



DISSERTATION / DOCTORAL THESIS

Titel der Dissertation /Title of the Doctoral Thesis

„Women’s Political Activism in the Public Sphere.
The Case of Eastern European Feminist Activism“

verfasst von / submitted by

Mag. Oleksandra Gudkova

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr. Phil.)

Wien, 2018 / Vienna 2018

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on the
student record sheet:

A 796 310 301

Dissertationsgebiet lt. Studienblatt /
field of study as it appears on the student record
sheet:

Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Katharine Sarikakis

Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis is my own original work. It has not been accepted and presented in substance for any degree, concurrently submitted for candidature for any other degree or published in any other institution. All materials obtained from other sources are clearly acknowledged in the text and bibliography.

Signed.....

ID No.....

Date.....

Acknowledgements

This Ph.D dissertation would not have been possible without the support of many people.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, my mentor and my role model Prof. Katharine Sarikakis, who has supported and guided me through all these tough years. I will be forever grateful for her tremendous help, valuable advice and desire to motivate and challenge me. I couldn't have done this without her.

My special love and gratitude goes to my parents who supported the idea and gave me the opportunity to complete my postgraduate education in Austria. This has been such an unforgettable journey for me, and I owe it all to them.

I thank my fellow Ph.D colleagues and friends who have been there for me and have made my academic and personal life so much more exciting.

I would also like to thank girls from FEMEN, especially Alexandra Shevchenko and Angelina Diash, for their belief in this project, as well as personal contribution and inspiration.

Abstract

Title: Women's political activism in the public sphere. The case of Eastern European feminist activism.

Author: Mag. Oleksandra Gudkova

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Katharine Sarikakis

University of Vienna

This thesis is devoted to the analysis of women's political activism in the public sphere on the example of the Eastern European feminist movement.

The relevance of the study of female activism representation in the media results from the importance of modern media system in shaping public opinion, being an indicator of socio-political and socio-cultural processes taking place in society. In this regard, an important task is to analyze press publications on women's activism, to study the image of feminists emerging in public discourse.

Modern feminism, having criticized the traditional patriarchal concept of the socio-cultural development of humankind, put forward an alternative in which the woman appears as an active and man-equivalent subject of the cultural process. An important part of the research is the analysis of the evolution of feminist thought and the development of the women's movement in the post-Soviet countries. The realities of the women's movement in the countries of the former USSR are not sufficiently studied. We intend to fill this gap in the studies of Eastern European feminism in our research on the example of Ukrainian and Russian women's political activism.

Special attention in this work is paid to the most famous representatives of women's political activism in the post-Soviet space: Ukrainian international movement FEMEN and Russian punk band Pussy Riot. Within the framework of this research we study the following issues of contemporary Eastern European women's political activism: the problem of the women's movement in Ukraine in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict; feminist political activism in Ukraine and Russia in the context of their coverage in the press; the peculiarities of the protest strategy of FEMEN movement during its transformation and the display of these events in Ukrainian and Russian press; forms of political activism of Pussy Riot members, as well as its coverage in newspaper materials.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Dissertation ist der Analyse des politischen Frauenaktivismus in der Öffentlichkeit am Beispiel der osteuropäischen Frauenrechtsbewegung gewidmet. In der Einleitung betrachten wir die Relevanz und die Lücken in den wissenschaftlichen Forschungen, sowie die Struktur der Arbeit.

Die Relevanz der Forschung von der Repräsentation des Frauenaktivismus in den Massenmedien ist davon bedingt, dass das heutige Mediensystem eine wichtige Rolle für die Meinungsbildung spielt, sowie einen Indikator der öffentlichen politisch-gesellschaftlichen und sozial-kulturellen Vorgänge darstellt. Diesbezüglich sind die Analyse der Presseveröffentlichungen über den Frauenaktivismus und die Forschung der im öffentlichen Diskurs entstandenen Bild der Feministinnen die wichtigen Aufgaben.

Da der heutige Feminismus die traditionelle patriarchalische Konzeption der soziokulturellen Entwicklung der Menschheit einer Kritik untergeworfen hat, hat er dafür eine Alternative vorgebracht, in welcher die Frau als aktives und den Männern gleichwertiges Subjekt des kulturellen Vorgangs ist. Einen besonderen Platz nimmt bei den Forschungen die Analyse der Evolution vom feministischen Geist und des Entwicklungsweges der Frauenbewegung in den postsowjetischen Ländern ein.

Die Realien der Frauenbewegung in den ehemaligen UdSSR-Ländern wurden bisher wenig erforscht. In dieser Arbeit beabsichtigen wir am Beispiel des ukrainischen und russischen politischen Frauenaktivismus diese Lücke in den Forschungen des osteuropäischen Feminismus zu füllen.

Die besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird in dieser Forschung den im postsowjetischen Raum bekanntesten Vertretern des politischen Frauenaktivismus - der ukrainischen internationalen Bewegung FEMEN und der russischen Punkgruppe Pussy Riot gewidmet. Bei dieser Forschung betrachten wir die folgenden wenig erforschten Fragen des heutigen osteuropäischen politischen Frauenaktivismus: das Problem der Frauenbewegung in der Ukraine im Rahmen des russisch-ukrainischen Konfliktes; der politische Frauenaktivismus in der Ukraine und Russland im Rahmen ihrer Medienberichterstattung; die Besonderheiten der Proteststrategie von der FEMEN Bewegung im Laufe ihrer Transformation und die Beleuchtung dieser Ereignisse von den ukrainischen und russischen Massenmedien; die Formen des politischen Aktivismus bei den Pussy Riot Mitgliedern, sowie die Berichterstattung darüber in den Zeitungen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	III
Acknowledgements	V
Abstract.....	VII
Zusammenfassung.....	IX
Table of Contents	XI
 INTRODUCTION.....	 1
 CHAPTER 1. Social movements and their place in the public sphere	 7
1.1 The concept of social movements and their role in the transformation of social systems Error! Bookmark not defined.	
1.2 Definition of the concept of women's movement: characteristics, models, typology	12
1.3 The basic paradigms of the study of social movements: collective behavior, collective action, new social movements.....	24
 CHAPTER 2. Representation of feminist movements in media as an object of research	36
2.1 The problem of women's political activism in scientific discourse	36
2.2 Spectrum of the ideological trends in the feminist movement.....	47
2.3 Theoretical feminism in Ukraine: research problems	59
 CHAPTER 3. Research design and methodology	 66
3.1 Methodological principles of feminist research	66
3.2 Media studies of gender issues in the media	69
3.3 Research questions	74
3.4 Research methods.....	75
3.5 Selection of information source	78
3.6 Chronological framework of the research	81
 CHAPTER 4. Problems of the women's movement in Ukraine in the context of Russian- Ukrainian conflict	 85
4.1 Current trends in women's political activism in Ukraine	85
4.2 Female Activism on Euromaidan	89

4.3 The problems of women's participation in military actions and the construction of a woman-warrior image	94
4.4 Female media images in the context of ATO.....	100
CHAPTER 5. The practice of the post-Soviet women's movement	109
5.1 Feminism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the socialism.....	109
5.2 Features of political activism in the post-Soviet area	117
5.3 FEMEN movement as an object of scientific research	120
5.4 Pussy Riot's activism in scientific research	125
CHAPTER 6. Media exposure of FEMEN protests	134
6.1 Description of FEMEN activities in the Ukrainian printed media.....	134
6.2 Russian press about FEMEN.....	160
CHAPTER 7. Media exposure of Pussy Riot's protests	198
7.1 The coverage of Pussy Riot activities in Ukrainian newspapers	198
7.2 Russian press about Pussy Riot.....	228
CHAPTER 8. Comparative analysis of political activism of FEMEN and Pussy Riot ..	277
CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	293
BIBLIOGRAPHY	311
List of sources in Russian and Ukrainian	321
List of cited newspaper articles on FEMEN.....	373
List of cited newspaper articles on Pussy Riot	385
Curriculum Vitae	399

INTRODUCTION

This paper is devoted to the analysis of women's political activism in the public sphere on the example of the Eastern European feminist movement. The introduction will examine the relevance and gaps in scientific research, the structure of the work.

The relevance of the research topic is determined by the needs of both the socio-practical and the philosophical-theoretical plan in the reflection of new social phenomena and processes conditioned by the development of modern society. One of the defining signs of the society's ability to renew, modernize, shift from the traditional way to the modern way is the formation of women's activity in various spheres. Feminism is the conceptual design of the process. It forms the ideology of the women's movement and to a greater extent - the movement for the liberation of the personality. The main goal of feminism is to free women from restrictions imposed by men, to provide them with equal opportunities in society. Transformations in the post-Soviet societies put forward new tasks for the women's movement - to provide the adaptation of women to the changed conditions.

The relevance of the study of female activism representation in the media results from the importance of modern media system in shaping public opinion, being an indicator of socio-political and socio-cultural processes taking place in society. In this regard, an important task is to analyze press publications on women's activism, to study the image of feminists emerging in public discourse.

The research interest in women's movements causes that experience, dynamics, cultural characteristics, political significance of women's activism are analyzed; traditions and specifics of the Eastern European feminist movement are studied; basic ideological and philosophical components of modern feminism are singled out. Scientists of different areas point out the main conceptual moments that are characteristic of the different trends of feminism, and, analyzing individual differences, find common and special in this development.

A specific part of the research is the analysis of the evolution of feminist thought and the development of the women's movement in the post-Soviet countries. Modern feminism, having criticized the traditional patriarchal concept of the socio-cultural development of humankind, put forward an alternative in which the woman appears as an active and man-equivalent subject of the cultural process. The development of the feminist idea in the US,

Western Europe and the post-Soviet countries has its own peculiarities, conditioned by the history of development of states, national mentality, cultural and religious identity. Despite the growing interest in the problems of feminism, its development in the scientific literature of the post-Soviet countries is inferior to the Western European and North American ones. In the reflection of new social phenomena and processes occurring in modern European transit societies, a certain role should be played by the issues of systemic study of the phenomenon of feminism, the specific features of its existence in the national cultural field, its typological properties, the types of feminist social organizations, the characteristics of women's political activism and its methods representations in media messages.

Thus, the relevance of the work is predetermined by the insufficient research of feminist discourse in the public sphere of the Eastern European post-Soviet countries. Feminism and the concept of gender are being developed in the public domain of such societies, and therefore research into the construction of gender in media discourses is an actual scientific problem.

It should also be noted that the theoretical aspect of the feminist movement is sufficiently well represented in scientific works. However, the realities of the women's movement in the countries of the former USSR are not sufficiently studied. We intend to fill this gap in the studies of Eastern European feminism in our research on the example of Ukrainian and Russian women's political activism.

Within the framework of the research, we learned the scientific concepts dedicated to the Ukrainian international movement FEMEN and the Russian punk band Pussy Riot. These organizations are the most famous representatives of women's political activism in the post-Soviet space, so their protest strategies are at the center of attention of scientists. After getting acquainted with the scientific papers on FEMEN, there was a lack of works devoted to the period of transformation of the movement from local Ukrainian to international. Analysis of theoretical sources showed that the largest array of scientific works on the activities of Pussy Riot is dedicated to a punk prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior (2012). At the same time, there is a gap in the research devoted to the forms of political activism of the convicted members of the Pussy Riot group Alekhina and Tolokonnikova during the period of imprisonment and after the amnesty.

Recent breaking news about sudden death of one of the FEMEN founders Oksana Shachko ("Femen co-founder Oksana Shachko", 2018) bring the issue of women's oppression and feminist fight into the spotlight one more time proving the relevance of the study.

During Oksana's time with Femen, "she was arrested hundreds of times, spent nearly a year in jail, and was abused by police on several occasions, including one in which she and the other women were reportedly stripped and covered in oil while officers threatened to set them alight" ("Femen's Pioneering", 2018). They have been interrogated, investigated, and wiretapped, but they continued to show up at major events all around the world. She, just like the other FEMEN girls, fought against injustice, fought for equality, fought for herself and for all women as a hero, until she made the decision to take her own life. The real motive for her decision remains officially unknown, but according to her friend, photographer Dmitry Kostyukov, even after moving to France, Shachko kept finding herself "in a labyrinth of painful situations—personal issues, pressure from her home country and from the reality she found herself in in France" ("Femen's Pioneering", 2018).

This tragic event showcases to what horrible extent political pressure and authorities' power abuse could influence lives of activists and artists, like Oksana, who are fighting for the right cause and have right for their voices to be heard.

A week before this tragic event, members of another extremist feminist group, punk collective Pussy Riot, were arrested after they barged onto the field at the World Cup final in Moscow dressed in police uniform. "They called for the release of political prisoners, the end for illegal detentions at political rallies, stopping the policing of people's political views on social media and for more open political competition" ("Pussy Riot members jailed", 2018).

The group claimed responsibility for the stunt, confirming that it had taken place in protest of human rights abuses in Russia. "Pussy Riot became the only people to make a meaningful statement about Russian politics during the World Cup—and it came on the eve of Vladimir Putin's triumphant meeting with Donald Trump" (Gessen, 2018).

Special attention in this work will be paid to insufficiently researched issues of contemporary Eastern European women's political activism: the problem of the women's movement in Ukraine in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict; feminist political activism in Ukraine and Russia in the context of their coverage in the press; the peculiarities of the protest strategy of FEMEN movement during its transformation and the display of these events in Ukrainian and Russian press; forms of political activism of Pussy Riot participants in the colony and after liberation, as well as its coverage in newspaper materials.

The thesis is presented in eight chapters.

The first chapter provides a theoretical basis for social movements and their significance in the public sphere. Social movements will be considered as an important component of modern society, a factor in the formation of civil society. Social movements have been studied from the point of view of the historical development of sociological theories. The main characteristics of the new social movements, the importance of organizational pluralism, decentralization, and the use of the latest information and communication technologies have been determined. The signs, models, typology, functions of female movements are investigated. Their specificity is analyzed in the context of socio-cultural transformations of the information society. Modern women's movement is studied as a heterogeneous phenomenon, represented by various trends, tendencies, spectrum of theoretical approaches, political orientations and goals. The diversity of women's movements, their role in legislative regulation of the gender sphere, changing the way of thinking, behavior and activities in the private and public spheres are studied.

The second chapter will discuss the representation of feminist movements in the media as an object of scientific research. Scientific interpretations of women's political activism in scientific discourse will be presented. Feminist movement is considered in the context of the main historical stages and is associated with the goals, the evolution of women's issues. The range of ideological trends of the feminist movement, their differences in the interpretation of gender inequality, ways of overcoming it will be presented. Modern feminism is regarded as social and global phenomenon that does not represent a single ideology. The study of the feminist movement directions reveals various forms of female activism, ways of representing women, the difference in the semantic content of key concepts of feminist theory. The feminist theory in modern Ukrainian philosophical discourse will be presented in detail. The problems of gender theory in Ukraine are studied in the context of the conformity of the Western model of feminism, the formation of a new national cultural project, a break with the Russian and Soviet historical traditions.

In the third chapter issues of empirical research will be presented, the methodology of analysis will be examined, the principles for selecting media materials and the chronological scope of the study will be grounded. The method of discourse analysis, used for the analysis of materials of the Ukrainian and Russian press, is considered in detail. The advantages of this method for researching publications of Ukrainian and Russian newspapers devoted to the FEMEN movement and the punk band Pussy Riot are substantiated.

The fourth chapter will examine the current trends of the women's movement in Ukraine in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Forms of women's political participation in the most significant Ukrainian public events in 2013-2017 are shown. The transformation of women's political activism will be investigated, the analysis of changes in the sphere of gender relations at the present stage of the formation of Ukrainian statehood will be carried out. The role of EuroMaidan and the Russian-Ukrainian armed conflict in expanding the range of roles and behavior of Ukrainian women, opportunities for professional self-realization and political activism is considered. Practices of female activism on EuroMaidan will be presented. The problem of women's participation in military operations is investigated, the features of the formation of women's media images in the context of the antiterrorist operation are studied. Gradual change of traditional gender models in society is reflected in Ukrainian media, the analysis of which will be carried out in this chapter.

In the fifth chapter, the practices of the post-Soviet women's movement are discussed. Features of the feminism model in Eastern-European countries after the collapse of the socialist system are presented. Socio-political changes associated with the collapse of the Soviet Union act as a determinant of the development of the women's movement. The changes in the Soviet gender structure, the formation of national conservative discourses, and the change in the demographic model are being studied. Features of the struggle for gender equality, women's social movements, forms of female activism in post-Soviet societies are being studied. Specifics of the development of post-Soviet feminism in the context of resistance to political regimes and the specificity of political activism in the post-Soviet space are discussed. The involvement of modern art, art practice, actionism in the socio-political realities of society is considered. The concepts of scientists dedicated to the movement of FEMEN and the punk band Pussy Riot are presented.

The sixth chapter presents an analysis of publications about FEMEN in the Ukrainian and Russian press for 2013-2014. The way of submitting materials, the nature of designing the image of activists, different approaches in covering women's activism, the principles of selecting topics for publications are determined. The most resonant actions, public persons commenting on the events, the predominant themes of women's political activism are noted. Attention is paid to the criminal prosecution of activists in Ukraine, political asylum in Europe, the transformation of FEMEN into an international organization. Features of publications about FEMEN at each of the analyzed newspapers are noted.

The seventh chapter presents an analysis that determines the tendencies of coverage of the feminist political activism of the punk band Pussy Riot by the modern Ukrainian and Russian press. The thematic variety of press materials is analyzed. The ways of forming the image of activists are defined. The character of the description of Pussy Riot's activity in newspapers (opposition political activity, political art, punk art, human rights activity) will be studied. The processes in the modern Russian society will be recorded, with which Pussy Riot are fighting (the union of the state and the church, the reduction of the rights and freedoms of the citizens of the Russian Federation, the problems of the judicial system, lack of rights in the colonies). The research will single out information reasons and specifics of their presentation in various publications.

In the eighth chapter, a comparative analysis of the political activism of FEMEN and Pussy Riot, the most prominent representatives of the feminist movement in the post-Soviet area, will be conducted. Protest actions will be analyzed, similarities and differences in protest strategies will be specified. The role and place of FEMEN and Pussy Riot in the public sphere, their influence on the formation of the feminist agenda and feminist consciousness in Ukraine and Russia will be examined. The chapter will focus on the media influence on the representation of protest activism. The reasons for the transformation of the protest practices of FEMEN and Pussy Riot, the format and structure of these movements will be discussed. The reasons for the widespread popularity of movements are given.

CHAPTER 1. Social movements and their place in the public sphere

1.1 The concept of social movements and their role in the transformation of social system

Social movements are an important component of the modern society reform, a source of broadcasting interests of various population strata. The priority of social problems in social movements unfolding in the post-Soviet space is the answer to the challenges of the new reality. This is confirmed in a number of scientific studies of sociologists, political scientists, social psychologists studying traditionalism and innovations in social movements (Haliy, 2007), the characteristics of their modern types (Kleman, 2006), their identity (Social Movements in Russia, 2009), etc.

The emergence of democracy in the modern world is impossible without the existence of a developed civil society, the manifestation of which are different organizations. They are voluntary formations created to achieve a specific goal. Such movements include public organizations, social and political movements, political parties, pressure groups and others. Among a wide range of organizations, social movements play an important role, representing the collective behavior of large numbers of people united by a common goal. Social changes caused by the processes of globalization, the transformation of the social structure of modern society contribute to the formation of new social actors of social transformation.

There are various ways in which social changes and the transformation of society take place. Some of them occur under the influence of power elites, others are caused by the activity of the broad masses and the desire of people to change society for the better. The totality of people masses acting "from below" to protect certain ideas and values, is a kind of social processes that are called social movements.

It is worth mentioning that there are numerous scientific studies of social movements that led to the existence of a large number of interpretations of this concept and the absence of a single definition.

Based on the development of Snow, Soule, Kriesi (2004), Pavlova (2008) identifies the main characteristics of social movements: collective or joint action; orientation of goals or requirements for change; non-institutional character of collective action; a certain degree of organization; a certain degree of temporal succession.

Berestova (2015) outlines the following concepts of political protest: collective action theory (Tilly); the concept of new social movements (Arendt, Smelser); resource mobilization theory (McCarthy, Gemson, Obershall); psychological theories (Davis, Garr); rational choice theory (Lichbach, Olson); the paradigm of identity (Friedman, Blumer, Durkheim, Sztompka).

In the scientific literature, social movements are usually defined as a type or set of collective actions by a significant number of people, aimed at supporting certain social processes, changing or opposing them.

Giddens (1999) considers social movements as a collective attempt to realize common interests through collective actions outside the boundaries of existing institutions. Tarrow (1994) believes that social movements are politics "outside the normal channels". Fligstein (2002) emphasizes that social movements are politics done in alternative ways to form new or change existing rules in society. The reason for such statement is the participation of outsider groups in the movements, advocating for changes in society, according to their interests.

Social movements are a collective education, functioning for a long time, with a purpose of promoting or counteract social changes in a society or social group. Social movements, being an active collective entity (Kostiushkev, 1999), along with other agents of change are seen as a factor in social transformations (Sztompka, 1997). According to Sztompka, social movements are the most powerful factors of social change in modern society.

According to Turen (1989), the social movement is "simultaneously a culturally oriented and socially conflicting action of a certain social class, which is determined by the position of domination or dependence in the process of appropriating historical authenticity, those cultural models of investment, knowledge and morals to which it itself is oriented." In his opinion, collective action or behavior has conflictual nature, and it is also a way to demonstrate and realize the negative aspect of the social system (society as a whole, norm, value, form of power). At the same time, social movements interact with other types of conflicts.

The social movement is a derivation and at the same time one of the forms of civil society functioning, its self-organization, pursuing political, humanitarian, environmental and other goals (Hall 1995, Seligman 1992, Tilly 2004).

Simonchuk (2004) refers to social movements as collective initiative activity aimed at transforming social reality and having a conflict character. By uniting participants who

clearly understand the goals (changing the rules of interaction and allocation of resources), the social movement is a "rational" agent of change in society.

There are several reasons for the formation of modern social movements. Industrialization and urbanization ensure the "moral density" of population by finding the masses of people in a limited place, their contacts and interaction, the formation of a common ideology. The so-called "loneliness in the crowd" (Riesman, 1968) forms the desire to participate in the social movement in order to compensate for alienation of the individual in the modern society. Features of the modern capitalist economy (social inequality, hierarchy, exploitation, etc.) unite people and ensure their structural readiness for the formation of social movements. The processes of democratization of political systems forms a responsible citizen, providing an opportunity for joint action by large groups of people. The dependence of social transformations on people's actions, the ability to influence society and change it for the better is an incentive for participation in social movements and mobilization of activity. The growth of the level of education, the activation of cultural processes educate a partial citizen who is able to respond to problems in society. The development of the media shapes public opinion by demonstrating the experience of other nations, groups and classes ("demonstration effect"). The transmission of political views of other media groups forms a willingness to participate in social movements and is a socio-psychological condition for the emergence of social movements (Sztompka, 1997).

Aberle (1966) proposed a classification of social movements into four types: transformative (for example, revolutionary, radical revolutionary movements), reformatory, salvation movements and alternative movements. Their effectiveness and influence depends on resources, but all types of movements tend to change in society.

The goal of transformative and reformist movements is to change society as a whole, to create or transform social institutions. While transformative movements aspire to radical and large-scale changes in society, the reformatory movements oppose certain manifestations of injustice and inequality and try to change certain aspects in society (Giddens, 1999).

The purpose of salvation movements (religious movements focused on the personal salvation of its participants) and alternative movements (seek to eradicate specific harmful habits of people) is a change in the worldview and habits of people.

According to Simonchuk (2004), the social movement is capable of creating a new social order or a new social institution under certain necessary conditions; however, it is unclear in

advance, whether these conditions are sufficient. It is possible when the movement is not suppressed by dominant groups, if the movement has a significant mobilization potential (mobilizes a large number of active supporters) with a charismatic leader and effective organization, in the presence of structural favor and when members of the movement set radical goals.

Smelser (1988) suggests that losers with no ideological orientation take part in social movements. Supporters of the theory of resource mobilization believe that the formation of the movement is more influenced by resources than people's interests. Ways of using resources (for example, a high level of centralization of power) that are at the disposal of leaders, determine the specifics of the social movement.

Rotmistrov (2010) calls social movements an initiative and regular activity of people, united by the goal of changing the social order. Protest actions as a significant manifestation of such activities provoke resistance from supporters of the social system. Social movements form organizations for the optimization and effectiveness of their activities.

Minina (1998) divides the problems of social movements according to the following classification:

- epistemological, associated with the transition from ignorance to knowledge, the development of tools of knowledge and the expansion of its boundaries;
- substantive (socially-organizational) - the discrepancies between the way it should be and the way it really is, between the desired and the real, that society needs to resolve.

As an epistemological problem, social movements are a phenomenon of collective action that unfolds in a specific space, which determines its boundaries, actors, plan of their actions, phases, intensity of development, effectiveness. Equally important is also the consideration of the temporal and semantic structure of collective action, acting in the form of a concrete social movement.

Turen (1998) regards social movements as generators of social life through the re-creation and restructuring of social practices, norms and institutions, mentioning that in the notion of social movements a fundamentally different meaning is laid down in comparison with what could previously be called "social forces" within the framework of the social evolution theory or functioning of certain systems. The idea of social movements requires considering the fact that actors are not only influenced by situations, but also create them. The social movement is

not a response to the social situation, as in the case of "smart mobs" described by Howard Rheingold (2006) or new communities that arise situationally to solve certain problems or protect common interests. The social situation is a consequence of the activity of the participants in the movement. For example, the feminist movement is characterized by the stability and consistency of the participants' actions. The feminist movement affected the sphere of demography, the family, the labor market, etc., significantly transformed people's ideas about the role of women in social life.

Considering social movements as the main mobilization forces, Turen (1998) connects their formation with the emergence of a postindustrial society in which the ability to self-activity has significantly increased and the options of choices have expanded.

In the past, actors, especially in the traditional pre-industrial society, had a limited opportunity to act, since they belonged to the world of reproduction rather than the transformations. Their identity strictly rigidly fixed and stable, it was determined by predetermined social roles and traditional culture. Identity is problematized in the era of industrial society, when social life becomes mobile and urban, and innovations and discoveries expand the horizon of the possibilities for individuals. A person, though still connected with traditional values and pre-assigned roles, begins to realize the limit to his freedom in an unstable world, to determine the course of his destiny in it. To achieve the desired identity, freedom begins to "build," "shape," "remodel," focusing on certain projects and ideals that may not have a traditional character. The labor movement is illustrative in this case. It received its ideological support in Marxism, and became the basis for the formation of the proletarian identity. However, such self-design in the modern era had various limitations, for example, social, national, ethnic, regional, religious. In this connection, in early modern period, there were two principle positions formed in relation to cultural traditions: anti-traditionalism and traditionalism. The main difference between them is their approach to change. While anti-traditionalism accepts change, traditionalism treats it with reservations and anxiety. Anti-traditionalism views discontinuing of traditions as the acquisition of freedom, and traditionalism - as a loss of identity (Social Identities and Practices, 2002).

Today, new social movements are more openly question the values of culture and society than before (for example, the labor movement). Therefore, they are directly based not only on social, but also on intellectual and ethical beliefs. Industrial society mainly changed the means of production, stratification structures. Post-industrial society changes the aims of production, the culture. Today, as noted by Žižek (2008), "it is necessary to reject the impossible goal of

global social transformation and, instead, focus on the disparate forms of approval of personal subjectivity existing in our complex and scattered post-modern universe, where cultural recognition is more important than social and economic struggle".

Turen (1998) defines social movements as normatively oriented interactions between opponents who adhere to different interpretations and opposite social models of the same cultural sphere. He believes that cultural orientation cannot be separated from social conflict, and insists on the objectivity of the cultural ground common to the opponents. The different institutional potentials of a common cultural ground, and not just the particular identity of a particular cultural group, are crucial in this struggle. Turen (1998) believes that the key feature of the new social movements is not just being involved in expressive actions, but in the participation of actors who are aware of their ability to form an identity and the power relations that are involved in the social building of this identity. Modern public figures are concerned not only with the content of a certain identity, but also with the formal elements involved in its formation (Cohen, 2003).

Modern protest movements are struggling with increasing concentration of power, penetration of administrative apparatus in various socio-cultural spheres, which take the form of direct manipulation. The main goal of the movements is to protect an individual, small groups, various minorities from the central government and the state.

Many researchers of social movements pay attention to the crisis state of the national state as such, provoked by supranational processes. Smelser (2001) says: "Leaders and members of groups (movements) often declare themselves as joint forces opposing the nation-state, formation that united territoriality, government, identity and group solidarity into a single reality. Protest groups themselves provide or promise to provide a new basis for the realization of the human factor - if not individual initially, then undoubtedly collective, - endowing its individual members with a sense of dignity, purpose and action through community". The question is with whom people identify themselves and under what conditions a particular identity becomes more or less expressive for them. As Ted Garr (2005) points out, "in most of the world, including the West, despite its emphasis on individualism, it is the group context and identity that shapes both people's aspirations and their images".

1.2 Definition of the concept of women's movement: characteristics, models, typology

The study of the women's movement takes on special significance in the context of sociocultural transformations in the information society. The doctrines of feminism at the initial stage of development were aimed at achieving women's equal rights with men, which was to be realized within the framework of social transformations and the achievement of civil equality, the development of feminist ideology. Modern feminism is not based on traditional political concepts or political representation, but operates with the notions of "personal presence" and "female representation." The concept of an integrated approach to the problem of gender equality is a strategic task for the development of modern society, therefore, its implementation significantly depends not only on the political willpower of states, but also on the level of development of the women's movement, its position and the degree of influence on political decision-making.

Among the scientists, whose works focus on the problems of the women's movement, are Andreassen, Rucht, Temkin, Zherebkin, Smolyar, Nikolaenko, Khvostov, Schepkin, Nowak, Yarosh and others.

In political science, the notion "social organizations and movements" arose on the basis of the term of "public associations" as the most adequate to modern sociocultural realities (Skokova, 2014). The organizations are treated as voluntary associations created to express the interests of the group and solve various problems. Mostly these are mass groups that are formed for the implementation of program objectives, with their own structural features and regulations. Women's movements express the interests and needs of women and are among the most common types of social movements. Achieving program goals requires the influence on the power system, therefore the functioning of women's movements is associated with attempts to influence the centers of political decision-making and the development of the organization's strategy.

Some researchers interpret the women's movement as a new isolated activity. Thus, Jallinoja (1983) believes that women's movements include various forms of feminist activities, autonomous and independent of political and gender-based organizations.

Temkina (2001, p. 671) regards the women's movement as an activity of women aimed at socio-political changes in all categories of society. Such an interpretation allows to identify the main forms of civic engagement of women, their goals and programs, to characterize the degree of influence on the transformation of society and, on the evolution of the status of

women (Nikolaenko, 2013). Women's movements cover many types of activity: party and trade union, participation in social movements and in the functioning of public institutions.

Zherebkina (1996) reckons the women's movement in social movements, the distinctive feature of which is the approach to the consideration of social problems from the position of women. The author believes that through the women's movement, discourses and practices are being developed. They recognize the social conditions of women's lives as discriminatory and suggest ways to change this situation.

Yukina (2003) believes that the key factor in the feminist movement is the opposition consciousness and ideology shared by the participants in the movement. As a theory and practice of the social movement, she defines feminism as an ideology that convinces that the existing gender system is inadequate, a structure-forming factor of patriarchal society, and activities that eliminate the patriarchal society, change gender roles and structure of gender relations.

For this reason, feminist movements include social movements that criticize the existing gender system and determines the repertoire of collective action to change the structure of gender relations / roles in society and the elimination of patriarchal society (Yukina, 2003, p. 22).

Kovalishina (2001) to women's movements includes the spectrum of women's groups, associations and organizations, participation in which can be fixed or non-fixed. The goals of these active in society movements are to improve the interests of women (social, material, political, spiritual, ideological) and achieve real equality with men in all social spheres.

According to Andreasen (1991), the women's movement includes many forms and methods of female activism at various stages of development; demonstration and uncovering of social requirements in the field of feminism and politics, that affect the women's issues. This approach suggests that the women's movement consists of women's trade unions and political organizations (party and non-party), religious, environmental, anti-war and others (Andreasen, 1991, p. 9).

Shabanova (2008, p. 5) considers the women's movement as "the initiative activity of women in self-organization in communities, unions and clubs to fight for their rights". In this sense, the activity of women's movements presupposes overcoming the resistance of power

structures and society. Giddens (1999) argues that women's movement is not separated from other forms of social movements.

When considering women's movement as a social phenomenon, we should be take into account the difference between the concepts of "women's movement" and "feminism". Smolyar (1998) notes that the definition of "feminism" is used to determine ideological and theoretical aspects. The term "women's movement" is used to define organized practical activities aimed at the realization of feminist ideas (Smolyar, 1998, p. 12).

The women's movement has passed several stages in its development, has changed goals and priorities, expanded the spectrum of collective actions. This allows us to consider the women's movement in terms of different paradigms. It should be noted that in studying women's movements, researchers used only the components of the paradigm of collective behavior, relying mostly on the paradigm of collective action (resource mobilization) and the paradigm of new social movements (the identity paradigm).

The concept of relative deprivation (the paradigm of collective behavior) was used to determine the motives of the movement's formation. The shaping of women's movement affected the structural tension. Women could not get a job corresponding to their level of education and received a lower salary than men with similar training. The attempt to self-realize professionally formed a sense of guilt due to non-fulfillment of traditional domestic duties. These reasons led to the development of relative deprivation. The tension arising at the level of the structure and at the personal level (deprivation of women by gender) was introduced for public discussion in groups of "growth of consciousness". At the same time, "personal" "became political, getting a social meaning as a slogan for the movement" (Temkina, 2001, p. 667).

Representatives of the resource mobilization theory in identifying the women's movement singled out collective activities aimed at social change. Collective is a protest activity directed against the existing structure of power and the dominant value-normative order (Bergman, 1991). The resource mobilization theory focuses on the principles of creating the movement and the importance of organizations. From the point of view of this theory, the key factors in the forming and functioning of the movement are structural tension, existing links and organizations (Freeman, 1975).

Freeman (1975) divides the women's movement into two branches: the "old branch" is a liberal school; "young branch" is radical. Both schools have different strategies, which led to different results of the movements' activities.

The liberal branch has following characteristics: moderation, mass, formalized structures of organizations; right liberal ideology; the protest arena is a political sphere; the goal of the movement is to reform the society and the existing power structure to change the role of women as a social group; ways of action - reformist activities (changes in laws, institutions, employment structure); activities - lobbying, appeals to parliament and calls for voting, petitions, court cases.

The radical branch has following characteristics: informal structures of organizations - the activities of small groups (communities based on everyday connections, groups of "growth of consciousness" to discuss women's issues); Marxist, socialist and radical ideology; arena of protest - changes of personality and discourse. The goal of the movement is to change society, which should begin with increasing self-esteem and self-confidence of women, personal changes of women due to their liberation from traditional hierarchy; ways of action - revolutionary activity, confrontational tactics, tactics of direct action (strikes, civil disobedience, etc.); activities - meetings of women (Ryan, 1992).

The resource mobilization theory was criticized in 1980-1990s due to the fact that it did not take into account the ideological factor and "symbolic meanings" (Zucher & Snow, 1981). This led to the emergence of new interpretations of the women's movement. Ryan (1992) differentiated movements based on their ideology, which determines the modification and repertoire of collective action.

The modern interpretation of social movements suggests the study of the women's movement, taking into account the specific features of the new political discourse. The theory of new social movements studies the emergence of a new collective identity of women. Among modern women's movements prevail the structures oriented towards the implementation of one specific goal (for example, the movement against harassment against women) or the chosen group of goals (movement for social guarantees related to the birth and upbringing of children). Some of the organizations of this type operate within particular countries (Women's Aid Federation of England, National Council of Women of Canada). But there are also multi-vectored feminist organizations. These include the National Organization for Women (NOW),

the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), the Global Fund for Women.

There also can be observed synthesis of theories; increased attention to social, psychological and cultural manifestations. Daily experience, interactions and interpretations in everyday life, problems of social construction of man's ideas about the world are studied. The stratification approach to the analysis of the social structure of society is intensified: to replace the research of a universal individual, a rational actor, comes an analysis of the actor taking into account his gender, race, class, national experience (Morris & Mueller, 1992). Another trend - against the backdrop of research on the interaction of organizations, intensifies the attention to personal interactions.

Women's movement as a form of social activity and interaction of different generations serves the basis for acquiring appropriate experience, socialization and self-realization. The women's movement is an active participant in the creation and implementation of a new gender ideology, gender culture, gender sensitivity, gender consciousness and gender hermeneutics. That particular is the active and creative role of the women's movement in modern society (Kovalishina, 2000). The schools and forms of activity of women's movements target different groups of the population, including women with many children, unemployed women, widows, orphans, victims of violence, victims of environmental disasters, victims of political repression, women with low income, youth, single women, civic associations and charitable foundations, and also pensioners, scientists, entrepreneurs, students, ethnic groups and national minorities.

Dahlerup (1986) considers the women's movement as a collective activity of women, whose goals are to fight male domination, increase the status of women in various spheres of society. Examples of collective actions are protests, demonstrations, lobbying, groups of consciousness development.

Tilly (1978) considers collective movements as a means of mobilizing the group's interests under certain conditions: in the absence of legitimate ways of expressing their interests or in the repression of their needs. The ways participants act in the movement are determined by the possibility to express their interests within the framework of formed political system. They can be openly confrontational and violent towards current government.

Sociocultural, political and historical factors form specific models of the women's movement. According to Temkina (2001) the main models are: the model of the pressure group (USA);

model of ideologically left feminism (UK); model of state equality (state feminism, Sweden); model of the movement of one issue (Italy).

Shaping of the model of the pressure group in the United States was influenced by corporatist policies, the weakness of the party system and trade unions; a judicial system that expresses the interests of individual citizens; decentralization, pluralism and openness of the political system.

Collective action comes in many forms. These forms include marches, rallies, demonstrations that attract the attention of society and mobilize supporters. Also legal arguments, educational and popularizing activities to influence the change of consciousness, lobbying, participation in legislative work, drafting laws and their expertise; collection of information, analytics and commentary on changes in legislation; organization of lectures, conferences on feminist topics; cooperation of movements, creation of alliances for legislative lobbying, search of money resources.

Several factors shaped a model of ideologically left feminism: centralized political system isolated from social movements; protection of political structures that limits lobbying, resources; a judicial system that represents interests of the state, rather than individual rights; traditional values, education system (Gelb, 1989).

This model of feminism supposes ideological integrity and refusal to cooperate with other organizations. The decentralized form of feminist politics did not provide positive results and broad political representation. The impact of these factors led to negative consequences for the British women's movement: lack of resources, professional expertise and access to governance structures. In general, the political influence of this movement was insignificant. This model comes mostly in a form of a party or trade union work and groups for the development of consciousness (clinics, centers, groups of women based on their interests, etc.).

The model of state feminism is connected with the welfare state model. It is formed under a consensual political system that incorporates the interests of citizens and their activities. The aim of this model is to achieve social equality by providing citizens with social rights that complement political and civil rights.

This model has following characteristics: low proneness to conflict; legislative way of solving women's problems; representation of interests of various groups in state bodies; high

institutionalization of society. The main form of action of this model is the selective activity. Women actively participate in party and trade union activities. The main arena for vindication of the rights is the party system and political institutions.

The model of the movement of one problem developed under the influence of the cultural component - a conflict political system and a conservative society. For example, in Italy this was a movement of "one problem" - the fight for to legalize abortions. Opponents in this fight were the Catholic Church and the ruling Christian Democratic Party. The women's movement gathered support from representatives of the leftist parties and trade unions, but had no representation in political institutions. The only way to influence was to mobilize support and organize large-scale demonstrations.

Public discussion involving the Catholic Church and theologians, legislators and parties, as well as mass demonstrations in 1975-1977 led to the referendum and the adoption of a new law (1978) that legalized abortion.

Despite the involvement of all parties in the issue of abortion, other problems of women were not discussed. Having solved one problem, the movement went into decline (Pisciotta, 1986).

When determining the structure of the movement, Rucht (1995) proposed to take into account the "context structure". It consisted of cultural context as the ratio of individual and public values and values of the movement; social context as social networks, spheres and stratifications; the political context that predetermines the degree of access to the policy and the possibilities for its implementation; structure of associations, the nature of conflicts, the presence of opponents.

The structure of the context determines the presence of movement's structure: party-oriented, glass-root's (weakly structured, decentralized, informal movements, which are interacted with flexible communication networks), interest groups (Rucht, 1995). The structure of the context defines the dominant model of the women's movement in countries. Thus, Germany is characterized by a combination of party-oriented, glass-root's and interest groups. The party-oriented model dominates in France and in the USA, we can observe a model of interest groups.

The role of the country's political system influences the character and structure of the women's movement, but it is also necessary to take into account the influence of the women's movement on the political system. Women's movements can influence politics by their ideas of

that are absorbed by society, through leaders that are elected or introduced into politics and by women as former former marginal groups achieving political participation and political influence (Dahlerup, 1986).

The women's movement unites various directions that have their own system of ideas, from which their own ideology, development strategies, models of the future; the interests of various women's groups are synthesized.

Melnikova (2000) identifies the main forms of the women's movement.

A conservative (traditional) form has the purpose of motherhood. Here the state denies the discrimination against women in society and claims that the main task and mission of a woman is the birth and upbringing of children.

Liberal form advocates for socio-economic and political reforms to achieve social gender equality. It recognizes the importance of maternal functions and struggle for women's participation in the political, socio-cultural and professional spheres. It achieves positive changes in society through socio-economic and legal reforms; advocates the idea of sharing household duties between spouses, balancing the combination of professional and family roles by women, without denying the importance of family and motherhood in their lives.

Radical women's movements propagate the most abrupt and intolerant demands to power structures. They recognize male and female antagonism and the fact that power is completely concentrated in the hands of men. According to them society must be radically rebuilt through the implementation of the women's revolution.

Elliott & Mendel (1998) distinguish the following varieties of women's movement: liberal (fighting for the elimination of social, legal, political, economic subordination to men; access to education; reform of legislation guaranteeing the status of women); classical liberal (fight for legislation reform in order to eliminate discrimination against women); liberal elite (women should have significant priorities in society); radical (denies the idea of gender equality and advocates for social, political, economic and psychological experiments); classical (Marxist) (suggests that a woman is a property of her husband) (Elliott & Mendel, 1998).

Chulyukova (2012) divides the women's movement into two main directions - moderate liberal-reformist that advocates reforms for women, changing public consciousness towards women and radically extremist that emphasizes the problems of family and marriage, as well

as sexual relationships. System of patriarchal society is recognized as the key problem of all women's problems. Improvement of the situation is possible due to the destruction of social institutions that have formed following social structure: the state, the army, the party system, the church, etc. The primary task is to destroy the institution of the family and provide sexual freedom to women.

Melnikova (2000) singles out the proletarian, liberal-democratic and national-patriotic trends of the women's movement. In her opinion, at the present stage, we have the social democratic, communist, liberal, national-patriotic, nationalist and religious women's movement, each with their own program goals.

Analyzing women's movements, scientists, such as Yarosh (2000) and Smolyar (2001), classify women's activities in different directions, forms. They, however, outline the general characteristics that guide these movements: voluntary participation of people who have a common goal and can significantly influence the common goal; development of original concept and ideology; a common field of activity, common interests and values; free will and assertion of one's rights; the existence of a program, organizational structure, hierarchical relations, statutory rules, regulating methods and forms of activity.

Women's movements are classified by the scale of the organization and its activities, by its integration into the political system and attitude toward the authorities.

By the criterion of the scale of their activity, women's movements are international, national, regional and local. They solve different tasks and differ in the degree of impact on the population. At the same time, international and national are more independent and influential, and, consequently, more subjective. Local and regional are characterized by a high degree of dependence on the relevant power structures, and therefore less subjective.

Upon criterion of integration into the political system, women's movements are divided into formal and informal. Formal movements are legally registered and have a clear organizational structure.

Women's movements can also be structured according to group size, the level of self-organization, value orientation, professional orientation; religious affiliation, ethnic identification.

Based on the attitude to power, women's movements are divided into social, socio-political and political. The goal of social movements is to solve specific social problems. Social and

political movements influence the solution of problems that have a significant political dimension. Political women's organizations are closely associated with political parties or are themselves trying to solve problems (Darmohrai, 1998).

Women's organizations of political goal-setting are considered as intermediaries between its participants and the state. The activity of these interest groups is aimed at both local problems and politics in general. Solving political problems and achieving results by political methods, such groups are treated as political organizations. They are distinguished from political parties by the lack of tendency to win power, their goal is to influence the institutions of power and politicians to make the right decisions (Smolyar, 1998).

The main functions of women's organizations are integrational, organizational, ideological, educational, coordinational, cultural, and charitable. Women's organisations integrate with regional and other organizations; create new communities, attracting young people as new members; define their worldview role in the implementation of strategic and political tasks; from women's self-esteem and initiative; establish contacts between public organizations; conducting mass events; protect certain categories of women and provide them with social assistance (Kovalishina, 2001).

Fronsdsey (2012) singles out the following functions of women's public organizations: expressing the interests of their members; protective; information; creative; educational; cultural; communicative and others. Women's movements interact with structures of power through an electoral system and public opinion. The function of civil institutions is the transformation of the moral authority of public opinion into a form of moral pressure on the system of power.

The women's movement at the current stage of development propagandizes mainly the following basic ideas: equality with men in matters of professional sphere and education; service control of children; birth control; legal and financial independence of women (Pescherov, 2011).

Social phenomena and cataclysms increase women's activity and produce new forms of functioning of organizations. According to Kovalishina (2001), the new forms of the functioning of women's movements are: traditional women's socially-oriented organizations; business women's network; organization of feminist orientation.

Karnaukh & Levinskaya (2015) divide movements into classical (traditional) and alternative (new) ones. The latter appeared in the 1970s and are based on the transformation of the system of needs and values in people's minds.

In general, according to Emirsuinova (2001), the woman as a separate representative of a gender group has two options: to comply with the existing system of relationships established in the society ("glass ceiling", diminutive language, and in general, gender segregation) or to protest. The first way offers a woman to refuse promotion and even her own career in general, but accept names like "baby", "chick", "lassie" (Dowling, 1982, p.11). Attitude towards the existing system of traditional cultural settings may result into protest, the logical end of which is social movement of women fighting for their rights.

The new women's movement influence the activities of parties and their program objectives in Western European countries. For example, left parties supported the orientation of women's movement. Centrist parties included women's issues in their programs and achieved results through political institutions. Gender equality of men and women was declared in programs of many parties. A consequence of such tendencies was an increase in the political representation of women (Haavio-Mannila, 1985). State bodies were established to address the problems of women, including the institutionalization of feminist centers and research in universities of gender issues. Women's associations function not in an abstract space, but in a specific society with its specific characteristics. Women's structures can manifest themselves as full-fledged subjects of the socio-political sphere only in a democratic society.

Despite the existence of problems and discrimination, in general, the status of women in developed countries has improved significantly. For example, in Scandinavian countries, feminism and gender equality are part of a wider project to achieve social equity and justice. The example of these countries illustrates how closely intertwined and interacted civil, social and political rights.

The modern women's movement is heterogeneous, it presents various trends, differing in theoretical basis, sphere of activity, political orientation, social composition, and practical goals.

The options for the development of a women's movement are: the creation of a party or socio-political organization or party that integrates into the political system; the termination of development after achievement of the organization's goals.

Dynamic changes in women's movements contribute to the formation of new approaches in the sphere of legislation regulating the gender sphere, way of thinking, behavior and activity in the private and public spheres. Regulatory changes in the legal field contributed to the development of standards for the integration of women in all public spheres and became the basis for the mobilization of women's movements to solve urgent problems. In the political system of many countries there are quotas that guarantee the participation of women in government. The new women's movement emphasizes great importance to the formation of a new mentality: in public and professional groups, women act as individuals.

1.3 The basic paradigms of the study of social movements: collective behavior, collective action, new social movements

The sociology of social movements is based on three classical paradigms. This refers to the paradigm of collective behavior, the paradigm of collective action (mobilization of resources), the paradigm of new social movements.

There is an American and European research tradition of analyzing social movements. The American school develops the paradigm of collective behavior and collective action; the European school develops the paradigm of new social movements. Until the 80s of the 20th century these schools developed independently due of ethnocentrism in the study of social movements. Ethnocentrism suggested specificity that did not allow generalizations.

At the same time, representatives of various paradigms analyzed the phenomena according to all criteria (the reason of emergence, goals, resources, motives for participation, social representation, organizational features, strategies of action). Each paradigm centered the research on different aspects of movements, based on what the key factor for the authors was. Some scientists considered of the reasons for the formation of movements as the main parameter, others - the features of the organization and ways of action of the movements, as well the values and goals of the movements (Haliy, 2007).

Paradigms of social movements belong to different sociological traditions, which is confirmed by the choice of different forms of social movements as the object of research; attention to certain aspects of the movement as priority subjects of study; the peculiarity of the interpretation of the very phenomenon of the social movement; use of different terminology; defending various political views.

Skobelina (2014) proposes the classification of paradigms of social movements from the viewpoint of the historical development of sociological theories, taking into account the analysis of the social environment. Classical (microlevel) meets the paradigm of collective behavior. Modern (macrolevel) meets the paradigm of resource mobilization. Postmodern (integrated) corresponds to the paradigm of new collective movements.

Sociology of the 1960s and 1970s thoroughly studied feminist, student, anti-colonial, anti-war, anti-nuclear, environmental and other types of movements in support of civil rights. Interpreting the obtained empirical material, the main theoretical concepts of explaining the phenomenon of social movements were formed. In the course of their formation, theoretical models were the antithesis of the previous ones. They rejected their conclusions, determined the limits of application. According to Zdravomyslova (1990) in sociology of social movements, "a methodological shift to the pluralism of theories arose, when models involving various research approaches were proposed".

The first classical paradigm of studying social movements is the model of collective behavior that views social movements as the result of deprivation, tension and dissatisfaction. This concept developed in the 1960-70s and is represented by such scientists as Blumer, Garr, Killian, Kornhauser, Smelser, Turner, etc. The paradigm of collective behavior united various models of social movements - mass society, collective behavior and relative deprivation.

The paradigm of collective behavior and mass society adopted the "individualistic tradition of public opinion", (originating from the works of Hobbes and Lock), on the basis of which the society includes autonomous entities that voluntarily unite into collectives. Society is the result of a social contract and the interaction of subjects (Haliy, 2007).

The paradigm of collective behavior interprets social movements as a feature of modern mass society. Social movements appear as a temporary dysfunction of society, which is characterized by a complex, irrational, non-institutional, spontaneous, form of collective and mass behavior.

Social movements, regarded as one of the forms of collective and mass behavior, are caused by the structural tension that arises from dysfunctions and conflicts of interest in the social system. The concept of collective behavior describes the mechanisms for the emergence of extra-institutional protest groups of deviant behavior (Kaminska, 2010).

Adherents of the concept of collective behavior consider social movements as one of the types of collective behavior; collective activity that seeks to create a new social order. The dissemination of generalized beliefs of an irrational nature is the guarantee of collective behavior.

Dynamism and the rapid development of mass communications, which are typical for modern mass society, lead to instability in primary social groups, make it difficult for the individual to adapt socially, master the norms, values of democratic culture (Tugov, 2012). Participants of the actions, as a rule, come from the "lower classes", with a low level of political socialization (Rotmistrov, 2010). This contributes to the formation of social exclusion, the removal of citizens from political participation. Secondary adaptive systems (labor collectives, trade unions, etc.) do not radically affect the situation (Zdravomyslova, 1990). Thus, the characteristics of mass society negatively affect the segments of the population with a low educational and cultural level. Representatives of these strata become members of groups of deviant behavior. The behavior of the masses in the event of an aggravation of the socioeconomic situation is the behavior of the crowd, which is formed spontaneously and unpredictably. It is aimed at changing the political system, public order in the interests of the protest group. Accordingly, the paradigm of collective behavior treats social movements as "collective behavior in a crisis situation and the phenomena of deprivation, frustration, aggression" (Garr, 2005).

Kornhauser (1959) noted that social movements consist of socially isolated people who lack a social connection and communication. Blumer (1969) defined social and political movements as collective institutions aimed at the formation of a new order of life. He claimed that at the stage of forming the movements are amorphous, poorly organized and formless.

Turner and Killian noted that the socio-political movement acts as a collective entity, functions for a long period of time, and also promotes or resists public change. As a collective action, the movement is a group with indefinite and inconsistent membership, and leadership whose position is largely determined by the unofficial reaction of the members of the movement rather than by formal procedures for legitimizing power (Morris, 1987).

American researcher Toch (1965) defined social and political movements as attempts of a large number of people to influence the solution of a common, urgent problem. This interpretation allows us to classify various forms of collective behavior and protest as social

and political movements. The revolution was recognized as the most destructive mass protest. It is described by Le Bon as an example of mass hysteria and the triumph of irrationality.

Researchers also drew attention to the level of dissatisfaction, social tension and regarded them as the basic conditions for the activities of movements (Rootes, 1990).

Another group of authors argued that the protests are influenced by social factors, not psychological factors. Smelser (1962) views collective behavior as a reaction to "structural tensions" that arise from the conflict of interests in social groups and the disorganization of the social system. The author defines the protest as the desire to change the social environment. He included the following aspects: mass riots; hostility between the authorities and social actors, lack of trust; confidence of representatives of social groups in a hostile and biased attitude of government towards; situational catalysts of mass actions, activating factors; mobilization to action; low level of social control, attitude and reaction of power representatives that provoke spontaneous mass behavior (Demetieva, 2013).

The main drawback of the paradigm of collective behavior and mass society is the fact that its representatives viewed the movement only from the positions of the masses, although the list of participants in the movements was quite heterogeneous and often included educated people (Rotmistrov, 2010).

The paradigm of collective action (resource mobilization) explores social movements as a rationally organized, inalienable element of social life and a constant active subject of social change. Representatives of this trend (McCarthy, Oberschall, Olson, Tilly, Zald) interpret social movements as a kind of collective action characterized by an orientation towards achieving certain goals. Attention is focused on the components of the social movement, on factors of effectiveness, organizational structure, tactics, interaction with public institutions, mobilization capabilities of the organization.

The intellectual basis of this paradigm is the institutional approach (Smith, Mill). This approach has the following features: considering society as a complex of social institutions (rational collective actors) and organizational units. The functioning of social institutions, as well as of social movements, is explained from the standpoint of rationalism.

The theorists of the resource mobilization paradigm define social movements quite widely. For example, Zald (1987) sees the social movement as a set of views and beliefs of a social

group whose members seek to change individual elements of a social structure or a way of distributing public goods, or both.

Tilly believes that social movements, as a means of mobilizing the resources of various groups, arise in the absence of people's institutionalized ways of articulating and combining their interests. The same applies to the situation when the state does not have the ability to fulfill the demands of people or levels up its demands towards them. Collective action consists of people working together to achieve common interests. Mobilization is the process by which a group collectively controls resources (labor, goods, weapons, electoral votes and any number of other things) necessary to achieve goals; the analysis of collective action consists of five components: convenience, organization, mobilization, opportunities and collective action as such (Schultz, 2014).

Yanitsky (2006) notes that mobilization is a collective action, usually initiated by a socio-political conflict. At the present stage, it is, first of all, a conflict between civil society (social movements) and the state, although natural, geopolitical and technogenic catastrophes are also factors of mobilization.

The theory of collective behavior is focused on the study of the motives for the emergence of movements, studies the influence of ideology. The paradigm of collective action has chosen the organization and mobilization as a key element of scientific research. The organization is identified with values - the goals of the social movement, formed under the influence of the socio-cultural situation.

There are certain basic principles of the theory of resource mobilization. In the core of social movements, there is a rational action, in contrast to spontaneous behavior and the resources of movements played an important role. The institutional and extra-institutional modes of collective action are not fundamentally different there is continuity between them. Social movements are a conflict type of collective action. A protest arises when economic, political and organizational opportunities are formed. The main resource of the movement is the organization (Zdravomyslova, 1993).

In the opinion of representatives of the collective action concept (Wilson, Zald, McCarthy, Tilly), who refused to use the psychological terms inherent in the paradigm of collective behavior. The process of mobilizing collective action occurs as a result of the complication of organizational and communication forms.

Institutional factors are important when analyzing social movements: opportunities for legal participation in society, institutional support, and the existence of a mechanism for state control (Skobelina, 2010).

Social movements within the framework of this paradigm are considered as a kind of organization. Its purpose is to change the social system and a certain social value (Tilly, 2007). The success of the movement depends on the ability of participants to attract resources, and its development is explained by the desire of people to realize their value orientations.

The resource mobilization paradigm gave impetus to the emergence of the cognitive approach to social movements. Its conceptual formation began in the 1980s in the USA. The authors of this theory (Eyerman, Jamison) define the social movement as the behavior of people who have reconsidered their system of values, the norms of society and challenge others to do the same (Dementieva, 2013). The reasons for the revision are the contradictions of interests in the community and in the system of values. The goal is to harmonize people's interests.

Researchers who represent the theory of resource mobilization, similar to representatives of the paradigm of collective behavior, view movements as agents of social change, but, unlike the latter, note that they are not the result of dysfunctions of the social system, but the main condition for its normal functioning (Pavlova, 2008). Like any other paradigm, the concept of resource mobilization has its drawbacks. The one-sidedness of this theory led to the inability to explain the emergence of the organization of social movements, the reasons for the participation of certain people under the same circumstances in different movements (Tugov, 2012).

It should be noted that in the 1980s in the scientific revolution of the sociology of social movements, the concept of "framing" was introduced, which was used to analyze the cultural aspects of various manifestations of social movements. The concept of "framing" is an alternative to the paradigm of collective action. Framing is considered as a process of dynamic symbolic construction of a common vision of the external world (the orientation of social movement) in relation to the social movement; the role of a particular movement in this world; internal (individual orientation) cultural context.

According to Goffman (1974), who introduced the frame analysis, a person uses frames to localize, comprehend, identify and mark events inside the world of a person's living space or in the world as a whole. Yanitsky (2013) calls frame a "point of view" for the perception and

interpretation of a person by the surrounding reality. Frame theory refers to the "point of view" of a "collective entity preparing for, or already engaging in, collective action".

Benford and Snow (1992) refer to frames as interpretive schemes that simplify the external image of the world through "selective emphasis and coding of objects, experience and sequence of actions in their past and present habitat".

When emphasizing, a conflict (event) is identified, which is defined as meaningful, unacceptable and unjust and, at the same time, impossible to endure.

The process of framing consists of the following elements.

Diagnostic - fixing the problem, finding the cause, interpreting the situation, symbolic construction of the conflict, a tool for anticipating negative events, indicating the "culprit" of the situation.

Prognostic - solving the problem, finding mechanisms for resolving the conflict.

Motivational - the interpretation of incentives, the motive of collective action (Snow & Benford 1992, Yanitsky 2013).

The theory of social constructivism defines frames as "the strategic efforts of groups of people to construct patterns of understanding the world and themselves that legitimize and motivate collective action" (Lazarev, 2014). The process of transforming frames creates new meanings, values, beliefs that facilitate participation in the organization. In the process of changing frames, new collective identities are constructed. This leads to social transformations.

The spread of social networks has strengthened the position of supporters of the framing theory (Passy, 2003). Participation in social networks forms a cultural relation and a sense of ownership of the user and the protest movement.

Thus, framing is a tool for analyzing and organizing social processes. Frames are tools for building strategy and tactics of social action, as well as choosing the most effective ways to influence the situation for a collective actor or person.

New social and political movements, despite the existence of common stand with traditional movements, still have certain differences. This theory considers social movements (environmental, anti-war, feminist, etc.) as a reaction to the expansion of state power and the extending the sphere of influence of the media.

The paradigm of new social movements (the paradigm of identity) focuses on the formation and development of conflicts, the results of movements (positive changes in society and changing values), the emphasis on the importance of sociocultural determinants. Scientists actively discuss the role of social movements in the functioning of modern society, in the modernization of its social and functional structure in the transition from its vertical organization to the network.

The transition of economically developed Western democracies from the industrial to the postindustrial, postmodern state of society significantly influenced the formation of the paradigm of identity represented by such authors as Gundelach, Inglehart, Melucci, Rucht, Turen, Habermas.

The term "new social movements" was introduced to science in 1980 by the Italian researcher Alberto Melucci. In his view, modern collective action is the result of complex interaction processes mediated by networks of group identity (Melucci, 1980).

The prerequisites for the formation of the identity paradigm are the development of social movements in the countries of Western Europe, European intellectual and sociological tradition, as well as the crisis of Marxism and the criticism of the paradigm of collective action (Pavlenko, 2000).

Within the paradigm of new social movements, the theory of social constructionism dominates. It views culture from the point of view of cognitive practice as a specific set of tools by which social actors fill content with their activities. This includes a large number of components - ideas, beliefs, rituals, and informal rules. Movements are considered as cognitive practices that encompass the production and reproduction of cultural codes (Buzgalin, 2003).

New social movements emerged during the development of the network principles of the organization. Therefore, they are compared with the network social organization model and point out decentralization, lack of hierarchy, flexibility, mobility, speed, ease of formation and breakdown of structures, equality of participants regardless of their role, openness of the organization for new activists and the ability to easily leave it, the main focus on the content of activities and the secondary nature of the forms and structures of the organization.

Della Porta and Diani believe that the new type of social movements within the institutional structures of a post-industrial society are not characterized by economic and political goals.

More often they are concentrated on the search for autonomy, solidarity, identity (Della Porta & Diani, 2011). Thus, new feminist movements are formed and developed, focusing on the search for independence from male domination in the family and society. At the same time, they focus on the problems of freedom of reproductive choice, responsible pregnancy, entering into a dialogue with the medical community.

From the point of view of the mechanisms of decision-making and actions, new social movements are characterized by active use of tactics of mobilizing public opinion and civil disobedience. Along with this, traditional methods of political participation (party) continue to be used.

According to Pichardo (1997), the structure of new social movements is horizontal, with many organizational forms, frequent change of leader, discussion and voting on many issues.

The social base of the new social movements is, according to Cotgrove & Duff (1980) the "new" middle class representing the non-productive economic sector. Offe (1985) believes that not only representatives of the "new" and "old" middle class (entrepreneurs and holders) are the social base of new social movements, but also representatives of the "periphery" of the class system (pensioners, housewives, students).

In new social movements, the approach to the concepts "individual" and "collective" is changing. Blurring the lines between them is evidenced by the fact that individual needs affect the public spheres. In turn, such individual spheres as sexual orientation and personal relationships pass into the public sphere, are discussed and become the subject of collective action.

In general, the new social movements are a new type of movements. According to Skokova (2014), the focus here is not only on the transformation of social structures, but also on changing social and cultural values, forming new goals for movements. Social classes are not the basis of movements, therefore new social communities are emerging. The use of new means of influence is designed for mass mobilization with the aim of changing values and attitudes. She call the new social movement a new type of organization, the rejection of formal, bureaucratic ways of organization, the preference for flexibility in order to actively attract new members.

The new movements reflect many social problems caused by racial, gender, cultural contradictions. New social movements are represented by environmental, feminist, anti-

nuclear, anti-war organizations. They seek to strengthen the role of civil society by reducing state's control.

Gundelach and Melucci presented the key trends in the manifestation of social movements in modern societies. Gundelach (1984) singled out the spontaneous movements that arise in all modern societies. People are no longer attached to certain social classes, they concentrate on their problems and their families, try to protect themselves from risks, thereby creating new types of voluntary low-level organizations (Gundelach, 1984).

Melucci (1985) points out the existence of collective identities and movements in modern societies, formed on a local level on the basis of individual experience. Any movement has an important latent dimension - everyday practices and life experiences of participants. The subject of the study of new social movements is collective identity as a process of social construction of the system of action.

The peculiarity of the new social movements is that they focus on new topics, new aspects of social conflicts (regional, racial-ethnic, linguistic, anti-war, anti-nuclear), strive for post-materialist values (education, freedom of speech, realization of their creative potential, observance of human rights, an individual lifestyle, autonomy, identity).

Within the post-modern stage of development of the paradigm of new collective movements, the following approaches exist (Skobelina, 2014).

Relational sociology considers the empirical network as a network of semantic relations based in discourse and being a product of culture (Mishe, Emirbayer).

The theory of practical rationality concentrates on the fact that in their actions people rationally choose the strategy of behavior, which, in their opinion, will be most effective for achieving the final result, while the structural and functional alternatives of social systems determine rational patterns of individual's behavior (Coleman, Elster);

Social constructivism, where the construction of the world is not a subjective process in the mind of every individual, but the result of joint social communications and practices. The subject of attention are certain aspects of the activity of participants in organizations, different forms of symbolic interactions, the process of constructing a social context (Berger, Luckmann).

Neo-institutionalism interprets social movements as institutionalized practices consisting of formal and informal "game rules", according to which the participants act (March, North, Olson, Skocpol);

Another approach studies the relationship between the activities of actors and the structure (Giddens, Turen, Habermas, Sztopka).

In general, the basic ideas of new social movements are the quality of life, the protest against "symbolic codes", the realization of everyone's right to cultural and social identity. New social movements are characterized by a new type of collective action. Individual identity here dominates the collective, which forms a multitude of individualized forms of civic engagement. Overall, there is a tendency to increase the participation of citizens in the life of society at many levels: local, state and global.

Conclusions

The generalization of research drives us to a conclusion that modern social movements are characterized by the actualization of social problems; organizational pluralism; decentralization; new requirements for activists and leaders; external support; virtualization of activities; use of the up-to-date information and communication technologies.

The consistent design of the scientists' work into complex paradigms occurred as society developed. The major theoretical models reflect the stages of social movements development. Followers of a certain theory criticized the development of previous approaches, considered the new system to be the most adequate for the study of social movements. At the same time, some movements required a complex study approach, using the theoretical scope of each of the theories.

Today a new sociocultural reality is being formed, where self-organization institutionalized movements dominate in the sphere of society, occupying a certain place in the political structure and performing definite functions (non-governmental organizations).

The existence of paradigms and theories within their framework indicate that scientists are exploring socio-political movements in different contexts. Thus, it is impossible to single out the only one acceptable definition of this concept (Skobelina, 2010). Even within the framework of one theory, the scientific views on the essence of the movement are diverse. An attempt is made to synthesize previous developments in the mainstream of socio-political movements research.

Researches and numerous theories of social movements underline the important role of these formations in society. Social movements can be viewed in a broad and narrow sense. In a broad sense, the social movements are voluntary associations, which aim at influencing the authorities to implement certain socio-political changes in society. In the narrow sense, social movements are defined as alliances of a large number of people, aimed at changing the political system (either as a whole or its separate parts) or counteracting these changes.

Women's movements belong to the most common types of social movements. The modern women's movement is represented by various trends, schools, spectrum of theoretical approaches. Thus, they include various forms of feminist activity: party, trade union, participation in social movements and the functioning of public institutions. The movements vary in the sphere of activity, political orientation, social composition and goals. Participation in women's movements can be fixed or non-fixed.

Women's movements are classified according to the size, the level of self-organization, value orientation, professional orientation (educational, cultural, economic, environmental etc.), religious affiliation (Orthodox, Catholic, Islamic etc.), ethnic identification (mono-national, multinational, represented by national minorities), level of integration into the political system (formal or informal). The main functions of women's organizations are organizational, integrational, ideological, charitable, educational, creative and cultural.

The women's movement unites the schools, different in their ideology, development strategies, models of the future, ways of defending the interests of various women's groups. Conservative, liberal and radical schools are the main vectors of the women's movement. The political system of society, socio-cultural and historical factors affect the nature and structure of the women's movement. The main models of the women's movement are the model of the pressure group, the model of ideologically left feminism, the model of state equality, the model of the movement of one problem.

The basic paradigms of social movements study, such as collective behavior, collective action and new social movements paradigms are also relevant for women's movement research. The women's movement plays a vital role in the process of sociocultural transformations in the information society. The strategic task of modern society development is to solve the problem of gender equality. The level of development of the women's movement and its influence on political decision-making contribute to the solution of the gender equality problem.

CHAPTER 2. Representation of feminist movements in media as an object of research

2.1 The problem of women's political activism in scientific discourse

At the beginning of 21st century, the humankind undergoes a number of drastic changes, one of them – transition to new type of culture based on the principles of gender equality. Feminism is a manifestation of this kind of culture. It arises because of fundamental ascertaining of masculine nature of the existing culture and a civilization. For obvious and implicit reasons man's features reach the level of the common cultural standard, a model, and are identified as common human features. In this situation, the woman and femininity have status of "Another". The importance of feminism lies in the introduction of femininity as a part of human existence, its universally valid and inalienable attributes. In modern society problems of women's position, realization of their rights and opportunities, active participation in important social and political processes, access to senior positions are urgent for many countries around the world.

Feminism is a civil-political movement for the equality of women and men in all spheres of public and private life. Feminism as a sociocultural, political and intellectual movement is aimed at the achievement of equal rights for women and the establishment of new order in which standards and a system of values are not determined by male (Philosophy Encyclopedic Dictionary, 2002).

Feminist theory not only established itself as a notable trend of modern humanism, but also promoted the development of feminist and gender studies in the post-Soviet space.

Women's studies as a new field of humanitarian research, formed in the 1960s in Western Europe and United States in the theoretical and methodological framework is based on women's movements of the 20th century and the ideological foundations of feminism. The concept of feminism, accounted as the source of women's studies of the 20th century, is endowed with various meanings. We will highlight some of the aspects.

Political is represented by civil movements, which is a basic aspect due to the fact that feminist movement determined the emergence of ideology and the theory of feminism.

Ideological represents the strategy of social change.

Theoretical concept is a methodological basis for the analysis of cultural and social phenomena.

The goal of the organized movement for the protection of women's rights is to fight and achieve certain goals in concrete ways, which depend on the ideological platform of the movement. The women's movement is considered as a set of associations, organizations and groups of women with permanent and non-permanent membership, who are socially active. The purpose of the women's movement is to focus on the social, material, political, religious, ideological and other interests of women, as well as the desire to achieve equality in various spheres of public life for women and men.

Women's movement as a form of social activity and interaction between different generations of women is the basis for acquiring appropriate self-realization, socialization, experience. Women's movement is an active subject of creating, spreading and introducing gender ideology and culture, gender consciousness and sensitivity, gender hermeneutics. This is the creative and active component of the women's movement in the modern society.

Even ancient philosophers turned to the questions of men's and women's participation in public life (Bogdanor 1987, Fourier 2017). But most political theorists from Plato to Hegel defined women as apolitical beings who did not have the necessary qualities to actively participate in public life. According to western political theory, women are justifiably excluded from the main spheres of society (social, political, economic). Therefore, in political science and other sciences, the feminist trend arose because of disagreements with the dominant philosophical and empirical canons in the scientific literature (Carroll, Zerilli 2001). At the same time, feminist research has laid the foundation for the development of gender studies focused not only on women's issues, but also on inter-gender relations.

Early adherents of feminism called themselves advocates or defendants of women's rights, but did not use the term "feminism". A large group of researchers believe that for the first time the term "feminism" was used by French philosopher and a social-utopian thinker Charles Fourier in the 1740s (Uspenskaya 2000, Badinter 1989). He called supporters of women's equality feminists. Pakhsaryan (2010) however argues that in the texts written by Fourier the word "feminism" is not mentioned.

The adjective "feminist" in 1872 was used by Alexander Dumas Jr. in the pamphlet "A Man-Woman: Response to Henri d'Hideville" (*L'homme-femme, réponse à M. Henri d'Ideville*). The writer used it in a negative context as "lack of manliness." In 1882, Suffragette Hubertine

Auclert also used the adjective "feminist", but with a positive connotation this time, and therefore some scholars say she was the first one to use the term (Moses 1984). According to another version, the word "feminism" was first used by Alice Rossi in an article published in the British magazine "The Athenaeum" in 1895 (Klimenkova, 1991).

Popularization of the word "feminism" began with the first feminist congress in Paris (1892). Toward the end of the 19th century this term appeared in the press in the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Italy. According to the British historian Roberts (1999) in the early 20th century French words "feminism", "feminist" became commonly used in English.

Despite the fact that the term "feminism" entered the political vocabulary only in the second half of the 20th century (Fraisie, 1994) this problem worried the thinkers throughout the centuries-long history of humankind.

For the first time, the idea of gender equality was substantiated by Plato, who proved that women and men are equally endowed with the virtues necessary for governing the state. Aristotle, by contrast, believed that women do not have the qualities that men are endowed with, so their subordinate status is natural. Such an attitude toward the place and role of women in the social and family sphere only ascertained the existing status of rights and completely reflected the existing worldview paradigm. Over the centuries, it dominated the cultures of the West and the East (Solomin, 2004). Few standpoints manifested the social inequality of men and women, such as masculinism, patriarchy and misogyny.

Masculinism (from Latin "masculus" - masculine) is considered as a) a combination of masculine qualities that outwardly distinguish a man from a woman; b) a worldview that affirms the nature of male domination in society; c) a concept synonymous with phallocentrism (domination of the masculine principle over the feminine principle, the exclusion of feminine phenomena from the real diversity of culture) (Kolieva, 2014) and androcentrism (practice, conscious or otherwise, of placing a masculine point of view at the center of one's world view, culture, and history, thereby culturally marginalizing femininity); d) A sexist view that justifies male domination (Barchunova, Rubancova).

Patriarch is a) the system of power and domination of men, which through the action of public, political, economic institutions is the cause of discrimination against women; b) the dominance of men over women in the family and in general in other social institutions (Giddens, 1992); c) the only dominant world religion (representative of radical feminism

Mary Daly (1973) rejected Christianity - "patriarchal religion" and in general Judeo-Christian tradition - as a foundation for gender imbalance in society); d) "A family-social, ideological, political system in which men, through force and direct pressure, or through rituals, tradition, law, language, customs, etiquette, education and division of labor, determine the role that women should or should not perform, and the female is always dominated by the masculine" (Rich, 1971).

Misogyny is a) disgust and desire to get rid of everything that has to do with women (from women themselves, procreation, family, or relations with the opposite sex) (Sherman, 2011); b) misogyny, socio-political inequality and the spread of masculine sentiments – these are the causes of gender-based violence, the subordination of women to men and their limited rights; misogyny protects rapists and deprives victims of their chances of timely assistance (Anishchuk, 2008); c) in classical philosophical discourse, this concept means extreme polarization and subordination of the sexes, and also considers the concept of gynophobia, which means experiencing danger that comes from a specific, typical for women claim to power) (Hitruk, 2015).

Feminism as an ideology in the spiritual context began to form in the Age of Enlightenment. During this period, belief in the mind was combined with the belief in progress and the possibility of changing society on a reasonable basis. Since both women and men are sentient beings, they are equally carriers of inalienable rights. This rational and liberal argumentation meant that there were no reasons for discrimination against women as such.

For the first time, civil equality claims were brought by women during the War of Independence in the United States (1775-1783). A big influence on the development of the feminist movement for social and economic equality of women had the "Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen" by French writer and political activist Olympe de Gouges. The declaration actualized the problems of granting women political and electoral rights. The Declaration was a reaction to the French Constitution of 1791, which did not provide for the possibility of electing women and not allowing them to vote.

In 1792, the work of Mary Wollstonecraft "A vindication of the rights of woman" and Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel "On Improving the Status of Women" were published, raising the issues of advancement of women related, for example, to raising the level of education.

The ideas of women's emancipation were also discussed by philosophers of the 18-19th centuries. (Condorcet, Diderot, Mill and others). At the beginning of the nineteenth century,

ideas harmonizing with feminism were advanced by utopian socialists: de Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen. In their works, the abolition of private property was considered as a necessary condition for achieving equality for women.

Marx and Engels did not consider the problem of oppression based on gender as an important part of their theory, but their interpretation of the exploitation process became the foundation of the socialist and Marxist feminist streams. Representatives of the Marxist stream of feminism did not consider it expedient to have a women's movement separate from the general proletarian movement. Adherents of socialist feminism emphasized the possibility of such movements and the need to isolate women's problems from the general social and class ones.

The definition of feminism covers, above all, the doctrine of equality for women, in an ideological context aimed at achieving social transformations, carried out not only for the sake of social equality, but also for the formation of a world that would also be a world for women (Koroleva, 2015). Feminism is the ideology of the emancipation of women, because the essential in all feminist movements is the belief that a woman experiences injustice in relation to her gender. According to G. Lerner, feminism should distinguish women's rights from emancipation (Lerner, 1994).

Within the broad definition of feminism, there are various approaches to clarifying the causes and factors of women's oppression. Thus, Marxist feminism considered the division of labor to be the main distinction of gender, minimizing the tasks of movement to economic changes. However, a representative of radical feminism, North American scholar MacKinnon (1989) argues that sexuality is the first public sphere in which male authority has been established. Political feminist theory, therefore, should concentrate on the social construction of sexuality. For this kind of feminism, the personal is epistemological and political. For this theory, the way and content of cognition is also its political foundation.

The definitions of feminism, represented by its founders, depend on the level of education and upbringing, the recognized ideology or race to which they belong. For example, feminist socialists or Marxists emphasize the relationship between gender and class and emphasize social differences between men and women. Black feminists point out at sexual and racial differences.

The current stage of the development of feminist theory and feminist movements is related to the refinement of the definitions of the very essence of feminism and its new interpretations.

In the history of the development of the feminist movement, researchers mainly distinguish three stages, which are called "waves" to emphasize the similarity of periods of development and ocean waves, where a new wave comes to replace the previous one, but does not underestimate the significance of the previous one (Zharebkina, 1996).

Koroleva (2015) distinguishes the periodization based on the history of the feminist movement of the USA and Western Europe: the "first wave" - the end of the 19th century - the beginning of the 20th century, the "second wave" – 1960-70s (Queen, 2015). A. Rossi identifies three peaks of feminist movements in the United States: the "first peak" - 1840-1860, the "second peak" - 1900-1920, the "third peak" - since the 1960s (Dahlerup, 1986).

The first wave includes those who in the second half of the 19th - early 20th century created women's organizations, fought for equality of rights with men to receive education and participate in the political process. Feminism of the first wave was completed in the 1920s with granting of electoral rights to women in the United States.

The second wave of feminism begins in the 1960s. A distinctive feature of this stage is the transition from acquiring legal equality of men and women to obtaining de facto equality. The second wave is usually referred to as Marxist, liberal, socialist, radical feminism.

During the third wave that began in the 1990s, cultural, anti-racist, constructivist, postmodern, and other forms of feminism are developing. Some scholars, for example Brooks (1997) , define feminism of the third wave as "postfeminism" (Brooks, 1997).

H. Brandt (2006) believes that the history of feminism development consists of four stages: the first stage began at the end of the 18th century, the second - in the 19th century, the beginning of the third falls on the middle of the 20th century, and the fourth ("postfeminism") - on end of the 20th century.

Malkina-Pykh (2006) offers the following characteristics of the stages of feminism development. At the stage of the "first wave" women's movement (19th - first half of the 20th century), the problem of legal equality between the sexes was actualized; although the movement has spread in many countries, it has not become massive and has not sought to change the gender system. "Second wave" (mid-20th century - 1980s) is marked by a real struggle for gender equality; mass character; the formation of the theoretical basis of feminism; numerous shares; the foundation of various organizations and small informal groups without a leader. During the "third wave" (from the 1990s) two various groups of

women are beginning to study, their specific interests, in contrast to the "second wave", the theorists of which investigated the life of a white woman, a middle-class.

Since the 19th century, feminism as an ideological movement passes through three stages of development (Khrabrova, 2013). The first stage was associated with the activities of the suffragists, who demanded equal suffrage for representatives of both sexes, equality in legal (property and divorce) and social aspects (the right to a full education and profession). At that time, the problem of equality became the subject of discussions in the social, philosophical, political, ideological spheres. The basis for further theoretical substantiation of the idea of equality of men and women in various spheres of social life is laid.

The second stage of the development of feminism is characterized by the activation of women's movements and the division of the general female discourse into different directions, each of which stated its priorities. For example, the feminists of the socialist (Johanna Brenner, Barbara Ehrenreich, Zillah R. Eisenstein, Clara Fraser, Donna Haraway, Silvia Federici, Donna Haraway, Heidi I. Hartmann, Selma James, Sheila Rowbotham, Sylvia Walby) and the Marxist schools (Barbara Ehrenreich, Silvia Federici, Selma James, Frigga Haug) proposed the concept of the cultural division of labor, and the main goal was to change the socio-economic sphere of social life. Supporters of the liberal trend (Bella Abzug, Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem) insisted on the immediate implementation of a number of legal and socio-economic reforms (Rubantsova, 1998). Representatives of radical feminism (Christine Delphy, Andrea Dworkin, Kate Millett, Elizabeth V. Spelman, Shulamith Firestone) fought for replacement of the patriarchal system of public relations with a femiocentric (Kis, 2000). In the mid-70's of the 20th century this school was divided into several areas ("lesbian feminism", "black feminism" and others).

The most active were radical feminists, who launched a multifaceted activity and declared war on the patriarchy.

The main theoretical manifestations of feminism of the "second wave" are the works of Simone de Beauvoir "The Second Sex" (1949), Betty Friedan "The Feminine Mystique" (1963), Kate Millett "Sexual Politics" (1969), Shulamith Firestone "The Dialectic of Sex" (1970), Germaine Greer "The Female Eunuch" (1970) etc. They are based on criticism of the culture of patriarchy, promoting the development of a broad theoretical discourse, an intensive discussion of forbidden earlier topics (divorce, violence, abortion, contraception and reproduction) and awareness of the inseparable connection between "social policy and the

private sphere." The thesis of Carol Hanisch "The Personal is Political" (1969) is considered the slogan of the second stage of feminism. "The common destiny of all women" feminists of the second wave proclaimed discrimination on the basis of sex - sexism. Firestone wrote: "If nature made a woman distinct from a man, then society made her distinct from a human being" (Voronina, 1995, p.85).

The third stage of the development of the women's movement is characterized by pluralism, the main cause of which is the expansion of the map of feminist trends. In addition to the schools formed during the "second wave" of feminism, many of its branches function today: individualistic feminism, anarcho-feminism, pop feminism, material feminism, womanism, transfeminism, multicultural feminism, Amazon feminism, feminism of third world countries, ecofeminism and many others.

The achievements of the women's movement and feminist criticism were actively assimilated by cultural practices, which in the late 1960s in the framework of the scientific and educational paradigm led to the emergence of the humanities of the interdisciplinary phenomenon of women's studies, and gender studies in the 1980s.

Feminist theory reached its peak in the late 60's - early 70's of the 20th century, when a new stage of the women's movement began to take shape - postfeminism. In parallel, there were processes associated with the expansion of the women's movement and its fragmentation. Contradictions between the directions intensified when a new range of problems was outlined: questions of race and ethnicity, censorship, abortion, pornography, prostitution, etc. Feminism moved from the stage of political movement to the stage of ideology, and, like many ideologies, included many controversial traditions.

In 1980-1990s, conservative changes occurred in the society. Feminism was in a hostile political environment. In the West, this manifested itself in the restoration of "family values", and the return of the woman to her traditional role - mother and housewife. In Islamic countries, the development of fundamentalism manifested itself in the exclusion of women from political and public life, the restriction of their rights and the return to wearing the hijab.

The "third wave" of feminism, also called "postfeminism," "new feminism," "neo-feminism," has been developing since the late 1980s and includes many directions. The presence of a whole range of feminist trends attests to the intellectual power and reflexivity. At the third stage, the feminist discourse is complicated and fragmented, which makes it possible to speak about the absence of its conventional division into directions (Zdravomyslova & Temkina,

2000). For the previous stages of feminism, the idea of equality was a main feature. Modern feminism focuses on finding differences and justifying their legitimacy.

The philosophical understanding of female subjectivity as another relatively male type of subjectivation (S. de Beauvoir, "Second Sex") promoted the emergence of theoretical concepts of feminism, which are traditionally attributed to the second (liberal, Marxist, socialist, radical) and third (cultural, anti-racist, postmodern, Constructivist) waves of feminism (Zherebkina, 2000). It is the theoretical developments of the second and third waves of feminism, in the absence of "clear conventional differentiation between them, that define postfeminism" (Zherebkina, 2000, p. 57).

The authorship of the term "third wave" belongs to Rebecca Walker (1992), who published the article "Becoming the Third Wave". It became a manifesto of the modern feminist movement. In the article, she disassociated herself from postfeminism by proclaiming "I am not a postfeminism feminist. I am the Third Wave" (Walker, 1992, p. 41). Walker explained her understanding of modern feminist activity: "To be a feminist is to integrate an ideology of equality and female empowerment into the very fiber of my life." It is to search for personal clarity in the midst of systemic destruction, to join in sisterhood with women, when we are divided, to understand power structures with the intention of challenging them".

The central category of postfeminist theories is female subjectivity. The problem of the other is now treated as a set of specific female, therefore, there is a search for new linguistic and intellectual means of their representation through the lens of the cultural paradigm.

The main conflict of feminist theory at the end of the 20th century was a contradiction between the centered and decentralized gender subject. Postfeminism criticizes feminism for treating women's experience and subjectivity as general, for analyzing these categories through general discourse and common analytical tools. Postfeminism asserts the pluralism of identity and the contradictory nature of experience, thereby justifying the "politics of difference". In this regard, at the present stage, a wide range of feminist trends coexist: liberal (the search for ways to integrate women into the existing socio-political system), Marxist-socialist (calling for class struggle as a means of eliminating economic exploitation, which is the main cause of women's oppression), radical (proof of nature of heterosexual relations), lesbian (recognition of the repressive nature of heterosexual gender roles), separatist (excluding men from the process of solving problems), ecological (the identification of the ecological crisis with the processes of patriarchal domination, based on the identification of

the relationship of femininity and nature), black (the denial of the universality of white middle-class feminism), cultural (the recognition of women's special abilities for creativity that determine the special feminine way of knowing), christian (correction of the woman's distorted place in Christianity), metaphysical (search for salvation in the spiritual perfection of a woman), and others.

The main problems of modern feminist school are the emergence and formation of gender, sexuality, female corporeality; the repressiveness of patriarchal power; female subordination and determination of the ways of their emancipation in all spheres of life. Specialty of the modern theory of feminism is its addition of ideas of such intellectual directions as biological determinism (denial of congenital "feminine" qualities); deconstructivism (adopting from Derrida the concept of "phallocentrism of culture"); essentialism (recognition of the existence of natural and biologically prescribed essential characteristics of femininity); constructivism (gender attributes as social constructs); postcolonial theory (identification of a woman with the "Other" as a different, inferior and dependent on the dominant group personality); postmodernism (the idea of identity, criticism of the foundations of the existing culture).

Today, we can talk about expanding the research field of feminist and gender projects, as a result of which they intersect with others - class, race, ethnic, cultural, creating a dilemma of priorities. In recent years, the end of feminism has been repeatedly proclaimed. Madison (2001) noted that today we are dealing with the "consequences" of feminism. The reasons why feminism should "end" were also considered. Some researchers believe that feminism is already defeated by a hostile "dead procession", opposing feminist theory and the feminist movement (Ellmann, 1968). Other scholars argue that feminism has receded into the shadows, has become unimportant in the new post-patriarchal stage. Since the goal was achieved, the need for it has disappeared (Madison, 2001). However, theoretical and practical feminist projects are still relevant, differing and depending on the social context. Today feminism is local, national, international, and is influenced by the processes of globalization.

The gender theory of the late 20th century joined postcolonial criticism, placing responsibility for gender bias on philosophy and racial theories. In an attempt to correct a simplified construct of gender, scientists are trying to create a "crossover, interconnected model of gender, race, class and sexuality, while emphasizing the danger of directing an imaginary holistic society in which all differences can (at least theoretically) exist without great strain" (Skiba, 2010, p.88).

The third wave of feminism is an attempt to apply current philosophical concepts in gender studies. Feminist thought and gender analysis are directly related to postmodern theory. The ideas of poststructuralism and postmodernism help to work with the category of identity (Zharebkina, 2003).

Feminism researchers today solve the problem of having a particular femininity or set of characteristics that can be associated with women as a group. Kristeva (1984) suggested using the category "women" as a political tool without giving ontological integrity to this term. In this case, researchers talk about strategic essentialism, although it is not a compromise between the classical metaphysics of the universal subject and postmodernism (Kukarenko, 2007).

Modern scientists believe that "women" as a certain political or social group is a problematic category (Skiba, 2010). The universal person of modernism is a Western, bourgeois, white and heterosexual man, therefore the "universal" woman is a Western, bourgeois, white, heterosexual woman. Determining the third wave for feminists is the realization that gender roles are being constructed. Skiba (2010) notes that the publication of the work "Gender Trouble" by Judith Butler (1999) fueled tension between "classical feminism" and "gender studies". Butler (1993, p.9) stated that sex and gender are constructed, and gender is always performative. Butler argues that the matter of which the body is composed is like "a process of materialization that stabilizes over time, producing the effect of limitation, fixation and surface". Gender is opposed to sex, so the woman is "separated" from her body. The woman has turned into a discursive and performative effect. The construction of gender forces a certain person to be a woman or a man, and since gender roles are constructed, there can be a lot of gender modifications - identities that the queer theory explores.

The third stage of the women's movement is characterized by combating racism, focusing on double discrimination. Hooks in the work "Feminist theory: from margin to center" (1984) formulated the main problems of Western feminism. She emphasizes that in the development of feminist politics, the importance of race and class membership cannot be ignored or diminished. Racism is a fundamentally feminist issue. All these women are united by the desire to overcome double domination, because they are oppressed not only because of their gender, but also because of their race.

At the heart of the modern stage of research is the principle of multiculturalism, the restructuring of the theory continues through the use of minority experience. Theoretical

feminist school took the position of denying essentialism and conceptualized many identities of women (of different races, ethnicities, age, social status, profession, sexual orientation, religion, disability, etc.). Scientists began to use research, located at the intersection of gender, ethnic, multicultural trends. This testifies to the attention to the problem of diversity and uniqueness of people, a tolerant attitude towards various display of otherness. The problems of various groups of women broadened the boundaries of feminism, contributed to the development of the theory of multiculturalism and practices of freedom, equal rights.

The future of feminism and its basic intellectual value depend on its ability to criticize its own assumptions and, thus, to formulate new problems generated by the processes of globalization (Castle, 2007).

2.2 Spectrum of the ideological trends in the feminist movement

In modern society feminism has gained considerable popularity, became an influential social phenomenon and a global phenomenon, but does not represent a single ideology, which is a key resource of women's movements as a kind of social movements. The elaboration of the ideology of the social movement is a factor that mobilizes and unites participants. The main motive for creating a social movement is disagreement with the existing ideology, which leads to the creation of its alternative. Alternative ideology motivates the participants of the movement to action and justifies the changes in society. Ideology is a factor in uniting people with common interests and experience to change the existing situation (Poliushkevych, 2006; Smolar, 1998).

Each of the feminist movements finds their reasons for explaining the unjust situation of women in society and offers their options for remedying the situation. Over the years of the existence of the feminist movement, various ways of such an explanation have formed. Smolar (1998) count liberal, socialist, Marxist, radical as the most widespread schools of feminism. Vorchakova (2004) divides the feminist movement into four main types: social democratic (traditional), liberal, radical and terrorist. According to Malkina-Pykh (2006), the most famous feminist trends are liberal, Marxist, radical, psychoanalytical and cultural feminism. Emirsuinova (2001) count liberal, radical, intellectual feminism and a whole spectrum of extreme forms of the women's movement as the main directions and methods of combating masculinism in the modern women's movement.

Historically, the liberal and socialist trends of feminism were formed first. The main schools of the first wave of women's movements were liberal and radical feminism (Smolar, 1998).

According to Malkina-Pykh (2006), liberal and radical feminism significantly influenced the founding and formation of women's and gender studies.

We should consider the characteristics of one of the most influential areas of the women's movement - liberal feminism. The first school in the history of feminism was presented in the work of Wollstonecraft "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" (1792), which outlines the main ideas of the school: ensuring equal rights and conditions for personal development for men and women in the field of civil rights and education.

Scientists point to the need to differentiate the notion of liberal feminism as a system of political views and as the first stage of the development of the women's movement (Novikova, 2010).

The philosophical basis of liberal feminism is the concept of individualism, which asserts that each person is a self-sufficient being, and therefore all people are equal from a moral point of view, regardless of gender, race, color, religion, etc. The motto of liberal feminism is the expression "different but equal" (Emirsuinova, 2001).

Liberal feminism seeks to change the public sphere, making it an area for competition between women and men. Liberal feminists oppose the abolition of patriarchy as the basic structure of society. In their opinion, reforms are necessary in order to ensure equality in the public sphere (the right to education, the right to vote, the right to a career).

The peculiarities of liberal feminism are its reformist orientation; recognition of the formed legal systems as the main reason for the oppression of women; the desire to improve the status of women within established social and economic institutions; inability to regulate outside the sphere of private life, which became the reason for criticism from the radical wing of feminism (Kis, 2000). Representatives of this school do not recognize the need for radical changes in society or its specific spheres. Liberal feminism seeks to change laws and policies that discriminate women. He postulates that the uniformity of women and men and denies their differences. According to followers of this school, equal civil and political rights to men can ensure the realization of the potential of each woman.

Representatives of liberal feminism (Rossi, Friedan, Okin, Richards), relying on the idea of equality, sought to equalize the rights of women and men. They believed that laws, social stereotypes and traditions.

Were main causes of entrenched inequality. Elimination of inequality can provide equal rights, change public opinion, improve the educational level of women, create conditions for a balancing family and professional roles, the entry of women into the public sphere. It was believed that a change in legislation would give women the opportunity to compete with men on equal terms. At the same time, liberal feminists were convinced that these measures would benefit not only women, but also men, and society as a whole.

Representatives of other types of feminism blamed the liberals for achieving equality of women and men in a patriarchal hierarchical society, promoting women within its structures (Voronina, 2001). The main drawbacks of liberal feminism is the idea that women can, want and need to become like men and share male values (Elstein, 2002).

Theorists of liberal feminism view the institution of the family as a paradigmatic unit of the private sphere, which remains the "last bastion" of inequality and injustice (Kashnikov, 2004, p. 178). In the book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) by B. Friedan, the problem of "no name" was mentioned. This way the author marked the manifestation of frustration and dissatisfaction, peculiar to women, whose function is reduced to the role of moms and housewives. B. Friedan exposed the myth of the welfare of a middle class white woman.

Okin (1999, p. 266) argues that as long as there is no justice in the family, "women cannot achieve equality in politics, in work, or in any other sphere". The injustice to women lies in a traditional hierarchical society, as evidenced by the following: despite the fact that women are half the world's population, according to statistics they perform two thirds of the total working time, receive a tenth of the world income and own less than a tenth of the property.

The patriarchal model of society leads to the "feminization of poverty". A lot of domestic duties compel married women to be housewives, to give up their careers. Working women, generally, have less salary than their husbands. These factors lead to the fact that, for example, a single mom, trying to maintain a house and children without a husband, is in the zone of economic risk and has few opportunities to change the situation. Therefore, it is necessary to move from gender-neutral laws to specific ones that will ensure the rights of representatives of narrower groups of women (single moms, divorced women with children, widows).

Friedan in "The Second Stage" (1981) critically rethought the experience of the liberal direction of feminism. The author notes the achievement of the possibility of women joining public, previously exclusively male, power institutions. But now women, who self-realized in

their professions, faced the problem of "superwoman" - the need to satisfy the requirements of the employer and the family.

Socially vulnerable categories of women (single moms, divorced women with children) are not competitive in the labor market, therefore, according to Friedan, the goals of feminists is to move from advocating personal and social equality to revolution in family life; the development of a balanced approach to the family and professional spheres; restructuring society's institutions to support socially vulnerable groups (maternity leave and parental leave, flexible working hours, etc.). As a result of liberal reforms, the range of opportunities for women was expanded, and public opinion in the area of women's rights was transformed (Elliott & Mendell, 1998), which made liberal feminism the most popular feminist school.

Marxist feminism in the late 19th - early 20th centuries developed under the influence of the works of the classics of Marxism (Marx, Engels, Lenin). Representatives of this school (Bebel, Kollontai, Zetkin) considered the oppression of women as a particular case of oppression in class society. They assumed that as a result of the socialist revolution a new social formation would be formed, where all kinds of discrimination would disappear (Voronina, 1993).

Modern Marxists (Goldman, Cockburn, Evans) consider the socio-economic determinants of the women's status in the system of capitalist production and reproduction. The family is seen by Marxists as a model of interclass social relations: the position of the wife is compared with the position of the proletariat. Under capitalism, there is a division of labor according to gender. All kinds of household work do not bring money, so the work of housewives is considered to be "unreal work". At the same time, the working man, who produces commodities which have exchange value, has a higher status. Domestic women's work is secondary. As a result, the woman bears a very heavy burden of responsibility in general for the well-being of the family: she cares for children, fulfills all household duties, emotionally supports relatives. Submission to a man and unpaid domestic work turns the work of housewives into domestic slavery (Vorchakova, 2010).

Socialist feminism, like the liberal one, is one of the authoritative school of the feminist movement. Social reforms and their consequences, the spread of capitalism, industrialization, poverty, changing the structure of the family, gave a boost to the development of socialist feminism in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. According to Vlasova (2006) socialist feminism has the following features: orientation for a social agreement on the

established differences between men and women and treating them as class and hierarchical; the attitude to class conflicts as the main factor of the oppression of women; the attitude to the division of labor by sex as a cause of discrimination against women, expressed in non-prestigious and low-paid areas of self-realization, unpaid domestic work; the formation of a model of cultural division of labor aiming to change the social and economic spheres of society.

Theorists of this school believe that male power exists in all social spheres regarded as political. Socialists seek to trace the history of patriarchal power and to understand its connection with other forms of oppression, in particular the relationship of class oppression and oppression by sex in capitalist society. Changes in economic conditions and the reorganization of the reproductive sphere are necessary conditions for the emancipation of women.

Supporters of Marxist feminism do not allow the existence separate from the proletarian women's movement. Social-feminists (Eisenstein, O'Brien) advocate the need to extract women's problems from common class problems. They believe that in the life of women, class problems and gender issues overlap. The patriarchy system and the class system interact and strengthen each other, and form various forms of discrimination against women. Discrimination against women is based on the exploitation of labor in the sphere of production and in the private sphere. Patriarchal suppression has a material and ideological basis.

Theorists of socialist feminism believed that the oppression of the proletariat was more important than the oppression of women. The socialist direction was formed as a result of the fact that Marxist feminism rejected the gender dimension of discrimination against women. The limitations of the Marxist understanding of the oppression of women led to the development of theoretical concepts within the framework of the socialist school of feminism. For example, the representatives of the theory of dual systems (Mitchell, Hartman) consider capitalism and patriarchy as separate types of social relations and different sets of interests that interact and oppress women in various ways. Within the framework of the theory, capitalism and patriarchy, their dialectical relations, are analyzed separately, which gives grounds for studying the principles of suppressing women. Representatives of the theory of the unified system (Young, Jaggar) analyze capitalism and patriarchy in combination.

It should be noted that in the early 1990s, socialist feminism was in crisis due to the insufficient elaboration of its theoretical foundations and due to the understanding of the fact of discrimination against women in the socialist countries. Modern feminists, supporters of the socialist school, must take into account the historical experience of the USSR and the socialist countries. The experience of the disappointment of the women of the socialist states complicates the recognition of the primacy of class theory. It turned out that the socialist system is not in a position to destroy the system of patriarchy.

