Soviet Family Policy and Nation Building Represented through Feminine Images in Women's Magazines from the 1930s through 1950s (magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" taken as an example)

By
Anastasia Onoprienko

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of Gender Studies

In partial fulfillment of Master of Arts in Gender Studies

Supervisor: Professor Eva Fodor

Budapest, Hungary
2008

Abstract

The MA thesis addresses the position of women in the Soviet Union during the Stalin's rule, specifically from the 1930s through the 1950s. The thesis will particularly be concerned with the representation of Soviet women in women's magazines of 1930-1950s (magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" taken as an example). The thesis will argue that the Soviet policy concerning women and representation of the Soviet woman during the Stalin's era were key to Nation-building in the Soviet Union of 1930-1950s.

In my study I will with the following research questions: How women images were utilized for the purpose of nation-building? What are the major peculiarities of visual images of women of the 1930-1950s period? What textual context underlines these images? What are the main characteristics of this historical period? How does the ideology influence the construction of femininity? How femininity is represented both visually and textually? What was the model of the world which women's magazines of the Soviet period ("Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" taken as an example) sought to plant in women's consciousness? Through which means was this model conveyed to the readership?"

In this study I will show how women images in the magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" were used to encourage women to perform the triple role of a worker, a mother, and a public activist, and how the party justified the necessity of performing these roles. Investigation of this 'multifunctioning' expected from women appears to be rather important since it shreds light on reasons of the so-called anti-feminist movement which took place after the Soviet Union collapsed.

Table of Contents

Abstract i
Table of Contents ii
Introduction ..... - 1 -
Methodology ..... - 5 -
Methods ..... - 5 -
Sample ..... - 9 -
Limitations ..... - 11 -
Literature Review ..... - 12 -
Historical Background ..... - 12 -
Theoretical Background ..... - 17 -
Chapter 1. Industrialization and Gender from the 1930s through the 1950s ..... - 24 -
Women in industry ..... - 24 -
Women in agriculture ..... - 29 -
Non-working wives and obshchestvennitsi movement ..... - 36 -
Chapter 2. The meaning of being a mother and a wife in the Soviet Union during the Stalin era ..... - 42 -
Reproduction: in whose interest – women or state? ..... - 42 -
Soviet women thank Stalin ..... - 53 -
Conclusion ..... - 58 -
Bibliography ..... - 63 -

Introduction

The MA thesis addresses the position of women in the Soviet Union during the Stalin's rule, specifically from the 1930s through the 1950s. The thesis will particularly be concerned with the representation of Soviet women in women's magazines of 1930-1950s (magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" taken as an example). The thesis will argue that the Soviet policy concerning women and representation of the Soviet woman during the Stalin's era were key to Nation-building in the Soviet Union of 1930-1950s.

In my study I will with the following research questions: How women images were utilized for the purpose of nation-building? What are the major peculiarities of visual images of women of the 1930-1950s period? What textual context underlines these images? What are the main characteristics of this historical period? How does the ideology influence the construction of femininity? How femininity is represented both visually and textually? What was the model of the world which women's magazines of the Soviet period ("Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" taken as an example) sought to plant in women's consciousness? Through which means was this model conveyed to the readership?"

According to Nira Yuval-Davis, nationalism and nations have usually been discussed from the perspective of the public political sphere, therefore "the exclusion of women from that arena has affected their exclusion from that discourse as well". (Yuval-Davis 1998: 24) However, although women are argued to be excluded from nationalist discourses, they are often used as symbols of nationalist movements, as something to be fought for. As Cynthia Enloe (1990) mentions, it is presumably for the sake of 'womenandchildren' that men go for war since "women are associated in the collective imagination with children and therefore with the collective, as well as the familial future". (Yuval-Davis 1998: 29-30) "Women are often required to carry the 'burden of representation', as they are constructed as the symbolic bearers of the collectivity's identity and honour, both personally and

collectively". […] "A figure of a woman, often a mother, symbolizes in many cultures the spirit of the collectivity, whether it is Mother Ireland, Mother Russia or Mother India". (Yuval-Davis 1998: 29)

During the totalitarian regime of the Soviet Union, as Harper points out, both visual images and texts were supposed to inspire loyalty rather than critical reflection. (Harper 1998: 33) Thus, special attention should be paid to the fact that magazines' articles are read in the historical context of what was really happening during 1930-1950s.

"Nation building is always based on the mobilization of the cultural resources of society (language, customs, religion, and memories)". (Zhurzhenko 2001: 28) As Nira Yuval-Davis points out, "the images of "women", "family", and "home" are central to every national (ethnic) culture, proving its authenticity, homogeneity, and uniqueness. Women represent the past of a nation by keeping, transmitting, and demonstrating its traditions, and they symbolize a nation's future through childbearing and child care". (Zhurzhenko 2001: 28)

The 'traditional family' is often represented as "the very basis of the national revival". […] "It is the family where national identity is formed and where love of the native language and culture emerges. The leading role in the family as a spiritual community belongs to the mother. It is she who educates children and transmits national traditions, culture, and language to them.

According to Nira Yuval-Davis, there is one feature which specifies women's citizenship – its dualistic nature. The nature of women's citizenship is dualistic since "on the one hand women are always included, at least to some extent, in the general body of citizens of the state and its social, political and legal policies; on the other – there is always, at least to a certain extent, a separate body of legislation which relates to them specifically as women". (Yuval-Davis 1998: 27) To show that Soviet women were an important part of

nation-building process in 1930-1950s I used two most prominent women's magazines of the Soviet time – "Rabotnitsa" ("Worker Woman") and "Krest'ianka" ("Peasant Woman"). The choice of the magazines is not accidental. My decision to focus on these magazines was predetermined by the fact that "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" were the most popular women's magazines during the Soviet time, though it is worth mentioning that their popularity could also be explained by the peculiarities of the Soviet market – these two magazines were almost the only available women's magazines at that time. Besides, since both of them were published by "Pravda" publishing house which was a state-owned publishing house, we can talk about significant influence of the ruling ideology and propaganda expressed in these magazines.

In the course of my research I analyzed texts and images of magazines "Rabotnitsa" ("Worker woman") and "Krest'ianka" ("Peasant woman") of 1936 and 1953 – ten issues of each magazine of a correspondent year (forty issues in total). Years 1936 and 1953 were picked up not accidentally, they were chosen as marking ends of the Stalin's family policy which ended only after his death in 1953.

Although the Soviet government claimed that it was the first in the world to free women and to provide them with equal rights as men, the emancipation 'in Soviet term' was of a rather specific character: women were expected to simultaneously perform several roles - a worker, a caring mother and wife, and a public activist. In the course of the analysis I will show how women images in the magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" were used to encourage women to perform this triple role and how the party justified the necessity of performing these roles. Investigation of this 'multifunctioning' expected from women appears to be rather important since it shreds light on reasons of the so-called anti-feminist movement which took place after the Soviet Union collapsed.

In the process of my analysis it is important to take into consideration the role of the media in channeling the ruling ideology. The thesis will address the issue of the relationship 'women-society' as it is represented in women's magazines, in order to show that feminine images of a certain period serve as a reflection of the ideology correspondent to that period of time.

The thesis consists of an Introduction, Methodological Chapter, Literature Review, two Chapters, and a Conclusion. In the Methodological Chapter I talk about the methods used in my research and theoretical approaches I apply. The Literature Review reflects upon what has already been written on the matter addressed in the thesis and how my work differs from the others. In the First Chapter I will show that Soviet women were used as symbolic markers of progress for the nation, therefore playing significant part in the process on nation-building in the USSR.

The First Chapter will also show that the progress made by the whole nation was exemplified by the progress in the position women, however I will also bring attention to the fact that the emancipation in the Soviet Union was of a rather contradictory nature. The Second Chapter will argue that the reproductive policy of 1930-1950s in the USSR was key to nation-building, and therefore the images of women as mothers represented in women's magazines served as symbols of the nation's future.

In the Conclusion I will illustrate major findings of my research and will reflect upon the reasons of the backlash towards feminism after the Soviet Union collapsed and will talk about the trends in the family policy in contemporary Russia.

Methodology

Methods

"There are different ways of assessing the position of women in any country. One can compare the present with the past; one can compare practice with claims; one can make comparisons with other countries; one can develop a model as a focus of comparison; or one can use some combination of these approaches…" (Heitlinger 1979: 79) In the course of my research I will use several techniques to answer the following questions: How women images were used for the purpose of nation-building? What are the major peculiarities of visual images of women of the 1930-1950s period? What textual context underlines these images? What are the main characteristics of this historical period? How does the ideology influence the construction of femininity? How femininity is represented both visually and textually?

To answer these questions I apply the following methods:

- descriptive analysis of the historical period of 1930-1950s
- analysis of visual images
- textual analysis
- content analysis

The thesis addresses the issue of how the policy concerning women and representation of the Soviet woman were key to nation-building in the Soviet Union of 1930-1950s. The process of nation-building was being achieved through several means, women's magazines being one of them. The following chapters will show that women's magazines of 1930-1950s are distinguished for being significantly influenced by the ruling ideology and contain a great number of articles dealing with the ruling policy of that period.

