grown rapidly over the past several years.

Crisis centers for women have been actively working in the Russian Federation since 1993. The Association of Crisis Centers of the Russian Federation was officially registered in 1999 and more than 35 crisis centers in the Russian Federation and the CIS countries have become members of the Association so far. Confidential phone lines and psychological and legal advice services are provided at the crisis centers in other regions. For example, in 1995 the first battered women's crisis center (Center ANNA) start its hotline and the first rape crisis center (Syostri) begin its work. A significant number proportion of the burden of supporting the victims of sexual and domestic violence is borne by public and charity organizations, which are funded only via donations, often from foreign funds and organization; for example, with the help of Australian charity organization

International Helsinki Federation. <u>Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States-5 Nov 2000.</u>

"CARITAS" a crisis center for battered women is working in Moscow since 1993.

The "Syostry" ("Sisters") Center, which deals with victims of sexual violence (including domestic), provides:

- A confidential phone line
- Individual psychological advice
- Legal advice
- Informational support (where medical assistance can be rendered anonymously and free of charge);
- Lawyers specializing in social rights;
- The centre employees' testimony (as witnesses, experts or public defence counsel)
- Support groups

According to Valerie Sperling⁹⁵, in nearly every city she visited members of women's NGOs expressed concern about domestic violence and many, in both traditional *zhensovet*-type and feminist organizations, were trying to locate the resources to develop crisis centers in their own communities. The Russian Association of Crisis Centers for Women, formed in 1994, is one of the most tightly knit and effective NGO associations in Russia. It is consistently growing over time as it provides assistance to more and more women's organizations in various regions that are establishing new crisis centers. Despite the vigor of the emerging feminist movement, there are still only four to six shelters for battered women.

The work done by these crises center are in high demand: crisis centers in Moscow and St. Petersburg each receive over 70 calls per month (Human Rights Watch 1997), and a crisis center in Izhevsk that established a hotline in 2000 received 600 calls in the first two months of operation. Studies of public attitudes towards domestic violence suggest that there is

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge Univ. Press: Cambridge, 1999.

hope for NGOs to transfer understandings of domestic violence from that of a private matter provoked by women to one of public concern. While Russians frequently perceive domestic abuse as provoked by women, most nonetheless perceive it as a wrongful, criminal act. For example, Andrei Sinelnikov of the organization "ANNA" (Association No to Violence) reports from a survey that "80.5 percent of Russian women and 63.6 percent of men identify violence in the family as a crime," but that "at the same time, around half of those surveyed believe in the myth that it is women who provoke such violence against themselves" (Sinelnikov 1998). Although the widespread view that women provoke domestic violence clearly impedes immediate success in building public concern about the problem, the fact that the overwhelming majority of Russians consider domestic violence a crime, provide hope for the eventual success of women's NGOs in combating the problem at both political and societal levels

Thus, though the issue of domestic violence issue continues to be plagued with silence and gender stereotypes, as in the post-Soviet period, women's NGOs have begun to work aggressively and successfully in providing assistance to victims of violence and changing public and official views on the issue. Due to their effort the women of Russia are beginning to understand that violence takes many forms. Until recently there has been no research in Russia on such themes as "sexual power" or degradation through sexual hints to "put the women in her place." Now these topics are beginning to emerge on the agenda of public debate.

3.3.6 Conclusion

Violence against women is a human rights violation that cannot be justified by any political, social, religious, or cultural claims. Women are beaten, battered, and killed throughout societies worldwide because of their subordinate status as women. Violence not only threatens women lives, it

Issraelyan, Yevgenia. "Russian Women: challenges of the modern world", in Wejnert, Barbara, Spencer, Metta and Drakulic, Slobodan (eds). Women in post-communism, JAI Press Inc. Greenwich, pp.157-167

severely limits women's health choices, decision-making in the home and in the society, participation in politics, education, and overall economic and social well being.

The vulnerability of women to violence is socially constructed across the public and private sphere and patriarch ally performed, directly and indirectly, by agents and process of the state and private individuals. Whenever women are subjected to violence, unequal power relations between men and women are both manifested and enforced. Violence against women is compounded by the discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, social status, class and age. Such multiple discrimination further restricts women's choices, increase their vulnerability to violence and make it even harder for them to achieve remedy.

The wrenching changes in every Russian life over he past decade have only made a traditional problem of violence worse. In soviet days at least the were authorities that battered woman could complain to-their employer, their local party organization or the trade union representatives. They could ask their bosses to influence their husbands to behave better. But with perestroika those avenues were closed off. Men suddenly threatened with unemployment, instability, high prices, and other stressful conditions, were far more likely than before to take out their resentment on women at home.

Until recently, violence against women in Russia was still considered a taboo subject. People never heard the term's "domestic violence", "trafficking", or "rape", in conversations or the mass media, and the government confidently claimed that women were emancipated and on an equal level with men. But women's right to life and freedom is threatened in Russia, on a daily basis, in the home and their right to physical, mental and sexual integrity denied. The challenges that Russian women face daily are familiar to women around the world.

There is still little public awareness of it, and inadequate media attention is devoted to women's safety. Stereotypes about gender violence

severely limits women's health choices, decision-making in the home and in the society, participation in politics, education, and overall economic and social well being.

The vulnerability of women to violence is socially constructed across the public and private sphere and patriarch ally performed, directly and indirectly, by agents and process of the state and private individuals. Whenever women are subjected to violence, unequal power relations between men and women are both manifested and enforced. Violence against women is compounded by the discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, social status, class and age. Such multiple discrimination further restricts women's choices, increase their vulnerability to violence and make it even harder for them to achieve remedy.

The wrenching changes in every Russian life over he past decade have only made a traditional problem of violence worse. In soviet days at least the were authorities that battered woman could complain to-their employer, their local party organization or the trade union representatives. They could ask their bosses to influence their husbands to behave better. But with perestroika those avenues were closed off. Men suddenly threatened with unemployment, instability, high prices, and other stressful conditions, were far more likely than before to take out their resentment on women at home.

Until recently, violence against women in Russia was still considered a taboo subject. People never heard the term's "domestic violence", "trafficking", or "rape", in conversations or the mass media, and the government confidently claimed that women were emancipated and on an equal level with men. But women's right to life and freedom is threatened in Russia, on a daily basis, in the home and their right to physical, mental and sexual integrity denied. The challenges that Russian women face daily are familiar to women around the world.

There is still little public awareness of it, and inadequate media attention is devoted to women's safety. Stereotypes about gender violence are widespread; people often blame victims of violence of "provoking" rape, and domestic violence and find excuses for perpetrators by saying that an abuser was drunk or in crises and couldn't control his behaviour. Government official don't consider domestic violence a problem, female victims are in turn discouraged from seeking legal help.

Violence against women in Russia continues to be an enormous problem that Russian law enforcement appears to be uninterested in addressing. Russian law enforcement places significant obstacles and disincentives in the path of women seeking to report, and the Russian government, while having made several welcome statements about fulfilling its obligation to provide women equal protection of its laws through combating violence against women, has yet to make substantive changes in how law enforcement deals with such abuse. Most important, the government has failed to demonstrate that it will prosecute sexual violence diligently or that domestic violence is a criminal act that will be punished accordingly. The current process of filing and pursuing claims of domestic and sexual violence includes so many obstacles and disincentives for women that it effectively denies them their right to equal protection. The government has issued declarations against such violence and has begun to communicate with non-governmental organizations, especially the crisis centers that work on this issue

Gender equality will never be realized as long as women live in fear of violence. For Russia, the transition to a market economy has exposed previously hidden gender-based violence, including domestic violence and rape, and fostered other kinds of gender violence, such as trafficking in women and forced prostitution. The alarming declines in the economic well being of the country's women contribute, to the steady rise of violence against women in both the public and private spheres. The government needs to take active steps to eliminate violence against women, including raising public awareness of gender violence as a human rights issue, making women aware of their legal rights, sensitizing judicial and law enforcement

personnel to gender violence, and providing shelter and services for survivors. Government, however, have done little beyond acknowledging violence against women as an area of concern. Women are usually unaware of their rights under existing laws, which for the most part offer inadequate protection. Judicial and law enforcement officials, as well as medical and psychological professionals, operate within outdated frameworks that regard women as the cause of violence perpetrated against them. In addition, governments fail to adequately document gender-based violence and the response of the law enforcement system to its victims

The Russian government must establish a strategic and comprehensive program of action, to tackle violence against women. Much more needs to be done by federal government. Government doesn't collects specific statistic on violence against women. The government should take action to collect statistical data on the issue of domestic violence and gender based violence, and support information and public awareness campaigns in the mass media and support women's crisis centers.

Policy makers development practitioners and others concerned with the consequence of development for women can take action at several levels in addressing problem of violence against women. In her seminal work State Responses to Domestic Violence, Dr. Margaret Schuler has developed a framework to address domestic violence. Her work includes a focus on victims, the public, institutions, laws and policies, and enforcement agents. Schuler highlights the need to address the social and psychological situation of abused women, the cultural values that tolerate gender- based violence, and the legal system's position and response. She emphasizes the need for carefully constructed research to understand the nature and scope of the violence as the basis for crafting effective interventions. To respond to the needs of victims, protection and support systems must be made available. Women must be enabled to understand the extent and limits of the law, to create new options for their own lives and to organize for political action. Popular beliefs about causes and attitudes toward gender-based violence

must be identified, and information regarding the prevalence and form of this violence must be widely disseminated. Representatives of institutions that could assist victims (religious, social) need to be trained in appropriate responses. They must also be taught how to collaborate with state agencies to provide adequate services. Medical, legal, and other personnel who could respond to victims' needs and explain rights must be trained, and adequate services must be made available to effectively respond to the crisis. Lawsand their interpretation and enforcement- must be accessible and accountable to women at both the national and local levels. If the existing legal framework is inadequate to fully address women's needs, political advocacy should be mobilized to change particular elements within the laws that continue to be unresponsive to issues of gender-based violence.

Although the Russian government is now recognizing, violence against women as a serious problem in Russia a lot needs to be done. Following are the recommendation made by Human Rights Watch⁹⁷ to Russia government and ministry of internal affairs to tackle the problem of violence against women in Russia.

To the Russian Government

- Ratify the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as required under its membership in the Council of Europe and take immediate steps to integrate its protections into Russian law.
- Denounce publicly domestic and sexual violence as crimes and make widely available information about how victims of such crimes can seek redressed identify services
- Provide funds for non-governmental and governmental shelters for victims of domestic violence and their dependent children and provide appropriate training for those who staff them. These funds should not

Human Rights Watch. 1997. Russia – Too Little, Too Late: State Response to Violence Against Women. Vol. 9, No. 13. Retrieved from the World Wide Web: http://www.hrw.org/reports97/russwmm/.

- carry restrictions on the basis of victim's marital status, family status as dependent or independent, nationality, language, or sex.
- Enforce housing code provisions to evict violent family members from public housing and provide assistance to battered women in dividing their apartments or in finding alternative housing.
- Work with federal and local legislators to repeal all legislative, judicial
 and administrative acts that stipulate *propiska* (official residence permit)
 requirements so that women and batterers are not restricted in their
 ability to locate new housing.
- Allow attorneys and advocates to accompany victims of sexual and domestic violence through the investigatory process, including during psychological interviews of victims.
- Develop appropriate standardized specific protocols for the collection and preservation of medical evidence for cases of sexual and domestic violence against women. Such protocols should be made available to the public, to health care providers, and to groups working on women's rights or women's health.
- Ensure that all government medical facilities are adequately supplied to conduct forensic examinations for physical and sexual violence cases.

Interior Ministry

- Require a training program on domestic violence and sexual assault for all existing and incoming police officers. The training program should present effective procedures for investigating sexual and domestic violence.
- Gather and maintain accurate and comprehensive statistics detailing the nature and degree of sexual violence.
- Gather and maintain accurate and comprehensive statistics detailing the nature and degree of violence in the home, including altering current statistical categories to include domestic violence.

- Designate one police officer in each local station to coordinate all complaints of sexual and domestic violence.
- Discipline police officers who refuse complaints of sexual or domestic violence without cause, close cases without cause, or accept bribes to close investigations.
- Take affirmative measures to protect complainants and witnesses from harassment by defendants and their families.
- Provide female victims of violence with information about the names and methods for contacting groups that assist victims.
- Violence against women is exacerbated by social pressures, notably the shame of denouncing certain acts that have been perpetrated against women; women's lack of access to legal information, aid or protection; the lack of laws that effectively prohibit violence against women; failure to reform existing laws; inadequate efforts on the part of public authorities to promote awareness of and enforce existing laws; and the absence of educational and other means to address the causes and consequences of violence. Images in the media of violence against women, in particular those that depict rape or sexual slavery as well as the use of women and girls as sex objects, including pornography, are factors contributing to the continued prevalence of such violence, adversely influencing the community at large, in particular children and young people

Developing a holistic and multidisciplinary approach to the challenging task of promoting families, communities and States that are free of violence against women is necessary and achievable. Equality, partnership between women and men and respect for human dignity must permeate all stages of the socialization process. Educational systems should promote self-respect, mutual respect, and cooperation between women and men.

CHAPTER - IV

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA

4.1 Introduction

The harmonious co-existence between men and women in the political, economic and social spheres is one of the fundamental conditions for sustainable development, a guarantee for progress and prosperity. Understanding the importance of gender equity in modern society has become a major achievement of the civilization during the 20th century. It is not accidental that the strive for women's equal rights, the fight against discrimination and the overall rise of women's status has won the most ardent support of the global community, the United Nations, as well as the majority of world governments.

Social movements are broader political associations focussed on specific issues. It is an organized attempt on the part of a section of society to bring about partial or total change in society through collective mobilization based on an ideology or even issues. There have been several atempts to classify social movments using one or other criteria. Thus some movement are oriented towards bringing about reform in some area of life or the other involving new relationships, activities, norms and values. Other movements work towards bringing about revolutionary changes in all spheres of life and in basic values.

The locus of the movement provides another criterion for their classification. On this account, movement may be classified into linguistic, religious, caste ,peasant , worker, tribal, ethnic and student movments. Movement may also be classified on the basis of their scale and spatial spread. Another criterion of classification is the dominant issue of interest such as temperance, women's liberation.

The women's movement -also variously called the Femininst movement, Women's Liberation Movement or Women's Rights Movement-

is a transformational social movement that focus on the changing the most institutional and social attitudes, beliefs, activities, practices, and identities that form the basis of social life arranged according to an assumed gender hierarachy. At the root of the struggle to achieve equal rights, status, and opportunities for both the sexes was and still is, the conviction that women cannot begin to realize their own potential until all the impediments to their autonomy-legal, cultural, and economic- have been removed. Women's movement are associated with with a broad range of struggles for national liberation, human rights and the democratization of authoritarian regimes. They address a range of issues. These cluster around broad themes as: women's legal and political rights, violence against women, reproductive choice and abortion, sexual freedom, employment opportunities and discrimination and women's political participation and representation. Today nearly all the countries of the world have women's movements- albeit of differeing sizes and degrees of acceptance in their societies-fighting for diverse spectrum of rights and responsibilities.

Prior to 1918, a vibrant feminist movement flourished in Russia. With the onset of Communism, however, this movement waned. During the Soviet era, social groups and movements that did not conform to official Communist ideology were not allowed to exist. Since 1990, feminism and women's rights organizations have reemerged with a vengeance. Today there are over 650 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working on women's human rights issues, primarily violence against women. In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the number of women in the government and the work force has declined dramatically during the past decade. The message behind the decline is often an old one: a woman's place is in the home taking care of children. In response, however, many women are sending out the message that their

Edmondson, Linda. "Equality and differences in women's history: where does Russia fit in", in Marsh, Rosalind (Ed). Women in Russia and Ukraine, Cambridge University Press, pp 95-117, 1996.

Basu, Amrita. "Introduction", in Amrita Basu. (Ed.) The Challenge of Local Feminism: Women's Movement in Global Perspective, Boulder: Westview, 1995, pp. 1-13

place is wherever they want it to be. They are organizing to secure political, social, and economic equality in the region's emerging democracies. They are using international human rights principles and laws to advance their rights and opportunities, and they are forcing more and more countries to recognize that women's human rights must be part of the discourse of democracy.

This chapter traces the historical development of Russian ideas on women's rights, equality, discrimination and feminism. It traces the development of women rights movement till today. Besides analyzing the various aspects of women rights movement, it also deals with the concepts of civil society and feminism

4.2 Civil Society

Civil society refers to the set of institutions, organizations and behaviour situated between the state, the business world, and the family. Specifically, this includes voluntary and non-profit organizations of many different kinds, philanthropic institutions, social and political movements, other forms of social participation and engagement and the values and cultural patterns associated with them. Some define civil society to include only non-profit organizations, others define it to include only self-organizing communities of common interest, others apply the descriptor to all forms of non governmental cooperation including big business, while yet others define it to exclude all forms of institutionalized human activity.

Civil society is a modern concept, but it can be traced back to Aristotle. For early modern thinkers, there was no distinction between civil society and the state³. Civil society was a type of state characterized by social contract. It was a society governed by laws based on the principle of equality before the law. It was not until the nineteenth century that civil society became understood, as something distinct from the state. It was Hegel who defined civil society as the intermediate realm between the

Kaldor, Mary. "The idea of global civil society", International Affairs 79,3(2003), pg 583-593.

family and the state, where the individual becomes a public person. For Hegel, civil society was, 'the achievement of the modern world-the territory of mediation where there is free play for every idiosyncrasy, every talent, every accident of birth and fortune and were waves of passion gust forth, regulated only by reason glinting through them.' thus Hegel's definition of civil society included the economy and was to be taken up by Marx and Engels, who saw civil society as the 'theatre of history'.⁴

In the twentieth century, civil society came to be understood as the realm not just between the state and the family but occupying the space outside the market, state and family-in other words, the realm of culture, ideology and political debate. The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci is the thinker most associated with this definition. Despite the changing content of the term, all these definition had a common core meaning; they were about a rule-governed society based on social contract among individuals. Moreover all these definitions conceived civil society as territorially tied. It was inextricably linked up with territorial state.

The revival of the idea of civil society in 1970s and 1980s broke that link with the state. The idea was rediscovered simultaneously in Latin America and Eastern Europe. The new meaning of civil society represented both a withdrawal from the state and a move towards global rules and institutions. Latin Americans and East Europeans both were apposing militarized regimes and had realized that the overthrow of their regimes 'from above' was not feasible; rather it was necessary to change society. Adam Michnik⁶, in his classic article 'the new evolutionism', published in 1978, argued that attempts to bring 'change from above' as in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 has failed. And the only possible strategy was change from below, changing the relationship between state and society. By civil society he meant autonomy and self-organization. Civil society also

Ehrenberg, John, Civil Society: the critical history of an idea, New York University Press, 1999.pg. 209

⁵ Kaldor, Mary. "The idea of global civil society", International Affairs 79,3(2003), pg 583-593.

⁶ ibid.

acquired a global meaning. Keck and Sikkink⁷, in their book on transnational activism, talk about the 'boomerang effect', whereby instead of directly addressing government, appeals to the international community bounce back, as it were, and put pressure on governments to tolerate certain activities.

Civil society in 1990s changed its meaning and was understood in very different ways. Mary Kaldor in her Martin Wright memorial lecture describes three meanings of civil society. The first version is called by Kaldor as the 'activist version'. The term civil society was taken up all over the world by so called 'new social movements'- the movements that developed after 1968 concerned with new issues like peace, women, human rights, the environment. A new phenomenon of great importance was the emergence of transnational networks of activists who came together on particular issues-landmines, human rights, climate change, dams, AIDS/HIV, corporate responsibility. They had a significant impact on strengthening processes of global governance, especially in humanitarian field.