In the early 20th century, within the framework of the women's movement emerged the direction of radical feminism, focusing not only on the social status of women, but also on the problem of physiological gender differences. The reasons for attention to this problem were the reflection of the consequences of the First World War. The pioneers of radical feminism (Charlotte Perkins Gilman, 1860-1935, Emma Goldman, 1868-1940, Margaret Sanger, 1879-1966) believed that women should exercise power over their body and life (Hill, 1980). The main processes connected to the course of radical feminism occurred in the 1960s - 1980s.

Liberal feminism is characterized by a struggle for changing social standards to improve the status of women. Radical feminism is an intellectual program, a particular understanding of the world, presented in the works of its main researchers: Kate Millett, Mary Doyle, Christina Delphi, Shulamith Firestone, Andrei Dworkin and others.

Representatives of liberal feminism systematically worked to improve the life and social status of women. Radical feminism, in comparison with the liberal and socialist, has changed the focus of the movement. The main purpose for feminists became the process of developing strategies for studying and changing the value system of Western culture. Activists defend the truth of the female way of knowing the world and seek to change it (Berezovchuk, 2002). Radical feminism, unlike other schools, advocates the formation of a special, new social system with a separate existence of women (Nechaeva, 1997).

The main point of radical feminists is the idea that discrimination against women on the basis of gender is a consequence of the universal action of the patriarchate as a system of male domination over women. The key task of the women's radical movement is a radical change in the system of social relations in favor of women. Preservation of the current system is an exclusive interest of men, therefore, in extreme manifestations, representatives of radical feminism proclaim the goal of building a feminocenter society.

Oppression of women is a fundamental form of oppression as such, which finds expression in the following positions: women were historically the first oppressed group; female discrimination is the most common form of oppression, as it is common to all societies at different historical stages; oppression of women is the most profound and severe form of discrimination, it does not disappear based on change in social formations; female discrimination is a conceptual model of the interpretation of all other forms of oppression: racial, class, ethnic.

The basis of exploitation of women is the system of patriarchy, the institution of the family, reproduction, sexuality, motherhood. Various ways of emancipating women are proposed, in particular the liquidation of the family as an economic institution and the institution of the upbringing of children, the creation of an androgynous culture, where the distinction between women and men is minimized, and which includes the best achievements of both sexes.

A representative of radical feminism Ti-Grace Atkinson (1974) argues that a political system of repression based on a fixed system of gender roles is an exemplary model of any other oppression. Anne Koedt (1970) suggested that the primary oppression of women is, above all, a psychological, not an economic phenomenon. Vaginal orgasm she considers a patriarchal myth, and to achieve satisfaction, women do not need men. Heterosexuality is a political setting, beneficial to men, and not a natural manifestation of sexuality. Sexual contact with a man is considered equivalent to the colonization of a woman.

Representatives of radical feminism (Rich, Firestone, Daly) analyze, mainly, the problems of sexuality and socialization, and not issues of public life. They explore the relationship between consciousness and culture, the unconscious, sexual and ideological structures. This analysis is carried out in the perspective of the existing de facto inequality between the sexes (L'Leary, 1974). Radical feminism is a concept that changes the prospects for a conceptual perception of reality, as it realizes it in accordance with the position of the woman (Voronina, 2001). Radical feminism emphasizes the role of cultural differences between the sexes in the structure of society.

In the second half of the 1970s theorists of radical feminism used poetics and metaphors to try to interpret political theory. Susan Griffin, Mary Daly believe that it is necessary to describe reality with the help of feminist categories. To do this, they apply a collective notion that allows you to connect phenomena that have nothing in common (prostitution and marriage). In general, radical feminism uses the methodological positions common with poststructural

philosophy: the analysis of the phenomenon of power at the micro level of human existence (unconscious cultural attitudes); search for cognitive, expressive means and ways of thinking, alternative to the foundations of classical consciousness (Ageeva, 2004).

Representatives of the school examine the influence of the patriarchy not only on politics, public and economic spheres, but also on other aspects of public, personal and sexual life. Thus, Eva Figes (1932-2012) in the "Patriarchal Attitudes: Women in Society" (1970), drew attention to the already known legal and social dimensions of women's humiliation. She also noted the penetration of patriarchal values into the sphere of culture, philosophy, morality, religion, education. In all spheres of society, women are presented as "situational" - they are treated according to the situation. Women obey to men, according to male stereotypes about "femininity".

Greer in "The Female Eunuch" (1971) wrote that women are perceived as intended to fulfill the sexual role of a person. This role demonstrates their "true sexuality" and an active, adventurous side of personality. Women are attached to the cultural stereotype of "eternally feminine", so they turn into asexual objects. It should be noted that the work of Greer was influenced by representatives of Frankfurt School (Reich, Marcuse, Adorno, Fromm, Horkheimer), based in their theory on the ideas of Marxism and Freudianism. Representatives of this philosophical direction declared the need for sexual liberation, criticized the repressive nature of a conventional society.

Thus, in the opinion of radical feminists, patriarchy is inherent in all social systems at all times. The principle of power, which underlies all human communities, first of all concerns marginal and oppressed social groups, which include women. Radical feminists believe that the main thing in society is the oppression of one sex by another. Without reconstructing sexuality, it is impossible to get rid of oppression and exploitation. To change the situation, feminists are encouraged to create an androgynous culture (Millett, 1970), to replace the male's feminine culture (French, 1985).

The absence of a unified theory in the radical school of feminism led to the formation of many different concepts and subspecies. The most famous of them are cultural feminism, lesbian feminism, black feminism, Christian feminism.

Supporters of cultural feminism oppose the dominant male culture of women - humanistic and moral and advocate the creation of a new women's alternative culture. Different scientists brought the ideas that are the forerunners of this form of radical feminism.

Margaret Fuller (1810-1850, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, 1845) proposed the concept of organic development for the achievement of women's autonomy. Freedom and self-knowledge were a prerequisite for the disclosure of women's potential.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902, *The Woman's Bible*, 1895, 1898) views religion as a tool for the subordination of women;

Matilda Gage (1826-1898, *Woman, Church and State*, 1893) supported the idea of the superiority of pre-Christian matriarchy over patriarchy.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935, *Women and Economics*, 1898) considered the financial dependence of women on men to be unnatural in the system of the patriarchate, which slowed the evolution of humankind. In her opinion, only financial independence can guarantee a woman freedom.

Within the framework of modern cultural feminism, the phenomenon of motherhood is analyzed (Chodorow, 1978), as well as ethical problems (King, 1989, Gilligan, 1982), and language (Lakoff, 1975, Butler, 1997).

Feminists believe that patriarchy is a common and transhistorical culture (Willis, 1984), and women can be free only in the world of their own alternative female culture. Daly in the work "Gyn / Ecology" presents various cultural strategies, which, in her opinion, can lead to important social changes. Daly (1978, p. 213) describes the process of "sparkling the fire of female friendship" and speaks of the need to create her own female "I", which will deliver the oppression of patriarchy and create a new semantic, cognitive, symbolic, physical space.

In general, cultural feminism studies differences between the sexes, which are constructed rather than congenital. Theorists of this school of feminism assert that the essence of women is different and better than the essence of men. Women are more morale and humane than men (Gilligan, 1982).

Another sub-type of radical feminism is lesbian, formed in the 1960s. The slogan of this feminist school was the statement of the American writer and philosopher Ti-Grace Atkinson: "Feminism is the theory; lesbianism is the practice". Feminism and other institutions of heterosexual ideology believe that the patriarchal system is the main force to counteract women's politics.

According to the current theorists, a community that identifies with women living together and supported politically, sexually and economically, constitutes an alternative model of the female-male connection that lesbians reject as a model of oppression. The theorists of lesbian feminism (Charlotte Bunch, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Adrienne Rich, Rita Brown, Mary Daly, Pat Parker, Monique Wittig), and associations (The Furies, Red dykes) argue that lesbian feminism means choosing sexual preferences and political choice, since it rejects all the samples offered by men.

The goal of this school is to constrain lesbians as a special trend in the feminist movement. Lesbianism is considered by them as a paradigm of women's control over women's sexuality. According to Atkinson, lesbians are a radical type of the feminist movement, because they are able to radically think about the problem of social change and the existing interaction between the sexes due to the lack of pressure of heterosexual ties on them. Monique Wittig argued that heterosexuality is a political regime that needs to be overthrown (Turcotte, 1992) Charlotte Bunch (1987) believes that to achieve the goals of feminism, a woman should become a lesbian. This is not about sexuality, but about the political challenge to the system of power and repression.

Radical lesbians believe that as long as women are not ready for sensitive connections between themselves, also covering the sexual aspect, they would only confirm their status of the oppressed sex. Therefore, it is necessary to design a special female space that goes beyond the "patriarchal paradise" and "religious androcentrism" (Daly, 1973).

It is worth mentioning that not all lesbians consider themselves to be feminists, although often radical feminists and lesbians act in joint political actions.

Within the framework of radical feminism, the direction of lesbian separatism is developing, the goals of which are: freedom from heterosexuality as a political institution (Bunch, 1976); the development of independent self-identity and the creation of a single strong lesbian community (Tallen, 1988). Lesbian feminism of color, Black lesbian feminism, focuses on the problems of racism and sexism.

The concentration of feminist theorists on reflecting the interests of middle-class white women and ignoring the problems of other groups of women led to the formation of a specific feminist approach based on the experience of black women and treating racism as the basis of oppression. The black feminist theory developed along the lines of the traditions of the left movement, shared certain concepts of socialist feminism (the Marxist idea of oppression,

based on material structure of society) (Bryson, 2001). An analysis of the phenomenon of racism has led many feminists (Barbara Smith, Angela Davis, Patricia Hill Collins, Akasha Gloria Hull, Alice Walker, Audre Lorde) to the conclusion that class, gender and race issues are initially related.

The theoretical works of black feminists analyze the idea of sisterly solidarity (sisterhood) with white feminists. This idea means that all women are oppressed, so joint efforts are needed to fight. Black feminists believe that the problems of imperialism are a challenge for all feminism and all women are compelled to resist it. They want to organize the fight against general oppression of women. In their opinion, one cannot focus on one aspect only, overlooking the rest. The combination of class, race, gender, and cultural issues can become the basis of this school of feminism.

Alice Walker in the subtitle to her essays collection, articles and speeches "In the Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose" (1983) used neologism Womanist (Womanist Prose) for the first time. In Walker's opinion, a "womanist" is a black or colored feminist, possessing strength and perseverance for personal development. She appreciates the connection between women, their "culture, emotional flexibility and strength <...> Struggles for the survival and integrity of all people - both men and women, and is not a separatist." The definition by Walker ends with the phrase: "The womanist is associated with a feminist, like a purple color with a lavender" (Walker, 1983, pp. 11-12). This imagery demonstrates the difference between the writer's understanding of "black" and "white" feminism (Sukovata, 2004). Walker believes that "white" feminism is inferior to womanism, because the womanist has no prejudice against other people, neither on the basis of gender, nor race or class (Tkachenko, 2000).

Proceeding from the key role of religion in the formation of gender stereotypes and the system of misogyny views, from the middle of the 20th century, religion was systematically criticized from the standpoint of restoring gender equality. The sacred texts were created during the reign of the patriarchate, and therefore contain a justification for inequality. They were written by male authors, therefore reflect their views on the place of women in the hierarchy of the structure of spirituality.

The introduction of gender equality in the socio-political sphere and in the sphere of spirituality is the call of the times, therefore religion and theology entered the field of gender studies as "feminist theology" in the 1960s and formed in the US and Western Europe as

independent disciplines. The subject of its research is gender, its construction and relations with the spiritual and divine (Sukovata, 2004). Today feminist theology is an institutionalized university discipline with formed methodologies, theological traditions and a broad representation in academic institutions. The main goal of the analysis of religion through the lens of gender is the deconstruction of gender stereotypes, the recognition of women's merits in the development of spirituality and gender equality for spiritual self-expression.

McGrath (2000) relates feminist theology to ultra-modern unorthodox religious movements, such as "postmodern theology", "black liberation theology", "liberal Protestantism", "post-liberalism".

Russel & Clarkson (1996) distinguish the following paradigms of the classification of gender studies of religion: geographical classification - by region; methodological - in terms of content and degree of radical views of the founders; confessional; feminist - in the directions of the theory of feminism; chronological - corresponds to the stages of development.

N. Mendell (1998) identified the areas of modern feminist theology.

Revisionist school, that from liberal point criticizes religious traditions, rituals and studies the linguistic features of the theological works in order to eliminate sexism in church practice; the interpretation of religious texts is based on gender equality;

Reformist school reveals anti-patriarchal religious ideals; seeks to introduce women into church structures and include new religious rituals in the church service associated with women's spiritual experience;

Revolutionary school seeks to limit the influence of traditional religions; to oppose the female deity to the male Lord (Goldenberg, 1979); to form a "new female spirituality", based on the fusion of the traditions of the female experience of comprehending the divine (Spretnak, 1982);

Critical school seeks to create alternative religious forms due to the ineradicable sexism of traditional religions.

Gender studies study archaic religions and mythologies; the religion of Ancient Egypt and Ancient India; homosexuality in archaic myths and rituals; gender aspect of Christianity, Judaism, Islam; Christology (the doctrine of the divine-human essence of Christ); Christ and "theological theology"; gender analysis of theology: the myth of the virginity of Mary; the

problem of women's ordination in traditional confession (obtaining a legitimate right to speak in religious, family or public ceremonies, to say public prayers, etc.). Feminist theology examines the tradition of using male grammatical forms in relation to God and the Holy Spirit. Thus, feminist theology interprets religious teachings with a gender perspective; revises religious dogmas; fights for the equality of women in the religious sphere; criticizes sexism, racism and homophobia in the church; transforms traditional religion into a gender-egalitarian one.

Summarizing the review of the main feminist trends, it should be noted that at the present stage there are various forms of the female movement: ecofeminism, amazon feminism, anarcha feminism, cyberfeminism, transnational feminism, postcolonial feminism, global feminism, transfeminism. They also include movements such as Riot Grrrl, popfeminism and girl power. In general, feminist theorists state the tendency of convergence of different approaches and agree that the ideal society is the society in which there is no gender inequality, and women can fully realize their personal potential in all spheres of life. The goal of feminist movements in the early stages was to recognize the social nature of gender design and the baselessness of biological gender inequality. Modern feminist movements, consisting of many feminist groups, explore various ways of representing women (ideas, language, images) and put different meanings in the key concepts of feminist theory.

2.3 Theoretical feminism in Ukraine: research problems

Feminist theory in modern Ukrainian philosophical discourse is represented by different models, corresponding to the idea of the plurality of feminisms. In modern Ukrainian philosophy, which deals with the development of the topic of gender, Plakhotnik (2010) defines open discourses of feminism, "feminism under a different name", antifeminism in the context of sex metaphysics, "equality feminism," and "feminism of difference". It should be noted that one of the main areas for the development of feminist theory in Ukraine is feminist literary criticism.

Literary critic and translator Solomiya Pavlychko (1958-1999) had a great influence on the development of the Ukrainian theoretical feminist discourse. In her article "Do Ukrainian literature studies need feminist school?", for the first time since independence of Ukraine (Kis, 2012), Pavlychko raised the issue of involvement of feminist methodology in social and humanitarian studies as a key to civilizational development. She wrote about the necessity of

feminism and a new interpretation of history and classical literature from a feminist perspective.

In the early 1990s, gender theory penetrated the humanitarian field thanks to researchers and activists translating foreign works of foreign theorists (Plakhotnik, 2011).

Kis (2012) defined the stages of the development of gender studies in post-Soviet Ukraine.

The first stage (the development of women's and gender studies, 1991-1994) catches up with the lost and inaccessible in the Soviet period theoretical and methodological achievements of Western gender studies.

In 1995-1999 women's and gender studies in Ukraine were institutionalized. Gender research centers were established in Kiev, Kharkov, Lviv and Odessa. Classic works of feminist theory were published. The "Gender Studies" journal was founded, conferences were held and Ukrainian researchers like Ageeva, Lavrinenko, Smolyar published their first works.

The period of 2000-2005 became the period of consolidation of gender studies, becoming a scientific and educational discipline. There were several dissertations written, as well as monographs and issues of scientific publications. With the support of international funds, training courses on gender studies were developed and implemented.

In 2006, the law "On Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men in Ukraine" came into force, and the "State Program for the Establishment of Gender Equality in Ukrainian Society for the Period Until 2010" was adopted, providing for state support of gender studies. During this period of legitimization of gender studies in universities, the departments of gender studies were founded. Ukrainian scientists integrated into the international scientific community (publications, participation in conferences, internships) and professional associations of gender researchers were established.

Gender-feminist issues in modern Ukrainian science are mainly studied by women. Male scientists who developed this problem in dissertation research as of 2009-2010 accounted for only 11% of the total number of dissertators.

A peculiarity of gender theory in Ukraine was its development in the absence of women's movement in the first years of country's independence. Academic feminism in Ukraine, formed as "gender studies", was alien to post-Soviet academic science and was not requested by grass-roots social activism (Plakhotnik, 2011). Due to the absence of the tradition of the

women's movement, the economic and political transformations in the post-Soviet society led to the change in gender models and contracts and to the rejection of feminism by the majority of women. They perceived it either as a Soviet gender model, or as an impractical and purposeless theory, inapplicable to overcome the economic crisis.

One of the key theoretical problems for Ukrainian researchers was the review of the postcolonial situation in which the country found itself after the collapse of the USSR. The stage of transition of post-socialist states from totalitarian systems to the creation of national democracies is seen as a new stage in the solution of feminist problems in these countries. This process takes place with considerable difficulties. Ukrainian writer Zabuzhko (1999, p. 155) noted that so far, no attempt had been made in Ukraine to analyze the trauma of the colonial history of Ukraine in the gender aspect.

The development of postcolonial problems is demonstrated in works of the Kiev feminist school ("group" by Pavlychko) and the "Kharkov school" of gender studies (Zhrebkina, Zhrebkin) (Hrabovska, 2011).

Researching the specifics of the post-colonial situation in Ukraine, Zabuzhko tried to demonstrate the productivity of postcolonial gender discourse in Ukrainian humanitaristics. She gives a description of the Ukrainian gender model, where "colonial "yin" and "yang" are tragically and hopelessly divided by interference of others". This occurs against the backdrop of the pressure of "role models" of patriarchal culture and the totalitarian complex of neutered gender. The result of the influences is "anti- natural "amalgam" of " innocence imbedded in concrete", where the smallest manifestation of gender openness - both from "male" and "female" - provokes the explosion effect (Zabuzhko, 1999, p.171).

According to Zabuzhko (1999, pp. 171-172), the history of Ukraine is "a two-hundred-year-old drama in which for a man the only way to assert his own national, and gender and sexual dignity, his masculine integrity, was to defend Mother against someone else's "phallic" (armed) force". And, as a result, least confidence in their male dignity demonstrate the men of conquered nations. This is only "possible to overcome through the sacrifice of a huge number of men's lives, who were fighting for freedom and recovering the reputation of the Motherland." Men perished, bringing back the harmony of the "national sex", while the Ukrainian femininity remained in the status of a symbolic "captive girl", who must be freed. She can be loved, pitied, feared, idealized, but not respected (Zabuzhko, 1999, p. 172-173).

No less interesting in terms of the problems of postcolonial feminism are the works of Zhrebkin, who analyzes gender achievements of modern Ukrainian studies based on works of Ageeva, Gundorova, Zabuzhko, Zborovskaya, Pavlychko, Stjzhkina, and others.

After Ukraine gained independence, its culture has always tried to establish itself by rejecting its Soviet past, which is now reflected in the process of decommunization (Briukhovetska, 2017).

Zhrebkin does not share the optimism of the representatives of the new Ukrainian postcolonial nationalist feminism in attempts to free themselves from the traumatic consequences of Russian colonization. His position is based on the works of the founders of the postcolonial theory (Baba, Said, Spivak, Hall and others), who defined the following contradictory tendencies for postcolonial societies: the preservation of colonialism in the postcolonial globalized world by means of "double economies" (advantages for economic elites, institutionalization of poverty, the existence of a center and periphery, global and local; the formation of new types of economic and social inequality, corruption, stratification of society; sequence building: colonialism / lack of freedom - postcolonialism / freedom - globalization / neocolonialism. In addition, the main goal of the new state project is that culture helps Ukrainians realize "that the guilt and responsibility for Soviet totalitarianism lies neither on them, nor on the new populist leaders of the nation" (Zhrebkin, 2008, p. 150).

Plakhotnik (2009), analyzing the current state of feminist philosophy in Ukraine, its main discourses and trends, notes that the space-time location (post-Soviet Ukraine) can be viewed from different perspectives. The actual issue is the ratio of Ukrainian and Ukrainian-speaking philosophy and feminism. Thus, the US citizen Marta Bogachevskaya-Khomyak wrote her works in Ukrainian, representatives of the Kharkov School of Gender Studies worked mostly in Russian. Because of this, as well as the radical problems and established hierarchies within the disciplinary field, the Kharkov School of Gender Studies, according to Plakhotnik (2009), occupies a marginal position in the philosophical Ukrainian discourse.

In a number of studies, it is stated that in Ukraine the institutional structures and intellectual background that remained from Soviet science turned out to be unfit for the critical theory of feminism. One of the drawbacks of humanitarian research is their ideological bias, expressed in the national focus of research (Kis, 2012). The national historical narrative reduced the critical feminist potential of women's history in overcoming androcentric discourse, which

resulted in the instrumentalization of women's history for the legitimization of the Ukrainian national-state project.

Another problem of research was the desire to overcome the theoretical lag as soon as possible, which was formed due to the "Iron Curtain" and the lack of female activism during the years of Ukraine's joining the USSR. Passing the study of the feminist thought classics, there is an excessive interest in postmodern gender theories. As a result, there was a gap between the theoretical studies and the real demands of the women's movement. In addition, we can observe neoconservative processes in Ukraine, when discourses of a "return to traditional values" and "combating the demographic crisis" can become a barrier to the development of philosophical thought and new democratic social practices.

Despite of the listed tendencies, there is nevertheless room for optimism. Thus, Plakhotnik (2009), speaking about the strategies of Ukrainian feminism, draws attention to "local specificity", feminist activity "under any other name" in the interpretation of Butler and Braidotti. This strategy can erode the common gender order in post-Soviet societies without linking to the ways of understanding the notion of "feminism", while remaining "unnamed" (Kamenetskaya, 2007). As Ayvazova (2007, p. 25) noted: "While we say that there is no social field for a feminist project, most women live in this reality completely based on feminist projects".

Conclusions

The development of feminist movements in the 19th - early 21st centuries is characterized by certain stages, associated with the goals and evolution of women's issues.

The "first wave" of feminism was formed in the 19th century and lasted until the 1920s. The women's movement of this period passed the stage of self-organization and had spread throughout Europe, the United States, New Zealand. The "first wave" of feminism was characterized by the fight for giving women voting rights and is associated with the suffragist movement.

The following characteristics are specific to feminism of "second wave": the activation of women's movements, various forms of protest; women's awareness of the patriarchal organization of society; criticism of social institutions that strengthens discrimination against women, etc. Feminist movements demanded economic equality with men, sought to legalize abortion, and strove to amend the divorce law. In general, the women's movement of the 60's - 70's of the 20th century remained fragmented, as national women's organizations set

themselves tasks that are relevant to their countries. The specific nature of the second wave is also connected with the wide range of problems in the solution of the legal context of the women's movement.

The distinctive features of the ideology of radical feminism of the "second wave" were the criticism of Western culture in general and a thorough analysis of its individual aspects. Radical feminists considered the patriarchal way of society to be a main reason for discrimination, which is seen in the dominance of men in all spheres of life and the secondary role of women. They considered the main factors of gender inequality to be the reproductive function of women and its sexual "exploitation" by men. According to theorists of radical feminism, the right of women to control their own bodies through free access to contraception and legal abortion was an important prerequisite for the equality of the sexes.

Western feminism of the "second wave" was not an ideologically homogeneous phenomenon, it comprised various concepts. The common desire of activists was to eliminate any manifestations of discrimination based on gender and to provide equal opportunities for women's self-fulfillment. Liberal feminists believed that this could be achieved within the existing social system (primarily through the reform of legislation). Representatives of the radical wing were convinced of the need for its transformation. They stressed that equality can only be achieved by destroying the patriarchal structure of society and by changing the traditional view of a woman (wife and mother). Radical feminists also included phenomena previously considered as taboo topics in the field of research interest: domestic violence, sexual harassment, contraception, abortion, female sexuality.

The third stage of the development of the women's movement, which began in the 1980s, is characterized by pluralism due to the expansion of the number of feminist schools. In addition to the schools formed during the second wave of feminism, the third stage includes anarcho-feminism, feminism, pop feminism, Christian feminism, transfeminism, Amazon feminism, Third World feminism, eco-feminism.

The key issue of post-feminism is the idea of a biological, social, psychological difference between the sexes, and not their equality. This contributes to the formation of an egalitarian society, where we can observe both equality of the sexes and differences between them.

Fundamentals of gender studies laid the groundwork for the feminist theory of the late 1970s - 1980s. Feminists contributed to solving a number of gender problems. In gender studies, an important place is given to issues of sexuality, which are connected to the problem of

transgender identity. Efforts of feminist thought and gender analysis are related to postmodern theory.

Feminism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the socialist system is considered within the scope of its correspondence to the Western model of feminism; the possibility of the existence of post-Soviet feminist theories and practices; correlation of "feminism" and "female activism" in post-Soviet societies. Trends in the development of feminism in Central and Eastern Europe are following: the transformation of the political and economic sphere as a catalyst for changing the status of women in society; the emergence of women's movements in the absence of civil society; administrative system as a factor restraining the development of social movements in the post-Soviet countries; women's public organizations as part of the administrative system; the development of post-Soviet feminism in the context of the emergence of mass resistance to existing political regimes; negative attitude to feminism and feminists in post-Soviet societies.

Feminist theory in Ukraine developed in the absence of women's movement after the collapse of the USSR. Feminist literary criticism became one of the main platforms for the development of feminist theory in Ukraine. Infiltration of gender theory was achieved through translations of works of foreign authors. However, there was a gap between theoretical research and the real demands of the women's movement and due to neoconservative processes (a return to traditional values, combating the demographic crisis) theory and practice of the women's movement didn't develop well.

CHAPTER 3. Research design and methodology

This chapter will focus on the methodological principles of feminist research, the direction of studies of gender issues in the media, the issues of empirical research, the methodology of analysis, the selection of materials, the chronological scope of the study. Discourse analysis is the most appropriate research method, since it is an interdisciplinary tool for analyzing reality. It corresponds to the contemporary specificity of political reality: its rootedness in language, multiplicity, subjectivity and dynamism. The purpose of this method is to study the process of the emergence in society of certain ideas, which then spread and are approved in society.

This chapter will reveal the methodological principles of feminist research, trends of media research of gender issues in the media, the issues of empirical research, the methodology of analysis, the selection of information sources and materials, the chronological scope of the study. For our research purposes, discourse analysis is the most appropriate method, since it is an interdisciplinary tool for analyzing reality and corresponds to the contemporary specificity of political reality: its rootedness in language, multiplicity, subjectivity and dynamism. The purpose of this method is to study the process of the emergence of certain ideas in society, then spread and are approved in society.

3.1 Methodological principles of feminist research

Feminist issues in contemporary studies are looked into within the framework of the gender approach, while issues of equality between women and men and clarification of their role in the modern society are studied from social, political, psychological and other points of view. Majority of scholars associate the definition of the term "gender" with a complex of biological and physiological peculiarities of certain sex. Some scientists consider this term unacceptable but recognize "women's research" as an independent direction. Another group of researchers considers "gender" as signs of "femininity" and "masculinity" formed under the influence of society, where "gender" determines the psychological, social and cultural differences between men and women. These researchers treat the term "gender" differently from the term "sex". The concept of "sex" they relate to anatomical and biological properties and differences between men and women. Zherebkina believes that gender studies are the studies of different aspects of female and male differences. She sees the difference as a structure, and not just as equality between the female and the male. Gender studies look into women's and men's ways

of thinking, behaviour, speech, psychology, economic behaviour, political and cultural participation (Zharebkina, 1997).

Mikitko (2009) notes that "gender" does not mean the identification of the sexes and the neglect of sexual psychological differences. Equality of rights is the granting of legal guarantees to persons of both genders in all spheres of existence. At the same time, equality of rights must take into account the peculiarities of men and women: sexual characteristics, interests, needs, preferences. Each gender has the right to otherness, difference, special quality.

The concept of "gender" is used to determine the socio-cultural way of existence of the sexes. Men and women are viewed as sociocultural phenomena, not as natural absolute givenness. Sex is identified on the basis of physical, organic, psychophysiological characteristics. Gender, unlike sex, is derived from the socio-cultural and historical specifics of human existence.

The study of the correlation between gender and sex is one of the key problems in the theory of feminism. Stages of evolution of this concept reflect a change in the interpretation of the essence of sex.

The first to theoretically delimit the concepts of gender and sex was the anthropologist Margaret Mead (1935). She interpreted gender as a complex of sociocultural features that shape the human sex within a particular culture. In this sense, sex is treated as a naturally predetermined, universal, stable characteristic of a person; a specific way of a sex being in the space of culture. Gender contains cultivated norms of sexual behavior: self-identification, sexual feelings, desire, intersexual relations.

Later, Simone de Beauvoir in "The Second Sex" criticizes from the feminist point of view the interpretation of the concept of "sex" as a predetermined natural phenomenon. The term "gender" is used to criticize the social inequality of a woman, to debunk the role of a woman as a social being that does not correspond to a patriarchal stereotype - a common cultural model. From the point of view of the sociocultural approach, gender is viewed as an image according to which the body is built as a woman and a man. Sex is a socially created facade, not based on nature. This interpretation disproves the causal subordination of gender to sex. Gender is equated with self-determination of sex and a way of establishing identity.

This approach still remains influential and widespread in feminist theory. However, in the 1980s, there was a shift in the interpretation of gender and sex. At the new stage of research, attention is focused on the differences between the male and female sex, the sex is being reframed as part of the recognition of its natural predisposition. Unlike traditional feminism, a direct relationship between gender and sex is denied. The particular sex does not limit the variety of gender manifestations and self-realization of the individual. In this case, gender is a cultural reduction of the unique biological potential of a woman to her socially determined functions.

Gender mainstreaming, an integrated approach to the issue of equality between women and men, plays an important role in gender research methodology. Gender mainstreaming is the procedure for assessing the potential consequences of any planned action (adoption of a law, implementation of a policy or program at all levels and in all spheres of public life), taking into account the needs and interests of both women and men.

Gender studies, focused on the problems of power in all its dimensions, penetrate into the sphere of political science, which studies the nature, essence, content and mechanism of the exercise of political power. Considering the methodological approaches to the gender analysis of the political system, Yarosh (2005) defines institutional, behavioural, structural-functional approaches, and rational choice theory. These are, in fact, the main methodological methods of modern political science (Yarosh, 2005).

Plakhotnik notes that in the Western social theory the evolution of the term "gender" began with the rejection of biodeterminism and transition to biofundamentalistic ideas about sex. The author demonstrates the move from total essentialism to partial (Plakhotnik, 2011). Later, the rejection of essentialism within the framework of the socio-constructionist methodology changed the gender theory: focusing on mechanisms of power based on Foucault's approach.

Considering sex as essential, and gender- constructible, researchers have to balance between the two opposite methodological vectors - essentialism and its opposite (social constructionism, queer theory). Some researchers are moving toward antisocialism, taking the category of power as the main one. Some, under the influence of the classical history of philosophy and science, choose essentialism, calling it "gender theory." Some authors declare one methodology (constructional), but reasonably build another (usually essentialist), or "methodology is called abstract" gender approach, "without specifying and explaining what kind of gender theory is used."

Thus, at this stage, the key provisions of the feminist movement are being transformed. Thus, it is argued that equality gives women grounds, not being like the standards of masculine behavior, to express themselves and to exist as a separate, equal with men life. This idea is the basis of the modern model of the mixed (not sexual) division of society, the theory of social partnership of the sexes.

The theory and practice of feminism is based on quantitative, qualitative and collaborative research. Quantitative research is data analysis based on quantitative methods. Methods of qualitative research include analysis of the content of studies, oral histories, study of accidents, representation of participants etc. Application of quality research techniques allows to fix the nature of female experience due to emotional rapprochement with the respondent. Collaborative research is based on the opposition of traditional study of the individual in social sciences, to distinguish the research process in certain phases with the goal of uncovering unpredictable conclusions based on intersubjective connections.

In modern scientific research, feminism is considered in the context of new social and social movements, women are analyzed from the point of view of belonging to a social group whose rights are systematically violated.

The attention of modern researchers of feminism is focused on the legal aspects of the national and international level of legal relations. The legal component of feminism is associated with the activities of European and international structures. Feminist studies demonstrate an approach to studying the legal regulation of these processes at the global level, developing modern concepts of legal protection, linking gender issues to new movements in social and public spheres.

In gender studies, various methodological approaches and methods are used, the choice and combination of which depends on the purpose and subject of scientific interest. A specific feature of gender methodology is the orientation toward the elimination of hierarchical relations and leadership, both in research and in political actions. A new philosophy of existence is partnership and the achievement of gender equality and justice as an objective basis of democracy.

3.2 Media studies of gender issues in the media

Gender issues in the mass media in the post-Soviet space began to be actively developed by scientists since the mid-1990s. There are many publications that responded to the research

questions that arose in connection with the functioning of the media in the new conditions of freedom of speech, the commercialization of media, the formation of a media market, the emergence and rapid development of new media. These studies have taken shape in the research field - gender analysis of the media.

Trends of modern gender media studies are researched in the works of Petrushkevich (2013) and Maslova (2012). The problems of the media audience's perceptivity of the message's content, information requests and the needs of individual socio-demographic groups were scientifically substantiated in the studies of Naydenova (2009), Onkovich (2008), Butyrina (2012) and other scientists. The study of media content was conducted in the framework of the study of the problems of the women's media representation (Dubchenko, Starush & Starykh, 2002), analysis of media materials reflecting the views of traditional society on women's problems and ways of solving them in post-Soviet countries (Tokhtahodzhaeva, 1998), film analysis (Baubliene, Uranchimeg, Faradzulaeva & Yakvakhodzhev, 2003), women's stereotypes in the media (Groshev, 1998; Sokolova, 2013) and women in the mass media (Zdravomyslova & Kigay, (2002).

According to Voronina (2009), there are two aspects of the problem of women's access to the media: untruthful information about women, distributed in the form of stereotyped images; inaccessibility of mass media for women as a demographic group, which deprives them of the opportunity to publicly represent their position and interests.

Gender analysis of advertising, ways of reproduction and media construction of gender social characteristics was studied by Cholach, Terekhova, Ivanova (2000). Their research defined mass-media stereotypes; activities typical for men and women; the qualities typical for women and men in advertising and ways of their interaction. Researchers of this problem draw similar conclusions regarding the stereotyping of advertising images, the demonstration of gender inequality, the generalization of male and female images and a set of their gender-specific traits (Govorun, 1999).

The initial stage of the analysis of gender problems in the post-Soviet media revealed differences in mass media images, defined the specifics of post-Soviet femininity and masculinity in the media discourse. Scientific papers developed the theoretical and methodological basis for research on the gender of post-Soviet mass media (mass media display of gender inequality, analysis of dominant gender media images and the specifics of its formation, gender stereotypes in advertising).

Another kind of scientific development was devoted to the meta-process of research, influencing the ways and trends of gender analysis of the media. The approach to gender as a cultural metaphor allows to define it as "a complex socio-cultural process of constructing differences in male and female roles by society, their behavior, mental and emotional characteristics" (Voronina, 1999, p. 74). The key method of gender research of the media in this area is the analysis of texts at the intersection of gender linguistics, literary criticism and cultural analysis (Goroshko, 2004). Such analysis is carried out mainly through deconstruction - a text analysis strategy based on "the definition of a particular concept as an ideologically constructed, and not as reflecting reality" (Chukhim, 2000, p. 24). As Chukhim notes, this viewpoint is complemented by a number of works that took into account postmodern concepts aimed at revealing the hidden logic of binary oppositions, the existence of cultural symbolic series including male and female components. The study was carried out within the framework of the approach focused on gender analysis of the media texts. This includes the works of Zherebkina (2000), Yarskaya-Smirnova (2006), Karpenko (2011), Maerchik & Plakhotnik (2013).

The impact of this approach has become an essential component of gender studies of media as institutions of mass culture, allowing to analyze and form critical knowledge about the mechanisms of gender stereotypes formation as one of the priorities of post-Soviet gender studies (Rygina, 2006). This research line became the theoretical basis for empirical study of gender media stereotypes, which is the main topic of gender analysis. Issues related to the gender dimension of the functioning of the media and journalistic practices that influence media content in the gender aspect were left out of the limelight (Maslova, 2012). The framework of gender research was focused on the texts analysis and sometimes visual images.

The work in this direction was defined by the formation of a clear idea of gender asymmetry, gender inequality as a general characteristic of the products of the post-Soviet mass media. This became decisive for further gender studies, along with perceptions of gender stereotypes as an inherent feature of mass media production (Strebkava, 2007). In general, the problem of gender stereotypes became a separate topic both in the research and in the thesaurus of public women's organizations, whose goal is to change the status of women and improve their status in society.

The results of studies of the content of Ukrainian printed and audiovisual media showed that the gender asymmetry in them is expressive and stable. For example, the ratio of the number of references to women and men according to types of Ukrainian media, newspapers, radio,

and television, in 1999 amounted to 14%/86%; 10%/90% and 19%/81% (Pomazan, 1999). According to a similar survey in 2003 (with the exception of radio), this ratio was 15.4%/84.6% in the print media and 11.9%/88.1% in the television news programs (Skoryk, 2004). According to the Institute of Mass Information (2014), the female media audience was 60%, while 75% of the materials dedicated to men (Virtosu, 2014). These indicators confirm the consistently disproportionate situation in the materials, depending on gender.

In the 1990s, the key aspects of post-Soviet media analysis were the issues of their development as an independent social institution (Kostyleva, 2003), their interaction with other social institutions and problems of media independence. At this time, the problem of the media audience was considered secondary, and was not developed by scientists.

Today, in the post-Soviet countries, information inequality is viewed primarily as geographical disparity - between town and country (Shvetsov, 2012). Some experts view the complex nature of information inequality as a consequence of economic, social and psychological factors (Achkasova, 2000). The study of the generation and consumption of information in the context of unequal access to information resources is becoming yet another gender dimension in media research (Gapova, 2003). Researchers, based on foreign experience in regulating the information sphere, among others define the following trends: ensuring the right and technical means for free access to information of the entire population and protecting the interests of different social groups (Zhidkova & Korobkina, 2012). This approach allows to define various information needs of gender groups as problematic (Maslova, 2012).

In today's society, the key problem is not only the inequality in access to information, but also participation in its exchange (Fomicheva, 2005). The problem of information accessibility is not only limited to solvency and the availability or lack of time for its consumption. Equally significant is the problem of the diversity of content in mass media products. The main paradox of media development is conditioned by their double subordination: dependence on the commercial basis of their functioning as producers and disseminators of information and the public significance of the content of media products. The derivatives of this contradiction are: deformation at the stage of information selection as a consequence of reduction, narrowing of its content; availability of serious content; alienation of media content. Distortions in the selection of information mean that owners, media managers, journalists select information that provides high circulation, ratings for obtaining advertising funds. The media focuses on a fairly narrow range of newsmakers and news sources, which reduces the

number of socially important issues. The number of discussions on these topics is reduced, and is replaced by entertainment content. The amount of breaking news and entertainment materials gradually replace analytical materials.

The tendency of marketization, that is, the subordination of media activities to market laws, and the problem of access to meaningful content devalue the public significance of journalism. The consequence of this is alienation from media content of social and gender character. This means that advertisers are interested in solvent consumers of media products, as they have higher consumer opportunities. Producers of media products try to attract them to raise the rating. They create their media content based on the information requests. This situation can be illustrated by the phenomenon of the "last page" of newspapers with a picture of a naked women. Obviously, the priority here is the desire to please the male part of the audience, even if women predominate among the readers (for example, the newspaper "Fakty" has 47% of male subscribers and 53% - female). The most solvent consumer groups with their preferences and assessments will support and strengthen the inequalities already existing in traditional media. The consequence is that certain social groups are not interested in any issues, and that estranges them from the media channels. It is about the ability or disability to satisfy information needs of different groups of media consumers.

In general, the number of works that support the idea that media products are gender-stereotyped indicate dissatisfaction with their content. Given this, it is necessary to investigate how these processes occur in various social, demographic, and geographical communities.

Analysis of the media influence is a sufficiently developed and studied problem of media research. In studies of the media influence on the audience, at the same time, were made attempts to predict the reaction to various political campaigns. These studies revealed and empirically confirmed the fact of considerable gender differences in the perception of mass media messages by various audiences. Researchers of the post-Soviet mass media were driven by theoretical premise of gender differences in perception. It was confirmed in media studies conducted at the request of various political forces in a number of post-Soviet countries. The results of the research led to a general conclusion about the differentiated nature of the information sensitivity of the mass media audience.

The concept of media influence in the post-Soviet space had certain dynamics: from the notion of the total nature of mass media impact, popular in the 1980-1990s, to a gradual transition to the opposite point of view, supported by empirical findings. The process of

differentiation of society by the way of interaction with the mass media has determined a different reaction to the information impact of individual social groups (Zadorin & Sutkina, 2000). Socially differentiated type of media influence on different audiences becomes a part of gender studies, as well as of the theory and practice of mass communication.

The study of the principles of information influence showed the differentiation of information sensitivity of the mass media audience and made it possible to isolate the differences in the perception of mass media products by different social groups, including gender groups. Such conclusions are made by analysts who studied the information sensitivity of the media audience during election campaigns, when the information impact is significant.

Thus, gender studies of the mass media are a separate segment of the study of media products and problems of the functioning of the media. They are aimed at empirical study - the description and analysis of images of women and men in mass-media production, the isolation and analysis of gender stereotypes. The gender stereotyping of women became a priority topic of gender analysis of post-Soviet mass media. The gender studies of the mass media as a separate research branch were significantly influenced by methods of gender and psycholinguistics, gender literacy and feminist literary criticism, with their own methods of reading the text. This determined the problematic field of gender studies in the media, where the analysis of texts became a priority and the main method of empirical research.

3.3 Research questions

The main purpose of this research is to analyze modern feminist protest movements in the post-Soviet area and the specifics of their coverage in the media. The purpose determined the following research questions:

What are the current trends of women's political activism in Ukraine in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict?

How is women's political activism represented in the press of the post-Soviet countries?

What is the role of FEMEN and Pussy Riot in spreading the ideas of feminism in the Ukrainian and Russian public sphere?

3.4 Research methods

Whereas the analysis of feminist texts requires a multidimensional approach, and involves consideration of a certain range of interdisciplinary issues, in the research we rely on the data of history, philosophy, and cultural science. The work is carried out in the framework of such scientific areas as sociolinguistic analysis of discourse, critical discourse analysis, research on the theory of feminist discourse and media discourse. This has allowed to study the features of feminist discourse in the materials of Ukrainian and Russian press, devoted to the movement FEMEN and punk band Pussy Riot. However, the study is not limited by the framework of linguistic analysis, since the text on female activism is a product of a certain social practice. Due to this, it requires the involvement of not only linguistic, but also other data for its adequate description. Thus, Eastern European feminist movement is in the focus of attention, as a set of historically formed stable ideas, beliefs and orientations.

Discourse analysis - a method and a scientific discipline, representing the general direction of communicative research as a complex, multidimensional object. The discourse analysis develops within the framework of the language theory, sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, political linguistics, etc. Discourse is also studied by related social and human sciences: philosophy, history, psychology, literary criticism, which corresponds to the tendency towards integrativity in the modern scientific paradigm.

Starting from the second half of the 20th century, a search for a concept that could convey a complex relationship between language and the world was outlined in the humanities and social sciences. Thus, the concept of "discourse" was introduced into the scientific lexicon in 1952. This term was first used by Harris (1952) to analyze the language of advertising.

Discourse analysis arose In its present form in the mid 1960s - 1970s as a new direction in the humanities. Among the first, the theorists of the Althusser school put the question of combining structural and linguistic methods with political problems. According to Althusser (1994), the subject of discourse analysis is the "imaginary deformation" that "real relationships" between people undergo when they turn into ideological positions. Using the dynamic aspect of discourse allows us to study the process of social change and explain the dynamic processes in society aimed at maintaining existing institutions and generating new ones based on the topology of social structures.

Each science approaches the definition and understanding of the material in question in its own way, as a result of which interdisciplinary approaches and integrative methods of research are formed. At the same time, using discourse analysis, one should take into account the principle of complementarity and verification. Such approaches can be considered as independent integrative techniques, each consisting of two, also having a two-tiered composition. In the aspect of text encoding / decoding, discourse playback is allocated: address-oriented text analysis - from topic to sign; addressee-oriented analysis of the text - from the sign to the topic.

The analysis of discourse is not only a set of research techniques that allow for a qualitative analysis of the text. This method is based on several methodological principles that describe the constructive nature of the language (Burman & Parker). The analysis of discourse differs from other qualitative methods, as it seeks to explain the significance of the social reality phenomena and to determine how this reality was constructed.

Stressing the meaningfulness of social reality, the discourse analysis simultaneously raises the relevant question of the impermanent, changeable nature of meaning. If other qualitative methods are used to interpret reality as it is now, then discourse analysis tries to find the way in which this reality was constructed (Hardy, 2001). The analysis of discourse proceeds from the fact that it is impossible to consider discourse apart from a broader context (Fairclough, 1995). Discourse itself does not have any intrinsic meaning. In order to understand the constructive nature of discourse, researchers should place it in a historical and social context. The meaning / meanings of any discourse "are created, sustained and competing with each other through the creation, dissemination and consumption of texts; are the result of the interaction between social groups and the complex social structure into which this discourse is embedded" (Hardy, 2001, p.87).

The subject of research in discourse analysis is statements, the way of structuring which has significance for a certain collective. Analyzed texts that contain beliefs shared by a certain group, generate or strengthen them and suggest a position in the discourse field. The body of texts is not considered in itself, but as one of the parts of a recognized social institution that determines the conditions for the actions of statements to be made for a given social, economic, geographical or linguistic sphere (Dijk, 1985). The purpose of discourse analysis is to lead to a positional unity a scattered set of utterances. Such a regrouping is carried out on the basis of a non-formal criterion, and relations to the place of the act of utterance, which

allows us to identify the discourse formation. Most often the discourse formation does not cover any genre, but unites several ones.

Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary research field, which can be conditionally divided into two global directions. The first tends towards linguistic analysis, the second – towards the social. The first is characterized by a more formal approach to understanding discourse as a linguistic structure, a language pattern, and, accordingly, more formal methods of its study. The peculiarity of socially oriented discourse analysis is a more abstract understanding of discourse, as a socially conditioned cognitive structure, a system of thought, a way of “talking” about the world, and orientation to the analysis of social problems through specific cultural artifacts – texts. Critical discourse analysis appears at the confluence of these approaches. It combines the orientation towards the study of social problems with the linguistic analysis of the text.

According to Potter (2012), particular attention in discourse analysis is paid to the ways of organizing of the surrounding world versions, society, events and inner psychological worlds, created in discourse.

Discursive approach to the analysis of linguistic phenomena is quite common in modern scientific research. At the same time, there is no unambiguous definition of the term "discourse" in linguistics. As noted by Yule (2000, p.83), “discourse analysis covers a wide range of scientific activities, ranging from a narrowly focused study of how the words “oh” and “well” are used in everyday speech, to studying the dominance of ideologies in a particular culture, for example in educational or political discursive practices”.

Discourse is a complex communicative phenomenon, which includes, in addition to the text, extra-linguistic factors (knowledge of the world, opinions, attitudes, goals of the recipient) necessary for understanding the text (Karaulov, 1989).

Arutyunova (1990) considers discourse as "a text in conjunction with extra-linguistic, pragmatic, sociocultural, psychological and other factors". The advantage of this approach is that discourse is not limited by the text, but also includes the social context of communication, characterizing its participants, the processes of speech production and perception, taking into account background knowledge (Chudinov, 2001).

The analysis of discourse is based on strict social-constructivist epistemology. Social reality is what we actively create in the process of our meaningful interaction with others. Thus, the

study of social phenomena becomes a study of how ideas and concepts, which “inhabit” social reality, are formed (Wood, 2000). The analysis of discourse proceeds from the premise, that meaning and, consequently, social reality is developed from interrelated groups of texts – discourses, filling the social reality with new ideas, concepts, and practices.

Given this, social sciences study the development of discourses, which produce and expand many ideas, and fill social reality with meaning. If discourses are embedded in texts, then discourse analysis involves systematic study of texts, with the aim to understand their meaning and significance for social reality, and to determine how these texts explain and interpret this reality (Chalaby, 1996).

Media discourse is the aggregate of materials placed in the mass media. The peculiarity of this discourse is that the texts of the media are the result and purpose of its functioning at the same time. In a broad sense, media communication takes place between the creators of texts and the mass audience. As the characteristics of the audience are also included in the discourse field, they can be also included into the list of discourse conditions.

Specificity of research work with the texts of the media is that it is almost impossible to obtain information about the process of preparing these texts, for example, recording an interview. It is the discourse approach, which presupposes the presence of discourse conditions, reflected in the texts. The influence of the context can be taken into account in order to determine the authors’ meanings of the texts and their possible interpretations by the recipients.

Publicity and authenticity as properties of media texts are discourse possibilities and discourse limitations. They determine conditions, which influence all participants of the media discourse (authors, heroes, informers, etc.). All these conditions affect the generation of media texts and the characteristics of these texts. It is necessary to include the identification of the effects of these conditions for the linguistic analysis of the material (media texts) to solve research problems, where understanding of the context is important. Thus it would be a discourse analysis.

3.5 Selection of information source

The work is based on a qualitative study of texts by means of critical discourse analysis method.

This study was carried out on the basis of materials from Ukrainian and Russian press, published in 2012-2017. The choice of press materials as a basis for the study is determined by the following factors.

Despite the increased competition from other media and the decline in print runs, they continue to be important. In contrast to the efficiency of online publications and television, press is able to offer the readers an analytical way of events' interpretation, to act as a platform for various opinions and assessments. In democratic countries, printed publications satisfy the information needs of society, control the activities of power branches, establish interrelations between the society and government, balance the interests and levers of influence, check the compliance with laws.

Information-oriented society provides for the functioning of both old and new media, which do not displace traditional cultural forms, but capture them, making a common information space; combine the diversity of traditional and new forms of cultural manifestation. Creation of new media put an end to "the separation, even the differences between audiovisual and print media, generally accessible and high culture, entertainment and information, education and propaganda. All manifestations of culture, from the worst to the best, from elite to popular, combine in this digital universe, which connects the past, present and future manifestations of communicative thought in the giant historical supertext" (Kastels, 2000, p. 351).

Modern information space is compressed. It turns into a twenty four - seven avalanche-like flow of news. Media editors, limited by time and space, can't provide information in full, so they take certain news and ignore others. Thus, the priority of news is set for the consumers. Cohen writes: "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (Bryant & Thompson, 2000, p. 161). So, one of the main functions of press is filtration or control of the information flow.

The presence of commentary, openly expressed or veiled position of the journalist and the press publication as a whole, is a specific feature of information distribution in printed media. Coding of messages in print media is done through the system of expressive means. The effectiveness of press use for the dissemination of political information lies in its mass character; the analytical way of events' description, commenting and forecasting the development of situation; accessibility to information without additional devices.

The reaction of press audience is created with the help of comments, made by the information recipient, in order to form the reader's attitude to message; stereotypes and patterns of simplification and standardization of representations in combination with evaluative judgments, entering into the news flow; layout of materials in combination with the types of headings, illustrations, fonts, formatting methods and design.

As before, modern editorial offices of traditional media select the information. This is caused by a deficit of producer (limited volume of print publication); time deficit of the consumer (time, which a person wants to spend on reading the information). Information technology leveled the deficit of publisher, because the latest platforms do not limit the publication of information on the volume. But the problem of reader's time deficit remains. Therefore, the problem of information filtering is relevant at the present stage of media system development. The principles of information selection can be different, but selection in terms of importance (hierarchy of information) remains unchanged, as selection, based on the quality of material.

The establishment of a new world order and socio-political changes in the societies of the post-Soviet countries are the determining factors in the formation of press models. As a result of transformations, new information space was formed. It was conditioned by the processes of demonopolization of the political, economic and spiritual spheres. Widespread phenomenon in the activities of the post-Soviet press is the presence of a veiled influence on publications by the state and owners. Independent publications are only formally considered as such. Economically, they depend on the owners, who lobby their political interests. Monopolization of press is a negative phenomenon and a means of control over the media in transit societies. Democratization and reform of media industry in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is a complex problem. Such reforms are faced with the resistance of power institutions, trying to control the media. This jeopardizes their independence, impedes access of the opposition to media, and narrows the freedom of expression.

The criterion for the selection of Ukrainian and Russian newspapers was the degree of their influence in the political and public spheres. Six daily newspapers from Russia ("Novaya Gazeta", "Rossiyskaya Gazeta", "Kommersant") and Ukraine ("Segodnya", "Den", "Gazeta po ukrainski"), published in 2013-2014, were selected for the discourse analysis.

Countries are represented by daily socio-political publications of liberal and conservative type. Ukrainian newspapers "Segodnya", "Den", and Russian press "Novaya Gazeta", "Kommersant" refer to liberal publications. Conservative type is represented by the

government edition “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” and “Gazeta po ukrainski”. Such an approach to the research will allow to objectify the analysis of materials, to determine the connection of content with the political and sociocultural situation in the country, to identify the dependence of the way of information representing on the editorial position, and to define journalistic standards. The choice of Ukraine and Russia as the examples of transit political regimes will make it possible to determine differences in the approaches of the events covered. Taking into account that the newspapers under consideration are nationwide, mass-circulation and influential, they contribute to the formation of modern concept of women's activism in Eastern European countries.

The basis of the empirical part of the work was the discourse analysis of the materials of the newspapers, devoted to the activities of the FEMEN movement and the Russian group Pussy Riot.

3.6 Chronological framework of the research

When choosing the chronological framework of publications, devoted to FEMEN, we were guided by the fact that in 2015-2017, there was a decline in movement's activity in Ukraine. This led to a weakening of media attention to its activity. Protest actions in Ukraine were held less frequently, due to the fact that the founders of FEMEN left the country, because of political persecution by the Ukrainian authorities. A group of leaders - Anna Gutsol, Alexandra Shevchenko, Inna Shevchenko, Yana Zhdanova, Oksana Shachko and their political technologist Svyatsky applied for political asylum in France and Switzerland. Gutsol received a refusal from the Swiss authorities and the only one of the mentioned members returned to Ukraine. Now she manages the branch of FEMEN-Ukraine.

Having moved from Ukraine to France, the activists "quarreled, did not share power and influence" (Gor, 2017). Living in France, Yana Zhdanova announced the dissolution of FEMEN, because of disagreements between the participants. This happened in 2015, and all the protest actions, which subsequently occurred under their brand, were held by "former participants of the movement on their own initiative" (Gor, 2017).

In November 2015, there was a scandal, connected with the financing of FEMEN. Alexandra Shevchenko, Oksana Shachko and Yana Zhdanova stated that "the current FEMEN in Ukraine is corrupted, but not an ideological protest" (Shevchenko, 2015). They accused

Gutsol of carrying out protest actions under the auspices of FEMEN for money. The activists posted a record of telephone conversation with Gutsol, where she proposes to "raise movement normally" at the expense of "financial injections", getting "one thousand per action" abroad, and less money per action in Ukraine. In the conversation, Gutsol said that "femenshop is a myth," and money for protest actions does not come from the official source of the organization's income.

Activists call Gutsol "the so-called leader of FEMEN movement" and ask not to believe "neither the words, nor the actions of Gutsol and those, who now call themselves FEMEN, and to announce information boycott". The struggle of "real" FEMEN activists was "clear and honest", but now it is Anna Gutsol's business project (Shevchenko, 2015).

It should be noted that few modern FEMEN actions, held in Ukraine in 2016-2017, were mainly directed against the policy of the President Poroshenko.

Thus, the study of Ukrainian and Russian press for 2013-2014, allows to determine the specifics of Eastern European women's political activism, using the example of FEMEN. In this period, the movement was at the peak of its activity in Ukraine; it conducted a lot of resonant actions. At this particular period, the press paid the most attention to FEMEN.

The choice of the period for the study of publications about Pussy Riot is due to the following considerations. The most resonant action of the radical feminist group Pussy Riot is the Punk Prayer "Mother of God, Chase Putin Away", held on February 21, 2012 in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior. Judicial trial in the matter of the group was in the focus of the world media, and was reflected in numerous scientific works. At the same time, the period of imprisonment of convicted Pussy Riot activists Alyokhina and Tolokonnikova is insufficiently investigated.

After the announcement of verdict, activists were sent to serve the sentence in different regions of Russia: Tolokonnikova was guided to Mordovia, Alyokhina - to Berezniki. In the colony, activists defended their rights as prisoners, began to engage in human rights activities. In the process of trial, these girls became famous. And the fact that "world celebrities" served the sentence, made it possible to actualize in media the problem of mass violations of women's rights in Russian prisons. This aspect of Pussy Riot's activity is also under-researched.

After the release, Alyokhina and Tolokonnikova said that they would protect the rights of prisoners in Russia, and ceased to be the members of Pussy Riot group. However, soon they

began to act on behalf of the group again. This caused criticism of its new participants. During 2014, Alyokhina and Tolokonnikova, together with their producer Petr Verzilov, visited many countries in the status of stars. They met with celebrities, politicians, participated in charitable meals, lectured, and filmed in "House of Cards." According to the media of 2014, activists lived a social life, although, in fact, they invested money in the development of human rights projects "Zone of Rights" and "MediaZona".

In mid-2015, the group Pussy Riot announced the termination of performances and liquidation, due to the commercialization of the group by Alyokhina and Tolokonnikova, without knowledge of the other participants. According to Tolokonnikova, "after 2014 "punk carnival" Pussy Riot did not have the same force" (Kozenko, 2017). "The concept of anonymous superheroes" was changed by the state, when the participants of Pussy Riot were forced to take off their balaclavas in court. One of the group participants, Samutsevich, having been released from the courtroom, disappeared from the public area. At the moment, Alyokhina and Tolokonnikova do not hold joint actions. The organization for the protection of prisoners' rights "Zone of Rights" and the network media "MediaZona" remain their joint project.

"MediaZona" is authoritative and popular Russian publication, which writes about human rights violations, related to the arbitrary actions of law enforcement and judicial bodies. According to Liveinternet, in September 2017, the estimated readership was 1.2 million of unique visitors¹. The popularity of the publication is due to the relevance of this problem in the socio-political life of Russia.

"Zone of Rights" is an organization, defending the rights of convicts, attracting lawyers to help victims, making public the cases of rights violation.

The wave of political repressions and suppression of civil liberties in Russia have begun since the case of Pussy Riot. It entailed the strengthening of political influence of the Russian Orthodox Church on domestic politics and political decisions. Due to this case, a new article of criminal law appeared in 2013 - for insulting to the feelings of believers. All these events were presented in Ukrainian and Russian media. Thus, an urgent task is to analyze press publications, dedicated to serving the sentences by activists, the nature of their human rights and protest activities, both in and out of prison.

Conclusions

¹<https://www.liveinternet.ru/stat/zona.media/index.html?period=month>

The rapid development of discursive methodology and discursive theories in modern human sciences is due to the historical, social and cultural transformations of society, the development of scientific paradigms, schools, theories and trends. The development of discourse analysis is determined by the internal dynamics of science itself.

The urgency of using discourse analysis in studying media texts is dictated by the need to comprehend the mechanisms of the text meanings formation, to identify their structure, hidden meanings, techniques used by the authors to persuade the audience, i.e. a deeper qualitative study than other methods allow.

Discourse analysis in modern social and human sciences as a relatively new field of scientific research is an interdisciplinary field for answering the key theoretical, methodological and empirical questions: what is the degree of linguistic conditioning of social reality? is it really possible to talk about the formation of a new type of reality - discourse? what is the position of the subject in the discourse field? how is knowledge generated and power transmitted through discursive practices? what is the specificity of the research position in the study of discourse?

The applied importance of discourse analysis for analyzing media materials is determined by the increased scientific interest in the mutual influence of social relations, cognition and language. This is the reason for choosing this method for researching newspaper publications of the Ukrainian and Russian press devoted to the FEMEN movement and the punk band Pussy Riot. With its help, the patterns and tendencies of designing women's political activism in media texts will be determined. This will determine the specifics of feminist movements in the post-Soviet area and the forms of their representation in the media.

CHAPTER 4. Problems of the women's movement in Ukraine in the context of Russian-Ukrainian conflict

The chapter will reveal the most significant events in the Ukrainian society of recent years that led to changes in many areas. The changing nature of women's political activism in Ukraine and the format of women's participation in public life will be explored. We will analyze changes in the sphere of gender relations at the present stage of the formation of Ukrainian nationhood, caused by the events at Euromaidan and the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian military conflict.

4.1 Current trends in women's political activism in Ukraine

Modern researchers assess the female activism of post-Soviet Ukraine differently. In the early 90s Pavlychko claimed that at that time a mature feminist movement had not yet formed in Ukraine. According to the researcher, there are many different "movements", but they are mostly anti-feminist and do not raise issues of social, political, economic equality in society (Pavlychko, 2002, p. 233.).

Zherebkina (1997) believes that in the Ukrainian women's movement "there was an unconscious substitution of the values of women's individuality and freedom with more abstract tasks of building nation-state, and political manipulation of the power of women's initiatives became possible" (Silchenko, 1997, p. 6).

Plakhotnik notes the problems of the existence of the women's movement in Ukraine, which she calls "sporadic activism". In Ukraine, there are antifeminist women's organizations; organizations that implement feminist projects, but do not call themselves feminist; feminist organizations that contradict with gender policy due to their activities (Plakhotnik, 2007, p. 193). That being said, the researcher notes that processes in modern Ukraine are similar to those that occurred in the West, but with a 15-20 years delay.

Dutchak notes marginality of gender discourse in Ukraine. Ukrainian feminists do not change the public consciousness, confirming the labels that society puts on the notion of "feminism", therefore there is a rejection of this concept in society (Dutchak, 2010).

According to Kis, now in Ukraine there is a full range of women's organizations, distinguished by ideological principles, priorities and forms of activity: conservative

(traditionalist), radical (anarcho-feminist), a large segment of feminist organizations of the liberal type. All of them recognize the existing discrimination of women in Ukraine and are aware of the need for change (Kis, 2012).

Fronsdsey (2012) believes that in the activities of the modern women's movement, two types of trends have been formed and traced.

The first of them is aimed at activating the role of women in the socio-political and socio-economic life of the society, the revival of traditions, the formation of civil society, the restoring of traditions, the national language, culture and morality;

The second is to uphold and promote exclusively women's ideas and interests in civil society.

Kovalishina (2001) combines existing women's organizations in the following general areas of activity: involving women in managing the affairs of society and the state; development of economic and political thinking; overcoming public stereotypes; social protection; the revival of culture and the affirmation of Christian values; promoting interpersonal tolerance, interethnic harmony and peace in Ukraine.

In the second half of the 1990s, there were large, purely feminist women's organizations whose activities were aimed at eliminating discrimination against women in various spheres. The problems of these organizations were the protection of women's rights, the rise of women's self-awareness and gender education, the solution of women's social and legal problems, and the involvement of women in political participation (Kis, 2012). Currently, the women's movement has developed activities in various directions in accordance with its constitutional provisions. This is, above all, social, political, charity, cultural, educational, entrepreneurial activities. The organizations provide social and legal protection for women and interact with young people. Scientific conferences, thematic meetings, seminars on actual problems of modern society are held.

Many women's non-governmental organizations in Ukraine cooperate with the authorities at all levels, they support government agencies for their own initiatives. This situation, according to Kis, is typical for "hybrid" societies and semi-democratic regimes, due to the desire of the authorities to control civil society. This entails the search for social strategies of adaptation and coexistence with power. Ukrainian women's organizations have chosen the way of situational cooperation with the authorities to overcome gender discrimination, which led to the fact that the Ukrainian state began to perceive its obligations to ensure gender

equality very formally. By approving the laws, adopting programs and creating institutions, the parliament and the government actually shift responsibility for their full functioning to the shoulders of women's organizations.

In recent years, there have been organizations that exclude any form of cooperation with the authorities. For example, the group "Feministic ofenzyva" is a radical initiative that united young women's groups on the ideological platform of feminism. The activity of this organization demonstrates the way of the development of feminist consciousness and identity into feminist action. The young generation of pro-feminist youth, who adhere to leftist and anarchist ideas, does not consider the participation of women in the field of science to be a priority.

Pastushenko (2009) argues that now in Ukraine there are a few associations of intellectuals who were able to realize themselves in a "society not for women" and a number of women politicians. The author notes that the percentage of active women is so small that it does not create a general picture of equality; even a strong leader cannot raise enough women for certain performances under the banner of feminism.

One of the main problems of the women's movement is the eradication of stereotypes that prevent a woman's self-realization and form a request for a social role, which is reduced to submission to men and family services (Romanyshyn, 2012). Underestimated self-esteem, women's unawareness of gender inequality and patriarchal domination, severe socioeconomic conditions prevent women from participating in the social movement (Romanova, 2003).

The society is not ready to perceive the women's movement as an important factor in the development of the society. Due to lack of media attention to this problem, the society does not know enough about the women's movement (Medina, 2011).

The latter problem can be overcome through information activities on the Internet and social networks. Information and communication technologies today are an important means of influence of international organizations on the functioning of the women's movement in Ukraine. Thanks to the Internet, women now have an opportunity to have open communication and exchange their experience regarding certain issues.

The unpopularity of women's organizations and the ideas of feminism in Ukraine, the dominance of traditional views on women in women's organizations do not allow using their full potential for solving women's problems, restricting their access to the management

system and representative bodies. Kis argues that women's organizations whose goals respond to feminist strategies for social change do not recognize themselves as feminist. The author explains this by activists' poor awareness of the foundations of feminist theory and practice. As a result, they fail to disprove false stereotypes by supporting the marginalization of feminist discourse in society and politics (Kis, 2005).

Pastushenko (2009) believes that the problems holding back the development of feminist movements are the lack of organizational experience; issues of ethics and culture of relationships within the women's movement and Ukrainian society; insufficient lobbying by women's organizations of their interests; absence or weakness of a real partnership dialogue with the authorities. Pastushenko sees the solution problems of "women's politics" in the creation of the regulations, the definition of the principles of the activity of non-governmental women's organizations, coordination of activities; the development of a program of joint activities with other organizations that support the idea of gender equality; the formation of ways of cooperation of women's organizations with state structures for the establishment of equality and diversity, gender democracy.

Zherebkina believes that in Ukrainian feminism there is a lot of "theory" (excessive rationality and neurotic reflection). At the same time, Ukrainian women's organizations do not have street activism (Martsenyuk, 2012). They lack physical practices and affective political actions (Zherebkina, 2015).

Studies show that the proportion of protests in defense of women's rights accounts for 1% of the total number of protest actions in Ukraine. The number of actions related to women's issues, representing conservative protests of religious and right-wing organizations, supporting "family values" increased. In the beginning of 2010, the "antigender movement" was institutionalized in Ukraine, which, apart from protesting forms, engages in educational and media projects (Martsenyuk, 2012).

The leaders of the women's protest movement in Ukraine is the group FEMEN. The discussions about this group's activities by theorists and activists demonstrate how polarized their opinions: from the admiration of street actions to the categorical rejection of their performances. In recent years, these discussions have lost relevance in the country after FEMEN announced the termination of activity in Ukraine. The movement of iconic figures moved to France and created their international offices.

The newest tendencies of women's participation in protest activities should be considered based on the example of their participation in Euromaidan (the Revolution of Dignity), mass protests in the center of Kiev and other cities of Ukraine in 2013-2014. The Maidan is viewed as a heterogeneous space in which gender and national identities intertwined (Martsenyuk, 2014). The main slogan of the protests was the abstract notion of "dignity". Ukrainian feminists, in the opinion of I. Zherebkina "tried to determine their separatist feminist position too reflexively, pragmatically and rationally in order not to merge with others who went out on Maidan". As a result, there were not enough of them there, a lot less than the rest of the protesters (Zherebkina, 2015).

Ukrainian women along with men participated in all types of protest activities, including military, forming the "Women's hundreds" of self-defense of the Maidan. The main activity on Maidan was of defensive and protective character. In addition, there was a wide variety of protest activities in which women participated: medical, legal and psychological assistance, information support, transportation, work on hot-lines (SOS Euromaidan), publishing and media work, educational work (Maidan Library, "Open University "), participation in the Avtomaidan movement, volunteer activities, fundraising for victims, etc. After Maidan, many activists continue to engage in volunteer activities, take part in ATO (Ukrainian Anti-Terrorist Operation).

4.2 Female Activism on Euromaidan

With the beginning of the Maidan, its main idea "human rights above all else" and European values united Ukrainian society. During the Maidan, people were able to self-organize and build a horizontal system of mutual assistance and interaction. The events of the Maidan are associated with the development of the self-consciousness of civil society.

According to opinion polls, 44% of women from the total number of all participants took part in the protest actions of Euromaidan (Bekeshkina & Khmelko, 2013). Women fully participated in the protests, on an equal footing with men.

As Khromeychuk notes the square of Kiev (Independence Square), where protests were held, became a space for public performance of revolutionary activity, patriotism and heroism. Protesters often behaved according to their gender, and public perception was formed taking into account certain gender expectations. Researchers who studied this problem also say that

the Maidan was a "symbolic construction of the nation", during which the polarization of gender roles took place: the male role - the defense of the fatherland, the female - biological reproduction (Khromeychuk, 2016; Bureichak & Petrenko, 2014; Mayerchyk, 2014; Gritsenko, 2014; Popova, 2015; Martsenyuk, 2015; Moskvicheva, 2014).

Typical for patriarchal discourse is the use of the themes of the Ukrainian Cossacks as a masculine and militaristic community in which the role of women is marginalized. Appeal to the Cossacks was also popular during the Euromaidan: from the stage on the Independence Square there were often addresses to the protesters: "People's Army", "Cossacks", etc. Modern Ukrainians represent the descendants of Cossacks, which reproduces the androcentric vision of the Ukrainian nation (Bureichak & Petrenko, 2014). In connection with the masculinity of nationalism, Gritsenko (2014) notes that there was a noticeable dual distribution in the protests: "men are for violence", "women are for peace".

One of the components of the Maidan was the gender division of labor. The "female" activities included work in the kitchen, at points of distribution of warm clothes, cleaning of premises. "Male" duties included protection, protection from "Berkut" and "titushky" (Popova, 2015). In the descriptions of women performing "male" work was noted their femininity: "Beautiful and graceful representatives of the weaker sex on heels and in coats are actively involved in the defense of the Maidan, bringing cobblestones and medicines to barricades" (Polyvach, 2014). Not all women activists were dressed in this style, but in the description of the events, this was highlighted. If a woman performed a "male" job, her femininity and the symbolism of her actions were noted. She was supposed to inspire the male warriors. For example, there was a following poster with a slogan on Maidan: "Women! If you see a mess clean it up, the revolutionaries will be pleased. " This is evidence that women were assigned an auxiliary, secondary role in revolutionary events. Men made the revolution, and women had to serve the "revolutionaries".

Maidan activist Nadezhda Profan said in her interview that men, representatives of Maidan's self-defense, often told to women to "leave", "stay at home", told them "they can not be here" (Sergatskova, 2014). Women were indignant that men made a decision about their participation in power confrontations for them. There were calls made from the stage: "For the night women and children must to leave Euromaidan" (Martsenyuk, 2014). In the situation of the threat of dispersal of the Maidan, women were asked to "gather near the stage". As a result, M. Mayerchik believes, that Maidan became a "parade of masculinity and household misogyny". The researcher noted the gender neglect, which "reached its peak in the places of

slicing sandwiches, in jokes from the stage about women, in rhetoric about "the real cossacks who do not sit at home like women" (Mayerchyk, 2014).

The reason for women in the protest movement to be seen not as revolutionaries, but as revolutionaries' assistants, according to Khromeychuk (2016), is gender performance. Agreeing to the traditional female role on the Maidan, women supported the gender structures in which they participated.

The dominance of men is shown by the removal of women from "male" work. They tried not to let them participate in force confrontations. For example, the self-defense of the Maidan on January 19-22 in 2014 did not let women who wanted to fight go to Grushevsky street, where the fighting took place. Despite this, they found an opportunity to get there changing into men's clothes (Popova, 2015). At the same time, there were many women doctors, journalists, and volunteers.

The above-mentioned examples generally indicate the situation of women in Ukraine, where women's work is valued less than men's. There are professions prohibited for women due to the threat to their health. In a family, a woman performs "invisible" work around the house, cares for children.

Important in the context of women's perception on the Maidan is also the influence of nationalism. Women in national movements are assigned a secondary role or role of a symbol of a nation that requires protection. "True" fighters for the fatherland are men (Gentosh & Kis, 2003). The "Bereginya" woman appears as a mother and "keeper of the home" (Kis, 2003), who needs protection. Her health is necessary for the reproduction and education of the next generation. She must take care of the household, and not fight. This interpretation is supported by conservative nationalists and representatives of the Orthodox religion.

A significant part of Maidan's rhetoric, despite its predominantly social component, was focused on the militarized symbolism of the "national liberation struggle". The structure that organized the day-to-day operation of the Maidan was called "Maidan's self-defense", headed by the commandant. Self-defense consisted of formations called "hundreds" (Khromeychuk, 2016). Many organized groups of activists, including those who do not have formal relation to the 42 hundred of self-defense, also called themselves "hundreds". There were the "artistic hundred", "cyber-hundred". Those who watched Euromaidan from home and did not participate in these events personally, but actively commented on them on social networks, we jokingly called the "couch hundred".

There were women's hundreds on the Maidan. Among them there were formal organizations: the 39th Women's Self-Defense Hundred; Women's platoon of the 16th hundred of Self-defense. Among the alternative hundreds were: The Women's Hundred of Olga Kobylanska (Kyiv), the Sister's Hundred (Dnipro), the Women's Hundred of Self-Defense in Chernigov and Krivoy Rog, and others.

Despite the use of the military term "hundred", women's organizations pursued other goals. So, Women's Hundred of Olga Kobylanska proclaimed such values as "human rights, human dignity, freedom, equality, society without discrimination". The purpose of their activity was "to activate the women's protest movement and support of Euromaidan on the principles of solidarity, sisterhood and mutual respect" (<https://www.facebook.com/pg/zhinocha.sotnya/about/>). In its work, this hundred used methods of education, non-violent resistance, and, in case of emergency, self-defense within the minimum necessary impact. The main activities are the development and support of women's participation in all initiatives related to Euromaidan; counteracting sexist manifestations and restrictions on the participation of women in Euromaidan.

The Sister's Hundred is the organization of "indifferent women", gathered for a peaceful struggle for the ideas of Euromaidan. Their motto is "different force - common goal" (<https://www.facebook.com/sestrynska.sotnya/>).

The dominant viewpoint on the secondary role of women in protest caused the need to dispel this stereotype. The activists of women's hundreds drew attention to the courage of women and their contribution to the protest. The most active and famous in this regard was the Women's Hundred of Olga Kobylanska. Her activist and coordinator of the program "Gender Democracy" of Heinrich Böll Foundation in Kyiv Anna Dovgopol noted that the information work was the main task of the association. Thanks to this, the activities of women on the Maidan became "visible". It was important to show that "women do not only make sandwiches" (Khromeychuk, 2016).

Outstanding characteristics of the Women's Hundred of Kobylanskaya, who position themselves as a non-religious and non-political civil organization with a horizontal structure, was dissociation from nationalist discourse and combating discrimination based on gender, sexuality, nationality, race (Litvinova, 2014). This hundred carried out actions in which women were given the opportunity to express their rights and attitudes toward themselves, gain certain knowledge and skills.

The organization's Facebook account today has more than 3,000 followers. The activist of the Women's Hundred Nina Potarska believes that they "found their audience" because many women did not agree with the place they were "given" in the protests. The emergence of such an initiative marked the women with a similar position and coordinated their actions (Marushchenko & Malakhova, 2014).

With regard to other women's hundreds, their support for the nationalist and militaristic discourse that dominated the Maidan should be noted. For example, the goals of the 39th Women's Hundred of Self-defense coincided with the basic requirements of the Maidan: the overthrow of Yanukovych, the defense of the Maidan from the "siloviki". Representatives of this hundred (at the time of the organization had more than 150 women) actively participated in the self-defense of the Maidan and the confrontations on February 18-22. Despite the fact that hundreds of activists did not aim to combat discrimination against women, the activities of its participants promoted the participation of women in the uprising thanks to media participation, made the "male" activities that women did (self-defense, military operations) "visible". In their manifesto, activists pointed out that "only a free woman can give birth to a free person in a free country" (https://www.facebook.com/pg/39sotnya/about/?ref=page_internal).

Many activists of the Maidan acted within the framework of the Bereginya concept. For example, on January 30, women organized an action, the participants of which went with the inscriptions "Mama", chanting "There are no somebody else's children", "Yanukovych, let our children go" and prayed for the heroes of the Maidan. On another occasion, women on their knees asked the "siloviki" to join peaceful protest. In such actions, women appear as "mothers of the nation", helping heroes, begging and praying. The life of children for the mother-bereginya is of the highest value, therefore it was assumed that the "siloviki" should pity her as a woman losing "the most valuable".

Another association of women in the framework of Euromaidan was "Women's half of the Maidan". It was organized by activists of the feminist movement in order to combat discrimination against women. Activists went out with the slogans "Europe is a maternity leave!", "Want to Europe - say no to sexism!", "Freedom, equality, sisterhood!" (Sergatskova, 2014).

Activists handed out leaflets, organized many actions. On December 13 in 2013 was held the action "The Night of Women's Solidarity". On January 19, the action "Vicious Ukrainians

against the gangster future" was held, the purpose of which was to reconcile the warring parties, Protestants and representatives of law enforcement agencies in particular. The reason for its conduct was the adoption of anti-democratic laws that limited the rights and freedoms of citizens. The participants brought children's clothing and toys to the cordons of the "siloviki" as a "symbol of the fact that the country was deprived of the future", and the participants "came to give the rest of unstolen" (Sergatskova, 2014).

Thus, in the rhetoric and practice of Euromaidan, both traditional conservative sentiments and progressive European values were displayed. Women were given some responsibility for what was happening inside the protest movement: women had to stop the violence. At the same time, women were inclined to remove from events, leaving behind them the right to an auxiliary, serving role. During the protest, Maidan female activists demonstrated that not only men are fighting the regime.

Thus, the main goal of women during Euromaidan was the overthrow of the Yanukovych regime. For the sake of its achievement, they agreed to the "invisibility" of their activities. Medical assistance, round-the-clock work in the kitchen, gathering of money, information support was interpreted as less significant activity than, for example, protection of the territory of the Maidan. The Maidan would not have survived if there were only male guards (Popova, 2015). Its existence is largely due to the infrastructure created and managed mostly by women. Women were active participants in protests on the Maidan and did a lot to overcome stereotypes, promote women's leadership and the idea of gender equality.

4.3 The problems of women's participation in military actions and the construction of a woman-warrior image

For more than three years a war has continued in the East of Ukraine with separatist groups, that are actively supported by the Russian state. During this period, Ukrainian society and culture have functioned in a system of binary oppositions inherent in military situation. The experience of women's participation in the war, which is officially called the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO), has influenced the appearance and construction of the image of a woman-warrior, a woman-defender, a new image for the Ukrainian public space. Almost every battalion in the ATO zone volunteers and mobilizes women, as evidenced by media reports. To serve for ATO, women have to overcome many obstacles.

The positioning of militarized women is influenced by the strengthening of nationalistic sentiments and the strengthening of patriarchal ideas about gender roles that occurs during

military conflicts. In patriarchal cultures, war is considered a "man's business," therefore the actual issue is the "visibility" of women and recognition of their role on the part of the state and society.

Dudko (2014) notes that the problem of women military is the cornerstone for various feminist approaches. Given the perceptible prevalence of gender stereotypes in peacetime, during the war both masculinity and femininity are further strengthened and stereotyped. The experience of women in war conditions is hushed up and marginalized, viewed from the point of view of the victim, mother, wife, waiting for the return of her son or husband. The only role allowed by the patriarchate in which a woman can be an active participant in military events is a medical worker. The participants of the military actions themselves share a different opinion. Thus, the participant of the ATO, the aerial reconnaissance pilot, the director of the volunteer Aeronautical Support Center, the initiator of the "Invisible Battalion" research, Maria Berlinskaya believes that "war does not have a woman's or a man's face, war itself is not a human thing" (Kasyan, 2014).

The war in the East of Ukraine wrested thousands of women from peaceful life. With their military and volunteer activities, they encroach on the idea of the "exclusive" right of men to protect them; they destroy stereotypical ideas what women should and what they should not do during wartime. The public reaction to such activities is doubtful. In conservative societies, the indicator of the legitimacy of women's participation in the war is the conformity of their roles with patriarchal ideas about the "women's sphere". The work of women is socially approved in the rear: raising funds, preparing food, sewing clothes, supporting the wounded warriors, buying medicines, etc. The peaceful population in the combat areas is mostly women, old people and children. This led to a surge of volunteer initiatives "from woman to woman". This means a transition from identification with the victim to the position of empowerment (Stebkova, 2014). That's why women volunteers have become one of the popular images in the modern Ukrainian media sphere. They appear as courageous, sparing no time and effort, women who raise funds, buy everything necessary for the defenders and take it to the front. Women who deliver the necessary things to the military in the ATO zone cause an ambivalent attitude: they are admired with boldness, but there are also accusations of frivolity, which creates additional trouble to men in the front in case of danger. Thus, a volunteer involved in military medical care noted that "women are afraid to be allowed to the front line, because then they will have to be released. There have been cases when the guys perished" (Gavryshko, 2016). In general, a female volunteer at the front is seen as the

personification of "all women of Ukraine: mothers, wives, daughters, sisters" (Goncharuk, 2014).

Despite numerous challenges and dangers, the front today is not a closed territory for women, moreover - it acquires a certain attractiveness. So, despite the danger of serving in the howling army, the popularity of the military profession among Ukrainian women is growing. Since the beginning of 2016, the Armed Forces of Ukraine have accepted 1,322 women, which is 5.8% of the total number of military personnel accepted. According to the Ministry of Defense, a total of 49,552 women were in the Armed Forces of Ukraine in 2016. Among them there are 17,147 women of service (8.5% of the total number of servicemen); 2,092 officers (5.3%); 14,607 soldiers and sergeants (9.4%); 35 female soldiers occupy leading positions in the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff and the Armed Forces of Ukraine; 32,405 women hold civilian positions. Compared to 2006, the number of women officers has almost doubled, but even today there are no female generals in the Armed Forces, in contrast to the armies of NATO member states. In 2016, there were more than 2000 women among the combatants; 50 servicewomen were awarded state awards; 2 women were killed while performing military duty in the ATO zone (Moroz, 2016).

The military actions not only increased the participation of women in combat and military divisions, but also raised the issue of integrating women as military personnel. An indicator of the low social status of women in the army is the representation of women in the military and security forces at the decision-making level. Women serve on less prestigious positions than men; they face greater difficulties than men; there are various manifestations of sexism (violation of the regime of work and rest, rough treatment of women by commanders and colleagues).

The service in the army is a sphere of the labor market, therefore discrimination against women in the army is classified as discrimination in employment (Martsenyuk, 2015). Noting the increase in the number of female military personnel in the army, researchers associate it with the reluctance of men to take low-paid positions (Dubchak, 2008). Women mainly serve on "feminized" jobs in the field of communications, finance, logistics, medicine. Women are especially widely represented in such positions as a doctor, a teacher, an interpreter, a psychologist, a lawyer, a criminalist, an investigator (Androshchuk & Lutsky, 2011).

In 2015, the first sociological survey "Invisible Battalion" was held, dedicated to the participation of Ukrainian women in military operations in the ATO. This is a "grass-roots

research", initiated by the women-servicemen themselves. Faced with certain problems in the service, they found sociologists to construct questions and analyze the situation (Zhovtko, 2016). The strategic goal of the study was to achieve gender equality in the army and the Interior Ministry. The authors of the project, supported by the Ukrainian Women's Fund and UN Women, analyzed gender stereotypes regarding female soldiers among the command and personnel of the Ukrainian armed forces; legal conflicts; living conditions and other problems of women's participation in the ATO. The field part of the study was carried out using qualitative sociological methods: deep semistructured interviews with 42 female participants of the ATO from different divisions. The main conclusion of the study is the thesis about the "invisibility" of the feminine experience in the Ukrainian army, about its discrimination. According to the law for the studied period women could not occupy many army and military posts. Women snipers, artillerymen, tankpersons, scouts according to the documents were serving as chiefs of the bathhouse or cooks. Existing discrimination affects wages and benefits.

This sociological study was one of the catalysts for expanding the list of positions for female servicemen in the Ukrainian army. It was thanks to the Invisible Battalion project that the Order of the Minister of Defense of Ukraine of June 3, 2016, No. 292 (registered at the Ministry of Justice on June 22, 2016, No. 880/29010), amended the list of regular posts of the rank, sergeant and sergeant-major staff. Earlier, female servicemen could serve on the posts of mainly musical, medical specialties, accountants, clerks, cooks, communications specialties and various economic posts, but now this list covers almost all military specialties, in particular the positions of driver, grenade launcher, deputy reconnaissance commander, commander of an infantry fighting vehicle, a machine gunner, mortar men, a scout, a sniper and others. Activists for a year struggled to ensure that women could be officially registered for those positions that they actually occupy at the front. The expansion of the list of posts spread to 63 positions - one third of the total (Kasyan, 2014). Despite this, some commanders ignore the order and do not formally register hired women for the relevant positions.

Women-participants of ATO are compelled to break stereotypes about their own participation in the war. There are also sexist comments from military commanders who believe that a woman is not able to be a tank commander or a mechanic. At the same time, there are a sufficient number of professional officers in the Ukrainian army, who believe that the soldier should be judged exclusively on professional qualities, and "the professional qualities do not

include skin color, sex, or sexual orientation. It's either a soldier or not" (Women of war, 2015).

M. Berlinskaya believes that the problem of male rejection of women at the front, in politics, in leadership positions depends on the low educational level and conservative upbringing (Women of war, 2015). In addition, gender discrimination is expressed in the different representation of female soldiers in public discourse. In Ukrainian media you can often find stories about "heroes" with names and a list of exploits, but rarely - about "heroines" (Martsenyuk, 2014). This is not only a specific Ukrainian, but in general post-Soviet tradition. Thus, the Russian researcher Nikonova (2005) notes that almost a million women who participated in the Second World War on the side of the USSR "dissolved" in the discourse of official propaganda. During the war, women successfully fight in combat positions – as doctors, snipers, artillerymen. After it ends, everyone says that this is not a woman's business (Vlashchenko, 2017).

The main images of women in the ATO, depicted in modern media, are "warrior woman", "caring assistant", "revolutionary". Examples of female heroism, military women are Nadezhda Savchenko, Amina Akueva, Maria Berlinskaya, Tatyana Rychkova, whose images have become popular due to their active position and media attention. These women are a model of perseverance, courage, national consciousness, patriotism. A warrior woman has a strong character, she is straightforward, self-confident. Her appearance corresponds to the realities - the heroines appear in front of the audience without make-up and in military unisex uniforms (Plakhotniuk, 2016).

A positive example is the "visibility" of the most famous woman-serviceperson of Ukraine, Nadezhda Savchenko, who became a media symbol of Ukraine's struggle against Russian aggression. She appears as a soldier, not inferior to the level of physical fitness, emotional stability, participation in complex military operations to military men. Media represents her as a woman who had to go through more trials than ordinary soldiers. She was in captivity and became a political prisoner, while demonstrating courage, disobedience and being self-assured.

A broad media campaign covered the details of her capture by Russian security forces; imprisonment, hunger-strike and court hearings; her military service before the start of ATO. Savchenko was represented as a politically active woman. While being in prison in Russia, she became a deputy of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine from the Batkivshchyna party (the

Yulia Tymoshenko block). She also practiced various methods of political struggle, such as hunger strike, letters, speeches, books. In Moscow, at the court sessions, Savchenko spoke Ukrainian, wore clothes with national symbols or embroideries.

The image of N. Savchenko in the Ukrainian media was often contradictory. For example, politicians (Poroshenko, Tymoshenko, Lyashko and others) spoke of Savchenko as a strong, brave and brave defender. At the same time, they spoke of her as a victim who must be saved; national symbol of Ukraine, captured by the masculine Putin's Russia (Dudko, 2014).

It should also be noted that Savchenko began to speak actively in the media only after she began to act as a victim, who needs protection, and not as a defender. At the same time, the election of male combatants as deputies of the Ukrainian parliament was positioned as a merit of their military prowess in the course of military operations.

Thus, military women are a group of participants in the military conflict in Eastern Ukraine, whose representation is associated with discrimination and stereotypes. Media images, the construction of which is conditioned by gender inequality as such, translates classic patriarchal views on the role of women in society, makes its experience of participation in the war invisible, and keeps silent about the problem of violation of their rights.

The "invisibility" of women servicemen is due to the fact that they are such for the media and for the army's infrastructure (Martsenyuk, 2014). The infrastructure of the Armed Forces of Ukraine is adapted for the needs of men and excludes women from the army with their specific needs. Therefore, the army must change in order to properly incorporate women into the military hierarchy and provide them with the opportunity to participate effectively in military operations on an equal ground with men, to fulfill their desires and opportunities, and to protect their values.

At present, a woman in the Ukrainian army needs to make a great effort to prove that she can successfully fulfill the duties of a serviceperson. Therefore, Ukrainian society and the media should change attitudes towards women: treating them not as victims of a conflict, but as competent participants of its resolution on a par with men.

4.4 Female media images in the context of ATO

Female service members participate in military activities in the territory of Ukraine, volunteers actively help to the army, what is reflected in the thematic spectrum of the Ukrainian mass media organizations. It is worth mentioning the image of the mothers and wives of the military. In the mass media the story of a meeting of soldiers returning from the front is common. The center of such materials is focused on, not primarily the soldiers themselves, but their families. It also tells about the wives and mothers of the dead soldiers; about the family couples widely known in Ukraine, where the husband is fighting in ATO, and his wife is a volunteer who helps the army (Kasumova, 2016).

In the media, volunteers are represented as women who had refused from their previous work, directed all the efforts to help the army: “In order to help the army, Tatyana Rychkova sold her cottage and bakery and went to the front further to her husband” (Fionik, 2014).

The media describes the life stories of volunteers and the circumstances under which they began to help the army: “Her husband went into the army as a volunteer <...> Tanya left a bakery and 11-year-old son Timur. One day Tanya baked pies, put on a red cap, sat in her Fiat doblo and went to see her husband. “I saw how bare they were, how they washed clothes on the floor and rotate the battery to wash themselves”. She flounced back and forth, bought sleeping bags for the third battalion” (Fionik, 2014).

Volunteers left their families at home and are ready for anything for the sake of victory: “in this war Tanya lost her husband, for which she began her volunteering. She cannot see her 12-year-old son for weeks at a time” (Tytysh, 2015); “the son was sent to relatives, Tanya herself has been on the road for four months”; “these women forget about sleep and food and, risking their own lives, deliver to the line of fire medicines, remedies, food. They are at war; they remove the wounded on their fragile shoulders; take civilians out of the fire; collect and distribute humanitarian assistance to internally displaced people” (Kotlyar, 2015).

A separate topic of publications is the coverage of women’s participation in military operations as service members. Journalists describe the difficulties of women’s military service, the specifics of their way of life, cases of discrimination and sexism. In such materials, the motives are given, due to which women go to serve in the army, their professional achievements. In the media, stories are told about female service members who, despite public stereotypes, decided to serve in the army. In such publications, journalists are interested in the attitude of relatives and friends to the decision to serve in the army; the

reaction of male military men on their service at the front; problems and positive moments in the experience of the heroines of publications; peculiarities of adaptation after returning from the front to a peaceful life.

Modern mass media depict women in the ATO in the images of a “warrior woman”, “caring assistant” and “revolutionary” (Martsenyuk, Gritsenko, Kvit & Berlinska, 2015).

A “warrior woman” fights on an equal footing with men. She has a strong character and is a straightforward and self-confident woman. In the description of this type, journalists add an element of “femininity”, mention children, husband, parents; beauty treatment (Oliynyk, 2015).

The image of “caring assistant” portrays women performing nonoperational mission (doctors, cooks, psychologists), in the description of which the traditional gender approach prevails.

The images of “revolutionaries” (Nadezhda Savchenko, Amina Akueva, Maria Berlinskaya, Tatiana Rychkova) became popular due to their active position and media attention. Their appearance corresponds to the realities of wartime – the heroines appear before the audience without make-up and in military uniform. These are women acting contrary to stereotypes, hierarchically equal to men in the army. They are a model of perseverance, courage, national consciousness, and patriotism (Plakhotniuk, 2016).

The publications of the media tell about how women got into ATO, about the motives of their service in the army. For example, “Maria Berlin had left training at the magistracy at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy and went to the front” (Kasyan, 2016); “Nastya came to the war in late August 2014 – went with a volunteer who drove a humanitarian and took the wounded. There she met with the volunteer battalion named after general Kulchitsky and decided to stay with them for a while” (Yeryomenko, 2015).

Women, going to the front are motivated, aware of the difficulties of the duty service and are determined to combat stereotypes: “A woman who goes to the army faces strong demotivation and demoralization. At every stage, a woman is faced with the fact that she is advised to sit at home, raise children and prepare food. A woman has to prove that she can and wants to perform duties, and has made a conscious, mature decision” (Melnichenko, 2015).

As indicated the motivation of women at the front is much higher than that of men: “A man there can get by accident – maybe just mobilized. A woman needs to go through several

barriers: she will be discouraged at home, then they will dissuade her from the military enlistment office. If all this she overcomes, she will be discouraged in the battalion itself. Therefore, women who get there are motivated, they really want to be involved in the defense” (Kasyan, 2016).

It is noted that “on the wave of patriotism” more and more women want to serve in the army. The range of army professions is widening for women who want to “go through special training and study to become marine infantry, a zeniths warrior and even a sniper” (Volkova, 2015).

Men think that “war is not a woman’s business”, but they still penetrate the front line, where they prove the “non-viability of this stamp”: “They shoot, drive armored personnel carriers, go to reconnaissance, treat wounds, hug, console. They often become commanders. “Despite official success, they are unknown to the general public. But this does not bother the heroines, the main thing for which is “to defend the right to fight on their land” (Maksymenko, 2015).

Newspapers write about problems with the official registration of women as military service, lack of medical care, uniforms and shoes of the necessary size: “being snipers or machine-gunners, they are often decorated as cooks or, at best, nurses”; “it is unrealistic to find neither a uniform nor shoes— a 37th-size combat boots is simply not provided”; “they are often forgotten, singing and rewarding heroes-men” (Maksymenko, 2015).

Front-line experience is a hard test for war veterans (“The war maimed, most of all I would like to forget everything. My limit of pain, suffering and fear has long passed” (Chorna, 2015)). At the same time, women remember at the front, “we ate, slept, fought, did everything together”, “how well, you wake up – and you immediately see your friends” (Balaeva, 2015).

The publications describe the relationship of men to female service member and the nature of their interaction. At the front, not so many women, “men treat them well” (Savchuk, 2015). At the same time, “there are a number of men for whom the success of women is their defeat. Someone is trying to protect. Some refer to women as to a child” (Kasyan, 2016). As a rule, men understand that “if a woman has already got there, then they will not do anything about this. The only thing is that they, of course, take great care, they do not take them to especially dangerous tasks” (Maksymenko, 2015).

Despite being physically weaker, women show great psychological stability: “If a woman is engaged in military affairs, that is “traditionally male”, then she should show herself more as

a “kern” in this business than a man! <...> At the front it is necessary to surpass men, at least not to succumb”; “little girls pull out a hundred-kilogram boys from the shelling just because they really want them to survive” (Maksymenko, 2015). The weakness of men is noted: “I saw a man throwing a submachine gun and leaving the battlefield, without unnecessary emotions. Or when his combat comrade dies, and he goes into a deep binge. You ask why he drinks, and he says that he buried a friend. Why, I also buried 89 of my friends, but I don’t get drunk” (Kovalchuk, 2016).

It is not easy to develop a career of women commanders: “It is very difficult to command. Firstly, because of the big responsibility, the large amount of work – really, there was no time to even sleep. Secondly, I had to command men, more experienced in medicine, much older than me, men also self-confident, ambitious”. Communication is “just fine – with all units, with all the servants working in the sector. Exclusively because I’m a woman. These are really great privileges!” (Maksymenko, 2015).

There are other examples of gender interaction in the Ukrainian army. For example, the Azov regiment unwillingly accepts women into its ranks. But if they accept, then “not without a doubt”. Their right to stay on the front line women must prove “two hundred percent” (Maksymenko, 2015).

Women believe that it is wrong to talk about “women’s role in the war”, they do not divide the profession into women’s or men’s. On the frontlines, people are not differentiating “neither by the color of their skin, nor by the shape of their ears, nor by the size of their feet, nor by their sex”. In the war, the decisive is “physical strength, because weak warriors – of either sex – cannot charge machine guns” (Yeryomenko, 2015).

The positive impact of women on the front line is noted: “The presence of women in small numbers can balance the emotional state in the military unit” (Volkova, 2015).

Examples of the sexist attitude of men towards ATO participants are the statements “you’re a girl”, “a woman on the deck is not good”. Some female service members claim that these are isolated cases that they heard only “a couple of times” during their service. Sexism, in the opinion of this group of ATO participants, is not a problem (Yeryomenko, 2015). But there is another opinion – women in the ATO zone need to try three times more than men to be perceived as equal: “A man can come to the unit, lie down on the bed and say that he is tired. If a woman does that, she will be told: “Hey! Well, let’s get up. Why did you rather come to the war?” (Balaeva, 2015). To such manifestations of discrimination, ATO members have a

negative attitude: “There are too little number of women in volunteer units for the situation when only they could cook and clean. If they say so, they will fight back. With them, “you are a woman” will not work, because they have already overcome many prejudices to come to the Armed forces” (Yeryomenko, 2015).

Medical instructor Anastasia Shevchenko described the experience of adaptation in the men’s team: “Three weeks from the moment I completed the documents, I was trampled into the mud daily. I was told that I was not needed here, that only problems would come from me. They did not talk to me demonstratively or sit with me at my table. It was hard for the guys to understand what kind of woman she was, why she cannot be pinched at the ass and why she is here, if she cannot be pinched at the ass” (Yeryomenko, 2015). One of the participants of the ATO commander’s wife was accused that she went to war “to sleep there with everyone in a row”. In the rear to these women there is also an ambiguous attitude: “the guy said that he cannot have sex with me, I fought and my hands are bloody” (Yeryomenko, 2015).