To show that representation of the Soviet woman in women's magazines was a part of the nation-building process, I analyzed texts and images of magazines "Rabotnitsa" ("Worker woman") and "Krest'ianka" ("Peasant woman") of 1936 and 1953 – ten issues of each magazine of a correspondent year (forty issues in total). Years 1936 and 1953 were picked up not accidentally, they were chosen as marking ends of the Stalin's family policy.

In the process of my analysis it is important to take into consideration the role of the media in channeling the ruling ideology. Women's magazines, being a part of the media system, played a significant role in influencing the public opinion. Besides, it is important to note that since the audience of these magazines was women, we can presume that women were held to be an important part of society to be ideologically influenced.

Since the articles to be analyzed can be referred to as historical texts, it is important to keep in mind some theoretical considerations about reading historical texts. Ian Hodder brings attention to the fact that in the archeology of historical periods it has often been assumed that "written texts provide a "truer" indication of original meanings than do other types of evidence". (Hodder 2003: 111) It has long been assumed that words get us closer to minds. However, Derrida has shown that "meaning does not reside in a text but in the writing and reading of it". "As the text is reread in different contexts it is given new meanings, often contradictory and always socially embedded. Thus there is no "original" or "true" meaning of a text outside specific historical contexts." (Hodder 2003: 111) Therefore, texts should be understood in the contexts of their conditions of production and reading. (Hodder 2003: 11)

When talking about the relationship between the state and the individuals, I will pay special attention to the perspective of the state legitimizing political rule through the discourse on reproduction (Mazur 1967, Desfosses 1976), as well as through the theory of the gendered body serving as a metaphor for the state (Yuval Davis 1998).

In the course of the imagery analysis I will take into account the following theoretical points. “From its beginnings photography has made a claim on science which has allowed it to be considered as evidence”. (Winston 1998: 60) However, this claim appears to be too strong in a sense that the photographic image cannot entirely stand, of itself, as evidence of the external world. (Winston 1998: 60) Douglas Harper notes that in recent reports photography is rather thought of as a ‘reflection’ rather than an ‘interpretation’. (Harper 1998: 27)

For my research the presence of the ruling ideology in the visual images is quite important. For this, I will make a descriptive analysis of the historical period of 1930-1950s to fetch out the most significant ideological points, and then will analyze how these ideological points are represented in feminine images in the magazines “Rabotnitsa” and “Krest’ianka”. According to Harper, “[i]n the documentary movement there was very little, if any discussion of the issues of representation, ideology, or how the relationships with subjects influenced these photographic studies. These studies were characterized by the sense that the photographer should expose social problems in order to educate the public in order to change society.” (Harper 1998:28)

Howard S. Becker attracts attention to the fact that photographs are often thought of as ‘truth’, whereas they are “more precisely reflections of the photographer’s point of view, biases, and knowledge, or lack of knowledge”. (Harper 1998: 29) However, this suggestion is more applicable in today’s circumstances when photographers have a relevant freedom, while during the Soviet period the photographs in printed editions were highly censored and predetermined by the state officials. During the totalitarian regime of the Soviet Union, as Harper points out, both visual images and texts were supposed to inspire loyalty rather than critical reflection. (Harper 1998: 33)

It is important to keep in mind that the photographic image is 'true' in the sense "that it holds a visual trace of a reality the camera was pointed at". However, more fundamentally, all images "are socially and technically constructed". (Harper 1998: 29)

In the course of the imagery analysis it is important to take into consideration the postmodern critique of documentary photography which holds that "the meaning of the photograph is constructed by the maker and the viewer, both of whom carry their social positions and interests to the photographic art". (Harper 1998: 30)

Brian Winston proposes to take up "a mild realist position' in dealing with photographic images which he describes the following way: "So, we are now too sophisticated to believe a photographic image is like a window on the world, a window unmarked by the photographer's finger-prints. But to acknowledge the presence of the photographer is not necessary to deny totally that you can still see something of the world." (Winston 1998: 66) By taking 'a mild realist position' Winston suggests "moving the legitimacy of the realist image from *representation* – the screen or the print – where nothing can be guaranteed to *reception* – by the audience or the viewer – where nothing need be guaranteed". (Winston 1998: 66)

Robert Fairthorne, a radical film critic, in 1933 wrote that "'actuality' is not a fundamental property of the photographic image". He calls it like "fast- or slow-motion". To understand "*them*" one deeds to have prior knowledge of speed in the real world. (Winston 1998: 66) Thus, to understand what is authentic in the image, one needs to have a general understanding of the real world. (Winston 1998: 67)

Therefore, first, I will review the political, social and economic situation in the USSR in 1930-1950s, and then I will turn my attention to the main part of the thesis – the empirical data. The empirical part of this research consists of two primary data: 1) images; 2) articles about women in two women's magazines: "Krest'ianka" ("'Peasant woman"),

"Rabotnitsa" ("Worker woman") of 1936 and 1953. In the course of the analysis I will answer the questions: How and to what extent are women represented in the magazines of this period? What kinds of assumptions and structural patterns do the imagery and textual analysis reveal? What does a particular representation signify in connection with the specific economic, political and social situation, and most importantly, ideology of a certain period?

As it was noted above, in my research I am using imagery, textual, and content analyses. First, I will present my findings from imagery and textual analysis, and then I will contextualize them with the political, economic and social situation in the USSR of 1930-1950s. This will show how these two periods are represented in the magazines' articles.

In my research I will also use the Althusserian theory of ideology (Althusser 1971). Althusserian theory of ideology gives us a possibility to avoid strong claims about the relevance or irrelevance of images of women created by means of the media to "real" women in "real" life. It rather supposes that each society has its own truth, or, in other words, its own discourse that it accepts as true. Therefore, it will be taken into account in this research that both the media discourse on women and the every day life discourse are constructed and controlled by ideology in an equal way. Besides, it will also be shown what normalizing judgments were produced by the women's magazines as a part of the media system.

Sample

Before moving directly to the analysis of the empirical data, it is necessary to explain the reasons why this data was chosen.

It is essential to look at women's images in magazines through the perspective of the political system during the two periods. The representation of women's magazines at the

market in contemporary Russia sharply differs from the situation in 1930-1950s. During the Soviet period all the magazines, newspapers, journals, TV and radio stations were state-owned and constantly censored by the state. These days the printed media is not controlled to such an extent by the state, however certain ideological points are still inherent.

The research was conducted on the basis of 10 issues of each magazine ("Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka") of 1936 and 1953. The choice of the magazines is not accidental. My decision to focus on these magazines was predetermined by the fact that "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" were the most popular women's magazines of the Soviet time, though it is worth mentioning that their popularity could also be explained by the peculiarities of the Soviet market – these two magazines were almost the only available women's magazines at that time. Besides, the content of the both of them depict the whole picture of what was going on at that period.

In the course of the research I have read all the articles of each issue of the both magazines ("Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka") of 1936 and 1953. For the analysis I chose articles dealing with the new family law, discussions of the new Constitution (the so-called "Stalin's Constitution"), country's industrialization, and fashion since these smilingly unconnected topics contributed, as it will be shown further, to the nation-building process in the USSR of 1930-1950s.

Printed media has always been noted for being an agent that not only reflects morals and views of the society but also shapes and represents the opinion of the public on certain issues. Different images in the press have always had a story behind them, these images usually tell us about the society in which they circulate and let us think about the ideological forces behind them. The way a certain issue is represented in printed media can never be detached from the ideological views and attitudes to this issue in the society. Therefore, the same topic of two different periods will always have different representation

in the media, this being explained by different ideology of the periods and different attitudes that exist in the society. Analysis of printed media accounts will allow me to speculate about the ideological implications behind the articles and about the dominant values of the society reflected by the printed media.

I will demonstrate that the Soviet media tended to avoid discussion of female sexuality and present women mainly as 'comrades' collaborating with males in the common issue of building communism. The magazines of the Soviet period speak about the issues from the government's point of view, thus expressing the ideology of the government implicit in the images and articles of the magazines which dictate the norms and principles of behavior to the society. Marginalizing some images and accumulating the other, printed media formulates and shapes public opinion on different issues. Being accepted by the society, these images later are reflected in the media as dominant values.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations that should be taken into account. Analyzing two major women's magazines of the period of 1930-1950s I will not look at other magazines of that period. It is possible that women images represented in the printed media would slightly (or significantly) differ from the images represented in other media sources. However, this research is based only on the analysis of the printed media accounts. Moreover, the articles I am going to analyze are taken only from national mainstream magazines.

The language of the articles is Russian. It should also be noticed that, unless otherwise mentioned, all translations from Russian are mine.