Secondly, the term was taken up by the global institutions and by western governments. They became part of so caller 'new policy agenda' and were seen as a mechanism for facilitating market reform and the introduction of parliamentary democracy. The key agents were not social movements but NGOs. Kaldor calls them 'neoliberal version'. Third concept of civil society is termed by Kaldor as the "postmodern version'. For the post –modernist, new religion and ethnic movements, that have grown dramatically over the last decade as also part of civil society.

Thus global civil society is a platform inhabited by activists, NGOs and neoliberals, as well as national and religious groups, were they argue about, campaign about for or against, negotiate about or lobby for the

Risse Thomas and Sikkink Kathryn. "The socialization of international human rights norms into domestic practices: introduction" in Thomas Risse, Stephen C.Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink (eds), Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.17-37.

⁸ Kaldor, Mary. "The idea of global civil society", *International Affairs* 79,3(2003), pp. 583-593.

arrangements that shape global developments. There is not only on civil society but many, affecting range of issues-human rights, environment, women and so on.

4.3 Feminism

Whereas discrimination can be an impetus to organizing, in order for people to come together in collective action intended to counter that discrimination, they need some type of ideology to link them with one another, an ideology that frames their experience as a collective one and motivates them to take action. In women's movements this role is often played "feminism", an ideology or a range of ideologies that, at base views women as oppressed group, one that deserve equal rights and treatment. The term Feminism is formed from a Latin word femina - a woman. And was used for the first time Alice Rossy in 1895. Nowadays there are many definitions of feminism. Often feminism is understood as theory of equality of sexes, basis of women liberation movement. Most often it has a wider interpretation - as different actions, defending women rights, based on ideas of legal equality of sexes. In this case, the term may be used as a synonym of women movement.

Feminism is a social theory and political movement. Primarily informed and motivated by the experience of women, it provides a critique of gender inequality and promotes women's rights, interests and issues. Feminist theorists aim to understand the nature of inequality and focus on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. Feminist political activists advocate for social, political, and economic equality between the sexes. They campaign on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, sexual harassement, workplace discrimination and sexual violence.

Feminism is generally said to have begun in the 19th century as people increasingly adopted the perception that women are oppressed in a

⁹ Klimenkova, Tatiana. "Feminism", retrieved from www.owl.ru

male-centered society (patriarchy). The feminist movement is rooted in the West and especially in the reform movement of the 19th century. However, wherever women have been subordinated some have resisted, and it is possible to trace elements of feminist consciousness back to the first written expressions of women's thought in seventh century Europe. As Gerda Lerner¹⁰has argued, any women who wrote in this period or who claimed the ability to benefit from education or to contribute to theological, philosophical and political debate, was already challenging her society's teaching about women's god given intellectual inferiority and their propensity for sin. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, there was European –wide public debate, which came to be know as the Querrelle des Femmes¹¹, over the nature of women and their portrayal in literature. Of the pro -women writers, the best known is the Frenchwomen Christine de Pizan(1365-1430), who appealed to the authority of women's own experiences and to the record of 'great women' in history to assert her sex's innate intellectual equality with men.

Feminist arguments were further elaborated in seventh century, which is described as the age of 'rationalist feminism' in Europe, as writers such as the Frenchwomen Marie de Gourney and Dutchwomen Anna Maria von Schurman made increasingly egalitarian claim. Such continental feminism was given its most systematic and radical philosophical exposition at this period by the Frenchman Francois Poulain de la Barre¹²in his three famous treatises on sexual equality, first published in the 1670s. In these de la Barre not only claimed that, since 'the mind has no sex', women are capable of reason as men. He also argued that women are as capable as men of gaining the skills and knowledge that would enable them to participate equally in virtually all economic and social activities. Another important writer was

Bryson, Valerie. Feminist Political Theory-An Introduction, Palgrave Macmillan, pp 5-26, 1992.

¹¹ ibid

¹² ibid

Mary Astell(1663-1731)¹³, who has been described as'the first English feminist', and 'arguably the first systematic feminist theoretician in the west'. She argued that although women in her society of her day appeared frivolous and incapable of reason, this was the product of faulty upbringing rather than any natural disability: as such it was evidence of the need for improved female education rather than its impossibility.

The middle years of the eighteenth century, in some ways seem to represent a retreat from feminism, as arguments for women's rationality became less fashionable than belief in their innate weakness and dependence on men. Nevertheless individuals' complaints and women discussion on of women's abilities and social roles continued. In Britain many women continued to write and publish throughout the period; most famously, the 'bluestocking' group of 'salon intellectuals' debated and wrote on a range of contemporary issues. The second half of eighteenth century was a period in which the stress on rationality and the questioning of traditional authority which was visible in the seventeenth –century reached its fullest expression. However there was an strikingly widespread consensus amongst leading philosophers that the principles of rational individualism was not applicable to women, for it was held that by their very nature women were incapable of the full development of reason. This idea that women are essentially creatures of emotion and passion, who have an important role to play as wives and mothers, but who are biologically not suited for public sphere, is found in the writings of Voltaire, Diderit, Montesquieu and Rosseau.¹⁴

This thinking however didn't go unchallenged and by the end of the century there were a number off attempts to show its inconsistency, and to demonstrate that the liberal ideas of enlightenment could be applied to women as well. The best know of these is Mary Wollstonecraft's Λ Vindication of the Rights of Woman $(1792)^{15}$, one of the few works written

¹³ ibid

^{&#}x27;* ibid

Ravindran, D.J. Human Rights Praxis: A resource book for study, action and reflection, Earthworm Books: Chennai, pp .31-37, 1998.

before the 19th century that can unambiguously be called feminist. Wollstonecraft attacked societal ideas that women were created simply to please male. She asked that women be given equal opportunuty in social political, educational and labour matters. She identified 'domestic tyranny as the chief obstacle that prevented women from achieving equality'. Similarly French writer Condorcet¹⁶ insisted that women were capable of reason and should be educated accordingly. The German writer Von Hippel similarly rejected the idea that women's exclusion from civil and political rights could be justified in termS of a biologically given nature.

The industrial revolution with its widespread social changes caused the women's movement to develop rapidly in Europe and US.It opened women's eyes to the fact that their economic dependence on men and their lack of educational, political and social opportunituies were the factors in their subordinate position in society.Organisations founded and run by women arose. The organised movement is dated from the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.¹⁷Such awareness brought about the nineteenth century movement for women suffrage ,the fight for abolition of slavery and 1848 opening of the Queen's College for Women in London-the first of its kind in higher education for women. Throughout the nineteenth century American women worked together to address their needs and grievances; by the first half of twentieth century they had won the right to vote, control their earnings, own property and be employed.

Women in the second half of the twenthieth century sought to address the issues of full participation in party politics; the limits placed on women's labour employment; and the notion of women as naturally destined to be mothers, wife and homemaker lingered. The period was ushered in by the publication of Simone de Beauvour's Le Deuxieone Sex(1945); the second sex(1953). Which pointed out that women's liberation movement is

¹⁶ ibid

Duncan, W.Ramond, Webster, J.Barbara and Switky, Bob. World Politics in the 21st Century, Longman, pp. 44,2002.

also men's liberation. It was a precursor to Friedan's major analysis of the condition of women in the *Feminist Mystique*. ¹⁸Friedan book attacked "decading domesticity" and the entrapment of women in the "mystique" that women is different from man in a misterious way and can achieve full women hood only in naturally unique female order of "sexual passivity, maternal nurturing love and male domination".

The first wave of feminism fell on the 19th - the first half of the 20th century. Its main issue of struggle for achieving legal equality of the sexes reamined incomplete. The Women's movement came to prominence again in the 1960s, along with several other sociopolitical movements like the anti war movement, civil rights agitation, and black nationalism. In the middle of the 20th century the second wave of feminism came - it was a struggle for actual equality with men. In the middle and at the end of the 70th the movement gained mass nature in the West, especially in the USA; it was shown in numerous actions, in establishment of a number of organizations and great number of small informal groups without a leader and theoretical strategy in its traditional understanding. During the 80s feminism's influence dropped a little; researchers connect it with consolidation of neoconservative orientation and also with sharp self-criticism, which developed inside the feminism. Since the early 70s women movement has had profound effect in many fields. It inspired sociologist to explore the issue of gender stratification and sexism with the oppressive effect of on women of patriarchal societies. Feminist sociology along with such subfields feminist psychology and feminist literary criticism became a thriving area.

Today, western feminism as a whole is on the defensive and the stress on complexity and fragmentation which has come to dominate some sections of feminist thought can seem almost overwhelming. Neverthless, feminism continues to generate exciting ideas, spilling over the boundaries

¹⁸ Ryan, Barbara. *Dynamics of change in Social Movement, Ideology and Activism*, Routledge:London, pp.9-63,1992.

of conventional political debate, challenging its assumptions and forcing new issues onto the agenda.

4.3.1 Forms Of Feminism

Feminism suggests a single kind of ideology, but this has not been the case. Feminist ideas, due to the historical situation and the current legal status of women in certain countries and many other factors, has impelled feminist ideology to move in different direction to achieve its goals. As such, there are many different kinds of feminism. There are many branches of feminism, among which there are both comparatively little known branches (such as anarcho-feminism, conservative feminism, humanistic feminism) and much more widely spread currents (bourgeois feminism, radical feminism, liberal feminism, "black feminism", etc.).

There are at least four distinctive variants of feminism .To discuss them in terms of their chronological appearance on the stage of history-

- Liberal feminism: The eighteenth century social theorist Mary Wollstonecraft, can be argued to be the first 'modern' feminist. She proposed a feminism that worked within the dominant Liberal traditions of her time. Modern liberal feminists follow her arguments that women seek equality in law and education, in particular with men.
- Marxist/Socialist Feminism: They pursue equality for women through the core of analytical tools of society, propounded by Karl Marx. They see class structure and capitalism as the basic cause of women's problems. Engels, the close associate of Karl Marx, prompted feminists with his ideas of the 'world historic defeat of women' early in the history of humankind. He also suggested monogamy and marriage is a form of female enslavement by a patriarchal society. Socialist feminists argue that gender is a significant structural inequality in capitalist societies, thus women are an oppressed group. However they also argue that gender inequalities must be understood alongside inequality as well. Such a position takes the view that some women are more oppressed than

- others: depending upon the woman's class position. Contemporary socialist feminists reject the idea of a simple equality with men. Rather they suggest that women's social and cultural 'differences' are given value in any political struggle
- Radical Feminism: This form of feminism was popular in the so-called second wave. Usually based in the U.S.A. (but there are notable proponents of this view in Europe, particularly France) radical feminists take the view that it is patriarchy that is the cause of all women's oppression. Women are viewed as a 'class' of oppressed agents, oppressed by all men. This is a position that typically entails an argument that women's biology gives then a distinctive 'psychology' to men. Feminists such as Firestone argue that men's control of women's biology has been the basis of patriarchal power. Moreover that as we move into the era of new birth technologies women can liberate themselves from men. An important aspect of this position is the rejection of a demand for equality with men. The contemporary radical feminists are particularly interested in discussions of the (female) body in an attempt to demonstrate the manner in which 'gender relations' might be understood in terms of an identity politics. Some radical feminists advocate separatism—a complete separation of male and female in society and culture—while others question not only the relationship between men and women, but the very meaning of "man" and "woman" as well; some argue that gender roles, gender identity and sexuality are themselves social constructs. Other feminists believe that there may be social problems separate from or prior to patriarchy (e.g., racism or class divisions); they see feminism as one movement of liberation among many, each with effects on each other.
- Black Feminism: This 'feminism' has developed a general set of criticisms of all the other three feminisms. It has emerged as a distinct theoretical approach that seeks to explore the complex ways in which gender, class, and 'race' interact. It shows that race is not just an issue for

black people but one, which affects us all. It argues that other feminisms display ethnocentric assumptions with regard to 'ethnic minority' women. In particular black feminists argue that the other feminism's (particularly radical and Marxist) criticism of the family is unjustified and fails to appreciate the manner in which Afro-Caribbean women in particular, have used the family as a basis of freedom. Today black feminism an important, although far from uniform, strand of thought which has moved well beyond a critiqued of white feminism to the development of original theory.

Thus, the development of feminist thought been uneven, reflecting the varied needs and perceptions of women in different societies and situations.

4.4 Feminism In Russia

Antifeminist sentiment is another issue with which all women's movement have to contend. According to Amrita Basu ¹⁹ women regard feminism with deep skepticism in many countries like Chile, Bangladesh, Namibia, Kenya, China, Peru, Russia, and Eastern Europe and it is branded immoral by the catholic church, Islamic leaders or is considered bourgeois by the established traditonal left. Yet, the reasons for antifeminist sentiment vary and on that basis so do the frameworks adopted by women's movements.

Since 1917, feminism in Russia has been scorned for its misconceived and misplaced analysis of society. Feminism was officially denounced as an example of bourgeois self²⁰ –indulgence which serve to divide working class since it did not give central focus to class; it was counter revolutionary as it failed to see the significant differences between working class and middle class women and to put the blame on men was to ignore the fact that the interests of working women were closer to those of

Basu, Amrita. "Introduction", in Amrita Basu. (ed.) The Challenge of Local Feminism: Women's Movement in Global Perspective, Boulder: Wetview, 1995, pp 1-13

Aivazova, Svetlana. "Feminism in Russia: Debates from the Past", in Posadskaya, Anastasia, (ed.) Women in Russia: A new era in Russian feminism, Verso Books, pp.154-163, 1994.

working class men than those of middle class women. The mode of production and class relations defined women positions. Soviet condemnation of western feminism was particularly harsh in the 1970s, according to marxist texts dismissing it as 'anti family' and naive in holding that women and men were 'identical'. Although the Brezhnev era permitted heated debate about female roles, it did not give space to avowedly feminist arguments, nor allow adoption of feminists concepts²¹.

Negative propaganda from the soviet state about feminism persisted well beyond the years of the revolution. Although the Bolsheviks rejected "feminist" ideology as such, in their rhetoric they did adopt a framework of gender equality which was very progressive of its time. Upholding women's right to vote and striving for women's full potential and economic participation created an impression among some people that feminism-understood as struggle for women's political rights in the west-was irrelevant to Russia, where women had been granted full citizenship rights quite early on. While proclaiming equal rights from above, generations of soviet leaders managed, as a byproduct of their economic and social policies, to reinforce a gendered division of labour. Women's "equal rights", in the Soviet Union, amounted to women working full time outside the home as well as full-time inside it, a phenomenon know as double burden which was exploitative of women labour and time.

Russian citizens' antipathy to feminism stems mostly from dynamics of the Soviet era, which de facto continued pre-Soviet societal patterns of gender discrimination and inequality, even though Soviet laws, on paper, were some of the world's most progressive in terms of gender equality. Soviet women's right to vote, the principle of equal pay for equal work, and relatively generous paid leave and daycare benefits were legislated early on. Yet the early Soviet experiments with policies to advance the status of

Buckely, Mary. "Glasnost and women question", in Ruthchild, Goldberg Rochelle Women in Russia and the Soviet Union: an annotated bibliography, Maxwell: New York, pp.202-223, 1993.

women were soon abandoned. In 1930, Stalin closed the *Zhenotdel*²² ("Women's Division"), declaring that Soviet women had attained freedom and equality with men, and that there was no need for special women's organizations. From that point on, until the late Soviet period, official discussion of eroding traditional forms of gender inequality was virtually nonexistent, and feminism was denounced as a luxury of bourgeois Western women.

Soviet anti-feminist propaganda and the failure to bring about actual equality, in spite of the prominence of "equality" as an ideal in official Communist declarations and international rights conventions, have sparked two general tendencies in Russian public opinion. First, to a considerable extent, Russian men and women believed Soviet official descriptions of Western feminism, and the argument that it was entirely unsuited to Russian conditions. But secondly, women also saw with abundant clarity that in fact they were not equal to men, despite Soviet declarations of equality and the "defeminization" of the Soviet ideal woman, depicted in images of male and female tractor drivers toiling side by side.

In addition, women were disillusioned by official women's organizations called "women's councils" (*zhensovety*), which were reopened by Khrushchev in the 1960s, and revived by Gorbachev in the 1980s. The *zhensovety* worked vigorously to ensure that women more effectively fulfilled their "double burden" of duties at home and at work in order to support state goals, instead of focusing on developing more equitable domestic and professional roles for men and women. From the perspective of many Russian women, the Soviet state granted them legal equality with men, and promoted uniform images of men and women, particularly in the labor market – yet this "equality" did not improve women's lives. Observers of Russian gender issues widely acknowledge that the Soviet treatment of

Sullivan See.K and Racioppi L. "Women's Politics in USSR and Russia" in Smith, G.Bonnie. (ed). Global *Feminism Since 1945*, Routledge, 2000.

female roles created a backlash against the idea of "equality" between the sexes.

Feminist Olga Voronina²³ explains that "for the average Soviet woman, emancipation is what she already has, that is, a lot of work, under the guise of equality with men" (1993).Russian citizens also largely reject the idea that women face discrimination .Elena Ershova remarks that the biggest challenge to the Russian women's movement is the general "patriarchal character" of Russian society: indeed, a nationwide poll of two thousand Russians by the ROMIR ²⁴agency found that only 10.4 percent of respondents thought that gender discrimination happens frequently, while 31.3 percent believed that it occurs occasionally.

Some politically active women like Galina Stavroitova and Yevdokia Gayer; dissident leaders Elena Bonner and Larisa Bogoraz; the founder of a radical leftist party, Valeria Novodvorskaya; and the ardent defender of communist ideals. Nina Andreeva, did not associate themselves with the women's movement, and they rejected any description of themselves as feminists.²⁵The very idea of being judged as "women politicians" was unacceptable. Stavroitova and Kazimera Prunskene, both well-known political figures, rejected any notion that feminine thinking marked their political decisions. They insisted that in politics there was no difference between the sexes. During perestroika, the intelligentsia in Moscow and Leningrad began to pay some attention to feminist ideas, in part because of the increased access to West European and American theoretical works on the topic. Women philosophers read Simone de Beauvoir and Gloria Steinem: women linguists and art critics discussed and translated the works of Julia Kristeva and Ann Isaac. However, these efforts were intellectual and elitist, and feminist ideas did not gain tremendous popularity or exposure.

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, 1999

²⁴ ibid

²⁵ ibid

With the liberalization of the communist regime, feminism was able to drop the adjective *bourgeois* with which it was coupled in Soviet era, but most people this was not enough to make it an attractive ideology. It was associated in the public mind with "deviant" sexuality. Feminism was understood by Moscow professors as well as provincial newspapers to be synonym of homosexuality, a subject that liberals as well as conservatives found deeply alien and disturbing. ²⁶Feminism lacked unanimous support among Russia's women movement activists as well.

The self –identification of women as an aggrieved group is further complicated by the soviet state's repressive legacy, one that affected men as well as women, although in different ways. They therefore rejected feminism-an ideology that appears to focus solely on women's oppression-as not truly reflecting Soviet and post-Soviet conditions. In other words, if women and men were both oppressed equally by the state, then feminism, which seems to divide women from men and sets women's interests apart from men's, is an inappropriate ideology. Thus popular feeling among Russian women of having oppression in common with men, rather than being oppressed as a result of male domination of the state and the home. Put differently, the presence of a common enemy-the communist state – in some cases suppresses the sense of women's oppression by patriarchy.