Participants of the ATO tell the journalist about the house, family and friends, about whom the children are with, plan for the future: “while I’m at the front, the child is engaged in a nanny”, “I’m very little at home, in the last six months there were probably two weeks”, “I try to spend all the time with the child, to walk, to teach, to have fun together. When I finish the contract, there will be a kindergarten, work, English and other activities” (Kovalchuk, 2016).

The theme for the reflection of female military member is a return to peaceful life: “Once the war will end and everyone will need to learn how to live normally again” (Yeryomenko, 2015). When women return home, they face a misunderstanding: “After returning from the ATO zone, Vika rarely communicates with friends from a past life. Some of them, while she was not there, got married, got children and meet only on family holidays. Vika does not really fit into such companies – she is not married, and she has no children” (Balaeva, 2015).

Women plan their lives after the end of the war: “I’m going to travel and study abroad. I love Great Britain. India is interesting. I want to see South America. Necessarily the Scandinavian countries” (Vlashchenko, 2017); “I would like to have a full course in the hospital, get treatment at least once. After these years at the front, I feel a deterioration in my health. I want to understand the problem, because my child needs a healthy mother” (Kovalchuk, 2016).

Returning from the front, women “get involved in work, in a family, try to travel”, women do not depress themselves and do not drink; “all women returning from the front, then trying to help something, are engaged in volunteering, they want to be useful there” (Kasyan, 2016).

The type of journalistic material that represents women warriors through the prism of gender stereotypes, details the private sphere (family, children, husband, reaction of those close the decision to serve in the army) (Volobueva & Golovach, 2016), focuses on appearance. In similar texts, women in ATO are called “fighters in skirts”, “warlike ladies”. Women at the front pay attention to appearance: “women go to the front, shoot better and cooler than men and at the same time have time to do patriotic manicure”, “the girl every day gives 5 minutes to do a manicure, wherein manages to dig trenches and carry shells” (Unbelievable Confessions, 2014). Despite the complexities of military life, the heroines of publications “even in war in camouflage and with weapons manage to be beautiful and natural. And this is one of their many exploits” (Beauty Saves, 2016).

The media writes about the “fragility” of women: “a fragile woman in camouflage, fighting for her dead son” (Terianyk, 2014); “a fragile woman in the ATO zone is engaged in a Kalashnikov machine gun, her family and friends know that she is on the front line” (Ukrainian, 2014); “a fragile girl with a creative hairdo and perfect manicure – it’s hard to recognize a fearless shooter” (How a Brave, 2014); “the story of a fragile girl who is fighting in the ATO zone” (Goddess, 2015); “Fragility does not prevent women from performing feats – fighting for their country. At the same time, they manage to remain feminine” (Tender Defenders, 2017).

It is emphasized that before the war, women performed traditional gender roles, and now they “do not want to sit at the stove and are eager to help the men defend the integrity of the country” (Yakovleva, 2014); “now this girl with a model smile is holding a submachine gun, saving her friends, protecting our peace with you” (The Girl, 2016). Women at the front are “both feminine and courageous” (Beauty Saves, 2016). In such materials, journalists do not adhere to gender-neutral strategies: they mention the age, beauty, weakness of the heroines. This fact is given to emphasize that women in the army perform “male” work.

Berlinskaya notes that the image of a woman in the media is too dramatic: “I gave interviews to many media outlets, then came out stories that are similar to each other, like two drops of water: “She went to the front, cut off a long braid, dropped out of school... She is waiting for him still hopes that he did not die”. This entire story was dramatized and covered in a melodramatic vein” (Spasibina, 2016).

Thus, the media performs a mobilization function, depicting the heroism of the ATO participants. Journalists endow the heroines with feminine features, present them as fragile,

beautiful, but, at the same time, courageous, strong, savior, defenders. There is a heroization and romanization of the image of a woman in the ATO.

Conclusions

The chapter considers the features of the modern women's movement in Ukraine and the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict on the trends of women's political activism.

In post-Soviet countries, the problems of women are related to gender stereotypes, conflict between the traditional distribution of gender roles, patriarchal attitudes and new egalitarian challenges, transformation of the role of women in the family and public spheres. The following trends can be observed in the sphere of family-marriage relations: return to the cultural and historical heritage; the formation of new types of women's identity; attitude to the family as the basis of society, that is responsible for spiritual education and economic prosperity of society; "Double burden" as a determining factor in the status of women; traditional distribution of household duties in families.

Women face discrimination of rights, especially in the labor sphere, despite legislative guarantees of equality of citizens irrespective of their gender. The most common manifestations of discrimination in the labor market are age and sex and discrimination. Negative manifestations of gender occupational segregation are: concentration of women in less paid spheres of work, low wages, discrimination in hiring, little chance of getting leadership positions.

The problem of women's participation in the political sphere is expressed in the disproportionate representation of women in government. Women's organizations in Ukraine do not pay attention to the problems of women's participation in the political sphere. Women's movement in Ukraine does not affect the adoption of political decisions due to the absence of women's fractions in parties. Despite the legislative fixation of gender quotas in party lists, these norms are ignored because of the lack of sanctions for non-compliance with the law.

The development of women's organizations of this period was influenced by the processes of Ukrainian people's comprehension of national and cultural identity. After the collapse of the USSR the major goals of the women's organizations were the formation of an independent Ukraine, the revival of national customs and traditions; the solution of socio-economic and political problems. The goal of the established all-Ukrainian public women's organizations was to solve the problems of women, based on their sphere of professional activity. Formed women's political parties and organizations advocated the women's participation in the

development of a new democratic state, overcoming the economic crisis and eliminating various forms and manifestations of discrimination against women. The ideological trends of the Ukrainian women's movement include traditional women's movements, socially-oriented women's movements, business women's organizations, feminist movements. The typology of Ukrainian women's public organizations is represented by national-cultural, charity, youth; traditional; professional; gender-oriented; religious organizations.

Analysis of the activities of women's organizations in Ukraine allows us to conclude that factors that impede the spread of feminist ideas are poor awareness of the specific content of feminism as an ideology and movement; domination of gender stereotypes; the avoidance of feminism by political parties, which leads to a restriction of women's access to power structures and spheres of labor, where the country's main resources are concentrated; the lack of demand for a gender approach in the education system; the lack of active educational activities of the feminists themselves. The women's movement and feminist ideas could not get through to the mass audience, remaining marginal in the public consciousness on the periphery of the social movement. Among the reasons that prevented women's organizations from solving all the problems and fully carrying out work in the declared areas is the lack of understanding by the significant part of the female population of the country what gender equality problems are, a weak information base, and a lack of funds.

Today, Ukraine is experiencing a new stage in the struggle for independence. The Russian-Ukrainian armed conflict was the continuation of Euromaidan and women took an active part in it. This conflict accelerated the formation of Ukraine's statehood, as well as the process of separation of Ukrainian and Russian societies previously united by a common history. The ideology of "fraternal peoples" is becoming a thing of the past.

Armed conflict helped to expand the range of roles and behaviors for Ukrainian women, opportunities for professional self-realization and political activism. Women take part in the volunteer movement. Acting contrary to the stereotypes formed in society, they serve in the army and the ATO zone. These trends are reflected in the press, gradually destroying the traditional gender models in society.

The study of the coverage of women's participation in the ATO makes it possible to identify the types of publications devoted to this topic. In the Ukrainian press, women in service are represented within the framework of gender stereotypes. At the same time, there are positive trends towards their overcoming. The materials describe the motivation and achievements of

women in the ATO, their problems and life stories. Journalists write about the official registration of the status of women in the ATO, access to education in the military sphere, issues with the uniform.

CHAPTER 5. The practice of the post-Soviet women's movement

5.1 Feminism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the socialism

During the 1990s, profound changes took place in the post-Soviet space and in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe: the system of socialism collapsed, and new national states were formed. The fall of communism and the transformation of political systems in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe took place almost simultaneously in the form of a chain reaction, primarily due to the common problems and neighborhood of the countries in the region. States that had more open borders and a tolerant power elite, adopted the methods of successful opposition activity in the socio-political movements of other countries. In those countries where power hindered communications with the West in every possible way, transitional movements tried to influence the public from within (Chmil, 2016).

The specifics of feminism models in these countries are determined by the establishment of a new world order and socio-political transformations that occur against the backdrop of the rapid development of the information society. Post-totalitarian countries share common features of the processes of formation and functioning of women's movements, but specific characteristics occur as well. The topics of interest to many researchers are the feminist discourse formation in the countries of the former socialist camp, models of their development in new transitive societies, the influence of political and other spheres of public life on the development of the women's movement in countries in transition.

Before investigating models of post-socialist feminism, it is necessary to identify the specifics of the gender structure in the USSR and the social order in the states that are considered transitional.

"Gender equality" was one of the main elements of the ideological system of social policy of the USSR. The creation of a "new Soviet person" presupposed the formation of new intersex relations. After the revolution of 1917, the women became free from patriarchal domination, received privileges and legal status, and were involved in the social and political spheres.

After an intensive change in legislation and the processes of emancipation that occurred in the first decades of the development of the USSR, things took a "conservative turn": abortions were banned, the standard of living decreased, and gender binarism returned. In general, the political discourse during the reign of Stalin was interpreted as "the defeat of the

revolutionary gender policy that changed the vector of development, ending a decade of unprecedented social transformations" (Shiryaeva, 2016). Subsequently, the gender order of Soviet society was formed. The tendencies of sexual emancipation were gone.

The gender matrix in the USSR was defined by a system of gender interaction, formed according to a formally informal principle (Pushkareva, 2012). The order of social interactions was formed by the state, which throughout its existence was an institution of gender regulation with its inherent coercive policy, a function of controlling gender relations. The peculiarities of Soviet society were a clear distribution of gender roles and absence of sexual topics in public discourse.

Historically, there are several periods of the transformation of the gender structure in the USSR (Pushkareva, 2012).

The first period (1917 - 1920s) is characterized by legislative consolidation of gender equality and the adoption of appropriate family law; formation of women's councils; experiments in the field of sexuality and family relations; the breakthrough of women in the public sphere, their involvement in party activities, nomination for leadership positions.

The second period (the end of the 1920's – middle 1950's) introduced "totalitarian androgyny" (creating an asexual "Soviet person", "Soviet man"). It was a rollback to the traditionalist policy of family relations; the transformation of the institution of the family into a "cell of Soviet society" subordinated to the requirements of the Soviet working class; interference of the state in the private sphere; the adoption of laws that hindered divorce and prohibited abortion.

The third period (middle 1950s-1985) brought partial restoration of the importance of the private sphere; legalization of abortion; the formation of discourses opposing state power; the formation of the dominant gender regime - a "working mother".

The fourth period (beginning with 1985) started the processes of liberalization and collapse of the Soviet gender basis. We observe the formation of a new conservatism and tendency to complement gender roles in everyday practice. The demographic model changes into the similar to that of developed countries (late marriages, few children in the family, "deferred" parenthood, unregistered marriages). Conflicting public discourses and new everyday practices begin to form. This period is also characterized by domination of the contract of the

"working mother"; the organization of women's and human rights associations, the emergence of grass-roots initiatives to address reproductive problems and combat violence.

The distinctive features of transitional societies are: social inequality, low level of economic development, instability of political structures, political parallelism, etc. These factors form a model of "fragmented pluralism" (Waisbord, 2014, p. 230), and hybrid versions of "delegative democracy", "artificial democracy", "limited democracy", "electoral authoritarianism", "competitive authoritarianism", "multiparty authoritarianism" (Roudakova, 2012, p. 247). Formed special models of political relations (Veltmer 2012, p. 243), different from Western-style democracies, require special approaches to their analysis.

Studying changes in transitional societies, Carothers (2002) notes that transitional countries, instead of promoting democratic processes, choose the path of irresponsible pluralism (surface democracy) and the dominant force of politics (domination of one party).

The "transformational" Eastern European socio-cultural model requires a comprehensive examination of phenomena inherited from the Soviet era and acquired after the collapse of the former world order. One such phenomenon is "imitation" (Melnyk & Kryvoruchko, 2012, p. 234).

The main feature of imitation is "assimilation", "reproduction of external characteristics", while not, in fact, being simulated by the subject or phenomenon. Simulation is the modeling, using of one model (competition, cooperation, social dynamics, etc.) by another social structure or institution. It is the process through which the behavior of one individual begins to resemble the behavior of other individuals. Tarde argues that the laws of imitation are the main factor in explanation of the set of social phenomena (Tarde, 2012). The projection of imitation on the sociocultural space reveals a picture of specific interpretations, interrelations and the uniqueness of our time and space, East Slavic in particular.

Polish researcher Jakubowicz (2001) notes that there are two models of development in the countries of the former socialist camp - "imitative" and "atavistic". The imitative model tries to reproduce Western European models, the atavistic model seeks to recreate the former state political regime.

The Tarde's theory of imitation as a general law of development suggests an adequate explanation of (r)evolutionary changes in the post-Soviet and post-socialist space, as it goes beyond the framework of the diffusionist theory, based on the idea of the spread of cultural

phenomena through contacts between peoples (trade, migration, conquest). Diffusionists argue that the process of modernization of less developed countries occurs in the form of imitation with the aim to exploit these countries and strengthen the dominance of developed countries. Supporters of the theory believe that all societies (not only less developed) adopt or imitate elements of other political and economic systems and cultures.

American economist North believes that public norms cannot be changed quickly, even under the conditions of a radical transformation of the political model: "the transfer of formal political and economic characteristics of successful Western market economies to the economic systems of Eastern and Third World countries will not be effective" (North, 2004, p. 98). North argues that the privatization process is not a way to solve all economic problems in transitional societies, and informal factors (unspoken/informal behavioral practices, rules and norms) have a significant impact on the set of formal rules and laws.

Given the above characteristics of modern postcommunist societies, we will next consider the features of Eastern European feminism, focusing on its post-Soviet models.

Based on the spatio-national dimension of feminism, Eisenstein singled out white western feminism; feminism of the third world (feminism of women of colour, black feminism in the USA, Mexican / Latin American feminism, Arab feminisms); post-socialist and post-communist feminisms. The study of non-Western feminisms is associated with a number of research problems. Thus, Spivak talks about "sanctioned ignorance" of the West (Spivak, 1999, p. 164) in relation to the "non-West", its periphery and semi-periphery (Tlostanova, 2015). This problem was reflected in the postcolonial theory (Eze, 1997), non-Western feminism (Mohanty, 1984), alterglobal discourses (Shiva, 2006).

Promising for the study of post-Soviet feminism is the concept of de-Westernization. This approach is based on the multipolarity and polycentricity of the world. The aim of the de-Westernization is "understanding and taking into account the experience of countries other than Anglo-American" (Curran, 2000).

"Post-Soviet feminism" as the notion and research problem was first reflected by Temkina in the article "Feminism: West and Russia" (Temkina, 1995) and Zherebkina "Double trap of democracy: post-Soviet feminism between universalism and localization" (Zherebkina, 2000). The key issues in the study of post-Soviet feminism are: the degree to which it corresponds to the "classical" Western models of feminism; the possibility of the existence of "local" (post-

Soviet) feminist theories and practices; the ratio of "feminism" and "female activism" in post-Soviet societies (Plakhotnik, 2008).

The authors note that the collapse of the USSR set the task for all citizens to reconstruct their own identity due to the formation of new relations with the surrounding world (Gapova, 2016). For Western societies, the functioning of social movements is the norm of culture and political life, whereas in Eastern Europe, movements arise in the absence of elements of civil society. The main deterrent to the development of social movements in the post-Soviet countries is a powerful administrative and command system, state sanctions regulating the activity of social actors; lack of experience in nominating and implementing initiatives. Public organizations, associations, informal social structures are part of the administrative system (Yanitsky, 1992).

Female social movements in the post-Soviet space were formed mainly in large cities (Gapova, 2007). The activities of many of them were supported by international organizations. At the initial stage, their problems covered the topic of violence, trafficking, harassment, etc. In public discussions, a liberal approach was adopted regarding the rights of women; the possibility of their political representation, autonomy and independence was discussed; the taboo on discussion of a sexual topics was no longer a taboo.

Post-Soviet feminism is developing in the context of new emerging practices of mass resistance to existing political regimes (Zherebkina, 2010). Examples of such practices are the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine; Strategy-31, Dissenters' March, "#ОккупайАбай", anti-corruption rallies, "Tired of Putin" in Russia; "December 19", "March of the Outraged Belarusians" in Belarus).

It should be noted that minds of people of post-Soviet countries have strong gender stereotypes and a negative image of feminists (Temkina, 1995). While studying role of the women's movement in the democratic processes of post-Soviet Russia, Temkina notes that this problem is marginal for social activity (a significant number of women are not interested in any movements, including women's) and science.

At the state level, the women's movement treats women's problems stereotypically, without using the term "feminism", and its participants do not consider themselves feminists.

The gender-sensitive approach (the assumption of equality and differences) is widespread for the western tradition but absent in post-Soviet societies. Such approach was a consequence of

the activity of the women's movement, changes in women's self-perception and socio-cultural environment.

The impact of the women's movement on changing the gender system in Western countries has led to a change in the social context and gender identity. Western feminism, developing in the mainstream of the anti-capitalist protests of the 1960s, was influenced by liberal and Marxist theories, psychoanalysis, postmodernism, etc. The central problems of the movement were equality in wage, and legislative and educational and sectors, fight for abortion rights.

The feminism of post-socialist countries was most influenced by the experience of the "classical" feminist movement of the 1960s in the USA that used the concepts of "discrimination", "patriarchy", "suppression" to explain the oppression of women. This is due to the specifics of the development of the women's movement in the United States and the social status of women in this society - mostly housewives and middle-class women. Such approach was not consistent with the reality of post-socialist countries.

Scandinavian experience corresponds with post-Soviet society. In this case, at the center of the model of feminism is the "strong woman" who traditionally participates in social production. The key problem of Scandinavian feminism is gender equality, articulated in terms like "gender contract" and "gender system". However, in the Scandinavian countries, the "gender contract" in its modern sense has been formed for decades, which also does not correspond to post-Soviet practice.

In the post-Soviet countries, the problems of women are connected with the transformation of the political and economic spheres, which led to a change in women's status (the emergence of new categories of women: unemployed, homeless, "rich housewives", etc.).

Due to the lack of developed liberal, postmodern, psychoanalytical and other discourses, we cannot define the problems of women. Due to the change in ideology, socialist and Marxist approaches are not suitable anymore. On that basis, it is best for post-Soviet countries to use various practices of female activism, not necessarily feminist. As Temkina points out, "female subjectivity changes slowly, especially if the social context does not help it. There is no feminist discourse, developed women's movement, traditions of participation in public life, while there are strong gender stereotypes in the public consciousness" (Temkina, 1995, p. 17).

The study of post-Soviet feminism involves the application of different approaches. Plakhotnik considers feminism as a class (feminism as an ideology that emerged within the

middle class) and historical (the myth of the "Ukrainian matriarchy") phenomenon. In the political sphere, there is a tendency to stigmatize feminism. In post-Soviet and Central European states, there is still a prejudice against women's participation in politics. The approach to feminism as a media phenomenon allows us to talk about the stigmatization and carnivalization of the concept of "feminism" in social and cultural discourse. Considering feminism as a social movement, Plakhotnik notes that even today the feminist discourse remains marginal in post-Soviet society and politics (Plakhotnik, 2008).

Zherebkina defines the problem of "the possibility / impossibility of a feminist type of discourse (as a Western discursive model) for the former USSR countries" (Zherebkina, 1999, p. 45). She defines the problematic field of "post-Soviet feminism" and the features of feminism in modern Ukraine as additional issues.

According to Zherebkina, at the end of the 20th century, a new world order was established: the model of liberal democracy came to replace the system of bi- and multi-polar world. The main idea of the liberal ideology of feminism as one of the components of liberal democracy is the salvation of the "Other" (represented by women) by Eastern European countries, Third World countries, etc. (Zherebkina, 1999, p. 37). The main goal of democracy is to ensure rights for all marginalized social groups. The liberal idea suggests that there are those who are within the system of liberal democracy (developed capitalist legal society) and those who are outside of it. The latter include the marginalized developed capitalist legal society, the country of the former socialist camp, Third World countries. The author criticizes the modern liberal theory, which leads to promotion of violence and new exclusion practices for the sake of the domination of liberal values.

Zherebkina tries to understand the logic of the emergence of a "new post-Soviet woman". According to the author, not all women fell into the category of "women". The exception was childless, unemployed, homeless, refugees, representatives of national minorities, prostitutes, lesbians. Post-Soviet patriarchal societies do not perceive "the structure of uncontrolled female self-sufficiency as the self-sufficiency of the "other". This happens for two reasons:

- 1) the logic of exclusion is considered through the lens of symbolic violence and the logic of the symbolic exclusion of the "other";
- 2) the traumatic desire for the desire of the "other", jealousy of someone else's inaccessible desire, which surpasses the practice of self-satisfaction as the basis of the exclusion operation.

There is an idea that in the new European countries formed after the break-up of the former world order, a new model of feminism should be formed. This model is based on the national historical and cultural specifics. The question of the possibility of adopting the Western feminist theory to post-Soviet societies is also in debate. Some researchers are critical of this idea. Western feminist theory is at the stage of exporting its model of feminism, and this is resisted by non-Western societies.

In the post-Soviet space, the power gives women two options for identification politics. First - national / nationalistic, where "not for all" politics is a form of ruling of the power elite with a lack of funds to ensure national identification "for all". Another one is communist - politics "for all", exploiting the instincts of the masses, based on basic needs.

It is believed that the Western liberal model and the "archaic" post-Soviet one are one discursive regime, regime of power, in which "post-Soviet totalitarianism is the effect of the liberal idea of victimization." The regimes of power in the post-Soviet space are obvious aspects of the "invisible logic of the inequality of the new world regime of liberal democracy" (Zherebkina, 1999). Therefore, the key problem of feminism is not the definition of the conformity or inconsistency of its new models to the Western liberal model, but the possibility of forming women's transnational political movements and institutions to contain the new world order and to reveal the essence of local national regimes that are not part of it.

Thus, at the early stages of the USSR, ideology was aimed at abrupt changes in the traditional patriarchy system (breaking down traditional ideas about the family, sexual emancipation). After revolutionary euphoria was gone, totalitarian ideology returns to the construction of a person to its functional significance in the system. It becomes relevant to perceive the role of women, primarily as mothers and working women. On the territory of the Soviet Union, under the constant physical and symbolic pressure of power structures, a special form of identity developed. The Soviet citizen needed to meet moral, political, economic, physical and other norms in order to be fully meaningful from the society's point of view. Such image was broadcast and promoted with the help of the mass media (cinematography, television, propaganda posters). The collapse of the Soviet system helped to get out of the underground and raise awareness on taboo issues of body and sexuality. This had an explosive effect in the 1990s. Gender relations were reshaped in post-Soviet societies and the struggle for gender equality became part of social movements.

5.2 Features of political activism in the post-Soviet area

Political protest is considered as a type of political behavior. Political behavior – is the reactions of individuals, groups and communities to phenomena in the political system (Polishkarova, 2005). Political protest is considered as a form of political engagement, expressed in an open and demonstrative rejection of political system or its separate manifestations (Khoma, 2014). Political engagement is an institutionalized mechanism for the influence of citizens on the political system, due to which articulated political interests are realized.

According to Zhyro, political protest is often implemented in coordinated political actions against political leaders or the political system as a whole. There are protest and pressure campaigns. Protest campaign - is an action with the purpose to change the governance structure, radical reorganization of political system, concession of protestants subjectivity. Pressure campaign provides for a situation, when the group of protestants is recognized by the country's political leadership as a legitimate member of the political system (Zhyro, 2006).

In the post-Soviet countries, the terms "social activity", "social movement", "social and political activity", "political engagement", "lobbying" are synonymous with the term "activism" (Mordovets, 2015). At the end of the XXI century, a number of new terms were added to the Ukrainian political lexicon, such as: "actionism", "cyberactivism", "kraftivism", "LGBT activism", "mediaactivism", "legal activism", "slactivism", "judicial activism", "hacktivism", "ecoactivism". This meant the spread of new types of activism.

The criterion for distinguishing the types of political activism is the object of movement's direction (Overchuk, 2010). Movements against violations of human rights, against discrimination on the grounds of language, religion, sexual orientation fight for civil liberties. Social movements fight against violation of animal rights, vaccination, housing development etc. Another type of movements fight against a certain decision of authority, such as introduction of paid services in a certain sphere or appointment to a post.

It should be noted, that in the past two decades, protest movements of all these forms have taken place in Ukraine. In addition, another manifestation of the protest movement in Ukraine is the activation of conservative movements for traditional family values, as evidenced by statistics of street actions (Korkach, 2012). Conservatives are represented by various groups - religious institutions, right-wing extremists, public organizations, political party "Svoboda". They act in public ground, condemning LGBT propaganda and calling for the limitation of

women's reproductive rights; appealing to the norms of morality and "traditional values." Representatives of the opponents insist on the need to review the existing gender order and the inadmissibility of state interference in the private life of country's citizens.

Protest movements are also divided according to the sphere of distribution (local and general); according to their nature (direct – aimed to non-fulfillment of a certain decision of authorities, which cause a protest, or indirect – aimed to non-compliance with other legal, political, etc. requirements). They also divided by subjects (political, ideological, socio-economic, human rights); by forms of political engagement (radical and moderate) (Galaktionova, 2008); by tactics (conventional, confrontational, violent) (Ishchenko, 2011); by subjects of participation, which, in turn, are grouped according to the different demographic characteristics - age (youth, pensioners), gender (women's movement, LGBT movement), professional group (students, entrepreneurs, scientists, journalists, cultural workers, etc.) (Overchuk, 2010) or by the nature of work (hired workers, small entrepreneurs, beneficiaries) (Ishchenko, 2011); by institutional (public organizations, trade unions, parties) or random characteristics ("affinity groups" - "veterans of Afghan war", "Chernobyl cleanup veterans", football fans, etc.) (Bagriany, 2013).

Modern movements in different countries have common features.

They are horizontal and have non-hierarchical structure, functioning due to the use of modern communication tools - Internet-based social networks. This increases the independence of protest events from the degree of media exposure.

They are decentralized, which means they lack leaders, and that reduces the possibility of negotiation between them and the authorities.

There is a significant distance between the protest movements and institutionalized components of civil society (trade unions, NGOs) and political parties, which are not the organizers of protests, but only join them.

The most significant is the priority of the value sphere over the socio-political one – assertion of the basic democracy values, such as human and community rights, in opposition to social and economic demands.

The notion of "political activism" is connected with the phenomenon of systemic action of subjects, directing their efforts to constant, conscious, demonstrative participation in politics. The use of the term "political activism" emphasizes the demonstrative form of protest

behavior. Such kinds of activism as radical anti-consumerist actions, practices of "interference" or "culture oppression", hacktivism, practices of "voluntary simplicity", consumer retreatism, downshifting, degrowth, frugalism become its forms (Ovrutsky, 2011). At the same time, youth subcultures, left movements, Utopians are the subjects of the movements.

In the modern political process, there is a rapid modification of the forms of political expression. They are increasingly supplemented by modern art practices, which are called "political actionism". Among the practices of political actionism - performance, happening, installation, street art, flash mob, etc. They are a radical "intrusion" of art into reality, including political.

Modern examples of political behavior demonstrate the synthesis of art and politics. Street protests use new forms of expression to enhance the effect, to create maximum resonance, and to draw attention to the existing problems in society.

In the context of contemporary art, artistic practices are the generator of many political postmodern ideas. Actionism, performance, happening, installation are the most widespread types of modern political activism.

A large number of shocking performances, including politically motivated, are carried out by the Ukrainian women's organization FEMEN. Using a woman's body, this community oversteps the symbolic line and shows interest in a wide range of problems. Their postmodernity is embodied in vivid performances, kitschiness, irony, carnival parody. FEMEN explains its shocking nature by the fact that the traditional forms of activism are of little interest, they are too serious, so they do not find public response and are not covered in the media.

Performance - is a form of "action art", a kind of actionism. It is the fulfillment by the artist of pre-planned actions in front of the public, which in the performance is an observer, but not a participant of the events. Performance is a symbolic, ritual activity of an individual or group. The basis of the performance is the idea of creativity as a way of life. Artistic act is the actions of the author, which are watched by viewers in real time. In many cultures, performance is associated with the desire to do something unlawful, overstep the taboo. The representatives of performance act as intermediaries between reality and art, immersing spectators-observers into another space and time, turning the usual routine into a piece of art.

In the 1990s, in the post-Soviet societies a new content of identity crosses with the notions of publicity, freedom and democracy. These concepts were the basis for contemporary art. Artists were among the first to react to the changes, actively joined to the process of comprehension and construction of the new types of identity. Actionism became one of the forms of socially critical art. Gender subject is often emphasized in the practices of actionism in the post-Soviet area. The artistic and political actions of Pussy Riot, FEMEN, Petr Pavlensky, art groups "Voina" and "E.T.I." are the examples of socially critical art.

Modern post-Soviet actionism in the twenty-first century is aimed at deconstruction of national symbols and power structures. Being the subjects, the most repressed by the authorities, women were the first to voice their protest. The emergence of a clearly expressed gender identity in the 1990s led to the formation of various strategies for its demonstration. Actionism and performance became the actual forms of representation of the female subject in contemporary art.

5.3 FEMEN movement as an object of scientific research

Since its foundation in 2008, the women's protest movement FEMEN has held many actions in Ukraine and abroad. The predominant topic of the first actions was issues, related to women's rights. The participants of the movement want to eradicate prostitution as a crude form of women's exploitation, to achieve recognition of sex industry as a wide-scale and long-term genocide against women. They fight against dictatorial regimes, church hierarchy, oppose the abolishment of abortion, sexism in art, pop culture and advertising.

The range of problems (violence against women, prostitution, sex tourism), appeared due to the activity of FEMEN, drew the attention of Ukrainian feminists and academic researchers to their activities. The discussion about the form of FEMEN protest, about the sources of funding and the ideological platform was opened up in the Ukrainian media. Foreign mass media favorably reacted to the manifestations of new forms of Ukrainian feminism, which brought FEMEN into the political landscape of post-Soviet societies.

According to Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik (2010), FEMEN is a local, post-Soviet, post-colonial movement. Activists of the movement are representatives of a new post-Soviet generation in Ukraine, of civil political activism that emerged after the Orange Revolution, which demonstrated the possibilities of street protest and its effectiveness.

Researchers note the conformity of the FEMEN position to the western feminist trends. Street actionism brings them together with the radical feminists of the first and second waves. With liberal feminists, FEMEN unites their desire to create a political party and participate in elections to become part of the government. Active using of methods of pop culture allows to rank FEMEN in postfeminism phenomena (Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik, 2010).

Feminist theorists attributed the emergence of FEMEN to the fact that at the stage of movement structuring, the idea of gender liberalization in post-Soviet Ukraine lost in the struggle for the introduction of mass gender and feminist consciousness. Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik note that even the "new leftists" often neglect feminist ideas and gender policy (Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik, 2010). The ideas of women's feminism were not picked up by the mass audience; they remained on the periphery of public life and in the local spaces of academic institutions. Gender equality was enshrined at the legislative level, not due to the pressure of civil society, but with the aim of harmonizing Ukraine's legislation with international standards. In recent years, Ukrainian gender policy has become a part of public policy, but the lack of a request from civil society weakens its influence.

In these conditions, an important feature of FEMEN is that the movement represents new forms of activism. They are characterized by grassroots organization and updated strategy for popularizing the ideas of feminism in Ukraine. The movement distanced itself from the academic interpretation of feminism. FEMEN deliberately decided to represent the ideology of pop feminism², which is accessible to a wide audience and attractive to young people.

FEMEN actions are aimed at overcoming cultural prohibitions on women's nudity, whose public demonstration is an act of destroying a stable public order. In this context, the body is the key to understanding the strategy of FEMEN fighting, in gender context of the social and political reality of Ukraine, and other countries (Korkach, 2012a). FEMEN defines the body as an exclusively women's weapon, which should demonstrate freedom from the stereotypes, imposed by men. According to these principles, woman's body belongs to the private sphere, and not public, both in the physical and political sense. Using a naked body in the fight against patriarchy, FEMEN challenges both classical feminism and the stereotypical role of woman in society.

The use of bare female body in street actions as a performative strategy FEMEN is a unique practice for the post-Soviet space (Teteriuk, 2013). Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik note, that

² Pop feminism - is the penetration of feminist ideas into pop culture. Due to this, there is the attraction of attention of new audience.

activists are criticized for "objectified sexist stylistics", "trade by sexualized female corporeality" (Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik, 2010, pp. 7-8). This criticism is caused by the use of marketing strategies, inherent to the society of consumption: the woman's body as an advertising tool, provocativeness as a way of presentation of social problems. Nude stylistics of FEMEN protests is characterized by femininity - deliberately sexualized, stereotypical, formed according to the standards of glossy magazines. Model woman's body has become a universal way of bringing a product to the global or local market, to the consumer. Based on the market principle, FEMEN activists are trying to "sell" social and political topics.

According to Korkach (2012a), FEMEN has chosen a paradoxical activity strategy, which helps to attract the attention of the audience. Instead of the expected behavior from beautiful and sexy girls (fragile, unprotected, cute and sexy blondes), they represent a radical direction of feminist protest.

FEMEN actions deconstruct stereotypes, show a real position in the sphere of gender in society. FEMEN activists, embodying the new female power, deconstruct the power of men. The form of the protest is a cultural, gender, moral, sexual shock (Solomatina, 2011).

Shelkovina (2014) believes that since the foundation of FEMEN in the media, the question is whether the deconstruction of discursive authorities is taking place in FEMEN actions or they are part of the existing ruling system. Great importance in the actions of the FEMEN movement has the appearance of female bodies. Images of bodies of activists shown in the media fully correspond to patriarchal standards, nourish a "complex of fashionable beauty" among the female audience (Shelkovina, 2014).

Chikishev (2016) argues that in modern Ukraine there are a number of social movements of various kinds (feminist, LGBT communities, etc.) that influence the socio-political situation in the country. Despite the fact that one of the main criteria for classifying an organization as public is its non-political character, certain manifestations of the activity of such organizations are of a political nature. Political subjects, labeling themselves as non-political, successfully use the duality alienating from reality. At the micro level of specific personalities, this duality manifests itself in forms of protest: demonstrative theatrical performances claiming political recognition. At the macro level, the political subject's influence extends to non-political territories for the implementation outside of the policy of his specific methods. Such organizations include FEMEN (Chikishev, 2016). FEMEN declare themselves as a Ukrainian unregistered women's movement, known for its outrageous

stripping protest. They do not consider themselves to be feminist. They say that they are not a political union. However, in other structural units of their discourse they claim the opposite. Publicly announced tasks are the struggle for women's rights and freedom of speech, against the sex industry, church institutions. The names of the actions of FEMEN have many meanings. The emblem of the organization contains a political reference: the colors of the flag of Ukraine indicate the importance of the national, political and civic position. This meaningfulness makes such organizations and their actionism popular as long as there is a need to articulate this possibility of freedom of action. The protests are that necessary buzz that creates "the illusion of the possibility of influencing the situation" (Chikishev, 2016). In fact, it turns out that the aims of the protest are selectively determined in advance: political activity is carried out in the guise of a public one. The activities of FEMEN are a way of market competition in the fight for social benefits.

Petrenko (2017) believes that a number of areas of feminist media culture, to which FEMEN belongs, proves to be in tune with the strategies of power. These strategies "direct the rhetoric of emancipation and liberation of the feminine" (Petrenko, 2017, p. 16).

According to Zychowicz, FEMEN actions emphasize, that woman functions in a certain role in patriarchal society, and woman's body is objectified. FEMEN actions have a powerful emotional impact, formed due to the contrast of naked women's bodies, makeup, high heels as conventional female images and scenes of violence, pointing to gender inequality (Zychowicz, 2011, p. 218).

Many Ukrainian researchers believe that FEMEN is a fake feminism. Since the first appearances of FEMEN in media, there were reproaches about the relations of the movement with the oligarchic structures. Ukrainian intellectuals take FEMEN skeptical, pointing out their kitsch and inconsistency. People have a negative attitude toward the fact, that in the West, Ukrainian feminism is associated exclusively with the activities of FEMEN. Ukrainian feminists distance themselves from FEMEN, pointing out that they are speculating with sexualised women's corporeality. The audience does not consider FEMEN as a public movement, does not regard their activities as a civil protest, interpreting their actions as "naked protests" (Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik, 2010, p. 9). FEMEN critics believe that the movement has nothing to do with feminism, has never been a part of the Ukrainian women's movement. But due to media resonance, their actions have become associated with feminism (Lazurkevych, 2015).

Thus, in Ukraine, the criticism of FEMEN sounds from academic feminist and common positions (Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik, 2011). Concerning the criticism, there is the consensus of representatives of the right- and left-wing ideologies. The representatives of the left-wing ideology accuse FEMEN of discreditation of feminism and civic activism. The representatives of the right-wing ideology criticize it for mockery of national traditions and values.

The members of the academic women's movement consider FEMEN as the "victims of patriarchy", unable to formulate their own goals and objectives. In the opinion of their critics, FEMEN provocative actions are leveled by the sexist stylistics of protests, based on sexualized corporality. FEMEN critics also believe that the social and political problems of the actions are a cover for the true goal - to make the body visible - the only resource of the activists for their social promotion.

Common criticism is based on the perception of actions as a performance for men, exploiting sexualised female corporeality. Such a position devalues protest actions and treats them as striptease and sexual performance.

Nationalist position of the movement's critics is represented by the writer Oksana Zabuzhko, who believes that FEMEN promulgates the image of a "sex worker with national symbols." According to the writer, these activists use the technology of the prerevolutionary tsarist secret police, whose author is the police chief Gyubbenet. In 1879, he "struggling with Ukrainian movement, <...> forced all prostitutes to dress in a national Ukrainian costume, turning it into a sign of debauchery". Subsequently, this technology was used in the KGB (Zabuzhko, 2017).

Judiciary experts accuse the participants of the fact, that woman's body can't be the only instrument of protest, and shocking - is not the only way of fighting. After the actions of FEMEN, the image of naked woman with the crown of flowers remains in the memory of the audience. And this symbolizes not female independence, but the accessibility of woman's body (Lazurkevych, 2015).

An important aspect of the interpretation of FEMEN is the analysis of their activities in the context of the diversity of forms of representation of gender identity. Shelkovina (2014) notes that Western forms of representations since the 1960s demonstrate a tendency to abandon the issue of nationality, role of which is diminishing in the process of globalization. In the countries of Eastern Europe of the post-Soviet region, issues of national identification have acquired new relevance, along with gender issues. The actions of the FEMEN movement are

built on the desire to construct a national identity. Activists use primary codes that characterize the Ukrainian mentality as feminine. In connection with the inability to be heard in traditional forms of speaking, they resort to exposure as a radical strategy in order to become "visible", to attract the attention of the public to the problems raised.

The positive point, according to Osmikin (2017), is that to understand the meaning of FEMEN activism, the audience should read the title about the protest in the media: they indicate the purpose of the action and the problem. A direct gesture policy is broadcast to the audience using beautiful pictures. Thus, activists of the movement break into the media sphere, use the technology of media representation. Political practice of FEMEN produces vivid aesthetic and political images understandable for women, representing different social classes, races, ethnic groups, religions. The main features of FEMEN strategy are grassroots self-organization, radical use of bodies as media, active use of new media, nonviolent act of invasion, collectivity, anonymity, seriality, reproducibility (Osmikin, 2017).

Thus, we observe the ambiguous attitude of theoreticians towards the protest activity of the FEMEN movement. They are unanimous in the opinion that politicized street protest activism is an important feature of the political sphere in Ukraine (Lisyutkina, 2011). They consider it as a form of social criticism. In this context, the FEMEN movement is one of the most prominent representatives of women's political activism in the post-Soviet space. Thanks to their activities, street action became an important political factor in the post-Soviet space.

5.4 Pussy Riot's activism in scientific research

The activities of Russian radical feminist punk rock band Pussy Riot caused a huge public response. Views on the protest actions of the group are sometimes diametrically opposed: from angry to enthusiastic. Punk-prayer at the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour hit the vulnerable place of Russian state, actualized a bulk of problems - merging of church and state apparatus, infringement of women's rights, strengthening of the position of the church and conservative tendencies in society. Pussy Riot's protest actions can be observed from a variety of perspectives. Feminist ideas are inherent in them, they reflect world tendencies of protest move and modern art practices, which see actionism as one of the most demanded forms of artistic expression.

Pussy Riot was created on the 7th of November, 2011, when the first band's clip appeared on social networks. As women activists say, the band was created due to the absence of "an explosive, effective punk feminist group that encourages citizens to develop a culture of protest" in Russia (Kharitonova, 2012). After studying the world trends of feminist art practices, having become acquainted with the work of feminist punk bands in the US and Western Europe, activists wanted to create a Russian analogue. Pussy Riot became world-known due to a combination of elements of actionism, contemporary art and feminism.

Until 2011 it was difficult to assume the possibility of the existence of a group such as Pussy Riot in Russia, because historical masculinity made it impossible for the existence of a feminist art group (Shevkovina, 2014). Participants of Pussy Riot continued the ideas of the art group "Voina" ("War"), which they formerly comprised. The activity of this group was based on conceptual grounds of open-air actionism at the grassroots level of culture. The actions of "Voina" were a reaction of socially critical art to the political situation in the country: hopes for democratization and liberalization were not justified after the collapse of the USSR.

No less significant for the formation of actionism in the post-Soviet space is the action event of the art group «Э.Т.И», when the participants put out the word «DICK» with their bodies opposite the Mausoleum on Red Square in 1991. This action is considered the first in the post-Soviet space, which openly criticized the phallocentrism of power in the iconic public sphere. Another vivid example was the "Fixation" action (2013) by the Russian artist-actionist Pyotr Pavlensky. The peculiarities of the power structure and masculine character of Russia's mentality form the sayings of the actionists, who are marked by a strong attraction to the deconstruction of the existing power through practices that de-sacralize phallocentrism (Shevkovina, 2014).

Actionism as a form of contemporary art presupposes direct actions of the artist in public. The format of Pussy Riot's actions as representatives of political, feminist art with elements of actionism is "a sudden appearance somewhere with musical instruments with the performance of a song" (Sobchak & Sokolova, 2012). Actions are held in the format of exploration of a certain urban space. These include actions «Free the paving stones», «Kropotkin Vodka», «Death to prison, freedom to protest», «Putin Has Pissed Himself», «Virgin Mary, put Putin away!».

The most famous and disputable Pussy Riot action – punk-prayer «Virgin Mary, put Putin away!», which was held on the 21st of February, 2012. At the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour the women actionists rose to the pulpit, where they were moving in a punk manner, crossing themselves, falling down on their knees, singing «Virgin Mary, chase Putin away!», till they were moved out by the security. The message of the pulpit song - criticism of the alliance between the state and the church, the leadership of the Moscow Patriarchate, intelligent services and the president of Russia Putin.

Maria Alekhina, Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Katerina Samutsevich were detained after a punk prayer service, which they performed with two other unidentified members of Pussy Riot.

Modern Russian conservative society perceived the punk-prayer as a desecration of the shrine. The venue of the action - the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow – was destroyed by Soviet authorities at the beginning of 1930-s and reconstructed in 1990-s as a symbol of renunciation of the Stalinist past and return to "Christian values". Gradually, it turned into a major church establishment, from where TV broadcasts of services are conducted during the Orthodox holidays. The Cathedral of Christ the Savior, having become the main temple of Russia, in the opinion of activists, symbolizes the fusion of church and state.

Before the performance of Pussy Riot in the Cathedral, few knew that church pulpit was a forbidden place for women. Tolokonnikova believes that the pulpit is a place for a woman, because she is not a sinful creature; a woman should conduct worship services in the temples. At the trial, Tolokonnikova stated that "the official version of religion, headed by the current hierarchy of the ROC, is a pseudo-religion, just as Putin's regime is pseudo-democracy" ("Pussy Riot Participants – Our Business", 2012).

In the opinion of Pastukhov, the action of Pussy Riot "hit precisely into the bare social nerve, any touch to which causes a convulsive and extremely painful reaction. They sang at random, but fell into the solar plexus of national and religious complexes. Russia suffocated with anger and shame at the same time. Well, they should be thanked for the fact that they helped us to find the pressure point" (Pastukhov, 2012).

Activism of Pussy Riot, based on the analysis of scientific papers, is a diverse phenomenon. It includes feminism, politics, music, performance, and new media formats.

Kichanov (2012) believes that the the punk prayer did not require special skills. The action lasted forty seconds, accompanied by a low-quality sound and random dance movements. The most important happened after the video was edited, its publication on the Internet and the arrest of the participants. The action recieved reaction from presidents, politicians, church representatives, musicians, artists, critics, citizens. Revealing stories were shown on Russian television. Mass media have made activists famous throughout the world. In different cities and countries there were actions of opponents and supporters of Pussy Riot. During the trial in Russia, prayer stands were held against mockery of faith. Their action "shook the world", and was "worth two years in prison" for participants of Pussy Riot, Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Maria Alekhina.

Researchers consider Pussy Riot within the framework of feminist discourse. Kharitonova (2012), analyzing the activities of the group, relates them to the feminist movement. Their actions and trial for the first time in Russia brought the topic of feminism to the national public level of discussion. The feminist position is confirmed by the following arguments: 1) the activists call themselves feminists, they joined not a successful movement, but followed a persecuted and ridiculed ideology, 2) they made a feminist statement: "Women spoke on behalf of women and raised problems concerning women" (Kharitonova, 2012). The words from the punk-moleben "Mother of God, become a feminist!" are ideological. Lipovetsky believes that the feminist message was laid in the very form of a female punk-prayer: "Prayer is not addressed to Christ in the XXC, but to the Mother of God" (Lipovetsky, 2015).

Kharitonova (2012) claims that the attack on Putin is directed against the patriarchal foundations and the vertical of power. Specificity of protests contradicts the widespread image of passive and weak women, destroys traditional ideas about the female role. The achievement of Pussy Riot is the transformation of women into a political subject.

The reasons for the inadequate punishment of activists are explained in the categories of gender. Activists were punished not only as a protest group opposed to the church's policy, but also as "an institution of a woman opposed to any power that went beyond the church-state and public control of the prevailing masculine gender" (Kharitonova, 2012). Pussy Riot embodies the feminist threat to patriarchal male culture. Participants in the punk-prayer were punished as activists and as women. The rhetoric of the discussion of the action was misogynistic. They were called sluts, blackmailed, called "bad mothers" (Zarubina, 2012).

Gapova (2012) notes the enormous mobilization potential of the Pussy Riot for Russia, interprets it as a necessary stage in the great historical process of women's emancipation. Analysis of Orthodox comments in newspapers and blogs in relation to the action in the church and to the group Pussy Riot allows us to consider Orthodoxy in Russia as a form of patriotism. The attitude to feminism as a western, alien phenomenon determines that the goals of Pussy Riot are considered as bourgeois. Pussy Riot is seen as a feminist protest in the context of the class struggle (Gapova 2012).

According to Zarubina, Pussy Riot is "a purposeful, strategically competent, professional feminism, positioning itself on the verge of art activism and within the general opposition movement" (Zarubina, 2012). Pussy Riot presents the trends of world feminism. This is evidenced by metaphors used in their lyrics. They contain philosophical and feminist ideas (Zarubina, 2012). The phrase "feminist whip is useful for Russia" expresses disagreement with the patriarchal way of society, where women are passive subjects. The feminist approach of Pussy Riot demonstrates the struggle against the patriarchal system, the embodiment of which is the regime of Putin. Protest strategies, song texts, choice of venues for the demonstrations testify to attempts to reform the gender structure of Russian society. Feminist approach of Pussy Riot calls for a systemic transformation of society to achieve gender equality.

Efanov (2016) considers Pussy Riot in the context of moral panic among Russians. Young (1971) was the first to explain the concept of "moral panic". He points to the presence of a two-way process: 1) the anxiety that arises in society increases the deviation of individual groups of people, and 2) a progressive deviation provokes an increase in social fear and anxiety. As a result of the strengthening of the bilateral process, moral panics are formed (Young, 1971).

Moral panic about Pussy Riot is a special construct of a combined type. Punk-prayer became the subject of public discussion, known throughout the world as a performance. Details of the Pussy Riot case were covered in detail on air of state-run television channels, gaining the status of moral panic. Most Russians saw blasphemy and encroachment on the religious system of society in the action. Opinion polls showed that most Russians interpreted the Pussy Riot action as a protest against the church, religious people, Putin. The minority views the action as an opportunity to publicly state their rights and beliefs. The development of the phenomenon in time, the reaction of the representatives of the world community to it, their inclusion in the discussion gave punk-prayer the status of a global moral panic.

As a result of public attention, the Pussy Riot case stayed relevant in the society, caused new formations. In the formation of moral panic in relation to the Pussy Riot's case, Efanov (2016) identified the following stages: 1) information on the precedent; 2) discussion in the media by influential political figures and authoritative persons and litigation; 3) the destiny of activists as residual events of moral panic.

Storch (2013) studies the case of Pussy Riot in the context of strengthening anti-Western sentiments in Russian society. He notes the peculiarities of the critical point of view on the protest, where prevails the idea of the ideological war of the West against Russia, the conspiracy interpretation of political events. The stability of xenophobic sentiments is observed, and the influence of Orthodox ideology is strengthened. The case of Pussy Riot marked the primacy of the anti-liberal worldview.

One aspect of the Pussy Riot study is the analysis of their activities as a phenomenon of art. Pussy Riot is considered to be representatives of actionism. Stolyarov (2014) argues that the use of the performance concept by the band members was conscious. Researchers define performance as a form of "art of action", a kind of actionism, the execution by the artist of pre-planned actions in front of the public, which in the performance is an observer and not a participant in the events (Goncharenko, 2013). The goal is not the creation of an artistic object, but the creative process. Works of art begin to be evaluated not through aesthetic, but through conceptual lens: art becomes not an object of contemplation, but a medium for conveying the idea.

Lipovetsky (2015) interprets punk prayer Pussy Riot and their activities as a "cultural return and the revival of the tradition of tricksters", developed in the Soviet era. This allows us to consider Pussy Riot in the context of the Soviet and post-Soviet cultural traditions, recognizes the continuity of their actionism. The action of Pussy Riot on the Execution Ground (January, 2012) is a synthesis of dissident protest actions and performances of representatives of the school of Moscow conceptualism. The action in the church is a continuation of the traditions of radical actionism. Punk prayer is a synthesis of the following protest: a concert of the art group "War" in the Tagansky Court building (2009), FEMEN protest near the building of the Christ the Savior Cathedral (December, 2011), Pussy Riot action on the Execution Ground. Regarding the aesthetic aspect of the Pussy Riot's actions, it can be noted that they are developing the trends of modern Russian actionism. In this regard, the severity of punishment of activists for punk-prayer is noted (Stolyarov, 2014).

Groys (2012) believes that it is not the text of the prayer service or its format that determined the artistic quality of the action. The "sacrilege" of the action in the church is a true work of art. Its artistry is that the action took place in the temple, breaking the border between the sacred and the profane. The Cathedral of Christ the Savior took its place in the pantheon of "background symbols" for civic activism as well as for artistic actionism (Эпштейн, 2012).

Uzlaner (2013) calls Pussy Riot's punk prayer the main near-religious and socio-political event of 2012 and points to the conflict of its interpretations. The first conflict is related to the issue of the qualification of the action. This question presupposes its interpretation as religious (prayer, foolishness) or secular (blasphemy, hooliganism, artistic act, political and civil protest) action. The second conflict of interpretations relates to the venue and concerns the interpretation of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior as a secular, profane and religious-sacred space. The third conflict of interpretations defines the category of "believers" as the victim of a punk-prayer. Activists were sentenced to imprisonment for manifesting hatred towards believers. Proceeding from this, the punk-prayer blurred the boundaries between religious and sacral, secular and profane.

The analysis of the sources showed that the action of Pussy Riot in the church is treated as a mirror of trends in Russian society. Pussy Riot created an event that spawned opponents and supporters. The meaning of the punk prayer was manifested not only in the event itself, but also in reactions to it. The action revealed the internal ideological configuration of Russian society, articulated new lines of confrontation, determined the subsequent course of historical development of statehood.

Conclusions

Features of the women's movement in the post-Soviet countries are determined due to socio-political changes associated with the collapse of the socialist system. Post-Soviet feminism was influenced by the liberalization of society, the transformation of the Soviet gender structure, the formation of national conservative discourses, and the change in the demographic model. The struggle for gender equality has become part of social movements in post-Soviet societies. Women's social movements were formed in large cities. Common forms of activism were grassroots initiatives, women's and human rights organizations. The development of women's social movements in the post-Soviet countries is hampered by the administrative-command system, government interference in the activities of NGOs, lack of experience, gender stereotypes, negative image of feminists. Feminist issues are still marginal

social activities. The newest post-Soviet feminism develops under resistance to political regimes.

Political protest is an objective political category, a phenomenon that exists in various forms under any political regime. It is defined as a kind of political activity carried out by an individual or social group, passing in an active or passive form. Activities, participation or behavior are forms of manifestation of individual protest or a certain social community disagreement with the political course of the state, decisions of legislative, executive or judicial authorities. Political protest is defined as an objective or subjective refusal of the individuals and groups to constructively cooperate with existing legal, social, political institutions; opportunities for participation and influence on the political environment, the activities of power structures. Political protest arises and exists not only because of the ineffectiveness of political power, the actions of individuals and social groups oriented toward protests, but also because of the existence of certain ethnic, religious, linguistic and other problems in a society.

Modern art is actively included in the socio-political realities. Art practitioners balance on the brink of artistic and political action, social action. The functioning of actionism today is widely covered in the media. Actionism also retranslates certain ideas, conceptions of the problem, moods, which form the field of actions and interactions in actionism.

The most wide-known representatives of the modern feminist movement in the post-Soviet space are the Ukrainian organization FEMEN and the Russian group Pussy Riot.

Theorists examine the tasks declared by the FEMEN movement and their protest strategies. The analysis showed an ambiguous attitude towards the protest practices of the FEMEN movement. The organization's goal is the break-down of the patriarchal regime, but the protest form of representation fits into this regime. Women with model looks (slim long-legged blondes) became a media symbol of FEMEN. The policy of the body and the policy of representations in the example of FEMEN generally operates within the framework of traditional patriarchal culture. The movement is accused of inconsistency of activity, kitsch protest, connections with oligarchic structures. At the same time, the outcry that is created in the media due to the FEMEN actions is positive. This contributes to attracting attention to problems in society. FEMEN represents politicized street protest activism and is the most famous public organization from Ukraine.

The activities of the punk band Pussy Riot after the action in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior became the subject of discussion and interpretation from various points of view. The analysis of scientific publications shows that the women's punk band Pussy Riot is represented through the lens of discourses of the feminist movement, artistic practices, modern art protest, democracy, religion, folklore, carnivalization. Pussy Riot actions are considered in the context of the oppositional protest movement, originating from the rally on Bolotnaya Square (December, 2011). The case of Pussy Riot is regarded as a reflection of the problems of modern Russia. The majority of Russian political critics reduce the group's actions to a liberal anti-Putin and anticlerical protest. Though, Pussy Riot participants themselves emphasize the feminist orientation of their activism.

CHAPTER 6. Media exposure of FEMEN protests

6.1 Description of FEMEN activities in the Ukrainian printed media

The analysis of publications on FEMEN in the newspaper Segodnya

The largest number of articles about FEMEN was published in the newspaper Segodnya, which allows to call the publication as the most attentive to the protest women's movement. The articles about FEMEN were published in the sections "Public News", "World News", "Latest News of Ukraine", "Events", "Political News", "Criminal News", "Power in Ukraine", "Show Business News".

The analysis showed that the newspaper quite fully covered the activities of FEMEN, and even certain storylines were traced. Familiarization with the materials makes it possible to define these plotlines according to the following principles:

- FEMEN actions, carried out abroad;
- geographical expansion of protests: creation of branches abroad, and FEMEN as the inspirer and the example of a protest for women from other countries;
- the arrest of FEMEN activist in Tunisia and actions in her defense;
- FEMEN's problems, related to the persecution in Ukraine, and receiving of political asylum abroad;
- criminal cases in Europe;
- criticism of FEMEN activities in articles, authors' columns.

The newspaper uses such terms for the group as: the international women's movement FEMEN, the radical women's movement FEMEN, the women's rights movement FEMEN, "naked movement" (from now on, all citations and sources translated by the author – O.G.) scandal-ridden Ukrainian group FEMEN, infamous international feminist group FEMEN.

In this printed media, the participants of the movement are referred to as the activists of FEMEN movement, feminists, nymphomaniacs from FEMEN show group, FEMEN extremists, members of the group, FEMEN sextremists, topless hussies, half-naked girls, girls from the Ukrainian FEMEN, "girls ready to protest with naked breasts against everything".

The actions in newspaper materials are called as "the protest actions, successful from the point of view of attracting media attention," provocative actions, topless protest, topless diversion, topless action, topless namaz, topless assault, yet another "naked" action, provocative protest action, naked protest action.

The newspaper contains descriptions of FEMEN, which can be summarized as follows: "FEMEN positions itself as a feminist movement, fighting for gender and civil equality in the world" ("The place of birth of FEMEN activists' burn to ashes", 2013). It is stated, that FEMEN appeared in Ukraine, and then the headquarters moved to France; "the actions against the FEMEN movement are carried out regularly in Ukraine"; "the participants of the organization, primarily known for their love of "naked protest", often complain about beatings and other violence" ("The police found a gun, a grenade and Putin's photo in FEMEN", 2013).

It is noted, that carrying out the action, the girls "as always, got naked" (Panchenko, 2013), shocked the audience. For example, "FEMEN took off their upper part of clothes and shouted the slogan "Basta Berlusconi!" ("Enough with Berlusconi!") ("FEMEN activists showed their lady parts Berlusconi", 2013); "The girls from FEMEN shocked the Swedes with their charms in mosque" ("The girls from FEMEN shocked the Swedes with their charms in mosque", 2013), "FEMEN activists held yet another "naked" action near the residence of Merkel" ("FEMEN activists held yet", 2013).

The newspaper monitors the expansion of geography of the protest movement FEMEN. It is referred to the creation of branches abroad (for example, "The branch of FEMEN has appeared in Germany"). It is also about FEMEN as an example of a protest movement for women from other countries (for example, "Iranian communists were inspired by FEMEN and undressed against the wearing of hijab").

The following citations point to the geographical expansion of protests: "activists of the movement carry out topless actions in different European cities, recently - the most often in Paris" ("The place of birth of FEMEN activists' burn to ashes", 2013); "Having the headquarters in France, FEMEN has held a number of actions in this country" ("FEMEN activists are judged in France", 2013); "Since September 2012, when the office of FEMEN was opened in Paris, its actions almost every week outraged the well-intentioned French" ("Old bras are collected for "shameless" FEMEN in France", 2013). The newspaper notes the success of the movement FEMEN France. But, at the same time, he also notes the crisis phenomena: "According to a number of people, close to it, the movement undergoes severe

crisis now, both as a result of infighting, and due to the loss of authority among French feminist organizations. The Belgian branch of the movement has already announced voluntary dissolution" ("FEMEN activists are judged in France", 2013).

In the article "The branch of FEMEN has appeared in Germany" it was said that "the international women's movement FEMEN announced the creation of a national group of extremists in Germany." The press service of the "women's movement" quoted as saying: "A group of instructors from Ukraine, headed by the well-known FEMEN activist Alexandra Shevchenko, left for Germany." Berlin and Hamburg were the locations of FEMEN Germany. The reasons for the establishment of branch were such as: "a large number of German girls, who wanted to fight for women's rights" in order to "declare war against the sex industry, the church and other medieval forms of women's oppression." FEMEN Germany is the third national FEMEN group after Ukraine and France. It is indicated, that in the future "creation of the Brazilian, Tunisian and American branches" is planned ("The branch of FEMEN has appeared in Germany", 2013).

The newspaper noted that FEMEN influenced the Iranian communists, who "were inspired by FEMEN and undressed against the wearing of hijab": "Female members of the Iranian Communist Party and the Organization against Violence on Women have staged topless protest against wearing of hijab". The girls wrote on their bodies "My nudity is my protest" and "No to hijab!". Women also kept photos of anti-Islamic actions of FEMEN movement ("Iranian communists were inspired by FEMEN and undressed against the wearing of hijab" 2013).

The newspaper in several materials tracked the story of 19-year-old student from Tunisia Amina Tyler, who published her photo in social network, where she was half-naked with the words written on her body: "My body belongs to me and is not the source of anyone's honor."

Amina was in the Tunisian branch of FEMEN. The newspaper writes that "in July 2012, she read on the Internet about the activities of FEMEN and decided to join the movement" and brings her first impressions of FEMEN: "For the first time I saw women, who do not just pose as nude to the camera, but express their protest and make requirements. I contacted them and even spoke several times on Skype". On February 26, 2013, she sent her first photo to the organization. It was the photo not just in "FEMEN style", but also with the anti-Islamic inscription "F**k your morals". This photo and Amina's message were posted on the page of the movement. She also created the page FEMEN Tunisie. The photos of other Tunisian

topless girls began to appear on this page. ("FEMEN activist in Tunisia was sentenced to death", 2013).

Salaphite hacker al-Aangur, hacked the page of the Tunisian FEMEN with these photos, writing: "Thanks to God, we broke this immoral page. If the Lord wills, these abominations will disappear from Tunisia" ("FEMEN activist in Tunisia was sentenced to death", 2013). Instead of photos, the hacker posted several videos with quotes from the Quran, as well as photos and statements of religious content.

The article describes the following events: "The Muslim leader in his fatwa said, that Amina should be flogged for this act, and then stoned to death. The fatwa against Amina is not just a reprimand of her behavior. In modern Tunisia, where religious fundamentalism often turns into violence, it can lead to death of the girl" ("FEMEN activist in Tunisia was sentenced to death", 2013).

FEMEN's response to the persecution of Amina was an action, dedicated to the International Day of topless jihad, described in the material "FEMEN staged a "Topless Jihad" in Paris". The newspaper tells about "mass actions around the diplomatic missions of Tunisia in the world", and about the details of persecution of Amina Tyler: "The fatwa, issued by the Islamic leader in Tunisia Alami Adel against the 19-year-old student Amina Tyler, who recently published her topless photo", "Muslim leader said in his fatwa that, according to Sharia law, Amina should receive 80-100 lashes, and after that she must be isolated and stoned to death" ("FEMEN staged a "Topless Jihad" in Paris" 2013).

The newspaper monitored the protest actions of FEMEN "in support of their sister-in-arms, 18-year-old Amina Tyler, who is in prison in Tunisia". These actions were held in Tunisia, France, and Germany.

FEMEN activists "made topless diversion on the central square of Tunisia, near the building of Justice." They demanded the release from the prison of Amina Tyler, the activist of FEMEN Tunisia, who is "in the dungeons of the Kairouan fortress for a peaceful anti-Islamist protest". On the posters and bodies of the FEMEN extremists, the following slogans were written: "Free Amina!", "We fuck your morals!", "Breasts feed revolution!" ("FEMEN activists face jail", 2013).

Another action in support of the arrested "Tunisian sister-in-arms" Amina Tyler was held in France. The newspaper writes that "FEMEN movement organized another action: activists

stripped in front of the Tunisian Embassy in France, and conducted a so-called "topless namaz", blocking the traffic on Rue Barbet de Jouy Street". Participants shouted "Amina Akbar", "Pauline Akbar", "Marguerite Akbar", "Josephine Akbar", "Free FEMEN!" and "FEMEN women's spring goes". ("Topless namaz of FEMEN in France", 2013).

The statement of the movement on the protest action notes: "FEMEN hoped that Allah will fresh hot heads of the Islamists and will not let religious massacre of democracy happen in Tunis. If God does not hear the prayer of FEMEN, sextremists will fresh Islamists heads by themselves, but they are not so merciful as Allah. FEMEN calls all Tunisian women to follow the example of Amina and Turkish activists and to stop shariatization and Islamization on Tunisia. ("Topless namaz of FEMEN in France", 2013).

German activists of FEMEN movement held the protest action at the residence of Angela Merkel in Berlin, where the meeting of the German chancellor with the head of the government of Tunisia Ali Larayedh took place. The newspaper says, that the participants were shouting "Merkel, free FEMEN", "the action of the girls did not last long. The guards of the residence rounded up the activists quickly. The guardians wrested down Elvira, Teresa and Pippa, and German girls had abrasions on their elbows and knees". ("FEMEN activists held yet another "naked" action near the residence of Merkel, 2013).

One more action was held in Berlin, and was described in the newspaper: "In Berlin, FEMEN activists made an ambush on the way of US President Barack Obama, who arrived there on a visit." It was indicated, that "the sextremists used Obama's historic visit to Berlin to intervene over the jailing of four of the group's activists in Tunisia: Amina Sboui, Pauline Hillier, Marguerite Stern, and Josephine Markmann". "Obama, help!" - such slogans were written on the bodies of activists. ("FEMEN ambushed Obama in Berlin", 2013). The release, quoted by the newspaper, stated that "FEMEN appeal to the leader of world democracy the president of USA Barack Obama about the violation of human rights in the Middle East, and ask to contribute to the release of Tunisian prisoners of FEMEN. ("FEMEN ambushed Obama in Berlin", 2013).

"Topless actions" in defense of Tunisian activist were held by FEMEN members quite often. The purpose of these actions was formulated in the releases of the movement: "to get on to all guilty in imprisoning of their Tunisian activists." The girls managed to "attack French President Francois Hollande in Le Bourget, as well as German Chancellor Angela Merkel. The activists tried to draw the leaders' attention to the prisoners in Tunisia. An attempt to

appeal for help to US President Barack Obama during the visit of the American leader to Berlin on June 19 was unsuccessful. Earlier, FEMEN activists could break through to Russian President Vladimir Putin" ("FEMEN activists attacked the car of Prime Minister of Tunisia", 2013).

In general, the activists of the movement declare that their protest is aimed at "the struggle for the women's rights". The reasons of their activity and the creation of filial branches in the other countries is "the declaration of war against sex industry, church and the other medieval forms of oppression of women" ("FEMEN planning to open", 2013). The newspaper describes some actions and puts forward the reasons for their carrying.

The protest action in Vatican was aimed "against the fascist homophobic propaganda raised by the Vatican": "the "FEMEN" activists threw off their clothing before the Pope"; "they shouted "Shut up!", and on the bodies of activists were the inscriptions "In gay we trust!"; "in his hate-preach the Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI), playing with fascist rhetoric, dismiss the gay marriages as the threat to mankind at large" and push the flock for a new witch hunt"; "FEMEN requires the Vatican to stop firing medieval fires of intolerance towards dissention and sexual freedom. The threat to mankind is borne not by gay marriages, but by religious fanaticism and "sacred" celibacy" ("FEMEN activists undressed", 2013).

The action in the Cathedral of the Notre Dame de Paris on February 12, 2013 was carried out after the abdication of the Pope Benedict XVI. The newspaper writes that "the activists staged a hooligan act, deeply shocked the French believers. The girls hiding in front of the parishioners and numerous tourists chanted "Pope no longer exists" and "Farewell, Benedict". They also damaged church utensils and the new bells of the cathedral that had just been delivered to the temple ("FEMEN activists are judged" 2013). The trial in this case FEMEN have stated in the official statement and described it as "witch-hunting in the spirit of the Catholic Inquisition".

The sense of the protest action at the polling station in the elections to the Italian parliament, where the former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi appeared, was the appeal to Italians "to commit "the political" murder of the mafioso pedophile Berlusconi. Italy, do not vote for someone who must be in prison!" ("FEMEN activists showed their", 2013).

In Brussels, within the verge of the European Parliament, a FEMEN activist A. Shevchenko got naked before the European deputy, the member of the European Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs Elmar Brok: the FEMEN noted that according to their reliable information during their visit to Ukraine, Brock had “actively used the services of Ukrainian prostitutes, and also allowed himself to speak out about Ukrainian women in extremely insulting forms” (“FEMEN activist attacked a member”, 2013).

The action dedicated to the International Day of topless Jihad: “The leadership of the movement called on activists and volunteers to strip and organize mass actions near the diplomatic missions of Tunisia throughout the world. Thus, according to FEMEN, there must be an answer to the death sentence handed down by Islamists activist Amine Tyler for publishing her half-naked photos in social networks”; an activist from Tunisia Meriam, undressing with two friends, near the main mosque in Paris, burned the Salafi flag “as a symbol of women’s struggle with wild religious extremism”: “Let the new “Arab Spring” ignite from the fire of this rag! The women’s revolution against the anti-female wildness and growing Islamism! <...> Calling on women of the East to provide a free future for the planet, FEMEN declares: “Islamism is powerless against our rebellious bodies! Our tits are stronger than your stones!” (“FEMEN staged a “Topless Jihad” in Paris”, 2013).

In May 2013, FEMEN participated in a meeting of ultra-right and antiglobalists. Climbed the roof of the hotel, they unfurled a poster with the inscription “Sex will destroy Nazism”. The newspaper writes that “FEMEN actions angered nationalists, but they could not get to the girls – it’s too high. As a result, the hooligans were evacuated by firemen” (“FEMEN activists struck sex”, 2013).

Protesting “against the opening of the Barbie’s house” in Germany, FEMEN called for “mercilessly burning of the false idols”. On the body of the undressed participants of the action there were inscriptions in English “life in plastic is not fantastic” (“Life in plastic”, 2013).

The action in the Cathedral of the Notre Dame de Paris (May, 2013), conducted in connection with the public suicide of the publicist Dominique Venner, was directed “against manifestations of fascism in Europe”. On the chest of the activist naked to the waist there was an inscription in English “Fascism, burn in hell”, and on the back – “We hope for gays”. In

her hands, the activist held a toy gun, which she put to her mouth, pretending that she was going to commit suicide. The newspaper quotes the press release of the movement: “FEMEN calls on all European Nazism through all its fake Hitler and half-Mussolini to follow the example of ultra-right old Venner and immediately commit suicide <...> Hurry, there is not a lot of space on the sacrificial altar of Notre Dame de Paris!”. The participants urge “to condemn the publicist Dominic Venner, who committed suicide in the cathedral before the eyes of a crowd of thousands” and “file a lawsuit against the leader of the French nationalists, Marine Le Pen, who warmly supported this public suicide” (“We hope for gays”, 2013).

At the action in the parliament of Spain, where the deputies discussed the abortion ban, FEMEN activists demanded, “not to deprive women of the right to abortion”. The meeting was interrupted by “the appearance of three half-naked beauties. Entered through the gallery for visitors, the girls flashed their naked breasts and chanted in Spanish “The right to an abortion is unbreakable!” (“Naked activists”, 2013). In another note, the newspaper writes that the FEMEN “declared war on the Spanish government because of the abortion law, and on February 2, activists attacked Cardinal Rouco Varela at the door of the church in Madrid.” (“Old bras are collected”, 2014).

In December 2013, FEMEN activist Yana Zhdanova undressed in St. Peter's Square in the Vatican in an hour after the speech of Pope Francis. The newspaper writes that “the half-naked activist broke through the fence to the den located near the tree and grabbed the figure of the infant Jesus Christ. Raising her above her head, she began to shout out the slogan: “God is a woman”. The guards detained the activist and handed them over to the police. Since then, Zhdanova was banned from appearing on the territory of the Vatican. She was accused of the discrediting of the religion, indecent behavior in a public place, and theft (“FEMEN activist who was undressed”, 2014).

In Stockholm, “topless picket” was directed against “the decision of the court, which released six men who had raped a fifteen-year-old girl”. The newspaper states that FEMEN activists “stormed the Stockholm Court of Appeal”, broke through to the court building shouting “stop the legalization of rape!”. FEMEN considers the decision of the Stockholm court as “a public calling of the authorities to violence against women”. The statement says that “the patriarchal culture has penetrated deeply into all state institutions, not an exception is also a judicial institution that encourages rapists, encourages them to search for new victims. The women’s

movement FEMEN believes that only the castration can become an adequate punishment for rapists” (“FEMEN activists was arrested”, 2013).

It is worth noticing that the pages of the newspaper include statements of politicians (Putin, Azarov), columnists (Buzina, Arfush), celebrity (Begbeder) about FEMEN, as well as criticism of FEMEN by public organizations (French organization AGRIF) and comments of the law enforcement officials.

The newspaper quotes the Putin’s view in the FEMEN’s action at the industrial fair in Hannover (Germany), when several girls broke through the fencing, stripped to the waist and began shouting obscene slogans in English. These same phrases were written on their bodies. The guard detained the girls. They continued shouting slogans, but Putin and Merkel, ignoring them, slowly moved to the next room. In the material “Putin liked the action of FEMEN” cited a direct speech of the politician: “As for the action, I liked it. In principle, we knew that such an action was prepared. Be thankful to the Ukrainian girls, they help you to promote the fair”; “What they shouted there, to be honest, I did not really hear, because the security people work very hard. Such healthy foreheads piled on girls. This, it seems to me, is wrong, it could be possible to treat them more softly (“Putin liked”, 2013). The Russian president noted that there is nothing new in the actions, and expressed the doubt that such actions can serve to political purposes: “If someone wants to discuss political issues, it is better to be dressed, rather than to undress. It should be undressed in the other places” (“Putin liked”, 2013).

Another politician has expressed a view about FEMEN in the newspaper. The former Prime Minister of Ukraine N. Azarov stated that “the actions of the women’s organization FEMEN discredit the image of Ukraine in the world”, “the media pay too much attention to the actions of feminists”, “you can make Ukraine known through the performances of FEMEN – but in this case, it is very doubtful fame... however it could be done through the achievements in the science and technology... For our country, it is necessary to acquire fame by another means”, “journalists pay more attention to the FEMEN actions than, for example, to his meeting with young scientists or programmers” (Azarov, 2013).

Another article of the newspaper says that the writer F. Beigbeder is intended to invite FEMEN members to his new film on his novel “Ideal” (sequel of “99 francs”). Newspaper writes that “the scandalous French writer Frederic Beigbeder, as it turned out, is not indifferent to the girls from the Ukrainian FEMEN” and leads his direct speech: “In my novel there is an idea that FEMEN is now propagandizing: society transforms women into a tool of

seduction to make people want things that they absolutely do not need. And this is like a new form of fascism” (Panchenko, 2013).

The criticism of FEMEN on the pages of the newspaper is expressed in the terms of traditional right and ultra-Catholic organizations. So, AGRIF President Bernard Antony demanded “not only to cover up with clothes the “shamelessness” of FEMEN activists”, but he insists that the “French authorities should abolish this organization and deprive Shevchenko of the status of political refugee”. Organizations are shocked by the fact that “FEMEN enjoys the impunity despite the intrusion into the Notre Dame de Paris Cathedral and imitation of the abortion of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of La Madeleine” (“Old bras are collected”, 2014).

The newspaper writes about criminal cases related to the activities of FEMEN and quotes statements about this subject by participants, experts, representatives of the law enforcement system (Ukrainian and foreign):

- “French police started a criminal case under the article “On violation of the rules of demonstrations”, which threatens feminists with the imprisonment of up to six months” (Kovalchuk, 2013);
- “the German police started a criminal case under the article “Insulting the authorities or representatives of the foreign states” (Kovalchuk, 2013);
- “three criminal cases are opened against the girls. FEMEN talk about 15: two in Europe and 13 in Ukraine” (Kovalchuk, 2013);
- “the last criminal case appeared recently on the fact of burning of the Salafi flag (one of the directions in Islam) in response to the statement of the representatives of the major mosque of Paris. The flag was burned within the framework of the All-European action “International Day of topless jihad”, during which FEMEN defended the rights of Tunisian fellow Amina Tyler, sentenced by priests to be stoned for a naked protest on the Internet” (Kovalchuk, 2013);
- “the case was opened under the article “On violation of the rules of demonstrations”. The participants of the action were summoned for questioning, they are threatened with up to six months of imprisonment (“Islamic Jihad for FEMEN”, 2013);

- “in France, FEMEN activists are judged”: “Girls are wanted to be punished for the action in the Notre Dame de Paris”; “the tenth chamber of the Paris Criminal Court on September 13, 2013 began the trial of the case of the Ukrainian feminist organization FEMEN. Nine activists are accused by the prosecution of “inflicting damage to the place of religious worship in the course of joint actions”. All of them, including the leader of the movement Inna Shevchenko, are summoned to appear in court” (“FEMEN activists face jail”, 2013);

- “Another one criminal case awaits for the most active participant of FEMEN Inna Shevchenko at home. She is accused of hooliganism for cutting of a wooden cross in the center of Kiev” (Kovalchuk, 2013).

FEMEN participant Inna Shevchenko has commented on the newspaper criminal cases as follows: “The purpose of all these cases – to stop FEMEN. But I want to state that the more criminal cases they will lead, the stronger we will resist. The more boldly and carefully we will work out our tactics” (Kovalchuk, 2013).

The result of the criminal prosecution was granting to Shevchenko of the political asylum in France. This circumstance motivated the discussion on the pages of the newspaper. So, in the article “What can FEMEN do is impossible for a spy”, its author, O. Arfush, specifies that Shevchenko was not granted the status of a political refugee, as she claims, that means the persecution in Ukraine for her political convictions, but the status of an ordinary refugee, for whom it is dangerous to return home (Arfush, 2013).

The author is outraged by the fact that “without question, they grant a refugee status to a girl whose “best” deeds in her life – are a sawn cross in Kiev and a topless action in the Notre Dame Cathedral”. The French authorities refused to give asylum to Edward Snowden, “although he rendered an invaluable service to the French state”, “he became a true hero of France, but he was refused, and Shevchenko did not! At the same time, in the USA Snowden may be threatened with torture during interrogation and, definitely, execution”.

O. Arfush believes that Shevchenko’s actions “do not arouse sympathy among the majority of French people, including feminists”. For the author, “stripping before Putin, it’s not feminism, it’s politics”.

The arguments and opinions of the experts on the criminal prosecutions of FEMEN members are given in the article of the journalist of Today I. Kovalchuk “FEMEN will not be punished

because the European media are on their side”. The material says that despite the opening of criminal cases against representatives of FEMEN, they will not be able to be imprisoned, “after all, freedom of speech and the press are on the side of the participants of the movement” (Kovalchuk, 2013). In support of this idea, the author quotes the expert as saying: “The authorities will never be able to stop them, and then freedom of speech in Europe will play a decisive role, – Omar Arfush believes. – On the side of FEMEN – is press, which, by the way, helps them to get accreditation for important events. No one had the question how did the activists broke through to Putin and Merkel? They got to the opening of the exhibition because of accreditation from media. Girls can be fined, given a conditional sentence, but they will not be imprisoned, because all the media immediately will make them martyrs and start criticizing the authorities” (Kovalchuk, 2013).

Another author of the newspaper O. Buzina in the column “FEMEN: was there a girl?” expresses the opinion that all the activities of FEMEN are aimed at “a desperate attempt to win the attention of the powerful of this world” (Buzina, 2013). The author calls the girls “nymphomaniacs from the show group FEMEN”, expresses distrust towards their announcements of persecutions (beatings, setting on fire of the office in Paris): “The girls said that the “FEMEN” No. 1 Anna Gutsol was brutally beaten at the same day when the President of Russia was with the visit in Kiev. And they even put a photo of the victim with a scream: “It was Putin and the saints who came to Kiev who were responsible for the attempted murder of one of the members of FEMEN Viktor Svyatsky, for attacking the leader Anna Gutsol” (Buzina, 2013). In the author’s opinion two versions of what happened got into the press: “One respectable newspaper writes that Gutsol was attacked in a cafe in Kiev and a laptop with “strategic” information was took away. And another – that in the entrance of her own house, and instead of a laptop, the dog was stolen – which are also, as I understand it, the bearer of secrets of national importance, and which the evil oprichniks are now brutally questioning somewhere” (Buzina, 2013).

The journalist contends that the FEMEN activists were repeatedly “caught on lies”: “At first, the girls report that their activist received a political asylum in France. And then it turns out that the asylum is not political at all, but a usual – as for the persons for which it would be “dangerous” to return home”; “allegedly fire was set in the FEMEN’s office in Paris. But somehow in a strange way – from the inside, at night, when the building was empty, except of the participants of the movement. It seems that they themselves set it on fire”. The paper

revealed that this is done “for the sake of PR”, but “nothing was burned, except of the remains of trust” (Buzina, 2013).

A number of newspaper materials tells about the persecutions of activists (searches, beatings, arsons). Let’s consider how the newspaper monitored the persecution of FEMEN members in Ukraine and abroad.

On 27 July 2013, near the office of FEMEN was brutally beaten the political scientist of FEMEN Viktor Svyatsky. The newspaper quotes the exact details of the of the incident, referring the press service report of the organization: “Svyatsky was beaten with the threats to attack the activists of the movement in the event of attempts to prevent the official visit to Kiev of Russian President Vladimir Putin, Patriarch of the ROC Kirill, and Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko by the 1025th anniversary of the Christianization of Kievan Rus” (“Political scientist”, 2013).

The organization believes that the Security Service of Ukrainian (SBU) is behind the attacks: “within a few days, FEMEN male employees unknown to the general public were continuously pursued by security officers. So, “the preliminary talks” were held with the designer and programmer of the movement”. FEMEN names the attack on political scientist “an exclusively gangster-state intimidation of activists on the eve of a sacred gathering of post-soviet dictators led by KGB officer in a cassock” (“Political scientist”, 2013).

The newspaper also reported about the attack on the leader of the “FEMEN” organization Anna Gutsol, in the opinion of which “this is clearly the SSU and it was done with the only one purpose – to intimidate me so that we did not interfere to hold any meetings today”. The material indicates that Gutsol and her colleagues are under “careful surveillance”: “We have been watching out for several days. Each of our girls was watched by 5-6 men. We noticed this, but we did not expect that the whole thing with observation could turn into another attack on someone of us” (Semenov & Korchinsky, 2013). In response to a newspaper request, the SBU press service stated that “the Security Service employees have no relation to the incident with Anna Gutsol, to deal with the attack on the activist must the police” (Semenov & Korchinsky, 2013).

In August 2013, the newspaper wrote about the beating of Anna Gutsol, Alexandra Shevchenko and the adviser of the movement Victor Svyatsky in Odessa, in the result of what FEMEN requires the state “to accompany the activists of the movement the roundthe-clock protection because of the yesterday’s attack” (“FEMEN activists severely”, 2013).

In the note “The police found a gun, a grenade and Putin's photo in FEMEN” it is said about the police search of FEMEN office. Regarding the found objects, A. Gutsol stated that “that FEMEN is a peaceful movement. We never kept weapons, did not plan armed attacks. We are not a terrorist group. We regard this as a pressure and repression” (“The police found”, 2013).

After the attacks, the FEMEN movement decided to curtail its activities on the territory of Ukraine. “FEMEN leaves Ukraine”, the newspaper reacted the decision of the activists. “Recently, five attacks have been committed against activists of the organization. We have identified this hint and decided to turn down the activity in Ukraine. We want to retain our activists and protect them from attacks. We are afraid to be killed!”, – the opinion of I. Shevchenko is cited in the article. The decision was made because “the representatives of the organization will feel safer abroad, where they cannot be reached by the Ukrainian authorities and where, in case of danger, they can ask for the protection of local law enforcement agencies” (“FEMEN leaves”, 2013). Activists assured that, despite the petition for political asylum, “the “naked protests” would not stop in Ukraine”, “but foreigners will already participate in them” (“FEMEN leaves”, 2013).

The newspaper quotes the statement of the head of the press service of the MD MIA in Kiev, Igor Mikhalko: “No one will look for the “fugitive” from FEMEN, as the case of illegal possession of weapons in the office of the FEMEN movement was opened on fact, so they had the right to go anywhere. And loud statements about the escape from Ukraine allegedly because of the transfer of them from the status of witnesses to the accused are PR”; “They can declare anything, they earn their own PR” (“FEMEN activists who ”, 2013). It should be noted that after the search the police initiated a criminal investigation under the article “The illegal possession of weapons”, according to which “the girls face up to 5 years imprisonment”.

Concerning the burned training center in Paris, the organization’s message is provided: “FEMEN doubts the accidental nature of the fire in the middle of the night, especially in connection with the constant threats of the fascists, nationalists, islamists, that have overshooted the average in number in recent weeks”. The FEMEN Training Center in Paris is a place “that accepts women from all corners of the world to learn the basics of a new wave of feminism and FEMEN tactics”; “About 1000 women from France, Brazil, Ukraine, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland, UK, Canada, USA, Tunisia, Poland and Mexico have already completed FEMEN training in the center for the last year and distributed

their knowledge in various points of the world”. The training center is “a holy place for feminism for thousands of women, a place where new feminists are born” (“The place of birth”, 2013).

Newspaper printed the largest amount of material about FEMEN in 2013. One of the few informational occasions in 2014 for the newspaper was the FEMEN action in the annexed Crimea. In the material “FEMEN were beaten in the Crimea for the action “Stop Putin”” it is noted that the group “has not been heard in Ukraine for a long time”. “Sextremists of FEMEN”, the newspaper writes, appeared in the Crimea in March of 2014: “Just two people from FEMEN suddenly jumped out near the VR of the Crimea on the stage where songs about the greatness of Russia were sung. The girls were topless, one of them in a wreath. They shouted “Stop Putin”. Apparently, they were foreigners. The girls were attacked by “Kuban cossacks” and participants in the “peaceful assembly” with shouts of “prostitute”, “beat”, “proshmandovka”. Women and men beat one of the girls with their feet. Then they were pushed into a police car” (“FEMEN was beaten”, 2014).

Analysis of the newspaper Today of the 2013-2014 showed that the edition publishes materials in the genre of news, note, article, column, which tells about actions or events related to the activities of FEMEN. Subsequently, such materials may be accompanied by author’s columns. The news material in the newspaper is neutral in relation to FEMENs, at the same time, in the other genres can fixed the position of the authors. The columns mainly express a critical attitude towards FEMEN. In the newspaper’s materials, two vectors of negative attitude towards FEMEN are seen. The first direction of criticism of FEMEN is made from the perspective of traditional moral, the second is represented by the criticism of their activities as the oppositionists of the Yanukovych regime.

Newspaper Today in 2013-2014 was a pro-government publication. Its owner is the richest man in Ukraine, the oligarch R. Akhmetov, has supported Yanukovych since the 2004 presidential elections, so the publication supported his policy as a president. It was during the regime of Yanukovych that FEMEN activists were under pressure, as a result of which they had to withdraw their activities in Ukraine and leave the country. This fact explains the choice of plots for publications. The publication described in details the foreign actions of FEMEN, but actions in Ukraine directed against Yanukovych’s policy, Putin’s anti-Ukrainian policy, the activities of the UOC MP, etc. were ignored by the editors.

Media representation of the FEMEN group on the pages of the newspaper “Den”

The materials in “Den” newspaper about FEMEN appearing under the headings “Society”, “Day’s Panorama”, “Details”, reflected the following events: the action against “Islamic state”, the action against Putin’s aggression in Ukraine, the “Putin-dictator” action.

The newspaper published materials about the struggle of FEMEN for women’s rights, about a protest against the policy of the Russian Federation and Putin’s actions, religious protest.

In the author’s columns, journalists discuss the degree of the influence and the peculiarities of FEMEN’s actionism, view the activity of FEMEN as an art group, analyze the Ukrainian feminist movement in the whole.

The actions of FEMEN in the newspaper “Den” are published primarily in the genre of news or a note. In this case, the names of the materials are informative, they convey the essence of the event (“FEMEN activists were exposed before Milan’s main cathedral against Putin’s aggression”, “FEMEN activists held a rally against the “Islamic state” in France”) or intriguing tabloid (“FEMEN” killed Putin in Paris”).

The verbal description of actions or events is not visualized, is not accompanied by photo-illustrations:

- “At first the girls were exposed and then poured themselves out of buckets with red wine, which symbolized the blood, shed in Ukraine during the military operations” (“FEMEN activists naked before”, 2014);
- “An activist of the FEMEN women’s movement destroyed a wax copy of Putin in the “Grevin” Wax Museum in Paris – a few hours before the arrival of the Russian leader in Paris”, a young naked blonde who entered the museum grabbed the wax figure of Vladimir Putin, who was standing next to the copies Juan Carlos, Barack Obama, Angela Merkel and François Hollande, knocked her to the floor and struck several blows with a pointed stake. The museum exhibit is not subject to renewal” (“FEMEN “killed””, 2014);
- “women walked through the Champs-Élysées topless with pink flags of the new “State of the infidels” and plastic automatic weapons in their hands” (“FEMEN activists held a rally”, 2014).

On the pages of the newspaper FEMEN and its participants are referred to as one of the most bizarre Ukrainian political movements. They are named activists of the FEMEN movement,

activists of the women's movement FEMEN, a young nude blonde, our naked girls, the Ukrainian group FEMEN, traditionally half-naked activist, friends of Sasha Shevchenko, protest art group FEMEN, group FEMEN, girls-extremists, brave girls, the only living and progressive structure in Ukraine.

The newspaper represents FEMEN as one of the world-famous Ukrainian brands. For example, take a quote from the article "In the UK began "The Days of Ukraine". The director of the Ukrainian Institute in London A. Gunder argues that the average Briton knows about Ukraine the following: "fights in the parliament, oligarchs, beautiful girls, FEMEN, footballer Andrei Shevchenko, boxer Vitali Klitschko, politicians who are in prison, the famous "poisoning of the XXI century" (Bilousova, 2013).

In A. Prilipko's column "Women, "Pi" and Spring", dedicated to the International Women's Day, the author, reflecting on gender inequality in Ukrainian society, analyzes the reasons for the popularity of FEMEN abroad (Prilipko, 2014a). Noting the number and content of reviews about FEMEN abroad, the journalist concludes that "our naked girls are quoted above official representatives fastened on all buttons". Further he explains why "the guardians of morality by the Orthodox, secular and party lines" treat them negatively: they envy their "popularity and ease"; "nobody invites FEMEN to visit and does not record them as the friends, apparently fearing that "stupid tits" will be remembered to the electorate more than the intelligent heads" (Prilipko, 2014a). The belonging of the FEMEN members to the "weaker sex" and their social role does not give a cause for the attaching them to the "community of famous ladies who are usually presented with flowers and compliments". According to the journalist, "since the time of the Paris Commune, naked breasts are more dangerous than a charged gun" (Prilipko, 2014a).

Considering the stripping as a form of protest, the author finds historical parallels to the activities of FEMEN. He reminds the readers of the "rebellious image" of Eugene Delacroix ("Liberty Leading the People") as "the central character of the revolutionary painting with the national flag and without a bra"; about the appearance on the streets of naked Dukhobors on the eve of the First World War; about three hundred women in Australia, who laid out an anti-war slogan with their bodies; about how a group of Israeli women was photographed naked, then sending photos to politicians: in this way they supported the Arab girl Aliya Al-Mahdi, who also "exposed herself, at the peak of the wild customs of her society" (Prilipko, 2014a). The journalist concludes that such protests are being made so that "the blind people saw,

otherwise they won't get through" and "when there is no way to convince them with words, it is done by bodies" (Prilipko, 2014a).

TV journalist Ostap Drozdov, summing up the results of 2012 on the pages of the newspaper, named the FEMEN group "the people or "the bums" of the year" ("Wealth is born", 2013). Supporting each of their "tricks", the journalist claims that FEMEN is "the sublimation of public pofigism" ("Wealth is born", 2013). The role of activists in public life is emphasized by the following words of O. Drozdov: "No one but the extremist girls dare to draw attention to what everyone like cheapskates close their eyes" ("Wealth is born", 2013). The journalist believes that FEMEN were the only ones who told the whole country about the rector of the Kiev Academy of Water Transport Mikhailov, suspected of producing pornographic films with underage girls, "only they carried out an action against the usurpation of all leading positions in the government by men". Further the journalist notices: "And who of the major oppositionists went to Belarus to support political prisoners? – only the brave girls, subjected to humiliation in the woods, pouring with oil and cutting the hair" ("Wealth is born", 2013). O. Drozdov highlights the incident at the Kiev airport, when Patriarch Kirill was greeted with exclamations of "Get out!": "It is characteristic that in 1990 the national deputy Mikhail Gorin with his company were lying under Patriarch Alexis II limousine, and this year, if there were no FEMEN, then Kirill would be greeted with bread and salt" ("Wealth is born", 2013).

A few more actions are remembered by the author – "Run, Lenya, I'll cover!" (Against delaying of the investigation in Gongadze case) and "Ukraine is not Alina" (against Putin's visit to Ukraine). Eloquent was the performance "The Crucified Ukraine" – regarding the neglecting of the democratic principles during the elections. The journalist expresses special gratitude for the action in Paris in the "support to French gays on the occasion of equality". Thus, the material notes that "no matter who and how would regard outrageous but FEMEN is now the only living and progressive structure in Ukraine. They are the spike" ("Wealth is born", 2013).

It should be noted that the newspaper reflects the relationship between FEMEN and the Church. In particular, A. Prilipko column says that FEMEN "does not like the religious influence on the secular policy" (Prilipko, 2014b).

Analyzing the religious media space of Russia, the author of the article "To holiness through vices?" J. Lavrish describes the activities of the protodeacon of the Russian Orthodox Church Andrei Kurayev, who in the interview for Ukrainian channels expressed the position that the

Russian group Pussy Riot is identical to the Ukrainian group FEMEN. According to the journalist, one can agree with this thesis only when it comes to the desecration of holy sites, “however, these are completely different phenomena, since they have a different purpose, strategy of action and, in general, a different model of protest” (Lavrish, 2014).

On the pages of the newspaper, the activities of FEMEN are also regarded in the context of trends of the development of the contemporary art. Noting the social orientation of art and its protest, the art critic V. Sidorenko recalls the actions that took place in Moscow by the protest groups “War”, Pussy Riot, the American “Occupy the Wall Street”. These new trends, according to art critics, “willingly develops youth in Ukraine”. For the customary to the protests of Ukraine in this sense, the activity of the “art group FEMEN” is indicative. Another tendency is noted by the art critic - art gravitates to mass: “Let’s take at least the mentioned actions of FEMEN, they just attract as many people as possible to contemporary art”; “In the modern world art comes out, as the Communists used to say, to the streets, but today it goes to the streets in the literal sense. Social, street, action art – young people are actively working in these new trends” (Bagatskaya, 2013).

Analysis of publications of the “Gazeta po-ukrainsky” about FEMEN

The analysis of the Gazeta po-ukrainsky materials on the FEMEN group actions showed that the articles were published in such columns as “Society”, “World”, “Ukraine”, “Politics”, “Culture”, “Interesting” that testifies the context in which the newspaper consider activities of the activists and a diversity of editorial approaches. Thus, the main aspects of the activities of FEMEN, which are covered by the newspaper, are social, political, cultural, religious spheres.

In general, there are a few published analytical materials and problematic articles in the newspaper. Mostly they appeared in the genre of news and remarks. The materials come in the form of reportage style of presentation, when the basis of the publication is the description of the events, for example: “At the time when Putin and Merkel were standing near the stand of Volkswagen, several girls among the numerous journalists broke through the fence, stripped to the waist and began shouting obscene slogans in English. At the same time, Russian mat was used” (“FEMEN with mats”, 2013). The news comes out without mentioning the author. The main sources of news are news agencies, press releases and statements of the FEMEN members, for example: “Activists of the FEMEN movement held a rally at an industrial fair in Hannover at a time when it was visited by German Chancellor

Angela Merkel and Russian President Vladimir Putin, Interfax reported ("FEMEN with mats", 2013); "Agence France-Presse reports with reference to a statement of the representative of FEMEN in Paris, Inna Shevchenko".

Let's consider the manner of presenting and the drafting style of FEMEN actions and a description of its participants.

The newspaper notes the fame and influence of FEMEN: "FEMEN movement has become the most influential feminist club in Europe, at least, such impression has been gained about them"; "This group of protest – half-naked girls – has become conventional to see in all the big cities of Europe"; "girls are considered celebrities, they are seen as a small avant-garde group of feminism". One of the participants of the group says that "she became famous for her protest actions against discrimination against women and corruption, during which she exposed her breasts".

Journalists name FEMEN and its participants "scandalous women's movement FEMEN", FEMENs, "girls from FEMEN", "public organization FEMEN", public figures, activists, extremists, dissidents.

Article "Do FEMENs receive 1 thousand euros a day?" – one of the few that describes not only protests, but also tells the story of FEMEN movement ("FEMEN activists", 2013). The author mentions the actions in Rome, the Vatican and briefly describes them. The political aspect of the protest is underlined: "We can say that they are well informed about current events". The popularity of FEMEN is evidenced by a Facebook page with thousands of contacts, Twitter account, website on the Internet in three different languages. On the site you can buy movies, interviews, T-shirts for 25 euros, body paint (70 euros), jackets, mugs and wigs (20-60 euros). Reference is made to the publication of book on the history of FEMEN movement, which "appeared on the shelves of French bookstores", in honor of which "celebrations and toasts at the Goutte d'Or Theater" were organized.

Attention is focused on the fact that the problems (arrests, complaints, threats) arise when the protests take place in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus, "but when things turn bad, there is always someone who is ready to call them "dissidents" ("FEMEN activists", 2013).

Describing the experiment of a Kiev journalist from the 1+1 television channel, which managed to penetrate the ranks of the group and participated in several "bare-breasted protests", the author concludes that "as it turned out, the activities of the FEMEN group are

perfectly paid”, “every demonstrator are paid up to a thousand euros per month, and those who operate in Kiev, receive up to 2500 euros (the average salary in Ukraine does not exceed 500 euros). In Paris, the costs are higher, they say that the girls receive to a thousand euros per day ("FEMEN activists", 2013). The author notes that “no one has ever been able to understand the meaning of their actions (once they tried to catch up the Russian patriarch on the runway of the airport in Kiev). Sometimes their slogans are a bit like the demands of Chechen rebels” ("FEMEN activists", 2013).

Another negative evaluation opinion of FEMEN is found in an interview with N. Ishchenko, a political consultant and social psychologist dedicated to sexuality “as an important factor in the formation of a policy rating”. In response to a journalist’s question (“Are the girls from FEMEN sexy or vulgar?”) Ishchenko answers that “their sexuality is on the verge of vulgarity. They demonstrate their stupidity by showing the body” (Khudoyar, 2013).

In the same interview, it is mentioned that “Yanukovych is an ideal for most Ukrainian women. Because it’s a man, a leader”; “He will give in the face, and protect, everything pulls in the family. He is tall, healthy – it’s sexy. During the entire presidential term, he did not lose this feature. A female housewife, which requires a strong hand will vote for him” (Khudoyar, 2013).

In the article “The Leader of the FEMEN became the symbol of France” it is said that on the state postage stamps the symbol of France Marianne “artists portrayed as the founder of FEMEN movement Ukrainian Inna Shevchenko” (Snigur, 2013). The newspaper gives the following description of the “symbol of France”: “Marianne is a woman’s bust in a red cap. Symbolizes freedom and mind and is the emblem of the French government”. Here is a quote from one of the project’s artists, Olivier Siyapp: “For everyone who asks about Marianne’s model there is a mixture of different women, but most of all of Inna Shevchenko, the founder of “FEMEN” (Snigur, 2013). It is mentioned that Francois Hollande, who chose the final version of the stamp, said that “there is depicted youth and this is the main priority of his presidency” (Snigur, 2013). The words of Inna Shevchenko are cited: “I barely restrain the victorious laughter from the premonition of “righteous” wrath of all homophobes, Nazis and “zealous” Catholics when they have to lick “FEMEN” ass every time to send something by regular mail to France” (Snigur, 2013).