Literature Review

Historical Background

To speak about women status in Russia, we should consider a number of factors which have a long history. Russia is a region in which woman-centered cults and social orders are deep inscribed in the culture. Worship of the "Great Mother" has always been a constituent part of the Russian culture. Russian folklore is still full of Powerful Women archetypes – goddess who control marriage, fate, health, fertility, birth. Historians note that in few other developed societies women retained power for so long over tribal institutions and maintained rather forceful role in family life. The heroes of Russian epics are to obey what their mothers or wives say rather than any male authorities; in contrast to Latin or Anglo-Saxon custom, a son needed his mother's blessing rather than his father's, when he was leaving home for war or on pursue of honor or success. (Gray 1990: 48)

Few idioms so forcefully express the idea of the importance of the woman image in the Russian culture like the one of Mother Russia. Many of the country's major rivers – the Volga, for example – are referred to as *Matushka* (gentle way of calling mother), while the word for "homeland" is *rodina* (from the word *rod* which means "birth"). (Gray 1990: 49)

Dominating of males is not an inherent trait of the Russian culture. In religion, the tradition of male domination began when the war god Perun became a major god and intensified with the spread of Christianity. Women in Ancient Russia had rights of property which allowed them not only to trade but have political weight as well. There was a separate "woman part" which included property that a woman can use as she wanted, and if her husband committed a crime, this "woman's property" could not be taken as a fine. In

documents dated 12-13 century and found in Novgorod there are mentioned women-landlords, women-church-builders, women-donators. (Liborakina 1996: 84)

Princess Olga is one of the most famous women-politicians in Ancient Russia. She took the rule in 945 when her husband Prince Igor was killed. Princess Olga is widely recognized to have been an outstanding statesperson and a farseeing politician. She demonstrated the triumph of diplomacy: during her rule (945-964) Russia almost did not have wars with neighboring states as all the conflicts were solved by means of negotiations. It is worth noting that there were women among the members of Olga's delegations. (Liborakina 1996: 85)

With the introduction of patriarchal norms of Vizantian church, women lost their independency. However, in the 19th century, in comparison to other countries, Russian women had more rights on property, though their legal status was limited. This provided conditions for development of the philanthropy – sphere which allowed women to participate in public and even political life in conditions of legal limitations of women's rights and patriarchal culture inside the family. Women's search for self-realization transformed into women philanthropy due to a number of political, cultural and economic factors. (Liborakina 1996: 85)

The attitudes in Russia towards womanhood were also affected by one of the most crudely misogynist documents of the Christian era – the Domostroi (or the Law of the Home) which was written by the monk Sylvester and supported by Czar Ivan the Terrible. This manual prescribed the models of behavior in family life, it offered instructions on the way how husbands must beat their wives (privately, "politely"), whereas wives should not complain to anyone about such abuse, and to remain silent about all domestic problems. It might have been responsible for the habit of privacy concerning family matters which

prevailed in Soviet culture presenting an obstacle to almost any kind of social worker. (Gray 1990: 50).

After the Revolution of 1917, the Bolshevik regime became the first government in history which declared women's emancipation as one of its primary goals, and included it into its constitution. There were issued laws insuring equal pay for equal work, and women's right to work became one of the central Soviet notions of citizenship. Engels and Lenin believed that women's full participation in the labor force and the communal households would replace nuclear family and would put an end to the "open or disguised domestic enslavement" (Friedrich Engels' words) imposed on them long ago. (Gray 1991: 32) They also believed that the overthrow of capitalism would automatically change male attitudes in a radical way, and that would guarantee women full equality at home and at the workplace. For 70 years of the Soviet rule, the Soviet leaders declared the claim that the USSR had achieved full sexual equality in the workplace. The USSR Constitution and labor legislation were usually mentioned as an evidence of this. Formally, the government provided equal rights for both sexes to secondary and professional education, job placement, and so on. They also provided special labor rights for women during pregnancy and breastfeeding – women were supposed to be transferred to lighter types of work and could not be sacked because of pregnancy. "This 'protectionist' tendency in labor legislation extended to all policies on women's employment." (Mezentseva 1994: 109)

Until the late 1920-s the traditional family model was prevailing in the USSR: a husband was a breadwinner, and a wife was usually a housekeeper and a caregiver. But in 1930-s there began a mass involvement of women in public production. One of the main targets of the cultural revolution was 'freeing' women which was seen as an important step in the process of achieving equality between women and men, while the issue of children upbringing was supposed to be solved with the help of public institutions. (Polivaeva 1996:

40) Alexandra Kollontai in her article “Communism and the Family” (1920) affirms that communist society will come to the aid of the parents, and that the responsibility for the child will pass from the family to the collective. She thinks that since parents need time to work, the society has to relieve the family of the care of the children. One of the crucial points concerning the issue of children upbringing is that “communist society considers the social education of the rising generation to be one of the fundamental aspects of the new life”. Kollontai also insists that “communist society takes care of every child and guarantees both him and his mother material and moral support”. When addressing the family issue, Kollontai argues, “The state does not need the family, because the domestic economy is no longer profitable: the family distracts the worker from more useful and productive labour. The members of the family do not need the family either, because the task of bringing up the children which was formerly theirs is passing more and more into the hands of the collective”. (Kollontai 1920)

The reason why women had to earn their living many times was due to the fact that the wages of the “breadwinner” were insufficient for the needs of the family. At the same time a woman had to perform all the household duties that she was traditionally accustomed to do. “The woman who is wife, mother and worker has to expend every ounce of energy to fulfill these roles”, says A. Kollontai. At this point she accuses capitalism of “placing a crushing burden on woman’s shoulders: it has made her a wage-worker without having reduced her cares as housekeeper or mother”. (Kollontai 1920)

Kollontai believes that with the introduction of communism the life of a woman will be sufficiently eased. She underlines that “in Soviet Russia the working woman should be surrounded by the same ease and light, hygiene and beauty that previously only the very rich could afford”. She believes that organizing of public restaurants and communal kitchens will let a woman have much more free time for herself instead of struggling with

the cooking and spending her last free hours in the kitchen preparing dinner. The introduction of central laundries, in Kollontai's opinion, will also free a woman from slaving over the washtub. Kollontai firmly believes that "communism liberates woman from her domestic slavery and makes her life richer and happier". (Kollontai 1920)

However, after the first fifteen years of the Soviet rule, those ideals of Lenin and Engels to free women appeared to be utopian. In retrospect, it also becomes evident that the USSR's concern about women's equal employment was based on "pragmatic, demographic factors – labor shortages, rapid economic growth, and deficit in the male population". (Gray 1991: 33) The Stalin years brought an unexpected reversal of the earlier Bolshevik ideals in respect to women and family structure – there arose a quite intense cult of motherhood. The state even developed a series of rewards glorifying fertility – Motherhood Medals, Order of the Glory of Motherhood, Mother Heroines (those having ten children or more). (Gray 1991: 33) Gradually the Soviet leadership faced a dilemma: it needed a woman as both a producer and a reproducer.

One of the first steps of the so-called 'Great retreat', or the new reproductive policy introduced by the government, was made in 1936 by prohibiting abortion which was legalized only in 1955. Besides, by the 1936 law a minimal program of state aid to large families was established in the Soviet Union. The program provided annual allowances for seventh and subsequent children until their fifth birthday. Then, in 1944, until the end of World War II, "the program was extended to third and subsequent children". (Heer and Bryden 1966: 515) For those, who had more than four children, the amount of payments rose rather sharply, especially for those who had ten children. (Heer and Bryden 1966: 516) "The Soviet family allowance program was begun in the midst of World War II, at a time when losses in military manpower at the front had been prodigious and it was uncertain

when the war would end and what would be the nature of the postwar world." (Heer and Bryden 1966: 518)

Articles 122 and 137 of the USSR Constitution were to guarantee women "equal rights to vote, work and rest, as well as to provide for maternity leave and childcare". (Reid 1998: 135) Meanwhile women's labor remained crucial to further increase productivity, therefore central authorities kept initiating repeated campaigns to encourage women to engage in traditionally male occupations and thus enhance the industrial labor force. (Reid 1998: 135) However, the regime failed to keep its promises to promote women's advancement as since 1930 it closed the *Zhenotdel* and "curtailed further discussion of the 'women question', declaring that women were already equal in Soviet society". After state provision of communal dining and child care fell short, women were supposed to come back to caring for the traditionally feminine domain of the household while legislation and propaganda kept attempting to reinforce the nuclear family. (Reid 1998: 135)

Thus, by 1930s the state needed a strong nation convinced of its defenselessness and superiority. Discussion of the issues related to the Soviet reality approached from different perspectives can be found in a number of works by prominent authors. These works will be discussed in the following section, while we keep in mind that this particular work is focused on the nation-building process in the USSR in 1930-1950s, and specifically on the role of women representation in this process.