The multifaceted soviet legacy of antifeminism was reinforced by contemporary, post- Soviet societal attitudes towards women. Mainstream medias coverage of feminism, however, is rare and usually negative. Typical of negative portrayals of feminism in the Russian press are those articles labeling feminism as a western phenomenon, "an extremist struggle against men". Besides negative coverage, there is lack of media coverage regrading women. A content-analysis study conducted by the association of women journalists of three months worth of mainstream press in fall 1995 revealed

Waters, Elizabeth and Posadskaiya, Anastasia. "Democracy Without Women is No Democracy: Women's struggle in post communist Russia" in Amrita Basu (Ed) The Challenge of Local Feminism: Women's Movement in Global Perspective, Boulder: Wetview, 1995, pp. 360.

that a meager 1 percent of *Izvestiia's* articles concerned women.²⁷The lack of media coverage about women's issues and feminism means that the general public is unlikely to be exposed to ideas that contradict the patriarchal image of women's social roles and the unappealing images of feminism are widely accepted. It is not surprising that public opinion on the subject of emancipation reflects confusion and disaffection towards the concept.

Many western women were disappointed that feminism remained a marginal political movement that was rejected by most Russian women, even after the disintegration of Soviet Union. Activism did not grow into fully-fledged feminism however; there have never been any influential feminist parties or organizations in Russia in the past or currently. This is not surprising since the majority of Russian women, especially those who live in provinces, cannot imagine any way of life other than keeping a home. The first Russian women's organizations were received with mixed feelings. Some said that it was shameful and unbecoming of a woman to be a member of a party formed along gender lines. Thus the prevalence of anti-feminist values and practices was understood as the question needing explanation. It became the main field of inquiry together with the negative changes in the situation of women during the social and economic reforms

4.5 History Of Women's Movement In Russia

An analysis of historical background makes it easier to understand the evolution of the women's liberation movement up to the present day. Unlike in the majority of Western countries, women's organizations in Russia have neither a long history nor strong traditions. Before of the revolution of 1917, there were a number of women organizations campaigning for suffrage and educational reforms. Like all political movements of their time, they were small and mainly confined to the privileged classes and to the major cities.

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, p.73, 1999.

As Engels pointed out, the group that was "the first in Russia in which women played an active and independent role" was the "Tchaikovsky" circle.²⁸ This group was founded at the beginning of 1870 and was organized by students of both sexes, united by ethical and moral principles, but with no common ideology. The aim of this group was to spread socialist propaganda among the population, by making it conscious both of the exploitation it suffered, and of the possibility to overcome it with a revolution based on the peasants. The greatest contribution of the Tchaikovsky group to the struggle for women's emancipation was how they involved women in discussions and political activity on the same level as men.

In the student groups, women were politically educated to carry their propaganda activity to the workers. Most of the student groups were influenced by Bakuninist (Anarchist) ideology, among them being the 'Rosalie Jakesburg' group [1872].²⁹ They were close to the 'Land and Freedom' Party, reflecting, the orientation towards the 'peasant majority' of the time, even among the worker and student vanguard. According to these militants, elimination of capitalist exploitation and direct involvement in the democratic running of the production process, could guarantee an effective emancipation of women. Only in this way would women be able to decide on and create services and structures that would emancipate them from the private duties of family care.

These were the aims, which stimulated many women to participate directly in the propaganda work around a series of strikes in Moscow in 1875. However, most of the organizers of these strikes were arrested and given heavy prison sentences and were kept in prison while awaiting their trial to take place. These trials became known as the 'trial of the 50' or the 'trial of the Moscow women'. These trials had an enormous influence in

Rossi, Elisabetta. "The emancipation of women in Russia before and after the Russian revolution-Part-1", Retrieved from World Wide Web; www.marxist.com

²⁹ ibid

raising the political consciousness, not only of the then women's organizations, but also of the future generations of working class women.

Many of the women that had gone on strike or had sympathized with the arrested "Moscovites" joined the terrorist group called "Narodnaya Volya". This group fought in defense of the worker's cause against tsarist oppression, with an extreme spirit of self-sacrifice. Among its best militants were Vera Figner, a member of the executive committee and a socialist activist since 1850, along with her sister Lydia, who were put on trial in Moscow. From then on the women's movement was to develop together with that of the wider labour movement in the many spontaneous strikes, especially in the textile industries, that took place in the period from 1870 to 1880, where women workers were employed on a massive scale. The outcome of this movement was a law that banned children and women from working the night shift. It was later followed by the 1894-96 economic strikes in Petersburg and the great textile workers' strike of 1896.

The peasant women became important leaders in the women's struggles in the years 1904-1905. However, from a political point of view, by 1905-06 the ideas of the bourgeois feminist movement had become widespread among the Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries and even among some Bolshevik activists. In 1905 at the first big women's conference held in St. Petersburg there were few opposition voices calling for working class unity against the oppression of working women. To fight this bourgeois influence, a group of Social Democratic women (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) decided to dedicate a part of their socialist propaganda activity, specifically towards spreading the ideas of socialism among women. These activists organized a campaign against bourgeois feminism, putting forward the Marxist interpretation on the women's question. They also pushed for specific work on the part of the party and the trade unions to be aimed at the problems of working class women.

³⁰ ibid

Within the traditional working class movement, the real differences in civil and political rights between men and women belonging to the same social class had been ignored for far too long and this encouraged women to sympathise with the bourgeois feminist groups who were concentrating their attention on gender oppression. However, the work of Bolsheviks such as Alexandra Kollontai had made it possible for the women's movement to assume mass proportions already by 1907, and its leaders were already organizing public meetings, in open opposition to those of the bourgeois feminists.

The patient and consistent propaganda of the socialist women in the workplaces and at meetings organized by the feminists, was finally bearing fruit. The first workingwomen's circle, the "Working Women's Mutual Assistance Association", was set up in 1907.³¹ Men and women could join but the leading positions were reserved to women. The circle's internal structure was designed in such a way as to facilitate the involvement of women activists, by getting them to take part directly in specific struggles concerning women's oppression.

The association's aim was to spread the ideas of socialism among the proletariat, and to attract isolated workingwomen to the trade unions and to the Social Democratic party. It did not have the ambition of becoming an autonomous political entity, separate from the traditional organizations of the workers. On the contrary, it proposed that women should join these. In this way they were opening the doors for women's participation in politics. The group did not focus its attention on issues concerning gender oppression alone, but linked these issues to the political, social and economic conditions that determined these. The aim was not to carry out a limited feminist agitation, but socialist agitation among women. In particular the association had strong links with the textile workers' trade union and was represented in different sections of the Party. It took part in the International Conference of Socialist Women, which took place in 1907 in Stuttgart.

³¹ ibid

After 1907 relations with the feminist bourgeois organizations became particularly tense. However, when they decided to call a Congress of all Russian women in 1908, Social Democratic women activists, with the important support of Alexandra Kollontai, took advantage of this in order to carry out socialist propaganda among wider layers of society. They organized meetings and individual discussions in semi-underground conditions to elect delegates from trade union and party branches. In spite of their efforts, the working class women delegates actual Any attempt to unite working women in a single "inter-class" organization with bourgeois feminists was shown to be impossible ly participating in the conference were only 45, against the 700 bourgeois feminists present. However, The Social Democratic participants used every opportunity to make their own separate political identity clear to everyone.

The intervention of the socialist women at this conference served to draw a clear line of demarcation between the bourgeois feminists and the socialist revolutionary movement, which served to raise higher the class-consciousness of women workers. The Second International Conference of Socialist Women was held in 1910 in Copenhagen and it concentrated on the question of women's suffrage. On March 19, 1911 the first International Women's Day was proclaimed and due to efforts on the part of Samoilova and Kollontai, by March 8, 1913, International Women's Day achieved success in Russia. More and more articles on the work that needed to be done among women and on specific women's problems began to be published in the party press. Then, under pressure from Lenin, a special journal for working class women was created: "The Woman Worker" (Rabotnitsa)³². The repressive Tsarist police arrested the members of the first editorial board, but nonetheless the first issue of the paper was published in 1914.

Waters, Elizabeth and Posadskaiya, Anastasia. "Democracy Without Women is No Democracy: Women's struggle in post communist Russia" in Amrita Basu (Ed) The Challenge of Local Feminism: Women's Movement in Global Perspective, Boulder: Wetview, 1995, pp. 359

The propaganda work of the paper 'Rabotnitsa' became ever more central to the work of the Bolsheviks. On its editorial board were such stalwarts of women's liberation as comrades Krupskaya, Innessa Armand, Stahl, Kollontai, Eliazarova, Kudelli, Samoilova, and Nikolayeva and other female workers of St Petersburg. The paper was also used as an instrument to raise the level of understanding in both trade union and political structures, which were still lagging behind the consciousness of the masses, towards a better understanding of the role of women workers It had survived the various twist and turns of soviet policy and by the 1970s boasted a readership of well over 10 million, making it the country's largest –selling publication.

After 1917 revolution, Alexander Kollontai and other female Bolsheviks conducted organizational work among women, with the dual intent of mobilizing female support for the new soviet regime and ridding society of its backward manifestations that help keep women subordinate to men. In 1919, their efforts crystallized in the creation of the *Zhenotdel* ³³–the Women's Department of the Communist Party's Central Committee Secretariat- which published a monthly paper, the 'Komminitska'. Alexandra Kollontai and Lenin were very clear on the aims of this body. Its role was to bring women into the party and involve them directly in the work of the soviets and of the state and also to promote awareness within the soviets and a genuine carrying out of specific workingwomen's demands

In order to achieve these aims, special organizational and propaganda measures were necessary, because it was more difficult to involve women and politicize them, mainly due to their isolation within the family. A network of branches was developed, in close contact with local party committees, and the *Zhenotdel* agitators traveled throughout the country carrying the message of women's liberation, meeting with women in factories, villages, and local bathhouses. *Zhenotdel* activists also traveled to

Sullivan See.K and Racioppi L. "Women's Politics in USSR And Russia" in Smith, G.Bonnie, ed, Global Feminism Since 1945, Routledge, 2000.

remote area of Central Asia and the Caucasus, encouraging women to discard their veils and reject other patriarchal Muslims practices. Local men opposed the Zhenotodel activists' efforts. Violent pressures of husbands and the opposition of parents, both of whom would not tolerate the effective emancipation of women ,had to be overcome *Genotdel* initiated women's participation in politics, driving them towards the work inside the trade unions, the party and soviets. However, it didn't survive for long. In 1930, decreed that in the Soviet Union, women were free, equal and emancipated and that they no longer needed women's organization as, such autonomous group could only distract women from the process of building communism.

In the Soviet times, there was one party, which claimed to represent all strata of society and both sexes. Women's activism in the Soviet era developed as a part and incorporated in to the Communist Party policy towards women. No room was left for independent women's movement. Unlike west, were ample number of interests groups and social movement organization existed, the Soviet Union tolerated only state run organization, such as Soviet Women's committee³⁴. Formed in 1941, its main function was to mobilize the population to carry out party goals, rather than to address women's concern. However the Soviet Women's Committee remained for five decades the only legal organization said to represent women in Soviet Union.

Soviet Women's Committee was closely connected to the Communist Party and it followed party ideology. It was financed by the government, answered to the government, and functioned in ways similar to other Soviet structures. Naturally, wives and other relatives of Soviet apparatchiks served at the headquarters of the Committee of Soviet Women. Members of the committee enjoyed the same advantages as the rest of the Soviet nomenklatura: food from special shops not accessible to ordinary citizens, vacations at prestigious resorts, and trips abroad. Like other official Soviet

Rossi, Elisabetta. "The emancipation of women in Russia before and after the Russian revolution-Part-1", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.marxist.com

organizations, the Committee of Soviet Women had branches in all regions of the country. It maintained a close relationship with all the women's committees of workers' unions and collectives. The committee helped to keep in place the women's nomenklatura.

By law, a third of all Deputies had to be women, and those who served in various elected bodies as representatives of the Soviet people were selected from among the ranks of the official women's organizations. It should be no surprise that the Committee of Soviet Women was not popular among the intelligentsia-or with any other sensible person. The image of the "state woman" originated with a famous phrase of Lenin's in which he said that, in the Soviet state, every cook (a feminine noun in Russian) had to know how to rule³⁵. "State woman" represented the interests of the nomenklatura and the ruling party, not the interests of ordinary women, whose lives were very difficult in Soviet times.

In the Khrushchev era miniature women's councils (*Zhensovety*) originally born in the 1920s, were revived and established all over the Soviet Union. They played the role of "transmission belts", to engage women 's support to communist parties policies and also took on service provision, like the soviet trade unions. During the 1960s and 1970s, the presence of growing dissident movement, which included women, was felt in the USSR. Soviet women were dissidents grew increasingly dissatisfied with the way they were treated and their concerns dismissed within the male-dominated dissident movement. The internal opposition movement that began in the USSR in the mid-60s for the most part ignored the "women question", emphasizing political freedoms and civil liberties. In 1979 a small group of Leningrad women published *Women And Russia*, which the first independent attempt to asses the effect of the soviet system on

³⁵ ibid

Sullivan See.K AND Racioppi L, "Women's Politics in USSR and Russia" in Smith, G.Bonnie, ed, *Global Feminism Since 1945*, Routledge, 2000.

women.³⁷Like other dissident publications, the journal was *-samizdat*-self published –and reproduced secretly. Its contents covered many themes previously publicly ignored like the details of grisly abortion procedures, the condition of maternity hospitals and many others. The group and their journal did not go unnoticed by the KGB. Within less than a year several members were exiled from the soviet union and the journals ceased publication after only a few issues.

Despite being state controlled, women's activism under communist regime was not entirely fruitless. Women's involvement in the labour force, education, and public life raised their awareness and understanding of the problem they faced. Moreover, the network of women's clubs and councils, in a sense prepared the ground for the emergence of the grassroots women's movement after 1985. By the late 1980s, unofficial women organization began to be formed spontaneously, attracting women from variety of social, ethnic, and professional background.

Women's activism first began to blossom shortly after the beginning of perestroika. It allowed women to speak out about the problems and difficulties they face, thus paving the way for broad based dialogue about gender equality. Glasnost reduced censorship, and allowed an open discussion of previously unaddressed issues, including discrimination against women in labour force, lack of women's representation in high political office, and violence against women. Perestroika also initiated explicit legal changes in the political opportunity structure that further helped in emergence of women's organizations. It became legal to assemble in public; to organize groups; to register such organization with the state (thus to acquire organizational bank accounts); to publish newsletters and journals; and even to start independent political parties. An explosion of the women's press accompanied glasnost. Independent women's newspapers

Waters, Elizabeth and Posadskaiya, Anastasia. "Democracy Without Women is No Democracy: Women's struggle in post communist Russia" in Amrita Basu (Ed) *The Challenge of Local Feminism: Women's Movement in Global Perspective*, Boulder: Wetview, 1995, pp. 359.

and magazine and small run feminist journals appeared. Perestroika years were also arked by emergence of new charismatic political leaders³⁸ like Galena Starovoitova, Bella Kurkova, and Ella Pamfilova, as well as new issues on the agenda of women's movement like violence against women, wife battering, prostitution and rights of lesbians.

In the late 1980s, small feminists organization especially in Moscow and St.Petersburg, flourished. These groups like Klub Garmoniia, LOTOS (League For Society's Liberation From Stereotypes, set up by five academic women in Moscow) and SAFO, took on the function of consciousnessraising clubs.³⁹ They registered themselves with the state over the period of several years, beginning in October 1990, when it became legal to constitute an "informal" organization and register it with Soviet government. SAFO the Free Association Of Feminist Organization, claimed to be the first openly feminist organization to have been officially registered. Glasnost and perestroika not only enabled new women's organizations to appear, but also helped to transform the old ones, such as Soviet Women 's Committee (SWC). SWC expanded its horizons and became sort of "indigenous network" a hub for the several of the activists who could later split from the state-run women's movement, and move on to start their own organizations, for example, political scientist Tatiana Ivanova, a member of the SWC, formed an organization called the Women's Alliance. 40 Some of the state – run Zhensovety, too, stuck out on their own, and became independent women's organization, for example, the Zhensovet of the Zhukovskii Aero Hydrodynamics Institute was among these.⁴¹

However the euphoria and optimism generated by perestroika/glasnost didn't last long, and was substituted by the recognition

Issraelyan Yevgenia. "Russian Women: Challenges of the Modern World", in Research on Russia and Eastern Europe, Vol.2, JAI Press Inc.pp. 157-168,1996.

Konstantinova, Valentina. "Women's political coalitions in Russia", in Haavio-Mannila and Rotkirch, Anna(ed). Women's Voices In Russia Today, Dartmouth: USA, pp.235-247, 1996

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press

⁴¹ ibid

that, perestroika, had, in fact, done nothing to improve the status of women. It was not particularly favourable times for feminist initiatives. The abolition of communist party's control over social relations and institutions and complete indifference by new regime towards interests of women presented greater uncertainty for women. Moreover the official ideology emphasized the domestic role of women. As the director of the Moscow Center For Gender Sudies, Anastasia Posadskaya, emphasized⁴², "perestroika has an innate contradiction. While moving towards political and economic pluralism, in terms of gender relations, it is also a period of post-communist patriarchal renaissance." Neither conservatives nor the democrats had any enthusiasm for women rights and movement. The causes that mobilized meetings and demonstrations in late 1980s and early 1990s were politics, nationality, living standards and the environment.

4.6 Contemporary Women's Movement

There is an overall rise in the number of Russian NGOs - the independent, non-profit world that economists term the third sector. From 1992-1996 there was considerable changes in development of public, non-governmental activity in Russia. If before 1991-92, there were mainly political movements, which had common name of 'in formals' (neformaly)⁴³, and who dealt with problems of human rights, politics, and ecology, after 1992 different small organization began to appear, based on particular needs. These included economic survival, health, religious, and spiritual fulfillment, family problems, and difficulties faced by the handicapped. There was growing realization of the need for an institutionalization of non-governmental movements. The term 'third sector' appeared, becoming a part of Russian vocabulary

Issraelyan Yevgenia. "Russian Women: Challenges of the Modern World", in Research on Russia and Eastern Europe, Vol. 2, JAI Press Inc. pg 157-168,1996

Lipovskaya, Olga. "Women's groups in Russia", in Buckley, Mary(ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.186-199, 1997.

This silent trend in the social sector has been well documented by the Agency⁴⁴, another private, Information non-governmental Social organization that has provided information on social issues to the media since 1994. Its researchers chronicled a promising upsurge in social organizations for women all across Russia, listing groundbreaking efforts in places like Irkutsk, Arkhangelsk, Voronezh and Kaluga. About 600 women's organizations are registered in the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation (approximately 6% of the total number of public organizations in the Russian Federation). 45 These third-sector organizations, which often operate like charities, provide women with education and retraining for a more competitive market, as well as emotional and even financial support. They offer childcare for working women and lecture on women's health. They consider their most important task to be the democratic free circulation of information, to women

The most important venture undertaken by women's group was the First Independent Women 's Forum, held in Dubna, on 29-30 March 19991, was attended by 172 women from 48 organization and 25 cities. The significance of the forum lays in the fact, that it was first independent women 's movement conference in Russia since the All –Russia Women's Congress of 1908⁴⁶. The forum primary aim of raising the profile of women's movement and demonstrating that women 's organization were established on the initiative taken by women themselves rather than on orders from above, was achieved. Various themes were discussed at the forum including, "violence against women", "Women and market economy", "Problem's of independent women's movement", "Women's in politics", Women in patriarchal culture". The Final Document, drawn up by

International Helsinki Federation Report. "Women 2000 - An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States", Retrieved from World wide Web: www.ihf.org

⁴⁵ ibid

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, 1999.

the participants, referred to the many forms of discrimination against women, both and after perestroika. The main theoretical results of the conference were definition of discrimination against women based on the United Nations Nairobi Declaration, partially ratified by USSR in 1981, and a declaration of intent to co-operate and unite. It also initiated an information network, ZHISET (Women's Information Network)

The Second Independent Women's Forum held in Duba from to 29 November 1992 was a watershed in that it proved that a genuine and widespread .It was attended by 500 participants from all over Russia, including from several countries of CIS. Representatives from western countries like, UK, United States, Germany, Australia, also attended. The slogan of second forum was "From Problem to Strategy", suggesting that its main aim was to suggests specific methods of combating the many problems confronting women in the post-Soviet states.