The author of the article writes that Shevchenko has “received political asylum from the French government, because in Ukraine a criminal case was opened against her” after she cut

a cross-axle cross over the Independence Square in 2012 in protest against the conviction in Moscow of feminists from group “Pussy Riot” for a “punk prayer” in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior. After this action Shevchenko “secretly left for Europe by train through Poland. Since then, she lives in France. She opened a training camp for “sextremists” there, where women are taught to become nude quickly during the public protests” (Snigur, 2013).

It is mentioned about the closure of the FEMEN’s page on the Facebook network, which, according to the newspaper, “is a logical continuation of the struggle against activists”. As for the closure of the Facebook page, A. Shevchenko stated that “this is not the first Facebook scandal, when they close the pages where in fact there is no pornography”; “this is a logical extension of the targeted attacks on our web-site from Tunisia and Algeria which were conducted for two weeks” (“The FEMEN claim”, 2013).

In the context of the media representation of the feminist movement, it should be noted how the image of the participants is transformed in connection with the description of events from the private sphere. For example, the interview “Alexandra Shevchenko has got married in Paris” refers to the chosen one darling, the venue of the celebration, the number of guests (Sarahan, 2014). In short, such details, which neutralize the existing media image. The effect complements the photo, which depicts the heroine of the plot in an embrace with her husband. Both are posing on the azure coast, on the background of the sea and yachts. A habitual image is destroyed by everyday clothing, which does not resemble the form of protesters. And glasses hide makeup or lack of it.

About her wedding A. Shevchenko says the following: “We did not want a magnificent wedding. They even bought a modest dress. We agreed that on this day I will not undress and hold protests”. The couple hid their relationship, and only before the wedding in social networks it was announced about the novel. Describing plans for a honeymoon in an interview (“in Normandy in the north of France”), A. Shevchenko says that “we will take Ukrainian embroidered shirts with us. In them we will walk along the beach” (Sarahan, 2014).

It should be noted that a lot of actions of FEMEN are connected with the expression of their attitude to the institution of Church. Activists of FEMEN movement in January 2013, stripped in the square in front of St. Peter’s Cathedral in the Vatican at the very moment when Pope Benedict XVI walked on the balcony. Participants shouted “Shut up!”, and on their bodies there were inscriptions “In gay we trust!”. In the article “Ukrainian Christians in Italy criticized FEMEN action” the issue is about a negative reaction to the FEMEN action of the

association of Ukrainian Christians living in Italy. The association named the action “a vulgar spectacle that offends the feelings of millions of Catholics and other Christians” (“Ukrainian Christians”, 2013).

A statement is made by the press service of FEMEN, demanding that the Vatican “cease igniting the medieval fires of intolerance towards dissent and sexual freedom”. The threat to humanity is borne not by gay marriages, but by religious fanaticism and “sacred” celibacy” (“Ukrainian Christians”, 2013).

Often, FEMEN in one action unites several problems. For example, as the newspaper states, “The girls from “FEMEN” held a rally against Putin and Russian aggression in Ukraine”. In the material “FEMENka” poured “icy blood” on the territory of the “Laura” it is said that the girl activist “took the baton from Vladimir Putin and dripped the icy Ukrainian blood” (“FEMENka poured”, 2014). This happened on the territory of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra of the Moscow Patriarchate, which supports the Kremlin’s position. The press release of the movement explains that “the blood of Ukraine is glorying by the Moscow clergy along with Putin” (“FEMENka poured”, 2014). A few photos depict a topless girl in a wreath and red shorts, which are poured from a bucket with a red liquid.

Regarding the geography of the protest, the newspaper writes that the actions of FEMEN were carried out “first in Ukraine and then abroad”. The articles mention the locations of the actions: Rome, the Vatican, Paris, Kiev, Vienna and the others.

On the functioning of the movement, it is written that “the group is well organized, enjoys support throughout Europe and is likely to find support in Canada, the United States, Brazil and Israel” (“FEMEN activists”, 2013). About the scale of the activities of FEMEN and its participants it is provided the following: “Five years ago in the ranks of FEMEN there were only three students: Anna, Oksana and Inna. For two years the number of activists has increased to 320 people: “twenty with bare breast and three hundred fully dressed”. The participants stated that they have an “army of more than a hundred people ready to undress in the name of freedom in the space from London to Rome” (“FEMEN activists”, 2013).

In one of the interviews A. Shevchenko explains the goals and principles of the FEMEN’s activity: “We are not the one of those who meet – we are from those who attack <...> Our task is to give a person in one picture an emotional message that he sees, hears from one photo. We do not have the opportunity to approach everyone and force them to listen – no one has such an opportunity. And we found a way that makes you see, pay attention, and then listen”

("The FEMEN claim", 2013). In respect of the nakedness of girls on the actions the article says: "her appearance speaks of her idea"; "Yes, it's a challenge. But I'm not ashamed of my body – I do not sell it" ("The FEMEN claim", 2013).

Another article about the FEMEN is devoted to the events in Tunisia, where on May 19, 2013, in Kairouan, the Tunisian activist Amina Shboi, who in the opinion of the investigation, "wrote the word "FEMEN" on the wall of the Muslim cemetery", was arrested in Kairouan". The article describes the details of the action and the reaction to them by FEMEN: "Tunisian citizen Amin Tyler became known after she uploaded her bare-breasts photos to the Internet. On the body of the girl it was written that her body belongs to her, and not to society. After that, Tyler to be threatened by the Conservatives, and she had to hide at her family"; "Alexandra Shevchenko came to Tunisia to express her support for the arrested Tunisian activist FEMEN Amine Tyler and the three other girls detained in Tunisia"; "As soon as Alexandra arrived in Tunisia, law enforcement agencies immediately showed interest to her" ("From Tunisia", 2013).

On the action in Stockholm, where FEMEN activists tried to penetrate the Russian embassy, the newspaper wrote the following: "The action held in defense of the rights of sex minorities lasted no more than 10 minutes, the police detained the representatives of the movement". More than 200 people with rainbow symbols came to the rally. After that, "half-naked FEMEN activists <...> brandished the Russian flag and shouted "There is no violence of Putin!" ("FEMEN activists enter", 2013). The words of the press attaché of the Russian diplomatic mission Alexander Pashedko are quoted: "Today at 9 am, two people appeared at the embassy, who unfurled the flag with the colors of the rainbow in front of the main gate of the embassy. A few minutes later, two women climbed over the embassy fence and continued the "standard" FEMEN protest by half-naked" ("FEMEN activists enter", 2013).

Describing the trip to Belarus in the travel essay "The bloodiest battle in the times of Kievan Rus was held at the Nemiga", its author mentions the KGB building in Minsk. Passing the direct speech of the Belarusian journalist, the 27-year-old Boris Garetsky, it is specified that "at his [KGB building] stairs an action by the Ukrainian girls from the FEMEN group was held. Then they were kidnapped and taken to the forest, where they went naked to the nearest village at night" (Gorchinskaya, 2014).

Several articles of the newspaper describe the persecution of activists in Ukraine. A. Shevchenko claims that before Maidan she experienced "a lot of problems because of the

team of Yanukovych”. This forced “to flee Ukraine when they broke a bone on my face. She was granted asylum in France. There we were sheltered by friends. We spent the night in their apartments” (Sarahan, 2014).

In the article “FEMEN were beaten again: this time in Odessa” it is said that the activists of FEMEN Anna Gutsol, Alexander Shevchenko and the consultant of the movement Victor Svyatsky were attacked by officers of the Ukrainian special services and severely beaten: “FEMEN activists were intercepted by a group of people at the exit from one of the Odessa houses. The attack was entirely on the basis of a well-worked out plan: the security forces conducted preliminary monitoring of the activists and, having picked up a convenient moment, attacked. After brutally beating up of FEMEN activists, the criminals retired by car with a driver who had been waiting in advance for his colleagues close to the crime scene”, the FEMEN news agency reported. As it was noted, at the moment all 3 members of FEMEN movement went to the hospital by ambulance” (“FEMEN was again”, 2013). Photos accompanying the article, close-up depict the battered faces of activists.

Other cases of persecution of FEMEN are also described: “the leader of the movement Anna Gutsol was attacked and beaten by the enforcement agents in one of the Kiev cafes”; three FEMEN activists together with Russian photojournalist Dmitry Kostyukov “were beaten by enforcement agents, and afterwards were forcibly detained by police officers in one of the departments” (“FEMEN was again”, 2013).

The reaction to the persecution of FEMEN members was the call of Europe to “confront the bloodthirsty dictatorial machine in the territory of the post-Soviet countries” (“FEMEN was again”, 2013).

The interview with the organizer of the “Zhenskaya Sotnya” (Feminine hundred) of the Euromaidan’s, the 30-year-old journalist Nina Potarskaya, who came out in the midst of confrontation between demonstrators and authorities during the Euromaidan, referred to a women’s group that engaged in peaceful resistance and educational activities (Pavlenko, 2014). The activist points out that in Ukraine “there are not enough women’s organizations that work for the equality of the position of men and women”, therefore “all initiatives should support each other” (Pavlenko, 2014). The similarity of “Female hundred” (“Zhenskaya sotnya”) and FEMEN movement is a commitment to women’s rights. The difference, according to the activist, is in the form of a protest. N. Potarskaya believes that “both FEMEN

and we want to draw attention to discrimination against women. By law, we are all equal” (Pavlenko, 2014).

The interview discusses gender discrimination in the Ukrainian society: “you can look at the representation of women, for example, in ministries. There are a lot of them working, but the ministries are headed mostly by men”, “men often have a 30-40% higher salary for the same job”; “for the vacancies that do not require sexual characteristics, indicated that for a leadership positions needs a man”; “what helps a man to do a better job? The genitals?” (Pavlenko, 2014).

The analysis of FEMEN photos to articles showed that mainly – this is a photo of international news agencies from the venues of the actions (Associated Press, Reuters, France-Press). It should also be noted that all the text materials of the newspaper are illustrated. Their number varies from 1 to 8. In the latter case – this is a selection from the venue of the action or photo shoot.

Due to the specificity of the FEMEN actions the photo-image – is dynamic shot from the scene, capturing the struggle and resistance of activists with security guards and representatives of law enforcement agencies, girls shouting slogans.

The newspaper also publishes photos in the style of glossy publications, on which the participants are posing as models. These photos are represented by thematic photo sessions. For example, the action “You do not buy, I do not sell” was held in Paris and was described in the newspaper’s material (“You do not buy”, 2013). In *Gazeta po-ukrainsky* this event is described as “a semi-nude night photo session on the streets of Paris”. The note explains the purpose of the action: “The movement supported the bill of French socialists on the criminalization of clients of the sex industry”; “A speech against the impunity of clients of prostitutes”. The slogans of the event are mentioned: “You do not buy, I do not sellnews”, “There is no demand, no offer” (“You do not buy”, 2013).

FEMEN movement, consistently struggling with the sex industry, regards it as “the slave trade and the roughest of forms of female slavery”. This action testifies to FEMEN’s attempt to loosen the myth of voluntary prostitution “created by sex industry bosses and their political lobbyists”. This action continues the company “Ukraine is not a brothel”, launched in Ukraine in 2008, whose goal is “criminalization of the client of prostitution in Ukraine”.

The author of the Paris photo shoot was the Russian photographer Dmitry Kostyukov. On each of the 8 accompanying text photos, participants are shown FEMEN in a restaurant, against the backdrop of the Arc de Triomphe and the Moulin Rouge, in Montmartre and other iconic places in Paris. The city is used as a background for posing of FEMEN members. It can be seen that for the shooting prepared by makeup, clothes, thoughtful poses and locations. The article notes that the photographs were made on problematic streets of the city, and directed “against impunity of clients of prostitutes”. Girls appear topless, in Ukrainian traditional wreaths on the head, in jeans or shorts, with inscriptions on the body – the slogans of the actions. On the several photos of the girl – is the only ones in the frame, on the others – they are in the frame with extras.

The similar action by the activist FEMEN was held on the streets of Amsterdam. The newspaper described this “semi-nude night photo shoot”, organized by FEMEN filial branch in the Netherlands. The demands of the protesters are “to abolish the shameful mistake of their country and to abolish the legality of the Dutch sex industry”, to criminalize the client of prostitution, “to put an end to the legalization of the sexual exploitation of women” ("Dutch FEMENs", 2013).

Another material of the newspaper describes the members of FEMENas celebrities. In a note “FEMEN taught Begbeder to write slogans on his chest and poke fakes to Putin” it says: “The French writer and screenwriter Frederic Begbeder has expressed a desire to join the activities of the women’s movement FEMEN”; “The introduction ceremony took place in one of the Parisian restaurants and was crowned with a fair dose of burgundy”; “The writer has been trained in simple FEMEN techniques – writing slogans on his chest and poking fakes to Putin”; “The entry fee was 99 francs – this is the name that has one of the most famous Begbeder novels” ("FEMEN taught Begbeder", 2014).

6.2 Russian press about FEMEN

Analysis of publications of the newspaper Kommersant about FEMEN

The analysis showed that the main topics of Kommersant’s publications devoted to FEMEN are protest actions and events related to the cessation of movement activity in Ukraine.

On the pages of the newspaper the action at the Hannover Industrial Exhibition (8.04.2013) is described in the most detail. This event was covered in five publications. In addition, it should

be highlighted an interview with one of the founders of the movement, Anna Gutsol, in which the activist presents her position on the future of the organization, shares her thoughts on the political situation in Ukraine, tells about the persecution of FEMEN by the Ukrainian authorities and sources of financing of the movement. The newspaper also did not ignore the fact that the leader of FEMEN movement Inna Shevchenko became the prototype of the symbol of France – Marianne, depicted on the country's main postage stamp.

In the texts of the newspaper there are the following naming FEMEN: a feminist group; Ukrainian group FEMEN; based in Kiev FEMEN; FEMEN movement; feminine movement of FEMEN; movement, which was born in Ukraine.

The actions are presented as “a regular performance”, topless protest, “feminine show”, show, protest, political topless action, protest action, incident.

FEMEN members are represented as girls, girls, scandalous girls, activists of FEMEN movement, activists of Ukrainian FEMEN group, activists, feminists, a group of girls, participants in the action, members of FEMEN group, Ukrainian feminists, Ukrainian girls, half-naked participants of the movement, half-naked girls from FEMEN, women movement FEMEN, activist of the protest movement, protest maidens.

The actions the newspaper wrote about were directed against the sexual exploitation of women, sexual slavery, the interference of the state and church institutions in the lives of women, radical Islamism, the economic course of the Belgian leadership and Putin's policies.

It should be noted that in the description of actions the attention is focused on the bodily representation of the participants. Examples are the following quotes from journalistic texts: “the Russian president in Hannover was met with a bare breast”, “a group of girls undressed and showed posters in support of women suffering from sexual slavery”, “what they did not have time to shout, it was written – no, not on their faces, but on their girlish bodies”, “the charms they showed”, “the participants of the FEMEN undressed to the waist and started shouting obscene slogans in English”, “a few half-naked girls jumped out on them”.

But not only this aspect of FEMEN is considered in the publication. Thus, the Russian artist Andrei Bilzho, drawing attention to “rather artistic and rather provocative” actions, warns against their superficial interpretation (“with bare breast to draw attention”): “How many good deeds they did really”; “How much attention they attracted” to serious problems; “They have saved animals in the zoo”, forced to put in prison “bastards who raped a girl and then her

live set on fire, a terrible story was in Ukraine, when the girl died, and they achieved that these bastards were given life imprisonment" (Mitchenkov, 2014).

“Opened breast”, in his opinion, is in order “to draw attention, to being photographed” (Mitchenkov, 2014). But during the actions of “them naked, half naked, dragged tough guys, took them by the hand, dragged them through the snow, along the asphalt. Then, after all, beaten, they were forced to emigrate to different countries, where they continue their movement” (Mitchenkov, 2014).

In the article “FEMEN walks the world” it is said about the active foreign activity of FEMEN. In particular, a series of “regular actions abroad” is described ("FEMEN walks", 2013). The newspaper tells about the action at the opening of the Berlin Film Festival, where activists opposed the “female circumcision”: “Several half-naked participants broke into the red carpet, where the activist was quickly detained by security forces” ("FEMEN walks", 2013). The speech was timed to the International day of Fight against “Female Genital Mutilation”. As explained by the participant in the action, Alexandra Shevchenko, “we decided to use this event in order to draw attention to this terrible problem” ("FEMEN walks", 2013). Also, there is described an action at the airport in Rio de Janeiro, where the participants of the FEMEN “were calling to abandon sexual slavery”, which is especially acute during the Brazilian carnival ("FEMEN walks", 2013).

About the action “topless jihad”, which took place in Kiev near the mosque, the following is said: “The participants of the action were bared to the waist, on their chest they had the inscriptions of Free Amina, in support of the FEMEN companion from Tunisia Amina Thaler, who published her photo in a semi-nude and then faced threats from the Islamists” ("FEMEN activists showed Islamists", 2013). On April 4, 2013, the organization declared “irreconcilable topless jihad to Islamism” in order to support the “brave Amina”.

The newspaper described the action in the city of Namur (Belgium), where “feminists doused the Belgian prime minister with mayonnaise and sprinkled with French fries”. Thus, the activists “expressed their attitude to the course of the country’s leadership on “tightening the belts”. The action was accompanied by cries of “Down with austerity” and “Michelle – get out!” (Mitchenkov, 2013). At the same time, the Prime Minister “smiled all the time when he was watered with mayonnaise, sprinkled with potatoes, he just liked it all, because he is a normal person, normal to women, understands that politics is a complicated thing, keeps

himself in hand and always healthy, for which I call everyone”, – commented on the action of A. Bilzho (Mitchenkov, 2013).

Consider the features of the media presentation of the action in Hannover, which was described in detail in several materials of Kommersant.

The newspaper reviewer A. Kolesnikov witnessed this action: “Vladimir Putin and Angela Merkel were already studying the contents of the stand, the doors of the scarlet concept car were already opening up to them, when a few half-naked girls sprang directly out into them. They were not to be confused with anyone: FEMEN activists!” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). Participants of the action “did not reach Vladimir Putin just about five meters and managed to scream all that they think about him” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). The fact that they “did not have time to shout” was written – “no, not on their faces, but on their girlish bodies” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). Regarding the activities of the guard, the journalist writes: “The bodies were twisted. The procedure took a few seconds” (Kolesnikov, 2013a).

Security measures have “conquered” Putin: “One girl was stopped literally half a meter from the Russian president. She furiously rushed to the guards with fists (if she got to Vladimir Putin, no doubt, would have got him). The guards reciprocated her in the same way” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). At the same time, “the screech on the stand of Volkswagen was as if these strong men burst into the women’s bath” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). Girls at the sight of the guards “began to lie down on the floor themselves”; “One of the guards carefully covered them with jackets – first of all from outside views, and above all – from the views of Vladimir Putin, so that he could not reproach himself later, that he saw something superfluous” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). One German guard behaved differently: “In a dangerous proximity from Angela Merkel pacified the flesh (whether maiden, or his own) by feet” (Kolesnikov, 2013a).

The journalist describes the reaction of politicians: “The Federal Chancellor did not like what was happening. She has become gloomy, and it cannot be said that impregnable: feminists still struggled to her”; “Vladimir Putin smiled and even at one point raised two thumbs. Although he did not like it, I think, either” (Kolesnikov, 2013a).

At a press conference, Putin’s response to the action “was life-affirming”. Quotes of Putin’s journalist accompanies his own comments:

“– As for the action, – I liked it.

Indeed, for the sake of justice, from time to time there was something to look at.

– In principle, we knew that such an action is being prepared.

Apparently, prevent it was not included in anyone's plans.

And in fact:

– Tell me, – Vladimir Putin added, – thanks to the Ukrainian girls, they help you promote the fair.

It turned out that “without carrying out such action there would be less interest to the Hannover Fair”. Well, in fact, it's not a Gazprom's stand that can interest journalists.

“What they shouted for, I honestly did not hear, because the security men worked very hard. Such big foreheads piled on the girls! This, it seems to me, is wrong, it would be possible to treat them softer”, Putin said.

That is, they had to be fed with sweets, whether that.

No one can like it when someone shout at your face that you are a dictator (even if, let's say, the person really works as a dictator). But he had no choice but to show indulgent irony: these are the laws of the public genre” (Kolesnikov, 2013a).

Merkel said at a press conference that “We are a free country and we can demonstrate. She did not decipher what exactly, it was already clear” (Kolesnikov, 2013a).

Putin's thesis that it is better to discuss political issues dressed, “hardly convinced the girls from FEMEN in this” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). Putin said that “the charms they showed were not well” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). The journalist concludes: “He admitted that he nevertheless had a good look at the girls <...> It turned out that his position towards them for a half of a day has changed very much” (Kolesnikov, 2013a). Against the backdrop of the action, according to the author, “the inspection of even such epoch-making stands as “Rosneft”, “Transneft” and, sorry, “Gazprom”, has faded” (Kolesnikov, 2013a).

Another article refers to the participants of the action: “Five activists of the German branch of FEMEN movement participated in the Hannover exhibition: three German women (one of them was born in Russia) and two Ukrainian women (Alexandra Shevchenko and Oksana Shachko – both live in Germany)” (Chernenko, 2013a).

FEMEN activist Inna Shevchenko told the newspaper that the girls went through to the territory of the exhibition complex by the usual tickets: “How they managed to get so close to

Vladimir Putin, she did not tell, noticing only that “FEMEN always find how to get to their enemy as close as it is possible” (Chernenko, 2013a).

The girls were taken to the police station after being detained, where they were charged under art. 103 of the Criminal Code of Germany “Public insult to a representative exercising public authority of a foreign state” (Chernenko, 2013b).

In explanation to the newspaper of the press service of the Hannover police, it is said: “this article is automatically instigated – without the request of an “insulted” party”, “the maximum penalty is two years of imprisonment”; “girls are likely to get off with a small monetary penalty” (Chernenko, 2013a).

Putin’s spokesman Dmitry Peskov said that “activists of the FEMEN group can be held accountable for hooliganism”, but he does not call for it (“According to the Ukrainian”, 2013).

Supplementing the issue, the newspaper writes that “In showing breasts to the president of Russia with impunity the FEMEN members were not succeed”: “they can be imprisoned for three years for publicly insulting of a foreign politician” (“According to the Ukrainian”, 2013).

The newspaper publishes comments by lawyers who are sure that “if Ukraine intervenes for its citizens, they can get away with fine” (“According to the Ukrainian”, 2013). Lawyer of the Moscow Bar Association “Yakovlev&Partners” Irina Barsukova told the newspaper: “If the case is committed on the territory of Germany, German law enforcement bodies have the right, even considering that it’s foreigners, detain them and apply some measures. Most likely, they can get rid of either with a fine for insulting a government representative, or there will be really criminal responsibility. But considering that they are citizens of Ukraine, how Ukraine will act here, whether it will protect its citizens or not. According to the Ukrainian legislation, as well as we have, there is no arrest for this act” (“According to the Ukrainian”, 2013).

The data of the German media are cited: “The investigation of this case will continue in the event of a request being made by the injured party, that is, Russian President Vladimir Putin” (“According to the Ukrainian”, 2013).

According to the journalist A. Kolesnikov, the way in which girls from FEMEN “throw” themselves to Putin and Merkel, “deserves respect” (Kolesnikov, 2013b). The one who “got to the president of Russia closer, seemed to be about to get him, she even swung. But then the

German guard threw her away” (Kolesnikov, 2013b). Then the journalist thinks: “I just think about what did she if she reached Vladimir Putin. She was then surprised that journalists in Russia and Vladimir Putin treated her very lightly, saying that he liked it, however, later he came to the conclusion that it was not very good. She wanted to be taken seriously when she undressed and ran to Vladimir Putin (Kolesnikov, 2013b). This, the author concludes, was an action of political protest: “She wanted them – the FEMEN girls – perceived the same as, for example, the Pussy Riot girls. And I do not exclude that going out on the podium of the Volkswagen salon in Hannover, Ukrainian girls were preparing for something most important in their lives, they were preparing to serve, for example, a dyad, but they were not taken properly. I still see on the faces of people looking at photos from this event, smiles that they cannot hide and are not going to hide. And there are these mockingly lenient smiles that are a hundred percent guarantee that they will never be perceived as politicians” (Kolesnikov, 2013b). In order to become politicians, “they first, alas, have to get dressed. Not necessarily in balaclava” (Kolesnikov, 2013b). The FEMEN actions – is not politics, but “just a decoration of our sluggish, but fast flowing life. I cannot imagine this life without them anymore. Yes, I would have thought that I had wasted my time in Hannover, if not for them, they really helped me. And therefore, they cannot be jailed, it is impossible to make them political – this is such a desperate request to Angela Merkel”, A. Kolesnikov concludes. At the same time, if they are jailed, then “they will become political, and will cease to be a decoration” (Kolesnikov, 2013b).

About how the members of FEMEN can be “decoration”, narrates the journalist A. Khazeeva, describing the details of the choice of Inna Shevchenko “the symbol of France”, which is traditionally depicted on state postage stamps. She became the “model of the renewed symbol of the French Republic” – Marianna (Khazeeva, 2013).

During the presentation of the brand, Francois Hollande stated that the “new Marianne” reflects the priority of his presidency: “Immediately after the elections, I decided that the image of Marianne on the new postal stamp of the French Republic will personify the youth, will be created by youth and will also be chosen by young people” (Khazeeva, 2013).

The president of the Russian National Academy of Philately Andrei Strygin in an interview with the newspaper said that the stamp with the image of Marianne is one of the most famous in the world, it has existed for more than 100 years as a symbol of France. The prototype of the first image of Marianne was a peasant woman, who seemed to the artist of the stamp a

“typical French woman”. In the 1970s, the model for Marianne was Catherine Deneuve (Khazeeva, 2013).

Russian artist Alexander Shaburov noted that activists of protest movements, including FEMEN, became “the heroines of our time”: “All these protest girls are beautiful, energetic, therefore they are all replicable as often as possible and anywhere. Remember that all non-specialized elements have always been heroes. Remember how Pushkin goes to write “The History of the Pugachev Rebellion”, or there is any Sophia Perovskaya is throwing a bomb and the whole intellectuals is for her. It has a long tradition” (Khazeeva, 2013).

Another topic of the Kommersant’s publications about FEMEN are the events of the summer of 2013, which led to the cessation of the activity of the movement in Ukraine.

First, the newspaper reported the attack of SBU officers on A. Gutsol: “The leader of the women’s movement FEMEN Anna Gutsol was attacked by the SBU in the entrance of her house. One of the SBU officers, from the surveillance activities group assigned to Anna, attacked her at the time of leaving the apartment at 9:00, when Anna, as usual, was walking her dog. A strong-built man ran down the stairs from the third floor (Anna lives on the second floor) slapped Anna on the face with his fist and grabbed the dog and ran downstairs to the exit. Anna, despite the damage, chased him, in order to save her pet, Fima, the breed of Spitz. Running out behind the attacker to the street, Anna saw him running across the yard, getting into the car with the driver, who was waiting for him on the road, and quickly leaving, taking the dog with him” (“FEMEN Statement”, 2013).

Then in the article “A Women’s Affair” the details of the search of the FEMEN office in Kiev were described. The reason for the search, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, was “the anonymous information that the office is mined” (Skoropadsky, 2013a).

After that, the representatives of the FEMEN circulated information that “neither the weapons, nor the explosives, nor drugs the movement doesn’t store” and “if narcotic or toxic substances, prohibited items or weapons are found in the premises of our headquarters – this is a provocation of the Ukrainian authorities” (“FEMEN Statement”, 2013). Activists reported that “today was the last day of our stay in the office, as we were going to move to another room”, which the security services, in their opinion, knew. Police officers quickly found weapons, so it seemed that they “knew in advance where to look for it, so we have no doubt that all of this was planted to us”. It is reported that the police found an image of the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Kirill and Putin with a target on his forehead, which,

according to Gutsol, is the reason for “accusation in an attempt to assassinate them” (“FEMEN Statement”, 2013).

The result of the search was the registration of materials under Part 1 of Art. 263 of the Criminal Code – “the illegal manufacture, processing or repair of firearms or explosive devices”, which involves an imprisonment for up to seven years (Skoropadsky, 2013a).

The actions of the security forces, which FEMEN treats as a provocation, as well as “previous attacks and beatings of representatives of the movement” forced FEMEN “to decide on going abroad of several famous activists: “We decided that activists who are known to the police and the Security Service should leave country and live in Europe, but the movement itself, of course, will continue its activities in Ukraine. We won’t be intimidated by any repressions” (Skoropadsky, 2013a).

Thus, the leadership of the organization left Ukraine, “accusing the authorities and special services of assaulting activists and trying to throw weapons into the office of the movement” (Skoropadsky, 2013c). At the same time, Gutsol stated that “the actions of FEMEN in Ukraine will continue, but foreigners will participate in them” (Skoropadsky, 2013c). Further, she notes: “Let the criminal regime of Yanukovych with his power henchmen not to count on the absence of FEMEN in the Ukrainian politics” (Skoropadsky, 2013c).

Now the new center of the movement will be France. The former consultant of the movement V. Svyatsky said that FEMEN is “a French legion that “can attack anywhere in the world. For shares in Ukraine, FEMEN will send foreign women, who thanks to their foreign citizenship, are better protected” (Skoropadsky, 2013c).

The newspaper reports that A. Gutsol, V. Svyatsky, as well as activists of the movement A. Shevchenko and J. Zhdanova left the country. In Europe, FEMEN will be able “to engage in social activities calmly, without fear for life and freedom”, (Skoropadsky, 2013c).

In an interview with the newspaper I. Gutsol told about the organization’s future plans: “All the founders will follow the example of Inna Shevchenko asking for political asylum in Europe”. The activities of FEMEN in Ukraine will not stop: “A couple of Ukrainian women have remained in the vaults”. The movement in the territory of Ukraine is impossible, while “the country will not change the dictatorial regime” (Skoropadsky, 2013b).

For security reasons, “Ukrainian themes” will be implemented by European activists: “We do not have an office in Tunisia either, but we are holding promotions there. In Russia, we also

never had an office, and it did not stop us from desecrate the polling station where Putin voted, or hoist the Ukrainian flag on the roof of Gazprom. Let the criminal regime of Yanukovych with his power henchmen do not count on the absence of FEMEN in Ukrainian politics!” (Skoropadsky, 2013b)

Now in Ukraine is in power of “a criminal regime led by Viktor Yanukovich” (Skoropadsky, 2013b). The Association of Ukraine with the EU, according to Gutsol, “will not save Ukraine, will not save democracy” (Skoropadsky, 2013b). The signing of the agreement with the EU “legitimizes this power”, thereby the EU “becomes a sponsor of the Ukrainian dictatorship” (Skoropadsky, 2013b). The activist believes that the agreement does not need to be signed: “My position here is clear: do not sign anything with these bandits! Yanukovych has no right to speak on behalf of Ukraine, since most of the population hates him and does not consider him his president after what he did with the country over the years in power: corruption has grown in Ukraine, the lawlessness of the Security Service and Interior Ministry has increased, political persecution has unfolded, political prisoners appeared, a ban on peaceful assemblies was introduced, homophobic laws were adopted, and general curtailment of civil liberties occurred. You cannot sponsor a dictatorship! With the same success, one can make an association with Minsk and expect freedom from Lukashenka” (Skoropadsky, 2013b).

Financing the organization is “charitable donations and an online store where things are sold with our symbols” (Skoropadsky, 2013b). Financial aid has always come from “European supporters, so with the move from Kiev, we have not lost anything in this regard” (Skoropadsky, 2013b).

A. Gutsol told the newspaper about FEMEN’s plans: “We continue to focus on building the world’s most famous and influential women’s organization, capable with its resourcefulness and boldness to confront the most pressing anti-war challenges of our time, such as the post-Soviet dictatorship, radical Islamism, state intervention and church institutions in the life of women, in particular, attempts to ban abortion. And no dictators, bandits or special services will stop us. The main center of the movement is now in Paris, where we continue to train new activists and develop a plan and strategy for our work. The next year is the final conquest of Europe” (Skoropadsky, 2013b).

After publications on the termination of FEMEN in Ukraine (summer 2013), Kommersant stopped monitoring their actions. In general, this newspaper wrote about FEMEN less than other analyzed Russian publications.

Analysis of the publications of “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” about FEMEN

Being the official printed organ of the Government of the Russian Federation, the daily Rossiyskaya Gazeta represents the conservative wing of the Russian media.

Analyzing the materials of Rossiyskaya Gazeta, it is worth mentioning the themes in the context of which the publication examines the activities of FEMEN: women's rights, religion, anti-Christianity and anticlericalism, a protest feminist movement.

The newspaper published reports on the international activities of FEMEN. The newspaper wrote about protest actions in Paris, Hannover, Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, Brussels, Strasbourg, etc. These materials were published in the column “In the World”.

In addition to reporting on the actions, the newspaper covered the arrests of activists, criminal cases against them. It should be noted, one-sided and critical coverage of FEMEN activities in the articles of the analyzed publication.

In the publications of Rossiyskaya Gazeta, FEMEN are named: Ukrainian movement FEMEN, scandalous group FEMEN, group FEMEN, scandalous movement FEMEN, shocking feminist movement FEMEN, “topless” movement FEMEN.

Participants of the movement are represented as follows: FEMEN activist, activist of shocking feminist movement, half-naked girl, activists from FEMEN movement, activists of the Ukrainian FEMEN movement, extremist feminists, activist of “topless” movement FEMEN, Ukrainian “Amazon”, half-naked representatives of FEMEN movement, Ukrainian “sextremists”, extremist organization, hooligans, shockingly hooliganized girls, girls from FEMEN, girls, representatives of FEMEN, Ukrainian women, half-naked furies, “drummers” of the organization, “sextremists”, girl-brawlers, radical Ukrainian feminists, FEMENs, half-naked girls, dismissed ladies.

The actions in the journalistic texts of the Rossiyskaya Gazeta are named: a sacrilegious action, antics of FEMEN, a naked action, another “naked” action, another action by the FEMEN, a wild anti-Christian trick of FEMEN, a provocative escapade, “sex diversion”, a coven, shocking actions, ugly action, ugly trick, FEMEN provocations, demonstration, naked protest, vile performance, the actions of violent women, regular topless actions around the world, naked protests in public places, incident, “sexfeminists” performances, shocking's performances, naked picket, bright actions, sacrilegious actions.

Specific coverage of FEMEN's activities is the presence of expressive vocabulary and vulgarisms in the delivery of information. A lot of similar examples are found in the description of the actions and participants: "activists from the FEMEN movement have rushed to storm one of the Milan polling stations" (Mirakyan, 2013); "The coven, arranged in the cathedral of Notre Dame after the resignation of Pope Benedict XVI" (Prokofiev, 2013b); "Sabbats, which half-naked furies from FEMEN arrange in European capitals" (Prokofiev, 2013d); "The Sabbath lasted for several minutes – until the ministers of the cathedral, under the indignant exclamations of tourists and parishioners, put hooligans outside" (Prokofiev, 2013f); "a nasty trick at Notre Dame after the suicide of the writer and historian Dominique Venner" (Prokofiev, 2013b); "Violators almost immediately twisted" (Mirakyan, 2013); Patrick Jacquin, dean of the Notre Dame Cathedral, filed two lawsuits against FEMEN, accusing the half-naked furies of assault and desecration of the temple" (Prokofiev, 2013a); "on the same day and the hour Inna Shevchenko, as usual, "topless", before the Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome, screamed at the top: "Christmas is canceled!", thereby indicating that the object of the vile performance in the Temple of Madeleine was Jesus Christ" (Prokofiev, 2013g).

Let's consider the specifics of the description of FEMEN on the pages of the newspaper: the ways of presenting the history of the movement, the main lines of activity and the description of activists.

It is indicated that the FEMEN movement arose in 2008, its headquarters was in Kiev. Initially, "FEMENs" opposed "sexual oppression" of compatriots, however later switched to "protests within broad anarchist framework" (Prokofiev, 2013a).

According to the organizers, at first the movement had about 40 participants in Ukraine, now its ranks are "joined by more than hundreds of women around the world, ready to expose their breasts in public" (Prokofiev, 2013a). There is no formal membership in the movement. Officially, it exists through the sale of souvenirs, but many "events" require more serious funding.

The first time about "half-naked girls", as stated in the article by V. Prokofiev, dedicated to the action in the Notre Dame Cathedral, "really began to speak after the outbreak of outright vandalism in the center of Kiev, when the "FEMENs" sawed a cross to the victims of repression". After that, a criminal case was initiated against "Amazons" in Ukraine under the article "hooliganism" (Prokofiev, 2013a).

Among the actions appear “cross-falling”, “thrash molebens”, “international topless jihad”, and other manifestations of “street female resistance”. Among modern actions, which are named the “sex diversions” in the newspaper – are the “exposure in the Vatican during the Mass, naked actions in the Notre Dame Cathedral and the Kiev mosque, as well as at the industrial fair in Hannover” (Prokofiev, 2013a).

It is noted that the corporate style of the actions is “breasts and slogans”: “Activists of the FEMEN movement became famous throughout the world for organizing scandalous actions according to the scheme of “breasts and slogans” (Dulman, Pchelnikov & Fedyakin, 2013).

It is emphasized that FEMEN is a feminist organization that holds protests not only in Ukraine, but all over the world. A distinctive feature of the actions is that they always appear topless. The newspaper focuses on the anti-Christianity and provocation of the “tricks” of the FEMEN.

The leitmotif of most of the actions of FEMEN, according to the newspaper, is “we’ll strike prostitution through sexuality”. But there are actions with a different meaning: “Collecting the money for the redemption of Yulia Tymoshenko from the Lukyanivka SIZO, actions that ridicule another opposition leader – Arseniy Yatsenyuk, and some others that cast doubts on the independence of the FEMEN” (Dulman, Pchelnikov & Fedyakin, 2013).

The newspaper writes that FEMEN constantly conducts “wild anti-Christian tricks” in Europe. For example, “in November in Paris, the girls tried to prevent a march organized by the Catholic Institute “Civitas” against the government bill on same-sex marriage. In defiant clothes rushed to the demonstrators, insulted, poured from the sprayers with blasphemous inscription “Jesus’ sperm”. And immediately received a rebuff – the Paris Catholics were not as tolerant as the FEMEN activists might have expected” (Prokofiev, 2013h).

In an interview with the newspaper, psychologist A. Mymrin, speaking of revolutions as “the territory of cities where it is easy to accommodate a fear”, explains psychological techniques by the example of the group FEMEN. He argues that there are events that exist only in the system of prohibitions: “Hence the main attribute of the FEMEN is a naked breast. Why did not they attach the horn to themselves, not the wings behind their backs? This does not affect the crowd. It is necessary to touch in each of us a living, eroticism. This, regardless of nationality, education, religion, is subconsciously perceived as the basis and condition of life” (Novoselova, 2013).

In general, FEMEN actions are treated by the newspaper as “protests in a broad anarchist framework” (Prokofiev, 2013a).

The following “public information” about FEMEN is reported in the article “Against FEMEN was filed a case”, dedicated to the action in Hannover (Dulman, Pchelnikov & Fedyakin, 2013):

- the official sponsor-trustees of FEMEN is “a Ukrainian publisher, originally from the United States, Jed Sunden, a German dj, the owner of a bohemian Kiev pub and simply anonymous students”;

- “the girls talk about forty companions, directly involved in the actions, one and a half thousand active supporters and dozens of thousands of sympathizers around the world. The majority of activists are Kiev students, who came to the organization “from the Internet”;

- “the face and the breast of the organization” - Alexandra Shevchenko, which studies in a Kiev university and lives in a rented apartment;

- co-founder of FEMEN Anna Gutsol graduated from the provincial high school with a degree in economics, “worked for a year in Kiev in the field of show business, where she probably got the notion of PR”. Her father is ex-deputy of the Rada Mikhail Gutsol, “a well-known person in Ukraine and extremely colorful”, “a general of the Cossack troops, leader of the environmental party “Rainbow”, defending the legalization of marijuana and the rights of sexual minorities”; his career is connected with the scandalous Ukrainian oligarch and media magnate Vadim Rabinovich.

Another material says that the leader of the movement Anna Gutsol in the actions has never participated and behaves “emphatically asexual” (“FEMEN decided to complete”, 2013).

On the financing of FEMEN, the newspaper says the following: according to the organizers of the movement, “trustees give them only 600-800 euros a month for paintings and paints” (Dulman, Pchelnikov & Fedyakin, 2013). The journalist notes that “it’s hard to believe”: “Ukrainian bloggers have calculated: for example, the European voyage of FEMEN with a striptease in the Vatican costs about 100 thousand euros” (Dulman, Pchelnikov & Fedyakin, 2013). At the same time, another article says that “the French want to know who finances FEMEN” (Prokofiev, 2013d).

It is emphasized that with finances in the organization “not everything is clean”. This is evidenced by the breakaway from FEMEN activist from Tunisia Amina Tyler. In Ukraine, foreign sponsors were among the sponsors of the movement: “This is an American millionaire Jed Sunden, a German, owner of the “Zhigolo records” Helmut Gaier, and his fellow businesswoman Beata Schober. Do they still continue to invest euro in “sextremists” or have the other sponsors which are cooler found?” (Prokofiev, 2013d).

In the descriptions of the action, the details of the appearance of the participants of the movement predominate, and attention is focused on the corporal representation of the action. The articles describe the nude and semi-nude bodies of girls, the slogans of the action written on them:

“the girls tore off their t-shirts, left topless, and shouted at the top of their voices: “Shut up, homophobic!”. At the same time, on their naked bodies figured the inscription drawn by a felt pen – “We believe in gays” (Prokofiev, 2013h);

“the girls, dressed in long coats, went into the cathedral, threw off their outer clothes and, half-naked, began to chant anti-Papal slogans. “Papa is no more!”, shouted the Ukrainians”; “on the torso and backs of feminists, it was written “No homophobia”, “Crisis of faith” and “Farewell, Farewell, Benedict” (“FEMEN held an action in the Notre, 2013);

“the maidens threw off their outer garments and in the already familiar negligee began shouting slogans against the head of the Catholic church, beating with wooden sticks prepared in advance on bells” (Prokofiev, 2013f);

“having thrown off their coats and bared their torso, they with terrible cries of “Enough Berlusconi” and the same inscription on the upper part of the body began to agitate voters “to change their minds”;

“feminists with nude busts lined up in front of the embassy, shouting slogans “Our breasts are our weapons”, “Tits are not bombs” and others. Then they strengthened the banner “Boobs no bomb” on the roof of the building” (“FEMEN activists held an action in Brussels”, 2013);

“two naked girls to the waist burst onto the stage during the release of the German model and began to chant slogans: “Model do not go to brothel” and “Fashion – dictaterror” («FEMEN activists held an action in Paris”, 2013);

“activists ran to the stage of the audience in a traditionally half-naked kind: on the upper part of their body was written “Stop homophobia!”, “Lord, save lesbians!”. At the moment when they began to pour over the priest with water, the archbishop kept calm and read a prayer” («FEMEN activist doused», 2013);

«FEMEN activists were, as they do, stripped to the waist. The bodies of the girls were adorned with inscriptions in English: “life in plastic is not fantastic” («FEMEN activists held an action», 2013).

“on the breast of the activist, who was holding a toy gun, it was written: “Fascism, burn in hell”, and on the back – “In gay we trust” («FEMEN held an action in the Notre», 2013).

The swiftness of the actions of FEMEN is underlined. To do this, the verbs are used in their description: they broke out, broke in, ran out, suddenly jumped up, rushed to the altar, unexpectedly appeared and others. All the actions are built according to the same scheme: unexpected performance for the eyewitnesses and quick reaction to it by law enforcers, security guards, ministers of the cathedral. The swiftness of the actions can be illustrated by the following quotes:

“Resisting “ladies” - two women from Eastern Europe and one Frenchwoman – were immediately “neutralized” by law enforcement forces and taken to the local police station” («FEMEN activists undressed at the polling», 2013);

“a 20-year-old girl from the beginning of the mass was sitting in a coat and a headscarf in the first row among the faithful, then suddenly jumped up and in some jeans rushed to the altar” (Roze, 2013);

“20 minutes after the start of the action, they were arrested” («FEMEN activists held», 2013);

“immediately after the end of their campaign, the feminists immediately disappeared” («FEMEN activist doused», 2013);

“in the best traditions of this organization, famous for its vivid actions, three feminists unexpectedly appeared at the doors of the school of Dante Alighieri in Milan – the site where Silvio Berlusconi voted today” («FEMEN activists undressed at the polling», 2013);

“the Sabbath lasted for several minutes – until the ministers of the cathedral, under the indignant exclamations of tourists and parishioners, put hooligans outside” (Prokofiev, 2013f);

“the girls who were among the media representatives broke through the fence, stripped to their waists and began shouting obscene slogans in English. The same phrases were written on their bodies” (Zavrazhin, 2013);

“the Sabbath lasted for several minutes, until the ministers of the cathedral drove the bullies to the street. True, they resisted” (Prokofiev, 2013a);

“the demonstration did not last long, and soon the police detained the protesters” (Latukhina, 2013a);

“the police promptly detained the feminist, but the cathedral itself was closed for some time after the action” («FEMEN held an action in the Notre», 2013);

“Local police quickly twisted activists and brought them to the local building of court” (Samozhnev, 2013);

“FEMEN activist broke through to the altar and arranged a naked protest action” (Roze, 2013).

While holding the actions, FEMEN repeatedly stripped before the politicians, as the newspaper writes:

“the girls broke through to the stand of one of the German autoconcerns at a time when it was examined by Russian President Vladimir Putin and German Chancellor Angela Merkel. Girls, as usual, undressed to the waist and began shouting slogans using obscene words in English” (Dulman, Pchelnikov & Fedyakin, 2013);

“FEMEN activists are undressed from the department of the German Chancellor in Berlin”; “Three girls from FEMEN were detained on Friday morning in front of the Federal Chancellery in the center of Berlin. They tried to draw the attention of Angela Merkel to the fate of her companions” (Pchelnikov, 2013);

“FEMEN activists were bared before the Tunisian premier in Brussels” (“FEMEN activists held”, 2013);

“activists of the FEMEN movement on Tuesday in the morning were able to break through the cordon of the presidential security service and come close to François Hollande, who visited one cultural center in the French capital” (Prokofiev, 2014i).

Attention is also paid to the anti-clerical actions of FEMEN. The newspaper wrote about the action in the Vatican, “where the FEMEN tried to disrupt the speech of Pope Benedict XVI”; about the action in the Cathedral of the Notre Dame of Paris “in honor of the abdication of the throne of Pope Benedict XVI”; about how the FEMEN activists “sprinkled holy water on the head of the Catholic Church in Belgium, the Archbishop of Mechelen-Bruxelles, André-Mutien Leonard; about the action in the Cologne Cathedral (“FEMEN held an action in the Notre”, 2013).

In general, the newspaper writes about “a series of blasphemous acts of “sextremists” FEMEN directed against the church” (Prokofiev, 2013g).

The actions in the temples are treated as “sacrilegious”. As for the action in the Vatican, it is said that “the liberal radicals got to the Vatican” (Prokofiev, 2013h). The fact that “extremist-minded feminists” got to the Vatican and “dared to organize a sacrilegious action there”, in the author’s opinion, “speaks volumes”. The paper mentions that there are “sufficiently influential forces” that allowed “Ukrainian “sektremists” to settle in France, and took them to “a well-defined role”: “hateful flamboyant mouthpiece, to sling mud, defame Catholics because they are consistently defends tradition, protects faith and family as the basis of civilization, human existence” (Prokofiev, 2013h).

Who specifically the newspaper refers to under the “influential forces” in the text is not mentioned, but there is a suggestion that “they want to strike the Vatican. And do not like that the stronghold of Catholicism stands for a strong family, defends its principles. And do not want Europe to become a haven of gays and lesbians. So, the opponents did not spare even the Pope” (Prokofiev, 2013h).

The author of the article draws analogies with Russia, where “the Orthodox Church and its hierarchs are subjected to increasingly bitter attacks from neo-liberals”. Mentioned “ugly performance by the girls from the group “Pussy Riot” in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, whom they applauded, justifying Sabbath by principles of “freedom of expression” (Prokofiev, 2013h).

Deputy Chairman of the Department for External Church Relations of the ROC Hegumen Filaret (Bulekov) believes that the actions of the FEMEN group are “a new public insult to the feelings of believers and a call for aggressive secularism” (Prokofiev, 2013h). He calls the action “antics” and compares it with the action in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior Pussy. Arriving at the place of the mass meeting of believers of the Roman Catholic Church with its

spiritual leader, representatives of FEMEN violate “the traditional spirit of prayer of such meetings”, showing “open disrespect to the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church and to all for whom is dear and the holy Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome” (Prokofiev, 2013h). The actions of FEMEN testify to the denial of the right of believers to have their opinion, the action-players “do not consider it possible for the believers to publicly express their attitude to the theme of the family” (Prokofiev, 2013h).

On the occasion of the action in the Cologne Cathedral, the newspaper writes that the appearance of topless in the altar of one of the largest Catholic cathedrals of the world “was supposed to denote a protest against the “sexist and patriarchal” views of the 80-year-old cardinal” (“FEMEN activist naked”, 2013). On her breast, the activist of the FEMEN movement “who climbed on the altar of the Cologne Cathedral during the Christmas Mass, conducted by the Archbishop of Cologne, Cardinal Joachim Meisner” wrote “I am God”. The FEMEN activist, in her words, wanted to protest “against the power monopoly of the Catholic Church and the oppression of certain groups by it”. Cologne is “a bastion of Catholics in Germany, and Cardinal Meisner embodies its conservative orientation”, - the activist told reporters (Roze, 2013).

The newspaper writes about criminal cases related to the activities of FEMEN, detentions and violation of laws:

- “The police detained the activist while trying to break into the mosque in Kiev. The exact number of detainees has not yet been reported. But it is known that among them was the leader of the movement Anna Gutsol” (“FEMEN activists were detained in Kiev”, 2013);
- “in Kiev, police officers detained three activists FEMEN and a young man for petty hooliganism” (“FEMEN activists were detained in Kiev”, 2013);
- after the action in Hannover, the FEMEN “detained and criminal proceedings were instituted against them under Article 103 of the Criminal Code of Germany (“Insulting state bodies and representatives of foreign states”) (Zavrazhin, 2013);
- “against activists of the FEMEN movement, known for their naked protests in public places, in France started a criminal case” (“With regard”, 2013).

About the involvement of FEMEN activists to legal responsibility after the action in the Notre Dame Cathedral in the newspaper the following is written: “The case for the action of the girls in the Notre Dame Cathedral after the abdication of the Pope Benedict XVI on February

12 was transferred to the judicial proceedings. Representative of the French foreign policy department Philippe Lalliot did not specify whether there is a case of a citizen of the Russian Federation or Ukraine among the figurants. It is also not known what kind of punishment threatens the participants of this action" ("With regard", 2013). According to local jurists, they violated several laws: "they can be held accountable for "insulting individuals or groups of people on grounds of religious affiliation", "mutilation", "sexual exhibitionism in a public place". Only for one "pokazuhu" activists can face punishment in the form of a year in prison and a fine of 10 thousand euros" (Prokofiev, 2013a).

As a result of the trial in September 2014, the French court dropped all charges from FEMEN activists in the case of a "hooligan act" at the Notre Dame Cathedral. In addition, the newspaper writes, "the guards of the Cathedral imposed a penalty of up to 500 euros for trying to force the girls out into the street" (Prokofiev, 2013e).

According to the author of the article, strangely enough, "the fact of insulting the religious feelings of believers by court was not accepted for trial, they considered only the issue of "damage to church property", as well as "the use of physical force by guards". Damage – the damaged gilt of the bell "Marcel" – the judge found unproven, and only the lawyer of the injured party Laurent Delvolve spoke about the moral side of the coven in Notre Dame" (Prokofiev, 2013e). It is reported that the court's decision "provoked outrage of the French", and "many local politicians and public figures" reacted to it. The newspaper quotes them: "The right to sacrilege prevails! This is shame and provocation! France is dishonored!", - the leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Christine Buten, said (Prokofiev, 2013e). Justification of FEMEN activists, Senator from "the Union in Support of the Popular Movement" (UMP) Bruno Retajo named "nothing more than a mandate given to them for mockery church and hate" (Prokofiev, 2013e).

The president of the Catholic movement "Civitas" Alain Escada told the newspaper: "I am discouraged. I think if the target of these furies were not a Christian temple, but some other one, they would surely be condemned. This scandalous verdict once again shows that in France, courts seem to me to receive some clues about a favorable attitude towards the antics of FEMEN. And this despite the fact that the extremist organization completely discredited itself, and many French people, even those who at first sympathized with them, turned away from them. Nevertheless, in certain political circles these girls continue to enjoy support. I mean socialists who hold in their hands all the branches of state power. So, in my opinion, this case again shows that there is a serious gap between public opinion and those who now

run the country. As for the FEMEN, it's enough to recall that the Paris City Hall actively helped these disbanded ladies settle in the "House of Associations", which belongs to the metropolitan municipality, and they were provided with the appropriate equipment – computers, printers" (Prokofiev, 2013e).

An unjustified verdict for FEMEN in the Russian MFA was named the "double bookkeeping" of the "Western establishment" ("An unjustified verdict", 2013). A statement by the Russian MFA, which the newspaper publishes, states that "for the sake of political expediency, the insulted feelings of believers who are indignant at the desecration of one of the most revered churches in France are ignored. At the same time, the court, as if mocking common sense, fined the guards of the Cathedral, who were found guilty of excessively rude treatment of FEMEN activists. And what else could be expected from the French justice, since as an image of Marianne – the symbol of Republican France – in 2013 was chosen the scandalously leader of provocateurs, Ukrainian citizen Inna Shevchenko?". The Foreign Ministry stated that the "Western establishment" does not see the obvious facts - "invasion and abuse of religious relics", while "most of all unprovenly screams about the mythical invasion of Russia into Ukraine" ("An unjustified verdict", 2013).

The newspaper covered the details of the case of the Tunisian activist FEMEN Amina Tyler, who published her photos in the social network Facebook in the nude. Her body was written: "My body belongs to me, it does not represent anybody's honor" (Samozhnev, 2013). The newspaper writes that this act "provoked outrage among local ultra-conservative Islamists". Later, Tyler attempted to write on the wall of the cemetery the word FEMEN "in protest against the violation of women's rights in Tunisia". For this, she was "placed under house arrest and sent to a psychiatric hospital for treatment". She is accused of "disturbing public order, storing flammable substances and vandalism". Amina's attorney said: "The defendant may face up to two years and six months in prison on the basis of the charges" (Samozhnev, 2013).

The newspaper writes that Amina Tyler, who spent more than two months in prison, decided to "break with Ukrainian feminists" (Makarychev, 2013). The young Tunisian, who "managed to get a black mark" from the Islamists for the inscription on the wall of the mosque and a photo in the nude", said: "I do not want to be in the ranks of the movement where doubtful money is circulating. What if they are financed by Israel? I want to know about this. In addition, I do not want my name to be associated with Islamophobic organizations" (Makarychev, 2013).

She expressed disagreement with the actions of FEMEN, during which the girls shouted “Amina Akbar!”, “Akbar FEMEN” in front of the Tunisian Embassy in France or burned a flag in front of the mosque of Paris: “This offended many Muslims, and many of my relatives. We must respect the religion of every person” (Makarychev, 2013). The text says that Amina several times asked the leader of the movement Inna Shevchenko about the origin of money allocated for the actions, but she left away from the answer.

I. Shevchenko believes that in prison Amin could be “broken”: “This behavior is a typical for a person who is under pressure. Other detained activists of the FEMEN movement once had the same reaction” (Makarychev, 2013).

The newspaper notes that the first conviction in respect of the FEMEN in the history of the existence was handed down by the French court: “The activist of the movement, Yana Zhdanova, is obliged to pay a fine of 1500 euros for “exhibitionism”, 3004 euro for material damage, and 1000 euros for “moral damage” (“FEMEN Activist Convicted”, 2014). She was punished for “an action organized in the Grevin Wax Museum in Paris, during which the wax figure of Russian President Vladimir Putin was damaged” (“FEMEN Activist Convicted”, 2014).

The publications of the newspaper cite statements about FEMEN of Russian and foreign politicians, priests, representatives of law enforcement agencies. Describing the actions of FEMEN, the newspaper also cites the opinion of “the public” and “ordinary people”.

Examples of the reaction of politicians to the FEMEN actions are the following excerpts of journalistic texts of the “Rossiyskaya Gazeta”.

French Minister of the Interior Manuel Valls condemned the “provocative escapade”, which was arranged by the “scandalous movement” of FEMEN in the Notre Dame Cathedral. Such actions, in his opinion, “contradict the republican values”. According to him, “leaving all the right to freely express their convictions, they simultaneously guarantee to the believers the opportunity to perform the cult in the decent conditions and keeping mutual respect” (Prokofiev, 2013f).

The official representative of the French government, Najat Vallo-Belkasem, described the actions of “rowdy ladies” as “a shock to all believers” (Prokofiev, 2013a).

The chairman of the National Front, Marín Le Pen, named FEMEN “a sect of hysterics”, which has nothing to do with the struggle for women’s rights, but only “makes advertising to themselves with such eccentric antics” (Zabrodina, 2014).

The mayor of Paris reacted to the “provocation of the FEMEN”, calling it “a caricature of a fair fight” for equality between the sexes (Prokofiev, 2013f). Senators centrist Yves Pozzo di Borgo and Pierre Sharon of the moderate conservative party Union for the Popular Movement (UMP) accused the French authorities of connivance. In a published communiqué, which the newspaper cites, the senators “expressed surprise at the fact that the law enforcement agencies of the capital did not foresee the FEMEN escapade and in time it was not stopped” (Prokofiev, 2013f).

And “angry in earnest” abbot of the Notre-Dame de Paris, Patrick Jacquin, filed a lawsuit to the police, accusing FEMEN of “desecrating the temple” (Prokofiev, 2013e).

The newspaper quotes V. Putin’s opinion about the FEMEN action at the fair in Hannover. During the inspection of the pavilions “an incident happened”: “Activists of the Ukrainian movement FEMEN disguised themselves as journalists and arranged a topless action in the presence of Merkel and Putin at the stand of the company Volkswagen. Undressing to the waist, they began to cry out obscene slogans. The activists were detained, and the leaders continued bypassing” (Latukhina, 2013a).

V. Putin told reporters: “I liked the action. We knew that such an action is being prepared. Ukrainian girls help to promote the fair. What they shouted, to be honest, I did not quite hear: the security men are working very hard - such healthy foreheads piled on the girls ... could have been softer. We are all used to such actions, I do not see anything terrible. But it is better to discuss in dressed appearance. Undress in other places – on the nudist beaches”.

Merkel said about the action: “We are a free country, we can demonstrate, but we must follow certain rules” (Latukhina, 2013b).

The press secretary of the President of the Russian Federation D. Peskov commented on the actions of FEMEN activists at the fair in Hannover: “Moscow did not ask the German authorities to punish them, and although it is necessary to hold them accountable for hooliganism, but they are not our hooligans, and we do not punish them” (Latukhina, 2013b).

Francois Hollande responded to the protest action of FEMEN in Paris, as follows: “You are feminists, and I understand you. You are not crazy, but you should not behave this way. I understand you” (Prokofiev, 2014).

Consider the description of the reaction of witnesses and the public to the actions and activities of FEMEN.

The newspaper writes that the visitors of the cathedral “remained extremely unhappy with the girls’ outburst”: “This is a holy place, you cannot get naked here”, said one of the indignant witnesses of the incident. “Many Parisians organized the collection of signatures under a petition “demanding to take measures against bursted “sextremists”. Many French people “hate the antics of half-naked girls, whom local authorities were allowed to settle in Paris” (“FEMEN held an action in the Notre”, 2013).

Special correspondent of the newspaper in France V. Prokofiev writes that “with their antics FEMEN activists and their boss cause a growing rejection of the French” (Prokofiev, 2013c). From Inna Shevchenko, recently “turned away” journalist and “active propagandist of sex minorities” Caroline Furest. Using her connections in influential political circles, she helped the “half-naked “sextremists” to take root in France, and their leader was granted the status of political refugee not so long ago” (Prokofiev, 2013c). The last straw that “filled the cup of patience of a Frenchwoman”, as the journalist writes, was “an Islamophobic statement by Shevchenko on the occasion of the beginning of the Muslim Ramadan. “What can be more stupid than Ramadan? What can be uglier, than this religion?” – she wrote on Twitter” (Prokofiev, 2013c).

The newspaper writes that “many Frenchmen” were angered by the appearance of the features of the “shocking Ukrainian woman” on the stamps depicting Marianna, the national symbol of France: “A number of public organizations, as well as some right-centrist political parties, called for boycotting new stamps. If the French listen to these appeals, an unprecedented crisis awaits the local post office” (Prokofiev, 2013c).

Another article devoted to this topic says that in France “a campaign is being launched demanding that the postage stamp with the symbol of France Marianne, whose prototype was Inna Shevchenko, the leader of the scandalous feminist movement FEMEN, is removed from circulation” (Prokofiev, 2013g). Models for Marianne in former times “served the ladies of a completely different level” (Prokofiev, 2013g).

Now their “anger of the French” are getting the “organized character”. An open letter to François Hollande was addressed by the coordinator of the public organization “Together for the Common Good” Julie Graziani, who insists that Shevchenko be removed from the postage stamp, because “the extremist movement led by her has nothing in common with republican values, such as tolerance, respect for religious beliefs of citizens” (Prokofiev, 2013g).

“Provocations FEMEN”, as noted in her address to François Hollande J. Graziani, are directed not only against Christians. She accused the “furious Ukrainian woman” of intending to switch from outrage to forceful actions. Shevchenko posted a message on the Social Network saying: “Soon terrorism will begin by version of FEMEN. Tick-tock, tick-tock ...” (Prokofiev, 2013g).

The president of the association “Alliance Vita” Tugdual Derville told the newspaper: “This must be stopped. The French authorities must take action against an organization that undermines our foundations” (Prokofiev, 2013g). He joined the “thousands of citizens who supported the appeal of Julie Graziani” (Prokofiev, 2013g). Many French (Catholics and atheists) “boycott the stamps with the image of the leader of FEMEN, refusing to buy them” (Prokofiev, 2013g). Employees of one of the capital’s post offices told the newspaper that “customers are lining up in their queue to purchase collection stamps with other subjects than Marianna in the guise of Shevchenko” (Prokofiev, 2013g).

Regarding the action in the Cologne Cathedral, the newspaper writes that “the public in Germany condemned the Christmas “speech” of the FEMEN activist” (Roze, 2013). The commentary of the “progressive newspaper” “Süddeutsche Zeitung” is quoted: “Josephine Witt <...> believes she has committed a cool action: protest against the hierarchy and so on. The old cardinal, by the way, a conservative gentleman, reacted very sovereignly: he made mention of this woman in his prayer. The prayer was, presumably, much more meaningful than the action with bare breast” (Roze, 2013).

Perhaps, as the newspaper further writes, J. Witt thought that she would draw sympathy with her action: “Cardinal Meisner is not particularly fond of Germany. Here all immediately demonstrate solidarity with any cheap performance, if it is an anti-Putin play. During the Cologne campaign, Germany learned: the teenage actions in this country do not fall under the freedom of demonstrations, although here the protesters are not threatened with nothing but a fine” (Roze, 2013).

As the commentator further writes, instead of jumping on the altar and admiring itself, the activist could show solidarity with the women represented in the church. “Get dressed, Josephine!” - recommended to the girl “Süddeutsche Zeitung” (Roze, 2013).

Reporting on the refusal of Switzerland to grant political asylum to the activist of the “shocking feminist movement” FEMEN Anne Gutsol, a newspaper journalist interprets this fact as “she was pointed to the door”. The reason for the refusal, according to the author, is that “the Swiss have heard about the Sabbaths, which half-naked furies from FEMEN arrange in European capitals”. Attitude to the movement of FEMEN, who moved to Paris in 2012, now is “the most negative”: “Tens of thousands of people have already signed on the call to ban FEMEN in France, and expel activists from the country” (Prokofiev, 2013d).

Summarizing the materials of the newspaper, which tell about the activities of FEMEN in Ukraine, it is necessary to allocate information about the actions in Kiev; cases of attacks on activists; decision to cease their activity on the territory of Ukraine in August 2013.

The newspaper writes that for five years the FEMEN office in Kiev was “the main organizer of scandals with “nudity” around the world” (Dulman, 2013). Actions against the FEMEN movement “occur in Ukraine regularly”. Considering FEMEN as an organization known primarily for its “love to naked protest”, it is noted that recently participants “often complain of beatings and other violence” (Dulman, 2013).

The reason for the termination of activities in Ukraine was the persecution of activists (searches, attacks). Activists note that “we understood this hint and decided to turn down the activity in Ukraine. We want to keep our activists and protect them from attacks. We are afraid to be killed!”. Girls believe that the organizers of the persecution are the Ukrainian authorities and leave Ukraine, “so that the authorities cannot get them” (“FEMEN decided to complete”, 2013).

According to the Kiev correspondent of the newspaper, who dedicated material to this event, “the scandalous girls hope that they will be sheltered by the EU” (Dulman, 2013). It is noted that over the last year the movement opened offices in Paris, Berlin and Madrid, “and the most active members have already received or are in the process of obtaining the status of political refugee” (Dulman, 2013).

The journalist notes that for no one of their “anti-Christian or anti-Russian provocations”, including the destruction of the cross in Kiev, feminists have not incurred criminal penalties.

But over the past six weeks, the central characters of the movement have become “attacking by the unknown with an enviable regularity” (Dulman, 2013).

Thus, the analysis of publications in the “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” for 2013-2014, devoted to the activities of FEMEN, allows us to draw the following conclusions.

Journalists have a negative attitude towards the FEMEN movement. Most of the materials describing their actions are accompanied by critical comments. The publications do not represent different points of view, so you can argue that the newspaper provides unbalanced information about the movement.

In the texts, there is a surfeit of expressive vocabulary and vulgar expressions. Such statements are used in relation to the FEMEN movement, its participants and the description of the actions.

The newspaper informed the readers about the history of FEMEN, its founders, promotions and main activities. In the description of the actions, the appearance of activists is described in detail, sexuality (in a negative context) is emphasized, corporality and nakedness.

Much attention is paid to the anti-clerical orientation of the actions of FEMEN. The newspaper expresses a critical attitude to such forms of protest.

The texts tell about bringing FEMEN to the legal liability for their actions, about criminal cases, detentions.

The newspaper publishes quotes about FEMEN politicians, priests, representatives of law enforcement agencies. The description of the actions is accompanied by negative comments of witnesses. In general, it is presented the dissatisfaction of “the public” and “the ordinary people” with the FEMEN activity.

Analysis of publications from “Novaya Gazeta” about FEMEN

After the formation of foreign filial branches, the decision to leave Ukraine in connection with political persecution and the flight to France of the founders of the movement, appears on the pages of the publication as an international organization. During the analysis period (2013-2014) Novaya Gazeta covered mostly foreign activities of FEMEN. Noticeably the predominate the materials from France. Their author is the correspondent of the newspaper in

Paris, Yu. Safronov. His articles describe actions in France and the Vatican, the presentation of books, lawsuits and other events related to the activities of FEMEN.

Among journalistic texts, news genres predominate (note, news, reportage), which appeared in the headings of the Society, News, Politics.

The following names of FEMEN are encountered in the newspaper texts: the group, the Ukrainian movement FEMEN, the movement FEMEN, the Ukrainian group FEMEN, the feminist movement FEMEN, the amazing movement, “stripping for freedom”, “the extremists movement”, the international feminist movement FEMEN.

Actions FEMEN in the newspaper’s materials call: antics, another action topless, topless action, bold action, hooligan action.

FEMEN members are: girls, activists of the Ukrainian movement FEMEN, modern girls, feminists from the Ukrainian movement FEMEN, girls from the movement FEMEN, violators, activists.

During the analysis period, the newspaper published reports on the following actions:

- “Pope's no more!” in the Notre Dame Cathedral;
- “Christmas is canceled” in Paris;
- Topless Jihad in Kiev;
- the action at the industrial exhibition in Hannover, where there were V. Putin and A. Merkel;
- in the church of Madeleine;
- the action “Doll Pudu”.

In the materials of the newspaper FEMEN appears as an “amazing movement”, for which “boobs have become the only argument, information reason, the emblem and the flag” (Safronov, 2014a). Activists are described as “undressing in the name of freedom”. It is mentioned that the FEMEN movement is known for its political actions around the world, which “are carried out by activists only topless” (“Police checks”, 2013).

In an interview with the correspondent of the newspaper in Belarus I. Khalip with Inna Shevchenko, it is said that “The territory of her (FEMEN) daily rebellion is the whole

Europe” (Khalip, 2014). In Ukraine, Shevchenko believes, FEMEN has already played their role.

The newspaper lists the “main enemies” of FEMEN – the patriarchy, the sex industry and religion. The actions of protest of FEMEN, described in the newspaper during the analysis period, were sent:

- in support of the law debated by the French parliament, which legalizes same-sex marriages and allows homosexuals to adopt children;
- against the fighting of the Vatican with abortion;
- in defense of the rights of the FEMEN activist from Tunisia Amina and in general, against the “Shariahization of the Middle East” and the associated threats to women”;
- against Putin’s policy in Ukraine.

The newspaper paid most attention to the actions in the Notre Dame Cathedral. The action itself and the trial are described in detail. The first in the chronology of the publication about this event provides the following description: “Eight activists of the movement penetrated the nave of the cathedral, where in February nine new bells of Notre-Dame de Paris are put up, the installation of which is expected at the end of the month. Half-naked women, having thrown off their long coats, began to stabbing in bells with bats, shouting in English: “Pope is no more!”. On the torso and backs of the feminists, the slogans “No homophobia”, “Crisis of faith” and “Goodbye, Benedict!” were stuck with markers” (“FEMEN activists held an action in Paris”, 2013).

In the situation intervened the cathedral guard, which led the “violators” to the street. There they continued to “scandalize slogans in support of the law discussed by the French parliament, which legalizes same-sex marriages and allows homosexuals to adopt children” (“FEMEN activists held an action in Paris”, 2013).

In the report from the “process of the century” “Notre Dame vs. FEMEN” another interpretation of the “essence of the action” is given: “nine FEMEN members undressed to the waist, took with them sticks and went to the bells that were cast for the 850th anniversary of laying of the first stone of the cathedral” (Safronov, 2014a).

In the text of the lawsuit, the action and the details of the lawsuit against FEMEN are described: during the dance, the girls shouted “cute to their heart slogans and banged the bells

with sticks”. It is said that “the Fund of the 850 Years of the Paris Cathedral”, which financed the installation of the bells, estimated the damage in the amount of 7167 euros. Another 10000 asked the rector of the cathedral Monsignor Patrick Jacques. If it were not for the reference to the expertise, it might seem that such a major damage appeared in the case only in order to make meaningful to the charge. Because the girls still did not work with hammers” (Safronov, 2014c).

The author describes the action and the process with irony. Safronov asserts that the bell “Marcel” is recognized as the main “injured”: “It, as the prosecution says, was scratched during the “action”. And now the “Marcel”, in which they were passionately drumming, calls by them themselves”. Thanks to the scratches, the court “can draw FEMEN members up to seven years in prison – for damages committed to the building intended for the cult. Whether the court will go to this, we will find out later, but for now we will listen to the parties. Still, it is not every day that the Notre-Dame Cathedral is spoken of in relation to the earthly court” (Safronov, 2014a).

On the progress of the court session, which the author interprets as “historical”, the following is written: “Neither the priests nor the religious believers in the hall sat. Nine FEMEN arrived in Ukrainian wreaths and T-shirts with painted breasts, three caretakers of Notre Dame (in casual clothes, without drawings), three judges, four lawyers (two from girls, two from the opposite side), journalist friends of FEMEN... Total fifty people, what is all those who had to come, and all who wanted to do so.

No one remained behind the doors. The rally of support before the court was not standing. French feminists did not address loud calls to “satraps” (Safronov, 2013a).

In the report attention is paid to the fact that the participants of the action “put special protective covers on their sticks” (Safronov, 2014a). On this fact, the leader of the French branch of Inna Shevchenko drew attention in the court on July 9, 2014, during the proceedings on this case. Then the prosecutor “considered the claims of the plaintiffs inflated, asking to assign each FEMEN 1500 euros fine. The prosecutor also asked to fine (500, 300 and 250 euros) three caretakers of the Notre Dame, who had to use force, removing half-naked activists from the temple” (Safronov, 2014b).

The newspaper writes that the court acquitted the participants of the FEMEN, finding the evidence of damage to the bells inadequate. Thus, the court “did not support the principle for the sake of which the representatives of Notre-Dame decided to file a lawsuit”: “So that this

does not happen again neither in the church, nor in the mosque, nor even in the smallest synagogue. Otherwise, the performance of religious rituals will be impossible” (Safronov, 2014c). Three cathedral supervisors who “used violence” against girls are sentenced to fines – from 300 to 1000 euros and must pay them compensation – from 1 to 850 euros.

The newspaper also published the reaction of the Russian MFA to an acquittal verdict, which it treats as “politically motivated”. It is emphasized that “it should not be expected something else from the French justice, because in the image of Marianne – a symbol of the Republican army was chosen Ukrainian citizen Inna Shevchenko” (“Russia called”, 2014).

Analyzing the action in the Notre Dame Cathedral, the court and verdict, the correspondent of the newspaper in Paris, Safonov, discusses the current problems of the movement. The author believes that FEMEN “should not be teasing the liberal (if you want – “blasphemous”) France”: “Paris loves courageous and independent, loves political actions, loves marches and carnivals, respects a beautiful mess... The moving FEMEN from Kiev to Paris was strategically correct decision (especially after I. Shevchenko for some reason cut the cross of the memory of the victims of Stalinist repression, but then the French did not seem to go into details). Dances with spiritualized faces near the bells (and under them) in the nave of the Notre Dame Cathedral – is not quite right. Because such creativity causes irritation in some, boredom in others. And this – apart from criminal prosecution – is another alarm signal for girls who are going to commit a “worldwide FEMEN revolution” (Safronov, 2014a).

The newspaper covered other actions of FEMEN. Thus, the action in the Paris church of Madeleine says that “the outburst of the activist of the Ukrainian group FEMEN, who came to the Paris church Madeleine on December 20 with the inscription “Christmas is canceled” on her bare back and put the beef liver at the altar” was directed against the Vatican’s struggle with abortions (Safronov, 2014d).

The result of the action was the initiation of the “Madeleine case against Eloise Bouton (FEMEN)”. Covering his details, the newspaper writes that a participant in the “sextremists movement” who came to the church of Madeleine “showed her breast and put the beef liver on the altar of struggle against the opponents of abortion”, is accused under Article 222-32 of the Criminal Code – “Sexual demonstration in public place”. The article provides for up to one year in prison and a fine up to 15,000 euros (Safronov, 2014b).

The judge, who “came to the process alone”, found the case difficult for one and sent to the board of three judges. The publication cites the protest of the lawyer Madeleine Laurent

Delvolve: “Considering that the FEMEN “continue their actions against religion, it would be wrong to delay the process” (Safronov, 2014b).

The FEMEN members congratulated the lawyer for the defense of Mikael Gnassya: “Bravo, the master”, they said, and the master Gnassya, who put the question “Is it worth to consider showing of chest as a sex demonstration?”, smiled modestly. The owner of the chest gave interviews. FEMEN collect money on the Internet to continue “fighting religious institutions” (Safronov, 2014b).

The newspaper described another case related to the action “Poodu Doll” – the case of the destruction of the wax “twin” of Putin: “On June 5, a few hours before the arrival of the original (to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the allies landing in Normandy), Yana carried in the Grevin Wax Museum an aspen stake, which became the tool of reprisal with the doll of Vladimir Putin” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014).

With the scream “Putin is a dictator!” FEMEN activist Yana Zhdanova “demolished the doll’s skull, and then stuck an aspen stake in her stomach. So ended the action named “Poodu Doll”, which was watched not only by visitors and museum staff, but also by dolls of leaders of the Atlantic bloc countries (some, unfortunately, with a smile)” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014).

The administration of the museum sued, and demanded from the FEMEN activist “10,000 euros for moral damage, 3004 euros for the restoration of the doll and 8,283.27 euros for the installation of the metal detector” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014). The prosecutor asked to add a fine of 1500 euros for exhibitionism. Total girl was threatened with 22787 euros and 27 centimes fine.

During the first court hearing, Y. Zhdanova stressed that “the action in the museum was purely political”. Yana said her relatives live in the east of Ukraine, in the territory of one of the self-proclaimed republics, and “thanks”, including to Putin, are in constant danger. She was surprised why in Paris, the city of Human Rights, there can be a president’s doll “that threatens world peace, and can unleash the Third World War” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014).

Elizabeth Neidar, the lawyer of the museum, said: “This is the “Hall of Heads of State”. Monsieur Putin is the head of state. This (the presence of his doll) is not a question of sanctifying the dictatorship, this is the actual state of affairs”. (“FEMEN activist was

convicted”, 2014). The prosecutor, “as if on an internship in Russia”, said that “freedom does not mean anarchy” and that such an action damages the “reputation of Paris, France” and “the protection of human rights in general” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014).

FEMEN’s lawyer Marie Doze insisted that the action was purely political and that no one but the doll was harmed, since “the violence ended simultaneously with the political act”. The journalist writes that “it is also possible not to agree with her. After all, guided by this logic, you can justify and punish the real ones – from flesh and blood – by the leaders of progressive countries (for example, over the leaders of Romania in 1989). And the claim of the defender that the bare breasts of Yana Zhdanova during the action served as “the support of the political message” is completely unclear. It is not clear that Zhdanov's breasts were not carrying a semantic load, but because they carried an extremist appeal, which, unfortunately, we cannot even cite a quote” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014).

The verdict of the court: “1600 euro for exhibitionism, 3004 euros for the destruction of the doll, 1000 euros for moral damage, plus legal costs” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014). Why the activist was convicted of exhibitionism, “it cannot understand, either she, her lawyers, or court reporters – even the action in Notre Dame, in which nine half-naked activists participated at once, was not recognized as exhibitionism. Then, the court also did not see any moral damage to the servants of the church. It turns out that representatives of the administration of the museum of wax figures have a subtler emotional organization” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014).

It is reported that FEMEN lawyers will appeal, in case of failure they are going to “reach the Strasbourg Court”. Yana Zhdanova “is going to continue political activity as part of FEMEN. Fortunately, a year ago she received political asylum in France” (“FEMEN activist was convicted”, 2014).

In the context of events in Ukraine, the newspaper mentions abductions and beatings of activists (in Kiev, Odessa and at demonstrations); not subsequently confirmed by a report on the mining of the office in Kiev and its search.

The newspaper wrote about the abduction of three FEMEN members and a journalist who “were brutally beaten at the entrance, after which they were dragged into a car that had left in an unknown direction” (“FEMEN announces”, 2013). The leader of the FEMEN Anna Gutsol told the newspaper that “unknown persons on a black jeep kidnapped young people when they were going to protest in the center of Kiev” (“FEMEN announces”, 2013).

In August 2013, details of the search at the Kiev headquarters of the movement are described, during which “portraits of Vladimir Putin and Patriarch Kirill were seized, as well as a TT pistol and a grenade-like object”. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine opened a criminal case “on the fact of illegal storage of weapons, according to which the activists were “suspected”. “In case of recognition of the guilt of the girls “under article 263, the participants of the movement would be threatened from 5 to 10 years” (“The leaders”, 2013).

In their turn, the activists of FEMEN accused the police of preparing a provocation. It is also specified that the police received a message about “the storage of weapons and explosives”. FEMEN stated that does not keep weapons, explosives or drugs” (“Police checks”, 2013).

In August 2013, the FEMEN movement decided to curtail its activities on the territory of Ukraine. Alexandra Shevchenko said in this regard: “Recently, on the activists of the organization five attacks were committed. We understood this hint and decided to turn down the activity in Ukraine. We want to keep our activists and protect them from attacks. We are afraid to be killed” (“FEMEN decided”, 2013).

Another article says that on August 30, members of the organization Yana Zhdanova, Anna Gutsol and Alexandra Shevchenko were summoned for questioning, which, according to the girls, implied the transfer of the status of girls from “suspects” to “accused”. “Fearing for their lives and freedom, activists escaped from Ukraine to Europe in order to continue FEMEN activities” (“The leaders”, 2013). Thus, the leaders of the FEMEN movement left Ukraine because of “political persecution by the Ukrainian authorities”.

A report about the presentation of the book about FEMEN, published in Paris, says that Oksana Shachko and another movement leader, Inna Shevcheko, “fled from persecution of the Ukrainian authorities to the homeland of human rights – France” (Myakinchenko, 2013). At a meeting with readers and the press, the girls complained that they “fall under the art of criticism”: “Instead of fighting the patriarchy, some French feminists are fighting us”. They have not yet thought about what should be the place of a man in the ideal world of feminists, because their “heads, hands and breasts are busy fighting” (Myakinchenko, 2013).

The newspaper described the speeches of those who “do not like FEMEN at all”: “One lady screamed “shame” for a long time, another patriot claimed that there was nothing to do with these feminists in a free and equal France: the girls said that they were going to press on injustice “from this islet of freedom, where however, rape occurs every seven minutes” (Myakinchenko, 2013). Girls from FEMEN said that every day new activists come to them to

the training center. “When we were in Ukraine, it seemed to us that France was a paradise for women. In fact, this is not so” (Myakinchenko, 2013).

When asked by a Novaya Gazeta correspondent about when the book will be published in Russian, Shevchenko said: “We are a little annoyed with how Russians perceive us. Oksana spent two weeks in your prison, and your activists are interested why do hokhlushki came to you in your country, because with Putin you already cope. In the rest of the world everyone is happy with our support, but in Russia we are perceived strangely, with a Great Russian attitude” (Myakinchenko, 2013).

During the analysis period, the newspaper published one interview with “the most vivid activist of the Ukrainian FEMEN movement” Inna Shevchenko (Khalip, 2014). The journalist describes her impression of the appearance of the activist in 2011, after the action in Minsk, and the way she looks now:

“For the first time, I saw Inna Shevchenko in photos on December 20, 2011. She had green, ugly cut hair and dead eyes. On the eve of three girls from the Ukrainian movement FEMEN – Inna Shevchenko, Oksana Shachko and Alexandra Nemchinova – held a topless action on the steps of the Belarusian KGB and successfully disappeared” (Khalip, 2014);

“The leader of the French (consider the main) FEMEN branch Inna Shevchenko, a tanned blonde with black eyebrows” (Khalip, 2014).

Shevchenko recalls the Minsk action in an interview; speaks about Putin, Yanukovych; talks about the Maidan and the political situation in Ukraine; tells the details of the criminal case and the related escape from Ukraine; analyzes the contribution of FEMEN in the development of democracy in Ukraine.

Shevchenko told in an interview that FEMEN started its activities after the “orange” revolution (2004), when “the society was absolutely apolitical” (Khalip, 2014). Therefore, “the revolution could not produce the results that Ukraine needed” (Khalip, 2014). The interests of politicians who came to power after the Orange Revolution (Yushchenko, Tymoshenko) “were in no way connected with the interests of the people, changes were impossible”. And only now there was a “real revolution”: “For the first time Ukrainians did not come out for someone, but for themselves, their country and their future”. The main result of the last Maidan and the reason for optimism, according to I. Shevchenko, is that “people correctly prioritize and realize their own role in the country. If you ignore yourself, your

presence in political and civil life – appear Yanukovich, Putin and Lukashenko, and then remain for 20 years” (Khalip, 2014).

Shevchenko considers Putin as the Ukraine’s the main enemy: “People fought against Yanukovich, but it was necessary to fight a completely different person who has now taken our Crimea away from us. All post-Soviet states, as it turned out, are one and the same enemy. So even today, if I came back, I would not have reached the Maidan: I’m still on the wanted list, the criminal case is opened, and from the airport I would go along the prison-colony route. By the way, all these investigators-judge-prosecutors – are still the same. They have not gone anywhere” (Khalip, 2014).

Shevchenko explains the essence of the movement FEMEN: “We are a group that warns, signals. In this is our role, and in Ukraine we hopefully played it, worthily” (Khalip, 2014). Thus, the FEMEN “did their job even before the revolution”, when activists “were beaten, persecuted and pushed out of the country – it was a sign that it could be so soon with everyone. When hundreds of thousands of people come to the Maidan, there is no need for us anymore” (Khalip, 2014).

Conclusions

The analysis of publications about FEMEN in the Ukrainian and Russian press in 2013-2014 allows us to draw the following conclusions.

In the press, FEMEN is treated as a feminist international organization known for its protests in Ukraine and abroad. The activity of FEMEN is considered by newspapers in the context of the influence of this organization on the social, political, cultural, religious spheres of modern society. The liberal press represents FEMEN as a role model for women from different countries. All newspapers state the expansion of the geography of the protest, the establishment of foreign branches of the movement.

Protests covered by newspapers were directed against sexual exploitation of women, sexual slavery, interference of the state and church institutions in the life of women, radical Islamism. In the description of the actions, attention is focused on the corporal representation of the participants, emphasis is placed on the style of the FEMEN protests - topless protest.

Analysis of press materials showed a variety of editorial approaches in describing the activities of activists. Analytical materials were published in the newspapers Kommersant, Day, Novaya Gazeta. Information on protest actions, the persecution of activists in Ukraine is

reported as news. News sources for publications are FEMEN press releases, statements by the participants of the movement, correspondents of newspapers abroad and news agencies.

The subject of publications is dominated by the theme of women's political activism, the criminal prosecution of FEMEN members in Ukraine and the acquisition of political asylum in Europe. The articles describe the political situation in Ukraine, the sources of financing for the movement, the process of unfolding the activities of FEMEN in Europe.

During the period of analysis, the newspapers published reports on a variety of actions. The most press attention was attracted by the actions: at the industrial exhibition in Hanover, "there is no more Pope!", "Christmas is canceled" in Paris, "Topless Jihad", "Pudu Doll". A lot of actions of FEMEN express an anti-church stance. This was described in both Ukrainian and Russian press.

A big attention was paid to the protest women's movement in the newspaper Today. This newspaper published the largest number of articles about FEMEN among Ukrainian publications. Newspaper Today, more often described the protest of FEMEN abroad. News stories are described neutrally. Negative attitude is expressed in the author's columns. For the period of analysis, the newspaper supported the Yanukovych regime, during which the pressure was exerted on the FEMEN activist. This explains the selection of the news by the editors of Today: attention to foreign activities and ignoring the protest agenda within the country.

Newspaper The Day presented FEMEN's actions for women's rights, against the military aggression of Russia and Putin, the "Islamic state", wrote about anti-religious protests. The publication wrote about the features of FEMEN's actionism, analyzed their activities in the context of the Ukrainian feminist movement and contemporary art. FEMEN in the newspaper is regarded as a feminist art group. The influence of FEMEN in the world is noted, which is confirmed by the transformation of the movement from national to international. The newspaper represents FEMEN as a world-famous Ukrainian brand and the most effective modern Ukrainian political movement. "Gazeta po-ukrainski" also notes the popularity and influence of FEMEN, but it does this as a tabloid publication: describes the personal life of activists, meetings with celebrities, publishes photo sessions in the style of glossy magazines.

The main topics of the publications of Rossiyskaya Gazeta about FEMEN are protests and events related to the end of movement activity in Ukraine. In 2013, the Russian press published more materials about FEMEN than in 2014 due to the beginning of the military

conflict between Ukraine and Russia. In 2014 Russian newspapers described foreign actions, ignored the Ukrainian news about the movement.

The most critical towards FEMEN is the Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Actions and activists were given the most negative characteristics on the pages of this particular newspaper. Most of the materials on protest actions are accompanied by critical comments. Only one point of view is presented in publications, which indicates an unbalanced flow of information. The newspaper draws analogies between FEMEN and Pussy Riot, considers their activity as a public insult to the feelings of religious people.

The analysis of the press showed that the Russian newspaper Kommersant covered the actions of FEMEN neutrally and positively. Most of the newspaper described the action at the Hanover Industrial Exhibition (8.04.2013). Another topic of Kommersant's publications about FEMEN is the events of the summer of 2013, which led to the end of protest activities in Ukraine. Russian liberal "Novaya Gazeta" often wrote about the form of protest, its spectacular and shocking nature. The newspaper also uses neutral vocabulary to describe the actions, activities of foreign affiliates, political persecution and the departure from Ukraine of the founders of the movement. On the pages of the publication FEMEN appears as an international organization. The newspaper covered mostly activities of FEMEN abroad. The materials from France on the actions and lawsuits against activists prevail. In general, Novaya Gazeta expresses a neutral and positive attitude to the movement.

Thus, Ukrainian and Russian newspapers differ in the way they present information, depending on whether the publication is government or opposition. Positive image of activists is found in the publications of liberal newspapers, the negative image of feminists is formed by the publication of conservative pro-government publications.

CHAPTER 7. Media exposure of Pussy Riot's protests

7.1 The coverage of Pussy Riot activities in Ukrainian newspapers

The analysis of the publications of Segodnya about Pussy Riot

The largest number of articles about Pussy Riot, as well as about Femen, among the analyzed Ukrainian issues was published in the newspaper “Segodnya” (“Today”), which confirmed the interest in the protest women's movement. The articles were published under the headings "Investigations", "World News", "Political News", "Show Business News".

In the newspaper's materials the image of Pussy Riot, a punk-prayer and its participants was created, thanks to journalists who presented articles, interviews, portrait essays, news and notes to the opinions of relatives, artists, art critics, gallery owners, political technologists and politicians.

The newspaper throughout 2013-2014 wrote about the action in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior and the activities of Pussy Riot, which preceded this event; narrated about the life of N. Tolokonnikova and M. Alekhina in the labour camp and their early release. Separate attention was paid to the third party to the trial – the members of Pussy Riot K. Samutsevich, probationer, which is hardly ever mentioned in other Ukrainian newspapers.

In the articles of the newspaper Pussy Riot is mostly called "the most scandalous group of 2012", "the main brawlers of 2012", a scandalous punk band. The participants of the group were named as follows: Pussy Riot activists, members of the scandalous group Pussy Riot, revolutionaries, girls, young mothers, victims of the ruler, Putin's antitheses, opponents of Vladimir Putin, opposition activists, political prisoners, protesters, heroines, girls, the mother of an infant child, an amnestied activist, the released Pussy Riot member, the ex-participant of the Pussy Riot punk band Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Maria Alekhina.

The action in the cathedral is presented as a punk-prayer, an anti-Putin punk prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, an artistic performance, a scandalous action, a political action, a "heroic deed" of the girls in the cathedral, an outrageous action.

In early 2013, the newspaper published a selection of articles about Pussy Riot in the "Investigation" column, where the journalist of the newspaper Zolotukhina comprehensively analyzed the phenomenon of the group. In the first part of the “Segodnya” special

investigation about Pussy Riot the newspaper described the three convicted members of the group, the second - history of Pussy Riot, the origins and influences on the activities of the punk group. In the final publication, the journalist of "Segodnya" describes the situation in the labour camp and tries to guess what kind of future awaits the convicted members of Pussy Riot after the release.

According to the author, the action in the church was "one of the main scandals of 2012". In the article that opens the series of materials "The Whole Truth about Pussy Riot: What the Major Brawlers of 2012 Are Trying to Achieve," it is noted that the actions that "provoke such a stormy reaction do not arise out of nowhere and they exert serious (maybe not obvious, latent) influence" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). Proceeding from this, the newspaper "Today" conducted its own journalistic investigation of the incident to find out "the complete history of the group, from its creation to today." Special investigation of "Today" represents "children's secrets and conflicts with the parents of the participants of the most scandalous group of 2012" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). The journalist notes that thus "it was possible to find an answer to the question about the real aims of Pussy Riot" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). The selection also presents the story of the participants, how they joined the group.

The author notes the significance of the action in the cathedral and its consequences for the Orthodox world: "In just a few minutes, the actions of the girls in summer dresses, colorful pantyhose and balaclava in the Moscow Cathedral of Christ the Savior managed to split the Orthodox world into two parts" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). The journalist marks the polarization of society and outlines a split line. For some, the girls became heroines who "were not afraid to challenge the authoritarian regime of Russia and paid for their freedom" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). For others, they became "defilers of faith, who received what they deserved" (Zolotukhina, 2013a).

"Scandalous action in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior" became a reaction to "the statement of the head of the ROC, Patriarch Cyril, who outraged the girls, who in February 2012 publicly supported Putin as a candidate for the post of head of state" ("The Strasbourg court", 2013). In the form of a reaction to this statement, "the girls began preparations for another political action"; "The symbols, a clear plan of action and the words of the song were thought out, which they eventually recognized as those insulting the feelings of believers" ("The Strasbourg court", 2013).

Answering the journalist's question concerning the purpose of the action, K. Samutsevich said in an interview with the newspaper that "they arranged a scandal in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior for the sake of socialism and against the political elite" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). According to her, the participants of the action hoped "to change the Russians' way of thinking", "they wanted to raise the level of their political thinking, make it more critical" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). Many citizens of Russia, according to Samutsevich, "do not realize that they can change their country for the better. They believe that there is an elite and it makes all the decisions. And the rest should go to work, perform certain functions - and nothing more. But actually, it is not true. We want to explain it to people" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). Speaking about the action M. Alekhina expressed the idea that "without provocation the society will not develop" ("Pussy Riot and the Russian priest", 2014).

The journalist asks the question: "Did the girls understand when they went to the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, that this time there will be no mercy and they are likely to be imprisoned?" (Zolotukhina, 2013m). The only reason, according to the author, which prevented the Russian authorities from arresting the participants of the group immediately after the "Putin Has Pissed Himself" performance on Red Square, was that they "insulted the President personally" (Zolotukhina, 2013m). At that time, his main task was to "regain the position of the Russians" in the situation when on the eve of the presidential elections in Moscow thousands of opposition actions were held against Putin's return, "so he could not punish the girls at that time" (Zolotukhina, 2013m). During the action in the cathedral, Pussy Riot "insulted not only the leader of the state, but also the head of the ROC Kirill, and part of the believers". After that, according to the defenders of the girls, "the authorities specially organized actions of fanatical Orthodox people, who threatened to tear the girls to pieces" (Zolotukhina, 2013m). The journalist of the newspaper quotes the Moscow political scientist V. Mingalev: "To prevent others from doing it, they opened a criminal case, which was lost by the group's lawyers" (Zolotukhina, 2013m).

The newspaper highlights the political context of the group's actions, it is said that Pussy Riot is an active participant in the protest movement in Russia. According to lawyer Feigin's words, N. Tolokonnikova "was an activist of the opposition and after the performance on Bolotnaya Square (she performed on the stage with a speech) I took her out of the blockade, as her husband was detained" (Zolotukhina, 2013m). The lawyer told the newspaper that before his arrest he had discussed with her the possibility of instituting criminal proceedings against members of the Pussy Riot group.

In the protest movement of Russia there are people of various opinions. For example, Tolokonnikova is adherent to the leftist views. But all of them "are united in the certainty that it's time to end the totalitarian and corrupt regime" (Zolotukhina, 2013m).

The trial of the members of the Pussy Riot group, according to lawyer M. Feigin, was indicative: "If we had managed to free the girls – there would have been a hope to win other processes as well. But the authorities demonstrated that no one would be spared" (Zolotukhina, 2013m).

K. Samutsevich argues that if the process was not so politicized, "girls could have got a commuted penalty" (Zolotukhina, 2013m).

In the materials of the analyzed cycle about Pussy Riot the characteristic of participants of the group is given. The journalist writes that during the USSR "we were all a bit idealistic," ... almost from the first class we were assured: for the sake of the "great idea of communism, it is not a pity for life!" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). The only value for modern consumer society is money, therefore, the author concludes, "the willingness to go to prison because of beliefs is puzzling. What for?! And at worst - rejection. Like, what do these attention whores want?" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). To answer the questions posed, to find out why "the participants of the group lost the connection to the reality" the journalist turns to the period of the heroine's youth when "character and moral values are formed" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). This journalistic approach allows to answer the questions about how the girls were in the group and what unites them (Zolotukhina, 2013a).

Interview with K. Samutsevich anticipates the description of her appearance: "My interlocutor has a sonorous boyish voice. And the appearance of a good ole boy. Clumsy walk and stooped back. A yellow bubble coat is clearly a hand-me-down. Heavy men's shoes and stretched jeans. Katya even sits like a man - leaning back in her chair and spreading her legs to the width of her shoulders"; "Deep grey eyes framed by fluffy eyelashes and a surprisingly soft, shy smile give out a deeply hidden Katya's femininity" (Zolotukhina, 2013b).

According to the journalist, Ekaterina Samutsevich is a solid person, "people of her type do not have the doubts and go up to the end". In the preface, her family and details of her personal life are described: "Samutsevich is a late child in an intelligent Moscow family. Her mother died because of illness when she finished school. Her father (now 73 years old), an engineer, went to work as an accountant in the difficult times of nineties to support his family. Relations with his daughter did not work out. He was against the girl's decision to leave the

prestigious work of a programmer at the defence Concern Morinformsystem-Agat JSC (where Katya took part in the development of software for the K-152 Nerpa submarine) for the sake of admission to the Rodchenko Art School. Her father didn't know anything about the activities of the Russey Riot at all" (Zolotukhina, 2013b).

In an interview with the newspaper, Samutsevich presented her vision of a just social order. The society, according to the activist, should be "democratic, a model of more or less equal people"; "our ideal is a leftist non-authoritarian society. I think that any normal person wants it. Of course, it is very difficult to implement the leftist ideas. It's one thing to dream, but it's another thing to implement. Still we should strive for this » (Zolotukhina, 2013b).

The journalist tried to learn about Samutsevich's personal life: "Do you dream of getting married? Would you like to have children? Don't you worry that life goes by? You are already thirty..." (Zolotukhina, 2013b). K. Samutsevich answered that it does not comprehend her plans: "The family is not my way. In general, my private life is nobody's concern" (Zolotukhina, 2013b).

According to Zolotukhina, K. Samutsevich "dreams of socialism and is ready to go back to prison" for his convictions. The journalist asks the question: "why is she (Samutsevich) hiding from life?". Hearing personal questions, Samutsevich is frightened, and when it comes to her mother, she literally screams: "I don't want to talk about this!" (Zolotukhina, 2013b).

According to the journalist, it is difficult to draw conclusions after a short meeting, but "experience suggests: some girls who came through a certain pain, associated with mother, subconsciously burn out everything feminine of themselves. And the emptiness formed on this place is filled with work or enthusiasm. Putting all your unspent passion into it" (Zolotukhina, 2013b). The journalist believes that the boyish image of Samutsevich is "nothing more than a protective cocoon" (Zolotukhina, 2013b).

His attitude to the participants on the pages of the newspaper is expressed by the well-known gallery owner and former political technologist Marat Gelman. In particular he said that Samutsevich was the only one in the group who really studied art and was going to connect life and creativity. She is doing great: she makes talented photos "(Zolotukhina, 2013i).