Theoretical Background

In late 1980-s Soviet sociologists and journalists initiated the discussion of the so-called double burden carried by women, "which stressed the necessity of having the freedom of choice between their family and professional duties". (Zhurzhenko 2001: 24) Besides, this discussion coincided with a new discourse about the "crisis of masculinity" –

"concerning the growing lack of initiative and responsibility among men, the absence of the father in the family, the deficiencies of women's leadership in the education of children, and even "matriarchy" in the Soviet family". (Zhurzhenko 2001: 24)

Starting from 1920s the Soviet government claimed to guarantee women's full emancipation, this emancipation is usually measured in political, economic, and social terms. At the same time, this emancipation is quite often spoken of in terms of restrictions rather than in absolute terms of women's success or comparison with male comrades. (Conze 2001; Buckley 1985; Goldman 2001; Ilič 2001)

Alena Heitlinger (1979) makes an inquiry why the position of women in Eastern Europe was far from being satisfactory despite numerous attempts to liberate them at a policy level and brings attention to several factors, like the extensive character of socialist economic growth which aimed at increasing the volume of production by increasing the size of the labor force, multiplying the number of women engaged in the production, and "the existence of traditional structural arrangements, namely the individual family, housework and child care", among many others. (Heitlinger 1979: 4) Presenting various statistical data, Heilinger shows that the USSR has never been a truly egalitarian society, as it claimed to be. She also brings attention to the fact that "the goal of full income equality, unlike full sex equality, was never on the socialist agenda". (Heitlinger 1979: 191) The egalitarian policy proclaimed at the beginning of the Soviet rule "cut short and was replaced under Stalin by a system of greater wage differentiation", this was justified by the fact that the country needed to attract workers to industries which were essential for rapid industrial growth. (Heitlinger 1979: 191)

As many other authors, Heilinge dwells upon the triple role performed by Soviet women, emphasizing that "[i]n contrast to income equalization, sex equality has been consistently taken for granted as a goal by the communists, as has their view of women

playing the threefold role of mother (housewife)-worker-citizen; a counterpart to the woman's triple role has never been spelled out for men". (Heitlinger 1979: 192) However, it is quite important that there were shifts in emphasis within this triple role, in response to the needs of the country. Although the USSR declared sex equality to be its priority, this goal was only partially attained. At the same time a number of impressive achievements are usually admitted to take place: elimination of legal inequality between men and women, broadening of the accepted scope of women's education and work, social provisions for maternity and child care, women's participation in paid economic activity, "the length of paid and unpaid maternity leave and other maternity benefits" since, according to Heitlinger, "the state-socialist societies do not regard motherhood as a private matter". (Heitlinger 1979: 193)

Mass media has always played a significant role in transmitting state ideology. At the dawn of the Soviet rule newspaper "Pravda" played an important part in depicting life of an average Soviet citizen and in influencing public's consciousness. However, as Carmen Scheide (2001) notes, "Pravda" failed to pay sufficient attention to women's issues. "*Rabotnitsa* was the Bolshevik's only initiative to address the female proletariat directly". (Scheide 2001: 13) Scheide also attracts attention to the words of Alexandra Kollontai who was "the most prominent Bolshevik feminist at the time of the foundation of *Rabotnitsa*" who argued that "women had specific interests which required separate organizations, at least under the conditions prevalent at the time". (Scheide 2001: 14) Alexandra Kollontai's perspective on women's question was that such separate organizations were positioned not to separate women from the proletarian movement, but, on the contrary, to take care of and oversee their interests within it. (Bobroff 1974; Williams 1986) McAndrew's analysis (1985), in contrast, suggests that there were other implicit reasons of women issues' separation. When posing a question "upon what

theoretical basis the continued existence of a separate sphere of journalistic production for women is justified", while equality of the sexes was proclaimed as the achieved reality in the USSR, McAndrew suggests that "the existence of separate women's magazines in the USSR is indicative of the qualitatively different life experience of men and women in the USSR, and of the partial, one-sided nature of the emancipation of Soviet women". (McAndrew 1985: 94)

"The image of the socially active soviet woman (the *obshchestvennitsa*), taking care of the orderly running and daily life of their families, neighbourhood and workplace, emerged from the middle of the 1920s. This image became very popular and reached its ideological peak in the *dvizhenie zhen obshchestvennits* (volunteer wives' movement) between 1936 and 1940." (Scheide 2001: 17) The image of *obshchestvennitsa* is discussed in many works (Bonnel 1991; Buckley 2001; Scheide 2001; Schrand 1999) and is generally agreed upon to have originally lacked specific political meaning for women.

Lynne Attwood's study (2001) examines the portrayal of leisure in the magazine "Rabotnitsa" in the first two decades of Soviet power, paying particular attention to "how leisure is portrayed, how this portrayal differs in relation to men and women, and how it changes with the transition to the Stalin era". (Attwood 2001: 30-31) One of the issues pointed out by Attwood is "Rabotnitsa"'s attitude towards beauty and fashion. According to her analysis, "the magazine was not entirely consistent, condemning fashion and cosmetics in its articles at the same time as providing readers with stylish dress patterns and even advertising the products of a private cosmetics firm. Yet its general attitude was that there was no place for such things in socialist society". (Attwood 2001: 34) To prove the claim Attwood brings up the following example from the magazine "Rabotnitsa" of 1927 (no. 37, pp. 15-16) which corresponds with the content of the magazines of 1936 and even 1953 which will be further discussed: "Our beauty … lies in simplicity, in reality, in the rouge of

hot blood. […] Make-up and short skirts would fail to attract the 'simple and healthy attention of a man from our "proletarian society"', and would also hinder the cause of female equality, since men would not see women as comrades and co-workers." (Attwood 2001: 34) According to Attwood, "female beauty was now perceived in an entirely new way: it lay in 'the possession of knowledge, of a strong character … and of strong capable hands for working'". (Attwood 2001: 34)

The cult of a heroine was widely used in literature, film industry and even in education during the Stalin's rule. Women-heroines "were feted and lavishly promoted by the media in a language peculiarly overladen with Stalinist hyperbole". (Chatterjee 2001: 49) The argument of Chatterjee's work runs that "the transformation of the Russian woman from a symbol of backwardness to a symbol of modernity in Soviet propaganda served as a means of justification for Stalinist policies". (Chatterjee 2001: 49) The image of the 'New Soviet Woman' is often argued to symbolize the Soviet belief in gender equality and welfare policies. (Chatterjee 2001; Gordon 1990; Koven and Michel 1993)

One of the central questions put by a number of authors is 'how did the increase in the numbers of working women impact ideas about gender?' (Davies 2001; Conze 2001) One of the conclusions they come to is that although the proclaimed policy claimed to secure equality for women with men, a number of examples reveal that "the notion of distinct roles for men and women remained strongly in force in the Soviet Union in the 1930s despite the fact that, or perhaps *because*, so many women were now going out to work". (Davies 2001: 90) At the same time, the impact of the Soviet ideological commitment was "to maintain high levels of female employment, as this was perceived as an 'automatic' route to the achievement of sexual equality". (Peers 1985: 118)

Maggie McAndrew in her study "Women's Magazines in the Soviet Union" (1985) points out that "[t]here has been a great deal of Soviet research in recent years on the

relationship between the press and its readers, but no research into women's publications or women as readers per se". (McAndrew 1985: 78) In her research she comes to the conclusion that the spreading of a definite ideology through the articles of women's magazines is usually made "not directly through propaganda ideas, doctrines and slogans, but through the reproduction and strengthening of a defined style and way of life". (McAndrew 1985: 78-79) However, as it is highlighted by the author, Soviet propaganda messages were often rather explicit and hortatory. McAndrew argues that "we can use these women's magazines to approach the attitude of the state towards women, to identify demands and expectations, both explicit and implicit, on Soviet women". (McAndrew 1985: 80) Thus, she suggests that women's magazines operated within the ideological system of the USSR and played an important part in determining behavior and attitudes of Soviet women. (McAndrew 1985: 80) One of the crucial defining characteristics of the Soviet press, as emphasized by McAndrew, is its intimate relationship with the government of the USSR: "Media policy in the USSR is based on the assumption that people are influenced by what they read: 'a magazine is one of the principal media of mass information and propaganda and it exerts an influence on public opinion, moulding it in accordance with the interests of certain social classes, political parties and organizations'". (McAndrew 1985: 81) The general conclusion McAndrew comes to is that "women's magazines do not themselves create and promote a certain female type: they refer to the position of women outside the pages of the magazine". "In the Soviet case, women's magazines are part of a complex ideological structure confronting Soviet women with the image of themselves as the Super-achiever, the New Soviet Woman, which is at some distance from the reality of most women's lives". (McAndrew 1985: 112)

This current study is similar in some respects to what has already been done in relation to the position of women during the Soviet time since it is concerned with a

number of topical issues which have been already approached by many authors: the so-called ‘double burden’ experienced by Soviet women, women’s role in the process of industrialization, discussion of the Stalin’s Constitution of 1936 and the new Family law, the interrelation of ideology and the media, and representation of women in the Soviet press in general, and women’s magazines in particular. However, this research will be different from what has already been done in the sense of different perspective taken – the significance of the Soviet women representation for the nation-building process in the USSR during the Stalin era, the perspective of the state legitimizing political rule through the discourse on reproduction (Mazur 1967, Desfosses 1976), as well as through the theory of the gendered body serving as a metaphor for the state (Yuval Davis 1998).

Chapter 1. Industrialization and Gender from the 1930s through the 1950s

This chapter will examine the role of women in the industrialization process in the USSR in the period 1930-1950s, and will show that images of women played a central role in depictions of industrialization. Thus, the chapter will argue that women were used as symbolic markers of progress for the nation, therefore playing crucial role in the process of nation-building in the USSR. The chapter will also show that although the Soviet ideology claimed to emancipate women, this emancipation was of a rather contradictory nature. The chapter is divided into three sections: the first section called "Women in industry" will show the role of women in the process of industrialization, and how their images were used to encourage the whole nation increase productivity. The second section "Women in agriculture" will deal mostly with the images of peasant women who were considered to be the most backward part of society, and therefore most brightly illustrated the progress made by the nation. The third section "Non-working wives and *obshchestvennitsi* movement" will be dedicated to discussion of the third role imposed on women – a public activist which they were expected to perform for free.