In 1994–95, women from, around the world, mobilized to participate in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Beijing marked the beginning of the struggle of the newly independent women's groups emerging in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to make their voices heard within the global women's movement. At previous UN conferences on women at Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, and Nairobi in 1985, women from the region representatives of official, participated government-sanctioned organizations. At Beijing women were a major presence, articulating alternatives and negotiating language that would shape international development priorities for the future. However, the new women's groups faced numerous problems. First they had to find resources to get to the conference when state aid was not available. Then they had to learn how to influence the process of preparing and approving a final document so that it would reflect the negative consequences of transition on women's lives. The frustration they experienced in Beijing manifested itself in the landmark

⁴⁷ ibid

"Statement from the Non-Region," which was delivered by Polish women's rights advocate Wanda Novicka to the UN General Assembly.⁴⁸

Following the Beijing Conference, many new forms of cooperation between women's organizations, state structures and international organizations have emerged and are gaining momentum. Several new women's organizations have been established, and the women's movement *per se* has been reinvigorated. At the national level, a number of standing commissions or state committees on women and family issues have been established. A legal framework addressing equal rights and opportunities for men and women is also being created in most of the ten CIS countries. ⁴⁹ It should be noted, however, that these activities are limited to only some of the countries. It is to be hoped that they will be expanded to the others.

Women from East European and CIS countries, linked by the experience of communism and its collapse as well as efforts to establish democracy within new market economies, believed they had vital perspectives to contribute on the issue of women's rights and gender equality. And they recognized that their missing voices at Beijing reflected an even greater challenge at the national and regional level: to find a way to play a leadership role in the task of building new societies along democratic lines. Women in Russia, already marginalized during the perestroika years that preceded the Soviet Union's break-up, were among the first to confront this challenge. "Democracy without women is no democracy," the slogan adopted by the First Independent Women's Forum in 1991, became a rallying cry for the Russian women's movement. ⁵⁰

4.6.1 Reason For The Emergence of Women's Movement

Russia entered the 90's in great political and economic turmoil. The post-communist transition brought significant changes in everyday life of

Bending The Bow: Targeting women's human rights and opportunities, Open Society Institute, New York, 2002.

⁴⁹ ibid

⁵⁰ ibid

Russian people. The recognition of these problems and challenges has led women activists to understand that coherent action at the local and national level is strongly needed. From 1992 onwards there was considerable changes in development of public, non-governmental activity in Russia. Various developments caused changes in the context in which voluntary organizations formed and sustained themselves. Factors that lead to curent movement can be analyzed under following headings:

- (1) Soviet Legacy: political legacies can have significant effects on social movements. Political history refers to the way that the legacy of political institutions, cycles of protest, and the defining political events of a country's history affect social movements development. In somewhat counterintuitive sense, the Soviet legacy of monopolistic, centralized, state-run institutions assisted in the creation of civil society during the transition period. For examples, numerous women's councils which existed in factories as well as territorially also developed independent streaks, and transformed themselves into informal, independent, non-state associations. Other state and party run organizations, including the Komsomol and the party structures themselves, also produced activists who, in the Gorbachev era, were eager to apply their energy in creating "informals". State run academic institutions also served as a source of activists for late Soviet era social movements. The Soviet Women's Committee, and the women's councils (Zensovety) under its auspices, acted, as incubators for women's group that later emerged as organization no longer run by the state.
- (2) The Political Transition in the form of glasnost and perestroika, enabled the Russian women's movement-among others-to emerge at the end of 1980s. The political transition period in Russia, starting in the late 1980s and continuing into the mid –1990s, created a multidimensional set of opportunities for the emerging women's movement. Glasnost reduced censorship, and allowed open discussions of previously unaddressed issues, including discrimination against women in labour force, lack of women's representation in high political office and domestic violence. Meanwhile a

shift from Communist Party's rule to a more pluralistic regime increased the relative openness of the political system to autonomous social movements, including the women's movement, and moderated the state repressive character. Indeed, within a few years of the introduction of glasnost and perestroika, large women's conferences were held, independent of state control, and dozens of women's groups had formed, building on women's transformation of consciousness. The changing political opportunity structure in Russia, allowed for the emergence of numerous women's organizations, ranging from advocacy groups, consciousness-raising groups, and women research centers.

(3) Contact with West: The collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has had mixed implications for women. Contact with west, whether through academic literature, meetings with foreigners, or actual exposure to the culture and organizing activities of western women, has had a significant effect on the Russian women's movement. In 1991, the first contacts with western colleagues were established by the Moscow feminists in the Center of Gender Studies, which resulted in the organization of the first Independent Women's Forum in 1991 and the second forum in 1992.⁵¹Due to contacxt with West English language provided the vocabulary for the ensuing debates and discussions about women rights and status, and about gender analysis in academic research, that vocabulary included some central borrowings from English, such as "gender" and "women studies" because Russian lacked such terms. A new series of terms have been borrowed to express activities and ideas that were largely absent from Russian political scene-because the NGO sector scene too was absentterms like advocacy and "lobbying" (lobbirovanie) similarly, the presence of foreign granting organizations has brought terms like "grant", "fundraising" and "training" into common movement parlance.⁵²

Lipovskaya, Olga. "Women's groups in Russia", in Buckley, Mary(ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.186-199, 1997.

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, 1999

(4) Transition to the market economy has profoundly changed the basic political and economic structures of most of the transition countries. An analysis of the situation of workingwomen inevitably shows that, despite some positive indicators, they have been adversely impacted by the economic changes, as compared to men. The primary reasons for changes in the labour market, and the deteriorating situation of working women in particular, may be summarized as follows: Serious economic difficulties and decreased production; insufficient or non-existent national policy concerning the situation of women in the labour market, and no planned regulation of resulting changes in employment ;insufficient national mechanisms governing discriminatory practices, and ineffective law enforcement; unprecedented growth of the unofficial "shadow economy" with involvement of an increasing proportion of women; increasing patriarchal relations in society together with reinforcement of traditional division of labour; gender-based discrimination in employment, and revival of cultural market has been accompanied by several disruptive and negative trends: unemployment, sexual harassment, discrimination in employment, and reduction in social benefits Russian women are especially angered by the turmoil, for the new violence and unemployment have hit them first. Moreover without effective trade unions, and faced with powerless factory women's councils, women who sought a collective solution to the decline in their economic status as a group had little choice but to initiate their own, independent organizations. As a result, they have been emboldened to write prodigiously and to create many new groups and organizations to help them deal with their anger and to search for solutions. By 1992, women were starting to seek their own solutions to the growing problems, not counting on much state support. Many were pragmatically oriented organizations trying to find the resources to do what the state could no longer accomplish, as the economic decline spiraled of control. Organization's purpose was at least in part to combat women's unemployment or other effects of the economic crises

As the 1990s began, new women's movement developed, intending to ameliorate the effects on women of Russia's economic crisis and devastating cuts in social services. The activities of these groups spanned a broad spectrum, from charity events to women's job training programs, from occupational health and safety inspection in factories to support for single mothers and women attempting to enter the business world. Thus in a certain sense, the economic collapse in Russia served to foster the expansion of the women's movement.

(5) Foreign Funding/ Aid: Resource shortage and poorly developed economic infrastructure that is not conducive to grassroots organizing or fundraising have led some women's groups seek external funding. Although when the political arena began to expand under glasnost a space was created for women's organizing, the economic sphere has not similarly grown to embrace women's organizations. Nor have resources from the state in support of women's organization been forthcoming. In various ways, then, the economic opportunity structure for the Russian's women's movement development is quite constrained and, to some extent, determined by forces external to Russia.

Western funding of women's organizations in Russia takes diverse forms. Western source fund: newsletters, journals, and books; conferences, seminars and training sessions; email networks, and technological support. They also give direct grants to women's groups for diverse projects, including travel to international conferences. Foreign funding have also helped in the publication of information documenting the major events of the Russian women's movement, for example, Dutch women group, *Ariadna*, financed the publication of directory of participants and book of materials from Second Independent Women's Forum, whereas concluding document of the First Independent Women's movement was financed by

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, 1999

contributions from American supporters.⁵⁴Western money also provided for the publication of several important books in 1996 like *Our Bodies*, *Ourselves*-the only Russian language text on women's health. Also, the first Russian –language text dealing with the issue of sexual harassment, called *Sexual Harassment at Work (seksual'nye presledovaniia na rabote)*, was published with the funding from the American Bar association, the Consortium and USAID.

A far greater share of western money goes towards funding seminars, training sessions, and conferences, most of which fall into categories spanning a predictable spectrum: "leadership training", "fundraising", "NGO management", "lobbying", "coalition building", "planning a sociopolitical agenda," and so on.55The National Democratic Institute and International Republican Institute, both funded by American government sponsors such events on regular basis. Foreign grants enable conferences organizers to bring activists in from cities located a considerable distance from Moscow. Without western funding, the frequency and reach of such seminars and conferences would be considerably smaller; similarly networking and information exchange would be even more limited. In order to produce national level campaigns, women activists from organizations within and outside Moscow need the opportunity to come together to determine priorities, discuss strategies, and share information. Several foundations held competitions for individual women activists travel funding to the UN fourth World Conferences on Women and the concomitant NGO forum, held in Beijing in 1995. Without these funds, many of the 200 Russian women who attended would have been unable to afford their trips, keeping the independent Russian women's movement isolated from activists in other countries.⁵⁶

ibid

⁵⁵ ibid

Bending The Bow: Targeting women's human rights and opportunities, Open Society Institute, New York, 2002

The west also funds the development of email networks in Russia. The Network of East –West women initiated the first program to link women in the former communist bloc countries, hooking women's groups throughout Russia and eastern Europe up to an email conference which lists information about women's groups and events in the united states, Russia, eastern Europe. The program is funded by Ford and MacArthur Foundations, and by World LearningInc; and the Eurasian Foundation. USAID itself has a granting program called Support for Women's Initiatives, the goal of which is to assist in developing a space for NGOs activity in Russia and built ties between NGOs and the commercial and governmental sectors, in order to enrich the democratic and economic reforms in Russia.

4.6.2 Nature of Women's Movement

The flowering of women's organization in Russia has been remarkable for its speed and its extent. In 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev was selected to become general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, there was only one women's organization in Soviet Russia: the Soviet Women's Committee. A decade later, there were hundreds of women's groups, clubs, initiatives and projects officially registered and operating in Russia. Relative to the previous decades of Soviet rule, this increase represented a tremendous surge in civic action, spurred by the political and economic transition that began in the late 1980s under Gorbachev and continued under Yeltsin administration. Along with women's groups, a multitude of other "informal" organizations formed, including independent trade unions, a variety of noncommunist political groups, and environmentalist and antinuclear power movements. The mid-1990s, the women's groups operating in Russia ranged in size from tiny group of friends to organizations with branches in dozens of Russian regions

Lipovskaya, Olga. "Women's groups in Russia", in Buckley, Mary(ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.186-199, 1997.

boasting memberships of several thousand. Women's organizations are conscious of the prevailing discrimination against women in Russia, and are engaged in wide variety of activities attempting to raise women's political, economic, and social status in Russian society.

Valerie Sperling mentions the following activities performed by the women's organizations.⁵⁸

- They have lobbied the Supreme Soviet and its parliamentary successors, the Russian Duma, as well as the local legislatures.
- Campaigned on behalf of women politicians.
- Starting in 1991, organized large conferences involving hundreds of women.
- Held fairs and other charity events providing material assistance to women and children.
- Organized self-help groups and consultation/support services in order to combat rising unemployment and the declining availability of daycare and other social services.
- Organized employment training, business-management, and leadership training programmes for women
- Created support groups for single mothers, women artist and women entrepreneurs.
- Held countless roundtable, seminars, and lectures on feminism and women 's issues
- Establish rape crisis and domestic violence hotlines
- Founded a women's radio station
- Conducted self-esteem workshops for women and other consciousness raising activities.
- Published and distributed women's publications
- Conducted research on women

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, 1999

- Lobbied the media to cover women's issues and movement events more extensively
- Organized occasional pickets and small demonstrations
- Registered their organization

The Russian women movement has been in many ways Moscow centered.⁵⁹ It is the center were lobbying and other forms of mobilization aimed at changing policies at national level tend to take place. Moscow serves as the venue for the headquarters of many "national", and "interregional" women's organization. Moscow is the city with the largest number of women's movement events, and many of the most politically oriented women's organization in Russia.

Despite resource scarcity, the small size of movement organizations, and fundamental similarities in goals and tactics, the movements groups—in Moscow- exhibit precious little collaboration with one another, although outside Moscow collaboration across organizations was quite high. There are three basic reasons for lack of collaboration between women's groups in Moscow⁶⁰

(1) the perception of certain organizations as being affiliated with the "state" (a negatively charged association in a post-totalitarian society), and a fear of enforced unity within a top-down organizational structure, also related to the history of totalitarian social organization. This is not an issue in the provinces. Although the Soviet Women's Committee had multiple branches throughout Russia, its subdivision (*zhensovety*) functioning at the local levels were not perceived a state –bureaucratic organs, but instead as potentially, and occasionally concretely, helpful organizations.

⁵⁹ Zdravomyslova, Elena. "Overview of feminist movement in contemporary Russia" in *Diogenes*, vol.49, Summer 2002.

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, 1999

- (2) the existence of competiting associational networks; however in the provinces there tended to be only one: the local Communist Party, or its affiliated organizations, such as the Komsomol organizations at their academic institutes, and , in several cases, had met each other through such work . There, these acquaintanceships and working relationships contributed to movement solidarity later on.
- (3) the presence of international sources of funding for women's movement organizations.

All three issues operate very differently in the provinces than they do in the capital. Thus there are two type of conflict, both due to collapse of totalitarian regime, that prevent collaboration between women's organization in Moscow. The first type of conflict arises between the feminists organizations that tended to spring from "independent" associations toward the end of the Soviet regime, and those that were descended from mobilizational networks identified with the Soviet state and Communist Party rule, such as Union of Russia's Women. After the regime collapse, the "independent" groups tended to vilify those groups descended from state run organizations. In cities like Moscow where multiple and competing networks were present, movement fragmentation are therefore high, complicating coalition building. The second type of conflict arise within the network of "independent" women's movement organizations, between those who were activists before the regime collapse, and those who became involvd n women's organizing later, but even financially profitable. Finally fractionalization of the movement in Moscw was further driven by the fact that numerous women's organizations there were engaged in semi-ferocious struggles over the acquisition of funding, the vast majority of which came from external foreign sources. Where reliance on a domestic membership base in impractical, competition for limited funds escalates. In the provincial cities, however, distance from the West and from Western funding sources kept such competition to a minimum.

Despite fear of centralization, which still poses barriers to formalization of links, new networks with similar goals of sharing information and launching joint projects are in the process of being established. The first was initiated by Independent Women's Forum as the follow up of the national conferences of 1991 and 1992 held in Dubna. The second, led by the Russian –American Consortium sponsored by Winrock International, is aimed at creating information among women's groups. The third, established by the Union of Russian Women's councils, united about 100 women's councils representing about two million people. The recognition of the importance of joint action and of a unification of the women's movement is reflected in the appearances of an increasing number of regional associations. Examples, the Council of Women of the Don region, the Women's Union of the Baikal region etc.

The exchange of information is also growing and a growing number of independent women's and feminist newspapers, bulletin, and journals have been published. The bulletin *All Men are Sisters* is issued twice yearly since 1993 by the Petersburg Center of Gender Issues. 62 The literary feminist journal *Prebrazhenie* is published as an almanac by a group of the same name in Moscow. 63 In Volgograd a feminists newspaper, *Women's Games'*, has appeared. In Moscow ZHIF, or Women's Innovation Fund, has put out a bi-monthly newsletter *Woman Plus/Zhenshchina Plius* in English and Russian. 64 The periodical *Vy I My* (You and Us) is published in Russian in the USA by a joint Russian-American editorial board. There are also on-line conferences, like *Network East-West Women*. All these constitute important steps in the further integration of the women's movement in Russia.

Taking into account the growing politicization of the women's movement, two general processes are visible: on the one hand a

Issraelyan Yevgenia. "Russian Women: Challenges of the Modern World", in *Research on Russia and Eastern Europe, Vol.2*, JAI Press Inc.pg 157-168,1996

Lipovskaya, Olga. "Women's groups in Russia", in Buckley, Mary(ed). *Post-Soviet Women:* From the Baltic to Central Asia. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.186-199, 1997.

⁶³ ibid

⁶⁴ ibid

nomenclaturization of the women's movement, and on the other the independent development the women's movement. By nomenticularization, it is meant a certain nomenclature revanche coming from the old traditional state and so-called public women's organization like the former 'Soviet Women's Committee' (now the Union of Women of Russia). The main problem of this trend seem to be following: firstly it claims to be the monopolistic leader of the women's movement, representing all Russian women and secondly it has a specific social base consisting of mainly pro-communist and anti-reformist forces. The independent women's movement shares all the difficulties other new democratic social protest movements face including, issues of organization financing, effective information, and leadership, etc. Nevertheless its strong points are⁶⁵

- Absence of burden of a discredited ideology and practice
- A new emancipatory ideology
- Incorporation into international women's networks
- Many committed activists
- A growing non –hierarchical women's network.

Russian women's movement appears to be nonmobilizational movement, holding few rallies and focusing entirely on nondisruptive means of creating change. 66 There are two main reason for this timidity regarding public conflict as a means of promoting social change. Firstly, the movement arose at the end of cycle of political protest in Russia, which reduces mobilizational potential and secondly, the movement emerged into a period of violent political conflicts in Russia. These included Yeltsin shelling of Parliament in 1993, growing number of industrial strikes, and the outbreak of several nearby wars in the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Konstantinova, Valentina. "Women's political coalitions in Russia", in Haavio-Mannila and Rotkirch, Anna(ed). Women's Voices In Russia Today, Dartmouth: USA, pp.235-247, 1996

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, 1999

Protest is currently associated with revolution and revolt; in the mid –1990s, the desire for stability far outweighs the potential benefits envisioned by women's movements activists entertaining the idea of mass protest.

International Organizations such as the United Nations, international documents such as UN and ILO conventions, and international conferences all play significant roles in the dynamics between the Russian state and the women's movement. As the legal heir to the USSR's various international agreements, the Russian federation is obliged to abide by CEDAW. Since Russian federation has ratified some of these agreements, women's organizations are able to bring the content of these documents to official attention without being open to criticism. At Duma hearings on the draft Labour Code in march 1996, a set of amendments to the code was presented on behalf of two major women's organizations: MCGS and the Women's League. The amendments emphasized Russia's responsibilities to abide by more than a dozen international agreements, including ILO conventions, CEDAW, documents from the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993), the Declaration and Platform of the UN Forth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), and a series of international documents that Russia will be obligated to abide by in order to gain entrance into European Union. The use of "international language" on human rights by the Russian women's movement – a language that the Russian state has validated, whether intentionally or not, by signing on to international conventions on women's rights-is a direct result of exposure to international organizations and their documents.