Concerning the Samutsevich's probation, lawyer M. Feigin stated that she "bought freedom at the cost of betraying her friends and currently works for the authorities" (Zolotukhina, 2013i). M. Gelman does not believe in the fact that Samutsevich was offered money or freedom and

she now does what the officials say, but he also does not deny "that she may be under the influence of the FSB. Maybe they introduced someone to the group a year ago. And this one pretends to help her in a friendly way. Tells what to say and how to act" (Zolotukhina, 2013i).

In an interview with the newspaper, Samutsevich noted that she still does not understand why she was released, and considers herself to be a political prisoner (Zolotukhina, 2013a).

The journalist supplements the portrait of Samutsevich: "No matter how hard I try, I can not imagine that this girl could abandon the interests of her friends for the sake of her own release from custody. I had the impression that such enthusiastic people would rather choose the scaffold" (Zolotukhina, 2013m).

Due to the fact that K. Samutsevich was sentenced to probation, the journalist managed to communicate with her personally and make up her opinion about the girl. The portrait of two other participants of Russy Riot is based on the stories of relatives, friends, artists, gallery owners, lawyers.

The article about N. Tolokonnikova from the cycle about Pussy Riot says that unlike Samutsevich, she "does not hide from her personal life". Since childhood, Nadia "was into philosophy, history and art". Her youth was also difficult: "Nadia's parents divorced when she was very young, and the girl lived with her mother in Novosibirsk until the end of the school years. She rarely saw her father - after leaving the family, he moved to the suburbs. By profession, Nadine's father is a doctor. He has not worked for a long time already, calls himself a free artist (in other words, he writes for his own purposes only), and earns his living by occasional "hack-work" (Zolotukhina, 2013d). During the trial of Russy Riot activists, Tolokonnikova's father confessed to journalists that he always supported Nadia's hobbies, took part in some actions of the "Voina" group, where she was one of the originators.

The newspaper writes that in recent years Tolokonnikova and her husband, Pyotr Versilov, have been actively cooperating with the opposition of Russia: "Nadia made a speech at the protest action on Bolotnaya Square"; Pyotr ran for election to the Coordination Council of the opposition.

P. Versilov supports Nadia's ideas. He believes that she will return from the labour camp as a sound person: "If I could - I would have been in her place. But I can not. In addition, she will gain life experience there, which will not hurt anyone. The life experience that the authorities forced her to get. And Putin personally. Nadia proudly copes with this" (Zolotukhina, 2013f).

Reflecting on the opposition leader in Russia, M. Gelman notes the increased importance of the human qualities of the oppositionist in modern society, and not his political views, in particular, sacrifice. Therefore, it is quite possible that such a personality as an artist will become a leader. A person whose "honesty and devotion to the interests of the people has no doubt" (Zolotukhina, 2013i). According to Gelman, Tolokonnikova belongs to such characters: "I have one friend (he recently held a very high post in Russia): did you read the script of the speech of Nadia Tolokno (Tolokonnikova), which she said in court? It is the ready person! I say: Do you mean it? I did not think about it. Although after the incident, the girls became heroines. And the modern world with its media implies a sacrifice. Our society is able to trust only such people" (Zolotukhina, 2013i).

M. Gelman argues that Tolokonnikova "is in pure form revolutionary. It seems to me that she has no other way. Pay attention: there is a Faculty of Philosophy in Moscow State University, and there are no applications for its graduates in real life" (Zolotukhina, 2013i).

The article about Maria Alekhina says that she "worked as a volunteer in a children's psychiatric hospital - she taught the children to read and draw"; "is an idealist and became a beautiful mother in 18 years"; "she works as a seamstress in a labour camp" (Zolotukhina, 2013c).

The newspaper quotes M. Alekhina as one of the lawyers of Pussy Riot Mark Feigin: "Masha has a delicate and vulnerable soul. She is full of illusions, believes in kindness and writes poetry. And all this can only do much harm in prison. There her human qualities are hardly ever appreciated. I think that after appealing to the administration after talking with convicts about the hunger strike, Masha sincerely believed that she was doing right. She just does not understand that she is in the "acid environment" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

The journalist notes that the "Achilles' heel" of the three members of pussy riot was "heavy relationships with parents in their youth" (Zolotukhina, 2013c). From the point of view of psychologists, the protracted conflict with the older generation "makes adults commit acts that are usually characteristic of adolescents" (Zolotukhina, 2013c). According to the author, people who do not have an understanding with their closest relatives are alone. Therefore, they seek to find support in the same environment, where "juvenile maximalism does not look ridiculous or naive, and the requirements are not so high" (Zolotukhina, 2013c). The article assumes that this, apparently, happened to the girls from Pussy Riot: "Only in the group did they have a real family. And participating in the actions did not only give them "a dose of

adrenaline to the blood" (as it may seem at first glance). But they could feel like adults (after all, it seemed to them that they were making fateful decisions for the state!) And to prove to their parents that they had become individuals. After all, the girls did not see anything wild in their activities (as is typical of children). That's the answer to the question why the girls were in the group"(Zolotukhina, 2013c).

In the article "The Members of pussy riot Did Not Want to Work" the journalist claims that Samutsevich, Tolokonnikova and her husband were positioning themselves as unmercenary people, but, in fact, "just do not want day after day" to twist "the usual cycle of human life: home-work" (Zolotukhina, 2013g). Ordinary life, according to the author, seems to them too fresh and boring, "but intelligent books and youthful ambitions whisper: do not waste time on trifles, you will have a great destiny! Therefore, refusing parental money, young people want to get rid of the endless reproaches of their ancestors (they say, when will you finally grow up?!), and live as one wants. But they do not admit it to themselves" (Zolotukhina, 2013g).

In the materials of the newspaper within the analyzed period, not only the history of Pussy Riot is described, but also artists and art groups that influenced the actionists are listed. The newspaper refers to the activities of the participants as "political art", which they began to deal with since 2007. Tolokonnikova and her husband were active participants in the "Voina" group. Then, in 2008, Samutsevich joined them. They met Alekhina after the appearance of Pussy Riot.

The group "Voina", according to the journalist, is the forerunner of Pussy Riot. The publication quotes the artist Oleg Kulik, who influenced the formation of Pussy Riot: "At that time, the guys did not know what they wanted to do yet, and had no idea of modern art. But after the conversation with me they decided to try their hand" (Zolotukhina, 2013e). O. Kulik considers the girls to be his students and is proud of it. The artist formulated the essence of the artistic project "Voina" as follows: "They decided to work in the style of Moscow political actionism - they are also philosophers" (Zolotukhina, 2013h).

According to the journalist, such form of fine art as performance does not require "a special gift and diligent hard work, but gives the right to call oneself an artist. Shocking can instantly become famous" (Zolotukhina, 2013h). In addition, working in the direction of contemporary art, "one can make good money," but, according to Tolokonnikova's husband, Pyotr Verzilov, "this goal was never set before the young people, because they believed (and still believe, as they say) that creativity should be free" (Zolotukhina, 2013h).

The creators of the "Voina", according to the author of the article, "mired in the quagmire of radical actionism" to the ears, "because they not only were idealists-scribes, but had a beautiful education and always dreamed of influencing the political life of the country" (Zolotukhina, 2013h).

M. Gelman told the newspaper about the impact of Alexander Brener, the bright representative of the Moscow 1990s actionism, on the group: "More than twenty years ago he shocked Muscovites, having sex with his ex-wife near the monument of Alexander Pushkin. And also held two events, which Pussy Riot in fact, copied later, remaking for themselves» (Zolotukhina, 2013h). It is about the action of the times of the first Chechen war "Yeltsin, come out!". A. Brener went to the Lobnoye mesto of Red Square in Moscow in shorts and boxing gloves and shouted that he was summoning President Boris Yeltsin to a duel. After that, he "burst into the Evloh church, rushed around it, like a demoniac, turned over chairs, tore his clothes and shouted "Chechnya!"" (Zolotukhina, 2013h). M. Gelman draws parallels between the actions of A. Brener and those of Pussy Riot on the Place of Execution ("Putin Has Pissed Himself!") and in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior ("Virgin Mary, Put Putin Away!"). Unlike the Pussy Riot activists, who "did not even damage the property," A. Brener got off lightly: "I spent four hours at a police station and paid a fine of 500 rubles. On the contrary, the activists of Pussy Riot were behind bars for two years" (Zolotukhina, 2013h).

The newspaper tells about the actions of the group "Voina" "Humiliation of a Cop in His House" and "Fuck for the heir Puppy Bear". Participants of the art group "caught the buzz from their tricks", "about the possibility of being punished did not even think about" (Zolotukhina, 2013n). The journalist describes the action "Humiliation of a Cop in His House" (2008): "A company of boys and girls in jeans and with backpacks on their shoulders comes to the district police station. In the lobby, the guys get on all fours, and the girls get on their shoulders (aside, there is only one participant of the action, Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, she has the very young daughter Hera in her hands) <...> One of the guys takes a huge photo from the backpack and hangs on the monkey bars, a photo of recently elected Russian President Dmitry Medvedev" (Zolotukhina, 2013n). The remaining participants of the action go to the office of the head of the police station, explaining the purpose of their visit: "We came here to become mediators between society and law enforcement agencies. For many years, ordinary people did not have a constructive dialogue with policemen. But now our country is governed by a new president-democrat. Therefore, we want to have tea with you (here, see – we have even brought a cake!) and talk" (Zolotukhina, 2013n).

Video with this action flew the Russian-language Internet. No less popular was a video about the action at the supermarket "In Memory of the Decembrists", where activists protested against discrimination. At that time, the group included about 20 young men and girls. And their "eccentric antics" were discussed by bloggers and art critics of leading Russian media. The loudest scandal caused a video from the action in the Zoological Museum on the eve of the presidential elections in Russia. The journalist calls the action "ugly" and describes her impressions of her: "I do not know what the ex-president of the Russian Federation (D. Medvedev) experienced, watching this video, but I was simply disgusted. A few pairs (including Peter Verzilov with the pregnant Nadezhda Tolokonnikova) come to the museum with posters "Fuck for the heir Puppy Bear" undress and have sex. Orgia is filmed on a video camera" (Zolotukhina, 2013n).

As for the activities of Pussy Riot, then, according to the journalist, these are "political actions disguised as art" (Zolotukhina, 2013i). The activity of the group "does not fit into generally accepted ideas about art" (Zolotukhina, 2013j).

Despite the complexity, rudeness and shocking actions of Pussy Riot, Samutsevich believes that "in Russia there are many intelligent people who are able to understand them" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). According to the participant, they are engaged in radical political art. They are "a symbolic blow to power": "This is a dangerous and painful blow, because our ideas are immediately picked up by the media workers (for example, all mass media wrote about the action on the Lobnoye mesto). Naturally, at some point the authorities can "rip out brains" and begin repression. We understand this. But we can not predict when this will happen, and think about it indefinitely" (Zolotukhina, 2013a). During the action the main thing is "how to enter the room, drag the guitar, change clothes, record music" (Zolotukhina, 2013a).

K. Samutsevich believes that their actions will make people think. She told the newspaper that "we are doing everything honestly in our group", "honestly, ready to go to prison, defending their convictions" (Zolotukhina, 2013m).

Thus it's necessary to consider the reviews of Pussy Riot, their actions and the verdict of famous personalities, which were published in the newspaper.

Russian President V. Putin stated about the sentence on the actionists: "The sentences in Russia are not made for political views and actions, but for specific violations of the law. So it

was in the case of the band Pussy Riot. Nobody hides anybody specially behind bars" ("Putin does not see", 2013).

As the newspaper writes, the singer Madonna acted in support of the participants of the punk band many times. She was among the musicians who sent a letter to the Russian authorities asking them to reconsider the verdict of Maria Alekhina and Nadezhda Tolokonnikova last year. Madonna performed in a balaclava, wrote on the body the name Pussy Riot several times. Here are a few quotes from Madonna:

"I see the girls not only as art-performers and political activists, but also as musicians. I like their music!" (Zolotukhina, 2013j);

"If President Putin appeared in one room with Pussy Riot, he might want to sleep with them all. Besides, if he had met them, if he had an open dialogue with them about their views, views of young and creative women emerging in modern Russia, would he really have allowed them to be dragged into prison for three years? Think about it - this is insanity" (Panchenko, 2013);

"I was honored to present my comrades in the fight for freedom - Masha and Nadia from Pussy Riot. I have always admired their courage, supported their activities and the sacrifices they made for the sake of freedom of expression and human rights" ("Madonna will come ", 2014)

Musical art critic Artemy Troitsky argues that the actions of Pussy Riot - "a fine art sample!" (Zolotukhina, 2013j).

Art critic Andrei Erofeev told the newspaper that "while men are waving flags, raising their fists on political fetters and shouting slogans - the girls protest artistically and gently" (Zolotukhina, 2013j).

Ukrainian political analyst Mikhail Pogrebinsky commented on the reasons for the popularity of Pussy Riot in Western Europe: "Historically, traditional art came out of Christianity and performed a certain edifying function. But then in the West there was an epoch of postmodernism, which denied religiosity. And modern art inherited this tradition. Since Pussy Riot also work towards postmodernism - their actions are close and understandable for Western Europe. In addition, historically it happened that in the West Russia was always afraid (it is not important whether it is a Communist or a capitalist one). Therefore, always supported the opponents of Vladimir Putin. After all, he is a statesman who tries to make his

country successful. Remember how the Western world admired Mikhail Khodorkovsky. The same thing happens with Pussy Riot" (Zolotukhina, 2013j).

The newspaper quotes one of the "pro-Kremlin political experts": "The US State Department is ready for much - if only Putin stepped down as a head of state. Economically and politically strong Russia, namely about such a country the president dreams, they do not need. But the group Pussy Riot could be interesting to them "(Zolotukhina, 2013i).

To the question of the journalist of the newspaper about what kind of punishment the girls would receive if they had carried out the action "Virgin Mary, Put Putin away!" not in the Moscow Cathedral of Christ the Savior, but in one of the churches of Ukraine, Ukrainian human rights activist Eduard Bagirov answered: "Our (Ukrainian) legislation does not encourage an insult to the feelings of believers, but if such a thing happened in our country, the girls would receive administrative punishment. For example, they would pay a fine. Their offense is not subject to the Ukrainian Criminal Code. Two months ago, one of the fans of the Russian group tried to repeat the "heroic deed" of the girls in the church in Western Ukraine. But he was banished with disgrace. People did not call the police, but just gave a rowdy a couple of slaps" (Zolotukhina, 2013l)

The newspaper also quotes statements about the group of Tolokonnikova's father, who published the book "Nadezhda" in Israel. It tells not so much about the life of his daughter, but mostly about creating a scandalous punk band: "Deviation from the letter of fact allows you to deeper explore the spirit of the Pussy Riot project. Sprouts youth riot. The total inconsistency of the realities of bourgeois society in the present Russian realities and what is happening in the soul of the new generation" (Kovalchuk, 2014). The book, covering the period from the creation of Pussy Riot to the punk-prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, in particular, says: "The peoples of the Earth are wondering, did not Pussy Riot provoke the end of the world? Yes, Pussy Riot provoked the end of the world. And they began to arrange it for a long time: why were Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise? For the woman`s riot. If Eve did not want to taste the forbidden fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, Adam would still be in Paradise himself. Riot was in the apple. After that everything is steeped in millennia of stuffy and boring political correctness" (Kovalchuk, 2014).

Tolokonnikov said that his daughter was writing a book in prison, "how much can a person write, who works for tailoring jackets for policemen 12 hours a day, and I help her - I create

infrastructure, collect facts. That is, I carry out the work of the Negro, the oarsman on the galley. The book will be published abroad. Because we have to talk about Pussy Riot indecent" (Kovalchuk, 2014).

The newspaper writes the following about the reaction of the Russian art community: "representatives of the artistic world in Russia consider the Pussy Riot action to be incredibly successful" (Zolotukhina, 2013j); "We will do everything necessary to protect Masha Alekhina (the artistic community). Lawlessness in relation to her is not permissible. No matter how people from our environment treat the action in the cathedral, among them there is nobody who would think that the girls were justly imprisoned" (Zolotukhina, 2013i).

The activities of Pussy Riot were highly appreciated in Western Europe: "The scandalous group got into the Top-100 most influential people in contemporary art, and Madonna herself sang in their support"; "British magazine ArtReview published the list of Top-100 most influential people in contemporary art, in which the highest position among natives of Russia (57th in the list) – belongs to activists of Pussy Riot"; "The group took 16th place in the rating of the 100 most influential thinkers of the year, according to Foreign Policy magazine" (Zolotukhina, 2013j).

The popularity of Pussy Riot in the West is also confirmed by an open letter in their support signed by world-famous musicians (Paul McCartney, Elton John, Madonna, Brian Adams and other performers). The newspaper quotes excerpts from this letter: "Realizing all the contradictory nature of the protest in places of holy worship, we ask the Russian authorities to reconsider tough sentences so that you can return to your children, families and life. The right to freely express one's thoughts and disagreement is legitimate and extremely important in any kind of democracy", "many people around the world worry about Pussy Riot members and work to release them"; "Your strength, courage and fearlessness inspire all of us" ("More than one hundred", 2013).

The newspaper described the trial and the conditions of stay in the pretrial detention center of Pussy Riot members.

According to K. Samutsevich, "the conditions were tolerant": "A walk once a day and a hot meal. It was hard only because of the visits to the court. We were raised early, and during the meetings we wanted to sleep. There were also breaks for hot meal in the court. But nothing more than that"; "During the process, we simply did not have any time to think. We weren't

getting enough sleep all the time because of going to court. And it was also necessary to get acquainted with the materials of the case" (Zolotukhina, 2013m).

The newspaper quotes excerpts from a complaint by Pussy Riot to the Strasbourg Court: "During the trial, members of the punk group were kept in humiliating conditions - in an "aquarium", which automatically created their image as deliberately guilty". In addition, "they were in fact deprived of the opportunity to confer with lawyers, sleep and eat well, and were daily brought to court in a packed padded waggon" ("The Strasbourg court", 2013).

In the article "For the Russian Opposition, the History of Pussy Riot is Dirty", the journalist claims that the leaders of the protest movement not only did nothing to support them, but also "dissociated themselves from the girls when they were in trouble!" (Zolotukhina, 2013m). During the trial, "the girls felt like heroines, and it gave them strength. After all, at that time, they were attracted by the attention of almost the whole world (for consideration: Madonna was singing in support of Pussy Riot, and the artist Yoko Ono awarded the girls a prize, which she founded in memory of her husband John Lennon!)" (Zolotukhina, 2013m). But soon after the verdict on the group is gradually being forgotten and "in this oblivion the girls will have to go their way to the end. Of course, it will be especially difficult for Maria Alekhina and Nadezhda Tolokonnikova. Ekaterina Samutsevich is still free. But it will not be easy for her, either. After all, in fact, the girl bears the responsibility for everything that is written about the group in the media. And this means that everything she says or does can be used for the interests of both the authorities and the opposition" (Zolotukhina, 2013m).

Another set of publications tells about the conditions of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina's stay in the labour camp after the sentencing.

Tolokonnikova's husband, P. Verzilov, describes her imprisonment: "Nadia is in the Mordvin labour camp, lives in a barrack for 50 people and works as a seamstress mechanic - she sews clothes for firemen"; "My wife has no close friends in the colony yet - the situation does not presuppose any friendship, but she maintains equal relations with everyone. The only problem is: the library in the "zone" is scanty. So, I'm bringing Nadya's books. Once we went to see her for a short meeting with Hera. Daughter (she is 4 years old) misses her mother very much. She often talks to her on the phone. Draws pictures for her. She always asks questions as for when mother comes home" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

The head of the Public Commission of Mordovia, Gennady Morozov, told the newspaper that "Nadia's working day starts at 7:15 and ends at 16:15, lunch at noon". She does not complain about anything" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

Speaking about Tolokonnikova, Samutsevich noted that the convict worked in the colony almost burning the candle at both ends: "She gets up at five o'clock, works out the shift, then the prisoners are given more tasks, and many of them, not only Tolokonnikova, complain of fatigue" ("The convicted member", 2013).

In March 2013, the newspaper describing the detention of Tolokonnikova in the labour camp, reported that she would be "placed for 15 days in punishment cell" because she "went to a medical center unaccompanied by a camp employee" ("Member of Pussy Riot will be put in a solitary ", 2013). According to her lawyer, "the current claims are directly related to the fact that on Monday, March 4, the time comes when Tolokonnikova could apply for parole", and the penalty received by the convicted person at such a time may deprive of the chances of receiving parole. The lawyer also stressed that she "intends to appeal the penalty if it is actually imposed, and apply to the court with a motion on parole as well". According to lawyer Khrunova, Tolokonnikova's behavior in the colony was impeccable, "it was impossible to find faults with her". She noted that "the absence of complaints against her client, in particular, was noticed by the head of the colony" ("Member of Pussy Riot will be put in a solitary", 2013).

Having her parole been rejected, Nadia was allowed to meet with the family, as well as with journalist Masha Gessen. About her detention Tolokonnikova told the following: "Previously, my goal was to be noticed. And then I learned that to be seen is the worst thing that can happen to you. "Love and Doves" is watched here, they can endlessly quote "Office Romance", even young women!" No one has ever heard the word "art house". They listen to Vaenga and rap-singer Dima Kartashov, whose song "Let's stay no one" is especially popular" (Kovalchuk, 2013b).

Nadia thinks about the future and is going to continue her activities: "When I am free again, I can find people who can understand me, with whom I can act, but I understand that we will only be understood by a limited circle". I am not interested in classical art forms, but this is the way people can explain everything, I have a task, using "pop mechanics", to create something on my own. This is a difficult task, so I'm confused" (Kovalchuk, 2013b).

The journalist of the newspaper claims that "it is more difficult for Alyokhina, after the 3 transfers she was in the city of Berezhnyaki in the Perm region, and there is a serious environmental situation" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

Alekhina's lawyer Sergei Isaev told the newspaper that "Berezhnyaki is the source of potassium for fertilizers, which causes soil collapses in the city, and near the colony there is a metallurgical plant, where a month ago there was a chlorine outbreak and three people were killed. The town is known for a huge number of tuberculosis patients, so there is a hospital for patients with this disease on the territory of the institution where Masha is kept" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

At first, Alekhina was "in quarantine", but already "shocked the administration with statements about the protection of the rights of convicts": "In the Perm region, winters are cold, and Masha was outraged that some women can afford to buy themselves scarves in the store down (hats are forbidden in colonies), and others are not. Like, the administration is obliged to provide warm shawls for all convicts! In addition, Maria did not agree with the schedule of the working day, in particular the fact that prisoners spend two hours a day free of charge" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

In the colony, as the lawyer told the newspaper, Alyokhina hoped to get a librarian's place, but she "had to master the profession of a seamstress". While she visits the vocational school (it is located on the premises of the institution), and then she will sew uniform for policemen" (Zolotukhina, 2013k). According to him, Alyokhina "is adapting to the new conditions of life, due to her young age, it is not easy, because Maria makes decisions too quickly, but I hope that eventually she will understand where she is". By the way, Masha is already drawing conclusions. During the transfer, she spent the night in one of the pre-trial detention centers and watched TV all night long, and in the morning she was fined for this. Now she does not make such mistakes" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

Alekhina's mother told the newspaper several aspects of the life in the camp:

"Masha was a vegetarian and at first she had food problems in the colony, but we found a man in Berezhnyaki who agreed to buy food and transfer it to a daughter's colony. Naturally, for a reward";

"Maria should be overnight in the barracks for 100. But after the conflict with the convicts she was transferred to a solitary confinement"; "Some time ago a group of convicts approached

Masha and stated that because of her the detention regime became more strict, therefore they decided to declare a hunger strike and wanted Masha to join them. My daughter refused, she was threatened. Then Masha wrote a statement to the administration, and she was transferred to punishment cell. There Masha is kept on usual terms. Reads, watches a black-and-white TV. Soon she will again be transferred to a cell";

"It's difficult for me to answer the question about the psychological condition of my daughter". Of course, it's hard for her, but she's trying to hold on" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

In March 2013, Alekhina had problems with her cellmates, and she asked to be taken to solitary confinement. Subsequently, the participant Pussy Riot was imposed several penalties for untimely getting up. Tolokonnikova's husband, Pyotr Verzilov, said that Alekhina's cell does not have an alarm clock, and "if she wants to do so, she does not seem to get upset". ("Member of Pussy Riot will be put in a solitary", 2013). P. Versilov also told about Alekhina's life in the colony: "I think that the convicts were against the administration of the colony and against Masha". Earlier in the Russian Federation, all the figurants of high-profile cases were sent to the Mordovian institution where Nadya is (this "zone" in Russia is called "chekist" one) - they know how to behave with prisoners, to whom the attention of the media has been attracted, and there have not been any "political prisoners" in Berezniki yet. So, they decided to teach Masha a lesson. Apparently, they are afraid of resonance" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

Similar problems do not arise for Tolokonnikova, as she, according to Feigin, is a "tougher and sober person". She is a born social figure and leader, I think she is fully aware of where she was and how she needs to behave. She was ready for what happened more than Masha" (Zolotukhina, 2013k).

The newspaper wrote about the refusal of the early release of both convicted participants. In particular, the representative of the prosecutor's office opposed the parole granting for Tolokonnikova. The newspaper quotes the prosecutor's statement: "The colony received a characterization saying that she does not deserve parole and needs further serving of punishment. ("Member of Pussy Riot was not released", 2013).

M. Alekhina, for whom the court also rejected, went on a hunger strike to protest. The disagreement with Alekhina's early release was expressed by the administration of the colony where she was serving a sentence, and the prosecutor: "According to them, Alekhina is

systematically violating the regime of detention in the colony, has outstanding penalties, and must continue serving her sentence" ("The court denied", 2013).

The newspaper tracked the vicissitudes of her hunger strike: "A member of Pussy Riot by her prison hunger strike has improved conditions for the convicts". The newspaper quotes P. Verzilov's report on this: "Alekhina stopped the hunger strike, as the administration of the colony fulfilled her conditions"; "The administration of the colony where Maria is kept organized a kind of excursion for her, demonstrating that her conditions are met, and the padlocks are cleaned on the buildings where the prisoners work. All the conditions that Alyokhina put forward are met by the administration, so she reported on the termination of the hunger strike". ("Member of Pussy Riot with his prison hunger", 2013).

In August 2013, the newspaper reported that Alekhina "is satisfied with her work and she is in a good mood." Alyokhina's lawyer, Petr Zaikin, said that the convict was employed in school at the colony. At the same time, Alekhina, as the lawyer explained, does not engage in teaching activities. Her work is related to the preparation of methodological materials and the implementation of "other tasks using office equipment" ("Member of Pussy Riot was hired", 2013).

The following material of the newspaper was devoted to the public burning of Alyokhina's correspondence in the colony: "The defence of the convicted member of Pussy Riot Maria Alekhina intends to complain to the court as for the administration of the colony, which seized and publicly burned the letters addressed to the girl. The complaint to the court will be filed by representative of Alyokhina in the very near future" ("The correspondence of the convicted ", 2013).

P. Verzilov said that in the colony where M. Alekhina was held there was an "anecdotal, but meanwhile unpleasant incident": "The administration of the correctional institution invited Maria and reported that several letters had come to her name in which, according to the administration, there are calls for shifting the constitutional order and criticizing the existing authorities. After this, without any investigation or judicial decision, the employees of the camp took Alyokhina to the courtyard, where they burned the correspondence in the bucket in her presence"; "It is up to the court to decide on the content of prohibited information in letters, let alone liquidate these documents. And even more so no procedural norms provide for the public burning of correspondence in the bucket in the yard of the colony" ("In the colony publicly", 2013).

It should be noted that the hunger strike in the colony was declared by N. Tolokonnikova, as the newspaper wrote in September 2013: "Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, a participant of the group Pussy Riot, serving a two-year sentence in the Mordovian colony, addressed an open letter to the media while declaring a hunger strike. Nadia demands that she is transferred to another colony, because in her present day she is threatened by superiors and slavish living conditions. According to Pussy Riot member, in order to comply with the norm on tailoring, which recently increased by 50%, convicts must work more than 12 hours a day. Tolokonnikova also demands to reduce the working day to 8 hours, and increase the sleep time to 8 hours (now, based on her words, about 6 hours)" (Kovalchuk, 2013c).

Later the newspaper covered the development of this story in several materials. On the deterioration of her health, it was in the article "Member of Pussy Riot Can Be Taken to the Hospital". Tolokonnikova's hospitalization is in the focus of the note "The hunger strike: member of Pussy Riot was taken to the hospital in an awful condition": "The administration of the colony refused to confirm the hospitalization of Tolokonnikova. A participant of the Pussy Riot group Nadezhda Tolokonnikova was hospitalized, as her husband Peter Verzilov said on Twitter. He quoted the words of the doctor of the colony, which, according to Verzilov, assessed the condition of Tolokonnikova as "terrible" ("The Pussy Riot member on hunger strike", 2013).

The newspaper describes the complaint filed by Pussy Riot members to the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) against the state of Russia: "In Strasbourg, the matter is of extreme interest: the judges asked lawyers to submit the necessary documents as soon as possible" ("The Strasbourg court", 2013) .

The document "Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, Maria Alekhina and Ekaterina Samutsevich v. Russia" consists of 355 pages. Thus, convicted activists demand that the authorities of the Russian Federation be found guilty of violating a number of their rights, including freedom of speech, personal inviolability, fair trial, as well as worthy treatment (non-use of torture) enshrined in the European Convention.

The declared claims concern both the sentences of the participants on the group and the conditions of their detention in the place of deprivation of liberty. Thus, the plaintiffs call the main argument of the investigation that the group's performance in the temple was an attempt to offend the feelings of believers. According to them, this action was an artistic performance, which must be evaluated in the context of the current political situation in Russia. It is noted

that financial compensation is not important, "it is much more important that the court recognizes our innocence, and the authorities of the Russian Federation - guilty of violating human rights" ("The Strasbourg court", 2013).

After a short pause the newspaper returned to the topic of Pussy Riot again. The reason for this was the December amnesty of activists. Here are the key theses of the newspaper about this topic:

- "both girls fell under the amnesty, which was declared by the State Duma in honor of the 20th anniversary of the Constitution of the Russian Federation";

- "In Russia, the situation is developing in such a way that it is quite possible that by the New Year there will not remain a single political prisoner. Following the fantastically quick release and deportation of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, released by Vladimir Putin's personal decree, two participants of the scandalous punk band Pussy Riot, were released yesterday under an amnesty in connection with the 20th anniversary of the Russian Constitution" (Kovalchuk, 2013a);

- "Tolokonnikova is not amnestied as the mother of an underage child, and the article "hooliganism" falls under the amnesty";

- "The girls said that they would deal with the rights of prisoners in Russia from the moment on";

- According to Tolokonnikova, "with my release, it all begins, because the line between freedom and lack of freedom is very narrow in Russia, in an authoritarian state" (Kovalchuk, 2013a);

"By amnesty of political prisoners, the Russian authorities are trying to improve their image before the Sochi Olympics. This is quite appropriate, because the US President Barack Obama, the British Prime Minister David Cameron, the leaders of France, Poland, Germany and Lithuania have already refused to visit the XXII Winter Games" (Kovalchuk, 2013a).

After the release, the newspaper wrote about the events related to Pussy Riot - participation in the Madonna's concert, arrest on suspicion of theft committed in a hotel in Sochi where girls lived and their speech at the anti-war action in Moscow, which ended the "March of Peace", where the girls spoke in support of Ukraine. At the action, Alekhina said: "People are arrested for the slogans "No war". But we must go on. We are supported by the whole world, which

condemns Russia for the introduction of troops into the Crimea"; Tolokonnikova said: "History repeats itself. In 1968, under the slogans of peace, our authorities occupied Czechoslovakia, which wanted to decide on its own, to make their country free. 8 people who went to Red Square and came forward with slogans for our and your freedom, brutally paid for it. Today we are more - and this shows that we can change our reality together much faster than it happened before Perestroika. And we should not be intimidated. We will not leave this country until our country belongs to its patriots. We are closed by all independent Media, but now we ourselves are independent Media. Russia will be free!" ("Pussy Riot: "The whole world", 2014).

In general, it is possible to judge how the girls achieved their results by the following quotes from the interview of the newspaper Today with M. Gelman.

"On their example, not only our country, but also the whole world witnessed how the jurisdiction works in Russia". "Girls, young mothers, committed a minor misdemeanor - and they are repressed! Where is the law?" (Zolotukhina, 2013i).

"The damage to international relations of the Russian Federation from this action was greater than during the Russian-Georgian war!" (Zolotukhina, 2013i).

"What happened was the impetus for starting a discussion in society that belief in God and ostentatious religiosity are completely different things".

"After the last presidential election was reversed by Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev, the active part of the Russians had a feeling: well, that's it, until 2024. Therefore, some came to the conclusion that the country should be dumped. The others just rested their cases, and then all of a sudden the girls demonstrated that this was not the deal, and it was possible to do something anyway, and there was only one warrior in the field!" (Zolotukhina, 2013i).

The story of Pussy Riot demonstrated that Putin made a fatal mistake: "He did not need to participate in the last presidential election, and now, after he sent the activists of the group to the colony, whatever happened later - the historical portrait has already been written. Pussy Riot became the antithesis of Putin for the whole world and completed his portrait as a petty and vindictive person" (Zolotukhina, 2013i).

Thus, the analysis showed that the materials about Pussy Riot were published more in 2013, including a series of articles devoted to the group. There are several thematic lines of

publications in the newspaper: origins, influences and history of the group; trial; stay in the labour camp after the verdict (conditions, conflicts, appeal); amnesty activists.

When the girls were convicted, their main speaker was Tolokonnikova's husband, commenting on the details of the girls' lives in the colony. Also information on the pages was broadcast from the words of K. Samutsevich, lawyers, relatives, representatives of the judicial and penitentiary system.

After the amnesty, the girls became heroines and continued political activities, but not artistic. According to the articles of the newspaper, there was an impression that K. Samutsevich, stayed in the shadow of the convicted member, having got a suspended sentence.

Thus, thanks to the numerous comments and subjective assessments presented in the materials about Pussy Riot, an objective image of the group was created on the pages of the newspaper.

The analysis of the publications of “The Day” about Pussy Riot

The analysis of the materials showed thematic blocks, in the context of which the newspaper "The Day" (“Den”) examines the activities of Pussy Riot: society, religion, politics, world, law, political persecution, Russia. Journalistic texts in the columns "Details", "Society", "World Discussions" are devoted to the stay of Pussy Riot members in the colony (petition for clemency, appeal, hunger strike, boycott), protest activities, amnesty, the Sochi Olympics and the boycott.

In the articles of the newspaper the girls are called: members of the punk band Pussy Riot Maria Alekhina, Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Katerina Samutsevich; participants of the scandalous "punk-prayer" in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior; the most odious prisoners; convicted members of Pussy Riot; oppositionist; participant of the Russian punk band Pussy Riot.

The articles are illustrated with archival photographs (arrest, litigation, seizure). Small texts are not accompanied by photo illustrations.

Let's analyze the ways of media presentation of events related to the stay of Pussy Riot members in the colony by “The Day” newspaper. Such thematic materials describe the conditions of detention in the colony, the filing of appeals on the postponement of punishment, the hunger strike, the boycott of the Sochi Olympics. While remaining behind

bars, Alekhina and Tolokonnikova attempted to prove the inadequacy of the judicial system and the injustice of the sentence, as the newspaper wrote.

In the article on the judicial refusal to delay the punishment of M. Alekhina till her son would turn 14 years' age the court's decision is cited: "The presence of an infant child was taken into account by the court when imposing a sentence, the court did not establish new extenuating circumstances". The material described hearing in the court on this issue: "The prosecutor asked Alekhina numerous questions about the upbringing of her son: the prosecution was interested whether he attended clubs, who took him to classes and who paid for these classes". Also, Alekhina's statement in the courtroom is quoted: "No one will ever force me to plead guilty - neither for the sake of delay, nor for the sake of parole. I have nothing to repent for!" ("The court denied", 2013).

It is noted that the members of pussy riot were threatened with reprisals in the colony: "Maria Alekhina, the convicted member of Pussy Riot, is threatened by the actions of the administration of the colony in which she is serving time" ("Members of Pussy Riot threaten", 2013). The newspaper cites the report of human rights activist E. Masyuk, which says that "35-year-old Elena Selezen and 42-year-old Nonna Ivanova were repeatedly convicted in the same detachment with Alekhina, which is a violation of the rules" ("Members of Pussy Riot threaten", 2013). The human rights activist notes that according to the legislation of the Russian Federation, "Persons convicted to be deprived of their liberty for the first time must be detained separately from convicts who served their sentences earlier" ("Members of Pussy Riot threaten", 2013). Violation of the law provoked a conflict between "convicted Alekhina and convicted Dyelen and Ivanova, afterwards convicted Alekhina was placed in a separate cell" ("Members of Pussy Riot threaten", 2013). Thus, women do not hide their dislike for the Pussy Riot member: "With other women there were no problems, only with Alekhina. While I do not see her, it's normal for me, I do not pay attention to it. And if I see her, I do not know, I can not say what can happen to me at this moment. Alekhina is driving me crazy. I won't accept this person even if you kill me. Tell me whatever you want, I will never accept her. I have a certain reaction to her. Noone ever made me so angry. This is my aggression" ("Members of Pussy Riot threaten", 2013).

Before the anniversary of the guilty verdict, more than 100 foreign musicians signed an open letter addressed to the Russian authorities with a request to review the "severe sentence" by Alekhina and Tolokonnikova. The newspaper described the details of this event: "The authors of the letter express solidarity with the members of the punk group and hope that they will be

able to return to their children, families, to their usual life in the near future" ("Over hundred musicians", 2013). The letter was signed by Madonna, Elton John, Adele, Brian Adams, Bruce Springsteen, U2 band and others. The article cites Yoko Ono's statement about the activities of Pussy Riot members: "I am grateful to Pussy Riot for being faithful to my beliefs about freedom of speech, and for the fact that thanks to them all women in the world can be proud of being women" ("More than a hundred", 2013).

The reason for the article "Russia - the extrapolation of the prison system in fear of laughter" was Alekhina's letter, published in The New Times. According to the convicted member of Pussy Riot, the society is not interested in the subject of prisons, although "it regularly pays taxes for them": "Despite this, any public mentioning causes fear and awe of the present bosses. Public - not necessarily newspaper. Public can be inside the prison. The bosses think that the authorities control them and they are used to hiding and concealing from them. And also, that they are being hated. It's enough just not to do this or to put these actions in priority, as the system falls into a stupor" ("Russia – extrapolationn", 2013).

In the letter Alekhina notes that the modern Russian state system is "extrapolation of the prison system in fear of laughter" and explains its thesis: "The current state officials were frightened of buffoonery by convicting us, the same ranks with smaller power continue to repeat to me in the colony that "we are a serious institution". Art breaks authorities and, unfortunately, as long as the authorities think of themselves as of the power on the "glade" of the Russian Federation, courses in contemporary art will not appear in the colonies. And after all, no one will answer, why not? But just thinking of yourself as someone is not enough. Such self-conceit on a country's scale is possible only with a mass demand or a request in it. A request for an "iron hand" is present" ("Russia – extrapolation", 2013).

Being in the colony, Alekhina considers herself to be "isolated from the society." The activist tries to analyze the state of Russian society, the penitentiary system and the situation of prisoners: "But they want the same "order" in isolation, the one without "disorder and vacillations". A colony of drug addicts, a half-colony of alcoholics - and everyone wants order. The main thing is to explain everything correctly to yourself. However, there is no need to explain, those who will do this for you (with some degree of accessibility) are always there. And before the release, the explanations are ruined. The seemingly stable design of the regime in the head of the convicted person tilts to the side, often leading to a relapse" ("Russia – extrapolationn", 2013).

The newspaper describes the details of the "newly launched hunger strike" Tolokonnikova: "She got to a hospital bed at the end of September when she had refused to eat for a week. Tolokonnikova claims about the threat of her life in the colony" ("Member of Pussy Riot refused", 2013). The reaction of Alekhina on this event was the withdrawal of her petition for the replacement of the remaining imprisonment for mitigation of punishment. The newspaper states that Alekhina could have asked for a softening, "since she has already served the greater half of the term and has a small child", but she withdrew the request in solidarity with Tolokonnikova and declared in court: "I have no moral right to go to the process at that time, when my friend Nadezhda Tolokonnikova does not have such an opportunity, as she is in a hospital or in a colony, about which we heard terrible things" ("Member of Pussy Riot refused", 2013).

Tolokonnikova described the conditions in which prisoners of the labour camp live and work in the Mordovian village of Partz: "They differ little from the Gulag of Solzhenitsyn's time" (Hrabovsky, 2013). The newspaper affirms that "this letter caused a great resonance among journalists and the democratic society of Russia. Especially against the backdrop of President Putin's recent statements on the protection of Christian values" (Hrabovsky, 2013).

In August 2013 the reaction to Putin's approval of a law banning protest actions and demonstrations in Sochi during the Olympics was a call to boycott the sports event. Pussy Riot members joined the boycott. The newspaper cites the position of K. Samutsevich on this issue: "The boycott of Sochi-2014 was the only option, considering the draconian laws limiting the demonstrations that concern this event. I support the boycott, because I do not believe that at this stage there is any other way to make our authority think, because it continues to ignore the rights of its citizens"; "Russian athletes can not at least somehow protest, because thus they will lose their source of income"; "Elena Isinbayeva leads a rather comfortable lifestyle, which she does not want to lose, and the system, which she is a part of, the authorities do not want her to say anything not in support of extremely conservative views" ("Pussy Riot joined the boycott", 2013).

Discussion of the Pussy Riot amnesty in the end of 2013 on the pages of the newspaper includes the opinion of journalists, human rights activists, the reaction of foreign media and the participants of the group to this event. So, in the article titled "Sochi-2014: seven days before the Olympics" it is said that "in December the world community was astonished by the event: Putin amnesties the most 'odious prisoners': the Pussy Riot group, the Arctic Sunrise crew, the bolotniki ('swampsmen'), Mikhail Khodorkovsky; "Many foreign media dubbed it

a planned action that was supposed to improve Russia's image before the Olympics" (Yakovlenko, 2014).

The newspaper notes that human rights activists "welcomed the release of Mikhail Khodorkovsky and members of the Pussy Riot group", they connect the amnesty with "the desire to improve Russia's image before the Olympics, and not with the change in the Kremlin's course" (Yakovlenko, 2014).

The participants themselves Pussy Riot stated that the amnesty is a PR move on "whitening" Sochi. According to them, the overwhelming majority of people remained in prisons and colonies in terrible conditions of existence and with cruelty that dominates in these institutions ("Sochi 2014: seven", 2014).

The newspaper pays attention to negative trends in modern Russian society and in this context, considers the process of Pussy Riot. It is noted that in recent years the post-Soviet countries are increasingly gravitating toward authoritarianism. The situation in such countries as Russia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan is described by the authors as "particularly dangerous for human rights activities, which directly threatens the lives of human rights defenders" (Tomak, 2013). Journalists state that the situation is rapidly deteriorating in Russia. The newspaper considers the case of Pussy Riot along with other negative tendencies in the political life of Russia: "Over the past year in Russia there have been many unhappy events. Like the law on "foreign agents", the affairs of Navalny, the case of Pussy Riot, Swamp business, "antimagnetic law", are now trying to close the channel Top Secret" (Tomak, 2013).

In an interview with the newspaper art director of the Odessa Film Festival Alexander Shpilyuk notes that any modern film forum is politicized. Sometimes "politicized" decisions are in favor of the festival: "this year we show a documentary about Pussy Riot in one of the festival's programs. This is a certain political gesture for sure, as, say, in neighboring Russia this film can not be shown". The film, which received a special prize at the Sundance Independent Film Festival, is "a real reflection of the current, situation, including political". In an interview Shpilyuk said that foreign tourists coming to Moscow, called the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, where a punk prayer took place, the temple of Pussy Riot (Agrest-Korotkova, 2013).

Thus, the newspaper "The Day" tells about the activities of Pussy Riot in the context of the political situation in modern Russia, which has authoritarian tendencies, an attack on the rights and freedoms of citizens. The persecution of members of the punk band Pussy Riot for

the action in the church testifies to the conservative turn in the Russian society, the symbiosis of the state and the church. These trends in Russian society since the punk-prayer (2012) are only increasing. The active human rights activities of M. Alekhina and N. Tolokonnikova in the colonies where they served their sentences made it possible to inform the public about the problems of the penitentiary system of Russia.

The analysis of publications of “Gazeta po-ukrainsky” about PussyRiot

The total amount of materials in "Gazeta po-ukrainsky", dedicated to the actions of the group Pussy Riot, compared to Femen is much smaller. This can be explained by editorial policy: the publication is focused on the mapping of events inside the country, therefore Femen, being a Ukrainian group, is awarded with great attention.

During the analysis period, materials about the members of pussy riot appeared in the headings "Politics", "Society", "World", "Celebrities". Information events for Gazeta po-ukrainsky were the following events in the life of Pussy Riot members and their social activities:

- stay in the colony (violation of the rights of detainees, the announcement of a hunger strike, letters requesting pardon);
- amnesty of the participants of the group;
- participation in actions after the release of freedom;
- arrest in Sochi;
- the cancellation of the film about Pussy Riot;
- participation in the series "House of Cards".

The main public spheres of activity, in the context of which the activities of Pussy Riot are described, are political, social, cultural. And the socio-political is the main sphere of functioning of Pussy Riot, reflected in the media.

We note the active participation of Pussy Riot in cultural life, both in Russia and abroad. Pussy Riot is often invited to various events, which is reflected in the publications of the media. The description of such events is also found in Gazeta po-ukrainsky: "Maria and Nadezhda performed in New York at a concert with Madonna" ("Madonna performed",

2014); "Took part in the fifth annual Women in the World"; "Visited parties on the eve of Barack Obama's dinner party at the White House," "Nadezhda and Maria from Pussy Riot were on the site and will appear in the third season of the House of Cards" ("Members of Pussy Riot will be removed", 2014).

It should be said that this aspect of Pussy Riot's activity is inseparable from the politics, therefore it must be considered as a cultural and political one, which is confirmed by the newspaper's publications.

The thematic range of articles is represented by the following subjects: the struggle for the rights of women and convicts, criticism of the current political regime in Russia, the opposition movement, cultural and civic diplomacy.

It should be noted that, being in prison, the members of pussy riot continued to lead an active social life. Alekhina and Tolokonnikova found many reasons for their names to remain on the pages of publications. This is evidenced by public correspondence, which was published on the pages of articles; the declaration of hunger strikes in protest against the methods and conditions of detention of convicts in women's camps.

It is known that before the start of the Winter Olympics, V. Putin released members of the punk group and M. Khodorkovsky from prison. This gave rise to several publications about Pussy Riot in "Gazeta po-ukrainsky".

In the material "The participants of the scandalous Pussy Riot are to be released from prison" it is said about the decision to pardon: "On December 18 the State Duma of the Russian Federation unanimously approved the draft presidential amnesty in honor of the 20th anniversary of the Constitution. The members of the punk band Pussy Riot will be amnestied, as well as crew members of the vessel Arctic Sunrise, and some figurants of the "swamp business". In total, 25.000 people are to be released" ("Members of the scandalous", 2013).

The article "Mikhail Khodorkovsky will not return to Russia" refers to the members of pussy riot and M. Khodorkovsky as the most famous amnestied (Mikhail Khodorkovsky, 2013). The text refers to the probable causes of amnesty; dissident activities of the characters of the publication; first events at large and it was also assumed what they would do at freedom. It is noted that M. Khodorkovsky immediately applied for a visa for Switzerland and left Russia immediately after his release, while Alekhina and Tolokonnikova decided to stay in the country.

The article also publishes the details of the amnesty and retrospectively describes the history of the group (details of the punk-prayer "Virgin Mary, Put Putin Away!" in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, the details of the trial and the court verdict).

If the newspaper refers to Khodorkovsky as "a 50-year-old pardoned former oil tycoon" and "known as an unlawfully convicted dissident", then Pussy Riot members are described as "Putin's enemies".

In the article "The Moscow Authorities Demand the Cancellation of the Film about Pussy Riot", the situation with the ban of the film about the group ("Pussy Riot: a Punk Prayer") and the discussion in the premises of the state theater is described: "The head of the Department of Culture of Moscow, Sergei Kapkov, demanded to cancel the show of the film about Pussy Riot in the capital's "Gogol Center" and discussion with the participants of the group Maria Alekhina and Nadezhda Tolokonnikova" ("Moscow authorities", 2013). The authors mention the genre of the film - "classical judicial drama".

The material quotes the official's letter: "Given the fact that this event is not part of the officially approved bill, I demand to cancel the screening of the documentary "Pussy Riot: a Punk Prayer" and a discussion with the main characters of this film" ("Moscow authorities", 2013). The text of the letter was posted on his page in Facebook by Kirill Serebrennikov, the artistic director of "Gogol Center".

Kapkov, who represents the official position of power in relation to Pussy Riot, calls the participants "persons who cause such an ambiguous reaction and whose activities are based on provocation of the society" ("Moscow authorities", 2013). From the point of view of an official, a state cultural institution should not be associated with actionists.

After being released from prison, Tolokonnikova and Alyokhina immediately joined active protest events.

On February 6, 2014, N. Tolokonnikova and M. Alekhina were invited to a charity concert for Amnesty International. The article about this event was published under the heading "Celebrities", which, in combination with the title ("Madonna performed "), attests to the attitude towards Pussy Riot members and recognition of their star status. The newspaper says that the girls "became one of the main invited" to a charity concert held under the auspices of the idea of "promoting and upholding human rights" ("Madonna performed ", 2014). The authors of the material reflect Pussy Riot's participation in the concert against the background

of other invited stars (Blondie, Tegan, Sara, Imagine Dragons and the Flaming Lips), which is emphasized by a large photograph of the girls on the page.

Madonna read the statement and greeted the participants of the scandalously known group. The content of her speech is cited: "I do not consider it a coincidence that I was in Moscow on my tour, when the members of pussy riot were imprisoned after the anti-Putin song was performed in the church"; "I was personally threatened with arrest for supporting sex minorities" ("Madonna performed ", 2014).

The next event described on the pages of the newspaper is a trip by Alekhina and Tolokonnikova to Sochi (the location of the Winter Olympics), where they were arrested. The article "Girls from Pussy Riot was detained in Sochi" cited a statement of a representative of the Sochi Interior Department stating that the girls were arrested "in connection with the theft that took place at the hotel where they live" ("Girls from Pussy Riot", 2014).

N. Tolokonnikova said that activists came to conduct a series of actions in Sochi: "to make a song" "Putin Will Teach You To Love Your Motherland""; the members of pussy riot "planned to create a music video" on the basis of the performances; "At the time of detention, they did not conduct actions, but simply walked along the street". The girls were put in a paddy wagon and taken to the police station. There were 12-15 people detained along with Tolokonnikova and Alekhina, including a journalist for Novaya Gazeta.

In the "Celebrities" column note "Pussy Riot members will appear in the famous American TV series", she tells about the participation of Alekhina and Tolokonnikova in the shooting of the third season of the political series "House of Cards" with Kevin Spacey in the role of US Vice-President Frank Underwood ("Members of Pussy Riot will be removed", 2014). The description of the series and the details of the filming are supplemented by a story about the activities of the punk band after the release from prison.

In an article of November 28, 2014, was published "The President Of The Czech Republic Is Not Allowed On Air". The article says that the Council of the Czech Radio decided to deprive the Czech President Milos Zeman of the opportunity to speak live after he "reused vulgar expressions" in the program "Conversations from Lan". Speaking about the opposition in Russia, Zeman cited Pussy Riot: "Do you know what pussy is?" "Zundan asked himself and answered himself: "Kunda! "This is the Czech designation of the female genital organ, which corresponds roughly to the abusive Russian analogue" ("Czech President", 2014).

In the materials of the newspaper journalists call Tolokonnikova and Alekhina: members of the punk group, well-known illegally convicted dissidents, members of the scandalous Pussy Riot, members of the scandalous team, Putin's enemies, ex-participants of the punk band Pussy Riot Maria Alekhina and Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, Russians, opposition, human rights activists, convicted members of the Russian punk band Pussy Riot.

The articles are mostly illustrated by one photo, but there are also materials without photos. Participants are depicted in balaclaws, at protest actions, press conferences. Archival photos from the courtroom are also used.

7.2 Russian press about Pussy Riot

The analysis of publications of “Kommersant” about Pussy Riot

Publications about Pussy Riot in the newspaper Kommersant were published in «News», «Front Row», «Society», «Tendencies», «Celebrities», «World Politics», «Story of the Topic».

Out of all the selection of materials about Pussy Riot, only one article was devoted to her participant, conditionally convicted Samutsevich. In the material "Defenders of Pussy Riot no longer need protection" describes the vicissitudes of the conflict of the Pussy Riot member Catherine Samutsevich with her lawyers (Tumanov & Shepelin, 2013a).

A separate topic of materials about Pussy Riot in Kommersant is the chronicle of the judicial proceedings (filing appeals, motions, and complaints):

- petition for deferment of the sentence of a member of group Maria Alekhina: lawyers are asked to release the activist from punishment until her son turns 14 (at the time of filing the petition the boy was five years old);
- a complaint to the European Court of Human Rights demanding "to recognize the Russian government as guilty of violating their right to freedom of speech, a fair trial, as well as to dignified treatment". Moreover, Strasbourg is extremely interested in a detailed examination of the case of the punk group: the judges themselves asked the lawyers of Pussy Riot to send all necessary documents as soon as possible to start the proceedings (Tumanov & Korobov,

2013b). Later, the ECHR united the proceedings on complaints of Pussy Riot members against the verdict on the ban of video clips with their actions in Russia;

- the removal of two penalties from the member of Pussy Riot Maria Alekhina, imposed on her by the administration of the colony N28, where she served time: the court recognized that the guilty of the penitentiary department leadership (Tumanov, 2013e) is responsible for the violations attributed to Ms. Alekhina by the Federal Prison Service officers;

- Treatment of a member of the punk group Pussy Riot N. Tolokonnikova in the court with a request for parole;

- the courts denied Pussy Riot members in parole;

- the petition of lawyers to replace the remaining term for correctional labor (according to lawyers, the girls who were to be released in March 2014 could work in the media or charitable funds, giving part of the salary to the state).

Legal proceedings in the case of Alekhina and Tolokonnikova are referred to as "resonant" by the newspaper. It is noted that the meetings in the courts took place with a large presence of press.

The life of the participants in the colony and court hearings were monitored and commented on under the following: members of the Human Rights Council and the development of civil society under the President of the Russian Federation (journalist Masyuk, head of the Committee against Torture I. Kalyapin and others); human rights activists (Ponomarev, Pavel Chikov, Rubashny, Borshchev), lawyers (Darova, Khrunova, Grozev, Gainutdinov), civil activists. In general, the defense party believes that publicity and public attention is in favor of the convicted members of Pussy Riot.

The newspaper cites a number of legal issues that prevented Alekhina from being released: "Alekhina had accumulated more than one penalty from the administration during her stay"; "Alekhina violates the mass of the rules of the colony" (violation of the regime and wrangling with the guard); "Undischarged penalties can seriously affect the outcome of today's meeting, as they are documents characterizing the person" (Tumanov & Shepelin, 2013b).

The state prosecutorial position is represented by authorized officers of the law enforcement and judicial system, quotations of which are given in the newspaper's publications.

When Alekhina was not released, the newspaper quoted the prosecutor ("the release of Mrs. Alekhina is inexpedient also because now her child is brought up by the parents of the activist, and she herself is in fact a dependent, since she did not work anywhere") and the court decision ("the presence of a minor child who has more than one recovery from the administration of the colony of Mrs. Alekhina has already been taken into account in the sentencing as a mitigating circumstance, and therefore can not be the reason for liberation") (Tumanov & Strugov, 2013a).

The authors of the newspaper note that Alekhina "decided to transfer the process from the legal to the political plane. She began to criticize the law adopted by the State Duma in December 2012 prohibiting the adoption of children by US citizens, saying that she would not be surprised if "her child were also deprived of the necessary", and ended her speech with the words: "I would really like to witness a small miracle today" (Tumanov & Strugov, 2013a).

N. Tolokonnikova also filed a petition for the postponement of punishment: "The chances of Mrs. Tolokonnikova for release are formally higher than those of a team-mate", the administration of the colony has no claims to it" (Tumanov & Strugov, 2013a). But if the presence of the child is now considered simply a mitigating circumstance, then "the judges in Nadia's case can refer to the decision of their colleagues and refuse her in the same way" (Tumanov & Strugov, 2013a).

In another publication, Tolokonnikova's "grounds for speedy release", as presented by her lawyers, are indicated: the presence of a minor child; several galleries, media and theatrical studios are ready to immediately employ her when she is free (Tumanov, 2013d). Readiness to employ Tolokonnikova was expressed by the gallery owner Marat Gelman, a number of theatrical studios, and also the management of Novaya Gazeta, which is ready to hire her as a columnist.

The complaint of the lawyers of the Pussy Riot was supported by Vladimir Lukin, the Human Rights Commissioner in the Russian Federation. The newspaper describes his address to the court with a petition: "The verdict does not give an assessment of the degree of violation of public tranquility, as well as the normal functioning of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior as a result of the actions of the accused." In fact, Lukin states, the members of the punk group have violated only "the internal rules of conduct in the building of the cathedral", which can not be regarded as a gross violation of public order. "In the opinion of the Ombudsman, "the

prosecution could not prove the motives of religious hatred for the defendants and therefore the verdict should be cancelled as unjust" (Tumanov, 2013c).

Representatives of authoritative international human rights organizations spoke out for activists. Rachel Denber, Executive Director of Human Rights Watch for Europe and Central Asia, stated: "The Russian authorities must immediately release the members of the punk group, as every day of their detention behind bars is a manifestation of lawlessness" (Tumanov, 2013d).

On the contrary, Orthodox activists opposed the early release of Pussy Riot members, which they see as an impermissible concession to the opposition: "We believe that only through Tolokonnikova's repentance can she be released prior to the term. I think that her lawyers are thinking wishfully, talking about parole", - stated Kirill Frolov the leader of the Association of Orthodox Experts (Tumanov & Korobov, 2013a).

Another topic of publications is the vicissitudes of the imprisonment of Pussy Riot members. The newspaper wrote about the conditions of stay and penalties from the administrations of the colony against girls. For example, an internal audit was started because of Tolokonnikova. The guards say that she "went to the local medical center without permission". The lawyers stated that they "have evidence that the medical officer himself authorized these visits, since Nadezhda needs treatment, and she complained of constant headaches" (Tumanov, 2013d). In one of these campaigns "she was stopped by a colony employee who began to assert that she had no right to do so". The lawyer called such actions of the employees of the Federal Prison Service "at least strange": "For some reason, the administration characterized it only on the positive side, as soon as it became known that a petition for parole had been filed." (Tumanov, 2013d).

In April 2013, the prosecutor's office demanded that Alekhina be moved from the labour camp No. 28 in Berezniki (Perm region) to another penitentiary institution. In the opinion of the staff of the supervisory agency, the leadership "is not able to ensure her personal security" in the colony: "previously undeceived Mrs. Alekhina, despite of a direct ban, is held in one unit with recidivists" (Tumanov & Strugov, 2013b).

Alekhina was sent to the sewing workshop, where she was with other previously convicted prisoners. There was a conflict between them. The reason was "a negative attitude of those convicted towards a crime committed by Maria Alekhina" (Tumanov, 2013b). After this

conflict, a member of the punk group asked to be transferred to a "safe place" - a solitary cell where she could avoid contact with other prisoners.

Representatives of the colony declared their claims to Tolokonnikova: "A member of the punk group refused to socialize in the colony, for example, she did not take part in the "Be Good" and "Miss Charm" contests held in the colony" (Tumanov, 2013a). In addition, as Federal Prison Service representatives noted, Tolokonnikova "did not repent and did not admit her guilt, and therefore can not be released on parole" (Tumanov, 2013a). They also recalled that the commission that considered the parole petition in the colony "had recommended Nadezhda Tolokonnikova to break up with the criminal subculture of criminal communities", which aroused the indignation of the convicted lawyers.

Maria Alekhina was dismissed from the parole, because she "did not take the path of correction". Sureties of famous musicians Peter Gabriel, Patti Smith, Paul McCartney also did not help Alyokhina. As the lawyer of Alekhina, Khrunova, told the newspaper, the court also took into account the existence of her penalties: "In total, there were six penalties on Masha: two in jail, which no one had time to appeal, and four already in the colony". In the labour camp, Mrs. Alekhina was charged with the fact that she did not stand up twice at the "get up" order, tried to pass the note to the lawyer, and also defended the overseers" (Tumanov, 2013b).

The newspaper reported on the publication of Tolokonnikova's open letter, in which she accused the colony's leadership of violating the law. According to her, "women are forced to work in sewing for 16-17 hours a day, while the rate of production is constantly increasing. They are punished for the slightest discontent, often by the hands of other prisoners" (Chernyh, 2013). Tolokonnikova said that the representatives of the administration threatened her with murder, after which she declared a hunger strike.

In connection with the letter, members of the presidential council for human rights "will inspect the Mordovian female camp N14 in order to verify the application of Tolokonnikova". The head of the council, Fedotov, told the newspaper that "Masyuk, Cannabih, Myslovskiy, Shablinsky (human rights activists, members of the council) are going there tomorrow. On the spot, everyone will find out and the results will be given to the council, and we will hand them to the President". In the press service of the Federal Prison Service of the Russian Federation, a letter of Nadezhda Tolokonnikova was called a blackmail (Chernyh, 2013).

Pussy Riot is also mentioned in the newspaper in the context of the reduction of civil liberties in the Russian Federation and the adoption of repressive laws. For example, the draft law on toughening punishment for insulting believers' feelings "appeared in the State Duma at the beginning of the scandalous trial of the Pussy Riot group", which organized a "punk prayer" in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior" (Hamraev, 2013).

According to the chief rabbi of Russia Lazar, such a law should have been approved earlier, and not after the action of Pussy Riot: "Then there would not be so many disputes and questions in the affair with Pussy Riot. Now the main thing is to correctly prepare this law so that it can not be used for selfish interests. And you need is to be very careful when applying this document. Religion should not be associated with coercion. Religion is the most beautiful teaching that helps a person. And when it becomes the cause of disagreement, it is no longer a religion, but something else" (Korobov, 2013).

After passing the law in the first reading, Sklyanchuk, chairman of the federal council of the Party of Free Citizens, said that this law is necessary as instrument of the government: "if something like that of the Pussy Riot group is repeated, the punishment will be inevitable and really brutal" (Samohina, 2013).

In January 2013, videos with actions of Pussy Riot was added to the list of banned for distribution in Russia. This fact is in the focus of Tumanov's article "Punk-Prayer Included in the Charts of the Ministry of Justice", which describes the mechanism for making such a decision (Tumanov, 2013f).

At the request of the State Duma deputy from the Liberal Democratic Party Starovoitova, a psychological and linguistic study of the recording of the action in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior was conducted. After that, the prosecutor's office filed a lawsuit in court to recognize all the videos, texts and photos published in the official blog of the punk group as extremist. Zamoskvoretsky court eventually agreed with the findings of experts hired by the prosecution, who argued that the work of Pussy Riot is "a hidden call for rebellion and disobedience of power" and "defiles the feelings of believers" (Tumanov, 2013f).

The material of the newspaper presents the position of supporters and lawyers of the group, according to which "there will be no circumvention of the labor ban, and the court decision will only spur interest in the punk group's work" (Tumanov, 2013f). Commenting on the newspaper court decision, the lawyer of the organization "Agora" Damir Gainutdinov, representing the interests of Samutsevich, said that anyone who continues to share the

creativity of the punk group, can be brought to administrative or criminal liability. In the opinion of the lawyer, the court made a "blurred and unclear decision, recognizing that everything that was on the Pussy Riot blog was extremist, so that the siloviki had a lot of room for interpretation" (Tumanov, 2013f).

Natalia Tolokonnikova's husband Petr Verzilov expressed the opinion that declaring punk band creativity to be extremist, the authorities wanted to "permanently close this case", but eventually raised more noise around it: "The effect was completely reversed, these videos will spread with renewed vigor, and I do not understand how you can ban the video, which, perhaps, the whole world has watched" (Tumanov, 2013f).

The newspaper cites politicians; public activists, representatives of international human rights organizations, religious and creative figures considering their opinions about Pussy Riot.

Discussing the US-EU relations with Russia on the pages of the newspaper, expanding the Magnitsky Act and repressive trends, Congressman James McGovern is quoted as saying: "The sentence passed on members of the Pussy Riot group, laws on actions, restriction of the rights of sex minorities, prohibition of foreign adoption and other actions of the Russian authorities testify that Moscow is "panically afraid" of decisive actions of the West" (Beljaninov, 2013).

The leader of the LDPR Zhirinovskiy said that the girls from Pussy Riot had to "quietly flog, not jail"; "We sentence them and spend money on their hunger strike" (Kolesnikov, 2013b)

Alexander Torshin, First Vice Speaker of the Federation Council, said that if the Pussy Riot action had been "somewhere in Nizhny Novgorod", the participants of the group "would have all flogged". And they would have done the right thing" (Dorohina, 2013).

Discussing the processes of splicing the state with the church on the pages of the newspaper, journalists note that 2012 has become quite scandalous for the Orthodox Church: "The most serious conflict was associated with the action of Pussy Riot in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior. It dragged the ROC into a conflict that divided the society into its supporters and opponents" (Korobov & Voronov, 2013).

Patriarch Kirill commented this incident as follows: "Abuse of sacred objects can not be justified by references to the rights of the artist" (Korobov & Voronov, 2013). He recalled that the authorities should protect both secular and religious symbols, and the church always asked

for mercy to the convicts, but "indulgence is effective in combining repentance" (Korobov & Voronov, 2013).

The newspaper quotes another statement by the head of the ROC Kirill about the action in the cathedral and the verdict: "It was a reconnaissance battle. Some people decided to check the reaction of the Orthodox, what will happen if you sprinkle salt on the wound. If we, so to say, forgave these individuals, we would receive even more sacrilegious actions" (Chernyh & Korobov, 2014).

The defence party claims that it is incorrect to consider the performance of a punk group in the cathedral as an attempt to offend the feelings of believers (this argument of public prosecutors formed the basis of their sentence), as it was an artistic performance that can not be evaluated outside the context of the political situation in Russia. The lawyers told the newspaper: "The starting point for the creation of Pussy Riot was September 24, 2011, when President Dmitry Medvedev said he would refuse to participate in the election in favor of Vladimir Putin. Then, on February 1, 2012, at the Bishops' council in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, Patriarch Kirill publicly, in their words, supported the presidential candidate Vladimir Putin, which "angered the members of pussy riot" who had by that time a rich experience of political performances". Their action should be perceived as a reaction to the fact that the head of the ROC openly supports a specific presidential candidate (Tumanov & Korobov, 2013b).

Head of the Department for cooperations with public organizations of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the European part of Russia Ahmad Makarov said that the action of Pussy Riot in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior was the evidence of the degradation of morality in society: "None of the religions alone can adequately answer all these challenges" ("Party will teach", 2013).

Chief Rabbi of Russia Berl Lazar in an interview with the newspaper expressed his opinion about the verdict and the trial of the case of Pussy Riot: "If we are talking about the verdict itself, then I think it's not so terrible, because it really offended the feelings of believers. It is clear that it was necessary to punish them. It would be nice if they realized what they did and apologized. And everyone forgot about this. Unfortunately, this became the main scandal in the country. Of course, we must speak about the problems, but the temple is not the place in which it is necessary to do this. If they were not punished, today there could be thousands of such cases in synagogues, mosques and churches" (Korobov, 2013)

The newspaper published the opinion of art workers about actionists. So, the actor Gerard Depardieu, when asked about Pussy Riot, almost answered with a quote from Putin: "Fancy these girls going to a mosque, for example, they just would not come out alive" (Strokan', 2013).

French director Assayas said in an interview with the newspaper that "Pussy Riot was able to scare one of the most powerful authorities in the world" (Plahov, 2013).

Many musicians touring in Russia mentioned Pussy Riot at there concerts. Among them were Wu-Tang Clan, Everlast, Madonna and others.

"Three times in the evening the band (Wu-Tang Clan) expressed their respect to Pussy Riot and finally forced the audience to chant "Pussy Riot!", raising their fists with exposed and connected middle and index fingers" (Semendiaieva, 2013).

Rapper and bluesman Everlast at his concert supported Pussy Riot. "And the next song I want to dedicate to Pussy Riot! And sang "Stone in My Hand" <...> For those who had not heard at the beginning, Everlast repeated: "Free Pussy Riot!" It is possible that, like most fellow touring people, he used these words, not really focusing on the topic, just as a euphemism, meaning: "Guys, I heard that you're having a mess here, and so, I'm on your side". But, perhaps, from all the guests-artists who somehow affected the topic of Pussy Riot in their Russian speeches, Everlast looked the most sincere" (Barabanov, 2013).

The representative of the American countercultural movement "No Wave" Lydia Lunch "did not pass by the topic of Pussy Riot, informing the audience that her 55-year-old pussy was always in a riot state and a lot of men had already suffered from this" (Gankin, 2014).

Madonna performed concerts in Moscow and St. Petersburg and spoke in support of Pussy Riot too.

Mark Knopfler canceled the tour in Russia for political reasons, "because of the Russian authorities' pressure on human rights organizations - Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch". The musician criticized Russian authorities in connection with the announcement of the verdict to Pussy Riot members: "The verdict humiliates Russia in the eyes of the world community" (Voronov, 2013).

The discussion about the amnesty of the convicted Pussy Riot members in the newspaper began on September 4, 2013, when during the session of the HRC (Human Rights Council)

Putin suggested that human rights activists prepare an approximate version of the act. This story was developed in several publications (Gorodeckaja & Samohina, 2014).

The article explains that this is an economic amnesty: about 100,000 citizens (those already convicted of economic crimes and those that are only suspected of committing them) will be released. "Soloists of Pussy Riot" were convicted under Article 213 of the Criminal Code ("Hooliganism"), that is, for a minor crime: "In former times they would have been automatically amnestied. Now this can not be predicted, even by the ombudsman" (Hamraev & Samohina, 2013).

The fate of the "soloists of Pussy Riot" and other well-known prisoners (Platon Lebedev, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the figurants of the "swamp business", Greenpeace activists) depends on how the amnesty project is interpreted by Vladimir Putin (Kolesnikov, 2013a). The authors of the article "Narrow Amnesty" note that Chapter 2 of Article 213 (aggravated hooliganism), for which the members of the Pussy Riot group were convicted, was listed as a "non-amenable" article (Samohina, Ivanov & Nagornyh, 2013).

If discussion of a possible amnesty in the newspaper was covered from a legal point of view, the release of participants from custody is seen in the context of respect for human rights and the influence of amnesty on Russia's image before of the Olympics.

Human Rights Watch's assessment of the human rights situation in Russia says that despite the release of some political prisoners, there are no improvements for the better: "Some prominent political prisoners - Mikhail Khodorkovsky, members of the Pussy Riot group, the ship Greenpeace crew <...> But we do not see any positive trend. There are other prisoners behind the bars with less prominent names, whose affairs are political. The whole year passed under the flag of an attack on civil society, so amnesty and pardon can be regarded as a PR before the Olympics" (Chernyh, 2014).

The US Department of State's report on the human rights situation in Russia says that "in the past year the situation in Russia has deteriorated noticeably: the authorities continue to use force structures to persecute dissidents, torture and police violence are widespread". The conditions of detention of Pussy Riot members are listed by the authors of the report among the most notable violations (Beljaninov, 2014).

Coordinator of German-Russian cooperation, Social Democrat Gernot Erler, said in an interview for a newspaper "Correspondent" that the amnesty of Pussy Riot fits into the

context of preparation for the Olympics and "Vladimir Putin's natural desire to make it successful" (Chernenko, 2014). Many Western countries criticize some points of Russia. The amnesty of Pussy Riot and other prisoners "can be considered a definite signal to the West" (Chernenko, 2014).

The newspaper considers Pussy Riot primarily from political positions. The actions of Pussy Riot fit into the context of politicized artistic life in modern Russia. Analogies in the work of the group "Voina", P. Pavlensky and Pussy Riot noted that their actions "are so sharp that any work seems to be a sluggish self-interest next to them. Absolutely any creative act that is brought to the court of society, should be taken as part of both the aesthetic and the political program of the artist, even if he or she does not comment on it" (Dyakonov, 2016).

According to Surnachev and Gabuev, "the hooligan trick of the Pussy Riot group" in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior would remain unnoticed by the absolute majority of Russians, if it were not for excessive attention of law enforcement bodies and long prison terms for three girls: "Instead of the expected unanimous support for punishment (that maybe it would be logical in a country where 3.5 million people stood for hours in the line to the Belt of the Mother of God), even clergymen began to express their wishes "to flog and release" (Surnacheva, & Gabuev, 2013).

In the publication about the Annual Music Week in Tallinn, it is noted that the main heroes of the Russian delegation were Pussy Riot. An open press conference with their participation "became a loud starting chord of the festival" (Barabanov, 2014). It is reported that Pussy Riot was offered a contract for a world tour and "the girls abandoned millions, remaining true to the original concept: unexpected performances in unexpected places" (Barabanov, 2014).

The reaction of N. Tolokonnikova and M. Alekhina to questions about music indicates that they treat their own performing abilities objectively. A real rock band is not their story, and rehearse with hired accompanists - not their path: "It's much better to talk with Pussy Riot than to sing. Lectures do not earn millions, but touring in the format of "showing a film about yourself plus a debate about how much bad Russia is" can still provide them with a comfortable existence for many years" (Barabanov, 2014).

Pussy Riot's performance "earnestly angered many people in Tallinn. It seems that the main organizer of Tallinn Music Week Helen Sildna also regretted their invitation. The loud speaker is an indispensable part of any TMW, but until now it was people from the industry: the heads of labels, journalists, producers"(Barabanov, 2014).

Speech by Pussy Riot was "a strong political emphasis in the history of the festival, to which the organizers clearly did not aspire". Despite the fact that the country as a whole adheres not to the most pro-Russian position, "the Russian community managed to criticize the invitation of Pussy Riot even before the beginning of TMW" (Barabanov, 2014).

Pussy Riot was not very enthusiastic about the musician RuslanPX, the curator focused on the Russian-speaking audience at the Manka Boutique Pop Festival and "the propagandist of Russian music who selected most of the Russian bands for TMW": "For the Estonian-speaking organizers of the Tallinn Music Week, Pussy Riot is a prisoner of conscience, people who suffered for anti-Putin views. At the same time, for very many Russians living in Estonia, they are practically criminals"(Barabanov, 2014).

Thus, in Kommersant, the Pussy Riot case is mainly dealt with in the legal context, in the context of respect for human rights. Publications are devoted to judicial proceedings in the case of convicted participants and legal collisions of their amnesty. A separate block of materials tells about the conditions of stay in the colony and penalties from their administrations, their influence on the proceedings. The newspaper in detail describes the court sessions, the filing of appeals, the efforts of lawyers for early release. The materials of the newspaper give the opinions of lawyers, human rights activists, politicians, artists about the action in the temple and the verdict to the members of pussy riot. After the amnesty of Pussy Riot, the newspaper wrote few.

In the materials of the newspaper Pussy Riot is called "punk band", "scandalously known punk band". In the articles of Kommersant the trainees of Pussy Riot are named: Ms. Samutsevich, Alekhina and Tolokonnikova; members of the punk group; activist; soloist of Pussy Riot; person. Actions of Pussy Riot are presented as a "punk-prayer" in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, the hooligan trick of the group Pussy Riot, a concert on the Lobnoye mesto, a protest action, blasphemous action, artistic performance. The trial is a "scandalous trial in the case of the Pussy Riot group".

The analysis of publications of “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” about Pussy Riot

In the materials of Rossiyskaya Gazeta (“Russian newspaper”), dedicated to Pussy Riot, the action in the temple is treated as a "punk-prayer", a scandalous "punk-prayer" in the Cathedral

of Christ the Savior, the so-called "punk-prayer", an ugly performance, a sabbath, a wild act, jumping in the temple.

The activists are girls from "Pussy Riot", girls from the group Pussy Riot, members of the punk band Pussy Riot, blasphemists from Pussy Riot, scandalous punk band Pussy Riot, members of the band, scandalous Pussy Riot, figurants of the loud case, violators of law and order, then a person, a member of the punk band, a punk activist, activist of the group Pussy Riot, the infamous punk band Pussy Riot.

The newspaper informed about the life of M. Alekhina and N. Tolokonnikova after the announcement of the verdict: "Maria Alekhina is serving a sentence in the labour camp No. 28 of the city of Berezniki, where she is learning the profession of a seamstress"; "In the colony Alyokhina makes suits and other garments on the orders of the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Emergencies and other departments" (Izotov, 2013a), "Nadezhda was directed to the garment production, where it continues to work at the present time" (Zotikova, 2013e).

Publications about Pussy Riot in the newspaper are printed in "Incidents", "Society", "Politics", "Power", "Culture" columns.

The materials of the newspaper show a watershed between those who criticize the action in the church and those who support it. Significantly coincident are the critical positions of representatives of the judicial, law enforcement and penitentiary system about the "scandalous case of Pussy Riot". Politicians and representatives of the church express their critical attitude on the pages of the newspaper. Thus, those who are loyal to the ruling regime, criticize the action. Opposition politicians, human rights activists, cultural figures and lawyers support the activists.

"Rossiyskaya Gazeta" considers the activities of Pussy Riot as a threat to Russian spirituality, traditional values and morality. Pussy Riot refers to the liberal opposition, whose activities are aimed at "destabilizing the political situation in the country" in the newspaper. The action in the temple is treated as a "liberal coven" and is seen as a threat to the Orthodox Church: "The action of the Pussy Riot group is directed against the Russian Orthodox Church" (Izotov, 2013b)

The reason for criticism of the action in the temple was the Law on the Protection of the Beliefs of the Faithful, adopted in 2013. The newspaper writes about the "scandalous affair of Pussy Riot" when "the members of the group staged, as they said, a "punk-prayer" in the

Cathedral of Christ the Savior. The jumping girls eventually got for this, as they explained, - "performance", the criminal article "Hooliganism". In court, they tried to explain their wild deed by anything, but not by the desire to insult believers. But the court did not believe them. Now the girls are serving real terms of punishment (Kozlova, 2013).

Reporting on the Duma's approval of the Law on the Protection of the Beliefs of the Faithful, the newspaper writes that its immediate cause was the action of the punk rock band Pussy Riot, "during which the girls in masks broke into the Cathedral of Christ the Savior and staged a so-called "punk-prayer" ("The Duma passed", 2013). After the action in the temple there was a serious scandal. Prior to the action in the temple, "the facts were less noticeable when unknown people set fire to the crosses established in different regions," but "then few were outraged by blasphemy, and criminal cases were instituted without the accused. The tension in society was clearly growing. And after jumping in the temple, patience burst» (Kozlova, 2013).

At the congress of orthodox youth, the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Kirill said that the faithful "rose to defend their holy places" in response to the "punk-prayer" of the girls from Pussy Riot in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior: "Some person came to the Cathedral of Christ the Savior and began to rage on the pulpit. Probably no one would have recognized their names if these people who were expelled from the church did not even call the police, did not share it all on the Internet, did not provide it with a text they said in the temple, and did not stagger of Orthodox people" (Eliseev, 2014).

Protodeacon Andrei Kuraev believes that the story with Pussy Riot divided society: "But not into clerics and militant atheists, atheists. In fact, the division occurred between a different understanding of Christianity and the Gospel. Including, in the Church itself. Even the priests in connection with these events cited the Gospel on different pages. I have - on the page where the Sermon is on the Mount, and the other fellow servants - on the pages where Christ takes the whip ... Notice that the wave of criticism of the church from the media and blogs is coming from Christian positions: you, priests, do not correspond to the morality that your God teaches. This is our intra-Christian dispute" (Yakovleva, 2013).

The popular support for the conservative policy of the state is demonstrated by the action "in support of traditional Russian values - religion, family and morality", held by employees of the TogliattiAzot company, as the newspaper wrote. The participants "condemned the scandalous performance of the punk band Pussy Riot in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior and

offered to accept the participants to their team for re-education after serving their sentence" (Chechurina, 2013).

In the newspaper's materials, the topic of fierce attacks on the Orthodox Church and its hierarchs on the part of the "neo-liberals", supported by the action-player Pussy Riot, is under discussion. The newspaper stresses that "neo-liberals applauded" the ugly performance of the girls from the group "Pussy Riot" in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior "by justifying the Sabbath with the principles of "freedom of expression"" (Prokofiev, 2013).

Sociologist Leonti Byzova in the newspaper explains the political background of the case of Pussy Riot: "The authorities had a desire to construct a barricade between liberals and conservatives. This was done quite successfully, which was in particular supported by the story of Pussy Riot, who quarreled with liberals and nationalists" (Vizhutovich, 2014).

Psychologist Alexander Mymrin calls members of pussy riot "puppets". In his opinion, in order to support the protest movement, the Cathedral of Christ the Savior was needed. The action was conceived to instill fear: "I'm afraid, because I do not understand how to manage, how to cope with these crazy people who are crooked in a holy place. As the ancients feared thunder and lightning. "Scary" – from "ugly," then follows "dirty," "frightening," "repulsive," "forbidden," and most importantly in this chain - "sacred". If we use psychological terms, there are events that exist only in the system of prohibitions" (Novoselova, 2013)

The newspaper also published the opinion of politicians about Pussy Riot. For example, in connection with the criminal prosecution of Pussy Riot members, V. Putin noted that they are judged not for political views, but for the crime of the laws of the country: "These girls from Pussy Riot <...> should be equal for the law and respect this. Nobody hides people behind bars especially for political reasons, people are condemned not for political views and even for actions, but for violations of the law. "Everybody must observe it". ("Putin does not see", 2013).

With regard to parole of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina, Putin noted that it does not depend on him: "It depends on the relevant procedures and the law in force. Our courts make decisions themselves" (Latukhina, 2013).

The newspaper quotes V. Putin's statement about Pussy Riot and their amnesty, which "is connected exclusively with the humanization of legislation and the 20th anniversary of the Constitution." According to him, Alyokhina, Tolokonnikova and Samutsevich, who is on

probation, "should be pitied for the shock they created, because it degrades the very dignity of a woman". The action was arranged "in order to stand out, propriarize, but they crossed all boundaries, and the court did not decide for it. This is not a review of the court's decision" ("Putin: Pussy Riot humiliated", 2013).

Speaking about the case of Pussy Riot, Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev noted that there is a polar assessment of the events in Russian society "around the scandalous performance of the girls in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow": "I always say one thing: that, maybe, it was not necessary to apply the most stringent penalties, it would be enough to do something less rigid, to take less rigid decisions. But there is a judicial decision that came into force" ("Dmitry Medvedev: It's not", 2013).

Commenting on the amnesty of Pussy Riot members, Medvedev noted that he does not classify them as political prisoners. In his opinion, there are no political prisoners in Russia at all. They are called so, but they are not really being so: "Yes, they probably are oppositional to the authorities, they have their own political convictions, but they do not suffer for it. They are serving their sentence because they have grossly violated public order" (Kuzmin, 2013).

The chairperson of the Moscow City Court and "one of the most influential women in Russia according to various ratings" Olga Egorova said she does not consider the case of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina to be political. At the same time, Egorova said that "it's too early to say whether there is a crime or not, because I'm sure there will be a complaint from lawyers against me". "Now I can not say yet". "I can soften their punishment", the newspaper quotes ("Olga Egorova: In my", 2013).

Attitude to Pussy Riot was also expressed by foreign politicians. Among them, an interview with the national radio of Czech President Milos Zeeman should be mentioned, in which he touched the topic of political prisoners in Russia. In his opinion, the world-famous Khodorkovsky and the Pussy Riot group by definition can not be considered prisoners of conscience: "I proceed from the definition of political prisoners adopted in the Soviet times when these people were called prisoners of conscience". These were people who were imprisoned for their political views, I'm not sure that some people in Russia who call themselves political prisoners are really such" (Fedyakina, 2014).

In the report on the interview of M. Zeman, the newspaper notes the "slashing epithets" that were awarded to the "scandalous punk band Pussy Riot from Russia": "Simply ideal political prisoners". This is a pornographic group that is at least guilty of hooliganism in the Orthodox

Church. Moreover, one of the participants was having sex in a public place, having been pregnant, they are just hooligans ... " After that, the Czech president asked the audience if the listeners know what the word "pussy" means. Zeman translated the swear word into Czech and cited several lines from the band's songs with obscene expressions" (Fedyakina, 2014).

After Zeeman's speech, the newspaper writes, "many Czechs who have changed their minds for European standards now consider it a bad form to call things by their own names. The most heated debate erupted around the president's obscenities, which, according to journalists, were used by Zeman four times (by the way, all the words concerned the Russian punk band)" (Fedyakina, 2014).

In an interview with the newspaper loyal to the Russian government, the French politician Guillaume Faye ("the ideologue of the French "new right", a supporter of a great Europe, imperial and federal, which should be connected with Russia by "inseparable union") noted that now attacks on Russia "have become even more intense, than it was in the times of the USSR" (Prokofiev, 2014). In his opinion, an organized and well-thought-out campaign is being conducted "to blacken your country and its leaders, to present Russia as a totalitarian state" (Prokofiev, 2014). According to the politician, this began long before the Ukrainian events, any reason was suitable: "This is the case of the girls from Pussy riot who staged a vile spectacle in the main Orthodox church in Moscow and the prohibition of same-sex couples to adopt children, and by the way, it is relevant in many American states and in most countries of the world. And every time Moscow is accused of undemocratic, violating human rights" (Prokofiev, 2014). When Khodorkovsky was prematurely released and Pussy riot members in Western newspapers called this gesture "a cynical manifestation of pretended humanity before the Sochi Olympics" (Prokofiev, 2014).

Negative attitude to Pussy Riot was expressed also by the Russian TV presenter, playwright and director A. Maksimov, who noted that "in the country where the main singer is Stas Mikhailov, the main ballerina is Anastasia Volochkova, and the main writer is Sergei Minaev, the main fighters for democracy naturally become "Pussy Riot" (Vorobyov, 2013). He asks the question "what did these ladies do for democracy and freedom?" Yes, they were convicted for an unfairly long term, then, truthfully, they were released" (Vorobyov, 2013). They sang in the temple, "knowing that it would offend millions of people", "fucked naked in the museum (despite the fact that one was pregnant) and then put the video on the Internet", "women who are pregnant, fuck in the museum, and also stick ice-cold chickens in their own body" (Vorobyov, 2013).

The Russian opera singer Veronika Dzhioeva spoke of Pussy Riot as "stupid girls wearing hats and torn pantyhose" (Zincler, 2013). She is unhappy with their worldwide fame and the fact that they represent Russia abroad: "What kind of fashion is this?! As if there is nothing else in Russia. It was very unpleasant" (Zincler, 2013).

"Rossiyskaya Gazeta" wrote a lot about the trials related to Pussy Riot, which took place while the girls were serving their sentences in the colony. The publications of the newspaper covered filing a petition to postpone Alykhina's execution of the sentence; the court for the removal of disciplinary sanctions against Alyokhina; application for conditional early release (Consideration of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina's parole); appeals for refusal to release on parole; appeal of a court verdict.

Unlike the "Novaya Gazeta", "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" does not provide the details of daily routine. In response to complaints from girls about the poor conditions of their stay in the colony and violations of the regime, they publish refutations voiced by the representatives of the penitentiary system and human rights defenders.

Let's consider the specifics of the submission of information on judicial proceedings.

In the article on filing an application to postpone the execution of the verdict, Alekhina's statement in court: "No one will ever make me admit guilt for the sake of postponement and parole. There's nothing to repent of me!" Now I have to prove in court that my son needs my upbringing" ("The prosecutor asked", 2013). Reading her appeal to the court, Alyokhina noted that she was a good mother, and she always took an active part in the upbringing of her son: "The lost time of raising a child can not be returned, and these injuries for the kid in the absence of the mother are irreversible. As far as I know, my son really misses me. After all, I always took him to a kindergarten and clubs of early creative development" ("The prosecutor asked", 2013). In addition, Alekhina, responding to the prosecutor's question, stated that she "drove her son to demonstrations and environmental actions, but he never froze in the cold. And now the son lives with her husband and mother" ("The prosecutor asked", 2013).

In the petition, Alekhina pointed to the presence of her five-year-old son Philip, in the upbringing of whom she must actively participate. It is noted that legislation allows delaying the execution of punishment until the child reaches 14 years of age. But the court in its decision indicated that the Khamovnichesky court of Moscow, appointing Alekhina's punishment, "has already taken into account the mitigating circumstance - the presence of her child in 2007. And since the announcement of the verdict, nor new mitigating circumstances

have appeared and neither "the court has established". Thus, the reason for the judicial refusal - "the presence of the child was not an obstacle for Alekhina in the commission of a crime" (Izotov, 2013d).

The newspaper also wrote about the penalties and their judicial appeals. As for Alekhina's recovery for violations of the internal regulations of the colonies, it is noted that her relations with the colony's leadership "can hardly be called smooth - four penalties were imposed on her. Two of them are related to the late getting up in the morning (they did not hear the signal at 5.30), one of them was for an impolite treatment of the colony staff (refusing to testify against themselves), and one more – an attempt to send a letter for a lawyer to the European Court of Human Rights" (Baharev, 2013).

Alekhina filed an application with the court to remove four of the penalties imposed by the authorities of the correctional colony No. 28. The newspaper informed the readers about the progress of the hearing in the court: "Human rights activists have made the trial open for press, but Alekhina appeared in the city court building herself. She participated in a videoconferencing system meeting, although she sought a personal presence. At the entrance to the court, as well as in the previous court on the postponement of the verdict, they carefully checked the participants of the trial with the metal detector"(Izotov, 2013d).

The newspaper described the arguments of the parties at the trial. Quotations of Alekhina's barrister A. Podrabinek are cited, accentuating attention to the "rules that reign in the camp No. 28": "A normal employee seeks the execution of his order, but the colony's employee whispered "wake up" and ran to write a report. There is no evidence that Alekhina tried to send a letter. They are only in the head of the administration! The fourth penalty for impolite treatment of the administration in general is a masterpiece. "The administration treats itself with sacred trembling, and it is not permissible to object to it". Such are the traditions of the penitentiary system. The Constitution, the claim of a lawyer and the observance of the law - all these are terrible insults for the authorities of the camp. "Alekhina's penalties have been handed down with so many violations that they must be abolished even on formal grounds". It is at least a confession of the deputy chief that the protocol extract does not correspond to the protocol itself" (Izotov, 2013c).

Deputy Head of the colony R. Ignatov noted that the administration of the colony was guided solely by the Criminal Executive Code of the Russian Federation and by the orders of the Federal Prison Service: "Alekhina demonstrated disorder, lack of discipline, disorganization.

From the testimony of witnesses it is clear that the wake up alarm signal was loud enough, and everyone could hear it. Not to wake up after this alarm - this is disorder, an omission in handling" (Izotov, 2013c).

The result of the proceedings was the cancellation of two of the four penalties. In the newspaper, this is described as follows: "Judge Lyudmila Limpinskaya found two penalties unlawful - a reprimand of Maria Alekhina for impolite behavior and reprimand for a late wake up. Also, a private definition was made to the camp No.28 and Federal Prison Service of the Perm region, which obliges to eliminate the violations discovered during the trial process" (Izotov, 2013c).

The newspaper notes that unlike her colleague, Maria Alekhina, who is serving a sentence in the Perm Region, Tolokonnikova has not received a single disciplinary penalty for her entire stay in the Mordovian colony No 14. Nadezhda established good relations with convicted women (Zotikova, 2013f).

However, it is reported that in Tolokonnikova's personal file there are penalties received back in 2012 - during her stay in Moscow remand center No.6. In addition, it is stressed that she still does not plead her guilt and does not repent of her deed: "From the point of view of the law, the latter circumstance does not interfere with parole: according to the definition of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the absence of repentance in a crime cannot prevent the application of a parole to the convict" (Zotikova, 2013g).

The newspaper covered the vicissitudes of petitions for parole for Pussy Riot members. It is noted that this was a "loud process at the request for parole of Nadezhda Tolokonnikova" (Zotikova, 2013b). According to the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, a convicted person may be released after serving a part of the term. This is possible if the court recognizes that a complete isolation from society is not needed to correct a prisoner. The court requests a characterization from the colony in which the information is indicated, whether the convict has a penalty, how one observes the rules of the correctional institution and the law. In addition, the prosecutor and the lawyer express their opinion on the possible release. It is noted that the administration of the colony does not intend to support the request for parole of Tolokonnikova in court. Tolokonnikova, in her turn, stated at the trial that she did not repent of her deed, but she did not consider this an obstacle to her parole (Zotikova, 2013h).

The newspaper published a report on the hearing of the case on Tolokonnikova's parole in Zubovo-Polyansky district court of Mordovia, which was held "at an unprecedented

confluence of journalists of Russian and world media" (Zotikova, 2013a). "Moral support" for Tolokonnikova was the visit of her friends and relatives.

The streets adjacent to the courthouse of a "small regional center surrounded by forests are filled with crowds of curious people": "And without a passport do not they let in? - Attacks the bailiffs at the entrance of the grandmother in a colorful scarf. - I'd like to see the mischief!

"And I feel sorry for the girl ..." sings a standing woman beside her" (Zotikova, 2013a).

At the Tolokonnikov trial, she behaved "quite confidently and at the same time modestly enough" (Zotikova, 2013a). At the trial, she stated that "in case the court satisfies my request, I'm going to continue my education in the university, in addition, my husband and my five-year-old daughter are waiting for me at freedom" (Zotikova, 2013a).

The barrister asked to attach a letter of appreciation from the head of the charity fund from St. Petersburg to the case, as Tolokonnikova "deducts half of her earnings received at the sewing factory in colony No. 14" to this fund, and to attach the collective appeal of the figures of Russian culture with the call for her release: "Regardless of personal evaluations of her actions, her continued imprisonment does not make sense" (Zotikova, 2013a). Alexander Mitta, Dmitry Bykov, Tatyana Lazareva and others put their signatures under the appeal.

According to Tolokonnikova's lawyer, "the girl does not need further isolation from the society. She is employed, she is characterized positively at the workplace. During the entire stay in the colony No. 14, the Federal Prison Service for the Republic of Moldova, she did not allow conflicts, followed the rules, observed discipline" (Zotikova, 2013a).

The lawyer stated that after the position of the prosecutor's office was announced, "the judge immediately retired to make a decision without holding a debate, without giving the last word to either the parties or the convicted person. These are serious violations of the Criminal Procedure Code, because of which a verdict rendered by a court can be recognized as unlawful" (Zotikova, 2013b). An explanation of the court's representatives is provided: "the procedure for considering cases on the parole does not provide for the conviction of the last word" (Zotikova, 2013b).

Judge L. Yakovlev made a decision to refuse the parole, "having taken into account the two outstanding penalties in the convict's personal file. One of them was imposed a year ago, during the stay of Nadezhda in Moscow isolator No. 6. The second was received in January - because during the treatment in the prison hospital she did not greet the colony employee"

(Zotikova, 2013b). Passing the verdict, the court also took into account the circumstance that "the convict does not repent of the deed and does not admit her guilt" (Zotikova, 2013b).

Tolokonnikova's lawyer replied: "This is very vividly characterizes the system of execution of punishments: when a sick person who has come to the medical service for help, is reprimanded" (Zotikova, 2013b). The grounds for the decision to deny parole and served as articulated by representatives of the administration of the Federal Penitentiary Service of Moldova's argument that the conviction does not always work quotas on textile products and did not want to admit his guilt. Representatives of the department also noted that Nadezhda Tolokonnikova does not take part in the social life of the colony. Among the activities that ignored the activist Pussy Riot, were named, in particular, the review-competition of amateur, as well as a beauty contest among female convicts "Miss Charm" (Zotikova, 2013b).

The trial of Alekhina, which the newspaper described in detail in the reports of the special correspondent of the newspaper Bakharev, was held in a videoconference mode. It is described that Alekhina, "referring to constitutional rights, required personal participation in the process and the challenge of the judge and prosecutor" (Bakharev, 2013d). Having written the next statement, Alyokhina "each time gave it to the employee of the colony, and he sent the document by fax" (Bakharev, 2013d). Reception of motions occurred right in the courtroom. The assistant tore off a sheet of paper with another "dispatch" by Alekhina and passed it to Judge Shagalov. He went into the conference room and refused to give Alyokhina. "As a result, the girl went on a hunger strike and banned all her lawyers from participating in the process" (Bakharev, 2013d).

The defense provided documents positively characterizing Alekhina: "these are letters of guarantee about employment after release, characteristics from places of study and from various public organizations" (Bakharev, 2013f). Also lawyers have listed the names of those who wrote the appeal to the court to decide on parole: the Leonid Parfenov, Andrei mules, Alexander Mitta, Andrew Bilzho, Marat Gelman, Svetlana Sorokina, Mikhail Efremov, Maria Arbatov and other famous personalities. Khrunova also asked the court to attach a letter of Archpriest Alexei Uminsky, rector of Holy Trinity in Khokhlov, who asked the court to show humanism Berezniki to Alekhina and release her on parole" (Bakharev, 2013f).

In a letter from Protopriest Alexei Uminsky "with a request to show humanism towards Alekhina and release her conditionally ahead of schedule", which the newspaper quotes, it says that "further serving of Alekhina's punishment in the form of imprisonment in a

correctional colony of the general regime is harmful both for Alekhina and for society in general, because it fosters an atmosphere of intolerance and leads to a split and radicalization of society. Regardless of the personal attitude towards Alekhina's deed, I see no legal grounds and practical sense in its further isolation from society as not posing any real danger. The presence of Alekhina's six-year-old son, who every day of separation from his mother causes irreparable damage and suffering, is another weighty argument in favor of the necessity of applying conditional early release to Maria Alekhina" (Izotova, 2013e).

Representatives of the colony and the prosecutor's office opposed the parole, arguing that "Alekhina violates the regime of detention, in particular, while working for the sewing machine was without kerchief, and wrote a letter in the dining room, instead of dining. Alekhina needs further serving his sentence" (Bakharev, 2013g). The representative of the supervisory agency, Lev Tashkinov, argued that the conditional early release of Alekhina was premature and inexpedient. Convicted guilty in the perfect crime did not recognize and did not repent of the deed. At the same time, she repeatedly admitted violations of the established order of serving punishment, and therefore does not deserve parole. As a result, the Berezniki court denied Alyokhina to the parole, taking the side of the prosecutor's office.

The newspaper describes Alekhina's filing of two complaints about the refusal of the parole. The court sessions, attended by a large number of journalists, also took place in the videoconference mode.

Alekhina said she was unwilling to continue participating in the process, in which she "is not allowed to express her opinion fully." The newspaper quotes Alyokhin's speech: "This is not a court hearing, I do not have a censorship word to describe what is happening here. I want to be either brought back to the detention center right away, or sent to the courtroom for full participation in the meeting. "Thus, the judge decided to continue the process "without the participation of the convicted - the legislation allows it" (Bakharev, 2013b).

The character that the leadership of the colony prepared for the trial was not in favor of Alekhina: "The behavior is demonstrative." The convict continues to consciously violate the regime-she was without a kerchief and wrote a letter at the table "(Bakharev, 2013b).