As Susan Reid rightly points out, "[i]f we are to draw any conclusions about how visual representations functioned in Soviet society, it is essential to establish the conditions in which they were produced and made public". (Reid 2001: 194)

Women in industry

The fact that women were presented as central protagonists in the printed media seemed to serve the purpose of confirming their emancipation and participation in public life. "Such images were not about women alone, but represented Soviet society as a whole." (Reid 1998: 136) This can be explained by the fact that portraying of

transformation of women's lives through socialist industrialization was already an established way of illustrating the progress made. Since women were considered to be the most backward and oppressed element of pre-revolutionary society, "female figures could most vividly demonstrate the contrast between the 'old and the new'". (Reid 1998: 137)

Articles 122 and 137 of the USSR Constitution were to guarantee women "equal rights to vote, work and rest, as well as to provide for maternity leave and childcare". (Reid 1998: 135) Meanwhile women's labor remained crucial to further increase productivity, therefore central authorities kept initiating repeated campaigns to encourage women to engage in traditionally male occupations and thus enhance the industrial labor force. (Reid 1998: 135) However, the regime failed to keep its promises to promote women's advancement, closing the Zhenotdel in 1930 and "curtailing further discussion of the 'women question', as well as declaring that women were already equal in Soviet society". After state provision of communal dining and child care fell short, women were supposed to come back to caring for the traditionally feminine domain of the household while legislation and propaganda kept attempting to reinforce the nuclear family. (Reid 1998: 135)

Although the Constitution of 1936 was praised every now and then and was proclaimed as 'the most democratic in the world', "at the same time, it fuelled the cult of Stalin and legitimated the ongoing restoration of hierarchical relations of power and privilege along with conservative notions of gender difference, subsequently dubbed the 'Great Retreat'." (Reid 2001: 195)

The article called "Under the Banner of Stalin Constitution" reflects upon the progress made after the Soviet government came to power. At the beginning of the article it is stated that "the masses are assessing the results of their work in the struggle for the happy life". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 3) First and foremost the article emphasizes

achievements in heavy and light industries as well as in agriculture, providing particular figures to prove the statement that under the rule of the Soviet government the nation has made great progress in all spheres: "The country is moving forward on the way to a prosperous life!" It argues that the old way of life is changing "in front of our eyes", that "a new type of person is being born". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 4) According to the Soviet ideology, this 'new type of person' was to obtain the following traits: "Courage, respect towards labor and public property, love to the motherland, internationalism, respect towards women, love towards, and responsibility for children and taking care of them – these are the characteristic traits of this new person educated by the socialist society". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 4) The rest of the article is dedicated to the position of a woman in the Soviet Union – it informs the readers about the number of women engaged in production, machinery building, agriculture – "a woman in the Soviet Union quickly and persistently captures the most important positions in industrial production and in cultural life" ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 4). When talking about the progress made by the nation, position of women in the USSR is foregrounded: "The happy country of socialism is especially distinguished for the fast changes in the role and position of a woman" (this statement is written in bold font in the article). ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 4) Or another sentence argues, "Women started to take significant, and sometimes predominant positions in our country". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 4) These examples prove that the position of women in the Soviet Union during 1930-1950s was used to symbolize the progress achieved by the nation as a whole, as if the position and role of women characterized the Soviet society as a whole. At the same time the article cannot help mentioning traditional role of women as mothers: "A great attention is paid by the party and the government to women-mothers and the raising of healthy generation of children. Several million of roubles were invested in the construction of maternity hospitals,

kindergartens; the government decree concerning abortion prohibition and increase in material assistance to future mothers, and state assistance to families with several children – all these measures are the signs of unprecedented care of future generations, women-mothers, and the strengthening of the Soviet family. Such care for the about a human being is everywhere in our Soviet reality." ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 4)

Almost in every article emphasizes that the Soviet government provided women with equal rights with men to participate in state governance, equal rights for labor, remuneration for labor, provided with the right to rest, have social insurance and education, and what is of crucial importance – the Soviet government provided state protection of mother's and child's interests. This capture is called as "the one having historical importance for the whole world" ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 5). It is also argued that "[i]t is important to emphasize that women were the first to carry the banner of Stalin's Constitution for the good harvest. They are the leaders among Stakhanovites in agriculture. In addition, "these were women who initiated Stakhanovite movement in a number of production fields". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 5) Such examples prove that images of women were foregrounded in the mass media to illustrate achievements in industrial production and collective farms, and to encourage more people to join the Soviet labor force.

"The new Constitution embodied consistent democratism of the Soviet system. All citizens of the socialist state of workers and peasants are equal in their rights!" ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 32, p. 5) The role of women is emphasized in many parts of the new Constitution, women appear to symbolize the progress made by the society as a whole. The Constitution is claimed to be truly democratic, humane and progressive, and this claim seem to be supported by the statement that the new Constitution totally frees and emancipates women – thus women perform as indicators of the level of democratism and

progressive views of the Soviet government which are expressed in the Constitution. When talking about the General Meeting of the Soviets (S'ezd Sovetov), the article does not even mention the number of male participants, it only emphasizes the number of women who came for the General Meeting, and highlights the fact that "women-delegates were well represented at the General Meeting. There were 419 of them at the meeting – seven times as many as at the Second Meeting in 1924. These numbers reflect unprecedented promotion of women in the USSR. High development of industry in cities and well developed system of collective farms opened for women a way to all spheres of industrial and cultural development of the country". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 4)

To prove that women finally got an opportunity to act in all spheres of life, the state had to provide specific examples. Women's magazines are quite illustrative in this matter: with the help of both textual and imagery means women are depicted as engaged in all possible positions – factory workers, collective farm workers, pilots ("First Russian Woman-Aeronaut" in "Rabotnitsa", 1953, issue 8, p. 19), or even miners ("Rabotnitsa', 1953, issue 3, p. 12). Special attention was paid to women-members of DOSAAF (Voluntary Society of Support to the Army, Aviation, and Fleet). Those women were acquiring professions and specializations which were especially important for the country defense at that time – radio operators, telephone operators, truck drivers, pilots, parachute jumpers, and glider pilots. ("Rabotnitsa", 1953, issue 4, p.10) The article called "Activists of DOSAAF" ("Rabotnitsa", 1953, issue 4, p.10-11) is composed in such a way that the Soviet society is depicted as highly progressive since women can perform jobs which had been traditionally perceived as purely male ones. The text of the article is supported with photo images depicting happy faces of women who achieved high results in the above mentioned spheres (G. Pyasetskaya, reiterated champion of the USSR, the first woman in the world who performed 500 parachute jumps; M. Zemplyakova, master of sports; G.

Konovalova, DOSAAF champion in motorcycling; parachute jumper E. Vladimirskaya, etc.) Thus, the progressive character of the state policy appears to be measured through images of women.

Women in agriculture

On 8 March 1930 the front page of the industrial newspaper, *Za industrializatsiyu*, carried a cartoon picture with the caption 'Dva mira … I dve molodosti' (Two worlds … and two youths). The picture is divided into two. On the left side, a young woman is sitting smoking a cigarette. She appears tired and haggard, and is slumped with her elbows resting on a table on which there is a spilt glass of wine. There is an empty seat next to her, but in the background a well-dressed man, with top hat, monocle and cane, is seen walking away. This is in stark contrast to the picture on the right side, in which we see a joyful young woman, head held high, driving a tractor. On the same day, the front cover of *Izvestiya* also carried a line drawing of a smiling woman seated at the steering wheel of a tractor. In this picture the wheels of the tractor are crushing the vestiges (the pots and pans) of the '*staryi byt'* (old way of life).

These images provide a clear indication of the Soviet government's intention to recruit women to the drive to modernise agricultural production in the 1930s. By the end of the decade, the female tractor driver had become both, in reality, a celebrated shock-worker and Stakhanovite heroine, personified by Pasha Angeline and Mariya Demchenko, and, in cultural representation, a cinematic icon, played by Marina Ladynina in Ivan Pyr'ev's popular film *Traktoristy* (1939). (Ilič 2001: 110) The publication of such drawings on March 8 (International Women's Day) appears to have been rather symbolic since March 8 is the day which symbolically recognizes women's achievements, "providing the Soviet

state with the opportunity to reiterate publicly its commitment to women's liberation and sexual equality". (Ilič 2001: 111)

The year 1930 was also significant. "From an official perspective, by 1930 women's liberation and sexual equality were not some far-off goals towards which the Soviet Union was working. They were now, in fact, declared achievements of the Soviet regime, symbolised and signified by the closure in January 1930 of the Communist Party's Women's Department (the *Zhenotdel)* as having fulfilled its purpose. Soon after, the Soviet government began its well-publicised campaigns to recruit women en masse to the industrialization drive." (Ilič 2001: 111) On March 1930 Stalin's article "Dizzy with Success: Problems of the Collective Farm Movement" was published in *Pravda.* The article dealt with collectivisation and the problems it encountered in face of widespread resistance by the peasantry. As was noted by L. Viola, peasant women were the first to resist collectivisation campaigns. (Viola 1986) The article aimed to proclaim a new type of the relationship between the state and the peasantry in regard the collectivisation. The tractor, as was pointed out, was to play a significant role in the transition to collective farming. Besides being mentioned in numerous articles, tractors appeared in cartoon pictures and poster, in movies and literature as well as were praised in songs. (Ilič 2001: 111) Campaigns to recruit women as tractor drivers became more active and organized starting from February 1933, "after Stalin's much-publicised pronouncement at the First Congress of *Kolkhoz* Shock-workers that peasant women had become a great force on the collective farms (*zhenschiny v kolkhozah – bol'shaya sila)*". (Ilič 2001: 113)

The participation of the Soviet Union in World War II significantly impacted the structure of the labor force, specifically the employment of women. Having been trained and recruited in the 1930s, women now took men's places in all spheres of work. The agricultural sector was particularly burdened by labor shortages: "There were collective

farms left without any able-bodied males. The women just stepped in. An increasing number took over the responsibilities of chairman of a collective farm. They learnt to drive tractors and over a million of them became skilled at the job. They worked combine-harvesters. They ploughed and sowed." (Ilič 2001: 125) Furthermore, women had to stay in charge of collective farms. All these facts help to explain the peculiarities of the pro-natalist policy of 1930-1950s: women engaged in urban production were entitled to maternal leave two month before giving a birth and two month after, while women working on collective farms were only entitled to maternal leave only one month before and one month after giving a birth. The reason for the differential treatment (between women in rural and urban surroundings) is that the state needed more hands in collective farms than in urban factories.