There is no doubt that the political and economic transition period in Russia created conditions enabling the contemporary women's movement to emerge.increasing political freedoms permitted women to speak out publicly against discrimination and sexist stereotyping. Decade s of top down rule had created a populace shy of hierarchy, wary of coalitions in which their organization might get lost or dominated the monopolization of the public sphere by the state during seven decades of soviet rule had nearly

silenced civil society; social activism independent of communist party control was a new element of public life, emerging tentatively only with glasnost and perestroika. Russian women's organization are becoming increasingly aware of the need to operate together, and to focus their attentions at home. There is a certain acknowledgement that Western funding is impermanent, and that a domestic funding base will ultimately be necessary if the women's movement is to expand to the mass level

4.6.3 Types of Women Organization

The spectrum of women's movement organizing in Russia is quite extensive. By 1990, a great number of unofficial women's groups had emerged in the number and diversity of women's organization has increased considerably. Different kinds of women's mobilization have ranged from economic activities, such as running small businesses and providing services; training; to consciousness raising and women's advocacy; gender and women studies research project; and political lobbying, and so forth

There classification varies, linked as it is to a variety of factors. Mary Buckley identifies three main types of women groups; ⁶⁷Firstly there are women –only groups that have formed within broader political movements, such as women groups of Sajudis. Secondly, women-only groups devoted to consciousness raising have emerged which attempt to break down traditional gender –role stereotypes and to disseminate feminist literature. The Leningrad Women's Group, which produces Zhenskoe chtenie, and the Moscow group LOTOS organized by Olga Voronina are two clear examples. The main aim of journal is to expose Soviet women to translations of western feminism. Thirdly several women's professional groups have been established, which stem initially from specific specialism such as literature, cinema and literature. Women-only groups organized

Buckley, Mary. "Glasnost and women question", in Ruthchild, Rochelle Goldberg(ed). Women in Russia and the Soviet Union: an annotated bibliography, Maxwell Macmillan International: New York: Toronto, pp.202-223, 1993.

according to profession provide a narrow base. Ex; The Association of Women Scholars; Femina-a women writers club in Irkutsk. etc

Olga Lipovskaya divides the groups into 'introvert' 'extrovert'. 68 The Introvert groups refer to groups and organization that try solving the socio-economic problems of their members. They are small in number, usually less developed in political and gender consciousness, and focus on narrow problems. There structures are not usually well defined and members tend to be passive consumers of what is offered by the leaders and activists. They include the Single Mother's Association, local groups of mothers with big families, mothers with handicapped children and the widow's Association. They either provide members with small business opportunities or organize charity fairs. The Extrovert groups comprise of those groups which try to deal with a wide range of social and political issues and which have large memberships. They posses a more developed political and social consciousness. They include various types of organization such as, professional associations, educational and cultural organization that provide lectures, seminars, psychological training and professional retraining or women. Examples of extrovert groups are: Femina, Petersburg Centre For Gender Issues, Association of Women in Media, Association of Police Women, Russian Association Of University Women etc.

Rosalind Marsh provides four fold classification of women groups. ⁶⁹ The first category consists of *political groups*, including women only groups that formed within broader political movements during perestroika. Examples of such groups are- United Party of Women established in Leningrad by Vera Kuril'Chenko and the Women's Party of Sovereign Russia from Tomsk. The most important example in this category is 'Women of Russia' political movement. The second category consists on

Lipovskaya, Olga. "Women's groups in Russia", in Buckley, Mary(ed). Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.186-199, 1997.

Marsh, Rosalind. "The Russian Women's' Movement", in Rosalind. Marsh (ed.) Women in Russia and Ukraine. Cambridge University Press, pp.287-293, 1996.

Consciousness-raising Groups- these types of feminists groups try to break down traditional gender-role stereotypes and to disseminate feminist literature. These include the Moscow Gender Centre, Liberal Women's Foundation, the Moscow club 'Transfiguration' (Prebrazhenie), the lesbian group within the Association for the Protection of Minorities, and an independent organization called 'Ariadna', which promotes gender research and conducts training programmes to help women in business, political leadership and other activities. The third category consists of Professional Associations, which comprises of professional groups of women writers, filmmakers, academics, teachers in secondary and higher education and support groups for those in business and management. For example, Association of women journalists. Grass-roots organizations are the fourth category of organization, for example Committee of Soldier's Mother. Valeri Sperling provides another classification of women's organization .She divides Women's organizations into six major categories:⁷⁰

- Advocacy: she further divides them into groups that deal with discrimination issues like; Women's League Women for Social Democracy, Center for Issues of Women, Family and Gender Studies and the groups that deal with pragmatic welfare issue, for example, City Union of Women (Ivanovo), Women 's liberal Fund, Single Parent Families Committee.
- Self-help and Support: this category comprises of groups working with different section of women. A significant number of groups are concerned with emploment issues. These include groups providing job training like Centre of Social Support of Women and families. This category includes groups of businesswomen who mentor and provide support to each other, for example, Association of Women Entrepreneurs, Women's Liberal Fund, Confederation of Businesswomen of Russia, Women's alliance. Also present are a large

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, pg 27-35, 1999.

number of mutual support groups for mothers in a variety of categories, like Committee of Multi –Child Families and Tolko Mamy. This category also include charitable organizations intended to help the neediest people among whom children and women constitute the majority. Examples are City Union of Women, Congress of Soviet women, International Association of Russian Women-Mothers. Other type of support groups exist for professional women in various fields, including; SANTA(for women in law enforcement), Women with University Education, Association of Women Journalists, Conversion and Women(defence industry). Lesbian support organizations now exists, such as MOLLI(Moscow Organization of Lesbian Literature and Art)

- Consciousness- raising: this category comprises of consciousness-raising organizations, such as the Feminist Co-counseling Group, Feminist Alternative (FALTA), and Klub Garmoniia(club harmony), and monthly lecture groups that invite people to speak about their research on women, such as Klub F-1(first feminist club) and Preobrazhenie
- Anti-violence against women: development of women's crisis services, including hotlines for victims of rape and domestic violence, is evident in nearly every major Russian city. Moscow Crisis Center of Women, "Sisters".
- Cultural promotion: an example of this category is Salam Bi (Cheboksary)
- Publishing: this category includes groups like Petersburg Centre for Gender Issues, Preobrazhenie, archive-database-library project, inform center of the IWF.

4.6.4 Problem's of Women's Activism

The experience of the women's movement in Russia resonates with that of social movements elsewhere, in that it seeks to achieve a variety of cultural, political and economic goals, while suffering from insufficient resources and internal divisions and conflict between activists. Russian attempts to build civil society, remains noninstitutionalized and fragile, culturally, politically, and economically. The cultural practice of organizing into groups from below is still new; the aversion to group formation from above, to hierarchy, and even to coalition formations is strong. And on the political front, although it would probably be no longer feasible for Russian's political rulers to impose a regime that would forbid societal organizing independent of state control, state bureaucrats near monopoly over access to information can still make it rather difficult for social movements to operate effectively.

Russia economic transition created both opportunities and obstacles for the emerging women's movement and its development. Besides spurring the creation of new women's groups, it also set a backdrop of hardships against which all independent organization had to struggle to survive. Economic transition created roadblocks to the development of women's movement organization, such as financial hardships and constraints on national networking.

Women's movement in Russia faces severe fiscal problems. Having lost financial support from the state, which the official women's movement enjoyed under socialism, women's groups are having bad times. Some groups are funded by foreign organizations but few are successful at fundraising. As a result, many women activists express the notion that there is no scarcity of ideas but a big shortage of money.

Economic conditions under which women's organizing has occurred have been constraining, creating a difficult situation for women's group self-perpetuation, mobilization, and national—campaign building. Their problems ranged from lack of monetary means to carry out their programs to a lack of office space, technology, and staff. Acquiring office space in Moscow was particularly difficult because of the inability of NGOs to bear high rental

costs.⁷¹ Many organizations worked out of leaders apartment, and met by arrangement for events at libraries, academic institutes, or other public spaces, including foreign foundation office.⁷² Bringing together members of an organization having branches in multiple cities or holding interregional seminar had become extremely difficult without foreign funding, as airline and even rail tickets became very expensive with decline in state subsidies. Moreover few groups had their own telephone numbers; usually the contact phone was that of the organization's leader⁷³.

There were no funds available to purchase technology such as, faxes, photocopy machines, or computers. And none devoted to publishing because of sky rocketing costs of paper and printing. Exacerbating the lack of material and technical resources is Russia's dilapidated communications infrastructure. The telephone lines are unreliable; faxes tend to arrive garbled; and intercity phone connections can be at times almost impossible to achieve. The potential for a national movement is extremely small due to severely limited networking opportunities for women's groups. With no affordable or accessible means to link women's organization, networking is reduced to the rare occasions upon which women attend national conference or interregional seminars. Most of the organization's leaders worked at other paid full time jobs, and funded any group activities out of their own pockets, although the activist's personal resources were limited.

Although some groups operated on the basis of sponsorship and donations, a number of activists expressed reluctance to seek sponsors external to the group. Some believed that sponsors would come only with strings attached, or that people would try to use or claim the organization for their own purposes. the long-standing lack of a law governing charitable donations has contributed to this distrust. Moreover, women's issues are not

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press, 1999

⁷² ibid

⁷³ ibid

⁷⁴ ibid

widely recognized in Russia as an object for private, charitable donations. In Russia, as of 1994, the most likely objects of charity from banks were: children, religious organizations, medical facilities, cultural enterprises, disabled people, educational institutions, poor, pensioners, sports facilities, and private individuals.⁷⁵

The economic downturn in Russia has also adversely affected women's organization's ability to survive and make themselves known. Recent years have witnessed the closure of several Russian women's organizations such as the Centre of Women's Initiatives and newspapers like, *Delovaia Zjenshchina* and *Novaia Zhenshchina*. Most organization cannot produce newsletter as the cost are prohibitive. Some are published on a highly irregular basis, once or twice per year. Typical of most women's organization having branches in more than one city, its affiliates communicate by writing letters. The paucity of women's organization group publications greatly complicates communication and networking at national level. Some activist believe that a certain amount of demobilization had taken place in the past, precisely because if increasingly strained economic conditions

Moreover Russian women 's movement organizations have not made outreach and domestic fundraising a priority. Russia's history of state monopoly over the public sphere has left today's movement organizations lacking an outreach and fundraising tradition, on the one hand, and lacking an economic infrastructure for NGOs on the other. Under the Soviet regime, mass public organizations like the Soviet Women's Committee and local women's councils were state funded. Even the source of the feminist – identified wing of the Russian women's movement, the Moscow Center of Gender Studies (MCOS), had its origin in an institute of the state funded Academy of Sciences. The lack of economic infrastructure for NGOs including direct mail, checkbooks, a reliable postal service etc limits the

⁷⁵ ibid

⁷⁶ ibid

utility of a membership-expansion strategy, and thereby alters the priorities of Russian women's organization. Large membership advocacy organizations are still impractical in Russia. Limited resources and infrastructural gaps make direct mail contributions impossible, and put the publication of newsletters out of financial reach. These factors help to keep Russia's women's organization small in size. Without dues and newsletter, a large advocacy organization could not operate, but a small one can.

Despite the obvious benefit of foreign aid, the injection of money to the system produces a number of side effects.⁷⁷ One problem is equal access. Networking between women's groups and activists does take place, but a frequent critique is that the same old people appear at each conference and seminar; in other words, that an "in" clique of women's groups has formed, and that the outsiders have a hard time breaking in. Moreover, granting agencies in Russia give grants to organizations, not to individuals. Usually, it is only the leaders of the recipient organizations who will gain salary from the grant. In a rather cynical article on the National Endowment for Democracy and its pretenses to "export democracy", and "promote the growth of what is called 'civil society' in eastern Europe', David Samuels wrote, "as one might guess, the availability of dollars for NGOs is leading to their proliferation". Those who are successful in their endeavor to get grants are often accused of trying to monopolize the western contacts that they have acquired. Some activists accuse the Union of Russia's Women of monopolizing contacts with west. Likewise Moscow Center of Gender Studies is criticized of trying to keep their western contacts for themselves, of "facing the west" exclusively, publishing primarily in English, in order to maintain contacts with foreign granting sources. These kinds of perception make it rather difficult for various women's groups to cooperate. Many of the respondents talked about intra movement competition over western funding, benefits, and trips abroad, and believed that competition over funding detracts from organization's ability and desire to work together.

ibid

Another important concern among activists is that foreign foundations and governments are setting the rules about women's organization structures and priorities. Western granting agencies have an effect not only on the structure of women's movement organizations, but also on the content of their activities-on women's groups priorities. Such agencies priorities condition the choices that women's groups make, when considering what projects might be fundable and, thus, which projects to submit for grants. For instance, activists in Russia have tended not to work on political campaigns for candidates who support women's rights; foreign funding for such work is less available than funds for activities that are not so overtly political.⁷⁸

Thus it is evident from the above discussion, that women in Russia are trying to maintain their organization in a situation of havoc and uncertainty, palgued by financial structural and organizatinal problems.

4.7 Conclusion

Historically, the women's and human rights movement existed in the USSR in the framework of a single social phenomenon: the Soviet dissident movement. In the 1960s to 1980s the Soviet dissident movement united all advocates of the protection of individual rights and freedoms. The dissident community was principally open and united representatives of very different separate movements. In their activities, all of these movements resorted to human rights methods to assert the rights of citizens. The rough pressure by the communist regime forced dissidents to close their ranks. The fall of communism opened possibilities to firmly assert the basic values and to work actively on solving all kinds of problems that were already brought up in the dissident period. As a result the dissident community that in those days was united, fell apart into segmental profile organizations. However, in despite of the transformation of the Russian society over the past 10 years

Sperling, Valerie. Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition. Cambridge University. Press

violations of human rights, including those of women, are of massive and systematic nature.

Much less attention was given to the "good news" - that Russia already has several new prominent and even pro-feminist women politicians (Temkina 1996); that the Russian independent women's movement is the most active and well organised of all post-socialist countries; that women's organisations are a vital part of the developing third sector in Russia (Liborakina 1996); or that women in Russia have (literally) survived the transition process much better than the men, whose drastic fall in life expectancy has still not been explained by social scientists.

Russia's dual political and economic transition away from a totalitarian polity and command economy, in combination with the legacy of its political history and various international influences, has had significant repercussions for the form of its contemporary Women's movement New contacts with foreign women and their organizations, access to western feminists literature, the opportunity to travel to the west, the availability of western funding for Russian women's organization, a plethora of western—sponsored training sessions and seminars for women, international conferences on women's issues, and the growing knowledge of international laws and standards regarding discrimination against women-all exerted influence on the development and dynamics of Russian women's movement.

At the macroeconomic level, Russia's economic crisis conditions in the 1990s have presented an interesting set of possibilities for women's organizing. On the one hand, some activists see the worsening economic situation as fuel for a change in consciousness, increased perception of injustice and collective identity, and therefore heightened and expanding organizing. Indeed, the economic transition period has served to inspire the formation of many women's groups. On the other hand, however, the depressive and demobilizing effects of the economic crisis have led to a situation where many activists work multiple jobs and are left with limited leisure time in which to organize, write, hold meetings and soon, especially

given the prevailing household division of labour. At the macro societal level, then, the economic opportunity structure for the Russian women's movement is at her best ambiguous. Meanwhile economic constraints at the organizational level are clearly present and severe in the Russian movement case. Given the limited resources currently available to women's groups, we can expect that they will continue to confront serious financial obstacles to intercity networking and the expansion of their program work. Resource mobilization, in the concrete financial sense, presents a very real obstacle to movement development.

Nearly anything that women's movement activists try to accomplish in Russia will be fraught with difficulty. Activists struggle against a number of obstacles. They come up against sexism in the public sphere, and against essentialist sex roles ingrained before and during the Soviet era, reinscribed by the advent of market economy. They contend with unstable contacts with people in power. They face a nationwide economic crisis, and fallout from the policies of international lending organizations. They confront a lack of economic infrastructure for fundraising, and a limited set of terms with which to discuss feminism with the population at large however there is no lack of subjects with which to make appeals to the population

Despite these constraints, the women's movement has done as well as any other social movement in Russia. The hundreds of women organization spread across the country are attempting to articulate the interests of diverse groups of women, but are doing so in a rather uncertain economic and political atmosphere, with few tools to assist them. The institutionalization of channels between women's organization and the state fluctuates between being weak and being nonexistent. But women activists have learned quickly. They are mastering their way around the corridors of power, and maneuvering around the offices of foreign foundations

As the transition to market economy precedes the question of whether and under what conditions women work are likely to remain of central concern. Young women have grown to adulthood in the era of glasnost, post- Communism, and widening opportunities for choice and autonomy in daily life. As time goes by the constituency for the ideas of women's movement is likely to expand. The future of women's movement, is thus positive. Educational programmes have appeared within the movement, which provide for the spread of knowledge about organizational management. There are also legal consultations for women's group and for individuals, consciousness-raising groups, psychological training in leadership skills and assertivness, as well as information passed on about communication technology.

Women's activism in Russia is growing. There are even more grassroots organization and groups. In addition, due to the development of information technology and growing social consciousness, there is a greater convergence of groups. Many associations are formed at local, regional, and interregional levels. Increasing number of new independent women's and feminist publications, newsletter, bulletins and newspapers are being published and distributed thereby exchanging information and sharing experiences. Increasing number of women realize that current changes in social and political life affect them seriously, and the diversity of orientation and goals of these groups is also growing. Women's voices are increasingly expressed in the media, such as on television programmes, in women's pages of democratic press and in independent women's publication. Women's initiatives and the nascent women's movement in Russia is the only guarantee of women's equality and development. They also represent a serious measure of the success of democratization in Russia. And the women's movements in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are tackling issues of peace and development, as well as equality. Despite the fact that their membership is small, involving an extremely tiny percentage of soviet women, the conviction of those women who are active is strong. Glasnost harnessed to democratization made the emergence of these groups feasible; in the next decade, if the democratization proceeds unhalted, many more are likely to become established, resulting in accentuated diversity.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

Women constitute half the world population and all over the world are victims of discrimination in some form or the other. Besides inequality in access to education, employment, decision-making, women are subjected to different forms of violence-rape, prostitution, domestic violence, etc. Violation of women's human rights cut across culture, country, different political system and economic status. Moreover rights are violated and tolerated on some grounds or the other, like religious, cultural reasons, example being genital mutilation.

Human rights based on the notion of inherent dignity of individual, in its many guises have become a pervasive global cause. A body of international human rights law constituting human rights declarations, covenants, and conventions has emerged, however the main criticism leveled against the mainstream human rights framework is that it doesn't gives a prominent place to women rights. Feminist critique of international law draws upon the public/private dichotomy that subordinates women. Human rights framework construes the civil and political rights of individuals as belonging to public life while neglecting to protect the infringements of those rights in the private sphere of familial relationships. Women suffer gross violation of their rights in social, cultural and economic sphere, however, social, economic and cultural rights are given less prominence than the civil and political rights. Moreover egregious and pervasive violations of women's rights often go unrecognized. Even when they are recognized, they go unpunished and unheeded, and are all too often defended as a necessary part of a culture or religion or as a quality of human nature.

The movement for women's human rights has sought to implement the idea that women and men are equal members of society and that

'women's rights are human rights'. Over the years tremendous progress has been made in defining, demanding and implementing women's human rights. For example, a host of women rights are codified in international standards, women have moved from the private sphere of home and family into the public sphere as citizens and workers. In many respects and in many countries, women are now considered equal humans, legally if not socially or economically. But it is clear that much needs to done in order to reflect women's concern in mainstream human rights discourse. There is need to recharacterise human rights and at the same time explore various ways that can be deployed to achieve changes to bring about equal status in the family, society, or politics. The communist authorities attempted to construct a particular set of gender relations- a triangular set of relations in which the primary relationship of individual men and women was to the state rather than to each other. Women were to serve the state in their role as mothers and workers. The state assumed responsibility for the fulfillment of the traditional masculine roles of father and provider, by affording women access to paid work and according them "protection" in their role as mothers.

Women under communism were, indeed, encouraged to participate in the labour force. An array of conveniences facilitated their participation: day care centres, kindergarten, daylong schools, abortion clinics. They had their quota in parliament. They climbed to the top of some professions. Reality was much drearier. Women however groaned under the "triple burden" - work, marital expectations cum childrearing chores and party activism. Women's traditional roles - so succinctly summarized by Bismarck with Prussian geniality as "kitchen, children, church" - survived the modernizing onslaught of scientific Marxism. They succumbed to the lure and demands of the (stressful and boastful) image of the communist "super-woman". Glasnost and perestroika brought new dynamism to the women question. Various impact of glasnost like new issues like prostitution were explored, are discussed in detail in this chapter. Thus introduction chapter provides a

clear condition of women in Soviet era, which helps us in the analysis the present condition of Russian women.