The judge read out letters sent to the court in support of Alekhina, demanding her UDO: "Their authors are known to everyone - Lyudmila Alekseyeva, father Uminsky, Andrei Loshak, Irina Khakamada, Leonid Parfenov, Marat Gelman, Andrei Bilzho, Patty Smith and Peter Gabriel" (Bakharev, 2013b).

The prosecutor asked to confirm the legality of Alyokhina's refusal to stay with the UDO and leave her to serve a sentence, despite the sureties of well-known persons: "Alykhina's law-abiding behavior is possible only in isolation from society. Alyokhina does not have any incentives, only violations and penalties, she responds selectively to educational measures" (Bakharev, 2013b).

Tolokonnikov also filed an appeal for refusal of the UDO. Describing the court session, the journalist mentions that friends and relatives came to support her. The meeting was held under the "huge congestion of journalists of Russian and world media": "The streets of Saransk, adjoining the courthouse, were cordoned off by the police early in the morning. The current process for Tolokonnikova is the last chance to get out ahead of schedule" (Zotikova, 2013d). In contrast to Alekhina, Tolokonnikova personally attended the meetings.

The parties to the defense and the charges voiced the old arguments. Representatives of the colony said that "the convicted person did not take the path of correction, pointing to the existence of unpaid penalties in her personal file and the woman's unwillingness to admit her guilt" (Zotikova, 2013c). The lawyer recalled that the latter circumstance is not an obstacle for the UDO: "The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation has repeatedly noted that the law prohibits putting UDO questions in dependence on the repentance of the convict" (Zotikova, 2013c).

The main event of the day, according to the author of the article, was a speech at the Tolokonnikova trial, "appearing before the judges in a T-shirt with the inscription "No pasaran!", Derived from toothpaste" (Zotikova, 2013c).

The newspaper quotes her statement: "During my stay behind bars, I received thousands of letters with words of support. I still do not admit my guilt and will not admit it. If we talk about correction, then what can the colony give me? I believe that if a person does not teach himself, then no one will teach him. We differently interpret these concepts. So, from the point of view of the administration of the colony, my refusal to participate in the beauty contest among convicted women "Miss charm" means the absence of an active life position. Although in fact the opposite is true: I have this position, and I said it - by my refusal. My aesthetic representations are at variance with the views of the administration" (Zotikova, 2013c).

The representative of the prosecutor's office, Ilyin, noted in this connection that "Tolokonnikova's political arguments to the case under consideration do not apply" (Zotikova, 2013c).

The court decided: "The verdict handed down by the Zubovo-Polyansky Court about the refusal to leave the UDO is left unchanged, Tolokonnikova's lawyers' appeal - without satisfaction" (Zotikova, 2013c).

Another information reason for writing materials in Rossiyskaya Gazeta about Pussy Riot was complaints about the conditions of detention in the colony of Alekhina and Tolokonnikova.

The newspaper writes that in response to Alekhina's complaints on the conditions of prisoners detention at the labour camp No. 28, the members of the Public Monitoring Commission of Perm region I. Averkiev and S. Isayev checked possible violations. The newspaper writes that most of the complaints "were called unfounded and contrived": "she stated that the administration of the colony locked other prisoners, and thereby set them against her. This turned out to be an exaggeration. All the actions of the employees of the Federal Prison Service corresponded to the law" (Bakharev, 2013c).

Human rights activists noted that Alyokhina "exaggerates somewhat her role in the colony and the importance of her stay in it for other prisoners" (Bakharev, 2013c). Alyokhin's report on the inaccessibility of medical care was also untrue. Human rights defenders are surprised by "the privileged and unique conditions in which the member of Pussy Riot is serving a sentence" (Bakharev, 2013c). For example, she almost daily meets either one of her lawyers, or visitors from Moscow. These audiences last for three to four hours.

Human rights activists concluded that "there is simply no information blockade to which Alekhina complains. According to the law, after each such meeting, the convicted person is supposed to be examined, and it is necessary to conduct "examination of body cavities". Maria Alekhina considered this a humiliating "gynecological examination". In the end, despite the fact that the colony's staff are obliged to examine every convict after the meeting, this measure of security has not been applied against Alekhina since March" (Bakharev, 2013c).

A month later, Gufederal Prison Service officers denied Alyokhina's report that she was beaten in the Solikamsk remand center: "This is a crude provocation from Alekhina's lawyer.

The convict did not want to return to her cell, so the staff had to pull her out of the office, where she was with her defender. Nobody beat Alekhina" (Bakharev, 2013a).

In October 2013, Tolokonnikova started a hunger strike, accusing the colony's authorities of forcing prisoners to work overtime. This article is devoted to the note "The hunger strike or provocation?", which describes the results of checking Tolokonnikova's complaint by the Presidential Commission of the Human Rights Council (HRC).

Councilman E. Myslovskiy told the newspaper that, according to him, Tolokonnikova "went on the occasion of her husband, and the whole story - a provocation" (Orlov, 2013). In the colony, everything is the same as in all other colonies. They are no worse and no better than others. The appearance of the letter Tolokonnikova Myslovskiy qualifies as "an obvious provocation, organized by her husband Peter Verzilov, an expert of a public human rights organization, and lawyer Irina Khrunova. Have pushed the little girl - I speak so, because she suits me in granddaughters, - to a hunger-strike it is not clear what for. I do not like bribe-takers and provocateurs. In this case, I see a provocation" (Orlov, 2013).

According to another member of the HRC, E. Masiuk, "the hunger strike of Tolokonnikova is organized from the outside" (Orlov, 2013). Such conclusions are contained in the report, which was made public after a visit by members of the HRC to the colony in which Tolokonnikova was serving a sentence prior to hospitalization. At the same time, the report notes that "Tolokonnikova's information on violations of the rights of convicts in Mordovia colony is confirmed" (Orlov, 2013).

Unlike Kommersant and Novaya Gazeta, Rossiyskaya Gazeta did not publish materials about the possible amnesty Tolokonnikova and Alekhina. It is only mentioned that they were released, but there was not much material published about it.

After the amnesty, the newspaper wrote little about Pussy Riot. It is said that the members of pussy riot "swiftly manage to move around the country and the globe" (Egorov, 2014). Mention was made of their participation in the opposition actoin in support of Ukraine: "Scandalous Pussy Riot also supported Ukraine and expressed the belief that the Russians would also be able to change their country. In general, the speakers willingly "prescribed" the Ukrainian scenario to Russia, without fear of bloodshed and political crisis. And they even declared: "The Maidan is the best form of power and the future of humankind". They agreed with this and went home" (Zamakhina, 2014).

Thus, the analysis of journalistic texts of the "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" showed that the materials about Pussy Riot mostly came out in 2013, while Alekhina and Tolokonnikova were serving punishment in a general regime colony. The main body of materials is devoted to litigation related to the submission of Alekhina's and Tolokonnikova's petitions on the suspension of the execution of the verdict, the removal of disciplinary sanctions, applications for parole and appeals for their refusal, appeal of the court verdict of 2012.

In the newspaper, the action in the cathedral is viewed as a threat to traditions, morality, Russian spirituality and the Orthodox Church. According to the authors of the materials and the speakers of the newspaper, the activities of the liberal-opposition punk group Pussy Riot are aimed at destabilizing the situation in the country.

The analysis of publications about Pussy Riot in "Novaya gazeta"

Half of the analyzed period (2013), the girls were serving their sentence in the colony. During this time, the newspaper described in detail the conditions of girls in custody. For the editorial office, the Pussy Riot case became an occasion for the actualization of the human rights problem in the Russian Federation and for the criticism of the entire penitentiary system.

The bulk of publications falls on the period of imprisonment. In 2014, after an amnesty, the newspaper occasionally wrote about Pussy Riot.

Materials about Pussy Riot were published in the News, Politics, History, Society, Culture.

N. Tolokonnikov and M. Alekhina, the newspaper refers to girls from Pussy Riot, members of Pussy Riot, members of the punk group Pussy Riot, ex-members of the group Pussy Riot, the most famous prisoner of Mordovian colony No.14, political prisoners, society activists, convicts, art-house group Pussy Riot.

The advantage of Novaya Gazeta's publications about Pussy Riot is the interview with Alekhina and Tolokonnikova, which allowed receiving information from the primary source. In the interview, the girls shared their interpretation of the action in the church, expressed their opinion on the political situation in Russia. According to their stories, one could only imagine what was happening in the women's correctional colonies.

The articles state that after the trial, Pussy Riot became a world-famous group. Thus, thanks to their fame, the public drew attention to the problems of the Russian penitentiary system, which the newspaper covered in detail.

In an interview with the newspaper, Tolokonnikova expressed her opinion about the action in the church and the specifics of its coverage in the Russian media: "The drama of the action was somehow artificially made by the Russian media and Russian state propaganda, when they presented us as some scammers, hooligans and all other" (Masyuk, 2013c). In fact, it was "an ironic, merry, but desperate action, it was, say, a cry of the soul, who was at the same time ironic, cheerful" (Masyuk, 2013c). The Russian media "pulled out some pieces of the puzzle, did not show the whole song, the meaning of the song was completely lost, they did not say how the song is called "Virgin Mary, Put Putin Away", and our gesture was presented as a theophany" (Masyuk, 2013c). Such an interpretation, according to Tolokonnikova, "is a sick interpretation for me, because I'm scared when they call me a theologian, but nevertheless it is such a common situation for all people who are interested in the fate of religion, and in particular the Orthodox Church in Russia» (Masyuk, 2013c). Tolokonnikova sums up that the action in the church was rather pro-religious than anti-religious.

Tolokonnikova is burdened with an overabundance of attention to the punk-prayer and inadequate treatment of the action: "Throughout the year there is an intensified attempt to impose our creativity on as many people as possible, at the same time all attempts to comprehend it are stopped, at the broad federal level everything is presented in some simplistic tones, simplified, in black and white, and that's what annoys it" (Masyuk, 2013c). In an interview Tolokonnikova stated that "I'm already tired of thinking about the action", "I want to do some other work and just forget about the previous one", "during the year, the very things that they want to forget, remove, ban, it is just a constant reminder, including the connection with Pussy Riot's acquired status of extremist commercials, - this is just another attempt to show them to as many people as possible. And this starts to irritate me" (Masyuk, 2013c). The time has come - not for publicistic statements, but for philosophical studies of the action, "which can be done by me also, but they must get rid of me for this. For the time of my being I can not do this" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Journalists are also interested in the issue of the trial, judges and justice in the context of the sentencing. Tolokonnikova notes the desire for justice, and that she "is hurt by the fact that it sometimes does not happen. But anger is not what I feel now" (Masyuk, 2013c). For Tolokonnikova justice is "the absence of any criminal prosecution at all. I believe that there is

no crime in our actions, since we do not have religious hatred and enmity. I believe that this is obvious" (Masyuk, 2013c).

The judge Syrova, who pronounced Tolokonnikova's verdict, was "like a grey sheet", "no anger, no anger at it" (Masyuk, 2013c). For Alyokhina, the judge "is not a person ... Just a figure, a function", "I did not see any personal manifestations" (Masyuk, 2013c).

In an interview during the serving of the sentence and after the release, the girls willingly described their experience of life in the labour camp, noting casual routine details, difficulties, living and working conditions.

For Tolokonnikova, the hardest thing in the colony is "no opportunity to delve into the book". In January 2013 interview Tolokonnikova told that she would soon be sewing jackets (half-woolen) for the employees of the Federal Prison Service: "I would not say that all other questions have ceased to worry me - social, vital, political, but I understand that I really can not influence the fate of Pussy Riot now, so I do not really want to break my heart with thoughts about the future. Therefore, at the moment, I care less about this" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Alekhina has a negative opinion about life in the colony. She believes that "the colony forms a slavish conscience of people": "Human rights are grossly violated, on all points: the conditions of a cell, the level of wages, the attitude of employees to ordinary convicts (not to me). Starting with the fact that they address "you" personally. As far as you know, earlier in the colonies there were sections of the SDiP (sections of discipline and order) that monitored the behavior of the convicts and followed discipline. Employees with the hands of convicts maintained order. But later these sections were abolished formally, though in fact they were not. And now these functions are performed by those or other prisoners"(Masyuk, 2013c).

For Alyokhina the most difficult thing in the labour camp is to realize how the system works, how it makes people obey forming a slavish consciousness: "These are not isolated cases, they are mass cases with practically no exceptions. Ignorance, cowardice, betrayal, denunciations - this is the norm" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Speaking about the morals of the colony, Alekhina notes that in the convict colonies "they consistently teach that the only method of influencing a person is a whip. And they either justify this whip and somehow wish it or they start to fear it. And they do not see any alternatives". At some point "you do not understand, you cease to perceive reality. Plenty of

people are afraid to talk about this. There is a fear of liberation - a serious fear" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Asked by journalist E. Masyuk about pressure in the camp, Tolokonnikova responds that she does not feel it: "I feel pressure from the Russian state, but I do not feel it from the colony" (Masyuk, 2013c).

As for relations with other prisoners Tolokonnikova said that "no one took care of me, I live here like anyone else new" (Masyuk, 2013c). Despite her higher status, she notes "the prose of the life of the colony," refutes the persecution on religious grounds: "We did not discuss our Virgin Mary or my actions in any way. That is, people sometimes have questions, but they are so easy. When I had not yet arrived at the colony, a lot of people said that I would come here and they would beat me here daily, because there are very deep believers here, and I'm so bad and against religion. In fact, I have never had any questions, for religion or against religion" (Masyuk, 2013c).

In the material of E. Masyuk, the statements of other prisoners about Alekhina and about their conflict relations are given.

Convicted Nonna Ivanova claims that she was not released for parole because of Alekhina. With other women Ivanova had no difficulties, only with Alekhina: "For five days I was put to punishment cell because of her. How did I forgive her? While I do not see her, it's normal for me, I do not pay attention to it. And if I see her, I do not know, I can not say what can happen to me at this moment". Ivanova claims that Alekhina "strongly irritates" her and does not know what will happen when she sees her ("I'm going to say now that I'm totally fine, but, say, I will see her, and I will get hysterical, or something, or I will attack, well, I do not know, I can not say it "). Further it is said that Alekhina "should better not go out of the safe place". Because if it's not me, than someone else. Something can happen to her. Because the "zone" has heard about her <...> In our zone she will not be alive. There are many people here, and all against her, all" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Another convict woman A. Kochur says the following about the conflict with Alekhina: "Alekhina came, the talks started, I was interested. I began to learn about her, they began to tell me. Then I saw her, started to communicate with her. I really did not like how she behaved. She's very arrogant. She talked to me, and looked at me as if she was looking at this flower. I asked her questions that interested me. Why did she go there? She told me, you know, that she answered: "What's your business? Why should I explain to you?" That is, she

came to the colony in which I live 13 years already. Correct? I know everything here, this is my home, I live here. She came to my house to dictate her own rules" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Kochur threatened Alyokhina because of what she received a penalty and lost the parole. Tolokonnikova and Alekhina, in her opinion, have "everything, money and stuff" at freedom. Trying to explain to Alyokhina that "she has to live with us, she has to serve time", she "tried to humiliate me": "I did not threaten her, I did not want to be under the same roof with her. I told her to go away. I do not know where she could go. She went somewhere. I will not be with her in the same room" (Masyuk, 2013c). After this incident, Kochur spent 5 days in punishment cell, "now I do not have a parole. Now again it is necessary to deserve somehow" (Masyuk, 2013c). Kochur stated that she would never accept Alekhina: "You can kill me though"; "I have a reaction to her. And here are just the same people in the colony"; "I can not, I'm already trembling. I will not beat her. I'll just tell her. After all, nobody deprived me of the right to speak"; "Fair? Nobody angered me like Alyokhina. So, this is my aggression" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Alekhina and Tolokonnikova give similar descriptions of prison living conditions. Both report that there is a bath day in the colony, once a week. Alekhina says that "you can wash your head only on a bath day in the bath. But in the detachment you can not. If you are dirty, you have to ask for permission from the detachment head" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). Tolokonnikova said that although there is "a bath once a week, there is only cold water," but her everyday difficulties do not bother her: "I'm not really asking myself casual questions. In general, I'm an ascetic, and the way of life worries me to a lesser extent" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Despite severe frosts (they are below minus 30 degrees Celsius), cold shawls are given in the colony, "more like gauze". Alekhina on this occasion says that "not all prisoners have the opportunity to receive the warm shawls from home, and I believe that the state should provide, because this concerns people's health" (Masyuk, 2013c). The same goes for shoes, lack of hot water - people do not have the opportunity to wash their heads in the detachment.

Alekhina says that a convicted person can not stay in a bed for not sleeping (only from 9.20 p.m. to 5.20 a.m.). She draws an analogy between the current Russian prison practice and the rules of conduct for the prisoners of Auschwitz, Buchenwald and the Soviet Stalin camps: "They could not sit on their beds. I have read Primo Levy, Henri Curtis, and have read Soviet dissidents in parallel. And they have the same problem with a bed. It's such a frantic inertia. Everything goes from year to year, when the internal regulations are approved by the

ministry. Well, would the prisoner cease to be corrected if he had the right to sit on the bed during off-hours?" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

Prison rules do not always work, and from time to time, what Alekhina calls "strengthening the regime", "fasteners": "For a long time nothing is seen, and then, if you have cookies with crumbs in your bedside table, you can write a report for unsanitary conditions" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

Tolokonnikova claims that there are no problems with food in the colony: "It's quite tolerable food, you can eat it, and nothing will happen to you" (Masyuk, 2013c). Food, according to Alekhina, is of great importance, "almost the only pleasure", "home food - cutlets, potatoes" is very much appreciated, "the head of the medical unit should sign a permission for such packages from home" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). Vegetarian Alekhina "ate packages from home, grated carrots", but "there are no vegetarians in the colony" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). She cooked breakfast herself, because "the colony had bad food and because she was a vegetarian" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). Fresh products were delivered to her by a man in Berezniki, to whom she wrote what to bring and "a lot of people send parcels. I want to thank them for this" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). Before the New Year there was a huge box of colored chocolate in one of the parcels. In general, there are a lot of parcels, but there is no way to share with someone, because Alekhina is alone.

As for the female staff of the colony, Alekhina said in an interview that about 70% of all prisoners are drug addicts: "They do not care what they eat. The main thing is to eat more food and more sweets. After they are imprisoned, after the hard period of withdrawal passes, they begin to eat very much. And basically, what they like is sweet tea with chocolate" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

The second largest number of prisoners - women who committed particularly serious crimes against the personality: murders and grievous bodily harms. And this topic, according to Alekhina, directly comes into contact with feminism: "Usually these are aged women, who killed husbands or roommates because of their drunkenness and regular beatings. They repeat the same story. He drank, he beat, I could not stand it. "Such women do not protect themselves at the investigation, they plead guilty. Often the terms are "completely inadequate". In Berezniki, a woman got eight years sentence. She was regularly beaten, so "this can not be considered a mere murder": "A woman lives in a village or in an urban village, and all she has is a house that she shares with such a person. She can not sell the

house, because it does not cost anything. She can not leave, because she has nowhere to go. And she can not put away her companion, because he is also registered there. She can apply to law enforcement agencies, they will detain him, and after he leaves, he will beat her even more. We somehow have absolutely no mechanisms to protect women from violence, in principle they have nowhere to go. And they are in such a stalemate. Then they go to jail. There are very, very many of them" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

Another 5% - economic prisoners (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

According to Alekhina, her detachment contains about 100 people, half of whom are always nearby: "This is noise and the impossibility of seclusion. Being in the detachment, I can not read, it is impossible to concentrate, it is impossible to write anything. A person lives simply in robot mode, one is constantly loaded with work. If one does not work at the factory (many people work for 12 hours), one is put on compulsory local works, that is, to clear the snow. And eventually the person is simply falling down of fatigue by the evening" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

Alyokhina was always accompanied by a guard, which forbade her to communicate with other convicts. Alekhina repeatedly wrote statements that she wanted to participate in events, attend a gym, participate in the public life of the colony, but received written refusals.

Tolokonnikova told the journalist how she adapts in the colony: she reads the books sent by the philosopher Slavoj Zizek, Martin Luther, Mahatma Gandhi, subscribes to social and political magazines and a magazine "Foma" for the believers. This helps "to maintain adequacy, to have an idea of the world, not to become infected with unculturedness, not to get involved in an unpleasant criminal community". In addition, strangers keep writing letters to her, so "I continue to not exist, but to live in a colony" (Fomina, 2013).

Alekhina told me in an interview that she had read a lot in the colony, and when she was in solitary confinement in Berezhnyaki there was an opportunity to watch a movie: "I wrapped up the TV, VCR, just dugged into our code. Well, it really is in the law! Convicts kept in a safe place are kept on general terms. If "on general terms", then the prisoners have the right to watch TV. Even there is a clause of the rules of the Penal Enforcement Code, a separate article that allows relatives to send television and radios to the "zone". And the kettle I also got. Everyone else has it. And I also need it" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). Alekhina believes that the leadership of the colony was ready to make any concessions so that she would not leave this "safe place".

Convicts have the right to make telephone calls, so Tolokonnikova talked with her daughter and husband almost every day. About the daughter, she says that she "is an amazingly artistic nature, much more artistic than I am, so it's even difficult for me to imagine what happens when she grows up. I think Russia will just shudder" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Alyokhina was visited by relatives in the colony: "my husband, my mother and a friend came to see me" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). At the beginning of the detention she asked not to bring her son: "He is small, he will get used to me very quickly, and this parting is an injury for him, and in my opinion, such a meeting will aggravate the situation, first of all for him" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). Subsequently Alekhina managed to meet with the six-year-old son Philip: "He was not frightened by the colony. The room for appointments is the usual room, with a bed, a table, even with toys. That is, he liked it, he never even cried. He is very grown-up for his age. Simply amazing. Very serious ... I'm scared, because, these two years can not but affect ..." (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

In an interview with the newspaper Alekhina said that she was in the information blockade, but received a lot of congratulations for the New Year. When a certain envelope breaks through the blockade, it is a great happiness. More than this I can not even imagine" (Masyuk, 2013c).

During the stay in the colony, Tolokonnikova did not have much violations of the regime: "There was a violation when I tried to bring my diary to a lawyer, it turned out that this can not be done" (Masyuk, 2013c).

There are many admonitions in the colony of Alekhina, who explains this as follows: "The rise in our colony is made at half past five in the morning. But I'm in a "safe place", and this is just a punishment cell, but it's also equipped with an outlet, and I'm allowed to have personal things with me, and in fact, I'm kept in a a cell-type room" (Masyuk, 2013c). The wake up is done in this way: "I'm sitting behind an armored iron door, an employee approaches at half-past six in the morning to this door and says: "Wake up!". And at that moment I did not get up, I just did not hear it, I woke up from the fact that the door opened at 5.45 in the morning, and an employee came in. I immediately got up and, of course, apologized, but, alas, a report was written". There is no alarm in the cell. The procedure for fixing violations and the subsequent disciplinary commission "causes quite a lot of stress, because there is psychological pressure and, I think, humiliating human dignity in general" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Alekhina also told about the psychological pressure in the colony: "The disciplinary commission itself passes in such a way that the convict is summoned to a certain room, where the presiding judge sits at the table, and about 20 employees sit in the hall. And the purpose of the disciplinary commission is to understand - there was a violation or there was no violation, on the fact of what the report was drawn up. But in fact, this does not happen, but the opposite happens. A few employees, interrupting each other and interrupting me in the first place, begin to tell me that I behave incorrectly, and all the facts and arguments that I set out are not perceived at all" (Masyuk, 2013c).

The newspaper also describes the conditions of work in the colony from the words of the girls. Tolokonnikova sews the inner lining of outer clothing. The operation is called "stitch". On the day, prisoners must stitch 320 jackets.

Salary is small - 350 rubles a month, "there are deductions for utilities, food, clothes. At newcomers, as a rule, the salary is always small, because there are deductions for all this uniform also" (Masyuk, 2013c). For all prison clothes prisoners pay themselves.

Alekhina sews "mittens for the Russian army" for eight hours a day. For her, this activity - "finding a new skill, it is interesting. Besides, it's any kind of a team, and an opportunity to see how the institution works" (Masyuk, 2013c). In the colonies, where Alekhina served her time, the main was garment production ("sewing"), "water-shop, mattresses, glands and gift bags" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

They tried not to allow Alekhina to work in the brigade: "In Berezniki I was an instructor in the vocational school, and before that I was studying. I watched for new people, who had never sewn, to not hurt themselves". In Nizhny Novgorod, Alekhina worked as a librarian: "This is a good post, I received it at the request of the regional federal penal correction service - they wanted to create comfortable conditions for me to shut up. There were two, colonial and school, I worked in the school one" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

The library was visited by "adults who did not finish school, they finish it in the "zone" - from the 5th to the 11th grade. Some are even getting higher education - but this is remotely done. They come for textbooks or for poetry. Some asked me to choose something for them. Girls with whom I talked, they were very interested in Foucault. I gave them "Supervise and Punish" him. They were very interesting. I had my own mini-library, and I gave books to read. They love poetry very much. George Ivanov they liked, Mandelstam they liked. They really like a lot. They absorb everything as quickly as possible" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

Alekhina complains of censorship in the colony: "Censorship in the colony is dumb to impossibility". And she gives examples: "The man who brought me the press was forced to cut out footage from the film of Lars von Trier with scissors. The appearance of a naked body on the screen or on a picture causes the administration of the institution to feel some kind of fear and awe for some reason. They require immediate elimination. Although it's funny! Here 50 people go to the bath at the same time" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

Alekhina wanted to organize a film club, but she did not manage to agree with the colony's leadership: "I probably spent about a week trying to prove to the administration that the movie "Day Beauty" can be shown ... That women would be interested. I tried to think of some reasons: "Buñuel's educational load", all that. Lord! I wanted to show "Melancholy". At least one film of those who are considered world classics. I tried to select films that affect some of the problems associated with women. But it was just a strict "no" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

Alekhina as a whole does not like the fact that human rights in the colony are "the same word combination as a "floor rag" (Masyuk, 2013c). She talks about the enormous scale of lawlessness in the colonies: "These are the words when you say: "You have the right by law ... ", in fact you do not even imagine the reaction of employees when I say this. That is, it's at least a grin, a smile at best. These are words that do not mean anything in our country, unfortunately. This is the saddest thing. Nothing presses more than this, because it is everywhere... And when each small element begins to act in such a scenario, it all together gives the result that we have, and the position of the people that we have. People are very afraid, especially here. I want everyone to know that the amount of fear that they experience, and those low, little tools that they manipulate, this unfortunate parole, all this happens on a huge scale and, in fact, is one big crime, for which in principle it is necessary to judge. And I believe, I hope that someday these crimes will be judged" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Tolokonnikova believes that changes are needed not specifically in the colony where she served a sentence, and the entire correctional system needs radical reforms: "There is a schedule, there is a regime, and this is common for all things. I understand that everyone is in the same situation, so I would not mark this as a complaint ... And again, if something needs to be changed in the system of execution of punishments, it needs to be changed at the legislative level. Simply changing, correcting people who fall into this system, must go completely differently. We need to go to the State Duma and change it there" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Tolokonnikova asks the question: "Why should people sew at all zones, why is the punishment serving system built in such a way that there is absolutely no alternative situation, you can not do something else, what is more suitable for you by education or temperament?" (Masyuk, 2013c).

The newspaper emphasizes that the girls were unusual prisoners. They wrote many complaints about the conditions of detention in the colony. Complaints in the modern colonies in the Russian Federation are unique, very rare cases, and "everyone unanimously says that the complaints do not leave the colony". In women's colonies, women usually do not complain, women are afraid to complain, unlike male colonies. According to Alekhina "it's very sad. Unfortunately, there really is such a trend, alas. But I'm a woman, and I'm complaining. So, everything changes" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Tolokonnikova's attorney I. Khrunova emphasizes that the convicted members of Pussy Riot do not fit into the general context: "They are exceptional convicts. The first reason is education. The second is the level of development. The third is the life position. The fourth - the opportunity to use a lawyer (Tokareva, 2013).

Despite the difficulties, Alyokhina was sure that she would survive and nothing would happen to her: "I'm perfectly all right. If they put pressure on me, I will go on a hunger strike and get in punishment cell, nothing terrible is happening to me. I do not understand what is at stake. The men are locked in a chamber-type room, they are "wheeled" (transferred from the detachment to the detachment), transferred from the colony to a colony, they starve there, and nothing terrible happens. How, in fact, am I worse, how am different? I'll try. At least, there will be some new impressions. I do not understand where this panic is from. People went through much harsher conditions. I do not renounce my convictions and will talk about them" (Masyuk, 2013c).

A year after the arrest of the Pussy Riot members, they had an opportunity to release on parole. This topic was covered in detail by Novaya Gazeta.

The columnist of the newspaper I. Murtazin writes that the scandals of the last months (anti-corruption criminal cases, the State Duma's "anti-orphan law", exposing the pseudo-scientific deputy dissertations, etc.) pushed Pussy Riot to the edge of the information field, "few people remembered about them, and their release could pass almost unnoticed" (Murtazin, 2013a).

The author believes that the information wave, that friends of Masha and Nadia "drove off", sharply reduced their chances of parole, although there were no formal reasons to deny the requests for parole of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina from the district courts, and "discussions that foreclosures and negative characteristics from the colonies can prevent girls from being detained, are untenable" (Murtazin, 2013a).

Tolokonnikova and Alekhina are referred to by the newspaper as "political prisoners". Ideologists of the government, according to I. Murtazin, could use images of girls later: "The split along the religious line consolidates large segments of society and repels the liberal opposition of its supporters... Everything goes to the fact that the girls will have to stay in the colony, maybe up to the very end" (Murtazin, 2013a).

Such prisoners as members of Pussy Riot are giving a lot of trouble to the leadership of the colonies and "with their presence forced to change the ordinary way of life of the colony". Employees have to "learn the normative documents regulating the activity of correctional institutions", remembering that special contingent should be addressed respectfully. "The traditional business of employees selling parole, visits, smuggling phones or alcoholic beverages into the colony: "The business has to be turned down, because "political prisoners" often refuse to remain silent" (Murtazin, 2013a).

The newspaper writes that during the trial of girls on parole, the girls were supported and addressed to the judge in writing by such famous Russian politicians, human rights activists and cultural figures as Lev Ponomarev, Oleg Orlov, Mikhail Shatz and Tatyana Lazareva, Andrei Bilzho, Irina Khakamada, Marina Razbezhkina, Dmitry Bykov. They emphasize that "further serving time in the colony contributes to an atmosphere of intolerance and leads to a split in society and its radicalization" (Fomina, 2013). Tolokonnikova's workplace after the parole was promised by Marat Gelman in his Gallery of Modern Art and Novaya Gazeta. The newspaper mentions that Paul McCartney also made a request for the early release of Alekhina and Tolokonnikova, writing a second letter in support of Pussy Riot members. According to the musician, their imprisonment in the future will cause serious harm, as well as the whole situation as a whole, which is undoubtedly followed closely by people all over the world". The newspaper quoted excerpts from McCartney's letter published on his official website.

If in the first trial the opponents of the girls were "candle-holders and guards of the temple, whose feelings were touched by "demonic jerking" (Fomina, 2013), then the opponents of the

girls at the trial on parole were the representatives of the colony - the deputy head of the educational work Natalia Kazennova and the head of the legal service of the Federal Prison Service for Mordovia Vladimir Ustinov. Whether Tolokonnikova was able to improve, "the whole colony commission decided on the eve of the trial". As a result, made recommendations on behavior. Nadezhda was advised to "break with the criminal subculture of criminal communities". Tolokonnikov does not deserve early release, because "she does not seek actions that testify to an active life position" (Fomina, 2013).

Representatives of the colony said that Tolokonnikov was not included in the public life: "She did not even take part in the contest for the best performance of the song "Kalina Krasnaya", the contest "Miss Charm" or at least in the film festival (shot by the convicts) "To be good?" (Fomina, 2013).

The newspaper also quotes Tolokonnikova's expertise, which was provided to the court by a prison psychologist: "Self-esteem is overstated, ambitious, satisfied with itself, stubborn, courageous, determined, persistent in achieving personal goals, emotionally stable, stress-resistant. Rarely repents, is insensitive to criticism and reproaches".

In an interview with the newspaper, M. Alekhina said that during the trial for parole and the cancellation of the penalties, she was not even taken to the building on the court: "They installed video equipment to provide connection, brought the fax machine. In general, equipped technically. And at parole I was not lucky - Berezniki did not plan to take me out at all. I did not hide that as soon as I was outside the colony, I would immediately tell everything that I think about them. And when you participate in the court process from the "zone", five video registrators are watching you, all the chiefs are sitting in the same room where the court session is held. Plus, there were tightenings of regime, unmotivated at all. The locks on the local doors, constant "measures of amplification" every morning. And at that time the hunger strike was the only way out. My only fault was that I did not explain in writing what was the hunger strike about, but simply said - about the locks. Locks - it's just a symbol of what the administration was doing. They hung them on the doors of my detachment, and the detachment of the girl who was the only one who supported me. And the whole zone went around and said: you were not lucky" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

In total, during the time of serving the sentence, Alekhina had four penalties, three of which were quashed by the court. The penalty for which they deprive the parole can be got "in general for anything you like": "A shawl fell from the head. It's not even necessary for an

employee to see you. But another trained convict will write an explanation for you: I saw her without a shawl. On the basis of this explanation, a report is being written, a person is being charged, and one is already a "negative element". It is disgusting to see how a man steps on his principles and betrays a man with whom he ate from one plate just yesterday. The first couple of times he does it with difficulty. The third is with tranquility. And the fourth one is already with joy" (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

During the detention Tolokonnikova received two penalties. The first is in the Moscow detention center. After the detention, Nadia began to write a diary: she described how the cellmates are experiencing withdrawal, how the tea is poured back and does not clean the dishes after the sick. She made these notes, "hidden in a protected manner, namely, in socks", from the cell when she went to see a lawyer. In the jail, this was regarded as "violation of the rules of correspondence with persons at large", they reprimanded (Fomina, 2013).

The second penalty Tolokonnikova earned in January 2013: one of the health workers in the prison hospital it seemed that the prisoner did not greet him.

The newspaper covered the details of Tolokonnikova's hunger strike in September 2013. Tolokonnikova's letter described the mores of Mordovia's labour camp No.14, arbitrariness, a 16-hour working day, the cult of "norm", complete disenfranchisement of convicts, bullying and inhuman conditions of detention (five hours sleep, twelve to fifteen hours working day, oppression of patients and HIV-infected people working side by side, any patients are forced to work on general grounds), threats of the deputy head of the colony Kupriyanov (Tokareva, 2013). In response to the demand to cancel the 16-hour working day and eliminate the "terrible working conditions" of convicted women in the sewing workshop, on August 30, Kupriyanov said: "You will certainly never be bad, because it's never bad in the other world", as Tolokonnikova witnesses (Tokareva, 2013).

In her application to the Investigative Committee, Tolokonnikova applied for state protection measures for her.

The special correspondent of the newspaper I. Murtazin writes in an article about the hunger strike of Tolokonnikova that she should be rescued: "The fact that the girl was shielded from other convicts and placed in punishment cell (or alone, which does not change the situation) is not a guarantee of her safety. It is in isolated rooms that the percentage of prison suicide, deaths from a heart attack or gastric bleeding is inexplicably high. The situation in which Tolokonnikova is, gives grounds to assume that she is now in real danger. For the leadership

of Mordovian labour camp No.14 its exposures, which were widely publicized, are too serious a danger: if the verification confirms the facts promulgated by Tolokonnikova, then the prison authorities will not just get fired. There the facts are criminal" (Murtazin, 2013b).

The exposure of Tolokonnikova is not the first signal about the mores of Mordovian camp No.14. Coordinator of the "Gulagu.net" project Inna Zhogoleva told the newspaper about the tragic fate of the citizen of Finland Lyudmila Buckling. When she was sentenced due to the "economic" article, Lyudmila began to fight in the colony No.14 for observing the requirements of the penal correction law: "An 8-hour working day and salary of at least the Russian minimum for all convicts. They tried to reason with her, constantly sending to the punishment cell. Once in a - 30-degree Celsius frost, a woman was held for half a day on the parade ground, not allowing her to enter the barrack. The result is frostbitten and amputated legs" (Murtazin, 2013b).

According to the journalist of the newspaper A. Kolesnikov, publicity and the administrative resource of the authorities collided in the camp: "unavoidable, like the collapse of imperialism itself, transparency, which is used courageously by Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, and the huge administrative and PR-power of the government directed against her. The path for a prisoner, and even for a resonant case, is dangerous. But - the right one. Because otherwise nothing in this system can be changed" (Kolesnikov, 2013).

The newspaper quotes archpriest Vsevolod Chaplin's reply to Tolokonnikova's letter from the camp No.14 about violations of the regime of detention: "... the system of execution of punishments ... is inevitably connected with physical inconveniences. In no prison - Russian, American, Saudi or Chinese - a person feels comfortable. Moreover, when God punishes a person, one finds oneself in a very unenviable position, losing health, and sometimes life. And the Lord sometimes punishes entire nations" (Kolesnikov, 2013).

Regarding violations of the regime of detention described by Tolokonnikova, the chairman of the commission of the Public Chamber of the Republic of Mordovia for the preservation of spiritual and cultural heritage, Archpriest Alexander Pelin stated the following: "... the fire was false. Most of her actions Nadezhda Tolokonnikova is doing for her own PR ... And most importantly, people who are with her do not support her, they do not understand her. For by her statements she is creating problems for other people"; "... she (Tolokonnikova) is already tired of the game in which her husband draws her, or, perhaps, some forces to which she owes

- position, money, or earned by such, pardon the expression, mean way, fame" (Kolesnikov, 2013).

In general, the newspaper is of the opinion that the sentence is unfair. Tolokonnikova does the time for a crime that she did not commit: "She's not alone in No.14 camp, of course, but we know about her for certain. And this already makes us perceive her "inflated" requirements as due" (Polukhin, 2013). Excessive demands are compliance with the law, for example, about an eight-hour working day. Tolokonnikova said that she would not work overtime, that she would not write statements about "voluntary-forced labor", "but other convicts write". The administration of the colony "sincerely believes that the idioms "the boss is always right" and "without the right to correspond" are the law on its territory". The columnist of the newspaper sees parallels with the Gulag in it: "modern Mordovia is the territory of the classical GULAG"; "This system will live through the political reform, just as it lived through Stalin, Brezhnev, Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and it will live through Putin as well. Unless, of course, the meaning of political reform is not the elimination of the Gulag" (Polukhin, 2013). Tolokonnikova, "like no other bright political figure, offers just that" (Polukhin, 2013). A similar opinion was voiced by the Russian oppositionist Aleksey Navalny, who stated that N. Tolokonnikova "did more to attract attention to the problem of convicts than all human rights activists" (Polukhin, 2013).

Positive assessment of the action in the church and the members of pussy riot (especially Tolokonnikova) was expressed in an interview with the newspaper by Putin`s former political technologist and gallery owner Marat Gelman. Answering the journalist's question whether he liked the action in the church, he said that initially - no, but over time - yes: "Art is a medicine, it's a pain. This is pain that shows where it hurts. If there is no pain, the body will die. If you put your hand to the fire and there is no pain, the hand will burn. That is, they showed very important moments in society. I, for example, did not know anything about the courts, well, I was not interested before that" (Masyuk, 2013b).

M. Gelman considers Putin until 2004 (the first term of his presidency) as a rationally thinking politician who listened to the arguments, but "an amazing thing happened" - Pussy Riot and Putin became "just pure antonyms: he is a man - they are girls, he is rich - they are poor, he is in the Kremlin on the throne - they are in prison, he is gray - they are colored, he is old - they are young" (Masyuk, 2013b). They are, in Gelman's opinion, "in a pure form, a mirror, the opposite, a negative mirror". And, apparently, he felt that this was his personal story" (Masyuk, 2013b). He called Pussy Riot "anti-Putin". In other opposition politicians,

"we are always looking for something similar and we find it, and we remember the tale of the dragon", but Pussy Riot is "the pure opposite". For the whole world and the new generation - it's "straight antonyms in pure form" (Masyuk, 2013b). Therefore, not Navalny, but Tolokonnikova will, in Gelman's opinion, be "the person who will turn the tide". Nadia is a great man who, after returning, "can become a real leader", "can overshadow Navalny", "she turns to us, she does not say that she will replace Putin, she says that it is necessary to change the system, relations in general" (Masyuk, 2013b).

Also, Gleb Yakunin - protopresbyter, secretary of the Holy Synod of the Apostolic Orthodox Church, enthusiastically responds about Pussy Riot (Masyuk, 2014). Being an opposition priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, he criticizes its leadership and Patriarch Kirill, believes that he "took on the function of the KGB (State Security Committee in USSR) as if on himself" (Masyuk, 2014). The priest believes that "a great, truly special mission is on Pussy Riot" (Masyuk, 2014). Concerning the action in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, he says: "I believe that this action decided the fate of our whole life, and we only need to wait for their prayer to be realized. They sang in the form of a miraculous singing, prayed in the place where Kirill speaks not very good speeches. This is a miracle, as they managed to realize it. This is an amazing prayer. And the content. Pay attention: "Virgin Mary, Put Putin Away!". This is a very mild form. We saw on Bolotnaya Street, there were terrible slogans against Putin. And they asked humanely, they asked to simply drive him away, that's all. For him to leave his post" (Masyuk, 2014).

Yakunin believes that the girls "hit the heart of Kirill": "I think he felt very bad. Because they said the very essence: "Black cassock, gold epaulettes ..." You better believe in God, and not in Putin!" (Masyuk, 2014).

He regards Tolokonnikova as an "incredibly gifted person": "I, as a priest, see that some kind of grace is given to them, special God's help. Young people would follow them, especially women are now popular in politics. So they have a real perspective: they work out human rights activities, and then they will create a Christian party" (Masyuk, 2014).

Another point of view is held by the theater director Mark Zakharov. Concerning Tolokonnikova and Alekhina, he noticed that "these are pretty girls at first glance", he "is very sorry for them, they spent long months in prison" (Zakharov, 2014). The director did not perceive "any aesthetic value in their dancing", but they should have been punished differently: "conditional term or fine for violation of the norms of public morality" (Zakharov,

2014). Zakharov believes that "now they will find a mandatory shift in the brain, and they will feel the urge to heroic existence" (Zakharov, 2014). He calls Tolokonnikova "the main girl-mother," but refuses to perceive her as Jeanne d'Arc. He calls Alekhina "Tolokonnikova's friend." According to Zakharov, "young women should not just do some prosaic work, including raising a child, because they are too famous and should guide or lead someone. That is, to completely leave the dance for a heroic service to the society, which, it seems, is not very ready to love them immediately and selflessly" (Zakharov, 2014).

TV presenter of the state television channel "Russia" Arkady Mamontov believes that Pussy Riot is part of an "international conspiracy to dump the president" ("Alexander Nevsky against", 2013). However, according to Mamontov, the scandal surrounding the "god-ridden action of the blasphemists" had the most favorable outcome: "the consolidation of the Orthodox": "We will soon have the Minins, Pozharskys, Alexandr Nevskys and people who stand for the state and for the faith" ("Alexander Nevsky against", 2013).

Amnesty and subsequent events related to Pussy Riot were displayed sparingly in the newspaper. As for the amnesty - it was only reported that Tolokonnikova was released, "and at 18.30 local time on December, 23rd she left the territory of the tuberculosis hospital No. 1 of the Federal Prison Service in Krasnoyarsk" (Tarasov, 2013). At the gate she was met by her husband Pyotr Verzilov and about 40 journalists. Having greeted the audience with a victorious gesture, Tolokonnikova said that she was not going to leave Russia, her amnesty was "not impressed": "a pathetic demonstration", "another showcase before the Olympics" (Tarasov, 2013). She called the amnesty "a miserable handout, rather funny", since the term of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina would expire in March 2014. She wished an early release to other political prisoners, in particular, to all "prisoners of the Bolotnaya": "They must be free. They are worthy of it" (Tarasov, 2013).

For Alekhina, the years of imprisonment were "an incredibly valuable time", which "helped to find inner freedom" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). Alekhina does not regret about the action in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, even despite two years of imprisonment. In general, "the term disciplines. And frees. This, indeed, is a kind of framework in which you very often have to choose. Suppose they yell at you. Or they force you to do something, what you do not want to do. And this is repeated many times every day. And you are in a situation of choice. To do or to refuse. And consistently saying "no", you discover in yourself some aspects that were not seen before, did not consider them so important. This is what I call finding inner freedom. You start to realize that you alone can resist this system. It works, it's possible, there's nothing

to be afraid of" (Kostyuchenko, 2013). Alekhina believes that she can do more to change the system at large.

Tolokonnikova said the following about the life after the conviction: "I do not think that my activities will change radically. There will also be art and politics, "I'll graduate from the University (MSU) and I'm going to do a PhD thesis, probably" (Masyuk, 2013c). The Moscow State University, in her opinion, is now a "pro-regime high school, fully controlled by the authorities", but she would like to continue her studies at Moscow State University, because there are "interesting people with whom the cooperation has already been established" (Masyuk, 2013c).

Tolokonnikova intends to engage in specific human rights activities: "First of all, I will defend the interests of those people who were imprisoned, with whom I had to serve a time in the colonies" (Tarasov, 2013). She does not consider time in prison and the zone to be lost: "I learned the state from the inside. I do not smear all the staff of the Federal Prison Service with one paint. They can honestly carry their service" (Tarasov, 2013).

After the amnesty Tolokonnikova spoke about plans for the future: "Everything is just beginning. Finally, I had the opportunity to act. Although it never completely disappeared - the line between freedom and lack of freedom is very narrow, especially in Russia, a totalitarian state. I will not say that I experience something incredible, I have an entirely normal, working mood" (Tarasov, 2013). For Tolokonnikova, the exemption is a burden of responsibility for the number of those who "stayed behind the bars in Krasnoyarsk, in Mordovia, who are waiting for support and are obliged to receive it. Now I am connected with the criminal-executive system by blood ties, by ties of brotherhood, and I will not leave it behind, no matter how it wants, I will always be here and try to make the system more human" (Tarasov, 2013).

After the release of freedom Alekhina and Tolokonnikova founded a human rights organization "Zone of Law". The organization launched the Internet project "MediaZone" (<https://zona.media>), which tells what is happening in Russian prisons. The MediaZone website says that "prison" is understood by the creators of the project like "not only the colonies and their prisoners, but also a whole symphony of problems that turn an unnamed citizen of N into an impersonal prisoner of K". The newspaper tells about this "journalistic project". In particular, coverage of the persecution of activists and human rights defenders, police violence, torture, violation of the law by the staff of the Federal Prison Service. The

Zone of Law organization itself helps prisoners, mostly convicted women ("Members of Pussy Riot launched", 2014).

Thus, during the analysis large materials about Pussy Riot and interviews with activists were published in the newspaper. The author of several of them was Elena Masyuk - a columnist for Novaya Gazeta and a member of the Presidential Council for the Development of Civil Society and Human Rights. In the first interview, the author talked with both convicted members of Pussy Riot (Masyuk, 2013c). The second interview with "the most famous imprisoned of the Mordovian colony No.14" N. Tolokonnikova became the basis of the Report of the working group of the Presidential HRC, which was presented to the HRO. (Masyuk, 2013a). Another interview was published after the amnesty (Kostyuchenko, 2013).

A separate topic of publications about Pussy Riot was the story about the courts about the parole for Tolokonnikova and Alekhina.

The analyzed materials of Novaya Gazeta contain reviews of politicians, cultural figures, priests about the action in the cathedral, members of Pussy Riot, a verdict, and a system of justice.

Tolokonnikova's letter from the Mordovian colony about "inhuman living conditions" became the theme of one of the newspaper's issues. The keynote of publications – camp No.14 in Mordovia is not an exception, all over Russia people serve their sentences in difficult conditions with systematic violations of human rights: "Cruelty has become a state policy. All good intentions of the government to reform the courts and the system of execution of punishments failed: the zones and pre-trial detention centers turned into torture, and the courts in executioners" (Tokareva, 2013).

Conclusions

The analysis allows to determine the tendencies of coverage of feminist political activism by modern Ukrainian and Russian press on the example of Pussy Riot.

The newspaper "Segodnya" is most interested in women's political activism. It published more articles about Pussy Riot and Femen than other Ukrainian publications that were analyzed in this research. The newspaper considers the activism of Pussy Riot as an opposition political activity, political art. It represents members of the punk band as revolutionaries. The image of activists of Pussy Riot and the group's actions is formed due to large materials, where the views of relatives, political scientists, artists, art critics, gallery

owners, political technologists and politicians are presented. The newspaper published a series of articles about the group telling about the history of Pussy Riot, the trial process, hard living conditions in prison, conflicts, appeals, amnesty. The husband of Tolokonnikova, Verzilov, K. Samutsevich, lawyers, relatives, representatives of the judicial and penitentiary system commented on the details of activist's time spent in prison. The newspaper continued to monitor the political activities of Pussy Riot's members after the amnesty.

The newspaper "Day" tells about the activities of Pussy Riot in the context of strengthening the conservative and authoritarian tendencies in Russian society, the merging of the state and the church, the reduction of rights and freedoms of citizens. The materials describe the negative processes in modern Russian society, which Pussy Riot is fighting. It is noted that Alyokhina and Tolokonnikova were engaged in human rights activities while serving their sentences, which allowed the introduction of a penitentiary system into the public sphere. The newspaper considers the activities of Pussy Riot as a political protest, an opposition activity aimed at combating the authoritarian regime. The texts cover the stay of Pussy Riot members in prison, protest activities, amnesty and actions after the release. The newspaper describes the conditions in prison, the filing of appeals on the postponement of punishment, the hunger strike, attempts to prove the injustice of the verdict in the court.

"Gazeta po-ukrainsky" considers the activities of Pussy Riot as a phenomenon of the political and cultural sphere of Russian society. The newspaper wrote about the serving of punishment in prison in the context of violation of the rights and freedom of prisoners. There were reports on hunger strikes, letters, appeals, trials. In the description of events after the amnesty, prevail information about the tour of Alekhina and Tolokonnikova, their concerts, conferences, meetings. The newspaper wrote about them starring in the series "House of Cards." The active participation of Pussy Riot in Russian and world cultural life is reflected in the newspaper's publications. These materials were published under the heading "Celebrities". At this stage, the newspaper describes activists as representatives of pop feminism.

An analysis of the Russian press has shown that the legal conflicts associated with the Pussy Riot case are most fully represented in the articles of Kommersant. The newspaper wrote about the judicial proceedings, appeals and complaints of activists. Comments are provided explaining the position of the lawyers of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina, representatives of the state prosecution. Another topic of the publication is the description of the imprisonment: conditions of stay and administrative penalties. Amnesty of activists was also considered from the point of view of compliance with the legislation of the Russian Federation. The discussion

on the influence of the amnesty on the image of Russia right before the Winter Olympics in Sochi unfolded on the pages of the newspaper. After the amnesty, the newspaper wrote less about Pussy Riot. Activities of Pussy Riot after their release are considered in the context of their human rights activities.

Oppositional Russian newspapers consider activists political prisoners. The governmental Rossiyskaya Gazeta does not agree with such an interpretation, calling activists of Pussy Riot "violators of public order." This newspaper is most critical of the protest feminist movement. The activity of Pussy Riot in it is interpreted as a threat to traditional values, morality, spirituality. The newspaper broadcasts an opinion that activists destabilize the political situation in the country. The action in the church on the pages of the newspaper is criticized by representatives of the church, the judiciary and the law enforcement system. The newspaper cites negative reviews about Pussy Riot given by Russian and foreign politicians, experts loyal to the Russian authorities.

The oppositional liberal "Novaya Gazeta" considers the activities of Pussy Riot in terms of human rights violations. The newspaper managed to interview Alekhina and Tolokonnikova during their imprisonment. The activists expressed their views on the political situation in the country, gave an interpretation of the action in the Church, described the situation in the women's correctional prison camps. Novaya Gazeta reported psychological pressure on activists in the prison, violation of human rights, censorship. The newspaper emphasizes that Alekhina and Tolokonnikova did not behave like ordinary prisoners, but tried to change the established order. They wrote complaints, informed the public through the media about the conditions of life and work in prison. It emphasizes the extraordinary nature of the activists' behavior. The array of negative evidence Tolokonnikova and Alekhina on the situation in the prison indicates the systemic problems of the Russian correctional system. This opinion is formed due to the materials of Novaya Gazeta about Pussy Riot.

In the course of the study, we determined that Ukrainian newspapers are forming a positive image of Pussy Riot activists. Selection of information reasons and the way they are filed depends on the format of the socio-political publication - tabloid ("Newspaper in Ukrainian" and "Today") or analytical ("Day"). Russian newspapers differ in the way they present materials depending on whether the publication is government or opposition. Positive image of activists Pussy Riot from the publication of the liberal opposition Novaya Gazeta. Kommersant, being a socio-political newspaper with a strengthened business bloc, submits information neutrally, adheres to a balance of opinions. Negative image of feminists is formed

by the publication of the conservative "Rossiyskaya Gazeta", which represents the official position of the Russian leadership.

CHAPTER 8. Comparative analysis of political activism of FEMEN and Pussy Riot

The most famous representatives of the feminist movement in the post-Soviet space are FEMEN and Pussy Riot. These radical women's protest organizations are known for their shocking actions, which are actively discussed by public. There are a number of similar moments in the activities of movements, but there are certain differences as well. These aspects will be analyzed in this chapter.

The movement of FEMEN and the punk band Pussy Riot demonstrate the diversity of modern action-oriented forms of expression and presentation (punk concert, performance, demonstration, action-breakthrough, video), in protest actions, touch upon many acute problems of modern reality (power, patriarchy, religion, culture, society) (Osminkin, 2017).

FEMEN is an international public movement, fighting for women's rights. National representative offices in different countries are at its disposal. The official website of the movement contains the information about the branches in more than 15 countries. Their activities are devoted to the struggle against patriarchy, dictatorship, fighting for the rights of women and men around the world³. The most famous are the branches of FEMEN in France, Germany, Tunisia, and Sweden.

The main goals of the organization are to publicize problems, which require public attention and "complete victory over patriarchy."⁴

FEMEN is not limited to a feminist agenda. FEMEN began its activity with political protests against the sexism and discrimination against women in Ukraine. At this stage, the most urgent task of protest activity in Ukraine is the destruction of the patriarchate as the only religion of today, and the creation of another religion - the feminine one.

As a part of the struggle against the patriarchate, other tasks are set, including general political problems. Later actions, besides the women's rights, actualized general political problems in Ukraine and abroad. Such actions were directed against corruption, dictatorial regimes, and religious institutions. For several years, the movement has accumulated social capital for drawing attention to various problems of society. Subsequently, FEMEN opened branches in several countries and became an international organization.

³ <https://FEMEN.org/donate/>

⁴ <https://femen.org/about-us/>

The actions of FEMEN have always been accompanied by a public scandal and its coverage in the media. Even if the protest actions were carried out with a small number of people, media world made this event as high-profile. In the public life of Ukraine, such protest movements have not yet happened. Therefore, every street action of FEMEN aroused great interest of the public. Many spectators did not understand the content of the protest, but were interested in its form - naked women's bodies.

As a result, the participants of the movement began to position themselves as feminists, but with certain remarks. So, Anna Gutsol, one of FEMEN leaders, defines their activities as "provocative feminism" (Volokhov, 2012), whose main goal is the liberation of women from patriarchal oppression. At the same time, the process of baring allows the participants themselves to be free from the patriarchal oppression.

Unlike classical feminists, who see the economic background in the patriarchy, FEMEN believes that the patriarchy has a theological basis - the belief that "man is better, man is steeper, man is the dominant species of people on Earth" (Diash, 2018). FEMEN struggles with this attitude, but is aware of the complexity of the task, because patriarchy is a centuries-old tradition. Activists metaphorically call the patriarchy a "three-headed dragon" - religion, politics, sex industry (Diash, 2018). In the political sphere, there is a political exploitation of women, in the religious sphere - the spiritual, the sex industry is engaged in the economic exploitation of women. FEMEN fights against all manifestations of patriarchy around the world.

Sextremism, atheism and feminism are the ideological principles of this movement. FEMEN manifesto states that the mission of organization is a protest; the weapon of protest is a "naked breast". Protest and bare breast form "sextremism", which is considered by FEMEN members as a new form of feminist actionism, developed in the framework of their activities; nonviolent and aggressive form of provocation. Unofficial, unsanctioned actions, using female sexuality, are directed against patriarchy.

The elements of FEMEN symbolism are the following: circlet of flowers - "a symbol of femininity and pride, the crown of heroism"; "body-poster" - the slogan of the action, written on the bodies of activists, which expresses the idea of political performance. The slogan of FEMEN is "my body is my weapon!".

Another group under analysis - Pussy Riot is a Russian radical feminist punk group, created in 2011. At the time of its foundation, the group had a horizontal network structure, built non-

leader relations, not wanting to provoke a hierarchical perception of the team. Intergender relations within the group are constructed in accordance with the "feminist whip" - the rule of equal rights (Parfan, 2012). The goal of activism is the upholding of women's rights, gender freedom (refusal to oppose heterosexuality and homosexuality), the struggle against authoritarianism and traditional gender roles.

During the trial, the participants of Pussy Riot became worldwide famous, despite the fact, that the band was created only several months before the prayer. The trial has caused a broad response around the world. World stars of show-business and famous politicians stood up for the women activists.

During the trial, the court stated that the actions of activists are "disorderly conduct based on religious hatred" and in August 2012 sentenced them to two years of imprisonment in a general regime colony. Thus, activists were convicted of a musical performance criticizing the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian president.

There is an opinion, that the trial and the guilty verdict are Putin's revenge for the action «Putin Has Pissed Himself»,⁵ which was held by the group at the Lobnoye mesto⁶ of Red Square in Moscow (Sobchak & Sokolova, 2012).

The trial and verdict of Pussy Riot became the main topic of the media. 86% of the world's media wrote about Pussy Riot, news from Russia took the front pages of newspapers and became the primary update in television news programs and reports from leading news agencies (Wayne, 2012).

The gender aspect plays an important role in the self-identification of Pussy Riot participants who consider themselves to be representatives of the third wave of feminism and supporters of "politicized feminism". As the activists say, the feminist theorists who influenced Pussy Riot are Simone de Beauvoir, Andrea Dworkin, Emmeline Pankhurst, Sulamith Firestone, Gayatri Chakravorti Spivak, Bel Hooks, Keith Millet, Rosie Brydotti, Judith Butler (Kharitonova, 2012). Among the women's movements that inspired the activists of Pussy Riot

⁵ On the 20th of January, 2012, Pussy Riot performed the song "Riot in Russia - Putin Has Pissed Himself" at the Lobnoye mesto of Red Square in Moscow. After the performance, eight participants of the band were detained and released later the same day. Red Square was chosen as a performance venue due to its symbolism. The Kremlin is a symbol of power that is associated with Putin. Red Square has a rich tradition of actionism.

⁶ Lobnoye mesto – minor round platform, surrounded by a stone fence. Was primarily used for announcing the tsar's ukazes and for religious ceremonies.

to fight, it is necessary to single out suffragettes, radical feminists, feminist political and artistic actions of the 60s-70s of the 20th century.

In the interview, participants point to the influence of Soviet avant-garde artists (Stepanova, Mukhina, Rozanova) who opposed machismo in art. Among the foreign representatives are Nina Hagen, ORLAN, Sarah Lucas, Guerrilla Girls, Valerie Solanas, Catherine Braya (Parfan, 2012)⁷

A topical issue of the activists is the rethinking of the concept of "feminism". They treat the feminism of Pussy Riot as queer feminism, meaning that "no one is 100% sexual." (Parfan, 2012), therefore, it is necessary to talk about the diversity of genders, the existence of gender queers.

It should be noted that FEMEN, being a new social movement, functions in the conditions of post-industrial reality, therefore it is focused not on material aspects, but on ideological and cultural principles. Despite the expectations and forecasts, FEMEN neither join the political parties, nor turn into a business project. At the same time, the articles about the financial asceticism of the group members appeared in the print media (Маєрчик & Плахотнік, 2010). FEMEN movement is an attempt to resist the pressure of the state on all spheres of public life, the influence on private life and the creation of manipulation systems. Such organizations do not limit themselves by the search for material benefits, but try to change society as a whole.

The content of new social movements is also related to a break with tradition and their mass character. The participants of the movement themselves note that their actionism is too radical. Due to this, it can't be popular with a wide audience of women, especially in such a traditionalist country as Ukraine.

The identification of public enemy is typical for new social movements. Thus, FEMEN activists declare that their "enemy" is patriarchy. The main objectives of the struggle are sexual trade, dictatorship, the institution of the church, etc.

On the example of FEMEN, one more feature, typical for new movements, can be noted - blurring of borders and global movement. While still a regional movement, FEMEN gradually expanded the territory of protests in Europe. Later, the international branches were organized there.

The activity of organization is connected with shocking performances, including political, the violation of certain symbolic borders. The postmodern aspect is embodied in performances, kitsch, irony, carnival parody. FEMEN explains the shocking nature by the fact, that the traditional forms of public mobilization are too serious and uninteresting. So, they are not remembered by the audience, and do not attract media attention. In Ukraine, public outcry is caused by the fact, that the "naked protesting woman" is the most outrageous phenomenon for the patriarchy. This facilitates the dissemination of information about FEMEN as a media virus, due to the scandalous context (a tool to attract attention) and actual problems. Nevertheless, FEMEN actions are non-durable in public area and do not have a public response. They do not contribute to the comprehension and solution of the problem.

Feminists define their organization as a radical women's movement. First of all, radicalism means "scandalousness". A. Gutsol notes, that it is necessary to act radically, and this means - topless (Maerchik & Plakhotnik, 2010). Naked bodies are the elements of protest. They are the symbol of liberation from patriarchy and revolution in the political and private spheres. At the same time, they attract the attention of the public.

FEMEN and Pussy Riot use the practices of contemporary art in political protests. In connection with the audience, Pussy Riot removes the distance between activists and viewers. Thus, they overcome the space that separates art from reality, creativity from activism. As a channel of communication with the audience, activists use their own bodies and actions. This in the aesthetic plane allows us to contrast artificial and natural: the artistic tools of the past (canvases, brushes, paints) are recognized as outdated and contradictory to nature. Pussy Riot's punk-prayer in the Cathedral has acquired a symbolic value. The played scene was to become a revelation of musicians for their audience, a mystery that opened the veil over Russian political reality. The performance allowed the participants of the prayer service to get rid of the conventions of art, to touch on taboo topics. Performance bears a break with the tradition of art as well as the art of postmodernism. The activists of the group not only polemised with the art and aesthetics of the past, but also combined it with a protest against the political system of Russia. The action was purely artistic, but at the same time, it was a political act. Most Russians perceived the action as blasphemy and heresy. They did not understand its significance and the fact that the use of religious themes in the format of punk-prayer was an artistic device. The symbolism of their creativity is that they expose the political regime of the country, tearing off the masks from it. At the same time, the participants of the group hide their faces themselves, speaking in balaclava. They created an

artistic image that demonstrates the deformation of the surrounding reality, where truth and falsehood are reversed. Those who speak the truth hide faces, liars openly appear by the audience. The balaclava attracts the attention of the public, testifies to the radicalism and continuity of the punk movement protest, demonstrates opposition to society and the political regime, shows the possibility of anonymous protest.

Art practices of FEMEN are similar to the strategies of Pussy Riot. An example is the action held in Moscow during the Russian presidential election campaign in 2012. On the day of the March 4 elections, activists attempted to steal an urn with bulletins at a polling station where Putin voted. The action took place during the period of opposition protests. The protesters were sure that their votes in the parliamentary elections were "stolen". As part of the campaign, the slogan "For Fair Elections" was popular. Thus, the Moscow action FEMEN was built into the political agenda of Russia at that time.

Girls traditionally protested topless. The slogan "For Christ's sake" was written on the bodies. The action used a special language of communication with the audience: the bodies of activists were an additional channel through which they transmitted information to the audience. Exposure at the beginning of the action is a symbolic gesture that expresses the desire to show the true face of the existing political system. Policemen in the polling station became participants of the event. They arrested the activists, hid their naked bodies. This was recorded by journalists and broadcasted by media channels. The police personified the government during the action. By doing so, they acted with the intention of hiding the truth. This metaphor is read by the audience as a stock idea.

Another aspect of the activity attracts attention in the analysis of the protest strategies of FEMEN and Pussy Riot: in the fight against the patriarchy, both organizations express anti-clerical positions.

One of the central themes of FEMEN 's activity was radical anticlericalism. The protests against the Russian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate and the clericalization of power were carried out in Ukraine. Since 2012, when the center of their activities was Paris, they attacked policy of Vatican and the status of women in Muslim societies.

It should be noted that the case of Pussy Riot became a landmark for Russian society, having provoked a discussion about the role of the Church in society. The punk prayer caused fury of the leadership of the Moscow Patriarchate, Orthodox activists, politicians, a significant part of

the public. During the trial words such as blasphemy, blasphemers, spiritual staples were widely used in the society.

The fact that Pussy Riot activists are young girls points to a new way of thinking of Russian youth. According to Alekhina, they did not want to offend anyone, but protested against the unification of political and spiritual elites (Zarubina, 2012). Their action criticizes the abuse by representatives of the hierarchy of the Moscow Patriarchate. The performance was of a political nature, and was not a protest against religion. Thus, the activists separate the political nature of the protest from the religious one. The object of protest is not the Orthodox Church, but its elite.

The appearance of the concept of "feelings of believers" in Article 148 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation was the consequence of Pussy Riot's punk prayer. Such was the government's reaction to the protest of the activists. The case of Pussy Riot prompted Russian lawmakers to pass a law on the protection of the feelings of believers, which implies a prison term of up to 3 years, correctional labor or a fine. If members of Pussy Riot served time for hooliganism, the blogger Ruslan Sokolovsky, who played the Pokemon GO game in the temple of Yekaterinburg, was given a suspended sentence based on the religious article of the Russian Criminal Code.

Subsequently, in such a scenario, ignoring and falsifying facts, Russian courts consider the cases of officials (Ulyukaev, Belykh), opposition politicians (Navalny, Udaltsov), activists (cases of prisoners of the "swamp business"), artists (Serebrennikov, Malobrodsky, Itin), human rights defenders (Dmitriev), Ukrainian political prisoners (Sentsov, Savchenko, Kolchenko, Chiigoz, Umerov, Klykh, Balukh).

After the trial of Pussy Riot, Russian political regime became more conservative, increased the support of the Orthodox Church, became more anti-Western and autocratic.

An important role in modern activism is played by media, which allows to convey the idea of protest to the audience. Today media is becoming the main field for the representation of political actions. Virtual space is transformed into the main carrier of actionism. Given that the actionism is spontaneous art (for the viewer, but not for the artist), the number of people who are present at the time of its execution is limited. Even fewer spectators can recognize political art in this action. Therefore, it is media that broadens the circle of viewers of the action and interpretations, introduces it into a discursive field, provides a full-fledged work of political art.

The action of Pussy Riot in the temple is the best illustration of the role of media in actionism. The media played a key role in the course of further events. If it were not for the active work of the media, now the world-famous action would remain a special case of Moscow actionism.

Modern media become the environment in which there is an action, a stockist, a spectator, reflection, dialogues, the consequences of the action. Media is transformed into a discursive field, which has a great influence on what is happening outside of it. The reality of virtual and physical are in constant interaction. The performances of Pussy Riot and FEMEN are inseparable from the fixation: most people who learn about promotions do this with the help of the media.

The result of the active work of the media was the process of "celebrating" the participants of the group Pussy Riot. Support for cultural figures of world importance in terms defining activists as musicians, creators, as well as expressing the desire to perform on the same stage, inscribed the punk band in the discourse of world-class music stars.

As for FEMEN, at the first stage of development of the organization (in the city of Khmelnytsky), the format of the activity was round tables, in the framework of which actual problems were discussed (for example, stereotypes in advertising). They were not spectacular events. A participant and one of the founders of FEMEN Shevchenko defines the format of such meetings as "the girls gathered in the room to discuss the problem" (Shevchenko, 2018).

The theme of the first action of FEMEN in Khmelnytsky was the death of several women due to medical error. Activists "stood with placards in the square, bursting into the office to the head of the regional administration" (Shevchenko, 2018). These events were filmed by TV crew, so the whole country learned about them. At this point, the activists realized how they can "loudly say what they want to say" (Shevchenko, 2018). The starting point of the new strategy was the realization that the actions should be interesting for the media: "In order to be heard, we must understand the rules of the game." If we want Ukraine to hear us, if we want to state a problem, then we must do something that will allow us to be heard, it should be a public action, we can invite journalists, not only local, but also all-Ukrainian media" (Shevchenko, 2018). From that moment, the activists realized that "we need to work out a scheme, a formula to be heard, we need to have a list of journalists, we need to find their phones, e-mails in order to send the press announcement of the action beforehand" (Shevchenko, 2018).

At the stage of training, FEMEN activists are considering the media's potential for the action.

The choice of the form of protest depends on how it will be presented in the media. Activists are not oriented to a separate media channel, but to the entire "classical media machine" (Diash, 2018).

Activists are skeptical about social networks, in particular, Facebook. In their opinion, today they are not able to adequately display the actions: Facebook is created by a man, does not support FEMEN, constantly bans accounts (Diash, 2018). FEMEN actions are at the center of the press, which is the result of a thoughtful strategy of activists. The methods of representation in the media do not always correspond to the idea of a specific political event. If this happens, then the organizers blame only themselves, not the "bad" media: "It's our fault, we did something wrong. Our best actions are unambiguous. They are absolutely understandable and clear. Everybody sees what happened. We are working and we want to ensure that the media does not have the opportunity to treat the actions differently" (Diash, 2018). This approach indicates that the FEMEN organizers are familiar with the principles of the work of the media and take them into account when preparing the action.

The current development of the FEMEN movement and the punk band Pussy Riot is characterized by the following tendencies.

After the amnesty Tolokonnikova and Alekhina launched social projects, they organize and take part in protest actions, they are engaged in creativity and write books. Participants of Pussy Riot were offered a contract for a world tour, but "the girls abandoned millions, remaining true to the original concept: unexpected performances in unexpected places" (Barabanov, 2014). Despite this, Pussy Riot performed at the festival in Glastonbury, presented prizes at the Berlin Film Festival, collected donations from charity meals, starred in the series "House of Cards", performed at a concert of Amnesty International together with Madonna.

Tolokonnikova and Alekhina are engaged in human rights activities, they implement the "Zone of Law" project and have also founded the Internet resource "Mediazona". They also take part in the actions, support any form of protest in the country, where the demand for autocracy and Orthodoxy increased again due to propaganda. For example, in 2014 during the Olympic Games in Sochi, they held an action against the background of the Olympic rings with the song "Putin Will Teach You How to Love the Motherland". Within the framework of the "Zone of Law" project in 2015, N. Tolokonnikova and Katherine Nenasheva staged a performance timed to coincide with Russia Day. The rallies in support of Ukrainian political

prisoner Oleg Sentsov are held in Russia and abroad ("Member of a Russian group", 2017). Alekhina together with Pussy Riot came to Yakutsk, where Sentsov is serving an illegal term, to support him and hold a rally. Such an action of Pussy Riot was also held in New York. On the second anniversary of Sentsov's sentencing (2017), Pussy Riot published a supportive video in social networks. In December 2017, Pussy Riot held an action near the Federal Security Services (FSB) building on Bolshaya Lubyanka Street in Moscow. On the day of the security forces and the 100th anniversary of the Russian special services, activists came to the FSB building on Bolshaya Lubyanka Street and tied a banner reading: "Happy Birthday, Executioners" to the bars on the building ("Mariia Alekhina was arrested", 2017).

Today N. Tolokonnikova and M. Alekhina are working separately. Alekhina tours with the project "Pussy Riot Theatre: Riot Days". The punk opera is dedicated to Oleg Sentsov, Peter Pavlensky and Maria Alekhina herself. These artists are united by the fact that they are or were imprisoned. Tolokonnikova released music videos under the brand of Pussy Riot, wrote the book "How to Start a Revolution".

In general, changes in the activities of FEMEN are connected with the fact, that the group of movement leaders (Alexandra Shevchenko, Inna Shevchenko, Yana Zhdanova, Oksana Shachko) and their political strategist V. Sviatsky left Ukraine. In this regard, the protest actions have been held less frequently, compared with 2008-2013. According to the monitoring of the Centre for Social Research, FEMEN carried out 93 protest actions during 2010-2012 in Ukraine. Less than a half of them were associated with gender issues. Approximately the same number of actions they organized abroad (Korkach, 2012b).

In an interview with the newspaper Kommersant FEMEN founder Gutsol stated that the activists' move to Europe does not mean the termination of activities in Ukraine. The activity on the territory of Ukraine is impossible, till "the dictator regime in the country does not change" (Skoropadsky, 2013b). Despite the change of regime in Ukraine, the activity of the movement has significantly decreased. Another activist, Shevchenko, believes that the territory of the daily riot of FEMEN is the whole of Europe, and the movement has already played a role in Ukraine (Khalip, 2014).

The activist of the movement Jana Zhdanova, who has been living in France since 2013, in an interview with the Internet publication Apostrof, said that FEMEN ceased to exist in 2015. She notes, that today it is not an organization, but "a protest style", formed over the years of activism, which now "is simple borrowed". Current events, carried out under the auspices of

FEMEN, are "imitation": "The only thing, which connects them with famous FEMEN, is that they protest topless and write slogans on their chest. But people do not understand at all what they are doing. They think that if the girl is undressed, if she has a slogan on her chest, then it's already sexy, and it's a FEMEN -style" (Gor, 2017). According to Zhdanova, the main idea of FEMEN is a radical struggle with the system, using female sexuality, which is the main capital of a woman. FEMEN began to use sexuality as a political tool, which was an innovation in the field of feminist protests, and made them popular. Paying attention to the image, the public only then thought through the essence of the protest action. But modern activists "crossed FEMEN and classic feminism, and received the hybrid. It also has a right to exist, but it is not FEMEN anymore" (Gor, 2017).

In turn, Anna Gutsol, the current leader of FEMEN in Ukraine, denied the information on the disintegration of the movement: "The idea of FEMEN is a poster-body and a sextremism. Now there are women, who do this and continue - it means that the movement exists. And you see our protests in America, and in Canada, and in Spain, and in France, and in Ukraine - that is, the movement exists" ("The leader of FEMEN commented on the statement about the disintegration of the movement", 2017). On her Facebook page, Gutsol noted that FEMEN is a universally recognized "self-sufficient ideological product", which exists as long, as "naked sextremists make topless diversions - and if in wreaths, it is very good - till then FEMEN's sextremism is alive, despite the desire of individual pensioners to take with them to the grave all the best, that has happened to them" (Gutsol, 2017).

Let's turn to the universal ideas, cultural codes and forms of protest that made FEMEN and Pussy Riot become international celebrities, the most famous feminists of the post-Soviet space, where feminism still remains a marginal phenomenon. With the insufficient level of development of civil society and the women's movement as its segment, it is natural that the actions of FEMEN and Pussy Riot shocked the audience of Ukraine and Russia. For the western audience, where protest traditions are strong, the stylistics of their actions fits into the international context of the feminist movement. This explains their popularity abroad. Participants Pussy Riot present themselves as "Russian feminist punk rock band". Punk as a musical and political trend was popular in the 1970s and 1980s in the West, so the topic of punk was picked up by Western media. In the USSR this subculture was not so developed, which explains the popularity of Pussy Riot abroad and rejection by the Russian public.

Luka (2016) draws attention to the paradox associated with punk prayer, indicating the reasons for the popularity of Pussy Riot in the world and rejection in Russian society. As is

known, in order to achieve a political goal, the support of the masses is necessary. But Pussy Riot did not try to please the Russian audience. During the punk-prayer they used cultural codes understandable to the Western audience. Activists sought the support of a Western democratic society (Luka, 2016). This means that the worldview of a new generation of activists is influenced not only by Russian culture. It is formed under the influence of Western culture, accessible due to the possibilities of the information society.

The reason for the worldwide popularity of Pussy Riot is the use of an international language, the introduction of unique content and message. The problems of artists in countries with authoritarian and totalitarian regimes are determined by the way they exist within the regimes. Pussy Riot as artists of an authoritarian country are the antipodes of power. For an artistic career, this is a profitable position. When the authorities began to pursue Pussy Riot, they became world stars (Kan, 2017).

The main thing that Pussy Riot managed to do, according to Guelman, is to contrast the parties «art vs. politics», «Putin vs. Pussy Riot»: "Putin is grey, and they are colored. Putin is a man, they are girls. Putin is old, they are young. Putin is free, they are in prison. He is boring, they are funny. They have created an ideal "anti-Putin" and they have done a great job of upbringing a civil society in Russia. And the artists showed that the solidarity of artistic people is a powerful weapon" (Guelman, 2017).

Current art practices strive to focus not on the individual person of production, but on the subject of action, perception and interpretation. Hence the desire to depersonalize the participants of art groups that are able to mutually replace and accept new participants in the action. In addition, activists are trying to protect themselves from the control of power structures, therefore, the person in the balaclava is today a symbol of the protest movement in the post-Soviet countries. At the same time, it is the subject around which there is a polarization of society towards those who feel threatened by a masked person and those who perceive it as a universal personality struggling for the rights and freedoms of everyone.

Participants of Pussy Riot were the pioneers in the post-Soviet space, who used balaclava in the actionism. They accepted the responsibility to express the general repression of a person's position in contemporary Russian society. Since the woman was traditionally regarded as an object of oppression, represented in visual images, the gender identity of Pussy Riot representatives strengthened the statement. Its result was the trial and harassment of the group in media. Their release from the labour camp was presented by the authorities as an "act of

goodwill" aimed at forming the appearance of the democratic character of the ruling regime right before the 2014. Sochi Olympics.

Concerning the popularity of the FEMEN movement, it should be noted that it managed to change the public discourse about the rights of women in Ukraine. They occupied the streets, used a naked female body, carnival humor, burlesque as arguments in political disputes (Zihovich, 2013). Activists say that they are not particularly interested in Ukrainian society. They struggle "with all manifestations of patriarchy, wherever they occur, throughout the world" (Diash, 2018). Participants are positioned as "women with no nationality", so they protest naked (Diash, 2018). Through the use of these universal codes, FEMEN activists have overcome geographical, cultural and national boundaries. The movement has followers in different countries, using the stylistics of FEMEN in protests.

FEMEN branches abroad are formed on the basis of informal ethics and common views, with the preservation of a certain autonomy and independence. Some of them are few and include only a few girls. Foreign branches of FEMEN exist in France, Germany, Spain, Sweden, Australia, Tunisia, Portugal, USA, Canada, Israel, Netherlands, Turkey, Azerbaijan, the Czech Republic, Romania, Moldova, and Peru. Branches in Paris and Berlin are the most active and well-organized. Their actions are widely covered in media.

Participants of Pussy Riot highlight their difference from the movement FEMEN, finding similarity neither in the form of protest, nor in the interpretation of feminism. Samutsevich believes that the fundamental difference between Ukrainian and Russian activists is that the participant of Pussy Riot "is not a girl who undresses, because she wants to look attractive for men. FEMEN does not hide this and write that men want to see such women and that's what we are. Through images that men like, we will promote feminism" (Sobchak & Sokolova, 2012). Pussy Riot has another approach: activists hide faces, they have an androgynous image of a creature in a dress and colored pantyhose: "Somewhat like a woman, but without a woman's face, hair." Androgyne, like a hero from a cartoon, superhero." Animation and brightness of this character in many respects aesthetically predetermined the international success of Pussy Riot. According to Samutsevich, this character is universal: "It can be anyone - a girl, a guy. Anyone can put on a balaclava, even a man, please. Here, too, is the idea of anonymity, the idea of an active action, not very characteristic of women. Dancing in balaclava is not what society expects from women" (Sobchak & Sokolova, 2012).

Another fundamental difference between Pussy Riot and FEMEN is in various strategies to resist the clericalization of power. After the Cathedral performance of Pussy Riot, a line of defense was built that some of the members of the group are positioning themselves as Christians. While FEMEN consider themselves atheists and declare this position.

Despite this, the relationship between the visual strategies of both feminist groups is fairly obvious. Without FEMEN, there would be no Pussy Riot (Chermalykh, 2013). Common feature of both Pussy Riot and FEMEN is the fact that they were produced by men - Peter Verzilov and Victor Svyatsky, who made the movement world-famous. Press calls Peter Verzilov the most successful producer in Russia (Gerasimenko, 2017). He managed to create an agiotage around the trial of Pussy Riot, launching a massive media campaign, which has no analogues in the modern history of Russia. Being one of the publishers of the Media Zone, whose theme is a specific topic of torture and criminal cases, Verzilov made it the most fashionable media of recent years. His role in the feminist movement Pussy Riot can be compared with the role of Svyatsky in the activities of FEMEN.

Conclusions

In the chapter a comparative analysis of the Ukrainian women's movement FEMEN and the Russian feminist punk band Pussy Riot is conducted.

The protest activities of Russian and Ukrainian women's groups unite the politicization of their actions, the criticism of the authorities, the provocation of the people in the street. In the mass consciousness of people in Russia and Ukraine, the word "feminism" is associated with the shocking actions of Pussy Riot and FEMEN.

FEMEN and Pussy Riot are phenomena in the post-Soviet space that have arisen because of the lack of legitimate mechanisms through which women can assert their rights. Both groups invariably attract the attention of the press. FEMEN and Pussy Riot have become international brands, famous outside Ukraine and Russia.

At the present stage of the development, the FEMEN movement has national representation in different countries. Activists chose the strategy of naked topless protest. Participants of Pussy Riot act on principles of anonymity, creating a non-standard female media image. They did not produce a media standard of female beauty as an indispensable element of the female music group. Instead of a face, the activists had a mask (Parfan, 2012). The situation changed after the punk-prayer and the arrest of three members of the group. They were forced to remove the mask, thus they became the world's most famous feminists. After the release,

Tolokonnikova and Alekhina are engaged in political activism according to the rules of show business.

Participants of Pussy Riot and FEMEN emphasize the feminist orientation of their actionism. The key characteristics of the activities of Pussy Riot are feminist political performance, action, punk music. FEMEN is famous for topless protests, actions-breakthroughs. Both Pussy Riot and FEMEN orientate their performances on the media. This testifies to the important role of media-actionism as a specific form of interaction between art and politics for the information society. The artistic object is not the bodies of actionists, inscribed in a certain time and space, but their fixation, publication and reaction of the audience. At the same time, FEMEN and Pussy Riot have a different approach to the representation of female corporeality. FEMEN is typical for the use of the mainstream image of a woman-object, the embodiment of which is a naked female breast. For FEMEN, the female breast is a symbolic territory, for which the state, church, media, men aspire. The strategy of expropriating this part of the body by the woman herself is understandable. Pussy Riot offers a new, emancipative image of a punk woman, androgynous corporeality, a desexualized body.

Pussy Riot and FEMEN both face the predominance of negative attitudes towards their protest activities in Ukrainian and Russian societies. At the same time, both organizations are known all over the world.

The reaction of law enforcement systems of Ukraine and Russia differs from that of activists. In Ukraine, the participants were detained for several days, but none of them seriously suffered. In 2013, the first FEMEN team emigrated from Ukraine due to the persecution of unidentified individuals. In Russia, for the punk-prayer, three members of Pussy Riot received a prison sentence - two years in prison for hooliganism.

At the moment, a transformation of the original format of protest occurred, the structure of movements underwent a change. There was a split in Pussy Riot and FEMEN. Today there are two versions of the Pussy Riot movement. The first is represented by activists arrested for a punk-prayer. They ceased to be anonymous, having removed the masks during the trial process. The sentenced members of Pussy Riot are engaged in human rights activities. The second part - anonymous members of the Pussy Riot group, who expressed dissatisfaction with the commercialization and privatization of the group's brand by Alekhina and Tolokonnikova.

FEMEN has also been transformed: the geography of the protest has expanded, and international branches have been formed. The change of generations occurred in the movement. Founders of FEMEN are no longer engaged in street protests. They fight as human rights defenders, take part in conferences that discuss issues of feminism, body, performance, and are engaged in legislative lobbying (Malchevskaya, 2018). The Ukrainian branch operates autonomously. It conducts political protests with the participation of a new generation of activists.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The study of the peculiarities of Eastern European women's political activism allows us to draw the following conclusions.

Modern social movements function in the conditions of a new socio-cultural reality - the information society, which influences their specifics. Social movements are an important component of modern society and a key factor in the development of civil society. New social movements are characterized by organizational pluralism, decentralization, use of the latest information and communication technologies. Female movements, as a widespread form of social movements, develop in the mainstream of a variety of theoretical approaches and trends. Women's movements have different goals, differ in the form of activism, spheres of activity, political orientation, structure, level of self-organization, value and professional orientation, confessional identity, ethnic identification, degree of integration into the political system, etc. The nature and structure of the women's movement is influenced by the political system, socio-cultural situation and historical background. Modern feminism is a global social phenomenon, not a single ideology.

The analysis shows that the theoretical foundations of feminist theory are being reviewed. The modern feminist protest political movement is not homogeneous, it operates in various ways and methods, influencing diverse spheres of society. This trend is typical for Western European and Eastern European feminism. In modern Ukrainian philosophical discourse the feminist theory focuses on the following issues: "feminism under a different name", antifeminism in the context of metaphysics of sex, "feminism of equality", "feminism of difference". The development of a gender theory is influenced by Western models of feminism, the formation of a new national cultural project, a break with the Russian-Soviet tradition. The stages of development of gender studies in post-Soviet Ukraine are: the development of women's and gender studies (1991-1994), their institutionalization (1995-1999) and consolidation (2000-2005). In the first years of independence, academic feminism developed in the absence of a women's movement.

The main theoretical problems of research are: the development of postcolonial problems (the trauma of the colonial history of Ukraine in the gender aspect), the nationalistic literary project, the revision of the traditional version of Ukrainian nationalism, the formation of a new model of nationalist feminism – postmodernist-deconstructivist, the project of "intellectual decolonization". The representatives of the new Ukrainian postcolonial nationalist feminism aim at the elimination of Russian imperial discourse and the formation of

a new national cultural project. The problematic aspects of the Ukrainian gender theory development are related to the national orientation of research, the gap between theoretical research and the real demands of the women's movement, and neoconservative processes in society.

A study of current trends in women's political activism in Ukraine in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict allows us to conclude that modern Ukraine stands on the threshold of the formation of gender democracy and the creation of a new public and political-state system in which women and men are not only declaratively but also virtually equal subjects. However, in post-communist countries, the remnants of totalitarian regimes, the existence of authoritarian tendencies, conservative moods in society and other factors do not allow such equality to be achieved (Yarosh, 2000).

In Ukraine, the women's movement was formed mainly under the influence of the pan-European movement, but it had its manifestations, conditioned by the territorial disengagement and the specific position of the nation, which, due to historical events, was part of different countries. The formation of the independent state of Ukraine (1991) was a prerequisite to the development of the feminist movement, later structured into civic associations, communities, unions, political parties, etc. The modern women's movement in Ukraine has become a recognized factor of public life: it really exists, has its success and achievements, shortcomings and mistakes.

It should be noted that the significant changes in Ukrainian society that have taken place in recent years have led to rethinking of gender relations. This revision is connected with the events on the Maidan, the processes of European integration, the annexation of the Crimea, military operations on the territory of the country. Events of this scale could not but affect the Ukrainian society as a whole, intergender interaction and personal reference points of citizens.

These factors influenced the forms of female activism, destroyed certain stereotypes about the role of women, and determined positive changes in the perception of women as leaders. The events of recent years brought to the fore and made many activists "visible". Women are now included in new social realities – they are active in raising funds for the military, equipping the army, humanitarian aid, locating and providing for migrants from the occupied territories of the country. Women today are heading volunteer groups, are members of women's units of volunteer battalions. Also, activists organize projects that help society to understand the significance of the events of recent years. For example, the art project War / She:

Understanding the War from Female Perspective, organized by the Kharkov Regional Gender Resource Center, included three exhibitions with the participation of 35 Ukrainian artists from different regions of Ukraine working in the field of painting, photography, sculpture, installation, performance; educational programs; round tables. The project explored the phenomenon of war in the context of criticism of patriarchal culture. The question of understanding the war was viewed from the position of the society within the military confrontation, and experience requiring understanding and reflection.

The war is traditionally considered to be a man's business, therefore new gender roles of men - soldiers, defenders of the country - have emerged and become relevant in the society. Ukrainian women along with men take part in war. Therefore, gender discourse "intensified" not only in relation to men, but also to women, leaving in the past their social passivity. The example of Nadezhda Savchenko, her brave behavior in the Russian captivity, became not only a symbol of Ukraine's invincibility, but also an important factor in promoting gender equality ideas.

Political transformations and military conflict led not only to drastic changes in the political structure of Ukraine, but also had a significant impact on cultural processes. In particular, in the sociocultural space of Ukraine, the design of new women's images is noticeable: women volunteers, women warriors.

Gender stereotypes have become less common. New female images are at the stage of formation. Many women show the examples of successful self-realization in areas that were previously considered purely "masculine." In the public sphere, the problems of violence, sexism and ways to resist these negative phenomena are discussed. The new problems discussed in modern media are the rethinking of the traditional roles of men and women during the war.

The research of post-Soviet women's movements proved, that modern ways of gender identity representation in Ukraine and Russia have common tendencies, but they are not completely identical in form, as they have different historical, political, social, cultural backgrounds. In most cases, the actions of actionists are aimed at continuing the construction of different types of identity (national, gender, sexual, etc.), rethinking the established stereotypes and norms of mass consciousness, loosening the system. The bulk of the Ukrainian and Russian societies traditionally condemns and criticizes the performances of actionists. The audience does not understand the message, which, in its content, is focused on

loosening the generally accepted foundations. The majority are not ready to revise and abandon public stereotypes and norms, fearing a change in the usual picture of the world order. The social issues raised by the activists remain closed in the local groups of activists.

Gender stereotypes have become less common. The construction of new female images is at the stage of formation. There are many examples of successful self-realization of women in areas that were previously considered purely "masculine." In the public space, the problems of violence, sexism and ways to resist these negative phenomena are discussed. The new problems discussed in modern media are the rethinking of the traditional roles of men and women during the war.

The FEMEN movement, calling on women to actively resist various manifestations of the patriarchy, created an influential international women's association. Activists protest topless, exposing the upper body parts: paint them and write the slogans of the action. Among the tasks recited by the movement most often there are calls for the struggle for women's rights, against prostitution, sex tourism, sexual harassment.

Using glamorous aesthetics and stereotyped promotional female images in street protests, the FEMEN movement provokes criticism of "classical" feminists. They are accused of inconsistency of actions, but one can not but acknowledge the resonance that accompanies FEMEN actions, which draws public attention to important issues. Protest strategies of FEMEN mostly parody nationalistic symbols (yellow and blue flag, wreaths) and advertise practices that objectify the female body. This relates FEMEN to the phenomena of postmodernism, with its inherent game, kittens, irony, performance. At the same time, FEMEN is a post-Soviet, post-colonial movement attempting to decolonize a woman's body "usurped for profit (in neoliberal discourse) or reproduction (in unfair discourse)" (Маерчик & Плахотник, 2011).

The FEMEN movement is a manifestation of pop culture and a political protest against the existing sexism and discrimination against women in Ukraine. The activity of FEMEN testifies to the formation of a new type of social activism in the Ukrainian political system. The effectiveness of this movement is due to the use of marketing practices, the principles of mass culture, commercial advertising and media promotion. From commercial projects FEMEN is distinguished by socio-political themes of protests, which is covered in the media. From the political actions they are distinguished by the shocking format and carnivalization of the protest.

FEMEN activities are characterized by the structure's media structure. The movement functions as an information agency, providing media with press releases and professional photos of actions on the site and on the facebook account. Ideologists of the movement were the first to combine media technologies and feminism. They realized that in the modern world it is possible to gain popularity by being attractive to the mass media. With minimal financial costs, FEMEN gained worldwide fame, became an international organization, as evidenced by the branches of the movement in many countries of the world. The announcement of FEMEN actions is widely covered in the media. Journalists are attracted by a vivid picture, for which mass protests are not important. Without attention from journalists, this movement does not exist. The goal of activists is media campaigns, therefore the declarative nature of FEMEN should be noted, which does not provide real work with women and social initiatives (for example, the establishment of crisis centers for women affected by domestic violence). Despite the effectiveness of the activity in the symbolic field of the media, such actions can not replace the real work with women.

In general, FEMEN activists violate the symbolic boundaries of the women's sphere, showing interest in the diversity of socio-political problems; change the understanding of feminism, dissociating themselves from its academic interpretation; represent an ideology attractive to women and understandable for all, adequate to the challenges of the information society.

The controversy unfolding in Russia after the Pussy Riot action in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior shows the main confrontations in Russian society. Pussy Riot showed how powerful can a reaction be to a media event that affects national cultural codes, sensitive at this stage of society's development. In the post-Soviet space, Pussy Riot was a new, therefore shocking phenomenon. Nevertheless, such activism is correlated with the traditions of the international women's movement. The main thesis of feminism is to realize that the social structure supports discrimination against women, therefore it is necessary to fight against discriminatory practices. Different directions of feminism use their fighting strategies. For Pussy Riot, the main way of fighting is art-activism.

Punk-prayer by Pussy Riot is a simultaneous gesture of the artist and a civil act. For the members of the punk group feminism is associated with both political and artistic activism. The participants of the group interpret feminism as an active civil position and activity, which purpose is to give women the status of an active equal subject, fully responsible for their actions. It is important to fight not only against feminine discrimination, but also to destroy the gender hierarchy of Russian society with the help of art activism, in which men are

opposed to women and occupy a dominant position. From a feminist perspective, Pussy Riot calls for a systemic transformation of the state, involving equality, interaction and mutual understanding between a man and a woman, and also guarantees freedom for any gender identities.

The study of the role of media in the formation of the feminist agenda has shown that post-totalitarian countries share common features of the processes of formation and features of the functioning of media systems. In transit societies, media systems operate under conditions of a change in the social system, globalization and the information revolution. As the corresponding economic basis is necessary for the development of the media system, the mass media can exist only in an effective market economy that can not be separated from the economic system of modern post-industrial societies. While the lack or insufficient development of a market economy makes the media politically dependent. In post-Soviet countries, the state often acts as a political and economic actor, and political elites have access to the media or are receiving it through commercial interests. In a post-totalitarian society, the print press is a less controlled segment of the media than television.

Media form the agenda and define relevant topics of high interest. Media should articulate the views of all significant groups of society, as the audience has the right to know about the interests, difficulties, problems of representatives of various genders. The problem of representation of different views of groups of society is the responsibility of the media and the groups themselves. In the absence of information reasons, there is no media attention. As a result, various groups of activists will not enter the information field. Journalists work requires them to cover the events in society. The crash of consciousness in relation to the role of various genders is reflected in the media insofar as it occurs in society. For example, the transition of women from the sphere of household to arena of political and economic leadership is reflected in the media only after it occurs in reality, and not vice versa. The problem of the media, as well as of public opinion, is certain stagnation. As a result, new trends are not immediately reflected in the media.

Discourse analysis showed the trends in the development of political activism by Pussy Riot and FEMEN, the features of its coverage in the modern press of Ukraine and Russia. The study of newspaper publications identified common phenomena and differences in the practice of women's political activism in the Eastern European post-Soviet countries.

The task of modern political activism is to create a bright, memorable event, opening an information opportunity for the media. Political actionism is an indispensable attribute of the activities of women's organizations FEMEN and Pussy Riot.

As a result of discourse analysis, the influence of the political direction of the publication (liberal, conservative, oppositional, pro-governmental) and the format of the newspaper (socio-political newspaper, analytical, tabloid, business publication) on ways of forming images of protest feminist actions and their participants was noted.

The research showed that a positive image of protest actions and members of FEMEN and Pussy Riot is formed by liberal newspapers, regardless of the country. Negative image of feminists is more common in publications of conservative publications. The Ukrainian press covers the actions mostly neutrally and positively. The study showed the similarity of Ukrainian socio-political publications and the Russian opposition press. Ukrainian newspapers wrote more about the cultural, political, human rights component of the protest issues. Russian newspapers consider FEMEN and Pussy Riot in political, religious, legal aspect.

The analysis of newspapers allows us to conclude that there are journalistic standards in Ukraine and Russia. Conservative newspapers in these countries represent a different journalistic approach. The most negative interpretation of female activism is inherent in the governmental "Rossiyskaya Gazeta", which forms a negative attitude towards protest feminist actions and participants in movements. The pages of this newspaper present unbalanced information, negative reviews are selected. "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" describes activists of Pussy Riot as scammers, representing the danger of Russian statehood, traditional values ("scrapers"). FEMEN is criticized for anti-church position. The reason for the description of FEMEN are foreign actions of the movement. The newspaper informs about activity in Ukraine less often.

The most conservative Ukrainian "Gazeta po-ukrainsky" demonstrates female activism from the position of a tabloid publication. FEMEN and Pussy Riot are considered in the context of show business. The newspaper forms the image of movements as representatives of the direction of pop feminism. Participants are described as celebrities in the context of secular chronicles.

The analysis of the newspapers showed that the specifics of the activism of FEMEN and Pussy Riot are viewed in a different context. About FEMEN all the newspapers write about

the feminist movement. In the materials on Pussy Riot, the word "feminism" is found once in the Novaya Gazeta (he is mentioned by Alekhina in an interview), several times in Kommersant's article on women's art. The rest of the newspapers do not use this word for Pussy Riot.

In the Ukrainian and Russian press, FEMEN is represented as a feminist international organization. The movement that became famous for its protest actions in Ukraine, from a local Ukrainian project turned into an international organization. The stages and reasons for the changes are described in the analyzed press.

Due to the subject of protest actions, FEMEN activities are inscribed in a social, political, cultural, religious context. The press describes the actions devoted to the sexual exploitation of women, the intervention of the state and the church in the life of women, radical Islamism, etc. The liberal press forms a positive image of FEMEN activists and presents them as role models. The format of the protest found a response outside of Ukraine. The style of FEMEN was picked up by activists from other countries, having formed foreign branches. On expanding the boundaries of topless protest all the newspapers write. Mentions about foreign actions are becoming more frequent with time. It should be noted that topless protest is one of the main leitmotifs describing the actions of FEMEN in the press.

The Ukrainian newspaper Segodnya wrote about FEMEN more often than others. The materials described foreign actions in detail, while Ukrainian actions were ignored. It is noteworthy that the publication, which for the analysis period supported the policies of former President Yanukovych, did not mention the internal political problems that became the reason for the actions (protests against Yanukovych, Putin, UOC-MP in Ukraine). Selection of information about the movement in favor of foreign events, ignoring the internal political agenda, negative and skeptical attitude towards activists in the author's columns are the features of designing the image of feminists in the materials of the newspaper Today.

The Day newspaper is a socio-political newspaper. Journalistic standard of the publication - qualitative analysis, expert assessments, balance of opinions, reliability of information sources, separation of facts from comments. This newspaper is one of the few that analyzed FEMEN in the context of the Ukrainian feminist movement and contemporary art. In the materials FEMEN is described as an influential movement, which became an international Ukrainian brand, well-known all over the world. The movement is represented as a feminist art group, their protests are an example of modern actionism. The editorial staff wrote about

FEMEN actions dedicated to women's rights, military aggression of the Russian Federation, religious protests. The newspaper's materials form the image of the movement as the most effective modern Ukrainian political movement.