Thus, the image of *traktoristka* was praised and glorified in mass media and public sphere. "Yet, in reality, the working lives of women tractor drivers were complicated by battles for professional recognition and they were often met with resistance in the course of their training and every day working lives." (Ilič 2001: 127) Women had overcome resistance and prejudice not only from their male colleagues but surprisingly from other female collective farm workers. This prejudice undoubtedly had roots "in gendered notions of women's social and reproductive roles". (Ilič 2001: 127) Such behavior caused by gendered notions about women's nature was rarely spoken about in mass media and in public. Moreover, "…in some regions of the Russian republic, it was being argued that women should be recruited as tractor drivers, but only after a significant number of men had been trained for this job". (Ilič 2001: 112) Therefore, the proclaimed emancipatory policy appears to be rather contradictory. In addition, "despite the official endorsement of a wholly different image, women's skills were largely only called upon when male labour was in short supply". (Ilič 2001: 127)

Starting from 1930s women became an important theme in fine art and mass media. Women predominantly figured in visual propaganda serving as a symbol promoting collectivization. “As mothers (or grandmothers) and educators, they were the pillars of the new Soviet order based on the family”. (Reid 1998: 136)

Thus, starting from early 1930-s the Soviet government adopted the image of the *traktoristka* “as the symbol of its self-proclaimed progressive policies in relation to the agricultural sector”. (Ilič 2001: 111) Victoria Bonnell traced this transformation in the representation of peasant women: “[t]he peasant woman presented the most complex and controversial image in the lexicon of Soviet political art”. (Bonnel 1993: 55) While male peasant images were rather common in the Soviet printed media (newspapers, posters, magazines, etc.), “a standardized representation of the female peasant (krest’ianka) did not appear until May Day 1920”. (Bonnel 1993: 55)

Although formally women peasants belonged to one of the four groups which officially obtained heroic status in the revolution, the message of their image was rather contradictory. As depicted from 1920s, the image of the peasant woman implied associations with ‘baba’, “a term used to describe a peasant woman whose traits, depending on context, included fecundity and shrewdness as well as ignorance, greed, and subordination to the patriarchal rural world”. (Bonnel 1993: 55) Before 1930 she seldom appeared alone in the pictures. Through this device Soviet artists indicated that peasant women occupied lower position in the Bolshevik hierarchy than workers or male peasants and were honored with heroic status only in terms of their presence. (Bonnel 1993: 56-57)

To illustrate collectivization, Soviet artists often used an image of the rural woman (now *kolkhoznitsa* – the collective farm worker) who stood in the foreground of many pictures. The *krest’ianka* (peasant woman) with a sickle was replaced by the *kolkhoznitsa* (collective farm worker) on a tractor. (Bonnel 1993: 57) If we look at the pictures in

"Krest'ianka" magazines of 1953, in many pictures women are shown driving a tractor, a new assistant in the common cause of building socialism. Almost each woman wears a kerchief which is tied behind her head (in the style of women workers) rather than under the chin (the way peasant women used to be represented). The difference in the style of wearing the kerchief conveyed a message to viewers that "the *kolkhoznitsa* was different from the *baba* of the past; she belonged to a new breed of *homo sovieticus* in the countryside". (Bonnel 1993: 60)

Whereas formerly peasant women were depicted together with male peasants or with workers which defined their place in the Bolshevik hierarchy dominated by the image of the urban worker, starting from early 1930s they began to appear alone in the pictures. "In other cases, they were placed in front of and in a prominent position vis-à-vis male peasants". (Bonnel 1993: 60) Most pictures depict peasant women engaged in agricultural labor. The peasant women depicted in the pictures of the magazines seem to try to convey the message of joyful, intense, creative labor.

As was already mentioned above, the traditional class marker for peasant woman, the sickle, disappeared and was replaced by the tractor. In fact, the tractor became "a key signifier for collective farms in visual propaganda and a symbol of progress more generally". (Bonnel 1993: 64)

The application of traditional styles and color symbolism helped Soviet artists and photographers make the unfamiliar familiar. By means of these devices Soviet artists attempted to present novel images (for example, peasant women and tractors) in a framework that was known to the viewers. Several techniques were used to make seemingly alien images of women tractor drivers more familiar and acceptable. One of such techniques was color symbolism which was one of the basic parts of learning to "read" propaganda posters and pictures in the Soviet printed media. (Bonnel 1993: 70) Very often

the color of a peasant woman's clothes is red, as well as the color of the tractor she is driving. "But viewers knew how to interpret the color red and to appreciate its positive connotations, since red was a privileged color in both religious and Bolshevik art. It conferred sacred status on a person or object". (Bonnel 1993: 71)

In contrast to the early 1930s, in early 1950-s peasant women appear more often in pairs or sometimes even in groups, without even the presence of men. "The clustering of peasant women may have suggested to viewers that *kolkhoznitsy* had earned, perhaps for the first time, full confidence from the authorities, not just as individuals but as a social collectivity". (Bonnel 1993: 76-77)

In general, the majority of articles in "Krest'ianka" (of both 1936 and 1953) are dedicated to women in kolkhoz. The heading of one of the articles says "Women in kolkhoz are a great power". The meaning of this heading is further revealed in the following sentence: "Everywhere, in each piece of collective farm there are *kolkhoznitsi* working, everywhere one can feel a caring female hand". ("Krest'ianka", issue No. 2, p. 16-17) This literally means that a great deal of work in the collective farm was performed by women. The article is full of pictures depicting women predominantly in the process of agriculture work or dealing with domestic animals. The text inserted among the pictures claims that *kolkhoz* really takes care of women since it introduced new kindergartens, a maternity home, and a medical center in the village. By these means, "kolkhoz takes great care of its women". ("Krest'ianka", issue No. 2, p. 16-17) "Such socialist realist images and the plentiful press reports about the achievements of women tractor drivers, coupled with popular imagination and personal testimony, would have us believe that the Soviet countryside of the 1930s was awash with smiling, kerchiefed peasant women driving tractors". (Ilič 2001: 112)

To further encourage women to join the workforce, the government kept praising them for being so good, irreplaceable workers: "Women are the great power in *kolkhoz* (collective farm), here she became a human being and obtained full equality with a man". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 36, p. 4) Another way to encourage women to work more was to provide examples of happy women (who were made happy by the state) who promise to increase productivity of their work: "At the beginning of 1936 I promised to milk 4,500 liters from every cow, then I decided to increase the milk yield up to 5,000 liters. Stalin's Constitution inspired me even more, and now I want to increase the milk yield up to 6,000. […] I have two desires: to study and to further increase milk yields, and I am realizing them." ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 19, p. 14) This example of a woman discussing the new Constitution and expressing her desire to further increase milk yields is quite illustrative since every citizen in the Soviet Union was encouraged, or even expected, to produce more and more. "The happy life that we have today will be even happier tomorrow which we will bring near through harder Stakhanovite work in the field, factories, and in school." ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 23, p. 4)

If we look at the clothes women depicted in these magazines are wearing, we will reveal a great number of similarities in the way they are dressed. The clothes they wear correspond with the ruling ideology of beauty during that era which "demanded that an outfit be entirely functional". […] The canon of Soviet fashion was based on two key formulas: 'simple and attractive' and 'modest and attractive'". (Vainshtein 1996: 70) The majority of women depicted in the pictures of "Krest'ianka" magazine are wearing a kerchief tied behind their head and a simple dress without any hint on sexuality. All of them have a nice smile, from the way they look they seem to be trying to say that they are completely happy and satisfied with their life.

Generally, the sections dedicated to fashion seem to convey the message that Soviet women, being true comrades of males in the common cause of building the socialist society, should not have occupied their thoughts with such insignificant matters as clothes. In the governments' opinion, the clothes, first of all, should have been convenient and useful, it should not have distracted attention from working.