With the disintegration of Soviet Union, women yet proved to be the prime victims of historical processes, this time of transition. There have been a number of negative consequences of the transition, many of which have impacted on women. Women witnessed the resurgence of social forces, which sought to confine them to home, hearth, spouse and children and to "liberate" them from the "forced labour" of communism. The mass media still support the notion that women's role in society is limited to that of wife and mother. In the political field, with the abolition of quota, women political representation declined, from as high as 33 percent in Soviet period to 7.5 percent at present. Moreover they are not adequately represented at decision-making and policy making levels. Women political activities are constrained by various factors like lack of finances, patriarchal nature of society and political, ideological divisions between women members of parliament In short, democracy in Russia still has a masculine face.

In the 1990s, increasing economic pressures and shrinking governmental programmes have adversely affected women's economic condition. The erosion of their economic base coupled with the drastic decreases in child benefits, in the length of maternal leave, in the number of public and, thus, affordable child care facilities and in other support networks led to a swift deterioration in the economic status of women. In the era of private economy, women found themselves at the disadvantage position. For example, Communism left behind it a legal infrastructure incompatible with a modern market economy, for instance maternal leave was anywhere between 18 and 36 months. Companies often fire women to avoid paying childcare benefits or granting maternity leave. It is estimated that 70 percent of those officially recognized unemployed are women. Russian women suffer from discrimination in wages, recruiting and firing, and from being shifted to part-time and low-paid jobs. But their main concern is to keep a job by any means, even for symbolic salary and without

proper security. Also significant portions of them are young-under 30. The economic crisis in Russia has intensified women's risk of poverty, which, like unemployment, is likely to be increasingly feminised. The decline in real incomes with inflation is felt particularly strongly by single parents, whom are predominantly women, accounting for 10 percent of the registered unemployed females are the only breadwinners in the family, about half of them have small children

A major problem contributing to women's deteriorating economic status is the failure of existing legal measures on gender equality to prevent discrimination against women in employment. In post communist countries, women seeking employment are constantly asked questions about marital status, family obligations, and their plans for children. Employment advertisements are gender-specific. Qualifications for men pertain to education and experience, while those for women often involve age and appearance. Moreover women are absent from or are poorly represented in economic decision-making, including the formulation of financial, monetary, commercial and other economic policies.

The transition to market economy has adversely affected women's social status as well. Present condition of society is characterized by declining life expectancy and birth rate, numerous abortions, late marriage, a high divorce rate, and decline in health benefits. Violence against women like domestic violence has increased. Present characterized by growing erotization of women as well, which is widely evident, for example, in mass media.

Despite these negative trends, the transition has some positive impacts as well like: in politics women faction has emerged in parliament which was unthinkable in Soviet era; though women's representation has decreased in parliament, it is argued that these independent women members are better than the puppet Deputies of Soviet period and similarly in economic field, despite constraints, women have wider choices as far as career is concerned. The lifting of the iron curtain lifted the triple burden as

well. Women finally had a choice whether to develop a career and how to balance it with family life. Although economic hardship made this choice highly theoretical. However it is clear that disintegration of Soviet Union has created adverse situation for realization of Russian women's political, economic and social rights.

Our discussion has shown that, the Post- Soviet disintegration has created economic and social conditions, which has aggravated violence against women in Russia. Violence against women has increased at all levels of society in the 1990s. Individual violence was not discussed and was considered a taboo in the Soviet period. It was considered as social deviancy that was dying out as the Soviet Union advanced toward communism. No attempt was made to understand this phenomenon and a complete silence prevailed. With glasnost, the censorship was relaxed and attitude was liberalized as a result issues like rape, prostitution, child abuse began to disused in the media. With the advent of market economy women found themselves in a disadvantage position and a rise in violence against women was witnessed. The magnitude of which can seen from the fact the in 1993 an estimated 14000 women were murdered by their husbands or lovers, about twenty times the figure in United States and several times the figure in Russia five years earlier.

An analysis of nature of violence against Russian women reflects chiefly four kind of violence perpetuated against them: domestic violence; sexual violence; violence in conflict situation (Chechnya) and women in custody. Domestic violence has increased in recent times due to economic dependency, housing problem, lack of government intervention, and cultural factors. Sexual violence consists of rape, trafficking and prostitution and sexual harassment. Economic hardship has driven women to prostitution. In the 1990s, organized crime has become heavily involved in prostitution, both in Russia and cities of central and Western Europe, to which Russian women are lured by various means like bogus advertisements for matchmaking services or modeling agencies. Given the sense of societal

despair, alienation, poverty and hopelessness experienced by women, this disturbing trend may likely continue.

Rape and sexual harassment are widespread crimes women have to deal with. Rape goes largely unreported across the region. The act of rape is surrounded by pejorative stereotypes: women ask for it, they provoke it by their dress or behavior, or they cry rape to take revenge on a man; normal men do not commit rape, and so on. In addition, reporting procedures, at the police station and again in the courts, are complicated and degrading. In most cases, if a woman reports being raped, she is regarded with suspicion and rarely believed; she lacks any form of police or court protection, leaving her vulnerable to retaliation-either from the offender or, in some cases, from members of her family, who feel she has brought them dishonor.

Women are not willing to speak about domestic and sexual violence due to the reinstatement of the "traditional" male-dominated family throughout the region. Governments often collude with culture in this reinstatement. Women are subjected to violence like rape and sexual harassment in custody and in Chechnya, were both; Chechen fighters and Russian military subject them to violence. Access to justice for Chechens is generally undermined by an inefficient and unresponsive Russian justice system and fear of further abuse or detention; victims of rape are additionally deterred by the stigma of being a rape victim. The failure of Russian authorities to end human rights violations in Chechnya has contributed to a climate of impunity among security officers.

One of the most successful responses to violence is the creation of a broad support system: a network of hotlines, battered women's shelters, crisis centers, and counseling and legal services. Despite various constraints like paucity of funds crisis centers are working to provide help to victims of violence, like psychological, emotional support.

In this grim situation, a positive development is taking place. Independent women's organization- a form of activity that was suppressed in Soviet era- has been formed in large numbers in the 1990s at the local, regional and national levels. Although a vibrant women's movement existed prior to 1917, all kinds of women activities was suppressed during the soviet rule, where only one organization existed-the communist party. The Soviet power undertook to protect women's rights. This was how a new phenomenon emerged — "state feminism", or a specific state policy with regard to women, and within its framework "emancipation" of Soviet women began. The ruling party formed new women's associations "from the top": first "zhenotdely" (women's departments), and later "zhensovety" (women's councils). Communism believed that the restructuring of class relations would resolve all other social inequities. Feminism properly belonged to the spoiled, brooding women of the West - not to the bluestockings of communism

However women's activism emerged with implementation of perestroika and glasnost, which created condition conducive for their development like, it became legal to assemble in public, to organize groups and to register them. During the last decade, first women's groups identifying themselves with "independent women's movement" emerged at the turn of 1980-1990s, during the country's general reconstruction under the slogans of democratization and establishment of a law-governed state. There was considerable development in women organizing in the 1990s due to various factors like, contact with west, foreign funding, political changes and soviet legacy. They are dealing with various problems like: to protect women's rights; fighting against discrimination of women in the labor market by organizing retraining and professional education; dealing with the problem the of violence against women and some associations provide support to families and conducted charitable activities, others promoted and supported women's business.

Women movement in Russia is basically Moscow centred and non-mobilizational in nature. Despite similar goals and small size there is little cooperation between groups, however mechanism for information sharing is being developed. Russia's economic crisis has provided both inhibited as

well as encouraged women organizing. While the deteriorating condition of women has provided impetus to women's organizing, the resultant economic constraint has considerably inhibited their growth. Financial constraint and adverse effect of international funding have affected their development. Despite constraints women activism in Russia is growing which is evident of flowering of number organization. However feminism has remained a marginal political movement that was rejected by most Russian women

Russia is in a transitional phase shifting from one type of society and culture to another, one based on the principles of a free market economy. The changes brought by this transition in 1990s have profound effect on women in all spheres of their lives- from economic, political to social. In order to improve condition of women the Russian government needs to create condition conducive to realization of their human rights and dignity. The rights of women are a complicated and lengthy topic, embracing all aspects of life. It's requires concrete efforts in all directions.

Russian women are subjected to all forms of discrimination and abuse. In the political sphere discrimination manifests in form of inadequate representation in decision making and policy making, whereas in economic level it manifests in access to employment, unequal wages, and in hiring and firing practices. They are subjected to a host of violence behaviour like rape, domestic abuse, prostitution and trafficking. Moreover these problems are aggravated by unfavorable political and economic conditions and lack of government efforts. In short, diminished labour market access, increasing vulnerability to crime, loss of family oriented social benefits, and exceedingly low parliamentary representation serve currently to marginalize women in Russian Federation.

Thus it is required on the part of Russian government to create effective mechanism for protection and advancement of women rights in Russia, for example, improve health care especially for women and children, decrease infant and maternal mortality. Develop programmes of action, including legal measures to prevent violence against women, implement

stricter law to protect women from discrimination in employment and providing adequate protection in case of domestic violence and sexual harassment. Efforts, like providing monetary help to women candidates, should be made to increase their political representation. As political empowerment is must to improve women condition. They should have a say in policymaking and take active part in democracy.

Although women have made an effort to demand their rights and make their voices heard by forming women's organization. But women's activism has a long way to go as it is plagued by host of problems but the desire and efforts by women in this direction is commendable. Their is a need to change the prevalent patriarchal attitude in society and growing erotization of women which is reflected in different ways like in commercialization of their bodies in mass media, etc. the attitudinal change however, is a long term process and cannot be predicted. In the activity of the Post Soviet Russian population we observe diversity of behavoural models like: vestiges of socialism, vestiges of Russian capitalism and new behavioural models previously not seen. One point is clear, that the way of life of present Russian is no longer "socialist" but nor is yet "Western", or "European" or "American". It contains within itself the possibility of transition to models that are yet unknown. But whatever is the course of direction; it is clear that women will play an important part in social, economic and political life of Russia, although a major effort is required by government and Russian women themselves to improve their existing condition. Although Russian women have united in the struggle for political and personal emancipation an women activism has grown but they still have long way to go.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Documents/Reports

- Amnesty International Annual Human Rights Report 1995,1996,1997,1998,1999,2000,2001,2002,2003
- Amnesty International World Report 2001(Dec.2000), Women's Rights: Human Rights Developments.
- Amnesty International, <u>The Russian Federation: Denial of Justice</u> (London: Amnesty International Publications, 2002), 10, Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ engeur 460272002.
- Amnesty International. Broken Bodies, Shattered Minds, 2000.
- Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, Concluding Observations: Russian Federation, U.N. Doc. A/50/38, paras. 496-552 (1995), Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.umn, edu/humanrts/cedaw/
- Convention For The Suppression Of The Traffic In Persons And Of The Exploitation Of The Prostitution Of Others.
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). 1979. G.A. Res. 34/180, U.N. Doc. A/Res/34/180. Adopted December 18, 1979.
- Declaration And Programme Of Action Adopted At The Fourth World Conference On Women (Beijing 4-15 September 1995).
- Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. 1994. G.A. Res. 48/104, U.N. GAOR, 48th Session, Agenda Item 111, U.N. Doc A/Res/48/104. Adopted February 23, 1994.
- Health Care Systems in Transition (Copenhagen: World Health Organization, 1998), 9, Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://www.who.dk/document/e72969.pdf
- Human Development Report For Russian Federation By United Nation Development Fund (2002/2003).
- Human Rights In Russia 1999: Testimonies before the Helsinki Commission of the U.S. Congress by Ambassador William Courtney, Ludmilla Alexeeva, Micah Naftalin, and Leonid Stonov (September 15, 1999).

- Human Rights Today-A United Nations Priority, Prepared for the Internet by the Information Technology Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations, Dec 1998.
- Human Rights Watch. 1997. Russia Too Little, Too Late: State Response to Violence Against Women. Vol. 9, No. 13. Retrieved from the World Wide Web: http://www.hrw.org/reports97/russwmn/.
- Human Rights Watch. Global Report On Women's Human Rights, Oxford University: Delhi, 1998.
- Human Rights Watch. Russia: Neither Jobs Nor Justice, State Discrimination Against Women In Russia, 1995,
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. 1966. G.A. Res. 2200(XXI), 21 U.N. GAOR, Supp. (No. 16) at 52, U.N. Doc. A/6316. Adopted December 16, 1966
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. 1966. G.A. Res. 2200(XXI), 21 U.N. GAOR, Supp. (No. 16) at 52, U.N. Doc. A/6316. Adopted December 16, 1966.
- International Helsinki Federation For Human Rights-Annual Report-1997
- International Helsinki Federation. A Form of Slavery: Trafficking in Women in OSCE Member States-19 June 2000.
- International Helsinki Federation. Human Rights in the OSCE Region: The Balkans, the Caucasus, Europe, Central Asia and North America Report 2000 (Events 1999)-3 May 2000.
- International Helsinki Federation. Women 2000 An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States-5 Nov 2000.
- L.N. Ovcharova, N.M. Pavlova, M.S. Toksanbayeva, R.I. Popova, and I.I. Korchagina, Feminization of Poverty in Russia (Moscow: World Bank, 2000), Retrieved from World WideWeb:http://www.worldbank.org.ru/ECA/Russia.nsf/ECADocByLink/D941B6467604FE0AC3256CD1005EF703
- National Report On Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women in Russia (NGO Alternative Report). Prepared for 43rd session of Commission on the Status of Women, United Nations, New York, March 1999. Retrieved from the World Wide Web: http://www.iiav.nl/european-womenaction-2000/countries/reports/russia1.html.
- Open Justice Society Initiative, Combating Discrimination in Russia: Strategies for Lawyers and NGOs, (2003), Retrieved from World Wide

Web:

http://www.justiceinitiative.org/publications/russia_ec/moscow_workshop/moscow.pdf

- Open Society Institute, Bending The Bow: Targeting Women's Human Rights, New York, 2002.
- Replies to the Questionnaire to Governments on Implementation of the Beijing Labor of the Russian Federation and the State Statistical Committee (GOSKOMSTAT) at http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/Russian%20 Federation.pdf> (1999)
- Russian Federation, Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women: Fifth Periodic Reports of State Parties, (United Nations, 1999), 13. Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://www.bayefsky.com/reports/russia cedaw c usr 5 1999.pdf.
- Russian Federation, Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: Fourth Periodic Reports Submitted by States Parties in Accordance with Articles 16 and 17 of the Covenant, (United Nations, 2001), 10, 14, 16. Retrieved from World Wide Web:http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf.
- Russian Federation. 1993. *Constitution of the Russian Federation*. Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/rs00000. html
- The Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, Women's Reproductive Rights of Young Girls and Adolescents in Russia: A Shadow Report, (1999), 9, Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://www.reproductiverights.org/pdf/sr rus 0999 eng.pdf.
- The MONEE Project, *Women in Transition* (UNICEF, 1999),Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://www.unicef-icdc.org/publications/pdf/monee6/chap-4.pdf.
- The World Organization Against Torture (OMCT) report entitled "Violence against Women in Russia," which has been submitted to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights-2003-Retrieved from World Wide Web:www.omct.org
- Trafficking in Persons Report: Russia, U.S. Department of State, 11 June 2003, Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/res/tiprpt/2003/21277.html.
- U.S Department of State: Russia Human Rights Practices, 1993, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC//democracy/1999-hrp-report/93hrp-report-toc.html

• Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 1948. G.A. Res. 217A(III), U.N. Doc. A/810, adopted December 10, 1948

SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

- Ashima, Sahu. Women's Liberation and Human Rights, Vedam Ebooks Ltd 2000.
- Atkinson, Dorothy, Dallin, Alexander and Lapidus, Warkshofsky Gail(ed). *Women in Russia*, The Harvester: Susssex, 1978.
- Baehr, R.Peter *Human Rights: Universality in Practice* (St.Martin's Press, INC: New York, 1999)
- Barbara, J.Nelson and Najma, Choudhary(ed). Women and politics worldwide, Oxford University: New Delhi.
- Bridger, Susan; Kay, Rebecca and Pinnick, Kathryn(ed). No more heroines?

 : Russia, women, and the market, Routledge: London; New York, 1996.
- Browing, Genia.K. Women and Politics in USSR: Consciousness Raising and Soviet women's groups, Wheatsheaf: Sussex, 1987.
- Brownlie, Ian (ed). Basic Documents in International Law (fifth edition), Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Bryson, Valerie. Feminist Political Theory-An Introduction, Palgrave Macmillan, 1992.
- Buckley, Mary(ed). Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Cook, Rebecca J. (ed). *Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives*. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.
- Duncan, W.Ramond, Webster, J.Barbara and Switky, Bob. World Politics in the 21st Century, Longman, 2002.
- Edmondson, Linda Harriet. Feminism in Russia, 1900-7, Hienemann Educational Books: New Delhi, 1984.
- Fawn, Rick and White, Stephen (eds), Russia After Communism, Frank Cass: London, 2002.
- Fields, Belden.A. Rethinking Human Rights For The New Millennium. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2003.
- Fong, Monica S. *The Role of Women in Rebuilding the Russian Economy*. Studies of Economies in Transformation 10. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1993.

- Haavio-Mannila and Rotkirch, Anna (ed). Women's Voices In Russia Today, Dartmouth: USA, 1996.
- Hooks, Bell. Feminism is for Everybody, South End Press: Cambridge, 2000.
- Kay, Rebecca. Russian women and their organizations: gender, discrimination, and grassroots women's organizations, 1991-96. St. Martin's Press: New York, 1999.
- Mamonova, Tatyana and Folsom, Chandra Niles. Women's glasnost vs. naglost: stopping Russian backlash, Bergin & Garvey: Westport, Conn, 1994.
- Marsh, Rosalind (ed). Women in Russia and Ukraine. Cambridge Univ. Press: New York, 1996.
- Mohan, Vasundara. Status of women in post-Soviet Russia, Centre for Central Eurasian Studies, University of Mumbai: Mumbai, 1999.
- Pilkington, Hilary (ed). Gender Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia. Routledge, 1996.
- Posadskaya, Anastasia (ed). Women in Russia: A New Era in Russian Feminism, Verso Books: London: New York, 1994.
- Pursglove, Michael(ed). The New Russia, Intellect: London, 1995
- Racioppi, Linda and Katherine O'Sullivan See. Women's Activism in Contemporary Russia. Temple Univ. Press: Philadelphia, 1998.
- Rai, Shirin, Pilkington, Hilary and Phizacklea, Annie. (ed). Women in the face of change: the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, Routledge: London, 1992.
- Ranganathan, Sarala and Siddiqui, Fatima. *Handbook on women and human rights*: A *guide for social activist –Part-1*, Kanishka Publishers: New Delhi, 2001.
- Ravindran, D.J. Human Rights Praxis: A resource book for study, action and reflection, Earthworm Books: Chennai, 1998, pg 31-37
- Rule, Wilma and Norma Noonan(ed). Russian Women in Politics and Society. Greenwood Pub. Group: Westport, Conn, 1996.
- Ruthchild, Rochelle Goldberg(ed). Women in Russia and the Soviet Union: an annotated bibliography, Maxwell Macmillan International: New York: Toronto, 1993.
- Ryan, Barbara. Dynamics of change in Social Movement, Ideology and Activism, Routledge: London, 1992.