"Gazeta po-ukrainsky" also notes the prominence and influence of FEMEN. Against the backdrop of the small number of women's organizations in Ukraine, which work for the promotion of gender equality, the merit of FEMEN is to draw attention to the problems of discrimination. The newspaper wrote not only about Ukrainian and foreign actions, but also about the personal life of activists, about parties, meetings with celebrities, exhibitions, presentations, and staged photo shootings. The events connected with the founders of the movement who left Ukraine are described in the secular chronicle. Such publications are in the style of a tabloid publication.

The analysis showed that the main topics of publications in the Russian press about FEMEN were persecution of activists in Ukraine, events related to the termination of the movement in Ukraine, foreign protests. In connection with the beginning of the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine in 2014, the Russian press has become less likely to cover the activities of FEMEN. The materials were dominated by the description of foreign actions. At the same time, Ukrainian events related to the movement were ignored.

The Russian press paid the greatest attention to the Hanover Industrial Exhibition (8.04.2013). This is due to the fact that the "participant" of the action was the Russian President Putin. Kommersant devoted five publications to her. On the example of this action, the newspaper noted an important feature of the FEMEN protest strategy: to find a way to get into the closed protected territory ("territory of the enemy") and come close to the "enemy". The newspaper notes the courage of activists.

In general, Kommersant highlights the activism of FEMEN neutrally and positively. The actions are described as directed against sexual exploitation of women, sexual slavery, state intervention and church institutions in the life of women, radical Islamism, the economic course of the leadership of European countries and Putin's policies. The description of the actions emphasizes the bodily representation of the participants. The keynote of the articles is "FEMEN Walks the World". This is evidenced by the newspaper's materials about the actions in Berlin, Rio de Janeiro, Hanover, Namur, Paris.

Business newspaper Kommersant and the liberal Novaya Gazeta described the events of 2013 in Ukraine, which led to the curtailment of protest activities in Ukraine and the establishment

of foreign affiliates. Like Kommersant, Novaya Gazeta expresses a neutral and positive attitude towards FEMEN. The publications note the features of the form of protest, spectacularity, radicalism, shocking. The newspaper wrote more about the foreign activities of FEMEN. Most of the materials about the French branch, describing the actions and litigations. FEMEN's activities are seen as an international feminist movement. The newspaper paid the greatest attention to protests against the institution of the church and Putin, which is explained by the opposition and liberal nature of the publication.

The analysis of publications in the Rossiyskaya Gazeta for the period of 2013-2014 proves that this is the most critical newspaper in relation to FEMEN. The newspaper neglects journalistic standards, manipulates information for the sake of propaganda effect. Materials about protest actions are accompanied by negative comments. There is unanimity of experts (politicians, priests, law enforcement) and "ordinary people" in the critical evaluation of FEMEN. In the articles one view of the opponents of FEMEN is presented. An unbalanced presentation of opinions is accompanied by an overabundance of expressive vocabulary, negative connotations, vulgar expressions regarding activists and actions. It should be noted that the newspaper draws analogies between the activities of FEMEN and Pussy Riot. They are brought together by the anti-church orientation of the protests, the ideology of movements and the rhetoric of activists. In this sense, the newspaper represents political female activism as a public insult to the feelings of believers. The newspaper forms a critical attitude to similar forms of protest.

In the course of the research, the tendencies of covering the activities of Pussy Riot in the Ukrainian and Russian press were determined. The analysis showed that all Ukrainian publications and Russian newspapers of a liberal nature (Novaya Gazeta) form a positive image of Pussy Riot. Neutral information with observation of diverse opinions is presented in Kommersant. This is due to the format of the publication - a socio-political business newspaper. The negative image of activism by Pussy Riot is created in the materials of the conservative Rossiyskaya Gazeta.

Today, the newspaper devoted a series of articles to the activities of Pussy Riot, which allowed a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon of the group. The materials include portraits of convicted participants, the history of Pussy Riot, sources, influences, details of life in the colony. The newspaper emphasizes the importance of punk prayer and analyzes its consequences for the Orthodox world. The importance of this event is emphasized by the polarization of Russian society. Part of the society refers to activists as heroines who

challenged the authoritarian regime of Russia, for which they were punished with imprisonment. Others consider them blasphemists and defilers of holy things, justly paid for by freedom. The newspaper informs readers about the purpose of activists - to change the thinking of Russians, to raise the level of political thinking. The activists explain the shocking and radical nature of their protest activities by the fact that without provocation the society will not develop. The political activism of Pussy Riot is presented as oppositional political activity and radical political art. Pussy Riot activists are represented as revolutionaries, oppositionists, anti-pushers, political prisoners, human rights activists, political activists, participants in the protest movement. Relatives, political scientists, artists, musicians, art critics, gallery owners, political technologists, politicians, lawyers, representatives of the judiciary and penitentiary system spoke in the newspaper about activists, Pussy Riot, the significance of their activities, life in the colony.

The Day newspaper considers Pussy Riot as a phenomenon of social and political sphere, which reflected the problems of Russian society (strengthening of conservative and authoritarian tendencies, the merging of the state and the church, the reduction of rights and freedoms of Russians, an unfair judiciary). Political actionism of Pussy Riot confronts the negative processes in modern Russian society. The newspaper published materials on Pussy Riot's detention in the labour camp, in which they informed the readers about the conditions of detention, appeals, hunger strikes, boycotts, violations of their rights. It is emphasized that Alekhina and Tolokonnikova, while in prison, continued to struggle with the system and were engaged in human rights activities. Thus, they were able to draw public attention to the problems of the law enforcement and judicial system. The human rights activities that Alekhina and Tolokonnikova took up after the amnesty became a logical continuation of the protest activism.

The newspaper Gazeta po-ukrainsky represents Tolokonnikova and Alekhina as members of a punk group, dissidents, oppositionists and human rights activists. Their sphere of activity is the struggle for the rights of women and convicts, criticism of Russia's political regime, opposition movement, cultural and civic diplomacy. The newspaper also emphasizes that when they were in the colony, the activists engaged in political and human rights activities. It is important that they continued to generate information reasons while in custody (public letters, hunger strikes, appeals, court hearings). Their names did not come off the pages of publications throughout the prison term. After the amnesty, the newspaper wrote about Tolokonnikova and Alekhina as the stars of show business. At this stage information about

foreign tours, concerts, meetings, filming, ceremonies, etc. prevailed. Tolokonnikova and Alekhina participated in the Russian and world cultural life in the newspaper's publications, in which their names were inscribed next to Madonna and Kevin Spacey. The foreign tour and related events described in the press demonstrate the popularity of Pussy Riot in the West.

The newspaper *Kommersant* considers the activities of Pussy Riot mainly from political positions and in a legal context. The main topic of the materials about Pussy Riot is the chronicle of the judicial proceedings (filing appeals, motions, complaints). The newspaper presents the state accusatory position and the position of protection of activists, comments of lawyers. Other topics of publications are the vicissitudes of imprisonment (conditions of stay, administrative penalties), the impact of the action in the church on the adoption of the law on the protection of the feelings of believers, the amnesty of activists, and human rights activities after liberation. After the release of freedom, the newspaper was less likely to inform about the activities of Pussy Riot. In the context of feminism, *Kommersant* mentions Pussy Riot in an article on feminist feminine art.

The opposition liberal *Novaya Gazeta* newspaper covered the conditions of activists' stay in the labour camp, thereby actualizing the problems of the law enforcement system. Alekhina and Tolokonnikova were unusual prisoners. They tried to change the situation: they wrote complaints about the conditions of detention, told journalists about violations. Both activists gave broad interviews to *Novaya Gazeta*, where they shared their experiences of life in prison, noting household details, difficulties, living and working conditions. Alekhina and Tolokonnikova negatively spoke about life in the colony, drawing parallels with the Gulag. They pointed to the enormous scale of lawlessness. Due to this the public paid attention to the problems, it became obvious that the correctional system needed radical reforms. The prison experience for Alekhina and Tolokonnikova is a valuable time, which helped to find inner freedom, to learn the state from within. It is this experience that determined the specifics of the future activity - the legal protection of the interests of people who were imprisoned.

An analysis of the journalistic texts of *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* showed that this is the most critical edition in relation to the activities of Pussy Riot. The materials of the newspaper describe courts related to the filing of appeals, petitions, the removal of disciplinary sanctions, the appeal of a court verdict. The newspaper considers the verdict for a punk-prayer fair. Activists of Pussy Riot are referred to as violators of public order, representatives of the liberal-opposition punk group. Actions of Pussy Riot are seen as a threat to Russian statehood, spirituality, traditional values, the Orthodox Church. Thus, they destabilize the situation in

Russia. The reason for a new wave of criticism of activists in the newspaper was the Law on the Protection of the Believers' Feelings. The action in the cathedral became the catalyst for the adoption of this law. Unlike other newspapers under analysis, Rossiyskaya Gazeta did not publish materials on the conditions of activists' stay in the colony. At the same time, it details the judicial proceedings that took place at this time with the participation of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina.

In the analyzed newspapers, the radicalism of FEMEN and Pussy Riot's actionism is emphasized. The descriptions often use the names "radical group", hooligans, radicals. Conservative media write about the fact that Pussy Riot and FEMEN are projects, organized and promoted by men. In such publications, participants are not represented as independent political activists. Behind their actions there are organizers and financiers. Actions are not invented by the participants themselves. In the case of Pussy Riot, Rossiyskaya Gazeta stresses that these are foreign figures who want to destroy the social order of Russia. The articles on FEMEN also touch upon the issue of financing the movement.

The scope of critical remarks about FEMEN has increased in connection with the release of the film "Ukraine Is Not a Brothel" (2013), produced by the Australian documentary filmmaker Kitty Green. In this movie the participants of the movement are shown as manipulative characters, puppets, having no subjectivity. In the film, the movement appeared as a project, where Viktor Sviatsky was the founder and ideological inspirer. This was the man with his own ambitions and plans. The critics of the movement say that it is still unknown, what goals he has pursued, but it is obvious that FEMEN have used feminist slogans and street protests not in the interests of women. According to the participants of FEMEN, V. Sviatsky left the movement in 2012.

In reply to criticism, in an interview with Der Spiegel, V. Sviatsky stated that he and the director of the film "Ukraine Is Not a Brothel" Kitty Green thought how to make the film interesting: "Die Australierin habe dann vorgeschlagen, dass er den Tyrannen gebe, vor dem die Mädchen alle Angst haben. "Es ging dabei aber nur um eine spannende (Eichhofer & Schepp, 2013).

In publications, Pussy Riot is not considered in the context of the development of feminism. The very phenomenon of feminism is not directly discussed. The values of feminism and gender appear indirectly. Thus, female political activism is not tied to feminism in the newspaper materials about Pussy Riot. Activists themselves underline their connection to the

feminist movement. At the same time, this connection is displayed in the newspapers when describing FEMEN. The political activism of this movement is regarded in the context of feminism. It should be noted that feminism still does not have much support in the post-Soviet space, so it is important that the press introduces the concept of "feminism" into the public sphere due to the FEMEN activities.

An important component of the coverage of the actions of FEMEN and Pussy Riot is the active involvement of new media. The actions are spread through social networks, becoming public domain. Femen is an organized group, a new social movement operating in an information society, focused on ideological and cultural aspects.

The influence of media is the main channel through which FEMEN actions become a public debate. The work of media is a key factor that determines the social significance of the movement's activities. Often, the only viewers of their actions are pre-invited journalists, and with their help activists fall into the space of public discussion. Journalistic messages are largely based on the media messages of FEMEN themselves, published on their web-site and in social media pages (press releases, photos and video materials).

Pussy Riot also uses the media to spread his ideas. This group is part of the global protest movement, as evidenced by the active support of their activities by foreign audiences. Pussy Riot as a feminist group is perceived in different ways in Western and Eastern Europe. Actionism fits into the third wave of feminism, where forms of individual protest develop and individual emancipation is important. Therefore, the activities of Pussy Riot acquired great publicity in the West. In Eastern Europe the activism of Pussy Riot is negatively affected due to the unformed civil society.

In Eastern Europe, where even traditional women's unions were not sufficiently developed, the third wave of Pussy Riot's feminism is perceived as hostile. The form of the protest directed against national symbols and institutes was rejected by internal domestic audience. In addition, conservatives and supporters of classical forms of art do not accept such a phenomenon as actionism and contemporary art.

Pussy Riot's punk-prayer became a scandalous and conspicuous media event and a significant phenomenon in the information society. Intellectual sphere becomes central in the information society. The main activity has moved to virtual space, becoming a "new reality" where people produce signs, images and social relations. Therefore, whatever is on the Internet, becomes real. Punk-prayer became famous right after a video about the action was edited and posted on

the Internet. In today's world, where the image is dominant, Pussy Riot activists created a media event that anybody would recognize. It reflected the politicization of the female body and the body image in modern society, its transformation into a tool that helps to get the message across, gaining an audience through the Internet and social networks. After Alekhina and Tolokonnikova were released, their media image changed. Leaving radical feminist activism behind, girls became celebrity activists. At the same time, they use their popularity abroad to disseminate information about human rights violations in Russia, and the difficult conditions in Russian prisons. The image of Pussy Riot became a part of show business. This is evidenced by reports of promotions and photo sessions of the girls, trademark registration, shooting of music videos, participation in the TV shows.

Significance of FEMEN's and Pussy Riot's activism

The study of the role of FEMEN and Pussy Riot in spreading the ideas of feminism in the Ukrainian public sphere in Russia allows us to draw the following conclusions.

It should be noted the significant role of FEMEN in spreading the ideas of feminism in the Ukrainian public sphere. They opened the very word "feminism" to the Ukrainian community and began a public discussion of this topic with journalists (Shevchenko, 2018). At the initial stage of the development of the movement, the role of FEMEN in the public sphere was to attract interest in topics that had not been discussed before. The tool for attracting attention was the female body, through which you can sell everything, including the idea of gender equality. Over time, it turned out that FEMEN did not have a place in the public sphere (Diash, 2018). Activists appear at various events, in closed political forums, in "territory of the enemy" (Shevchenko, 2018). Every time the action takes place, activists are roughly swept away.

At this stage of development, the FEMEN movement is a counter-system phenomenon outside the feminist agenda, and has no influence on the women's movement in Ukraine. This movement can not be assessed and perceived within the framework of the classical interpretation of feminism. Activists say that "FEMEN is a new covenant, a feminist heresy" (Diash, 2018). The ideology of FEMEN at this stage is secreteism. Sextreme is "the realization that with the help of a woman's body you can master the world. Mastering women in one's body is the mastery of the world, the world that was selected from us with the body" (Diash, 2018). Activists believe that in Ukraine there is no feminism, though Ukrainian feminism is

FEMEN. And if the European community "began to notice feminism in Ukraine, it was only because there was FEMEN" (Shevchenko, 2018).

The activities of FEMEN have changed the attitude of the European community towards Ukraine and Ukrainians, have improved the country's image in the international arena. The association from 1990s, that all Ukrainian women are prostitutes, disappeared. Another woman came to replace it: a Ukrainian is a "crazy femena" (Shevchenko, 2018).

Over time, FEMEN actions evolved. At first, they were small or massive (with the participation of 300 people) performances in the squares, about which the press was informed and the police were warned. Sometimes these were small plays with specially invited theater actors. Then the format changed. In Ukraine and in Europe there remained one main form of protest - sacreism, action-breakthrough. Today, the most common are actions involving one activist, whose task is to penetrate the "territory of the enemy" (Shevchenko, 2018). A breakout action is a formula that operates in different countries. The attitude to the naked breast or, in general, to female protest remains different.

Regarding the influence of the activism of Pussy Riot and the significance of their activities, it should be noted that since the Pussy Riot's punk prayer, the image of a girl in a balaclava and a dress of acid color has become one of the iconic images associated with Russian reality. The fact that a brief action has generated such a powerful and contradictory reaction, a lot of arguments, disputes, speaks about its significance. Some researchers believe that feminists held the action "at the most inappropriate moment, the period of pre-election hysteria" ("Pussy Riot: Art or Politics?", 2012), on the other hand, it can be interpreted as an exact hit in the political context.

The action in the Cathedral made it possible to demonstrate how various aspects of modern society can be reflected in one event. The case of Pussy Riot demonstrated the historical continuity of the feminist movement, political protest, the currents of avant-garde art. The punk-prayer "Virgin Mary, put Putin away!" is connected to modern art (from futurism to Moscow actionism) by means of desacralization of space and sacred images; a certain gesture in the social space; outrageous behavior and appearance; parodying; multilayered, sometimes unobvious idea of the action; relevance of the problems; theatricality of the action; ambiguous public reaction.

The Pussy Riot action is an important part of the Russian cultural space. Tolokonnikova believes that the punk-prayer has already become a classic of modern art. The ambiguous

reaction of the public to the action was due to the positioning of the performance as a manifestation of contemporary art.

After the verdict, the colony and amnesty, it was natural to turn from art to human rights activities of the liberated activists Alekhina and Tolokonnikova. Having experienced the injustice of the system, having seen violations of the rights of convicts, they decided to create a human rights organization in prison. Tolokonnikova stated in this regard: "We were given a voice and we had to use it, despite the fact that I would like to go deeper into art." We were assigned a certain responsibility" (Karpova, 2016). Alekhina noted that the events of 2014 (the Olympic Games, the annexation of the Crimea, an armed conflict in the east of Ukraine) had a key impact on Russia. In this situation, the artist must return to a serious statement. There was a need to deal with "malignant processes in the country." Punk artists turned into "politicians in suits" (Karpova, 2016). They became human rights defenders because this activity is most appropriate for the situation in Russia and needs the support of civil society.

Thus, the development of the post-Soviet countries determined the nature of the activity of the women's movement. With regard to these countries, it is impossible to talk about the three waves of feminism, since under the Soviet regime women's issues could only be discussed within the framework of communist ideology. The resolution of the women's issue was entrusted to the party, and the request of the civil society was not formed. As a result, feminism still remains a marginal phenomenon, associated with the Western school, foreign to the majority of the population of Eastern European countries.

Analyzed movements Pussy Riot and FEMEN develop in line with the West European model of feminism, demonstrate common features with the new social movements. This explains their popularity abroad and rejection in Ukraine and Russia

Further Research Perspectives

This work is devoted to the identification of the main trends in modern women's political activism in Eastern European countries and coverage of feminist issues in the post-Soviet media. The results of the analysis can be used in further studies. Studies of this subject in various types of media are auspicious.

Having identified the specifics of FEMEN's actionism in the most active phase of their activity in Ukraine, having studied the ways of its representation in the Ukrainian and Russian media, many questions arose for further research. Since the appearance of FEMEN in their familiar image, the aim of the movement was to provoke a public discussion about women's rights, the problem of prostitution, counteracting sexual harassment, etc. Since then, the Ukrainian movement has formed a corporate style of protest, which turned into an international one. New activists came to the organization and they interpret the mission of the movement in other way. From this point of view, the research interest is represented by the change in the subject of protests, the analysis of the two stages of development - the first (Ukrainian) and the second (newly formed international branches). FEMEN managed to break geographic and cultural boundaries, so a promising direction of analysis is the study of organizational factors and protest strategies that allowed to enter the international arena. The activists' presentation in Ukraine differs from their position in the West, which is also a subject to research.

Future activities of Pussy Riot can be viewed from different points of view. The prospective areas include the analysis of the activities of Pussy Riot in the framework of post-Soviet radical actionism. Another field of scientific interest is the transformation of activism by Pussy Riot, connected with the trial, the verdict and their consequences. An important topic for further research could be the strategies of resistance and forms of activism of Tolokonnikova and Alekhina during their detention in the colony. Noteworthy is considering a new relevant format for feminist activities of participants - celebrity activism and human rights activities within its framework.

To sum it up, new female images are formed in the post-Soviet media in connection with changes in sociopolitical reality and public opinion, therefore research of the press requires further scientific development in this context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aberle, D. (1966). *The Reyote Religion among the Navaho*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.
- Akkerman, T. & Suurman, S. (1998) Introduction: feminism in European history, in T. Akkerman & S. Suurman (Eds.) *Perspectives on Political Thought in European History*. London: Routledge. P. 1–33.
- Althusser, L. (1994). *Selected Texts*. In Terry Eagleton (ed), *Ideology*, 106–107. N.Y.: Longman.
- Andreasen, T. (ed.), (1991). *Moving On: New Perspectives on the Women's Movement*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Atkinson, T. G. (1974). *Amazon Odyssey*. New York: Link Books.
- Barrat, D. (1994). *Media Sociology*. London and N. Y.: Routledge.
- Bergman, S. (1991) *Researching the women's movement. Considerations arising out of a comparative study of the new women's movement in Finland and the Federal Republic of Germany*. In: T. Andreasen (ed.) *Moving On. New Perspectives on the Women's Movement*. Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, pp. 208–220.
- Bluestone, N. H. (1987). *Women and the Ideal Society: Plato's Republic and Modern Myths of Gender*. N.H. Bluestone. – Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Collective Behavior. Principles of Sociology*. New York: Barnes and Noble Books.
- Boczkowski, P. J. (2004). *Digitizing the News: Innovation in Online Newspapers*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Bogdanor, V. (1987). *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Institutions*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Reference.
- Boyd-Barrel, O. & Braham P. P. (1987). *Media, Knowledge, and Power*. London: Croom Helm.
- Brett, N. & Holmes, T. (2008). "Supplements", in B. Franklin (ed.). *Pulling Newspapers Apart: Analysing Print Journalism*. London & New York: Routledge.

- Brooks, A. (1997). *Postfeminisms: Feminism, Cultural Theory and Cultural Forms*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Bunch, Ch. (1976). Learning from Lesbian Separatism, *Ms. Magazine*, 11.
- Bunch, Ch. (1987). Not for Lesbian Only. In Bunch Ch. & Steinem G. (eds.). *Building Feminist Theory: Essays from Quest*. N.Y.: Longman.
- Burman, E. & Parker, I. (1993). Against discursive imperialism, empiricism, and constructionism: Thirty-two problems with discourse analysis" in Burman, E., Parker, I., (Eds), *Discourse analytic research: Repertoires and readings of texts in action*, pp. 155-172, London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1986). Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*. *Yale French Studies*, 72, 35–49.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of «Sex»*. NY: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. N.Y: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. NY, London: Routledge.
- Carothers, T. (2002). The end of the transition paradigm. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1).
- Castle, G. (2007). *The Black well Guide to Literary Theory*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Chalaby, J. K. (1996). Beyond the prison-house of language: Discourse as a sociological concept. *British Journal of Sociology*, 47(4), 684–698.
- Chalaby, J. K. (2000) Journalism studies in an era of transition in public communications. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 4(1), 33–39.
- Chodorow, N. (1978). *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley and Los Angeles Univ.
- Cotgrove, S. & Duff, A. (1980). Environmentalism, middle-class radicalism and politics. *The Sociological Review*, 28(2), 333–351.
- Crosbie, V. (1998). What is New Media? Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/1054828/What_is_new_media?auto=download

- Curran, J., & Park, M. J. (Eds.). (2000). *De-Westernizing Media Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Dahlerup, D. (1986). *The New Woman's Movement. Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA*. London: Sage.
- Daly, M. (1973). *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation*. Beacon Press, 1973.
- Daly, M. (1978). *Gyn/Ecology: The metaethics of radical feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- DellaPorta, D. & Diani, M. (2011) *Social Movements*, by M. Edwards (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 68–79.
- Diash, A. (2018, January 28). Personal interview.
- Dijk, T. A. (1997). *Discourse as structure and process*. London: SAGE.
- Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Dowling, C. (1982). *The Cinderella Complex. Women's Hidden Fear of Independence*. Douglas: Fontana Paperbacks.
- Drucker, P. F. (1996). *Landmarks of Tomorrow*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- DuBois, E. (1971). *Feminism Old Wave and New Wave*. The CWLU. Herstory Website Archive. Retrieved from <https://www.cwluherstory.org/classic-feminist-writings-articles/feminism-old-wave-and-new-wave>
- Eichhofer, A. & Schepp, M. (2013, September 17). *Femen-Ideologe Swjazki: "Ich flüchte vor Putins Geheimdienst"*. *Der Spiegel*. Retrieved from <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/femen-interview-mit-gruender-wiktor-swjazki-a-924287.html>
- Eisenstein Zillah, R. (1988). *The Female Body and the Law*. University of California Press.
- Ellmann, M. (1968). *Thinking about women*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Eze, E. Ch. (1997). *The Color of Reason: The Idea of 'Race' in Kant's Anthropology*. E.Ch. Eze (ed.). *Postcolonial African Philosophy*. N.Y.: Blackwell, 103–140.

- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Femen co-founder Oksana Shachko found dead in Paris flat (2018, July 24). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/24/femen-co-founder-oksana-shachko-found-dead-paris-flat>
- Femen's Pioneering Topless Activist Found Dead in France (2018, July 24). *The Daily Beast*. Retrieved from <https://www.thedailybeast.com/femens-pioneering-topless-activist-found-dead-in-france>
- Figes, E. (1970.) *Patriarchal Attitudes: Women in Society*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Firestone, S. (1970). *The Dialectic of Sex*. N.Y.: Bantam Books.
- Fraisse, G. (1994). *Féminisme: appellation d'origine*. *Vacarme*, 4-5.
- Freeman, J. (1975). *The politics of women's liberation: A case study of an emerging social movement and its relation to the policy process*. New York: McKay.
- French, M. (1985). *Beyond Power: Women, Men and Morals*. London: Jonathan Cape
- Friedan, B. (1963). *The Feminine Mystique*. US: W.W. Norton and Co.
- Gans, H. J. (2004). *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time (25 th anniversary edition)*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern Univ. Press.
- Gelb, J. (1989). *Feminism and Politics. A Comparative Perspective*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press.
- Gender mainstreaming: an overview. (2002). Office of the special adviser on gender issues Department of economic and social affairs. United Nations, New York.
- Gessen, M. (2018, July 15). *World Cup 2018: The Moral Clarity of Pussy Riot's Protest*. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from <https://www.newyorker.com/sporting-scene/replay/world-cup-2018-the-moral-clarity-of-pussy-riots-protest>
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Global Gender Gap Report. Retrieved from <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/economies/#economy=UKR>
- Goldenberg, N. R. (1979). *Changing of the gods: Feminism and the End of Traditional Religions*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Greer, G. (1971). *The Female Eunuch*. London: Palain.
- Gross, P. (1998). The First Nine Years – a reappraisal of Romania's media. *The Global Network*, 9-10, 5–10.
- Haavio-Mannila, E. et al. (Eds.), (1985). *Unfinished Democracy. Women in Nordic Politics*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Hanisch, C. (2006). Intro to The Personal Is Political. Retrieved May 14, 2017 from <http://www.carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html>
- Hardy, C. (2001). Researching organizational Discourse. *International Studies of Management and Organization*, 31(3), 25–47.
- Harris, Z. (1952). Discourse analysis. *Language*, 28(1), 1-30.
- Hartley, J. (2000) Communicative democracy in the redactional society: the future of journalism studies. *Journalism, Theory, practice and criticism*, 1, 36–45.
- Hill, Mary A. (1980). *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: The Making of a Radical Feminist*. Temple University Press.
- Irigaray, L. (1993) *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. – 217 p.
- Jakubowicz, K. (2001). Rude Awakening. *Social And Media Change In Central and Eastern Europe. The Public*, 8 (2), 59–80.
- Jallinoja, R. (1983). *The battle periods of the Finnish women's movement*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Jensen, K. B (2012). The Complementarity of Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies in Media and Communication Research. In K. B. Jensen (Ed.), *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*. (2. ed., pp. 283-301). Chapter 15. London / New York: Routledge.
- Katz, E. (1992). The End of Journalism? Notes on Watching the War. *Journal of Communication*, 42(3), 5–13.

- King, M. L. (1978). The Religious Retreat of Izotta. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3, 807–822.
- King, U. (1989). *Women and Spirituality: Voices of Protest and Promise*. London: Macmillan.
- Koedt, A. (1970). *The myth of the vaginal orgasm*. Somerville: New England Free Press.
- Kornhauser, W. (1959). *The Politics of Mass Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Kristeva, J. (1984). *Woman can never be defined*. New York: Schocken.
- Lakoff, R. T. (1975). *Language and woman's place*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Lamb, V. (2011). The 1950's and 1960's and the American Woman: the transition from the "housewife" to the feminist. *Universite du Sud Toulon - Var*.
- Lerner, G. (1987). *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lerner, G. (1994) *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- L'Leary, V. E. (1974). Some attitudinal barriers to occupational aspirations in women. *Psychol*, 81, 809–826.
- MacKinnon, C. (1989). *Toward a feminist theory of the state*. Harvard University Press.
- Madison, G. B. (2001). *The Politics of Postmodernity: Essays in Applied Hermeneutics*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Marat, E. (2015, December 29). The problem with ukrainian police reform ukraine. *Foreign Policy*, 12.29.2015. Retrieved from <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/29/the-problem-with-ukrainian-police-reform-ukraine/>
- Martsenyuk, T. (2012). *Ukrainian Feminism in Action*. *Global Dialog (Newsletter for the International Sociological Association)*, 2, 5.
- McGrath, A. E. (2000). *Christian Theology*. Oxford University: Blackwell.
- McLuhan, M. & Fiore, Q. (1967). *The Medium is the Message*. New York: Random House.
- McLuhan, M. (1967). *Media is a message*. A bantam book. N.Y. Toronto-London.

- McQuail, D. (2010) *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage.
- Melucci, A. (1980). The New Social Movements: A Theoretical Approach. *Social Science Information*, 19(2), 199–226.
- Melucci, A. (1985) The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), Social Movements, pp. 789-816.
- Mendell, N. (Ed), (1998). *Feminist issues: race, class, and sexuality*. Toronto: Pearson.
- Millett, K. (1971). *Sexual Politics*. New York: Avon Books, 1971.
- Mills, L. (2015, Augusto 6). In Ukraine's Capital, a New Show of Force. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/in-ukraines-capital-a-new-show-of-force-1438903782>
- Mohanty, Ch.T. (1984). Under Western Eyes. *Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses*. *Boundary 2*. Vol. 12 (3)–13 (1), 333–358.
- Morris, A. & Mueller C. (eds.) (1992). *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Hawen, CT: Yale University Press.
- Morris, A. (1987). Theory and research in social movements: a critical review. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 137–198.
- Moses, Claire G. (1984). *French Feminism in the 19th Century*. NY: Suny Press.
- O'Neil, P. H. (1998). *Communicating democracy: the media and political transitions*. London: Lynne Rienner.
- Offe, C. (1985). New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics. *Social Research*, 52(4), 817–868.
- Okin, S. (1999). *Justice and Gender*. *Justice: Alternative Political Perspectives*. Ed. by J. Sterba Belmont etc. Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Passy, F. (2003). Social Network Matter. But How? In M. Diani & D. McAdam (eds.) *Social Movements and Networks. Relational Approach to Collective Action* (pp. 21-48). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Patterson, T. E. (1993). *Out of order. An incisive and boldly original critique of the news media's domination of America's political process*, N.Y.: Verso.

- Pernoud, R. (1998). *Women in the Days of the Cathedrals*. San Francisco: Ignatius.
- Pichardo, N. A. (1997). New Social Movements: a Critical Review. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 411–430.
- Pisciotta, E. (1986). The Strength and the Powerless of the New Italian Women's Movement: the Case of Abortion. In: Dahlerup D. (ed.) *The New Women's Movement. Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA*. London: Sage, 26–47.
- Potter, J. (2012). Discourse analysis and discursive psychology. In Cooper, H. (Ed.). *APA handbook of research methods in psychology: Vol. 2. Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp. 111-130). Washington: American Psychological Association Press.
- Pussy Riot members jailed for World Cup final pitch invasion (2018, July 17). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2018/jul/17/pussy-riot-members-jailed-for-world-cup-final-pitch-invasion>
- Pussy Riot: искусство или политика? (2012). Look at me. Retrieved from <http://www.lookatme.ru/mag/archive/experience-interview/159845-hlystom-i-pryanikom>
- Rich, A. (1977). *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. London: Virago.
- Riesman, D. (1961). *The lonely crowd: a study of the changing American character*. Yale University Press.
- Roberts, J. (1999). *Twentieth Century*. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.
- Rootes, C. (1990). Theory of Social Movements: Theory for Social Movements? *Philosophy and Social Action*, 16(4), 5–17.
- Roudakova, N. (2012). Comparing Processes: Media, "Transitions", and Historical Change. In D. C. Hallin & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the western world* (pp. 246–277). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Rubchak, M. (1996) *Christian Virgin or Pagan Goddess: Feminism versus the Eternally Feminine in Ukraine. Women in Russia and Ukraine*. Cambridge University Press, 315–330.

- Rucht, D. (1995). New Social Movements in France and Western Germany: Explaining Differences in their Overall Strength and Dynamic. In *New Social Movements: European and American Interpretations*. Mayer, M. (ed.). London: Hutchinson.
- Russel, L. M. (ed.) & Clarkson, J. Sh. (ed). (1996). *Dictionary of Feminist Theologies*. Louisville: John Knox Press.
- Ryan, B. (1992). *Feminism and the women's movement: Dynamics of change in social movement ideology, and activism*. New York: Routledge.
- Savchuk, E. (2015, March 5). The women fighting on the frontline in Ukraine. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/05/ukraine-women-fighting-frontline>.
- Shiva, V. (2006). *Earth Democracy. Justice, Sustainability, and Peace*. L.: Zed.
- Smelser, N. (1962). *Theory of Collective Behavior*. N.Y.: Free Press.
- Snow, D. & Benford, R. (1992). Master Frames and Cycles of Protest. in Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller eds. *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 133–155.
- Snow, D., Soule S. & Kriesi, H. (2004). *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Spivak, G. Ch. (1999). *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Splichal, S. (1994). *Media beyond socialism: theory and practice in East-Central Europe*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Spretnak, Ch. (1982). *The Politics of Women's Spirituality*. New York: Doubleday.
- Tallen, Bette S. (1988). Lesbian Separatism: A Historical and Comparative Perspective, in *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology*, Onlywomen Press.
- Tarrow, S. (1994). *Power in Movement. Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tilly, C. (1978). *From mobilization to revolution*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

- Tlostanova, M. (2015). Can the post-Soviet think? On coloniality of knowledge, external imperial and double colonial difference. *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 1(2), 38–58.
- Toch, H. (1965). *The Psychology of Social Movements*. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Co.
- Tong, R. (1989). *Feminist Thought. A Comprehensive Introduction*. Boulder & San Francisco, Westview Press.
- Turcotte, L. (1992). Foreword. *The Straight Mind and Other Essays*. Ed. Monique Wittig. Boston: Beacon Press, 8-12.
- Voltmer, K. (2012). How Far Can Media System Travel?: Applying Hallin & Mancini's Comparative Framework outside the Western World. In D. C. Hallin & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the western world* (pp. 224–245). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Waisbord, S. (2014). De-westernization and cosmopolitan media studies. In C. C. Chan (Ed.), *Internationalizing «International Communication»* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Walker, A. (1983). *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Walker, R. (1992). Becoming the Third Wave. *Ms. Magazine*, 11(2), 39–41.
- Willis, E. (1984), Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism, *Social Text*, 9(10): The 60's without Apology, 91–118.
- Wood, L. & Kroger, R. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis: Method for studying action in talk and text*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yule, G. (2000). *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zurcher, L. A. & Snow D. A. (1981). Collective behavior: Social movements. In M. Rosenberg & R. Turner (eds.). *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*, pp. 447-482. New York: Basic Books.
- Zychowicz, J. (2011). Two Bad Words: FEMEN & Feminism in Independent Ukraine. *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 29(2), 215-227.

List of sources in Russian and Ukrainian

- Ageev, V. Psychological social functions of gender-role stereotypes, 2, p. 152-158 / Агеев, В. (1987). Психологические социальные функции полоролевых стереотипов. Вопросы психологии, 2, 152–158.
- Ageeva, V. (2004). Gender Literature Theory and Critics. Foundations of Gender Theory. Kyi'v: K.I.S., 426–445. / Агеева, В. (2004). Гендерна літературна теорія і критика. Основи теорії гендеру. Київ: К.І.С., 426–445.
- Eisenstein, Z. (1998). Export feminism of the North and West. Gendernye issledovanija, 1, 10. / Айзенштейн, З. (1998). Экспортный феминизм Севера и Запада. Гендерные исследования, 1, 10.
- Akopyan, N. (2008). Mass media as a way of forming stereotypes of mass consciousness. Vestnik Stavropol'skogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 5, 158–190. / Акопян, Н. (2008). Средства массовой информации как способ формирования стереотипов массового сознания. Вестник Ставропольского государственного университета, 5, 158–190.
- Alasania, Z. (2014, August 28). / Аласания, З. (2014, Серпень 28). Facebook page. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/zurab.alasania/posts/862983010380085>
- Altunyan, A. (2012). Rupert Murdoch and new journalism. Tetradi Mezhdunarodnogo universiteta v Moskve, 13(2), 205–226 / Алтунян, А. (2012). Руперт Мердок и новая журналистика. Тетради Международного университета в Москве, 13(2), 205–226.
- Androschuk, O. & Lutsky, O. (2011). Gender dimension in the military sphere. Visnyk Natsional'noyi akademiyi Derzhavnoyi prykordonnoyi sluzhby Ukrainy, 1. / Андрощук, О. & Луцький, О. (2011). Гендерний аспект у військовій сфері. Вісник Національної академії Державної прикордонної служби України, 1. Retrieved from http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Vnadps_2011_1_20.
- Andrusyak, T. (2001). History of political and legal doctrines. L'viv: LNU im. I. Franka. / Андрусак, Т. (2001). Історія політичних та правових вчень. Львів: ЛНУ ім. І. Франка.

- Anischuk, N. (2008). The emergence and essence of the phenomenon of gender violence: historical and legal excursion. *Forum prava*, 1, 18–22. / Анішук, Н. (2008). Виникнення та сутність феномена гендерного насильства: історико-правовий екскурс. *Форум права*, 1, 18–22.
- Arina, G. (2009). The mass media as a factor of concern with their own appearance in youthful compensation. *Kul'turno-istoricheskaya psikhologiya*, 4, 105-114. / Арина, Г. (2009). Средства массовой информации как фактор возникновения озабоченности собственной внешностью в юношеском возрасте. *Культурно-историческая психология*, 4, 105-114.
- Arutyunova, N. (1990). *Metaphor and discourse*. Moscow: Progress. / Арутюнова, Н. (1990). *Метафора и дискурс*. Москва: Прогресс.
- Achkasova, V. (2000). The concept of globalization and the role of information technology (the Russian context). *Tekhnologii informatsionnogo obshchestva – internet i sovremennoye obshchestvo*. Sankt-Peterburg, 11, 20–24. / Ачкасова, В. (2000). Концепт глобализации и роль информационных технологий (российский контекст). *Технологии информационного общества – интернет и современное общество*. Санкт-Петербург, 11, 20–24.
- Badinter, E. (1989). *Feminism*. Moscow: Progress. / Бадинтер, Э. (1989). *Феминизм*. Москва: Прогресс.
- Balaeva, T. (2015, October 29). 14 months of happiness. A story of a woman at war. *Focus*. / Балаева, Т. (2015, Октябрь 29). 14 месяцев счастья. История одной женщины на войне Фокус. Retrieved from <https://focus.ua/society/339188/>.
- Barabanov, B. (2nd April, 2014). Tallinn Music Week Has Ended. *Kommersant*. Retrieved from <http://kommersant.ru/doc/2443772> / Барабанов, Б. (2014, Апрель 2). Завершилась Tallinn Music Week. *Коммерсантъ*. Retrieved from <http://kommersant.ru/doc/2443772>
- Baranova, E. (2009). Peculiarities of Influence of Convergence Process on Printed Press of Great Britain. *Mediaskop*, 4 / Баранова, Е. (2009). Особенности влияния процесса конвергенции на газетную периодику Великобритании. *Медиаскоп*, 4.

- Baranovska, I. Ukrainian Periodics in the Problematics of Journalist Research (on the material of candidate and doctoral dissertations of 1980-1990ss) *Naukovi zapysky Instytutu zhurnalistyky*, 18, 118—122. / Барановська, І. (2005). Українська періодика у проблематиці журналістикознавчих досліджень (на матеріалах кандидатських і докторських дисертацій 1980-1990-х-рр.). Наукові записки Інституту журналістики, 18, 118—122.
- Barchunova, T. (2002). "Selfish gender", or the reproduction of gender asymmetry in gender studies. *Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost'*, 5, 180—192. / Барчунова, Т. (2002). «Эгоистичный гендер», или воспроизводство гендерной асимметрии в гендерных исследованиях. *Общественные науки и современность*, 5, 180—192.
- Baubliene, V., Uranchimeg, N., Faradzulaeva, M. & Yakvalkhodzhiyev, F. (2003). *People & Roles: Gender Politics and Media in the post-Soviet Area*. SPb: Zvezda. / Баублиенэ, В., Уранчимэг Н., Фарадзулаева, М. & Яквалходжиев, Ф. (2003). Люди и роли: Гендерная политика и СМИ на постсоветском пространстве. СПб.: Звезда.
- Bauman, Z. (2005). *Individualized Society*. Moscow: Logos. / Бауман, З. (2005). Индивидуализированное общество. Москва: Логос.
- Bauman, Z. (2008). *Flowing Modernity*. SPb: Piter / Бауман, З. (2008). Текущая современность. СПб.: Питер.
- Bekeshkina, I. & Khmelko, O. (2013, December 10). *Maydan-2013: who stands, why, what for?* KMIS. / Бекешкіна, І. & Хмелько, О. (2013, Грудень 10). Майдан-2013: хто стоїть, чому і за що? КМІС. Retrieved from <http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=216&page=11>
- Bell, D. (2004). *Upcoming Post-Industrial Society*. Moscow: Academia. / Белл, Д. (2004). Грядущее постиндустриальное общество. Москва: Academia.
- Berestova, H. (2015). Basic concertions of political protest. *Naukovy chasopys NMU imeni M.P. Dragomanova. Serii: Poilitychni nauky ta metodyka vykladannia sotsialno-politychnykh dyscyplin*, 16, 44-1149. / Берестова, Г. (2015). Основні концепції політичного протесту. Науковий часопис НПУ імені М. П. Драгоманова. Серія: Політичні науки та методика викладання соціально-політичних дисциплін, 16, 44—1149.

- Bern, Ch. (2001). *Gender Psychology*. SPb: Praym Evroznak. / Берн, Ш. (2001). *Гендерная психология*. СПб: Прайм Еврознак.
- Blavatsky, S. (2009). *Transformation Tendencies of Great Britain's Quality Press (using the example of "The Times", "The Guardian", "The Independent")*. (Avtoref. dys. kand. nauk social. komunik). Kyi'vs'kyj nacional'nyj universytet imeni Tarasa Shevchenka. Kyi'v. / Блавацький, С. (2009). *Трансформаційні тенденції якісної преси Великобританії (на прикладі "The Times", "The Guardian", "The Independent")*. (Автореф. дис. канд. наук соціал. комунік). Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка. Київ.
- Brilliance and poverty of the new Rada (2014, November 28). *Vesti* / Блеск и нищета новой Рады (2014, Ноябрь 28). *Вести*. Retrieved from <http://vesti-ukr.com/svetskie-vesti/79386-ble-sk-i-niweta-novoj-rady>.
- Blonde and Brunette - Two Scandalous Girls of the New Police (2015, July 6). *Fakty* / Блондинка і брюнетка – 2 найскандальніші дівчини нової поліції (2015, Липень 6). *Факти*. Retrieved from <http://fakty.ictv.ua/ua/ukraine/suspilstvo/20150706-1555388/>
- The Blonde with Magnificent Forms Was Appointed to the Post of Deputy Head of the Museum of the Ministry of Defense (2013, November 3). *Novosti N.* / Блондинку с пышными формами назначили на должность замглавы музея Минобороны (2013, Ноябрь 3). *Новости N.* Retrieved from <https://novosti-n.org/news/read/59941.html>
- Beauvoir, S. (1994). *The Second Sex*. Kyiv: Osnovy. / Бовуар, С. (1994). *Друга стаття*. Київ: Основи.
- Goddess of War: a Story of a Fragile Girl, Which Does Battle in ATO Zone. Retrieved from <https://www.obozrevatel.com/crime/35489-boginya-vojnyi-istoriya-hrupkoj-devushki-kotoraya-voyuet-v-zone-ato.htm> / Богиня війни: історія хрупкої дівчинки, яка воює в зоні АТО (2015, Апрель 19). *Обозреватель*. Retrieved from <https://www.obozrevatel.com/crime/35489-boginya-vojnyi-istoriya-hrupkoj-devushki-kotoraya-voyuet-v-zone-ato.htm>
- Bradov, V. (2012). Mechanism of influence on the formation of media content in an authoritarian system. *Psykholinhvistyka*, 10, 252–258. / Брадов, В. (2012). Механізм

впливу на формування медіаконтенту в умовах авторитарної системи. Психолінгвістика, 10, 252–258.

Bryant, J. & Thompson, S. (2000). *Fundamentals of Media Effect*. Moscow: Izdatelskii dom "Williams" / Брайант, Д. & Томпсон, С. (2000). *Основы воздействия СМИ*. Москва: Издательский дом "Вильямс".

Bryson, V. (2001). *Political Theory of Feminism*. Moscow: Idea-press. / Брайсон, В. (2001). *Политическая теория феминизма*. Москва: Идея-пресс.

Brandt, G. (2006). *Philosophical Anthropology of Feminism: The Nature of Woman*. St. Petersburg. Aletheia. / Брандт, Г. (2006). *Философская антропология феминизма: Природа женщины*. СПб. Алетейя.

Bryukhovetska, O. (2017). *The image of the victim and the emancipation. Essay on the Ukrainian art scene and feminism*. Prostory / Брюховецька, О. (2017). *Образ жертви і емансипація. Нарис про українську арт-сцену і фемінізм*. Простори. Retrieved from <http://prostory.net.ua/ua/krytyka/139-obraz-zhertvy-i-emansypatsiia-narys-pro-ukrainsku-art-stsenu-i-feminizm>

Buzgalin, A. (2004). *New Social Movements and Political Parties in the Conditions of Globalization. Workers in Russia: Historical Experience and State-of-Art*. Moscow, 3-5 November, 6-22. / Бузгалин, А. (2004). *Новые социальные движения и политические партии в условиях глобализации. Рабочие в России: исторический опыт и современное положение: сборник материалов IV конференции*. Москва, 3-5 ноября, 6–22.

Bureichak T. & Petrenko O. (2014, January 8). *Sandwiches, Sich and "Banderivky"*. Zahid. / Бурейчак Т. & Петренко О. (2014, Січень 8). *Канাপки, Січ та «бандерівки»*. Zahid, Retrieved from <http://eb.by/4V4T>

Vartanova, E. (2003). *Media Economics of Foreign Countries*. Moscow: Aspect Press. / Вартанова, Е. (2003). *Медиаэкономика зарубежных стран*. Москва: Аспект Пресс.

Vartanova, E. (2008). *Factors of modernization of Russian media and the problem of social responsibility*. Medi@lmanach, 6, 6-15. / Вартанова, Е. (2008). *Факторы*

модернизации российских СМИ и проблема социальной ответственности. Меди@льманах, 6, 6–15.

Vartanova, E. (2013). Theoretical analysis of the Russian media system: between general and special, formal and informal. *Voprosy teorii i praktiki zhurnalistiki*, 2, 7–19. / Вартанова, Е. (2013). Теоретический анализ российской медиасистемы: между общим и особенным, формальным и неформальным. *Вопросы теории и практики журналистики*, 2, 7–19.

Vesnyanka O. & Shelyazhenko Yu. (March, 2014, March 9). Panic sexism or Yanukovych's ideas are alive. *The Insider*. / Веснянка О. & Шеляженко Ю. (2014, Березень 9). Панічний сексизм або ідеї Януковича живі. *The Insider*. Retrieved from <http://www.theinsider.ua/politics/5406fba21835d/>

Vesnyanka, O. (2011, January 31). Women's rights: not everyone considers "stripped women" tourist attractions of Ukraine. *Deutsche Welle*. / Веснянка, О. (2011, Січень 31). Права жінок: не всі вважають «роздягнених жінок» туристичними принадами України. *Deutsche Welle*. Retrieved from <http://p.dw.com/p/107W6>

Vesnyanka, O. (2013, July 4) Appeal for violence against women from the VR tribune? *Maidan* / Веснянка, О. (2013, Липень 4) Заклик до насильства над жінками з трибуни ВР? *Майдан*. Retrieved from <http://maidan.org.ua/2013/07/zaklyk-do-nasylstva-nad-zhinkamy-z-trybuny-vr/>

Vilkov, A. & Kazakov, A. (2010). Political technologies for the formation of images of Russia and the United States in the process of information and communication interaction (on the materials of Rossiyskaya Gazeta and Washington Post 2007-2008). *Saratov: Nauka*. / Вилков, А. & Казаков, А. (2010). Политические технологии формирования имиджей России и США в процессе информационно-коммуникационного взаимодействия (на материалах «Российской газеты» и «Вашингтон Пост». 2007-2008 гг.). Саратов: Наука.

Virtosu, I. (April, 2014, April 29). Journalism through gender goggles. *MediaSapiens*. / Виртосу, І. (2014, Квітень 29). Журналістика крізь гендерні окуляри. *MediaSapiens*. Retrieved from http://osvita.mediasapiens.ua/ethics/standards/zhurnalistika_kriz_genderni_okulyari/

- Virtosu, I. (2017, May 19). Top 8 stereotypes about women who are willing to circulate Ukrainian media. Tsentri informatsiyi pro prava lyudyny. / Виртосу, І. (2017, Травень 19). Топ-8 стереотипів про жінок, які охоче тиражують українські ЗМІ. Центр інформації про права людини. Retrieved from https://humanrights.org.ua/material/top8_stereotipiv_pro_zhinok_jiaki_ohoche_tirazh_ujiut_ukrajinski_zmi
- Vyshnitska, A. (2017, January 15) "We need a restless man in the editorial board." Irina Slavinska about sexism in the media. MediaLab.Online. / Вишницька, А. (2017, Січень 15) «Потрібна одна неспокійна людина в редакції». Ірина Славінська про сексизм в медіа. MediaLab.Online. Retrieved from <http://medialab.online/news/potribna-odna-nespokijna-lyudy-na-v-redaktsiyi-iry-na-slavins-ka-pro-seksy-zm-v-media/>
- Information on the registered political parties in the manner prescribed by law as of January 18, 2017. (2018) / Відомості щодо зареєстрованих у встановленому законом порядку політичних партій станом на 18 січня 2017 року. (2018) Tsentral'na vyborcha komisiya. Retrieved from http://ddr.minjust.gov.ua/uk/ca9c78cf6b6ee6db5c05f0604acdbdec/politychni_partiyi/
- Vilchinska, I. (2012). Political activity: contours of the cognitive model G. Pushkareva. Visnyk Derzhavnoyi akademiyi kerivnykh kadriv kul'tury i mystetstv, 3, 214–218. / Вільчинська, І. (2012). Політична активність: контури когнітивної моделі Г. Пушкарєвої. Вісник Державної академії керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв, 3, 214–218.
- Vladimirov, V. (2003). Journalism, person, society: the problem of understanding. Luhans'k: Vyd-vo SNU im. V. Dalya. / Владимиров, В. (2003). Журналистика, особа, суспільство: проблема розуміння. Луганськ: Вид-во СНУ ім. В. Даля.
- Vlasova, T. (2006). Formation of gender stereotypes in Western European philosophy. K.: Geneza / Власова, Т. (2006). Формирование гендерных стереотипов в западноевропейской философии. К.: Генеза.
- Власти Украины пополнились новенькой молоденькой красоткой (2017, Февраль 22). Обозреватель. Retrieved from <https://www.obozrevatel.com/life/people/52430-vlasti-ukrainyi-popolnilis-novenkoj-molodenkoj-krasotkoj.htm>

- Vlaschenko, N. (2017). The situation is now controlled by the Russians. Publychnye lyudy, 1-2., 1-2. / Влащенко, Н. (2017). Всією ситуацією зараз там рулять росіяни. Публичні люди, 1-2. Retrieved from <http://pl.com.ua/mariya-berlinska-vsiyeyu-situatsiyeyu-zaraz-tam-rulyat-rosiyani/>.
- Voytitskaya L. (2015, April 24). Hubs visited the head of the National Bank. Hubs. / Войтицкая Л. (2015, Апрель 24). Hubs побывал в гостях у главы Нацбанка. Hubs. Retrieved from <http://hubs.ua/authority/dom-gontarevy-h-35737.html>
- Volkova, E. (2015, August 13). Girls in the army: schoolgirls go to serve instead of high school, and mothers with many children become snipers. Segodnya. / Волкова, Е. (2015, Август 13). Девушки в армии: школьницы идут служить вместо вуза, а многодетные мамы становятся снайперами. Сегодня. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/kharkov/devushki-v-armii-shkolnicy-idut-sluzhit-vmesto-vuza-a-mnogodetnye-mamy-stanovyatsya-snayperami-640209.html>
- Volobuyeva, A. & Golovach, G. (2016). Woman on the front: understanding the problem in the Ukrainian and foreign press. Obraz, 2, 87-97. / Волобуєва, А. & Головач, Г. (2016). Жінка на передовій: осмислення проблеми в українській та зарубіжній пресі. Образ, 2, 87-97.
- Volokhov, S. (March 26th, 2012). Strip Games. FEMEN Gains Sympathy from Men and Loses Support from Feminists. Focus. <https://focus.ua/society/224236/> / Волохов, С. (2012, Март 26). Игры на раздевание. FEMEN завоевывает симпатии мужчин и теряет поддержку феминисток. Фокус. <https://focus.ua/society/224236/>
- Voronina, O. (1995). Sex / gender as a category of feminist philosophy. Filosofskiye issledovaniya, 4, 80–99 / Воронина, О. (1995). Пол/гендер как категория феминисткой философии. Философские исследования, 4, 80–99.
- Voronina, O. (1992). Plato and feminism. Feminism: Social Perspective. Moscow: IF RAS-INION. / Воронина, О. (1992). Платон и феминизм. Феминизм: перспективы социального Москва: ИФ РАН-ИНИОН.
- Voronina, O. (1993). Woman and socialism. Moscow: Nauka. / Воронина, О. (1993). Женщина и социализм. Москва: Наука.

- Voronina, O. (1999). Freedom of speech and stereotypical image of women in the media. *Znamya*, 2, 71-83. / Воронина, О. (1999). Свобода слова и стереотипный образ женщины в СМИ. *Знамя*, 2, 71-83.
- Voronina, O. (2001). Fundamentals of gender theory and methodology. Moscow: MTSGI – MVSHSEN-MFF. / Воронина, О. (2001). Основы гендерной теории и методологии. Москва: МЦГИ – МВШСЭН-МФФ.
- Voronova, M. (2013). Political journalism as a special kind of professional activity. *Naukovi zapysky Instytutu zhurnalistyky*, 50, 197–201. / Воронова, М. (2013). Політична журналістика як особливий різновид професійної діяльності. Наукові записки Інституту журналістики, 50, 197–201.
- Vorchakova, I. (2004). Feminism as an ideology of female movements. Modern Ukrainian politics: politicians and political scientists about it. Kyiv, Mykolayiv: MDHU im. Petra Mohyly, 240–247. / Ворчакова, І. (2004). Фемінізм як ідеологія жіночих рухів. Сучасна українська політика: політики і політологи про неї. Київ, Миколаїв: МДГУ ім. Петра Могили, 240–247.
- Vorchakova, I. (2010). Philosophical Concepts of the Social Status of a Woman in Western Political Culture: From Antiquity to Marxism. *Gilea*, 34. / Ворчакова, І. (2010). Філософські концепції суспільного статусу жінки в західній політичній культурі: від античності до марксизму. Гілея, 34.
- Gavryshko, M. (2016, August 21). "Others": sexualization of women-soldiers as a stigma. *Ukraina moderna*. / Гавришко, М. (2016, Серпень 21). "Не такі": сексуалізація жінок-воїнів як стигма. Україна модерна. <http://uamoderna.com/blogy/marta-havryshko/stigmatization-military-women>.
- Galaktionova, I. (2008). Civil disobedience as a phenomenon in the modern political culture of society. *Education in the region: political science, psychology, communication*, 1-2, 80-85. / Галактіонова, І. (2008). Громадянська непокоря як явище в сучасній політичній культурі суспільства. Освіта регіону: політологія, психологія, комунікація, 1–2, 80–85.
- Gapova, E. (2003) Information technology, globalization, its heroes and their women. *Gender Studies*, 7-8, 198-200. / Гапова, Е. (2003) Информационные технологии, глобализация, ее герои и их женщины. *Гендерные исследования*, 7–8, 198–200.

- Gapova, E. (2007). Gender and the post-Soviet nations: personal as political. *Ab Imperio*, 1, 309-328. / Гапова, Е. (2007). Гендер и постсоветские нации: личное как политическое. *Ab Imperio*, 1, 309–328.
- Gapova, E. (2016). *Classes of nations. Feminist criticism of nation building*. Moscow: NLO / Гапова, Е. (2016). *Классы наций. Феминистская критика нациостроительства*. Москва: НЛО.
- Gapova, E. (2016). *Feminism in Post-Soviet Belarus. VI Mezhdunarodnyy Kongress issledovateley Belarusi v Kaunase*. / Гапова, Е. (2016). *Феминизм в постсоветской Беларуси. VI Международный Конгресс исследователей Беларуси в Каунасе*.
- Garr, T. R. (2005) *Why People Riot*. SpB.: Piter. / Гарр, Т. Р. (2005). *Почему люди бунтуют*. СПб.: Питер.
- Guelman, M. (2017) / Гельман, М. (2017). Facebook page. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/marat.guelman.9/posts/1673437126001015>
- Gentosh, L. & Kis, O. (2003). *Gender Approach: history, culture, society*. Lviv: VNTL-Klasyka. / Гентош, Л. & Кісь, О. (2003). *Гендерний підхід: історія, культура, суспільство*. Львів: ВНТЛ-Класика.
- Gerasimenko, O. (2017). *How the Most Successful Russian Producer Pyotr Verzilov Lives*. GQ. <http://www.gq.ru/person/verzilov> / Герасименко, О. (2017). *Как теперь живет Петр Верзилов – самый успешный продюсер России*. GQ. <http://www.gq.ru/person/verzilov>
- Giddens, E. (1992). Sex, patriarchy and development of capitalism. *Sociological research*, 7, 139-140. / Гидденс, Э. (1992). Пол, патриархат и развитие капитализма. *Социологические исследования*, 7, 139–140.
- Giddens, E. (1999). *Sociology*. Kyiv: Osnovy. / Гідденс, Е. (1999). *Соціологія*. Київ: Основи.
- Govorun, T. (1999). *Sex and Sexuality: A Psychological Perspective*. Ternopil: Bogdan. / Говорун, Т. (1999). *Стать та сексуальність: психологічний ракурс*. Тернопіль: Богдан.
- Govorun, T. (2004). *Gender Psychology*. Kyiv: Academia. / Говорун, Т. (2004). *Гендерна психологія*. Київ: Академія.

- Golodnikova, Yu. (2005). National-cultural stereotypes in Ukrainian television advertising. *Kul'tura narodov Prichernomor'ya*, 69, 5–7. / Голодникова, Ю. (2005). Национально-культурные стереотипы в украинской телевизионной рекламе. *Культура народов Причерноморья*, 69, 5–7.
- Goncharenko, D. (2013). Performance-Art as a Phenomenon of Postmodern Culture. *Aktualni problemy mystetskoï praktyky i mystetsvoznavchoï nauky*, 5, 333–337 / Гончаренко, Д. (2013). Перформанс-арт як явище культури постмодернізму. *Актуальні проблеми мистецької практики і мистецтвознавчої науки*, 5, 333–337.
- Goncharuk, I. (2014, October 27). The female face of the war: women volunteers who fight in the rear. *Povaha*. / Гончарук, І. (2014, Жовтень 27). Жіноче обличчя війни: жінки-волонтерки, які воюють у тилу. *Повага*. Retrieved from <http://povaha.org.ua/zhinoche-oblychchya-vijny-zhinky-volonterky-yaki-voyuyut-u-tylu/>.
- Gore, A. (2017, January 23). Yana Zhdanova: FEMEN no longer exists. *Apostrophe*. / Гор, А. (2017, Январь 23). Яна Жданова: FEMEN больше не существует. *Апостроф*. Retrieved from <https://apostrophe.ua/article/society/2017-01-23/yana-jdanova-FEMEN-bolshe-ne-suschestvuet-/9690>.
- Gorbatenko, V. (2006). *Political Forecasting: Theory, Methodology, Practice*. Kiev: Geneza / Горбатенко, В. (2006). *Політичне прогнозування: теорія, методологія, практика*. Київ: Генеза.
- Goroshko, E. (2004). Gender studies in linguistics (to the problem of the formation of the method). *Kul'tura narodov Prichernomor'ya*, 49, 128–130. / Горошко, Е. (2004). Гендерные исследования в языкознании (к проблеме становления метода). *Культура народов Причерноморья*, 49, 128–130.
- Hoffmann, I. (2000). *Introducing yourself to others in everyday life*. Moscow: Kanon-Press; Kuchkovo pole. / Гофман, И. (2000). *Представление себя другим в повседневной жизни*. Москва: Канон-Пресс; Кучково поле.
- Grabovska, I. (2011). Problems of Gender Identity in Ukrainian Socio-Humanitarian Studies. *Visnyk KNU. Seriya: Ukrayinoznavstvo*, 15, 39–41. / Грабовська, І. (2011). Проблеми гендерної ідентичності в українській соціогуманітаристиці. *Вісник КНУ. Серія: Українознавство*, 15, 39–41.

- Gribanova, A. (2016, March 4) "I'm proud of my form": how do female policeman live. / Грибанова, А. (2016, Март 4) "Горжусь своей формой": как живет женщина-полицейским. BBC Украина. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/ukraine_in_russian/2016/03/160304_ru_s_ukrainian_policewomen
- Hrytsak, N. (2003). Feminism as a source of gender theory. *Visnyk Natsional'noyi akademiyi derzhavnoho upravlinnya*, 2, 465–472. / Грицак, Н. (2003). Фемінізм як джерело гендерної теорії. *Вісник Національної академії державного управління*, 2, 465–472.
- Gritsenko, A (2014) How Euromaidan Sent Women to Kitchen. *Ya*, 2, 22-26. / Гриценко, А. (2014). Как Евромайдан отправлял женщин на кухню. *Я*, 2, 22–26.
- Groshev, I. (1998). Sexual and gender stereotypes in advertising. *Psikhologicheskiy zhurnal*, 3, 112–119. / Грошев, И. (1998). Полоролевые стереотипы в рекламе. *Психологический журнал*, 3, 112–119.
- Groshev, I. (1999). The image of a woman in advertising. Moscow: Propilei. / Грошев, И. (1999). Образ женщины в рекламе. Москва: ПроPILEI.
- Guseva, Yu. (1999). Woman in the pages of women's publications (Review of the journal press). Russian women in the XX century: the experience of the ages. / Гусева, Ю. (1999). Женщина на страницах женских изданий (Обзор журнальной прессы). *Российские женщины в XX столетии: опыт эпох*. Retrieved from <http://www.a-z.ru/women/texts/guseva.htm>.
- Gutsol, A. (2017, January 23). / Гуцол, А. (2017, Январь 23). Facebook page. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1231952856913003&set=a.384145908360373.90736.100002949014146&type=3&theater>
- Davydchenko, T. (2007). Typogenizing signs and criteria of typological division of mass media (monographic study of children's, youth, women's and other periodicals). *Kul'tura narodov Prychernomor'ya*, 120, 169–172. / Давидченко, Т. (2007). Типоформуючі ознаки та критерії типологічного поділу масмедіа (монографічне вивчення дитячої, молодіжної, жіночої та іншої періодики). *Культура народів Причорномор'я*, 120, 169–172.

- Davydov, L. (1998). Mass media in the modern political process (the experience of political analysis). (Avtoref. dis. kand. polit. nauk.). Sankt-Peterburgskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. Sankt-Peterburg. / Давыдов, Л. (1998). Средства массовой информации в современном политическом процессе (опыт политического анализа). (Автореф. дис. канд. полит. наук.). Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет. Санкт-Петербург.
- Darmohrai, N. (1998). Women`s movements in Ukraine and their socio-cultural activity (90-s of XX century). Kyiv: KNUKIM. / Дармограй, Н. (1998). Жіночі об'єднання в Україні та їх громадсько-культурницька діяльність (90-ті роки XX ст.). Київ: КНУКІМ.
- Devyatkina, N. (2014, November 28). Head of the NBU dumbfounded by combining a mink coat with ugg boots. *Vzglyad*. / Девяткина, Н. (2014, Ноябрь 28). Глава НБУ ошарашила сочетанием норковой шубы с угги. *Взгляд*. Retrieved from <http://vz.ua/publication/42057-glava-nbu-osharashila-sochetaniem-norkovoy-shuby-s-uggi>
- Dementieva, I. (2013a). Studying of protest activity of the population in foreign and domestic science. *Problemy razvitiya territorii*, 4, 83–94. / Дементьева, И. (2013а). Изучение протестной активности населения в зарубежной и отечественной науке. *Проблемы развития территории*, 4, 83–94.
- Dementieva, I. (2013b). Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of social protest in foreign and domestic science. Dementieva, I. (2013b). Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of social protest in foreign and domestic science. / Дементьева, И. (2013b). Теоретико-методологические подходы к изучению социального протеста в зарубежной и отечественной науке. *Мониторинг общественного мнения*, 4, 3–12.
- Demchenko, S. (2004). The media-political system in modern Ukraine (integrated communicative model). (Avtoref. dys. kand. polit. nauk.). Dnipropetrovs'kyu natsional'nyu universytet. Dnipropetrovs'k. / Демченко, С. (2004). Медіаполітична система в сучасній Україні (інтегрована комунікативна модель). (Автореф. дис. канд. політ. наук.). Дніпропетровський національний університет. Дніпропетровськ.

- Demchenko, S. (2008). Politics and power: two views on the role of mass communication. *Uchenye zapysky Tavrycheskoho natsyonal'noho unyversyteta im. V. Y. Vernadskoho*, 21(60), 39–45. / Демченко, С. (2008). Політика і влада: два погляди на роль масової комунікації. *Ученые записки Таврического национального университета им. В. И. Вернадского*, 21(60), 39–45.
- Demchenko S. (2013). Social communication as a factor in mediaization of socio-political life. *Derzhava ta rehiony. Sotsial'ni komunikatsiyi*, 1, 4–8. / Демченко, С. (2013). Соціальна комунікація як чинник медіатизації громадсько-політичного життя. *Держава та регіони. Соціальні комунікації*, 1, 4–8.
- Derii, D. (2015, July 14). Men undressed in support of a beautiful policewoman. *Komsomolskaia Pravda v Ukraine*. / Дерий, Д. (2015, Июль 14). В поддержку красоты копа догола разделись мужчины. *Комсомольская правда в Украине*. Retrieved from <http://kp.ua/life/506091-v-podderzhku-krasotky-kopa-dohola-razdelys-muzhchyny>
- The Girl from Novovolynsk was awarded the Order for Bravery by Her Blood-Brother. He Gave His Own / Дівчину з Нововолинська орденом «За мужність» нагородив побратим. Віддав свій власний (2016, Січень 16) Нововолинськ діловий. Retrieved from <http://ndilo.com.ua/news/divchynu-z-novovolynska-nagorodyly-ordenom-za-muzhnist.html>
- Дмитренко, С. (2015). Політичний протест: теоретичні засади дослідження поняття. *Науковий часопис НПУ імені М. П. Драгоманова: Політичні науки та методика викладання соціально-політичних дисциплін*, 17, 64–70.
- Dmitrieva M. (2010). Radical Exhibitants. *Krona*, 4, 13–16. / Дмитрієва, М. (2010). Радикальні експібіціоністи. *Крона*, 4, 13–16.
- Dorosh, M. (2013, April 5). Mediaconvergence Ukrainian. *Mediasapiens*. / Дорош, М. (2013, Квітень 5). Медіаконвергенція по-українськи. *Mediasapiens*. Retrieved from <http://osvita.mediasapiens.ua/material/16991>
- Doroshenko, K. (2008). Feminism – multifaced, like a vagina. *Sho*, 3, 2008. / Дорошенко, К. (2008). Феминизм – многоликий, как вагина. *Шо*, 3, 2008.

- Drozdz, D. (2015). Psychology of political activism. *Naukovyy visnyk*, 3, 208–220. / Дрозд, Д. (2015). Психологія політичного активізму. *Науковий вісник*, 3, 208–220.
- Dubchak, N. (2008). Women in the Armed Forces of Ukraine: Gender Issues. *Strategic Priorities*, 4, 199-195. / Дубчак, Н. (2008). Жінки у Збройних Силах України: проблеми гендерної політики. *Стратегічні пріоритети*, 4, 199-195.
- Dubchenko, E., Starush, M. & Starykh, N. (2002). Images of women in contemporary Russian journalism. Moscow: Eslan. / Дубченко, Е., Старуш, М. & Старых, Н. (2002). Образы женщин в современной российской журналистике. Москва: Эслан.
- Dudko, Ye. (2014, November 28). Gendered war: feminist analysis. / Дудко, Є. (2014, Листопад 28). Гендерована війна: феміністичний аналіз. Retrieved from <http://commons.com.ua/ru/genderovana-vijna/#return-note-18770-4>
- Dutchak, O. (2010). Individual problems of Ukrainian feminism. *Spilne*, 10. / Дутчак, О. (2010). Особисті проблеми українського фемінізму. *Спільне*, 10.
- Egorova N. (1977). Modern female movement and the ideology of neo-imperialism. The working class and the modern world, 2. / Егорова, Н. (1977). Современное женское движение и идеология неофеминизма. Рабочий класс и современный мир, 2.
- Elstein, D. (2002). A public man is a private woman. Women in social and political thought. Kiev: Alternatyvy. / Елштайн, Д. (2002). Громадський чоловік, приватна жінка. Жінки у соціальній і політичній думці. Київ: Альтернативи.
- Emirsuinova, G. (2001). Semantic peculiarities of feminist discourse. *Visnyk Zaporizkoho derzhavnoho universytetu*, 3, 54-57. / Емірсуїнова, Г. (2001). Семантичні особливості феміністського дискурсу. *Вісник Запорізького державного університету*, 3, 54–57.
- Eriksen, T. G. (2004). Tyranny of the moment: Fast and slow time in the information day. L'viv: Kal'variya. / Еріксен, Т. Г. (2004). Тиранія моменту: Швидкий і повільний час в інформаційну добу. Львів: Кальварія.
- Efrosinina M. (2009). Loneliness of power. Interview with Vladimir Litvin. *EGO* 5, 70-77. / Ефросинина М. (2009). Одиночество власти. Интервью с Владимиром Литвином. *EGO*, 5, 70-77.

- Yeryomenko, Ye. (2015, October 1). How are women perceived at war? The Insider. / Єрмоєнко, Є. (2015, Жовтень 1). Як сприймають жінок на війні? The Insider. Retrieved from <http://www.theinsider.ua/rus/lifestyle/560a9df624e78/>
- Zherebkin, S. (2008). "Can the oppressed?", or the Ukrainian postcolonial feminism between J.-P. Sartre and F. Fanon. Gender Studies, 17, 149-169. / Жеребкин, С. (2008). «Могут ли угнетенные?», или украинский постколониальный феминизм между Ж.-П. Сартром и Ф. Фаноном. Гендерные исследования, 17, 149-169.
- Zherebkina, I. (1996a). Women's political unconscious. Kharkov: F-Press. / Жеребкина, И. (1996a). Женское политическое бессознательное. Харьков: Ф-Пресс.
- Zherebkina, I. (1996b). Theory and history of feminism. Kharkov: F-Press. / Жеребкина, И. (1996b). Теория и история феминизма. Харьков: Ф-Пресс.
- Zherebkina, I. (1999). A double trap of democracy: post-Soviet feminism between universalism and localization. Gender Studies, 5, 37-48. / Жеребкина, И. (1999). Двойная ловушка демократии: постсоветский феминизм между универсализмом и локализацией. Гендерные исследования, 5, 37–48.
- Zherebkina, I. (2000). Read my desire: postmodernism, psychoanalysis, feminism. Moscow: Idea-Press. / Жеребкина, И. (2000). Прочти мое желание: постмодернизм, психоанализ, феминизм. Москва: Идея-Пресс.
- Zherebkina, I. (2003). Gender 90's, or the Phallus does not exist. St. Petersburg: Aleteya. / Жеребкина, И. (2003). Гендерные 90-е, или Фаллоса не существует. СПб.: Алетейя.
- Zherebkina, I. (2010). Post-Soviet feminism: what are we engaged into, or the origin of the Soviet 60's. Gender Studies, 20-21, 268-305. / Жеребкина, И. (2010). Постсоветский феминизм: чем мы ангажированы, или происхождение из советских 60-х. Гендерные исследования, 20–21, 268–305.
- Zherebkina, I. (2015). Is feminist solidarity possible on the post-Soviet area? Eurocafe. / Жеребкина, И. (2015). Возможна ли феминистская солидарность на постсоветском пространстве? Европейское кафе. Retrieved from <http://eurocafe.by/lecture/2016/03/03/vozmozhna-li-feministskaya-solidarnost-na-postsovetskom-prostranstve?page=3>

- Zherebkina, I. (1997). Feminism and modern philosophy. *Novy Obraz*, 1, 40-49. / Жеребкіна, І. (1997). Фемінізм і сучасна філософія. *Новий Образ*, 1, 40-49.
- Zherebkina, I. (2000). Feminist theory of the 90-es: problems and paradoxes of feminine subjectivity representation. *Filosofska dumka*, 6, 56-72. / Жеребкіна, І. (2000). Феміністська теорія 90-х років: проблеми та парадокси репрезентації жіночої суб'єктивності. *Філософська думка*, 6, 56–72.
- Zizek, S. (2008). *Irritating subject: absent centre of political antology*. Kyiv: PPS. / Жижек, С. (2008). *Дражливий суб'єкт: відсутній центр політичної онтології*. Київ: ППС.
- Zhyro, T. (2006). *Politology*. Kharkov: Gumanitarniy Tsentr. / Жиро, Т. (2006). *Политология*. Харьков: Гуманитарный Центр.
- Women of war: Maria Berlinska, who created the center of aerial intelligence (2015, September 21). *The Insider*. / Жінки війни: Марія Берлінська, яка створила центр аеророзвідки (2015, Вересень 21). *The Insider*. Retrieved from <http://www.theinsider.ua/rus/lifestyle/55fee8aeef8b5/>
- Zhovtko, G. (April 2016, April 5). The society is already ready to accept women as heroines, as subjects - sociologist Anna Hrytsenko. *Hromadskiy prostir*. / Жовтко, Г. (2016, Квітень 5). Суспільство вже готове сприймати жінок як героїнь, як суб'єктів, – соціологиня Ганна Гриценко. *Громадський простір*. Retrieved from <https://www.prostir.ua/?focus=suspilstvo-vzhe-hotove-sprymaty-zhinok-yak-herojin-yak-subjektiv-sotsiolohynya-hanna-hrytsenko>
- Zabuzhko, O. (1999) Woman-author in colonial culture, or Needs to Ukrainian gender mythology. *Chronicles of Fortinbras*. Kyiv: Logos, 152-193. / Забужко, О. (1999) Жінка-автор у колоніальній культурі, або Знадоба до української гендерної міфології. *Хроніки від Фортінбраса*. Київ: Логос, 152–193.
- Zabuzhko, O. (2007). *Notre Dame D'Ukraine: Ukrainian woman in a conflict of mythologies*. Kyiv: Fact. / Забужко, О. (2007). *Notre Dame D'Ukraine: Українка в конфлікті міфологій*. Київ: Факт.
- Zabuzhko, O. (July, 22, 2017) / Забужко, О. (2017, Июль 22). Facebook page. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/oksana.zabuzhko/posts/10155484750863953>

- Zavgorodnya, L. (2003). Stereotypes of generation and perception of a journalistic work (on the basis of newspaper texts) (Avtoref. dys. kand. filol. nauk). Natsional'nyy universytet im. T. Shevchenka. Instytut zhurnalistyky. Kyiv. / Завгородня, Л. (2003). Стереотипи породження та сприймання журналістського твору (на матеріалі газетних текстів) (Автореф. дис. канд. філол. наук). Національний університет ім. Т. Шевченка. Інститут журналістики. Київ.
- Zadorin, I. (2000). Mass media and electoral behavior of Russians. Russia in the electoral cycle of 1999-2000. Moskva: Moskovskiy tsentr Karnegi. / Задорин, И. (2000). Средства массовой информации и электоральное поведение россиян. Россия в избирательном цикле 1999–2000 годов. Москва: Московский центр Карнеги.
- Zarubina, T. (13th April, 2012). Anna Zobnina: Everyone Should Have Defensive Arguments for Pussy Riot. Snob. Retrieved from <https://snob.ru/selected/entry/48011/> Зарубина, Т. (2012, Апрель 13). Анна Зобнина: У каждого должны быть аргументы в защиту Pussy Riot. Сноб. Retrieved from <https://snob.ru/selected/entry/48011>
- Zdravomyslova, E & Temkina A. (2000). Feminist translation: text, author, discourse. SPb .: Dmitry Bulanin. / Здравомыслова, Е & Темкина А. (2000). Феминистский перевод: текст, автор, дискурс. СПб.: Дмитрий Буланин.
- Zdravomyslova, E. (1990). Sociological approaches to the analysis of social movements. Sociological research, 7, 88-93. / Здравомыслова, Е. (1990). Социологические подходы к анализу общественных движений. Социологические исследования, 7, 88–93.
- Zdravomyslova, E. (1993). Paradigms of the Western sociology of social movements. Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka. / Здравомыслова, Е. (1993). Парадигмы западной социологии общественных движений. Санкт-Петербург: Наука.
- Zdravomyslova, O. & Kigay, N. (2002). Women's theme in the media. Moskva: Assotsiatsiya zhurnalistov, 2002. / Здравомыслова, О. & Кига́й, Н. (2002). Женская тема в средствах массовой информации. Москва: Ассоциация журналистов, 2002.
- Zihovich, J. (2013). Зихович, Д. (2013). Погляд на глобальні протестні рухи з американсько-української перспективи: від FEMEN до OCCUPY: Дискусія між Джессикою Зихович та Наталією Чермалих. Я. 33, 15-18.

- Zlobina, T. (2007) "Women's Art" in Ukraine. Formation of female subjectivity in a changing culture. *Gendernyye issledovaniya*, 17, 50-68. / Злобина, Т. (2007) «Женское искусство» в Украине. Формирование женской субъектности в изменяющейся культуре. *Гендерные исследования*, 17, 50-68.
- Zlobina, T. (2016, January 18). The battle for meanings: how women's art changes the world. *Korydor*. / Злобіна, Т. (2016, Січень 18). Битва за смисли: як жіноче мистецтво змінює світ. *Коридор*. Retrieved from <http://www.korydor.in.ua/ua/equality/bytva-za-smysli-yak-zhinoche-mystetstvo-zmiiyuye-svit.html>
- Ivanov, V. (2012). Media education and media literacy. Kyiv: Tsentr vil'noyi presy. / Іванов, В. (2012). Медіаосвіта та медіаграмотність. Київ: Центр вільної преси.
- Ivashchenko, O. (1997). Participation of women in Ukrainian politics (sociological observation). *Slovo i chas*, 2, 69–72. / Іващенко, О. (1997). Участь жінок у політиці України (соціологічні спостереження). *Слово і час*, 2, 69–72.
- Isaeva N. (2015). The image of China in the writings of Western theorists of feminism "second wave": cultural and literary aspects. *Literaturoznavchi studiyyi*, 1, 183–196. / Ісаєва, Н. (2015). Образ Китаю у працях західних теоретиків фемінізму "другої хвилі": культурологічний та літературознавчий аспекти. *Літературознавчі студії*, 1, 183–196.
- How a Brave Woman Makeup Artist Did Battle in ATO Zone. *Segodnya*. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/kak-v-zone-ato-voevala-otvazhnaya-snayper-vizazhist-553619.html> / Как в зоне АТО воевала отважная снайпер-визажист (2014, Сентябрь 19). *Сегодня*. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/kak-v-zone-ato-voevala-otvazhnaya-snayper-vizazhist-553619.html>
- Kamenetskaya N. (2007). "Is there a post-Soviet feminism?", *Gender Studies*, 16, 25-37. / Каменецакая Н. (2007). «Существует ли постсоветский феминизм?», *Гендерные исследования*, 16, 25–37.
- Kan, A. (24th November, 2017). Pussy Riot, Pavlensky & Others: Post-Soviet Actionism at Saatchi London Gallery. *BBC Russian*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/russian/features-42070045/> Кан, А. (2017, Ноябрь 24). Pussy Riot, Павленский и другие: постсоветский акционизм в лондонской галерее

- Saatchi. Русская служба BBC. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/russian/features-42070045>
- Karaulov, Yu. (1989). From the grammar of the text to the cognitive theory of discourse. Moscow: Progress. / Караулов, Ю. (1989). От грамматики текста к когнитивной теории дискурса. Москва: Прогресс.
- Karpova, A. (August, 17, 2016). Nadezhda Tolokonnikova: "Pussy Riot is perceived as serious as official Russian Politicians". Snob. Retrieved from <https://snob.ru/selected/entry/112406/> Карпова, А. (2016, Август 17). Надежда Толоконникова: "Pussy Riot воспринимают так же серьезно, как официальных российских политиков". Сноб. Retrieved from <https://snob.ru/selected/entry/112406>
- Castells, M. (1999). The formation of a network society. A new post-industrial wave in the west. Anthology. Moscow: Academia. 494-505. / Кастельс, М. (1999). Становление общества сетевых структур. Новая постиндустриальная волна на западе. Антология. Москва: Academia. 494-505.
- Castells, M. (2000). Information era: economy, society and culture. Moscow: GU VSHE. / Кастельс, М. (2000). Информационная эпоха: экономика, общество и культура. Москва: ГУ ВШЭ.
- Kasumova, R. (2016, February 14). Love and war. ATO warriors about the happiness they found. Ukrainska pravda. / Касумова, Р. (2016, Лютий 14). Кохання і війна. Бійці АТО про знайдене щастя. Українська правда. Retrieved from <https://life.pravda.com.ua/society/2016/02/14/208140/>
- Kasyan, T. (2016). Mariya Berlinskaya: "The war does not have a woman's or a man's face, the war itself is not a human affair". Mama v dele. / Касьян, Т. (2016). Мария Берлинская: «У війни не жіноче і не чоловіче обличчя, війна сама по собі – не людська справа». Мама в деле. Retrieved from <http://womo.ua/mariya-berlinskaya-u-viyni-ne-zhinoche-i-ne-choloviche-oblichchya-viyna-sama-po-sobi-ne-lyudska-sprava/>
- Kimmel, M. (2003). Gendered society. Kyiv: Sfera, 76-85. / Кімел, М. (2003). Гендероване суспільство. Київ: Сфера, 76–85.

- Kis, O. (2005). Whom Bereginya Cherishes, or Matriarchate as a Male Invention. *Zerkalo nedeli*, 15 (543) / Кись, О. (2005). Кого оберегает Берегиня, или Матриархат как мужское изобретение. *Зеркало недели*, 15(543).
- Kis, O. (2000). The Definitions of Feminism. *Kulturologichny chasopys I*, 17, 14-21. / Кись, О. (2000). Дефініції фемінізму. *Культурологічний часопис І*, 17, 14–21.
- Kis, O. (2003). Models of a Woman`s Gender Identity Construction in Modern Ukraine. I, 27 / Кись, О. (2003). Моделі конструювання гендерної ідентичності жінки в сучасній Україні. *І*, 27.
- Kis, O. (2006). Whom Bereginya Cherishes, or Matriarchate as a Male Invention. *Ya*, 4 (16). 11-16 / Кись, О. (2006). Кого оберігає берегиня, або матриархат як чоловічий винахід. *Я*, 4(16). 11-16.
- Kis, O. (2006). Sexism in Media: Opposing the Communicative Flow. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats Donetskoho derzhavnoho universytetu upravlinnia. Tom 8. Seriia Spetsialni ta galuzevi sotsiologii*. 3 (80), 221-241. / Кись, О. (2007). Сексизм у ЗМІ: протидіючи комунікативному потокові. *Збірник наукових праць Донецького державного університету управління. Том 8. Серія Спеціальні та галузеві соціології*. 3 (80), 221–241.
- Kis, O. (2008) Woman in Traditional Ukrainian Culture (2nd half of XIX – beginning of XX century). Lviv: Instytut narodoznavstva NANU. / Кись, О. (2008). Жінка в традиційній українській культурі (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.). Львів: Інститут народознавства НАНУ.
- Kis, O. (2012). Feminism in Modern Ukraine: from “allergy” to the last hope. Report about the state of culture and NUO in Ukraine. Lublin: Episteme. 266–279. / Кись, О. (2012). Фемінізм в сучасній Україні: від «алергії» до останньої надії. Рапорт про стан культури і НУО в Україні. Lublin: Episteme. 266–279.
- Kleman, K. (2006). Emergence of new type social movements in Russia. *Institutional politology: Modern institutionalism and political transformation of Russia*. Moscow: ISP RAN. / Клеман, К. (2006). Появление социальных движений нового типа в России. *Институциональная политология: Современный институционализм и политическая трансформация России*. Москва: ИСП РАН.

Klimenkova, T. (1991) *Feminism. Modern western philosophy: Thesaurus*. Moscow: Politizdat. / Клименкова, Т. (1991). *Феминизм. Современная западная философия: Словарь*. Москва: Политиздат.

Klochko, V. (2005). *Self-organization in psychological systems: problems of the formation of the mental space of the individual (introduction to transsexual analysis)*. Tomsk: Tomskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. / Ключко, В. (2005). *Самоорганизация в психологических системах: проблемы становления ментального пространства личности (введение в транспективный анализ)*. Томск: Томский государственный университет.

Kobylianska, L. (2004). *Problems of gender equality: international experience, Ukrainian realities*. *Problemy osvity*, 4, 67–69. / Кобилянська, Л. (2004). *Проблеми гендерної рівності: міжнародний досвід, українські реалії*. *Проблеми освіти*, 4, 67–69.

Kovalenko, Yu. (2013). *Gender stereotypes as an integral part of everyday thinking*. *Sotsial'ni tekhnolohiyi: aktual'ni problemy teorii ta praktyku*, 59–60, 51–58. / Коваленко, Ю. (2013). *Гендерні стереотипи як невід'ємний атрибут повсякденного мислення*. *Соціальні технології: актуальні проблеми теорії та практики*, 59–60, 51–58.

Kovalishina, N. (2000) *Women's Social Organizations: Regional Aspects and Basic Activity Models*. *Zbirka naukovykh prats UADU*, 2, 101-106. / Ковалішина, Н. (2000). *Жіночі громадські організації: регіональні аспекти та базові моделі діяльності*. *Збірка наукових праць УАДУ*, 2, 101-106.

Kovalishina, N. (2001) *Sources, Conditions of Emergence and Stages of Development of Women's Movement in Ukraine*. *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats UADU*, 1, 72-77 / Ковалішина, Н. (2001). *Витоки, умови виникнення та етапи розвитку жіночого руху в Україні*. *Збірник наукових праць УАДУ*, 1, 72–77.

Kovalishina, N. (2001). *Women's Movement in the System of Civil Society: Foreign Experience*. Kyiv: UADU. / Ковалішина, Н. (2001). *Жіночий рух у системі громадянського суспільства: зарубіжний досвід*. Київ: УАДУ.

Kovalchuk, G. (2016). *Julia Tolopa: If you have once been at war, you will come back there in anyway*. *Мама v dele*. / Ковальчук, Г. (2016). *Юлия Толопа: «Если ты один*

- раз на войне побывал, то вернешься туда в любом случае». Мама в деле. Retrieved from <http://womo.ua/yuliya-tolopa/>
- Kon, I. (2002). *Changing men in a changing world. Gender kaleidoscope*. Moscow: Academia. / Кон, И. (2002). *Меняющиеся мужчины в изменяющемся мире. Гендерный калейдоскоп*. Москва: Academia.
- Condorcet, (2006). *About giving women civil rights. The words of men (1790-1793)*. Kyiv: AlterPres. / Кондорсе, (2006). *Про надання жінкам громадянських прав. Слова чоловіків (1790-1793)*. Київ: Альтерпрес.
- Kopylov, O. (2012). Professionalism of journalist in the conditions of media convergence: transformation, evolution, upgrade? *Vestnik Tomskogo universiteta*, 3, 120–130. / Копылов, О. (2012). Профессионализм журналиста в условиях медиаконвергенции: трансформация, эволюция, апгрейд? *Вестник Томского университета*, 3, 120–130.
- Korkach, D. (2012, August 24). Are they accused of feminism? LB.ua. / Коркач, Д. (2012, Серпень 24). Їх звинувачують у фемінізмі? LB.ua. Retrieved from https://lb.ua/blog/daryna_korkach/167297_ih_zvinuvachuyut_feminizmi.html
- Korkach, D. (2012a). FEMENist media-war. *Ya*, 31, 17-18. / Коркач, Д. (2012a). FEMENістична медіа-війна. *Я*, 31, 17-18.
- Korkach, D. (2012b). Who will defend the minorities? Feminism and LGBT-topic in Ukrainian protest practice. *Gender revolutions. Materialy mizhnarodnoyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi*. – Kharkiv: 16 lystopada 2012 roku, 55–63. / Коркач, Д. (2012b). Хто захистить меншини? Фемінізм та ЛГБТ-тематика в українській протестній практиці. *Гендерні революції. Матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції*. – Харків: 16 листопада 2012 року, 55–63.
- Koroleva, T. (2015). *Problems and controversies of women`s movement*. SPb: SPbGIIKiT. / Королева, Т. (2015). *Проблемы и противоречия политического женского движения*. СПб: СПбГИКиТ.
- Kostyleva, S. (2003). To the question of the nature of the transformational processes in the print media of Ukraine in the second half of the 80's - the first half of the 90's of the twentieth century. *Problemy istoriyi Ukrayiny: fakty, sudzhennya, poshuky*, 9, 332-

352. / Кости́лева, С. (2003). До питання про природу трансформаційних процесів у системі друкованих ЗМІ України другої половини 80-х – першої половини 90-х років ХХ століття. Проблеми історії України: факти, судження, пошуки, 9, 332-352.

Kostiushchev, V. (1999). Collective actions as a subject of western sociology of social movements: conceptions, methods, problems. Social movements in modern Russia: from social problem to collective action. Moscow: IS RAN, SPbF / Костюшев, В. (1999). Коллективные действия как предмет западной социологии общественных движений: концепции, методы, проблемы. Общественные движения в современной России: от социальной проблемы к коллективному действию. Москва: ИС РАН, СПбФ.

Kotlyar, A. (2015). Beautiful "witches of war." Zerkalo nedeli, 9, 12. / Котляр, А. (2015). Прекрасные "ведьмы войны". Зеркало недели, 9, 12.

Kotlyar, A. (2015, December 11). Soldiers of the "Invisible Battalion", or Women are not allowed to eat. Zerkalo nedeli, 48, 16. / Котляр, А. (2015, Декабрь 11). Бойцы "Невидимого батальона", или Женщины к еде не допускаются. Зеркало недели, 48, 16. Retrieved from https://zn.ua/socium/boytsy-nevidimogo-batalona-ili-zhenschiny-k-edo-ne-dopuskayutsya_.html.

Kotlyarenko, O. (2015a, September 4) Two months in form: confession of new police officers. RBK-Ukraine. / Котляренко, О. (2015а, Вересень 4) Два місяця в формі: ісповіди нових поліцейських. РБК-Україна. Retrieved from <https://styler.rbc.ua/rus/intervyu/dva-mesyatsa-forme-ispovedi-novyh-politseyskih-1441365873.html>

Kotlyarenko, O. (2015b, July 8). Women's Face of the New Police: How the Beauty Works. Komsomol'skaya pravda v Ukraine. / Котляренко, О. (2015b, Июль 8). Женские лица новой полиции: как работают красавицы на посту. Комсомольская правда в Украине. Retrieved from <http://kp.ua/life/505619-arestui-menia-nezhno>

Cohen, J. & Arato, E. (2003). Civil society and political theory. Moskva: Ves' mir. / Коэн, Дж. & Арато, Э. (2003). Гражданское общество и политическая теория. Москва: Весь мир.

- Kravets, R. (2017, January 12). Special Prosecutor Kholodnitsky: I'm not a girl to force me to do something. *Ukrains'ka pravda* / Кравець, Р. (2017, Январь 12). Спецпрокурор Холодницький: Я не девка, чтобы меня к чему-то принуждать. Украинская правда. Retrieved from <http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/articles/2017/01/12/7132159/>
- Kramar, O. (2012). The latest independent editions in Ukraine are in jeopardy. *Ukrayins'ku Tyzhden'*, 39(256), 15–16. / Крамар, О. (2012). Останні незалежні видання в Україні під загрозою. *Український Тиждень*, 39(256), 15–16.
- Beauty Saves Ukraine: TOP-11 Beauties-Warriors of ATO / Краса рятує Україну: ТОП-11 красунь-бійців АТО (2016, Липень 10). *Depo.ua*. Retrieved from <https://www.depo.ua/ukr/life/krasa-ryatue-ukrayinu-top-10-krasun-biytsiv-ato-02072016163400>
- Krasnova, T. (2011). Another voice: an analysis of the newspaper discourse of the Russian diaspora, 1917-1920 (22). SPb.: Severnaya zvezda. / Краснова, Т. (2011). Другой голос: анализ газетного дискурса русского зарубежья, 1917-1920(22) гг. СПб.: Северная звезда.
- Krasnokutsky, G. (2016). Fun as a means of constructing artistic forms of communication with socio-cultural reality. *Arkadiya*, 1, 72-76. / Краснокутський, Г. (2016). Прикол як засіб конструювання художніх форм комунікації з соціокультурною реальністю. *Аркадія*, 1, 72–76.
- Kuzheleva-Sagan, I. (2007). Transpective model of piarology - a new sphere of applied social and humanitarian knowledge. *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, 304, 39–44. / Кужелева-Саган, И. (2007). Транспективная модель пиарологии – новой сферы прикладного социально-гуманитарного знания. *Вестник Томского государственного университета*, 304, 39–44.
- Kuzheleva-Sagan, I. (2008). Methodology of the reconstruction of the genesis of public relations. Tomsk: Izd-vo TGU. / Кужелева-Саган, И. (2008). Методология реконструкции генезиса публичных отношений. Томск: Изд-во ТГУ.
- Kukarenko, N. (2007). Gender inequality and the subject of feminist politics. New directions of political science. Moscow: ROSSPEN. / Кукаренко, Н. (2007). Гендерное неравенство и субъект феминистских политик. Новые направления политической науки. Москва: РОССПЭН.

- Kylyshbaeva, B. (2008) Transformation of gender identity. Materials of the III All-Russian Sociological Congress. Moscow: Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Society of Sociologists. / Кылышбаева, Б. (2008) Трансформация гендерной идентичности. Материалы III Всероссийского социологического конгресса. Москва: Институт социологии РАН, Российское общество социологов. Retrieved from <http://www.genderstudies.info/social/s33.php>.
- Carroll, S. J., Zerilli, L.M. (2001). Feminist Calls to Political Science. *Social Sciences and Modernity*, 6, 61-83. / Кэрролл, С. Дж., Зерилли, Л. М. (2001). Феминистские вызовы политической науке. *Общественные науки и современность*, 6, 61–83.
- Lavrinenko, N. (1999). Woman: self-realization in the family and society (sociological aspect). Kiev: VIPOЛ. / Лавриненко, Н. (1999). Женщина: самореализация в семье и обществе (социологический аспект). Киев: ВИПОЛ.
- Lazarev, S. (2014). Theory of Resource Mobilization in the Context of Political Interrelation. *Evropsky politicky a pravni diskurz*, 1(2), 74–81. / Лазарев, С. (2014). Теория мобилизации ресурсов в рамках политического взаимодействия. *Evropsky politicky a pravni diskurz*, 1(2), 74–81.
- Lazurkevych, S. (2015, October 15). Women are often allergic to feminism. Dialogue with feminist-researcher Oksana Kis. ZAXID.NET. / Лазуркевич, С. (2015, Жовтень 15). Жінки часто мають алергію на фемінізм. Розмова з дослідницею-феміністкою Оксаною Кісь. ZAXID.NET. Retrieved from https://zaxid.net/zhinki_chasto_mayut_alergiyu_na_feminizm_n1370972
- Levchenko, K. (2001). Women's rights: content, state and development prospects. Kharkiv: NUVS. / Левченко, К. (2001). Права жінок: зміст, стан та перспективи розвитку. Харків: НУВС.
- Lysenko, E. (2010). Political participation of the population of Ukraine: features, character, forms. *Metodolohiya, teoriya ta praktyka sotsiolohichnoho analizu suchasnoho suspil'stva*, 16, 281–284. / Лисенко, Е. (2010). Политическое участие населения Украины: особенности, характер, формы. *Методологія, теорія та практика соціологічного аналізу сучасного суспільства*, 16, 281–284.
- Litvinova, N. (2014, February 14). “Female hundreds” of Maydan had an argument because of sex-discrimination, *Vzglyad*. / Литвинова, Н. (2014, Февраль 14). «Женские

сотни» Майдана поссорились из-за секс-дискриминации. Взгляд. Retrieved from <http://vz.ua/publication/28742-zhenskie-sotni-maydana-possorilis-iz-za-seks-diskriminatsii>

Luka, T. (2016). Elements of political culture formation in Russian society of the 21st century: new forms of political activism of youth. / Люка, Т. (2016). Элементы формирования политической культуры российского общества XXI века: новые формы политического активизма и вызовы политической культуры молодежи.

Lihobabina, O. (2015, August 27). Sexist media for women: a decoration for a man, a "guardian". Detektor media. / Лихобабіна, О. (2015, Серпень 27). Сексистські медіаролі жінок: прикраса для чоловіка, «берегиня». Детектор медіа. Retrieved from <http://detector.media/withoutsection/article/110495/2015-08-27-seksistski-mediarioli-zhinok-prikrasa-dlya-cholovika-bereginya/>

Libanova E., Makarova O., Aksionova S., Gerasimenko G. & Maydanik I. (2012). Analytical study of women's participation in the labor force of Ukraine. Kyiv: United Nations Population Fund. / Лібанова Е., Макарова О., Аксьонова С., Герасименко Г. & Майданік І. (2012). Аналітичне дослідження участі жінок у складі робочої сили України. Київ: Фонд Народонаселення ООН.

Lubkovich, I. (2013). The formation of civil society as a prerequisite for the formation of a full-fledged fourth power. Seriya zhurnalistyka, 38, 173–181. / Лубкович, І. (2013). Становлення громадянського суспільства як необхідна передумова формування повноцінної четвертої влади. Вісник Львівського Університету. Серія журналістика, 38, 173–181.