Non-working wives and obshchestvennitsi movement

Non-working 'wives' were also expected to be useful for the society – their status was elevated "through the *obshchestvennitsa* movement, which promoted the very bourgeois-seeming idea of engineers' and managers' wives doing useful charity work, as well as supporting their husbands and model families". (Davies 2001: 91) Either women worked or not, they were supposed to perform some public duties. Since the Soviet government desperately needed 'free hands' to perform endless lists of work, to have the work done in record time they needed special ideology to persuade people to work. Even if women were not working, they were expected to 'help' their husbands. "Their place is where Stalin's care about a human being is needed". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 6) This meant – almost everywhere. "A cozy, well-decorated casern, a model house of the Red Army, a good club, well-organized sports ground, green plantations and flowers – all this makes happy soldiers and commanders, gives them a place to spend leisure time, organizes them for better military and political training. There is no such a place in the Red Army where one would not feel initiative of a woman – a commander's wife". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 6) "…planting of trees and gardens in camps, caserns and military towns. 350 thousand trees were planted by the hands of commanders' wives". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 6) "There is plenty of work for a commander's wife in the Red Army". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 7) The reasons for such propaganda seem to be quite

obvious: why does the government need to employ people to keep caserns clean and plant the trees if commander's wives can do it for free since it is presumed that it is in women's nature to take care of houses and gardens, and keep them clean?

Besides engaging women in industrial production and collective farms, the party motivated them to work even for the army, not to serve but "help" their husbands. Obviously the government needed extra hands to "help" the army. So, women had several options in the army: either to keep caserns clean, decorate facilities or get engaged in the so-called "political-cultural work" as it was named by the party. "There is no such a place in the Red army where one cannot feel initiative of a woman – commander's wife". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 6) Commander's wife was supposed to "'grow' politically and culturally". "She reads newspapers, literature, Lenin's and Stalin's works". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 6) This sentence seem to presume that if even women read literature, newspapers, and especially Lenin's and Stalin's works, the society can be described as progressive. "Commanders' wives comprise a huge army of cultural and political workers in the Red army…" "2 thousand teachers, 1 thousand librarians, 1.5 thousand heads of different political clubs, 600 heads of amateur talent groups, and 20 thousand direct participants of such talent groups – these are the modest figures revealing outstanding work performed by women". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 7) Women were also expected to show initiative in arranging child care centers. ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 7) This statement was not even questioned since women were supposed to be naturally inclined towards taking care of all child-related issues.

The above mentioned assumption that the USSR of 1930-1950s needed women to demonstrate the progress made by the young state can be also proved by the fact that even the USSR Marshal K.E. Voroshilov was said to be carefully observing the huge movement of commanders' wives, encouraging and guiding that movement: "[a] commander's wife,

his battle comrade, cannot and will not keep out of life and struggle of our great motherland, keep out of life and training of our mighty Red Army. […] There is plenty of work for a commander's wife in the army. We just need to properly organize it." ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 7) The phrases like "a commander's wife cannot and will not keep out of life and struggle" testify that it was quite unthinkable to try to argue with this statement; women were simply supposed to be willing to do whatever they were expected to do – in the name of the state. "The number of women-activists is growing each day. I do not even know those ones who would not participate in the public life. However, some are afraid to reveal their illiteracy [...] We, surely, eliminate such moods." ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 35, p. 14)

To make people continue 'building socialism' the state needed to form a united nation based on the assumption that all the citizens in the USSR had equal rights and opportunities since the main task was to get people willingly work in the name of the nation-state. The article 122 of the 1936 Constitution states: "A woman in the USSR has equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, public, and political life." ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 36, p. 3) It is quite notable that the article 122 of the new Constitution is quoted in every issue of both "Krest'ianka" and "Rabotnitsa" magazines of 1936. Besides, the ruling ideology was put forward to claim that Soviet citizens should be genuinely happy because they were so lucky to have a chance to live in such a great country as the Soviet Union, and women should be especially grateful since nowhere in the world they would have enjoyed the same opportunities as in the USSR. However, if the government claims that men and women are fully equal, why does it specifically distinguish women in its constitution? The very fact the women are specially treated presumes that they are being differentiated as a separate group requiring special attitude. One of the articles in "Rabotnitsa" magazine of 1936 is called "Stalin's Constitution and a

Woman", such a heading presumes that women in the abovementioned constitution are distinguished as a separate group. This article dedicated to the discussion of the new Constitution claims, "Only in our country for the first time in the mankind's history a woman has obtained her rights, honor, and value. And Stalin's Constitution declares these rights to the whole world". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 36, p. 4) "The great Stalin's Constitution fully reflects Stalin's care of a woman, her strengths, skills, and realization of her talents". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 36, p. 4)

The importance of the printed media in influencing the public is explicitly expressed in the article "Through the pages of women's magazines" ("Krest'ianka", issue No. 5, p. 6-7) It says, "The Soviet press is a very powerful means in the hands of our party to educate the working class in the communist way, to organize them to fight for the victory of communism." "The printed media, - comrade Stalin teaches us, - is the most powerful weapon with the help of which the party daily and hourly speaks to the working class in its own, necessary for the party language". ("Krest'ianka", issue No. 5, p. 6) It is quite obvious that under 'educating in communist way' he means 'ideologically influencing and directing towards the necessary for the party way'. Furthermore, in the journal *Sovetskoe Foto* it is stated, "In the USSR photography is one of the weapons of the class struggle and of socialist construction". (Tupitsyn 1994: 58) The article "Through the pages of women's magazines" ("Krest'ianka", issue No. 5, p. 6-7) also argues, "The women of Middle Asia now live and work in a new way. The times when a woman was a slave deprived of civil rights, have now passed away. In our socialist state women and children are surrounded by honor and attention". ("Krest'ianka", issue No. 5, p. 6) It is quite clear that the ideology functions in such a way that women become eager to perform both roles expected from them: to be a full-time worker and a mother/wife at the same time. Instead of perceiving this situation as a double burden, they feel rather honored to be a responsible worker

leading a country to the bright future of communism and an ideal mother/wife - the symbol of an ideal Soviet woman. Within an Althusserian theoretical framework, ideology serves to transform real relations into imaginary ones. Functioning through systems and structures, and represented in practices (or the rituals) of everyday life, ideology also transforms individuals who see themselves as free and autonomous beings, the theory sees this as an illusion as ideology turns them into 'subjects'. (Althusser 1971) Soviet women, being subjected to the communist ideology, saw their position as a sacred role of being a woman.

The Soviet Union consisted of 15 republics, each of them had its particular traditions and customs, especially concerning women. The Middle Asian countries, like Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, were particularly distinguished for their traditions in relation to women. While most of the population of these countries were Muslims and supported polygamy before according the USSR, the Soviet government aimed to unify all Soviet citizens, mostly according to the standards characteristic of the European culture and way of life. So, after joining the Soviet Union, Middle Asian women started to enjoy the same rights as Russian women. Thus, the Soviet government disregarding cultural backgrounds was attempting to build a unified nation made to believe that they were altogether on the way to the happy future. To further encourage women to keep on working, the state needed to demonstrate the progress the country had achieved within several years – the government provided figures proving the progress made in the economic sector, and claimed that it was only due to women's invaluable input in the workforce, thus implicitly showing that how right it was of them to let women work.

Thus, since the state claimed that women were equal with men, to achieve this equality and justify the state's trust in them, they were expected to work a lot, even to join the Stakhanovite movement, to join their efforts with men in the common cause of building a strong Soviet nation.

Even though the Soviet government proclaimed new opportunities and public roles available for women under state socialism, the images of women created through photography and in the magazine articles articulated relationships of domination and subordination in the Soviet society under the Stalin rule. The images created in the women's magazines were one of numerous means which created female images to stand for 'the people' as a whole, "drawing on conventional gender codes and hierarchy to naturalise the subjection of society to the Stalinist state and legitimate the sacrifice of women's needs to those of industrialisation. The prevalence of female protagonists and the ideal of womanhood were closely connected with the escalation of the Stalin cult at this time: they modelled the ideal attitude of 'love, honour and obedience'." (Reid 2001: 194)

"The Stalin years provide an apt illustration of how the original spirit of recommendations may be modified later. By the 1930s, the theme that participation in the labour force was essential to women's liberation was replaced in many writings by the assertion that the construction of socialism required women to take jobs. The normative goal of women's liberation was thus subordinate to the practical means of building an economy to suit the distant end of socialism. Nevertheless, whilst images of confident working women catered to economic growth, they also created positive role models." (Buckley 1992: 226)

Chapter 2. The meaning of being a mother and a wife in the Soviet Union during the Stalin era

This chapter will argue that the reproductive policy of 1930-1950s in the USSR was key to nation-building, and therefore the images of women as mothers represented in women's magazines served as symbols of the nation's future. Firstly, I will explain how reproduction was claimed to be in women's interest but, in fact, was politically important to the state and, in reality, turned out to be not always in women's interest. Secondly, I will show that the 'Thank you Stalin' articles were employed to further transmit propaganda through women's voices, thus securing extra credence to such reproductive policy introduced by the government.

Reproduction: in whose interest – women or state?

This section will deal with the issue of how reproduction was represented in women's magazines ("Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" of 1936 and 1953 taken as an example) to prove women that it was in their interest. The paragraph consists of two sections: the first section deals with the discussions of the new Constitution and the new family law in the magazines' articles. In these articles the state 'speaks' to its citizens, and women perform as listeners. The second section is dedicated to articles in which women 'thank Stalin' for the life they have, in general, and introduction of the new family law, in particular.