- Sahu, Asima. Women's Liberation and Human Rights, Pointer: Jaipur, 2000.
- Sarah, Ashwin. Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia, Routledge: London, 2000.
- Stites, Richard. The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930. Princeton Univ. Press, 1991.
- Subramanian, S. *Human Rights: international challenges*, Manas Publication: New Delhi1997.
- Symonodes, Janusz. *Human Rights: Concepts and Standards*, UNESCO Publishing, 2002.
- Thebaud, Francoise(ed). The history of women-Towards a cultural identity in the twentieth century, The Belknap Press of Harvard university Press: Massachusetts
- Walter, Lynn(ed). Women's Rights: A Global View, Greenwood Press: London, 2001.
- Weiss.Gthoman, Forsythe and Coate, A. Roger. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, Westview Press: USA, 1994.
- Wejnert, Barbara, Spencer, Etta and Drakulic, Slobodan (eds). Women in post-communism, JAI Press Inc: Greenwich, 1996.
- Whittaker, J.David, *United Nations in action*. UCL Press: London, 1995.
- Wilford, Rick and Miller, Robert L. Women, ethnicity and nationalism: the politics of transition, Routledge: London: New York, 1998.

B. Articles

- A Fact book On Global Sexual Exploitation retrieved from World Wide Web: www.catwininternational.org
- Abubikirova, Natal'ia, "Russia: the main goal is to protect the victims", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.me.myi.org/ issues/44/index.html
- Ackerly, A.Brooke, "Human rights practice and grassroots theory: towards a cross- cultural theory of universal human rights", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.isanet.org/paperarchive.html
- Aivazova, Svetlana, "Feminism in Russia: Debates from the Past", in Posadskaya, Anastasia (ed). Women in Russia: A New Era in Russian Feminism, Verso Books: London: New York, pp.154-163, 1994.

- Amnesty International (January 25,2002). "Russian women locked in cycle of violence", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.cdi.org/Russia/johnson
- Ashwin, Sarah and Bowes, Elain, "Do Russian women want to work", in Buckley, Mary (ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.21-35, 1997.
- Ashwin, Sarah, "Introduction", in Ashwin, Sarah(ed), Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia (), pg.1-23
- Attwood, Lynne 'Young people's attitudes towards sex roles and sexuality'. In Pilkington, Hilary (ed) *Gender, generation and identity in contemporary Russia*, London: Routledge. pp. 132-151, 1996.
- Attwood, Lynne. 'The post-Soviet woman in the move to the market: a return to domesticity and dependence?' In Marsh, Rosalind (ed). Women in Russia and the Ukraine, Cambridge University: Press: Cambridge, pp. 255-266. 1996.
- Attwood, Lynne. "She was asking for it: rape and domestic violence against women" in Buckley, Mary(ed). Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.99-115, 1997
- Azhgikhina, Nadezhda, "A movement is born", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.bullatomicsci.org/index.html
- Azhgikhina, Nadezhda. 1996. The Horses Gallop On and On, Vy I My: The Women's Dialogue 13. Available on the World Wide Web from the website of the Network of East-West Women: http://www.neww.org/vim/13/horses.htm.
- Azhigikhina, Nadezhda. "Empowering Russian Women: Will Their Potential Be Tapped", in Isham, Heyward and Shklyar, Natan.M. Russia's fate through Russian eyes: Voices of the new generation, Westview Press, 2000.
- Basu, Amrita. "Introduction", in Amrita Basu (ed.) The Challenge of Local Feminism: Women's Movement in Global Perspective, Boulder: Westview, pp. 1-13,1995.
- Battered Dreams-a violent reality, Femina, Bombay, August 23,1994.
- Bayefsky, Anne F. "General Approaches to the Domestic Application of Women's International Human Rights Law." In *Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives*, edited by R. J. Cook. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1994.
- Bennet, Varona. "Violence against women in Russia grows worse", LA Times, December 6,1997.

- Binion, Gayle. "Human rights: a feminist perspective." *Human Rights Quarterly* vol.17, no.3 (August, 1995): 509-526.
- Bridger, Sue and Kay, Rebecca. "Gender and generation in the new Russian labour market", in Pilkington, Hilary (ed). Gender Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia. Routledge, pp. 21-37,1996.
- Bridger, Sue. "Young women and perestroika", in Ruthchild, Goldberg Rochelle (ed) Women in Russia and the Soviet Union, Maxwell Macmillan: Canada, 1778-199, 1993.
- Buckley, Mary. "Adaptation of the Soviet Women's Committee: Deputies' Voices from Women of Russia", in Buckley, Mary (ed). Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia, Cambridge University Press, pp.157-181, 1997.
- Buckley, Mary. "Glasnost and women question", in Ruthchild, Rochelle Goldberg (ed). Women in Russia and the Soviet Union: an annotated bibliography, Maxwell Macmillan International: New York: Toronto, pp.202-223, 1993.
- Buckley, Mary. "Victims and agents: gender in post-Soviet States", in Buckley, Mary(ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*, Cambridge University Press, pp.3-9, 1997.
- Bunch, Charlotte. "Towards 2001:Human rights depend on women's rights", Newsletter of The Global Fund For Women, Feb 2000.
- Bunch, Charlotte. "Women's Rights as Human Rights: Toward a Revision of Human Rights, *Human Rights Quarterly* 12: 486-98,1990.
- Byrnes, Andrew. "Toward More Effective Enforcement of Women's Human Rights through the Use of International Human Rights Law and Procedures". In R. J. Cook(ed). Human Rights of Women:

 National and International Perspectives. Philadelphia:
 University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994.
- Celina, Romany. "State responsibility goes private: a feminist critique of the pub/pvt distinction in international human rights law", in Cook, Rebecca J. (ed). Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.
- Charlesworth, Hilary. "What are 'Women's International Human Rights?" In Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives. Rebecca J. Cook, ed., pp. 58-84.1994.
- Charlott, Brunch, "International Human Rights: Challenges Posed By Women", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.members.tripod.com

- Chenoy, Anuradha M. "Soviet and Post-Soviet Perception of Central and Asian Women", in Ranbir, Samaddar(ed). Women in Asia: Work, Culture and Politics in South and Central Asia, Vikas: New Delhi, 1997.
- Chinkin, Christine. "Feminist interventions into international human rights law", 19 Adelaide Law Review 13.
- Clech Lam, Maivan. "Feeling Foreign in Feminism." SIGNS, 19(4), pp. 865,1994.
- Cooper, Sandi E. "Peace as a human right: the invasion of women into the world of high international politics", *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 14, no. 2, Feb, 2001.
- Croll, Elisabeth. J. "Collectivization in the transition to socialism: practices and problems in the Soviet Union and China", in Kate, Young (ed.) In serving two masters: third world women in development, Allied: New Delhi, 1989.
- Donna, M.Huges. "Prostitution in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.nationalreview.com
- Economic Crisis Hurts Women and Families First, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.therussianjournal.com.
- Edmondson, Linda. "Equality and differences in women's history: where does Russia fit in", in Marsh, Rosalind (Ed). Women in Russia and Ukraine, Cambridge University Press, pp. 95-117, 1996
- Ending Violence Against Women, Population Reports, Series L, Number 11, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.inforhealth.org
- Eremeeva, Olga, "Russia: Growth of single mothers poses new set of problems", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.hartford-hwp.com/archive/63/index-m.html.
- Filtzer, Donald. "Industrial working conditions and the political economy of female labour during perestroika", in Marsh, Rosalind (ed). Women in Russia and Ukraine, Cambridge University Press, pp. 214-225, 1996.
- Fineman, Martha Alberton. "Feminist theory in law: the difference it makes", Columbia Journal of Gender and the Law, New York, Jan31, 1992.
- Fraser, Arvonne S. "Becoming Human: The Origins and Development of Women's Human Rights", *Human Rights Quarterly*, 21(4), pp. 853-906, 1999.
- Fred Weir, "Russia Begins to Reconsider Wide Use of Abortion," Christian Science Monitor, 28 Augusts 2003.

- Gallup International. 1998. "Young Women Globally Demand Greater Rights" Retrieved from the World Wide Web: http://www.gallup-international.com/survey12.htm
- Gessen, Masha. "Russia: country report", in Rosenbloom, Rachel. (ed)

 Unspoken Rules: sexual orientation and women's human
 rights, Cassel: New York, 1996.
- Glasser, Susan B. "War on Chechnya has hidden toll in Russia, as suffering persists, topic is taboo" *Washington Post*, June 21,2003.
- Gloria, Bletter, "Gender, Equality, Development and Peace", *Peace and Freedom*, Philadelphia, Summer 2001.
- Heise, L. "Violence against women: The hidden health burden", The World Bank Discussion Paper, Washington D.C: The World Bank, 1994.
- Hughes, M. Donna, "Prostitution in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.nationalreview.com
- Hughes, M. Donna. "The Natasha trade-the transnational shadow of trafficking in women", *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2000.
- Human Rights Dialogue: Violence Against Women Series 2, Number 10 (Fall 2003).
- Human Rights Watch. "Russian Federation: Serious Violations of Women's Human Rights in Chechnya," January 2002, http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/eca/chechnya women.htm.
- Ilic, Melanie. "Generals without armies, commanders without troops: Gorbachev's 'protection of female workers", in Marsh, Rosalind (ed). Women in Russia and Ukraine, Cambridge University Press, pp. 228-239, 1996
- International Labour Organization. "Gender! A partnership of equals-Russia and other CIS countries-A break from the past", Geneva, 2000.
- Issraelyan Yevgenia. "Russian Women: Challenges of the Modern World", in *Research on Russia and Eastern Europe, Vol.2*, JAI Press Inc.pg 157-168,1996.
- Ivanova, Natalia, "Between Vasilisas The Wise and Baba Yaga, The Inhibited Development Of Feminist Self- Awareness In Russia" Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.me myi.org/issues/22/index.html
- Jill, Vickers. "Thinking about violence", in Vanaja, Dhruvarajan and Jill Vickers, Gender, Race and Nation: A global perspective, University of Toronto Press: Toronto, pp.222-246, 2002.

- Kaldor, Mary. "The idea of global civil society", International Affairs 79,3(2003), pp 583-593.
- Kaushik, Devendra. "Soviet Women-the dilemmas of dual burden", in Phadnis, Urmila and Malani, Indira (eds), Women of the world: illusion and reality, Vikas: New Delhi, 1978.
- Kay, Rebecca. "A liberation from emancipation? Changing discourses on women's employment in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia", in Fawn, Rick and White, Stephen (eds), Russia After Communism, Frank Cass: London, pp.51-72, 2002,
- Kay, Rebecca. "Images of an ideal women: perceptions of Russian womanhood through the media, education and women's own eyes", in Buckley, Mary(ed). *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*, Cambridge University Press, pp.75-87, 1997.
- Khotkina, Zoya. "Sexual Harassment in Russian Workplaces", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.hartford-hwp.com/archive/63/index-m.html.
- Kissling, Frances. "The war on women", News from Global Fund For Women, March 2003.
- Klimenkova, Tatiana. "Feminism", retrieved from www.owl.ru
- Konstantinova, Valentina. "Women's political coalitions in Russia", in Haavio-Mannila and Rotkirch, Anna (ed). Women's Voices In Russia Today, Dartmouth: USA, pp.235-247,1996
- Korovushkina, Irina. "Paradoxes of gender: writing history in postcommunist Russia, 1987-1998", in Davidoff, Leonore, McClelland, Keith and Varikas, Eleni(ed). Gender and history: retrospect and prospect, Blackwell: Oxford, 2000.
- Kotovskaya, Maria. "Women in Russian History", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.me.myi.org/issues/22/index.html
- Lambroschini, Sophie. "Russia: domestic violence persists", ISRE newsletter, vol.16#2.
- Lapidus, Gail Warshofsky. "The interaction of women's work and family roles in the former USSR", in Larwood, Laura, Stromberg, Ann. H and Gutek, Barbara. A. (eds) Women and work: an annual review, Sage: New Delhi, 1985.
- Lempert, David. "Love and tears in Russia: An ethnographic approach to the study of socialization of gender roles and gender relationships in contemporary urban Russia", *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, volume 12, no.1, Spring 1994.

- Liberated women, The Guardian, April 11,2002.
- Liborakina, Marina. "Women Fight to be Heard In Chechen War Dialogue", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.isar.org
- Ling, Christina. "Rights Activists Rap Ex-Soviet States on Sex-Trade," *Reuters*, 6 November 1997.
- Linklater, Andrew. "The evolving spheres of international justice." *International Affairs* 75, 3,pp. 473-482, 1999.
- Lipovskaya, Olga. "Women's groups in Russia", in Buckley, Mary(ed).

 *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia.

 *Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.186-199, 1997.
- Marsh, Rosalind. "The Russian Women's' Movement", in Rosalind. Marsh (ed.) Women in Russia and Ukraine. Cambridge University Press, pp.287-293, 1996.
- Marsh, Rosalind. "Women in contemporary Russia and former Soviet Union", in Wilford, Rick and Miller, Robert.L. (eds) Women, ethnicity and nationalism: the politics of transition, Routledge: New York, 1998.
- Maughan, Janet. "Women's work: finding a place in the New Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.fordfound.org
- Megan, Merrill. "NGOs: 36,000 Women Beaten", Moscow Times, May 20, 2003.
- Melkova, Vlada, "Women prisoners suffer", The Russian Journal, March 2001
- Mereu, Francesca. "What women want: A seat in the Duma", The Moscow Times, Sep.17, 2003
- Meyer, E.Karl, "Enforcing Human Rights", World Policy Journal, Vol.xvi, no.3, Fall1999.
- Meyer, Alfred.G. "Marxism and the women's movement", in Atkinson, Dorothy, Dallin, Alexander and Lapidus, Warkshofsky Gail(ed), Women in Russia, The Harvester: Sussex, pp.85-111,1978.
- Morgan, Molly. "What women do right", *Peace and Freedom*, Philadelphia, Summer 2001.
- Nadezhda, Azhgikhina. "The Horses Gallop On and On". Vy I My: The Women's Dialogue 13, 1996.
- Navialh, Francoise. "The Soviet Model", in Thebaud, Francoise(ed). The history of women-Towards a cultural identity in the twentieth

- century, The Belknap Press of Harvard university Press: Massachusetts
- O'Hare, Ursula, A. "Realizing Human Rights for Women", *Human Rights Quarterly*, 21(3),pp.364-402,1999.
- Parker Marina Pisklakova. "Cultural Roots of Domestic Violence", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.isar.org/isar/archive/GT/GT8pisklakova.html
- Perevedentsev, V. "Women, the family, and reproduction", in Koval, Vitalina. Women in Contemporary Russia, Berghahn Books: Providence, 73-85, 1995.
- Peshakova, Constantine V. "Human rights in Russia: the dragon is not defeated" in, James T.H. Tang(ed). Human rights and international relations in the Asia Pacific region, Printer: London, pp.125-136, 1995
- Poadskaya, Anastasiya, and Zakharova, Nataliya. "To be a manager: changes for women in USSR", Training Discussion Paper; 65, *International Labour Office*: Geneva, 1991.
- Poe, Steven C. Wendel-Blunt, Dierdre, Ho, Karl. "Global Patterns in the Achievement of Women's Human Rights to Equality", *Human Rights Quarterly*, 19(4), pp. 813-35, 1997.
- Poonacha, Veena. "On the Edge of Silence: Gender within Human Rights Discourse." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9 October, pp.2192-94, 1993.
- Posadskaya, Anastasia. "A feminist Critique of Policy, Legislation, and Social Consciousness in Post- Socialist Russia", in Posadskaya, Anastasia (ed). Women in Russia: A New Era in Russian Feminism, Verso Books: London: New York, pp.164 –182,1994.
- Post, Dianne, "Women's rights in Russia: Training Non-Lawyers to represent victims of domestic violence", Yale Human Rights And Development, Vol.4.
- Raccoppi, Linda. "Organizing women before and after the fall: women's politics in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia", in Smith, Bonnie.G. (ed), Global Feminism since 1945, Routledge:London,2000.
- Risse Thomas and Sikkink Kathryn. "The socialization of international human rights norms into domestic practices: introduction" in Thomas Risse, Stephen C.Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink (eds) The Power of Human Rights: international norms and domestic change, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp17-37.

- Romany, Celina. "State Responsibility goes private: A feminist critique of the pub/pvt distinction in international human rights law", in Rebecca. J.Cook(eds). Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.
- Rosenthal, Bernice Glatzer. "The role and status of women in the Soviet Union: 1917 to the present, in Leavitt-Rohhrlich Ruby (ed), Women cross-culturally: change and challenge, Mouton: The Hague, 1975.
- Rossi, Elisabeth. "The Emancipation Of Women in Russia before and after the Russian Revolution-Part one", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www. marxist .com
- Rotkirch, Anna. "Women's agency and the sexual revolution in Russia",
 Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.valt.
 Helsinki.fi/staff/rotkirch.html
- Russia launches crackdown on 'sex slave' traffickers, The Observer, November 12, 2000.
- Russia: widespread violence against women, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.omct.org/display.
- S. Kovaleva and S. Lukashevskiy, "Discrimination in the Sphere of Electoral Politics," Discrimination Against Women in Contemporary Russia (Moscow Helsinki Group, 2003), Retrieved from: http://www.mhg.ru/english/1EBF2E5.
- S. Kovaleva and S. Lukashevskiy. "The Right to Equal Access to Education," Discrimination Against Women in Contemporary Russia (Moscow Helsinki Group: 2003), http://www.mhg.ru/english/1ECD365.
- Sadler, Brent. "Female inmate numbers surge in Russia's decaying prisons", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.cnn.com
- Samarina. "The Social Protection of Women and Family Policy in Contemporary Russia", *Problems of Economic Transition* 44, no. 1, pp.72-80, 2001.
- See, K.O, Sullivan and Racioppi, L. "Women's politics in the USSR and Russia", in Smith, G. Bonnie(ed), Global Feminism Since 1945 (Routledge: 2000).
- Shahbazi, Rudabeh. "Women's rights crisis swells in Russia", *The Graphic*, Sep 4,2003.
- Shestack, J.Jerome. "The Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights", Human Rights Quarterly, 20.2(1998) 201-234.

- Shvedova, Nadezhda. "The challenge of transition: Women in Parliament in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.idea/int/women/focus.htm
- Silence Breaking: The Women's Dimension of the Human Rights Box, Human Rights Dialogue, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.cceia.org
- Sinelnikov, Andrei. 1998. "Russia: Inside the Broken Cell." Retrieved from the website of the Family Violence Prevention Fund: http://www.fvpf.org/global/gf russia.html
- Skuratovskaya, Larisa. "Women's political participation in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: http://sdnhq.undp.org/ww/women-power
- Spencer, Metta. "Post-Socialist Patriarchy", in Wejnert, Barbara, Spencer, Etta and Drakulic, Slobodan (eds). Women in post-communism, JAI Press Inc: Greenwich, pp.267-286, 1996.
- Spencer, Metta. "Post-Socialist Patriarchy", in Research on Russian And East Europe, vol.2 (JAI Press Inc, 1996), pg.267-286.
- Srivastava, S.P. "Feminist theory-an overview", *Social welfare*, 49(20), May 12, pp. 78-79, 2000.
- Stishova, Elena. "Full frontal: perestroika and sexual policy", in Marsh, Rosalind (ed). Women in Russia and Ukraine, Cambridge University Press, pp. 188-195, 1996.
- Stolyarova, Galina. "Russia: with no jobs at home, women fall victim to trafficking (part 2)", retrieved from World Wide Web: www.referl.org
- Sullivan See.K and Racioppi L. "Women's Politics in USSR And Russia" in Smith, G.Bonnie. (ed). Global Feminism Since 1945, Routledge, 2000
- Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh. "International rights regimes and resistant domestic norms: Russia and women's rights", Delivered at the 43rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association New Orleans, 24-27 March 2002.
- Svetlana Aivazova and Grigory Kertman, "Introduction," Men and Women at the Elections: Gender Analysis of the Electoral Campaigns of 1999 and 2000 in Russia, (Consortium of Women's Nongovernmental Associations: Moscow, 2000), Retrieved from: http://www.owl.ru/eng/books/election/introduction.
- Tharoor, Shashi, "Are Human Rights Universal?" World Policy Journal, Vol. xvi, No.4, Winter1999/2000.