Luman, N. (2004). Society as a social system. Moscow: Logos. / Луман, Н. (2004). Общество как социальная система. Москва: Логос.

Magdyuk, L. (2011). Gender stereotypes. The impact of gender stereotypes on the representation of women and men in the labor market. Marketing in Ukraine, 5-6, 7-10. / Магдюк, Л. (2011). Гендерні стереотипи. Вплив гендерних стереотипів на представлення жінок і чоловіків на ринку праці. Маркетинг в Україні, 5–6, 7–10.

Mayerchik, M & Plakhotnik, O. (2010, December 29). FEMEN on the Way of Protest. Zerkalo nedeli / Маерчик, М. & Плахотник, О. (2010, Декабрь 29). FEMEN на

- тропе протеста. Зеркало недели. Retrieved from https://zn.ua/SOCIETY/FEMEN_na_trope_protesta.html
- Mayerchik, M & Plakhotnik, O. (2011, July 7). FEMEN: Discourse Analysis. Heinrich Boell Foundation. / Маєрчик, М. & О. Плахотнік (2011, Липень 7). FEMEN: аналіз дискурсів. Фонд імені Гайнріха Бьолля. Retrieved from <https://ua.boell.org/uk/2011/02/03/FEMEN-analiz-diskursiv>
- Mayerchik, M & Plakhotnik, O. (2010) Radical FEMEN and New Feminine Activism. Krytyka, 11-12, 7-9 / Маєрчик, М. & Плахотнік, О. (2010). Радикальні FEMEN і новий жіночий активізм. Критика, 11–12, 7–9.
- Mayerchik, M & Plakhotnik, O. (2013). Gendered Powers: Of the Theory of Discursive Governments. Krytyka, 29-41. / Маєрчик, М. & Плахотнік, О. (2013). Гендеровані влади: про теорію дискурсивних влад. Критика, 29-41.
- Mayerchik, M. (2014, January 25). Attack of the logics. Krytyka. / Маєрчик, М. (2014, Січень 25). Захоплення логік, Критика. Retrieved from <http://krytyka.com/ua/community/blogs/zakhoplennya-lohik-svit-bez-zhinok>.
- Mazur, Ye. (2017, March, 3). Kiva: When I go into the room, only Avakov and Korchinsky do not hold their ears. / Мазур, Є. (2017, Березень, 3). Кива: Когда я захожу в комнату, только Аваков и Корчинский не прижимают уши. Retrieved from http://24tv.ua/kiva_kogda_ya_zahozhu_v_komnatu_tolko_avakov_i_korchinskiy_ne_prizhimayut_ushi_n788868
- Myers, D. (2000). Social psychology: SPb .: Prime-Euroznak. / Майерс, Д. (2000). Социальная психология: СПб.: Прайм-Еврознак.
- McQueel, D. (2010). The theory of mass communication. Lviv: Litopys. / Мак-Квейл, Д. (2010). Теорія масової комунікації. Львів: Літопис.
- Maksimenko, O. (2015, October 14). Women protecting Ukraine. Ukrainska pravda. / Максименко, О. (2015, Жовтень 14). Жінки, що захищають Україну. Українська правда. Retrieved from <http://life.pravda.com.ua/society/2015/10/14/201795/>
- Malkina-Pykh, I. (2006). Gender Therapy. Moscow: Eksmo. / Малкина-Пых, И. (2006) Гендерная терапия. Москва: Эксмо.

- Malchevslaya, O. (2018). From Pussy Riot to FEMEN: the loudest protests of CIS women. BBC. / Мальчевская, О. (2018). От Pussy Riot до Femen: самые громкие протесты женщин из СНГ. BBC. <http://www.bbc.com/russian/features-42990161>
- Maria Alekhina Was Arrested Near FSB Building on Lubyanka With a Banner Saying 'Happy Birthday Torturers' (2017, December 20). Mediazona. / Марию Алехину задержали у здания ФСБ на Лубянке с баннером «С днем рождения, палачи» (2017, Декабрь 20). Медиазона. Retrieved from <https://zona.media/news/2017/12/20/happy-birthday>
- Marushchenko, O. & Malakhova, O. (ed.), (2014). Ya: Gender and free-time & hobbies. Kyiv: Nove slovo. / Марущенко, О. & Малахова, О. (ed.), (2014). Я: Гендер і вільний час та хобі. Київ: Нове слово.
- Martsenyuk (ed.), T., Gritsenko, G., Kvit, A. & Berlinskaya, M. (2015) The Invisible Battalion: Participation of Women in Military Operations in the ATO (Sociological Survey). Kyiv: Ukrayins'kyu zhinochyu fond. / Марценюк (ed.), Т., Гриценко, Г., Квіт, А. & Берлінська, М. (2015) «Невидимий батальйон»: участь жінок у військових діях в АТО (соціологічне дослідження). Київ: Український жіночий фонд.
- Martsenyuk, T. (2012). Women in Ukraine's politics: challenges and prospects for gender policy. Doklad na Vtorom mezhdunarodnom Kongresse belorusskikh issledovaniy, sektsiya «Gendernyye politiki i praktiki», Kaunas, Litva. / Марценюк, Т. (2012). Жінчини в політиці України: виклики і перспективи гендерної політики. Доклад на Втором міжнародному Конгресі білоруських досліджень, секція «Гендерні політики і практики», Каунас, Литва.
- Martsenyuk, T. (2014). Gender sociology of Maidan: the role of women in protest. Post-socialist societies: the diversity of social change. Kyiv: Instytut sotsiologiyi NAN Ukrayiny, 146–160. / Марценюк, Т. (2014). Гендерна соціологія Майдану: роль жінок у протестах. Постсоціалістичні суспільства: різноманіття соціальних змін. Київ: Інститут соціології НАН України, 146–160.
- Martsenyuk, T. (2015). Gender and nation in Ukrainian society: Masculinity and EuroMaidan 2013-2014. Ya, 1, 4-9. / Марценюк, Т. (2015). Гендер і нація в українському суспільстві: маскулінності та Євромайдан 2013-2014. Я, 1, 4–9.

- Martsenyuk, T. (2016, August 18). Returning public sexism or how to "kill" with words. Povaha / Марценюк, Т. (2016, Серпень 18). Повернення публічного сексизму або як «убити» словами. Повара. Retrieved from <http://povaha.org.ua/povernennya-publichnoho-seksyzmu-abo-yak-ubyty-slovamy/>
- Maslova, Yu. (2012). Conceptosphere of gender discourse of mass media. New information situation and trends of alternative development of MMC in Ukraine. Ostroh: Ostroz'ka akademiya, 57–69. / Маслова, Ю. (2012). Концептосфера гендерного дискурсу ЗМІ. Нова інформаційна ситуація та тенденції альтернативного розвитку ЗМК в Україні. Острог: Острозька академія, 57–69.
- Medina, T. (2011). Feminist analysis of the institute of the family: problems and directions. Relihiya ta Sotsium, 1, 108–115. / Медіна, Т. (2011). Феміністський аналіз інституту сім'ї: проблеми і напрями. Релігія та Соціум, 1, 108–115.
- Melnyk, T. (2004). Gender in politics: Basics of gender theory. Kyiv: K.I.S. / Мельник, Т. (2004). Гендер у політиці: Основи теорії гендера. Київ: К.І.С.
- Melnik, Ya. & Krivoruchko N. (2012). Prolegomenes to Ukrainian discourse: ethno-cultural, political and lingo-semiotic aspects. Ivano-Frankivs'k: Vyd-vo Prykarpats's'koho nats. un-tu im. V. Stefanyka. / Мельник, Я. & Криворучко Н. (2012). Прологomenи до українського дискурсу: етнокультурний, політичний та лінгво-семіотичний аспекти. Івано-Франківськ: Вид-во Прикарпатського нац. ун-ту ім. В. Стефаника.
- Melnikova, T. (2000). Women's movement: traditions and innovations. Moskva: Mysl'. / Мельникова, Т. (2000). Женское движение: традиции и инновации. Москва: Мысль.
- Mykytko, O. (2009). Gender in politics: problems and prospects for implementation. Humanitarni ta sotsial'ni nauky. L'viv: L'vivs'ka politekhnika, 256–259., 256–259. / Микитко, О. (2009). Гендер у політиці: проблеми та перспективи запровадження. Гуманітарні та соціальні науки. Львів: Львівська політехніка, 256–259.
- Millet K. (1994). The theory of sexual policy. Questions of Philosophy, 9, 147–172. / Миллет, К. (1994). Теория сексуальной политики. Вопросы философии, 9, 147–172.

- Minina, V. (1998). Sociology of Social Problems: An Analytical Review of Basic Concepts. *Zhurnal sotsiologii i sotsial'noy antropologii*, 1(3), 74–90. / Минина, В. (1998). Социология социальных проблем: Аналитический обзор основных концепций. *Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии*, 1(3), 74–90.
- Miroshnichenko, A. (2011). When the newspapers die. Moskva: Knizhnyy mir. / Мирошниченко, А. (2011). Когда умрут газеты. Москва: Книжный мир.
- Mordovets, M. (2013). Political activity of VS of political activism: features of conceptual differentiation. *Panorama of Political Studies*, 11, 43-52. / Мордовець, М. (2013). Політична активність VS політичного активізму: особливості концептуального розрізнення. *Панорама політологічних студій*, 11, 43–52.
- Mordovets, M. (2015). Activism: conditions of social movements emergence. *Aktualni problemy polityky*, 55, 139–146. / Мордовець, М. (2015). Активізм: умови виникнення суспільних рухів. *Актуальні проблеми політики*, 55, 139–146.
- Moroz, T. (2016, July 11). Ukrainian women are more and more attracted by... army. *NArodna armija*. / Мороз, Т. (2016, Липень 11). Українок дедалі більше приваблює... військо. *Народна Армія*. Retrieved from <http://na.mil.gov.ua/33948-ukrayinok-dedali-bilshe-privablyuye-vijsko>
- Moskvicheva, A. (2014, February 4). Women on Maydan: kitchen or barricades? *Radio Svoboda*. / Москвичова, А. (2014, Лютий 4). Жінки на Майдані: або кухня, або барикади? *Радіо Свобода*. Retrieved from <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/25252319.html>
- Mansbridge, J. (1992). Women, government and the common good. *USA economics, politics, ideology*, 3, 62-68. / Мэнсбридж, Дж. (1992). Женщины, правление и общее благо. *США экономика, политика, идеология*, 3, 62-68.
- Naidionova, L. (2009). Media psychology as a new branch of socio-psychological knowledge: problems and perspectives. *Naukovi studiyi iz sotsial'noyi ta politychnoyi psykholohiyi*. K.: Milenium, 218–230. / Найдьонова, Л. (2009). Медіа-психологія як нова галузь соціально-психологічного знання: проблеми і перспективи. *Наукові студії із соціальної та політичної психології*. К.: Міленіум, 218–230.

- Unbelievable confessions of an ATO zone service-woman / Невероятные признания женщины, которая служит в зоне АТО (2014, Август 29). СТБ. Retrieved from <http://www.stb.ua/ru/2014/08/29/44172/>
- Nechaeva, N. (1997). Patriarchal and feminist pictures of the world: analysis of the structure of mass consciousness. Nechaev, N. (1997). Patriarchal and feminist pictures of the world: analysis of the structure of mass consciousness. / Нечаева, Н. (1997). Патриархатная и феминистская картины мира: анализ структуры массового сознания. Гендерные тетради. СПб: ИС РАН, 17–43.
- Nechet, T. (2016, November 11). The network is rapidly discussing a new deputy Avakov - a 24-year-old beauty. Komsomolskaya Pravda v Ukraine. / Нечет, Т. (2016, Ноябрь 11). В сети бурно обсуждают нового заместителя Авакова – 24-летнюю красавицу. Комсомольская правда в Украине. Retrieved from <http://kp.ua/politics/557189-v-sety-burno-obsuzhdauit-novoho-zamestytelia-avakova-24-letnuiui-krasavytsu>
- Nikonova, O. (2005). Women, war and "figures of silence". Neprikosnovennyi zapas, 40–41, 282–289. / Никонова, О. (2005). Женщины, война и «фигуры умолчания». Неприкосновенный запас, 40–41, 282–289.
- Nikolayenko, O. (2013). Women's movement in Poland at the beginning of the twentieth century. Ukrayina-Yevropa-Svit, 11, 143–149. / Ніколаєнко, О. (2013). Жіночий рух у Польщі на початку ХХ ст. Україна-Європа-Світ, 11, 143–149.
- Novikova, N. (1997). Suffrage societies in the UK. Rossiya, Zapad i Vostok: traditsii, vzaimodeystviye, novatsii, 3, 164–165. / Новикова, Н. (1997). Суфражистские общества в Великобритании. Россия, Запад и Восток: традиции, взаимодействие, новации, 3, 164–165.
- Novikova, N. (2010). Liberal feminism in Russia and the West: the experience of comparative analysis. Yaroslavl': Yaroslavskiy gospeduniversitet. / Новикова, Н. (2010). Либеральный феминизм в России и на Западе: опыт сравнительного анализа. Ярославль: Ярославский госпедуниверситет.
- North, D. (2004). Functioning of Economy in Time. Nobel lecture (9th of December, 1993). Otechestvennye zapiski, 6, 88-103. / Норт, Д. (2004). Функционирование

- экономики во времени. Нобелевская лекция (9 декабря 1993 года). Отечественные записки, 6, 88-103.
- Social Movements in Russia: points of growth, stumbling blocks. Moscow: Variant, TsSPGI.
/ Общественные движения в России: точки роста, камни преткновения (2009). Москва: Вариант, ЦСПГИ.
- Overchuk, O. (2010). The formation of modern protest movements in Ukraine. Suchasna ukrayins'ka polityka. Polityky i politolohy pro neyi, 21, 154–164. / Оверчук, О. (2010). Становлення сучасних рухів протесту в Україні. Сучасна українська політика. Політики і політологи про неї, 21, 154–164.
- Ovrutsky, A. (2011). Morphology of anticonsumer movements: sources, directions, practices. Zhurnal sotsiologii i sotsial'noy antropologii, 5(58), 89–98. / Овруцкий, А. (2011). Морфология антиконсюмеристских движений: источники, направления, практики. Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии, 5(58), 89–98.
- Okin, S. (2001). The problem of sex: public and private. Modern political theory. М.: Notabene. / Окин, С. (2001). Проблема пола: общественное и частное. Современная политическая теория. М.: Нота-бене.
- Oliynyk, Ye. (2015, December 3). Woman at War: fantasies about invisible experience. Korydor. / Олійник, Є. (2015, Грудень 3). Жінка на війні: фантазії про невидимий досвід. Коридор. Retrieved from <http://www.korydor.in.ua/ua/equality/zhinka-na-vijni-fantazyi-pro-nevydimij-dosvid.html>
- Orlova, T. (2010). Mythology of "Beregynia" in the light of criticism of Ukrainian social scientists. Storinky istoriyi, 31, 205–213. / Орлова, Т. (2010). Міфологема «Берегині» в світлі критики українських суспільствознавців. Сторінки історії, 31, 205–213.
- Pavlenko, V. (2000). Ideas about Social and Personal Identity Correlation in Modern Western Psychology. Voprosy psikhologii, 1, 135-141. / Павленко, В. (2000). Представления о соотношении социальной и личностной идентичности в современной западной психологии. Вопросы психологии, 1, 135–141.

- Pavlychko, S. (1991). Do Ukrainian literature studies need a feminist school? *Slovo i chas*, 6, 10-15. / Павличко, С. (1991). Чи потрібна українському літературознавству феміністична школа? *Слово і час*, 6, 10–15.
- Pavlychko, S. (1997). *Discourse on Modernism in Ukrainian Literature*. Kyiv: Lybid. / Павличко, С. (1997). *Дискурс модернізму в українській літературі*. Київ: Либідь.
- Pavlychko, S. (2002). *Progress is delayed: conservative faces of women in Ukraine*. Kyiv: Osnovy. / Павличко, С. (2002). *Прогрес затримується: консервативні лики жінок в Україні*. Київ: Основи.
- Pavlychko, S. (2002). *Modern woman: external and internal images*. Kyiv: Osnovy. / Павличко, С. (2002). *Сучасна жінка: образ зовнішній і образ внутрішній*. Київ: Основи.
- Pavlova, T. (2008). Social movements as a factor of transformation of institutional environment: problems of theory. *Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniia*, 5, 113-114. / Павлова, Т. (2008). Социальные движения как фактор трансформации институциональной среды: проблемы теории. *Полис. Политические исследования*, 5, 113–124.
- Pastukhov, V. (5th July, 2012). *Pussyteria*. *Politru*. Retrieved from <http://polit.ru/article/2012/07/05/core/> / Пастухов, В. (2012, Июль 5). Пусистерия. Политру. Retrieved from <http://polit.ru/article/2012/07/05/core/>
- Petrova, E. (2015). Functions of journalism in the context of the transformation of the media system. *XV mezhdunarodnaya nauchnaya konferentsiya po problemam razvitiya ekonomiki i obshchestva*. Moskva, 164–172. / Петрова, Е. (2015). Функции журналистики в контексте трансформации системы медиа. *XV международная научная конференция по проблемам развития экономики и общества*. Москва, 164–172.
- Plakhotnik, O. (2007). Post-soviet feminism: Ukrainian variant. *Gender studies*, 17, 183-198. / Плахотник, О. (2007). Постсоветский феминизм: украинский вариант. *Гендерные исследования*, 17, 183–198.
- Plakhotnik, O. (2009). *Permission can not be prohibited: to the question of the institutionalization of gender studies as a discipline in modern Ukraine*. *Gendernyye*

- issledovaniya, 19, 156–165. / Плахотник, О. (2009). Разрешить нельзя запретить: к вопросу об институционализации гендерных исследований как учебной дисциплины в современной Украине. Гендерные исследования, 19, 156–165.
- Plakhotnik, O. (2010). Feminism “under any other name”? (Modern Ukrainian philosophy about sex and gender). *Topos*, 3, 93-106. / Плахотник, О. (2010) Феминизм «под любым другим именем»? (Современная украинская философия о поле и гендере). *Топос*, 3, 93–106.
- Plakhotnik, O. (2011). Unbelievable adventures of gender theory in Ukraine. *Critics*, 9-10, 17-22 / Плахотник, О. (2011). Неймовірні пригоди гендерної теорії в Україні. *Критика*, 9–10, 17–22.
- Plakhotniuk, N. (2016, January 12). What does a woman do in the army? / Плахотнюк, Н. (2016, Січень 12). Що жінка робить в армії? Retrieved from <https://www.theinsider.ua/lifestyle/5693d03401fe8/>
- Polyvach, M. (2014, August 10). The team spirit of the Maydan is supported by women. *Molodizhna informatsiyna spil'nota*. / Поливач, М. (2014, Серпень 10). Командний дух майдану підтримують жінки. Молодіжна інформаційна спільнота. Retrieved from <https://soli.com.ua/2014/02/18/komandnyj-duh-majdanu-pidtrymuyut-zhinky/>
- Polishkarova, A. (2005). Political behavior. *Political Dictionary*. Kyiv: MAUP / Полішкарова, О. (2005). Політична поведінка. Політологічний словник. Київ: МАУП.
- Polushkevich, O. (2006). Specificity of the ideology of modern feminism in the conditions of Russia. *Dis. kand. filos. nauk.*. Irkutskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. Irkutsk. / Полюшкевич, О. (2006). Специфика идеологии современного феминизма в условиях России (Дис. канд. филос. наук.). Иркутский государственный университет. Иркутск.
- Pomazan, O. (1999). Gender issues and mass media. *Gender analysis of Ukrainian society*. Kyiv: PROON. / Помазан, О. (1999). Гендерні проблеми і мас-медіа. Гендерний аналіз українського суспільства. Київ: ПРООН.

- Ponomariv, O. (1999). Stereotypes of the past in life and on the pages of the press. New trends in media development in the post-totalitarian period. Kiev: Osnovy. / Пономарів, О. (1999). Стереотипи минулого в житті і на сторінках преси. Нові тенденції розвитку ЗМІ в посттоталітарний період. Київ: Основи.
- Prikhodko, O. (2005). Philosophical aspect of gender: modern approaches. Vis. Khar. nats. un-tu im. V. Karazina. Ser. Filosofiya, 54, 71–76. / Приходько, О. (2005). Філософський аспект гендеру: сучасні підходи. Віс. Хар. нац. ун-ту ім. В. Каразіна. Сер. Філософія, 54, 71–76.
- Pushkareva, N. (2012). Gender system of Soviet Russia and fates of Russian women. Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 5, 8-23 / Пушкарева, Н. (2012). Гендерная система советской России и судьбы россиянок. Новое литературное обозрение, 5, 8–23.
- Reingold, G. (2006). Smart Mob: A New Social Revolution. Moscow: FAIR PRESS. / Рейнгольд, Г. (2006). Умная толпа: новая социальная революция. Москва: ФАИР ПРЕСС.
- Rizun, V. (2008). The theory of mass communication. Kyiv: Prosvita. / Різун, В. (2008). Теорія масової комунікації. Київ: Просвіта.
- Romanova, N. (2003). Society and gender stereotypes in modern conditions: new benchmarks. Gender: Realities and Prospects in Ukrainian Society. Kyiv: Foliant, 132-133. / Романова, Н. (2003). Суспільство і гендерні стереотипи в сучасних умовах: нові орієнтири. Гендер: реалії та перспективи в українському суспільстві. Київ: Фоліант, 132–133.
- Rotmistrov, A. (2010) Social movements: experience of sociological conceptions classification. Sociological studies, 8, 46-53. / Ротмистров, А. (2010) Общественные движения: опыт классификации социологических концепций. Социологические исследования, 8, 46–53.
- Rubantsova, T. (1989). Philosophy of feminism and culture. Vestnik Omskogo universiteta, 4, 35–38. / Рубанцова, Т. (1989). Философия феминизма и культура. Вестник Омского университета, 4, 35–38.
- Rybakov, B. (1981). Paganism of the ancient Slavs. Moscow: Nauka. / Рыбаков, Б. (1981). Язычество древних славян. Москва: Наука.

- Rygina, L. (2006). Production of gender discourse in the field of regional journalism. avtoref. dis. na soiskaniye uchenoy stepeni kandidata sotsiologicheskikh nauk. Saratov. / Рыгина, Л. (2006). Производство гендерного дискурса в поле региональной журналистики: автореф. дис. на соискание ученой степени кандидата социологических наук. Саратов.
- Savchuk, V. (2011). On the subject of media philosophy. International Journal of Cultural Research, 3 (4), 6-10. / Савчук, В. (2011). О предмете медиафилософии. Международный журнал исследований культуры, 3(4), 6–10.
- Savchuk, O. (2015, March 7). Ukraine: women fighting on the front line. Hromads'kyi prostir. / Савчук, О. (2015, Березень 7). Україна: жінки, що воюють на лінії фронту. Громадський простір. Retrieved from <https://www.prostir.ua/?focus=ukrajina-zhinky-scho-voyuyut-na-liniji-frontu>
- Salih, Kh. T. (2013). Information and compositional and graphic model of daily periodicals of Sweden (on the example of the newspaper Aftonbladet). (Avtoref. dys. kand. nauk z sots. komunikatsiy). Kyiv: Kyiv natsional'nyy universytet imeni T. H. Shevchenka, Instytut zhurnalistyky. Kyiv. / Саліх, Х. Т. (2013). Інформаційна та композиційно-графічна модель щоденних періодичних видань Швеції (на прикладі газети "Афтонбладет"). (Автораф. дис. канд. наук з соц. комунікацій). Київський національний університет імені Т. Г. Шевченка, Інститут журналістики. Київ.
- Sapunov, V. (2005). Mass communication in the twentieth century: the concept of Western researchers. Voronezh: VGU. / Сапунов, В. (2005). Массовая коммуникация в XX веке: концепции западных исследователей. Воронеж: ВГУ.
- Satarova, I. (2017, June 18). Overcoming sexism. Litsa. / Сатарова, И. (2017, Июня 18). Преодолевая сексизм. Лица. Retrieved from <http://www.litsa.com.ua/show/a/36596>
- Safronov, V. (1998). The potential for protest and the democratic perspective. Zhurnal sotsiologii i sotsial'noy antropologii, 4(1), 115–127. / Сафронов, В. (1998). Потенциал протеста и демократическая перспектива. Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии, 4(1), 115–127.
- Svitich, L. (2012). Journalism in the context of modern scientific paradigms. Aktual'nyye problemy sovremennoy nauki i zhurnalistika. Moskva: f-t zhurnalistiki MGU, 9–21. / Свитич, Л. (2012). Журнализм в контексте современных научных парадигм.

Актуальные проблемы современной науки и журналистика. Москва: ф-т журналистики МГУ, 9–21.

Sedova, Ya. (2017, March 8). In peaceful life, I do not have a place: why more women are leaving for ATO. Apostrof. / Седова, Я. (2017, Март 8). В мирной жизни мне места нет: почему все больше женщин уходят в АТО. Апостроф. Retrieved from <https://apostrophe.ua/article/society/accidents/2017-03-08/v-mirnoy-jizni-mne-mesta-net-pochemu-vse-bolshe-jenschin-uhodyat-v-ato/10810>

Sergatskova, K. (2014, February 5). Female Half of the Maydan. The Insider./ Сергачкова, К. (2014, Лютий 5). Женская половина Майдана. The Insider. Retrieved from <http://www.theinsider.ua/lifestyle/zhenskaya-polovina-maidana/>

Serov, I. (2014, October, 2014). A women's battalion is on the Donbas. Segodnya. / Серов, И. (2014, Октябрь, 2014). На Донбасс идет женский батальон. Сегодня. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/na-donbass-idet-zhenskiy-batalon-560126.html>

Sidorskaya, I. & Radu, A. (2014). Gender and the media. Minsk: RIVSCH. / Сидорская, И. & Радю, А. (2014). Гендер и СМИ. Минск: РИВШ.

Silchenko, V. (1997). Interview with I. Zharebkina. Feminism and modern philosophy. Novy obraz, 1, 5-7 / Сильченко, В. (1997). Интервью с И. Жеребкиной. Феминизм и современная философия. Новый образ, 1, 5–7.

Simonchuk, O. (2004). Social movements as a mechanism of new social institutes creation. Problems of sociological theory development. Social processes in Ukraine. Chetverta Vseukrainska sotsiologichna konferentsiia. Kyiv: Institut sotsiologii NAN Ukrainy, 505-510. / Симончук, О. (2004). Соціальні рухи як механізм створення нових соціальних інститутів. Проблеми розвитку соціологічної теорії. Соціальні процеси в Україні. Четверта Всеукраїнська соціологічна конференція. Київ: Інститут соціології НАН України, 505–510.

Shevchenko, A. (2018, January 9). Personal interview.

Skiba, E. (2010). Theoretical discussions between the feminism of the end of XX century and gender theory. Grani: Naukovo-teoretychnyi i gromadsko-politychnyi almanakh, 2, 87-89. / Скиба, Э. (2010). Теоретические дискуссии между феминизмом конца

XX века и гендерной теорией. Грани: Науково-теоретичний і громадсько-політичний альманах, 2, 87–89.

Skobelina, N. (2010). Social movements as an object of sociological research. Vestnik Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Filosofiya, 1(11), 51–57. / Скобелина, Н. (2010). Общественные движения как объект социологического исследования. Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета. Серия: Философия, 1(11), 51–57.

Skobelina, N. (2014). Institutionalization of social movements in the Russian society of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (sociological analysis). (Dis. doktora sots. nauk). Sankt-Peterburgskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. Volgograd. / Скобелина, Н. (2014). Институционализация общественных движений в российском обществе конца XX – начала XXI веков (социологический анализ). (Дис. доктора соц. наук). Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет. Волгоград.

Skokova, Yu. (2014). Sociology of social movements: the possibilities and limitations of the basic theoretical concepts. Socis, 3, 132–140. / Скокова, Ю. (2014). Социология общественных движений: возможности и ограничения основных теоретических концепций. Социс, 3, 132–140.

Skoryk, M. (2004). Ukrainian mass media: gender perspective. Problems of Education, 36, 134–153 / Скорик, М. (2004). Українські мас-медіа: гендерний аспект. Проблеми освіти, 36, 134–153.

Skrypnikova, E. (2016, December 6). The most sexy cop of Ukraine: "Living your whole life with one husband? In our time this does not happen!" Telekritika. / Скрыпникова, Е. (2016, Декабрь 6). Самый сексуальный коп Украины: «Прожить всю жизнь с одним мужем? В наше время такого не бывает!» Телекритика. Retrieved from <http://ru.telekritika.ua/dusia/lyudmila-milevich-prozhit-vsyu-zhizn-s-odnim-muzhem?-v-nashe-vremya-takogo-ne-bivaet%21-663073>

Skurativsky, V. (1987). Bereginia. Kiev: Radyansky pysmennyk. / Скуратівський, В. (1987). Берегиня. Київ: Радянський письменник.

Slinchuk, V. (2004). Social typography of gender stereotypes in the language of the media. Naukovi zapysky Instytutu zhurnalistyky, 17, 67–74. / Слінчук, В. (2004). Соціальна

типізація гендерних стереотипів у мові ЗМІ. Наукові записки Інституту журналістики, 17, 67–74.

Smelser, N. (1998). *Sociology*. Moscow: Fenix. / Смелзер, Н. (1998). *Социология*. Москва: Феникс.

Smelser, N. (2001). *Problems of Sociology. Georg-Zimmel Lectures*. Lviv: Kalvaria. / Смелзер, Н. (2001). *Проблеми соціології. Георг-Зімелівські лекції*. Львів: Кальварія.

Smirnova O. (2011). Integration of the gender approach into journalistic education: the Russian context. *Mediascope: Elektronnyy nauchnyy zhurnal Fakul'teta zhurnalistiki MGU im. M. V. Lomonosova*, 4. / Смирнова О. (2011). Интеграция гендерного подхода в журналистское образование: российский контекст. *Медиаскоп: Электронный научный журнал Факультета журналистики МГУ им. М. В. Ломоносова*, 4. Retrieved from <http://www.mediascope.ru/node/963>.

Smolyar, L. (1998). Formerly for the future: the women's movement of the Extraordinary Ukraine II half XIXth-early XXth century: pages of history. Odessa: Astroprint. / Смоляр, Л. (1998). *Минуле заради майбутнього: жіночий рух Наддніпрянської України II пол. XIX-поч.XXст.: Сторінки історії*. Одеса: Астропринт.

Smolyar, L. (2001). Women of Ukraine during the First World War. *Naukovi zapysky: Pedahohichni ta istorychni nauky*, 39, 229–236. / Смоляр, Л. (2001). Жінки України в роки першої світової війни. *Наукові записки: Педагогічні та історичні науки*, 39, 229–236.

Sobchak, K. & Sokolova, K. (19th October, 2012). Ekaterina Samutsevich. Non-uncovered. *Snob*. Retrieved from <http://archive.is/8fVuv> / Собчак, К. & Соколова, К. (2012, Октябрь 19). Екатерина Самуцевич. Нерасчехленная. *Сноб*. Retrieved from <http://archive.is/8fVuv>

Sokolova, E. (2013). Gender stereotypes in the modern media as an instrument of communication. *Izvestiya Ural'skogo federal'nogo universiteta*, 1(110), 71-77. / Соколова, Е. (2013). Гендерные стереотипы в современных СМИ как инструмент коммуникации. *Известия Уральского федерального университета*, 1(110), 71-77.

- Solomin, O. (2004). *Feminism. Political Encyclopedic Dictionary*. Kiev: Geneza. / Соломін, О. (2004). *Фемінізм. Політологічний енциклопедичний словник*. Київ: Генеза.
- Social identities and practices (2002). Kyiv: Institut sotsiologii NAN Ukrainy / Соціальні ідентичності та практики, (2002). Київ: Інститут соціології НАН України.
- Spasibina, S. (2016, July 13). "The commander asked to stay in bed with him at night. I flipped him off". As women at war become pals. Infomist. / Спасібіна, С. (2016, Липень 13). "Командир просив заночувати з ним в одному ліжку. Я послала його". Як жінки на війні стають "своїми. Інфоміст. Retrieved from <http://infomist.ck.ua/komandyr-prosyv-zanochuvaty-z-nym-v-odnomu-lizhku-ya-poslala-jogo-yak-zhinky-na-vijni-stayut-svoyimy/>
- Stanislavska, K. (2010). Installation as a visual and spectacular form of contemporary fine arts. *Aktual'ni problemy istoriyi, teorii ta praktyky khudozhn'oyi kul'tury*, 24, 228–236. / Станіславська, К. (2010). Інсталяція як візуально-видовищна форма сучасного образотворчого мистецтва. *Актуальні проблеми історії, теорії та практики художньої культури*, 24, 228–236.
- Starukh, O. (2002). Postfeminism and the problem of polysubjectivity of the female "I" in prose of O. Zabuzhko. *Pytannya literaturoznavstva*, 8, 100–106. / Старух, О. (2002). Постфемінізм та проблема полісуб'єктивності жіночого "я" у прозі О. Забужко. *Питання літературознавства*, 8, 100–106.
- Stasyuk, L. (2008). Culturological foundations of mass and elite art. *Visnyk natsional'noho universytetu vodnoho hospodarstva ta pryrodokorystuvannya*, 1(41), 462–468. / Стасюк, Л. (2008). Культурологічні засади масового та елітарного мистецтва. *Вісник національного університету водного господарства та природокористування*, 1(41), 462–468.
- Stebkova, Yu. (2014). "Gender regress" or "gender progress": expert poll. *Gendernyi zhurnal Ya*, 2, 6-8 / Стебкова, Ю. (2014). «Гендерний відкат» чи «гендерний прорив»: експертне опитування. *Гендерний журнал Я*, 2, 6–8.
- Strebkova, Yu. (2007). The Patriarchate and the Information Society: a Political Scientist's Crossing. The search for gender parity: the Ukrainian context. Nizhyn: Milanik, 168-176. / Стребкова, Ю. (2007). Патріархат та інформаційне суспільство: перетин

- політологом. Пошуки гендерної паритетності: український контекст. Ніжин: Міланік, 168–176.
- Sukovata, V. (2004). Gender and religion. Fundamentals of the theory of gender. Kyiv: K.I.S. / Суковата, В. (2004). Гендер і релігія. Основи теорії гендеру. Київ: К.І.С.
- Sukovata, V. (2007). Feminist methodology as an education policy: building new gender identities at Ukrainian school. *Sociology: theories, methods, marketing*, 3, 202–222. / Суковатая, В. (2007). Феминистская методология как политика образования: конструирование новых гендерных идентичностей в украинской школе. *Социология: теория, методы, маркетинг*, 3, 202–222.
- Suslova, I. (2016). Participation of women in Ukrainian politics. *Visnyk TSVK*, 2, 18–19. / Суслова, І. (2016). Участь жінок в українській політиці. *Вісник ЦВК*, 2, 18–19.
- Sushytska, I. (2013). Transformation of the role and position of women in the modern Ukrainian family. *Visnyk Natsional'noyi akademiyi kerivnykh kadriv kul'tury i mystetstv*, 3, 105–109. / Сушицька, І. (2013). Трансформація ролі та становища жінки в сучасній українській сім'ї. *Вісник Національної академії керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв*, 3, 105–109.
- Talalay, N. (2012). The woman as she is. *Weekly*, 16, 38–41. / Талалай, Н. (2012). Женщина как она есть. *Weekly*, 16, 38–41.
- Tarde, G. The Laws of Imitation. Moscow: Kniga po Trebovaniyu. / Тард, Г. (2012). Законы подражания. Москва: Книга по Требованию.
- Temkina, A. (1995) Feminism: West and Russia, Re-imaging, 3, 5–17. / Темкина, А. (1995). Феминизм: Запад и Россия, Преображение, 3, 5–17.
- Temkina. A. (1997). Feminine movement as a social movement: history and theory. *Gendernye tetrad*, 1, 100–111. / Темкина, А. (1997). Женское движение как общественное движение: история и теория. *Гендерные тетради*, 1, 100–111.
- Temkina, A. (2001). Feminine movement of the second wave: sources, conceptualization and results. *Vvedenie v gendernye issledovaniya*, 1, 664–695. / Темкина, А. (2001). Женское движение второй волны: истоки, концептуализация и результаты. *Введение в гендерные исследования*, 1, 664–695.

- Tender Defenders of Motherland: Top-5 Beauties – ATO-Warriors. Politeka. Retrieved from <https://politeka.net/news/481118-tenditni-zahisnitsi-batkivshhini-top-5-krasun-bijtsiv-ato-foto/> / Тендітні захисниці батьківщини: Топ-5 красунь-бійців АТО (2017, Серпень 15). Politeka. Retrieved from <https://politeka.net/news/481118-tenditni-zahisnitsi-batkivshhini-top-5-krasun-bijtsiv-ato-foto/>
- Terianyk, A. (2014, May 14). A fragile woman in camouflage, fighting for her dead son. Glavred. / Теряник, А. (2014, Май 14). Хрупкая женщина в камуфляже, воюющая за погибшего сына. Главред. Retrieved from <http://glavred.info/zhizn/istorii-soldat-ato-hrupkaya-zhenschina-v-kamuflyazhe-voyuyuschaya-za-pogibshego-syna-367013.html>
- Teteryuk, M. (2013). Female Body as a Political Instrument: Media-Representations of FEMEN Actions. *Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Teoriia ta istoriia kultury*, 140, 55-59. / Тетерюк, М. (2013). Жіноче тіло як політичний інструмент: медіа-репрезентації акцій FEMEN. *Наукові записки НаУКМА. Теорія та історія культури*, 140, 55–59.
- Tilly, Ch. (2007). State Resource-Extraction and Democracy. *Sociology: theory, methods, marketing*, 4, 38-42. / Тілі, Ч. (2007). Державне ресурсовилучення і демократія. *Соціологія: теорія, методи, маркетинг*, 4, 38–42.
- Tkachenko, I. (2000). Womanist aesthetics by Alice Walker. *Humanitarnyy visnyk Cherkas'koho inzhenerno-tekhnologichnoho instytutu. Seriya: inozemna filolohiya*, 4, 66–72. / Ткаченко, І. (2000). Вуманістична естетика Еліс Уокер. *Гуманітарний вісник Черкаського інженерно-технологічного інституту. Серія: іноземна філологія*, 4, 66–72.
- Toffler, E. (1999). *The third wave*. Moscow: Moscow State University. / Тоффлер, Э. (1999). *Третья волна*. Москва: МГУ.
- Tokhtahodzhaeva, M. (1998). *Women of Central Asia*. Tashkent: Nori. / Тохтаходжаева, М. (1998). *Женщины Центральной Азии*. Ташкент: Нори.
- Tugov, R. (2012). Тугов, Р. (2012). Современные теории изучения формирования и деятельности гражданской общественности. *Теория и практика общественного развития*, 12, 58–62.

Turen, A. (1998). *The Return of the Acting Man. Ocherk sotsiologii*. Moskva: Nauchnyi mir.
/ Турен, А. (1998). *Возвращение человека действующего. Очерк социологии*. Москва: Научный мир.

Tytysh, G. (2015, April 6). Tatyana Rychkova: During the war she cried. *Ukrainskaya pravda*.
/ Тытыш, Г. (2015, Апрель 6). Татьяна Рычкова: За время войны плакала. Украинская правда. Retrieved from <http://life.pravda.com.ua/person/2015/04/6/192127/>.

Ukrainian Women Explained Why They Joined ATO / Украинские женщины рассказали, почему они пошли воевать в АТО (2014, Сентябрь 2014). ТСН-Украина. Retrieved from <https://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/ukrainskie-zhenschiny-rasskazali-pochemu-oni-poshli-voevat-v-ato-388999.html>

Usmanova, A. (2001). *Women and Art: Policies of Representation. Introduction into Gender Studies*. HTsGI – SPb.: Aleteia, 465-492 / Усманова, А. (2001). *Женщины и искусство: политики репрезентации. Введение в гендерные исследования*. ХЦГИ – СПб.: Алетейя, 465-492.

Uspenskaya, V. *Women's history and the development of feminist consciousness. Zhenskiye i gendernyye issledovaniya v Tverskom gosudarstvennom universitete*, 4, 136–141. / Успенская, В. (2000a). *Женская история и развитие феминистского сознания. Женские и гендерные исследования в Тверском государственном университете*, 4, 136–141.

Uspenskaya, V. *Feminism before feminism: the idea of gender equality in the history of European social thought*. Tver: TGU. / Успенская, В. (2000b). *Феминизм до феминизма: идеи равноправия полов в истории европейской социальной мысли*. Тверь: ТГУ.

Members of Pussy Riot: Our case is political. (2012, August 6) BBC. / Участницы Pussy Riot – наше дело – политическое. (2012, Август 6). BBC. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/russian/russia/2012/08/120806_pussy_riot_day_six

Wayne, Lee. (2012, August 18). 86% of the world's media spoke About Pussy Riot and Putin. *Voice of America*. / Уэйн, Ли. (2012, Август 18). О Pussy Riot и Путине говорили 86 % мировых средств массовой информации. Голос Америки. Retrieved from <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/media-on-pussy-riot/1490739.html>

- Fatkhutdinova, I. (2015). The role of the Ukrainian woman in the family and society. *Naukovyy visnyk. Seriya Filosofiya*. Kharkiv: KHNPU, 45, 62–84. / Фатхутдінова, І. (2015). Роль української жінки в сім'ї та суспільстві. *Науковий вісник. Серія Філософія*. Харків: ХНПУ, 45, 62–84.
- Fionik, D. (2014, August 18). How a volunteer Tatyana Rychkova is commanding the front. Twice. The second time - when he got into the Ministry of Defense. Focus. / Фионик, Д. (2014, Август 18). Как волонтер Татьяна Рычкова командует фронтом. дважды. Второй раз – когда попала в Минобороны. Фокус. Retrieved from <https://focus.ua/society/313534/>
- Filonenko S. (2015). The image of a woman in modern culture: how to overcome stereotypes. *Povaha*, 8, 12-17. / Філоненко, С. (2015). Образ жінки в сучасній культурі: як побороти стереотипи. *Повага*, 8, 12-17.
- Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary (2002). Kiev: Abris. / Філософський енциклопедичний словник (2002). Київ: Абрис.
- Fligstein, N. (2002). Fields, power and social skills: critical analysis of new institutional currents, *Economic sociology*. Moscow: ROSSPEN. / Флигстин, Н. (2002). Поля, власть и социальные навыки: критический анализ новых институциональных течений. *Экономическая социология*. Москва: РОССПЭН.
- Fomicheva I. (2005). *Sociology of Internet media*. Moskva: Fakul'tet zhurnalistiki MGU im. M. V. Lomonosova. / Фомичева И. (2005). Социология интернет-СМИ. Москва: Факультет журналистики МГУ им. М. В. Ломоносова.
- Friedan, B. (1994). *The mystery of femininity*. Moscow: Progress. / Фридан, Б. (1994). Загадка женственности. Москва: Прогресс.
- Friedman, P. (2009). Outside of traditional activism. *InLiberty*. / Фридман, П. (2009). За пределами традиционного активизма. *InLiberty*. Retrieved from <http://www.inliberty.ru/library/351-za-predelami-tradicionnogo-aktivizma>
- Frolova, T. (2011). Newspaper and magazine periodicals in the scientific and research perspective. *Issledovaniya SMI: metodologiya, podkhody, metody*. Moskva: Fakul'tet zhurnalistiki MGU, 167–183. / Фролова, Т. (2011). Газетно-журнальная периодика

- в научно-исследовательском ракурсе. Исследования СМИ: методология, подходы, методы. Москва: Факультет журналистики МГУ, 167–183.
- Fronsey, J. (2012a) Women's organizations as a component of the women's movement in Ukraine: typology. / Фрондзей, Я. (2012a) Жіночі організації, як складова жіночого руху в Україні: типологізація. *Materialy Międzynarodowej naukowo-praktycznej konferencji «Динамика научных исследований»*, 16, 36–38.
- Fronsey, Ya. (2012b). Women's Movement in Ukraine (90s of the XXth - XXI Centuries). Kiev: Osnovy. / Фрондзей, Я. (2012b). Жіночий рух в Україні (90-ті роки XX ст. – XXI ст.). Київ: Основи.
- Foucault, M. (1998). History of sexuality: Taking care of yourself. Kiev: Dukh i litera / Фуко, М. (1998). История сексуальности: Забота о себе. Киев: Дух и литера.
- Foucault, M. (1999). Supervise and punish: Birth of the prison. Moscow: Ad Marginem. / Фуко, М. (1999). Надзирать и наказывать: Рождение тюрьмы. Москва: Ad Marginem.
- Фулей, Т. (2016). Гендерна рівність при здійсненні правосуддя. Київ: ВАІТЕ.
- Фурье, Ш. (2017). Теория четырех движений и всеобщих судеб. Москва: Циолковский.\
- Haliy, I. (2007). Modern Social Movements: Innovative Aproach of Russian Transformations in Traditionalist Approach. Moscow: In-t sotsiologii RAN. / Халий, И. (2007). Современные общественные движения: инновационный потенциал российских преобразований в традиционалистской среде. Москва: Ин-т социологии РАН.
- Hansen-Leve, A. (2001). Russian formalism: methodological reconstruction of development based on the principle of removal. Moskva: YAzyki russkoy kul'tury. / Ханзен-Леве, А. (2001). Русский формализм: методологическая реконструкция развития на основе принципа отстранения. Москва: Языки русской культуры.
- Kharitonova, O. (2012). Phenomenon of Pussy Riot / Харитоновна, О. (2012). Явление Pussy Riot. Retrieved from http://krotov.info/history/21/2011/haritonova_2012.htm
- Harris, R. (2002). Psychology of mass communications. SPb: Prime-Euroznak. / Харрис, Р. (2002). Психология массовых коммуникаций. СПб: Прайм-Евроник.

- Hiller, K. (2006). On the place of Activism. Semiotics and Avantgarde: Anthology. Moskva: Akademicheskiiy Proyekt. / Хиллер, К. (2006). О месте Активизма. Семиотика и Авангард: Антология. Москва: Академический Проект.
- Hitruk, E. (2015). The power of women: cultural concepts of "misogyny" and "gynophobia" in classical philosophical discourse. Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 393, 92–98. / Хитрук, Е. (2015). Власть женщин: культурные концепты "мизогинии" и "гинофобии" в классическом философском дискурсе. Вестник Томского государственного университета, 393, 92–98.
- Khoma, N. (2014). Хома, Н. (2014). The socializing influence of actionism: artistic and political synthesis in the projection of political behavior modeling. Actual problems of politics, 53, 40-47. / Соціалізуючий вплив акціонізму: мистецько-політичний синтез в проєкції моделювання політичної поведінки. Актуальні проблеми політики, 53, 40–47.
- Khoma, N. (2015a). Installation is political. Newest political vocabulary. Lviv: Novy Svit-2000. / Хома, Н. (2015a). Інсталяція політична. Новітня політична лексика. Львів: Новий Світ-2000.
- Khoma, N. (2015b). Political performance as an action-oriented form of protest. Politykus, 2, 79-83. / Хома, Н. (2015b). Політичний перформанс як акціоністська форма протесту. Політикус, 2, 79-83.
- Khrabrova, G. (2013). Features of the dialogue of feminist studies and literary discourse. Derzhava ta rehiony. Seriya: Humanitarni nauky, 2–3 (33–34), 18–24. / Храброва, Г. (2013). Особливості діалогу феміністичних досліджень і літературознавчого дискурсу. Держава та регіони. Серія: Гуманітарні науки, 2–3 (33–34), 18–24.
- Khromeychuk, O. Хромейчук, О. (2016, Жовтень 27). Гендер і націоналізм на Майдані. Historians. Retrieved from <https://historians.in.ua/index.php/en/dyskusiya/1673-olesia-khromeichuk-gender-i-natsionalizm-na-maidani-a>.
- Hux, B. (2000). Feminist theory: from the edge to the center. Anthology of gender theory. Minsk: Propylei. / Хукс, Б. (2000). Феминистская теория: от края к центру. Антология гендерной теории. Минск: Пропилеи.

- Husni, S. (2014, November 17) A prominent international expert from the United States, S. Husni (Mr. Magazine), will tell about the future of print media at the media conference of the ARPP. ARPP. / Хусни, С. (2014, Ноябрь 17) О будущем печатных СМИ на медиаконференции АРПП расскажет выдающийся международный эксперт из США С. Хусни (Mr. Magazine). АРПП. Retrieved from <http://www.arpp.ru/component/content/article.html?id=274220>
- Chermalykh, N. (2013a) FEMEN: expressive estetics, plain politics. Ya, 32, 29-31 / Чермалих, Н. (2013a). FEMEN: промовиста естетика, невиразна політика. Я, 32, 29–31.
- Chermalykh, N. (2013a) Glimpse on global protest movements from American-Ukrainian perspective: from FEMEN to OCCUPY: Discussion between Jessica Zihovych and Nataliya Chermalykh / Чермалих, Н. (2013b). Погляд на глобальні протестні рухи з американсько-української перспективи: від FEMEN до OCCUPY: Дискусія між Джессикою Зихович та Наталією Чермалих. Я. 33, 15-18.
- Chernova, J. (2009). Glossy magazines: publications for "real" men and modern women. Sociology and Public Administration, 4, 81-93. / Чернова, Ж. (2009). Глянцевые журналы: издания для «настоящих» мужчин и современных женщин. Социология и государственное управление, 4, 81–93.
- Chernykh, A. (2007). The world of modern media. Moscow: Territoriya budushchego. / Черных, А. (2007). Мир современных медиа. Москва: Территория будущего.
- Chistyakov, D. (2014) Analysis of approaches to the sociological interpretation of the functioning of the mass media in society. (Dis. kand. sotsiol. nauk). Moskovskiy gosudarstvennyy institut mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy MID RF. Moskva. / Чистяков, Д. (2014) Анализ подходов к социологической интерпретации функционирования масс-медиа в обществе. (Дис. канд. социол. наук). Московский государственный институт международных отношений МИД РФ. Москва.
- Member of the Russian group Pussy Riot announced a US action in support of Sentsova. (2017, October 25). Radio Svoboda. / Членкиня російського гурту Pussy Riot повідомила про акцію у США на підтримку Сенцова. (2017, Жовтень 25). Радіо свобода. Retrieved from <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news/28814257.html>

- Chmil, I. (2016). Establishment, Functioning and Transformation of Social-Political Movements into Political Parties (example of Central-European countries). (Dis. kand. polit. nauk). L'vivs'kyj nacional'nyj universytet imeni Ivana Franka. L'viv. / Чміль, І. (2016). Становлення, функціонування і трансформація суспільно-політичних рухів у політичні партії (на прикладі країн Центрально-Східної Європи). (Дис. канд. політ. Наук). Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка. Львів.
- Chorna, O. (2015). War Crucifies. Most of All I Wish to Forget Everything. Mama v dele / Чорна, О. (2015). Война калечит. Больше всего я бы хотела все забыть. Мама в деле. Retrieved from <http://womo.ua/oksana-chorna-voyna-kalechit-bolshe-vsego-ya-byi-hotela-vse-zabyit/>
- Chulyukova, S. (2012). Public organizations (associations) and their role in the formation of civil society. Moscow: Academy of Natural Sciences. / Чулюкова, С. (2012). Общественные организации (объединения) и их роль в становлении гражданского общества. Москва: Академия естествознания.
- Chukhim, N. (2000). Gender and gender studies in the twentieth century. Kul'turolohiichnyy chasopys «YI», 17, 22-29. / Чухим, Н. (2000). Гендер та гендерні дослідження в ХХ ст. Культурологічний часопис «Ї», 17, 22-29.
- Shabanova, A. (2008). Essays on women's movement. Woman in Society, 4, 3-26. / Шабанова, А. (2008). Нариси жіночого руху. Жінка в суспільстві, 4, 3–26.
- Sharpe, D. (2006). From dictatorship to democracy. Strategies and tactics of liberation. Moscow: voye izdatel'stvo. / Шарп, Д. (2006). От диктатуры к демократии. Стратегии и тактика освобождения. Москва: Новое издательство.
- Shvetsov, A. (2012). Spatial organization of the "information society" as a subject of system analysis and the object of state regulation. Region: ekonomika i sotsiologiya, 4(76), 47–85. / Швецов, А. (2012). Пространственная организация «информационного общества» как предмет системного анализа и объект государственного регулирования. Регион: экономика и социология, 4(76), 47–85.
- Shevchenko, A. (2015, November 13) / Шевченко, А. (2015, Ноябрь 13). Facebook page. <https://www.facebook.com/femensasha/posts/480181332164223>

- Shelkovina, A. (2012). Transformation of a paradigm of a subject in contemporary art. *Henderna problematyka ta antropohichni horyzonty: materialy II Vseukrayins'koyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi 16-17 bereznya 2012 roku.* pp. 173–176. / Шелковіна, А. (2012). Трансформація парадигми суб'єкта в сучасному мистецтві. *Гендерна проблематика та антропологічні горизонти: матеріали II Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції 16-17 березня 2012 року.* pp. 173–176.
- Shelkovina, A. (2013). Gender subject in the art practices of the Soviet and post-Soviet space. *Henderna problematyka ta antropohichni horyzonty: zbirnyk materialiv III Vseukrayins'koyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi,* 222–229. / Шелковіна, А. (2013). Гендерний суб'єкт в арт-практиках радянського та пострадянського простору. *Гендерна проблематика та антропологічні горизонти: збірник матеріалів III Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції,* 222–229.
- Shelkovina, A. (2014). Strategies for representation of gender identity in practices of activityism in the post-Soviet space. *Grani,* 5, 37-42. / Шелковіна, А. (2014). Стратегії репрезентацій гендерної ідентичності в практиках акціонізму на пострадянському просторі. *Грані,* 5, 37–42.
- Sherman, O. (2008). Political stereotype: a place in the political process and technology of mass media formation. *Lviv: Spolom.* / Шерман, О. (2008). Політичний стереотип: місце у політичному процесі та технології формування засобами масової інформації. Львів: Сполом.
- Sherman, O. (2011). The Role of Public Institutions in Combating Gender Violence: Polish Experience. *Naukovi zapysky L'vivs'koho universytetu biznesu ta prava,* 7, 113–116. / Шерман, О. (2011). Роль суспільних інститутів у боротьбі з гендерним насильством: польський досвід. *Наукові записки Львівського університету бізнесу та права,* 7, 113–116.
- Shiryaeva, D. (2016). Genealogy of a feminist activism in Russia. *VI Mezhdunaridniy Kongress issledovatelei Belarusi v Kaunas.* / Ширяева, Д. (2016). Генеалогия феминистского активизма в России. *VI Международный Конгресс исследователей Беларуси в Каунас.* Retrieved from http://gender-route.org/articles/feminism/genealogiya_feministskogo_aktivizma_v_rossii/

- Sztompka, P. (1997). *Sociology of Social Changes*. Moscow: Aspect Press. / Штомпка, П. (1997). *Социология социальных изменений*. Москва: Аспект Пресс.
- Shcherbyna, M. (2016, October 1). Ukrainians do not need the images of "Barbie" and "Beregina" - Tamara Zlobina. *Hromads'ke radio*. / Щербина, М. (2016, Жовтень 1). Українкам не потрібні образи «барбі» та «берегині» – Тамара Злобіна. Громадське радіо. <https://hromadskeradio.org/programs/prava-lyudyny/ukrayinkam-ne-potribni-obrazy-barbi-ta-beregyni-tamara-zlobina>
- Elliott, P. & Mendel, N. (1998). *Theories of feminism. Gender studies: feminist methodology in the social sciences*. Kharkov: KHTSGI. / Эллиот, П. & Мендел, Н. (1998). *Теории феминизма. Гендерные исследования: феминистская методология в социальных науках*. Харьков: ХЦГИ.
- Yukina, I. (2003). *History of Women in Russia: Women's Movement and Feminism (1850-s – 1920-s)*. SPb.: Aleteia. / Юкина, И. (2003). *История женщин России: женское движение и феминизм (1850-е – 1920-е годы)*. СПб.: Алетейя.
- Yakovlev, D. & Kolotvyn P. (2013). *The Role of Public Electronic Media in Political Interaction. Investigation of political interaction in the conditions of transformation of society*, 8, 223-243. / Яковлев, Д. & Колотвін П. (2013). *Роль суспільних електронних медіа у політичній інтеракції. Дослідження політичної взаємодії в умовах трансформації суспільства*, 8, 223–243.
- Yakovleva, V. (2014, September 29). *To the Donbas after the beloved: the history of brave women from the ATO zone*. *Segodnya*. / Яковлева, В. (2014, Септєбрь 29). *В Донбасс вслед за любимым: истории смелых женщин из зоны АТО*. *Сегодня*. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/donetsk/v-donbass-vsled-zalyubimym-istorii-smelyh-zhenshchin-iz-zony-ato-555958.html>
- Yakubova, Yu. (1998). *Personality and family in the era of social transformations: Social policy in Ukraine and modern strategies of population adaptation*. Kyiv: Studtsentr. / Якубова, Ю. (1998). *Особистість та сім'я в епоху соціальних трансформацій: Соціальна політика в Україні та сучасній стратегії адаптації населення*. Київ: Студцентр.
- Yanitsky, O. (1992). *Development of ecological movements on the West and East of Europe*. *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya*, 1, 32-39. / Яницкий, О. (1992). *Развитие*

экологических движений на Западе и Востоке Европы. Социологические исследования, 1, 32-39.

Yanitsky, O. (2013). Social movements: theory, practice, perspective. Moscow: Novy khronograph. / Яницкий, О. (2013). Социальные движения: теория, практика, перспектива. Москва: Новый хронограф.

Yarosh, O. (2000). Structuring of Women`s Organizations in Ukraine. Naukovi zapysky, 14, 232-242 / Ярош, О. (2000). Структуризація жіночих організацій України. Наукові записки, 14, 232–242.

Yarosh, O. (2005). Methodological approaches to gender analysis of political system of Ukraine. Modern Ukrainian politics, 7, 96-102 / Ярош, О. (2005). Методологічні підходи до гендерного аналізу політичної системи України. Сучасна українська політика, 7, 96–102.

Yarskaya-Smirnova, E. (2006). Gender and Media: Reflection or Design? Overcoming gender stereotypes in the work of journalists. Saratov: Volzhskiy sad. / Ярская-Смирнова, Е. (2006). Гендер и СМИ: отражение или конструирование? Преодоление гендерных стереотипов в работе журналистов. Саратов: Волжский сад.

List of cited newspaper articles on FEMEN

Newspaper “Segodnya” (“Today”)

Arfush, O. (2013, July 13). What can be FEMEN, can not be a spy. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/blogs/omararfushblog/Blog-CHto-mozhno-Femen-nelzya-shpionu-447894.html> (in Russian).

Azarov outraged that FEMEN spoil the image of Ukraine. (2013, April 11). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/Azarova-vozmushchaet-chto-Femen-portyat-imidzh-Ukrainy.html> (in Russian).

Buzina, O. (2013, July 29). FEMEN: was there a girl? Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/blogs/olesbuzinablog/Blog-Olesya-Buziny-Femen-a-byla-li-devochka-450782.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activist attacked a member of the European Parliament with bare chest in Brussels. (2013, March 22). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/V-Bryusele-aktivistka-Femen-atakovala-deputata-Evroparlamenta-goloy-grudyu.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activist in Tunisia was sentenced to death. (2013, March 22). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Aktivistku-FEMEN-v-Tunise-prigovorili-k-kazni.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activist who was undressed in the Vatican, was released from custody. (2014, December 27). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/aktivistku-femen-kotoraya-razdelas-v-vatikane-vypustili-iz-pod-aresta-580692.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists are judged in France. (2013, September 13). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Vo-Francii-sudyat-aktivistok-FEMEN-460212.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists attacked the car of Prime Minister of Tunisia. (2013, May 25). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Aktivistki-Femen-zahvatili-mashinu-tunisskogo-premera--444359.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists face jail. (2013, May 29). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Aktivistkam-FEMEN-grozit-tyurma-439046.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists held yet another "naked" action near the residence of Merkel. (2013, June 8). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Aktivistki-FEMEN-proveli-ocherednuyu-goluyu-akciyu-u-rezidencii-Merkel-441166.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists severely beaten in Odessa. (2013, August 18). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/criminal/Aktivistov-FEMEN-zhestoko-izbili-v-Odesse-454766.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists showed their lady parts Berlusconi. (2013, February 24). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/Aktivistki-FEMEN-pokazali-svoi-prelesti-Berluskoni.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists struck sex on Nazism in Paris. (2013, May 12). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/V-Parizhe-aktivistki-FEMEN-udarili-seksom-po-nacizmu-435394.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists undressed before the Pope. (2013, January 13). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/Aktivistki-FEMEN-razdelis-pered-Papoy-Rimskim.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists was arrested for another topless picket in Sweden. (2013, December 1). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Aktivistok-FEMEN-arestovali-v-SHvecii-za-ocherednoy-topless-piket-464022.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists who have escaped will not be sought. (2013, September 2). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/Sbezhavshih-aktivistok-Femen-nikto-ne-budet-iskat-MVD-457729.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN ambushed Obama in Berlin. (2013, June 6). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/V-Berline-FEMEN-ustroili-zasadu-na-Obamu-443431.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN leaves Ukraine. (2013, August 27). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/FEMEN-uhodit-iz-Ukrainy-456620.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN planning to open branch in Germany. (2013, January 24). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/V-Germanii-poyavilsya-filial-FEMEN.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN staged a "Topless Jihad" in Paris. (2013, April 4). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/FEMEN-ustroili-v-Parizhe-topless-dzhihad.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN was beaten in the Crimea for the "Stop Putin" action. (2014, March 3). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/krym/femen-izbili-v-krymu-za-akciyu-stop-putin-500923.html> (in Russian).

Iranian communists were inspired by FEMEN and undressed against the wearing of hijab. (2013, March 4). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Iranskie-kommunistki-vdohnovilis-FEMEN-i-razdelis-protiv-hidzhaba.html> (in Russian).

Islamic Jihad for FEMEN activists ended in criminal proceedings. (2013, April 12). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Islamskiy-dzhihad-dlya-aktivistok-Femen-zakonchilsya-ugolovnym-delom.html> (in Russian).

Kovalchuk, I. (2013, April 12) Femen will not be punished because the European media are on their side. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Femen-ne-nakazhut-ved-na-ih-storone-evropeyskie-SMI-ekspert.html> (in Russian).

Life in plastic is not a fantasy: the Femen staged a protest against the opening of the Barbie's house. (2013, May 16). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/ZHizn-v-plastike-eto-ne-fantastika-Femen-ustroili-protest-protiv-otkrytiya-doma-Barbi--436345-436345.html> (in Russian).

Naked activists FEMEN almost thwarted the meeting of the Parliament of Spain. (2013, October 9). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Golye-aktivistki-FEMEN-chut-ne-sorvali-zasedanie-parlamenta-Ispanii-466024.html> (in Russian).

Old bras are collected for "shameless" FEMEN in France. (2013, February 11). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/vo-francii-sobirayut-starye-byustgaltery-dlya-besstyzhih-femen-495049.html> (in Russian).

- Panchenko, A. (2013, February 8). Begbeder will make a movie with FEMEN. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/culture/showbiz/Begbeder-snimet-kino-s-Femen.html> (in Russian).
- Political scientist FEMEN severely beaten in Kiev. (2013, July 25). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://kiev.segodnya.ua/kaccidents/Politologa-FEMEN-zhestoko-izbili-v-Kieve-450129.html> (in Russian).
- Putin liked the action of FEMEN. (2013, April 8). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Putinu-ponravilas-akciya-FEMEN.html> (in Russian).
- Semenov, V. & Korchinsky, A. (2013, July 27). A brutal attack on the leader FEMEN. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/criminal/ZHestokoe-napadenie-na-lidera-FEMEN-Uchastnicy-dvizheniya-boyatsya-vyhodit-na-ulicu-450582.html> (in Russian).
- The girls from FEMEN shocked the Swedes with their charms in mosque. (2013, June 6). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Devushki-iz-FEMEN-shokirovali-shvedov-svoimi-prelestyami-v-mecheti-444981.html> (in Russian).
- The place of birth of FEMEN activists' burn to ashes. (2013, July 25). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/criminal/FEMEN-prosyat-deneg-na-vozstanovlenie-sgoreshey-shtab-kvartiry-450158.html> (in Russian).
- The police found a gun, a grenade and Putin's photo in FEMEN. (2013, August 27). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/criminal/V-ofise-FEMEN-nashli-fotografiyu-Putina-i-pistolet-456602.html> (in Russian).
- Topless namaz of FEMEN in France. (2013, June 5). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Vo-Francii-aktivistki-FEMEN-proveli-toples-namaz-440636.html> (in Russian).
- We hope for gays: action in the Cathedral of the Notre Dame de Paris. (2013, May 22). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Na-geev-upovaem-Aktivistka-FEMEN-ustroila-akciyu-protesta-v-Sobore-Parizhskoy-Bogomateri--437513.html> (in Russian).

Bagatskaya, L. (2013, January 10). Ukraine should begin to be asserted precisely with the arts. Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/kultura/viktor-sidorenko-ukraine-nuzhno-nachinat-utverzhdatsya-imenno-s-iskusstva> (in Russian).

Bilousova, N. (2013, October 17). In Great Britain began "The Days of Ukraine ". Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/podrobnosti/v-velikobritanii-nachalis-dni-ukrainy> (in Russian).

FEMEN "killed" Putin in Paris. (2014, June 6). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/news/050614-femen-ubili-putina-v-parizhe> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists held a rally against the "Islamic state" in France. (2014, October 24). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/news/240914-aktivistki-femen-proveli-akciyu-protiv-islamskogo-gosudarstva-vo-francii> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists naked before the main cathedral of Milan against the aggression of Putin. (2014, October 16). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/news/161014-aktivistki-femen-obnazhilis-pered-glavnym-soborom-milana-protiv-agressii-putina> (in Russian).

Lavrish, J. (2014, January 17). To holiness - through vices? Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/obshchestvo/k-svyatosti-cherez-poroki> (in Russian).

Prilipko, A. (2014a, March 7). Women, "Pi" and Spring. Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/nota-bene/zhenshiny-pi-i-vesna> (in Russian).

Prilipko, A. (2014b, November 28). Why dad worried grandmother. Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/blog/politika/pochemu-papu-bespokoit-babushka> (in Russian).

Wealth is born from freedom. (2014, January 18). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/novogodnyaya-anketa-dnya-pochta-dnya/bogatstvo-rozhdaetsya-iz-svobody> (in Russian).

Newspaper "Gazeta po-ukrainsky"

Dutch Femenki bared against impunity clients of prostitutes. (2013, November 12). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from https://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/_ty-ne-pokupaesh-ya-ne-prodayu-gollandskie-femenki-obnazhilis-protiv-beznakazannosti-klientov-prostitutok/525590 (in Russian).

FEMEN activists enter Russian embassy in Sweden to protest anti-gay efforts. (2013, August 1). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/_femen-probralis-na-territoriyu-posolstva-rossii-v-svecii/509794 (in Russian).

FEMEN taught Begbeder to write slogans on his chest and poke fakes to Putin. (2014, June 20). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/culture/_femen-nauchili-begbedera-pisat-slogany-na-grudi-i-tykat-faki-putinu/565254 (in Russian).

FEMEN was again beaten: this time in Odessa. (2013, August 18). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/_femen-snova-izbili-na-etot-raz-v-odesse/511960 (in Russian).

FEMEN with mats pounced on Putin and Merkel. (2013, April 18). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/articles/life/_femen-z-matami-nakinulisya-na-putina-j-merkel-/491663 (in Russian).

Femenka poured out "icy blood" in the territory of the Lavra. (2014, September 11). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/_femenka-oblilas-ledyanoj-krovyyu-na-territorii-lavry/580415 (in Russian).

Femenki receive 1 thousand euros a day? (2013, March 18). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/science-life/_femenki-poluchayut-po-1-tysyachi-evro-v-den/487907 (in Russian).

From Tunisia deported the "femenka" to Alexander Shevchenko. (2013, June 5). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/np/_iz-tunisa-deportirovali-femenku-aleksandru-sevchenko/500625 (in Russian).

Gorchinskaya, A. (2014, November 25). The bloodiest battle in the times of Kievan Rus was held at the Nemiga. Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from

http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/travel-newspaper/_na-nemige-sostoyalas-samaya-krovavaya-bitva-vo-vremena-kievskoj-rusi/594640 (in Russian).

Khudoyar, O. (2013, July 16). Yanukovych is an ideal for most Ukrainian women. Because it's a man, a leader. Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/politics/_anukovich-eto-ideal-dlya-bolshinstva-ukrainskih-zhenschin-potomu-chto-eto-muzhchina-vozhd/507057 (in Russian).

Pavlenko, N. (2014, February 9). In fact, men are not always stronger even physically. Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/politics/_na-samom-dele-muzhchiny-ne-vsegda-silnee-dazhe-fizicheski-organizator-zenskoj-sotni-majdana/540900 (in Russian).

Sarahan, T. (2014, October 28). Shevchenko married in Paris. Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/people-newspaper/_aleksandra-sevchenko-vyshla-zamuzh-v-parizhe/589148 (in Russian).

Snigur, O. (2013, June 16). The Leader of the Femen became the symbol of France. Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/world-newspaper/_lider-femen-stala-simvolom-francii/506972 (in Russian).

The FEMEN claim that they do not sell their bodies. (2013, June 26). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/politics/_v-femen-utverzhdaiut-chto-ne-torguyut-svoimi-telami/504042 (in Russian).

Ukrainian Christians criticized the action FEMEN in Italy. (2013, January 14). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/politics/_ukrainskie-hristiane-v-italii-raskritikovali-akciyu-femen/476790 (in Russian).

You do not buy, I do not sell – Femenki bared against impunity for the clients of prostitutes. (2013, October 12). Gazeta po-ukrainsky Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/_ty-ne-pokupaesh-ya-ne-prodayu-femenki-obnazhilis-protiv-beznakazannosti-klientov-prostitutok/520886 (in Russian).

Newspaper "Kommersant"

According to the Ukrainian legislation, like us, there is no arrest for the FEMEN act. (2013, September 26). Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2166029> (in Russian).

Chernenko, E. (2013a, April 9). FEMEN will punish money. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2165890> (in Russian).

Chernenko, E. (2013b, April 10). FEMEN will not be condemned soon. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2166780> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists showed Islamists "topless jihad". (2013, April 4). Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2162258> (in Russian).

FEMEN Statement. (2013, July 29). Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2243543> (in Russian).

FEMEN walks the world. (2013, February 8). Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2124254> (in Russian).

Khazeeva, A. (2013, July 15). It's good that not the man became the image of the French Marianne. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2234480> (in Russian).

Kolesnikov, A. (2013a, April 9). Feminal representation. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2165686> (in Russian).

Kolesnikov, A. (2013b, April 10). To become politicians, the girls from FEMEN will first have to dress. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2166613> (in Russian).

Mitchenkov, B. (2014, December 23). The Belgian was smiling when he was watered with mayonnaise and sprinkled with potatoes. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2639465> (in Russian).

Skoropadsky, A. (2013a, August 28). A Women's Affair. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2264940> (in Russian).

Skoropadsky, A. (2013b, September 25). Anna Guzol: The main center of the movement is now in Paris. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2304921> (in Russian).

Skoropadsky, A. (2013c, September 26). FEMEN can attack anywhere in the world. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2305157> (in Russian).

Newspaper "Rossiyskaya Gazeta"

An unjustified verdict for FEMEN in the the Russian Foreign Ministry was named the “double bookkeeping”. (2013, September 12). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/09/12/femen-anons.html> (in Russian).

Dulman, P. (2013, August 29). FEMEN escaped from Ukraine. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/08/29/femen.html> (in Russian).

Dulman, P., Pchelnikov, L. & Fedyakin, A. (2013, April 9). At FEMEN started a criminal case. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/09/femen-site.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN Activist Convicted of “Sexual Exhibition” In Paris. (2013, December 15). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/10/15/femen-anons.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activist doused the archbishop of Belgium with holy water. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. <https://rg.ru/2013/04/24/femen-anons.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activist naked in the Cologne Cathedral during the Mass. (2013, December 25). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/12/25/femen-anons.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists held an action in Brussels. (2013, August 29). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. <https://rg.ru/2013/08/29/brussel-anons.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists were detained in Kiev for a naked action near the mosque. (2013, April 4). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/04/femen-anons.html> (in Russian).

- FEMEN decided to complete the activities in Ukraine. (2013, August 27). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/08/27/ukraina-anons.html> (in Russian).
- FEMEN held an action in the Notre Dame Cathedral. (2013, February 12). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/02/12/femen-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Latukhina, K. (2013a, April 8). In Germany, as at home. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/08/peregovori-site.html> (in Russian).
- Latukhina, K. (2013b, April 10). And to see, and to hear. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/08/amsterdam-site.html> (in Russian).
- Makarychev, M. (2013, August 20). Tunisian activist denied movement FEMEN. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/08/20/femen-site.html> (in Russian).
- Mirakyan, M. (2013, February 24). FEMEN activists undressed at the polling place, protesting against Berlusconi. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/02/24/berluskoni-site-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Novoselova, E. (2013, May 17). Horrors of the big city. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/05/17/psihologia.html> (in Russian).
- Pchelnikov, (2013, July 6). FEMEN activists undressed from the Office of the Chancellor of Germany in Berlin. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/06/07/akciya-site-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Prokofiev, V. (2013a, April 16). For Notre Dame will answer. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/16/femen-site.html> (in Russian).
- Prokofiev, V. (2013b, July 21). The cause of the fire in the Paris office of FEMEN could be arson. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/07/21/femenfr-site-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Prokofiev, V. (2013c, March 31). How much blasphemy? Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/03/31/ubegishe.html> (in Russian).
- Prokofiev, V. (2013d, September 11). Impoverished France. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/09/11/paris.html> (in Russian).

Prokofiev, V. (2013e, Feval 13). French Interior Minister condemns FEMEN. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/02/13/femen-site.html> (in Russian).

Prokofiev, V. (2013f, February 11). In the name of Marianne. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/02/11/marka.html> (in Russian).

Prokofiev, V. (2013g, January 15). They shouted to the Pope: "Shut up, homophobic!" Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/01/15/video.html> (in Russian).

Prokofiev, V. (2014h, October 28). Activists FEMEN attacked in Paris Francois Hollande. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/10/28/femen-site-anons.html> (in Russian).

Roze, A. (2013, December 27). The Germans condemned the FEMEN action in Cologne Cathedral. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/12/27/akciya-site.html> (in Russian).

Samozhnev, A. (2013, May 31). Tunisian FEMEN activist faces two years in prison. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/05/31/femen-site-anons.html> (in Russian).

With regard to FEMEN in France, a case has been filed. (2013, April 15). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/15/femen-delo-anons.html> (in Russian).

Zabrodina, E. (2014, May 1). Activists FEMEN tried to disrupt the procession of the National Front in Paris. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/05/01/femen-site-anons.html> (in Russian).

Zavrazhin, K. (2013, April 8). Vladimir Putin liked the "naked action" of FEMEN in Hanover. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/08/akciya-anons.html> (in Russian).

Newspaper "Novaya gazeta"

FEMEN activist was convicted for the broken doll of Putin. (2014, October 15). Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/1688231.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN activists held an action in Paris called "Daddy's no more!" (2013, February 12). Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/62829.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN announces the abduction of a journalist and three members of the movement in Kiev. (2013, July 27). Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/74102.html> (in Russian).

FEMEN decided to wind down its activities in Ukraine. (2013, August 27). Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/91375.html> (in Russian).

Khalip, I. (2014, April 2). The daily riot. Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/society/62979.html> (in Russian).

Myakinchenko, P. (2013, March 21). FEMEN released a book about themselves. Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/63654.html> (in Russian).

Police checks information about the mining of the headquarters of FEMEN (2013, August 27). Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/91351.html> (in Russian).

Russia called the politically motivated verdict the participants of FEMEN. (2014, September 12). Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/1686916.html> (in Russian).

Safronov, Yu. (2014a, July 10). And when we touched these bells ... Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/politics/64361.html> (in Russian).

Safronov, Yu. (2014b, July 11). FEMEN's chest will be dismantled by three judges. Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/1684581.html> (in Russian).

Safronov, Yu. (2014c, September 10). Correction Court of Paris acquitted FEMEN. Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/1686802.html> (in Russian).

Safronov, Yu. (2014d, January 24). Today in the Vatican Library met the Pope and François Hollande. Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/291991.html> (in Russian).

The leaders of the FEMEN movement left Ukraine. (2013, August 31). Novaya gazeta. Retrieved from <http://old.novayagazeta.ru/news/96910.html> (in Russian).

List of cited newspaper articles on Pussy Riot

Newspaper “Segodnya”

Kovalchuk, I. (2013a, December 24). Putin releases all political prisoners on the eve of the Olympics in Sochi. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/putin-osvobozhdaet-vseh-politzyaklyuchennyh-nakanune-olimpiady-v-sochi-484684.html> (in Russian).

Kovalchuk, I. (2013b, July 3). Member of Pussy Riot told about life in prison. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnica-Pussy-Riot-rasskazala-o-zhizni-v-tyurme--445547.html> (in Russian).

Kovalchuk, I. (2013c, September 24). Member of Pussy Riot declared a hunger strike. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnica-Pussy-Riot-obyavila-golodovku-462275.html> (in Russian).

Kovalchuk, I. (2014, May 28). The father of Pussy Riot member published a book about the group. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Otec-uchastnicy-Pussy-Riot-izdal-o-gruppe-knigu--438528.html> (in Russian).

Madonna will come on stage together with Pussy Riot. (2014, January 30). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/culture/showbiz/madonna-vyydet-na-scenu-vmeste-s-pussy-riot--492722.html> (in Russian).

Member of Pussy Riot was hired in school. (2013, August 24). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnicu-iz-Pussy-Riot-trudoustroili-v-shkolu-456209.html> (in Russian).

Member of Pussy Riot was not released. (2013, April 26). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnice-Pussy-Riot-otkazali-v-dosrochnom-osvobozhdenii.html> (in Russian).

Member of Pussy Riot will be put in a solitary confinement cell. (2013, March 1). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnicu-Pussy-Riot-posadyat-v-karcer.html> (in Russian).

Member of Pussy Riot with her prison hunger strike has improved conditions for the convicts. (2013, June 2). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnica->

Pussy-Riot-svoey-tyuremnoy-golodovkoy-dobilas-uluchsheniya-usloviy-dlya-zekov-439729.html (in Russian).

More than one hundred world-famous musicians called for the release of members of Pussy Riot. (2013, July 23). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Bolee-sta-vsemirno-izvestnyh-muzykantov-prizvali-osvobodit-uchastnic-Pussy-Riot-449653.html> (in Russian).

Panchenko, A. (2013, March 19). Madonna went off on Putin. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/culture/stars/Madonna-rezko-vyskazalas-o-Putine.html> (in Russian).

Pussy Riot and the Russian priest found a common ground. (2014, January 13). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/pussy-riot-i-rossiyskiy-svyashchennik-nashli-obshchiy-yazyk-488236.html> (in Russian).

Pussy Riot: "The whole world criticizes Putin for sending troops in the Crimea, but we can change this." (2014, March 15). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/politics/pnews/pussy-rio-ves-mir-osuzhdaet-putina-zavvedenie-voysk-v-krym-no-my-mozhem-eto-izmenit-502787.html> (in Russian).

Putin does not see anything in common between himself and Stalin. (2013, April 25). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Putin-ne-vidit-nichego-obshchego-mezhdu-soboy-i-Stalinym.html> (in Russian).

The convicted member of Pussy Riot was taken to the hospital. (2013, February 1). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Osuzhdennaya-uchastnica-Pussy-Riot-popala-v-bolnicu.html> (in Russian).

The correspondence of the convicted member of Pussy Riot was publicly burned in prison (2013, August 27). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/V-kolonii-publichno-sozhgli-korrespondenciyu-osuzhdennoy-uchastnicy-Pussy-Riot-456447.html> (in Russian).

The court denied the Pussy Riot member in the early release. (2013, May 23). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Sud-otkazal-uchastnice-Pussy-Riot-v-dosrochnom-osvobozhdenii-437682.html> (in Russian).

The Pussy Riot member on hunger strike was taken to the hospital in an "awful" condition. (2013, September 27). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Obyavivshuyu-golodovku-uchastnicu-Pussy-Riot-uvezli-v-bolnicu-v-uzhasnom-sostoyanii-463298.html> (in Russian).

The Strasbourg court received a complaint from Pussy Riot on the violation of human rights in Russia. (2013, February 7). Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Strasburgskiy-sud-poluchil-zhalobu-Pussy-Riot-na-narushenii-prav-chelovek-v-Rossii.html> (in Russian).

Zolotukhina, I. (2013a, January 15). The whole truth about Pussy Riot: what are the main strikers of 2012 trying to achieve. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/investigations/Vsya-pravda-o-Pussy-Riot-chego-dobivayutsya-glavnye-skandalistki-2012-goda.html> (in Russian).

Zolotukhina, I. (2013b, January 15). Member of Pussy Riot Ekaterina Samutsevich: "Family is not my way". Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnica-Pussy-Riot-Ekaterina-Samutsevich-Semya-ne-moy-put.html> (in Russian).

Zolotukhina, I. (2013c, January 15). Member of Pussy Riot Maria Alekhina worked in a children's mental hospital and became a beautiful mother at 18. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnica-Pussy-Riot-Mariya-Alekhina-rabotala-v-detskoy-psihbolnice-i-stala-prekrasnoy-materyu-v-18-let.html> (in Russian).

Zolotukhina, I. (2013d, January 15). Member of Pussy Riot Nadezhda Tolokonnikova in her youth fought with her mother, and she never appeared in court. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnica-Pussy-Riot-Nadezhda-Tolokonnikova-v-yunosti-ssorilas-s-mamoy-a-ta-ni-razu-ne-poyavilas-v-sude.html> (in Russian).

Zolotukhina, I. (2013e, January 16). The story of Pussy Riot: the band started with "War". Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Istoriya-Pussy-Riot-gruppa-nachalas-s-Voyny.html> (in Russian).

Zolotukhina, I. (2013f, January 16). Nadezhda Tolokonnikova's husband: "Nadia will gain valuable experience in prison. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Muzh-Nadezhdy-Tolokonnikovoy-Nadya-v-kolonii-priobretet-cennyi-opyt.html> (in Russian).

- Zolotukhina, I. (2013g, January 16). Members of Pussy Riot did not want to work. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Uchastnicy-Pussy-Riot-ne-hoteli-rabotat.html> (in Russian).
- Zolotukhina, I. (2013h, January 16). The teacher of Pussy Riot member Nadezhda Tolokonnikova was a "dog-man" Oleg Kulik. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/life/stories/Uchitelem-uchastnicy-Pussy-Riot-Nadezhdy-Tolokonnikovoy-by-l-chelovek-sobaka-Oleg-Kulik.html> (in Russian).
- Zolotukhina, I. (2013i, January 17). Marat Gelman: "The case of Pussy Riot for Russia is worse than a war!". Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/investigations/Marat-Gelman-Delo-Pussy-Riot-dlya-Rossii-huzhe-voyny.html> (in Russian).
- Zolotukhina, I. (2013j, January 17). Why Pussy Riot supported the West. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/Pochemu-Pussy-Riot-podderzhal-Zapad.html> (in Russian).
- Zolotukhina, I. (2013k, January 17). Participant of Pussy Riot does not understand what can not be done at the labor camp. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/investigations/Uchastnica-Pussy-Riot-ne-ponimaet-chego-nelzya-delat-na-zone.html> (in Russian).
- Zolotukhina, I. (2013l, January 17). Whatever ended the case of Pussy Riot in Ukraine. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/life/society/CHem-by-zakonchilos-delo-Pussy-Riot-v-Ukraine.html> (in Russian).
- Zolotukhina, I. (2013m, January 17). For the Russian opposition, the story of Pussy Riot is dirty. Segodnya. Retrieved from <http://www.segodnya.ua/investigations/Dlya-rossiyskoy-oppozicii-istoriya-Pussy-Riot-gryaznaya.html> (in Russian).
- Zolotukhina, I. (2013n, January 17). Scandalous actions of the predecessor of Pussy Riot: "humiliation of the cop" and orgy in the Zoological Museum. Segodnya. Retrieved from <https://www.segodnya.ua/lifestyle/fun/Skandalnye-akcii-predshestvennic-Pussy-Riot-unizhenie-menta-i-orgiya-v-Zoologicheskoy-muzee.html> (in Russian).

Over hundred musicians abroad are asking to revise the "Pussy Riot" sentence. (2013, July 23). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/news/230713-bilshe-sta-zarubizhnih-muzikantiv-prosyat-pereglyanuti-virok-pussy-riot> (in Ukrainian).

Member of Pussy Riot refused to ask for mitigation of punishment. (2013, October 18). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/news/181013-uchasnicya-pussy-riot-vidmovilasya-prositi-pro-pomyakshennya-pokarannya> (in Ukrainian).

Members of Pussy Riot threaten with massacre in the prison camp - human rights activists. (2013, February 9). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/news/090213-uchasnici-pussy-riot-pogrozhuyut-rozpravoyu-v-koloniyyi-pravozahisniki> (in Ukrainian).

Pussy Riot joined the boycott of the Olympics in Sochi. (2013, October 17). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/news/171013-pussy-riot-priiednalisya-do-boykotu-olimpiadi-v-sochi> (in Ukrainian).

Russia - extrapolation of the prison system in fear of laughter. (2013, July 19). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/news/190713-alehina-rossiya-ekstrapolyaciya-tyuremnoy-sistemy-v-straha-smeha> (in Russian).

The court denied the members of Pussy Riot in the postponement of punishment. (2013, January 16). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/news/160113-sud-otkazal-uchastnice-pussy-riot-v-otsrochke-nakazaniya> (in Russian).

Tomak, M. (2013, May 16). The law needs to be protected. Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/podrobnosti/pravo-nuzhdaetsya-v-zashchite> (in Russian).

Agrest-Korotkova, S. (2013, June 25). How festivals are made. Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/kultura/kak-delayutsya-festivali> (in Russian).

Hrabovsky, S. (2013, September 26). "Great Putin": an export option. Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/podrobnosti/velikiy-putin-eksportnyy-variant> (in Ukrainian).

Sochi 2014: seven days before the Olympics, (2014, January 31). Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/news/310114-sochi-2014-sim-dniv-do-olimpiadi-oglyad-zmi> (in Ukrainian).

Yakovlenko, Y. (2014, February 7). Olympics - a model of Putin's Russia. Den'. Retrieved from <http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/obshchestvo/olimpiada-model-putinskoy-rossii> (in Russian).

Newspaper "Gazeta po-ukrainsky"

Madonna performed on the stage with members of Pussy Riot in Brooklyn. (2014, February 2). Gazeta po-ukrainsky. Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/celebrities/_madonna-vyshla-na-odnu-scenu-s-uchastnicami-pussy-riot-v-brukline/540483 (in Russian).

Members of Pussy Riot will be removed in the famous American series. (2014, August, 11). Gazeta po-ukrainsky. Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/celebrities/_uchastnicy-pussy-riot-snimutsya-v-izvestnom-amerikanskom-seriale/574570 (in Russian).

Members of the scandalous Pussy Riot began to be released from prison. (2013, December 23). Gazeta po-ukrainsky. Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/politics/_uchastnic-skandalnogo-pussy-riot-nachali-vypuskat-iz-tyurmy/533442 (in Russian).

Moscow authorities demand the cancellation of the film about Pussy Riot. (2013, December 29). Gazeta po-ukrainsky. Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/_vlasti-moskvy-trebuyut-otmeny-pokaza-filma-o-pussy-riot/534586 (in Russian).

Mikhail Khodorkovsky will not return to Russia. (2013, December 27). Gazeta po-ukrainsky. Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/world-newspaper/_mihail-hodorkovskij-ne-vernetsya-v-rossiyu/534288 (in Russian).

Girls from Pussy Riot detained in Sochi. (2014, February 18). Gazeta po-ukrainsky. Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/_devushek-iz-pussy-riot-zaderzhali-v-sochi/542601 (in Russian).

Czech President not allowed on air. (2014, November 28). Gazeta po-ukrainsky. Retrieved from http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/politics/_prezidenta-cehii-ne-puskayut-na-efiry/595568 (in Russian).

Newspaper "Kommersant"

Surnacheva, E. & Gabuev, A. (2013, January 13). Fight and fasten. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2101472> (in Russian).

Hamraev, V. (2013, January 28). Religious feelings have no special criminal significance. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2114608> (in Russian).

Korobov, P. & Voronov, A. (2013, February 4). Patriarch Kirill expanding audience. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2119681> (in Russian).

Party will teach the commandments (2013, February, 19). Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2130720> (in Russian).

Strokan', S. (2013, February 19). Cult of Excellence. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2130398> (in Russian).

Korobov, P. (2013, March 5). Wherever a Jew lives, he must be loyal to the authorities. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2138260> (in Russian).

Beljaninov, K. (2013, March 6). The approach to Russia remained uncertain. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2140676> (in Russian).

Dorohina, O. (2013, March 18). Scandalous statements by government officials. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2148902> (in Russian).

Voronov, A. (2013, April 5). Mark Knopfler will not make a sound in defense of NGOs. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2162633> (in Russian).

Samohina, S., (2013, April 16). Insults to the feelings of believers are chosen by the terms. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2171369> (in Russian).

Plahov, A. (2013, June 11). Cinephiles quickly become weird academics. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2209241> (in Russian).

- Semendiaieva, M. (2013, August 8). Rap on a grand scale. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://kommersant.ru/doc/2249439> (in Russian).
- Chernyh, A. (2013, September 24). Nadezhda Tolokonnikova accused the prison authorities of law violation. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2303460> (in Russian).
- Barabanov, B. (2013, October 15). Blues with a stone in the bosom. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2319849> (in Russian).
- Hamraev, V. & Samohina, S. (2013, December 5) Two sides of the same text. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2360438> (in Russian).
- Samohina, S., Ivanov, M. & Nagornyh, I. (2013, December 10). Narrowed amnesty. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2364548> (in Russian).
- Chernenko, E. (2014, January 17). Slamming doors in front of Russia should be avoided. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2385197> (in Russian).
- Chernyh, A. (2014, January 22). Russian amnesty does not fall under the improvement of the situation. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2389152> (in Russian).
- Beljaninov, K. (2014, March 1). Ukrainian deputies were set as an example for Russian. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2420943> (in Russian).
- Gankin, L. (2014, March 3). Rude seduction. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2421485> (in Russian).
- Barabanov, B. (2014, April 2). Completed Tallinn Music Week. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://kommersant.ru/doc/2443772> (in Russian).
- Gorodeckaja, N. & Samohina, C. (2014, November 2). A broad amnesty project is reduced. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2335243> (in Russian).
- Chernyh, A. & Korobov, P. (2014, November 19). Russian Orthodox Church on the path of rejuvenation. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2613858> (in Russian).
- Dyakonov, V. (2016, February 19). In case there is a "War". Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2919006> (in Russian).

- Tumanov, G. & Shepelin, I. (2013a, January 15). Defenders of Pussy Riot no longer need protection. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2104778> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. & Shepelin, I. (2013b, January 16). Up to 14 years of deprivation of freedom. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2105304> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. & Strugov, M. (2013a, January 17). In the case of Pussy Riot there was no childish surprise. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2106162> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. (2013f, January 31). Punk-prayer was included in the charts of the Ministry of Justice. Kommersant. Retrieved from: <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2116457> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. & Korobov, P. (2013b, February 7). Pussy Riot wrote a plaintive book. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2121751> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. (2013e, February 9). Member of Pussy Riot half justified. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2124341> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. (2013c, March 6). Vladimir Lukin went to punk. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2140689> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. (2013d, March 7). Pussy Riot approached a suspended sentence. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2142505> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. & Korobov, P. (2013a, March 12). Nadezhda Tolokonnikova did not spoil the characterization. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2144005> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. & Strugov, M. (2013b, April 3). Maria Alekhina corrects the colony. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2106162> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. (2013a, April 27). Members of Pussy Riot left in the colony unconditionally. Kommersant. Retrieved from <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2180877> (in Russian).
- Tumanov, G. (2013b, May 24). Member of Pussy Riot was denied parole. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2195693> (in Russian).

Kolesnikov, A. (2013b, October 5). Vladimir Zhirinovsky was allowed into government spending. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2313316> (in Russian).

Kolesnikov, A. (2013a, December 5). Vladimir Putin said goodbye for good. Kommersant. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2360368> (in Russian).

Newspaper "Rossiyskaya Gazeta"

Dmitry Medvedev: It's not serious to think that Russia is an autocracy. (2013, February 22). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/02/22/mneniye-anons.html> (in Russian).

Olga Egorova: In my power to mitigate the punishment of Tolokonnikova and Alyokhina. (2013, April 8). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/08/egorova-anons.html> (in Russian).

Putin does not see elements of Stalinism in the policy of the Russian authorities. (2013, April 25). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/25/stalinizm-anons.html> (in Russian).

Putin: Pussy Riot humiliated the very dignity of a woman. (2013, December 19). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/12/19/amnistya-anons.html> (in Russian).

The Duma passed a law on the protection of the feelings of believers. (2013, June 11). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/06/11/duma-zakon-anons.html> (in Russian).

Prokofiev, V. (2013, January 15). They shouted to the Pope: "Shut up, homophobic!". Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/01/15/video.html> (in Russian).

The prosecutor asked to refuse Alekhina. (2013, January 16). Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/01/16/reg-pfo/perm-sud-anons.html> (in Russian).

Latukhina, K. (2013, March 8). In the footsteps of Bolivar. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/03/08/putin1-site.html> (in Russian).

- Zincler, E. (2013, March 29). Star of the "Big Opera" project will sing in St. Petersburg. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/03/29/reg-szfo/opera.html> (in Russian).
- Yakovleva, E. (2013, May, 15). The rebellion of eternity. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/05/15/kuraev-poln.html> (in Russian).
- Novoselova, E. (2013, May 17). Horrors of the big city. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/05/17/psihologia.html> (in Russian).
- Kozlova, N. (2013, July 2). Brought to life. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/07/02/chuvstvo.html> (in Russian).
- Orlov, P. (2013, October 3). A hunger strike or a provocation? Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/10/03/provokaciya.html> (in Russian).
- Chechurina, I. (2013, November 13). Business will take care of orphans. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/11/13/sirotty.html> (in Russian).
- Kuzmin, V. (2013, December 6). All work. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/12/06/medvedev-site.html> (in Russian).
- Vorobyov, I. (2013, December, 31). Dead Souls. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/12/31/gogol-centr.html> (in Russian).
- Egorov, I. (2014, February 22). "Bolotniy" Monday. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/02/21/verdikt-site-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Zamakhina, T. (2014, March 15). Tour of Maidan on Sakharov Avenue. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/03/15/akcii-site.html> (in Russian).
- Vizhutovich, V. (2014, May 16). Freedom or order? Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/05/16/obshestvo.html> (in Russian).
- Fedyakina, A. (2014, November 6). Simply put, hard to put it. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/11/06/zeman.html> (in Russian).
- Prokofiev, V. (2014, November 13). Who needs new walls? Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/11/13/fai.html> (in Russian).

- Eliseev, I. (2014, November 20). Poisoned product wrapped in freedom. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2014/11/20/patriarh.html> (in Russian).
- Izotov, I. (2013d, January 31). Alekhina tries to appeal the punishment. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/01/31/reg-pfo/perm-vziskaniya.html> (in Russian).
- Zotikova, V. (2013f, February 1). Tolokonnikova got to the hospital. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/02/01/reg-pfo/tolokonnikova-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Izotov, I. (2013c, February 8). The court overturned two charges against Alyokhina. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/02/08/reg-pfo/perm-vziskaniya.html> (in Russian).
- Baharev, K. (2013e, February 26). Alekhina was left in SHIZO. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/02/26/reg-pfo/perm-alehina-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Zotikova, V. (2013e, March 2). Tolokonnikova was not put in punishment cell. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/03/02/reg-pfo/tolokonnikova.html> (in Russian).
- Zotikova, V. (2013g, March 14). The UFSIN does not support the petition of Tolokonnikova. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/03/14/reg-pfo/tolokonnikova.html> (in Russian).
- Izotov, I. (2013a, April 3). Alekhina can be transferred to another colony. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/03/reg-pfo/alyokhina-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Zotikova, V. (2013h, April 5). The court in Mordovia will decide the fate of Tolokonnikova. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/05/reg-pfo/tolokonnikova.html> (in Russian).
- Zotikova, V. (2013a, April 26). Nadezhda Tolokonnikova: I've already had enough time. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/26/reg-pfo/udo.html> (in Russian).
- Zotikova, V. (2013b, April 27). Tolokonnikova's lawyers appeal against the refusal of the release. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/04/27/reg-pfo/advokat.html> (in Russian).

- Baharev, K. (2013f, May 22). Maria Alekhina has declared a hunger strike. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/05/22/reg-pfo/perm-golodovka.html> (in Russian).
- Izotov, I. (2013e, May 22). Alyokhina's petition for release will be examined on video. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/05/22/reg-pfo/perm-sud-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Baharev, K. (2013d, May 23). For Alekhina they will find another lawyer. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/05/23/reg-pfo/perm-sud-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Baharev, K. (2013g, May 23). The prison and the prosecutor's office opposed the releasing on parole for Alekhina. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/05/23/reg-pfo/perm-alehina.html> (in Russian).
- Baharev, K. (2013c, June 11). Human rights defenders did not find violations in the imprisonment of Alekhina. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/06/11/reg-pfo/perm-alehina.html> (in Russian).
- Izotov, I. (2013b, July 7). On the forum "Pilorama-2013" they did not find money. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/07/07/reg-pfo/perm-pilorama.html> (in Russian).
- Baharev, K. (2013a, July 18). GUFSIN denies the news of beating Alyokhina. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/07/18/reg-pfo/alehina-anons.html> (in Russian).
- Baharev, K. (2013b, July 24). Alyokhina was repeatedly denied in release on parole. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/07/24/reg-pfo/perm-otkaz.html> (in Russian).
- Zotikova, V. (2013c, July 26). The Supreme Court of Mordovia repeatedly refused Tolokonnikova to be released. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/07/26/reg-pfo/neudo.html> (in Russian).
- Zotikova, V. (2013d, July, 26). The fate of Tolokonnikova will be decided by the Armed Forces of Mordovia. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Retrieved from <https://rg.ru/2013/07/26/reg-pfo/tokonnikova.html> (in Russian).

Curriculum Vitae

- Personal Information

Name: Oleksandra Gudkova

Date of birth: 05 May 1988

Place of birth: Kyiv, Ukraine

E-Mail: gudkovasasha@gmail.com

- Education

2005 – 2011: Master in International Information, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Institute of International Relations. Qualification: International Information Analyst, interpreter (English)

2010 – 2013: Master in Mass Media and Communication, University of Vienna

Since 2014: PhD in Social Sciences, University of Vienna.

- Practical Experience

05.10.2009 – 01.05.2010: Interpreter and teacher in Kyiv (2010)

01.10.2012 – 31.01.2013: Internship in the U.N. in the Department of Public Information, News and Media Division (New York)

23.03.2015 – 22.05.2015: Internship in the UNODC in the Department of Public Information (Vienna)

09.01.2017 – 22.09.2017: Journalist and story writer the IAEA in the Office of Public Information and Communication

Since 01.04.2018: PR Manager at the media holding “Ligamedia”, Kyiv