- The feminization of poverty: unemployment in Russia. Journal of International Affairs, vol. 52 no1 (Fall 1998) pp. 351-66
- The oldest profession still lucrative in Russia, The Russian Journal, 12 April 1999.
- Thomas, Dorothy Q. "women human rights: from visibility to accountability", *St. John's Law Review*, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.law-lib.utoronto.ca/Diana/index. html.
- Toksanbaeva, M. "The social vulnerability of women" Russian Social Science Review v. 42 no4 p. 22-33, July/Aug. 2001.
- True, Jacqui and Michael Mintrom. Forthcoming. "Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: the Case of Gender Mainstreaming." *International Studies* Quarterly 45, 1 (March), 2001.
- Vaknin, Sam, "Women in transition from post feminism to past femininity", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.buzzle.com
- Valerie Sperling. "The Gender Gap in Russian Politics and Elections," PONARS Policy Memo No. 259, (The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2002), Retrieved from: http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/policymemos/pm 0259.pdf.
- Vandenberg, Martina. "Invisible women shown in Russia's demographics", *The St. Petersburg Times*, October 6-12, 1997.
- Varoli, John. "Sexual Harassment, Russian Style", St.Petersburg Times, March 9,1999.
- Violence Against Women: An issue of human rights, A newsletter of the office of Women in Development, Summer, 1997
- Voronina, Olga A. "Soviet women and politics :on the brink of change" in Barbara, J.Nelson and Najma, Choudhary(ed) Women and politics worldwide, Oxford University: New Delhi, pp.721-736, 1997.
- Voronina, Olga. "The Philosophy of Sex and Gender in Russia", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.bu.edu/wcp/index.htm
- Walsh, Nick. "Liberated Women", The Guardian, Thursday, April 11,2002.
- Walsh, Paton. "Low birth Russia curbs abortions", The Guardian, September 24, 2003.
- Washington, Esther Pan. Russia: Report Reveals Lax Response To Abuse Of Women's Rights", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.refer.org/nca/news/index.html
- Waters, Elizabeth and Posadskaiya, Anastasia. "Democracy Without Women is No Democracy: Women's struggle in post

- communist Russia" in Amrita Basu (ed) The Challenge of Local Feminism: Women's Movement in Global Perspective, Boulder: Westview, pp.360, 1995,
- Weir, Fred. "Russia battles its sex trade", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.csmonitor.com.
- Wejnert, Barbara, "Political transition and Gender Transformation in the Communist and Post-Communist Periods" in Research on Russian And East Europe, vol.2 (JAI Press Inc, 1996).
- Weston. Burns. "Human Rights", Human Rights Quarterly, vol.6, 1984.
- Women get a Moscow man -by the hour, The Observer, August 17, 2003
- Women of Russia' Factions Now On Their Own, *The Russia Journal*, 8 Mar 1999.
- Women in Chechnya exposed to rape and sexual violence (2001), Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.idpproject.org
- Women, Human Rights and Violence, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.pdhre.org/rights/women-and-violence.html
- Working women in Russia at the end of the 1990s, Russian Social Science Review v. 42 no4 (p. 52-63, July/Aug. 2001.
- Youngs, Gillian. "Private Pain/Public Peace: Women's Rights as Human Rights and Amnesty International's Report on Violence against Women", Signs, vol.28,no.4, 2003c
- Zabelina, Tat'iana. "Sexual violence towards women ", in Pilkington, Hilary(ed). Gender, Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia. Routledge, pp. 168-183,1996.
- Zavadskaya, Ludmila. "The woman's and rights protection movements: Do we have the same way?", Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.owl.ru/eng/womenplus/index.html
- Zdravomyslova, Elena. "Overview of the feminist movement in contemporary Russia". Diogenes (International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies) no194, pp. 35-9,2002.
- Zoya, Khotkina. "Sexual Harassment in Russian Workplace", 25, April 1997, Retrieved from World Wide Web: www.hartford-hwp.com/archive/63/imdex-m.html

Journals/ Periodicals

- Alternatives
- Human Rights Dialogue

- Human Rights Quarterly
- International Affairs
- Problem of economic Transition
- Russian Social science Review
- SIGNS
- Stanford Journal of International Law
- The Russian Journal
- Yale Human Rights & Development Law Journal

Websites:

- www.un.org
- www.undp.org
- (www.hrw.org/about/projects/womrep/general-197.html)
- www.amnestyusa.org
- www.fordfoundation.org
- www.isar.org
- http://www.un.org/womenwatch
- ww.soros.com
- www.ihf-hr.org
- www.moscowtimes.com
- www.undp.org
- www.referl.org

APPENDIX - A

RUSSIAN NATIONAL LAWS GUARANTEEING GENDER EQUALITY

The Russian government contains several legislative and administrative institutions devoted to promoting women's interests. Russia has also ratified several international treaties and passed domestic legislation that guarantees gender equality. There are several Russian national laws that guarantee gender equality

Russian Constitution (1993)

- Article 19 of the Russian Constitution guarantees equality between the sexes
- The state shall guarantee the equality of rights and liberties regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, property or employment status, residence, attitude religion, convictions, membership of public associations or any other circumstance. Man and woman shall have equal rights and liberties and equal opportunities for their pursuit.
- Article 21 No one may be subjected to torture, violence or any other harsh or humiliating treatment or punishment.
- Article 34 (1). Everyone shall have the right to freely use his or her abilities and property for entrepreneurial or any other economic activity not prohibited by the law.
- Article 37 Work shall be free. Everyone shall have the right to make free use of his or her abilities for work and to choose a type of activity and occupation.
- Article 38. Motherhood and childhood, and the family shall be under state protection.
- Care for children and their upbringing shall be the equal right and duty of the parents.

• Article 45 state protections for human rights and liberties in the Russian Federation shall be guaranteed. Everyone shall have the right to defend his or her rights and liberties by any means not prohibited by the law.

Russian Criminal Code

- Article 4 of the Criminal Code states that all persons who have committed crimes are equal before the law, regardless of sex.
- Article 145 imposes a fine or community service for unfounded refusal to hire pregnant women or women with small children
- Article 133, Code imposes a fine or imprisonment for up to one year for sexual harassment through "Compelling to Perform Actions of Sexual Character." This article prohibits coercing sexual acts through threats, blackmail, or destruction of property.
- Article 18 outlaws using a position of power for sexual coercion. Offenders can be punished under Articles 111-115 of the Russian Criminal Code, which prohibit inflicting intentional harm on another person. Offenders can also be prosecuted under Article 116 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits beating another person. These articles typically entail a fine, community service, or at worst, a few months in prison.
- Article 131 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits rape.
- Article 132, prohibits coerced sexual acts.
- Article 118 prohibits utilization of office position and material dependence for coercion of sexual interactions.
- Article 240 involvement in prostitution-related activities by the use of violence or threat of violence, blackmail, destruction of or damage to property or by means of deceit shall be punished by a fine in the amount of 200–500 minimum wages or 2-months lost wages or other incomes of the convicted person, or imprisonment for up to years.

Family code

- Article 1 of the Family Code guarantees gender equality in the home; family relations are regulated in accordance with the principle of spouses' equal right
- Article 13, the legal age for marriage is 18 for both men and women. If valid reasons exist, and if requested by the persons intending to marry, the local self-government bodies can grant permission to marry at the age of 16.
- Article 14 ,marriage is not permitted between individuals if one is already married
- Article 31, both spouses are free to choose any job, profession and place of residence and should make joint family decisions.
- Article 32, upon marriage spouses may choose either one common family name (the name of either spouse), or each retain his/her own family name. Unless otherwise stipulated in the law, spouses may combine their family names. However, combining family names is not permitted if the pre marriage family name of a least one spouse is a double name.
- Article 34, property acquired by spouses during marriage is their joint property. Where common property is divided and the shares of both spouses in that property have been defined, the shares of both spouses shall be recognized as equal unless stipulated differently in a contract between spouses
- Article 36, property belonging to each of the spouses prior to marriage is his/her own separate property and may be recognised as joint property if it is established that during the marriage the separate property of one spouse considerably increased in value at the expense of the common property of spouses or separate property of the other spouse
- Article 38, spouses may mutually decide the division of their common property. In the case of a dispute, the distribution of the common

- property, as well as definition of the shares of the spouses in that property, are determined in judicial proceedings.
- Article 42, the duty of one spouse to financially support the other after divorce (i.e. pay alimony) may be stipulated in a prenuptial agreement in the absence of which the right to demand alimony by a court order belongs to: A former wife during pregnancy and within three years of the birth of the child in common; A former spouse who is constrained financially and cares for a common child with a severe disability; A disabled spouse with limited financial means who became incapable of work before the divorce or within one year of the divorce; A spouse with limited financial means who has reached retirement age no later than within five years of the divorce, if the spouses were married for a long time (i.e. around ten years).
- Article 90 The amount of alimony and the pro c e d u re for payment may be determined by an agreement between the former spouses.
- Article 91 In the absence of such an agreement, the amount shall be
 determined by the court in terms of a fixed sum of money to be paid
 monthly, taking into account both the financial and marital status of the
 former spouses as well as other relevant considerations.
- Article 80, if a parent does not voluntarily financially support minor children; the means for their livelihood (i.e. alimony) shall be collected from the parent by a court order. The alimony will be deducted monthly from the wages and/or from any other income of the parent. The average amount of alimony is governed by Article 81, part 1, and depends on the number of children
- Article 10, marriage is recognised as official in the Russian Federation territory only when registered by a state registry office. Spouses have no rights and duties in marriage without an official state registration, regardless of how long the relationship lasted.
- Article 48, paternity is recognised if a child was born within marriage or within 300 days from the termination of the marriage or recognition of

the marriage as invalid, as well as from the moment of the death of the spouse of the child's mother, unless proven otherwise. Paternity for a person who is not married to the child's mother is established by the submission of a joint application from the child's parents to a state registry office.

Labour Code of the Russian Federation, 2001

- Article 2 sets out the fundamentals of labour legislation and states that from the generally accepted principles and norms of international law and pursuant to the Constitution Federation, the main principles of the legal regulation of labour relations include prohibition of discrimination in the labour sphere; ensuring the rights of each employee to fair working conditions, including working conditions meeting the requirements of safety and hygiene; equality of rights and opportunities of employees; and ensuring the right of employees to protect their dignity in the period of their work.
- Article 3 insures the prohibition of "discrimination in the labour sphere"
 and that everyone has equal opportunities to implement their labour
 rights, including resort to court to restore the violated rights, reimburse
 material damage and compensate for moral damage.
- Article 93 deals with part-time work for expecting mothers and requires the employer to reduce the working day at the request of the expecting mother. This arrangement does not reduce the length of the main annual paid leave or effect the calculation of the length of service and other labour rights of the employee.
- Article 77 of the Labor Code guarantees equal pay for equal work,
- Article 96 prohibits night work by expecting mothers (from 10 pm to 6 am). Women with children of up to three years of age may perform night work but only with their written consent. In these cases, they must be notified in writing of their right to refuse the night work. Under article 99 expecting mothers may not perform overtime work at the employer's

initiative. Article 259 prohibits to sending pregnant women on business travel or assigning them to work overtime or at night, on weekends, or on non-working holidays unless written consent and on the condition that it not be prohibited by any medical restrictions.

- Under Article 112 International Women's Day (March 8) is a public holiday on which it is prohibited to work.
- Article 255 provides paid maternity leave of 70 calendar days (84 in the case of multiple pregnancies) before childbirth and 70 calendar days (86 in the case of labour complications and 110 in the case of multiple births) after childbirth. Maternity benefits are paid during maternity leave from state social insurance in amounts established under social security law. Article 257 provides adoption leave, after adopting a child up to three months of age, for a period beginning from the date of adoption and up to 70 calendar days after the birth of the adopted child (in the case of an adoption of two or more children, 110 calendar days from their birth). Under Article 260 annual paid vacation time must be granted upon request before maternity leave or immediately thereafter, or after a period of leave taken to care for a child.
- Article 262 provides additional paid leave for persons providing care for disabled children and persons disabled since childhood. Article 263 provides additional unpaid leave for persons providing care for children under the age of fourteen, workers with a disabled child under eighteen and single mothers raising a child under fourteen. Women working in rural areas may, upon their written request, be granted one additional unpaid day off per month.
- Under Article 256, child-rearing leave may be granted to women for their children until the child reaches the age of three years. Federal law specifies the procedure and terms of social payments during the leave. Child rearing leave may also be granted in full or partially to the child's father, grandmother, grandfather, other relatives or person actually nursing the child. There is also special provision for part time or home

based work with reservation of the right for social payments during the child rearing leave. During child rearing leave, the employees retain their position of employment. Child rearing leave does not affect continuity of employment and is included in calculating the total and uninterrupted period of employment (excluding for the purpose of privileged pension estimation).

- Generally employees must complete six months continuous work before being entitled to paid leave. However, under Article 122 paid leave must be provided before the expiration of six months of continuous work if it concerns maternity or adoption leave. Note also that under Article 123, the husband must also be given his annual paid leave on request during his wife's maternity leave, regardless of his period of his continuous work. Article 264 also states that the guarantees and benefits for persons raising children are extended to fathers raising children without a mother, and also to guardians and foster parents of minor children.
- Article 253 prohibits women from performing jobs involving manual lifting and moving of heavy objects in excess of the allowable limits for women. In order to provide healthy and safe labour conditions, approved norms have been established for maximum admissible loads for women when they move or lift weights by hand. These norms apply to women working in all enterprises, institutions and other organisations of any administrative or legal kind.
- Article 254 requires the transfer of pregnant women and women with children under 18 months to other jobs if necessary to prevent the effects of workplace hazards, while retaining the woman's average wage from her former position.
- Article 258 provides for nursing breaks for working women with children under 18 months. Nursing breaks are included in work time and payable at the average wage level.
- Article 261 guarantees the non-cancellation of the labour contracts of pregnant women and women with children. If a fixed-term labour

contract expires during a woman's pregnancy the employer is required upon her request to extend the contract term to the time she becomes eligible for maternity leave.

Source: http://natlex.ilo.org/txt/EOIRUSO1.htm

http://www.friends-partners.org/oldfriends/constitution/russian-const-ch2.html

APPENDIX -B

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

Part I

- Article 1: For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.
 - Article 2: States Parties 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 constitutions 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.
- Article 3:States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.
- Article 4: Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.
- Article 5: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures: (a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women; (b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.
- Article 6: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

Part II

• Article 7: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with

men, the right: (a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government; (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

- Article 8: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.
- Article 9:States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.

Part III

- Article 10: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education
- Article 11: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights.
- Article 12: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning. Article 13: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in other areas of economic and social life in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women.
- Article 14: States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play

in the economic survival of their families and take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development.

Part IV

- Article 15: States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law.
- Article 16: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations.

Part V

- Article 17: For the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the present Convention, there shall be established a Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting, at the time of entry into force of the Convention, of eighteen and, after ratification of or accession to the Convention by the thirty-fifth State Party, of twenty-three experts of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention.
- Article 18: States Parties undertake to submit to the Secretary-General of
 the United Nations, for consideration by the Committee, a report on the
 legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures which they have
 adopted to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and on
 the progress made in this respect.
- Article 19: The Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its officers for a term of two years.
- Article 20: The Committee shall normally meet for a period of not more than two weeks annually 2. The meetings of the Committee shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters or at any other convenient place as determined by the Committee.

- Article 21: The Committee shall, through the Economic and Social Council, report annually to the General Assembly of the United Nations on its activities and may make suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of reports and information received from the States Parties. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit the reports of the Committee to the Commission on the Status of Women for its information.
- Article 22: The specialized agencies shall be entitled to be represented at the consideration of the implementation of such provisions of the present Convention as fall within the scope of their activities.

Part VI

- Article 23: Nothing in the present Convention shall affect any provisions that are more conducive to the achievement of equality between men and women which may be contained: (a) In the legislation of a State Party; or (b) In any other international convention, treaty or agreement in force for that State.
- Article 24: States Parties undertake to adopt all necessary measures at the national level aimed at achieving the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Convention.
- Article 25: The present Convention shall be open for signature by all States. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is designated as the depositary of the present Convention. The present Convention is subject to ratification.
- Article 26: A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
- Article 27: The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

- Article 28: The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall receive and circulate to all States the text of reservations made by States at the time of ratification or accession.
- Article 29: Any dispute between two or more States Parties concerning the interpretation or application of the present Convention which is not settled by negotiation shall, at the request of one of them, be submitted to arbitration. If within six months from the date of the request for arbitration the parties are unable to agree on the organization of the arbitration, any one of those parties may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice by request in conformity with the Statute of the Court.
- Article 30: The present Convention, the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Source: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/econvention.htm

APPENDIX - C

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL NORMS

Violence against women is a problem that all countries have to deal with. The problem has been tackled by international organizations, governments, and by domestic and international NGOs. International instruments were developed and several conventions have been adopted to deal with this menace. Women's human rights are enumerated by conventions, resolutions, and declarations, promulgated either by UN or regional human rights body. Treaties are formally adopted by national governments and then create legally binding obligations for those governments.

CEDAW General Recommendation 19

Specifically defines violence against women and girls as form of discrimination. The committee defined gender based violence as "violence that is directed against a women because is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental and sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty"

The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993)

The declaration is the first international instrument to express international political consensus that states have human rights obligations to prevent gender based violence and redress the harm caused.

• Article 1-Defines violence against women as "an act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

- Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:(a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;(b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;(c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever
- Article 2- This articles identifies the site of violence in the family, violence within general community and violence perpetrated or condoned by state wherever it occurs.
- Article 4(c)- that states have an obligation to "exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate, and, in accordance with national legislation, punish acts of violence against women, whether those acts are perpetrated by state or private persons"

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

- Article -3 deals with the obligation of state parties to ensure equal rights of men and women.
- Article 6-the right to life
- Article 7 -Prohibition against, torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
- Article 8-Prohibition against slavery, slave trade, servitude and forced or compulsory labour.
- Article 9-Prohibition against arbitrary arrest or detention
- Article 23-The protection of the family

International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

- Article 3- It provides equal rights of men and women to the enjoyment of the rights set forth in the covenant.
- Article 12- This article deals with physical and mental health of the population.

Convention Against Torture and Other, cruel. Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Article 1- Defines torture as an act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as.... intimidating or coercing him.... or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind.

The Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Agaist Women

- Article 2-This article requires that state parties take appropriate constitutional, legal and administrative, measures to guarantee equality.
- Article 5-The purpose of article 5 is to ensure that state parties take steps to modify social and cultural patterns of conduct for elimination of prejudices based on inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes and stereotyping of sex roles.
- Article 6-This article obligates state parties to take measures to suppress all forms of trafficking in women.
- Article 15 this article guarantees the equality of women and men before the law
- Article 16 -Elimination of discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations.

The Rome Statue

It recognizes rape and sexual violence by combatants in the conduct of armed conflict as war crimes. Under this statute, sexual violence can be considered a crime against humanity, and in some cases constitutes an element of genocide.

The Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others

This was the first document to denounce trafficking by the international community and called upon State Parties to punish traffickers and protect all persons against such abuse. It also calls on States "to make suitable provisions for (trafficking victims) temporary care and maintenance, to repatriate trafficked persons" after agreement with the State of destination, and where such persons cannot pay the cost of repatriation, to bear the cost to the nearest frontier.