Stalin's Constitution and the new family law

Most of the articles in both magazines ("Rabotnitsa", "Krest'ianka") of 1936 are dedicated to the discussion of the new Constitution and the new decree on "Abortion prohibition, increase of material support to mothers and families having several children, expansion of maternity hospitals, day nurseries, and kindergartens, enforcement of legal

prosecution for not paying alimony, and some changes in the divorce law". ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 20, p.1) Before citing the new decree, it is mentioned that the decree had already been widely supported among the Soviet people, and that "in none of the countries in the world a woman, as a mother and a citizen, which bears such an important responsibility of giving a birth and educating new citizens, enjoys such respect and legal protection as in the USSR". ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 20, p. 1) This statement is reinforced with the picture located above the heading of the article which depicts Stalin kneeling before a small girl with a bunch of flowers. This picture seems to be trying to say that even Stalin bows before children, and, consequently, females who are giving birth to children.

The new decree concerning the family is divided into eight subsections, each dealing with a specific issue:

1. Abortion prohibition;
2. Increase in material support from the government to mothers and families having several children;
3. Expansion of maternity hospitals;
4. Expansion of day nurseries;
5. Expansion of kindergartens;
6. Changes in kindergartens' management;
7. Financing of the activities mentioned above;
8. Enforcement of legal prosecution for not paying alimony and some changes in the divorce law. ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 20, p. 2-5)

The article dedicated to the discussion of the new decree ends with the statement, "The title of the mother, the educator of a new generation is the most honorable title in our country. The workers of our great country, and especially women, should make every effort

to put this wonderful law into practice". ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 20, p. 6) Although this statement sounds rather as a suggestion, in the framework of the Soviet reality it was supposed to be treated as a law. "Motherhood was described as a social responsibility that should not be averted." (Buckley 1989: 131) Having examined 20 issues of women's magazines of 1936, I came to a conclusion that about 2/3 of the total number of articles are dedicated to the issues related to family, divorce, children, abortion. Many of them describe horrors of abortions or recount the joys of motherhood. The names of the articles in "Rabotnitsa" of 1936 speak for themselves: "The tragedy of my life", "Abortion brings illness", "Let children live", "Every woman must have a child", "To be a happy mother", "Motherhood – it is a special feeling, it is wonderful!" ("Rabotnitsa", no. 17, 1936, pp. 4-6; no. 20-1, 1936, pp. 12-13; no. 18, 1936, pp. 12-13). (Buckley 1989: 131)

Starting from mid 1930-s the Soviet regime seems to have been sending rather contradictory messages: on the one hand it glorified sexual equality in the workplace and public sphere, while on the other advocating a strong pro-family and pro-natalist agenda which contrasted rather sharply with the Soviet policy proclaimed in 1920-s. Motherhood was being extolled, especially in the mass media. Women were encouraged to be workers and mothers at the same time: "Every girls must be treasured not only as a textile worker, a bold parachute jumper or an engineer – but as a future mother. The mother of one child must be treasured as the future mother of eight". (Evans 1981: 766) After legalizing abortions in 1920, the new 1936 law seemed to be rather contradictory. However, the ideology was adopted to justify the reversal in the policy concerning abortion, divorce and the family. "The prohibition of abortion in 1936 was justified on the same grounds on which abortion had originally been legalized – the danger to a woman's health. The operation itself was now considered so dangerous that the state had to protect women from its possible consequences." (Heitlinger1979: 126) Another argument ran, "... the unstable

circumstances of 1920 had justified the provision of abortion facilities; 'economic backwardness' in the five years after the Civil War combined with 'the inadequate cultural level of women from the pre-revolutionary epoch' made it hard for women to make full use of the rights accorded to them by the Soviet state. Therefore it was hard at that time for women to perform their duties as citizens and mothers 'without fear of the future' ("Rabotnitsa", no.20-1, 1936, p. 7) In such circumstances abortion was justified; but since these conditioned no longer obtained, abortion was not necessary". (Buckley1989: 130)

If we have a look at the topics of the articles in both "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka", we will find a great number of articles dedicated to the issue of large families, i.e. families having many children. The image of a large family had specific significance for the Soviet society, since the meaning of a large family in the USSR was built on the contrast with a large family in a capitalist society. "An argument characteristic of the 1930s was that the prohibition of abortion carried a very different meaning in different economic systems. Under capitalism, unemployment and exploitation made abortion a necessity since large families were unhappy families. The oppressive bourgeois state denied women the opportunity to abort but in the Soviet state, the situation was 'entirely different'. Abortion was being prohibited only now 'exceptional improvements in well-being' had taken place and 'the prosperity of the working population was increasing in every year, in every month'. With a growing provision of maternity homes, kindergartens and financial help, socialist mothers had no insecurities to fear, unlike their capitalist counterparts." (Buckley 1989: 130) Generally, large families under socialism tended to be portrayed as problem-free. "The general message was that large families were quite normal and brought joy and responsibility rather than hardships and problems". (Buckley 1989: 133)

At the same time there were some practical reasons for praising the family in 1930s. Great changes in agriculture and industry brought disruption in daily life and caused a

feeling of uncertainty. Since peasants were migrating into towns, social structures were changing. People were to start living in dormitories attached to factories, this new conditions caused some difficulties to many. The government, in its turn, made attempts to discipline this new work-force and introduced fines for being late and absent. "The emotional support provided by families at a time of rapid social change was welcome to many. The privacy of the family unit also offered a 'safe' intimate circle at a time of mass arrests and purges. Terror unleashed by the secret police made family a haven of protection and security, a retreat from the surrounding chaos." (Buckley 1989: 129) Therefore, having created circumstances in which people felt that they needed families, the government could continue effectively channeling propaganda on a 'fertile ground' to have large families.

The article called "Large Families Obtain State Support" ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 25, p. 15-16) provides an example of the public meeting of families having seven, eight, and twelve children. All of them extol the idea of having a large family, they glorify the government for giving them an opportunity to afford having many children. One of the mothers says "Before, I knew only burdens of being a mother. But now I have found out the pleasure of being a mother". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 25, p. 15) Another woman claims "Motherhood does not interfere with my work. It makes my life valuable. Even in my work I achieved success: after being a simple coil winder I became a shift worker. I feel secure about my children, I feel that they are precious not only for me: their life, their health are protected by the whole country, by the party, by Stalin himself. I am happy! How bright and joyful motherhood in my country is." ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 25, p. 15) After that a chairman of the meeting takes the floor: "Comrade mothers, please, pay attention that upbringing of your children is not only your personal affair: this is our common business. Therefore, you will have frequent guests. Soviet activists will take control of how you bring up your children…" ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 25, p. 16) Such words prove that in the

Soviet Union the public and private domains merged in the institute of the Soviet family. Family life was not considered a private issue, it was approached as a part of the public life. People were not supposed to have secrets from other members of the Soviet society, and the issue of how many children a family is planning to have was not a private business but the affair to be controlled by the government and community members as well.

The statement that family life was not considered a private issue fits well in Pateman's theory of sexual contract which challenges the model of public/private divide and claims that "the public realm cannot be fully understood in the absence of the private sphere, and similarly, the meaning of the original contract is misinterpreted without both mutually dependent halves of the story". (see Pateman 1988) (Yuval-Davis 1998: 24)

The article called "Building of Maternity Hospitals – Under Social Control!" ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 29, p. 16) also fits in the frameworks of Pateman's theory. It claims "In our country there is nothing so important than care of a human being. Care of women, especially when she becomes a mother, care of her baby is the most important task which is set by the party, the government and the country as a whole. The brightest example of such care is the government decree concerning abortion prohibition, maternity hospitals and child institutions expansion, etc. […] Women need special care and help of the community. Especially great help should be provided by council members and community activists. Accomplishment of the plan of maternity hospitals construction should be strictly controlled by the public." ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 26, p. 16) The Soviet family is even characterized as "a new, unknown to the human history type of a family. […] The foundation of the Soviet family is an actual, full equality of women which is clearly stated in the great Stalin Constitution – the Charter of the freed mankind". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 30, p. 9) It is also claimed that only the Soviet type of family allows combining full-time employment, public work and private life. ("Rabotnitsa", 1936,

issue 30, p. 10) This statement well corresponds with the situation in which the Soviet Union was in 1930s, it badly needed 'free hands' which were meant under 'employment' and 'public work', with the difference that 'employment' was supposed to be paid for, while 'public work' was proclaimed to be 'a sacred duty of every Soviet citizen', especially non-working wives.

The Stalin Constitution is proclaimed to be the document which has finally freed women. "The latest law concerning the prohibition of abortion is distinguished for Stalin's great care for a mother, a child, and a Soviet family. A woman gets full opportunity to be a full member and a worker of the socialist society and simultaneously strengthen the Soviet family". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 30, p. 10) Since the Soviet family was considered a part of the public sphere, the article "Soviet Family" runs, "Our common goal is to further strengthen the socialist family of the great Stalin era". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 30, p. 10) "Thus, a 'woman's right to choose' has not been accepted as policy in the Soviet Union…" […] "In the official view, a woman bearing and rearing children is fulfilling not only her 'natural' desire, but also her obligation to society. Voluntary childlessness is usually frowned upon because it is 'selfish'".(Heitlinger 1979: 129)

Even if articles of both magazines deal with the topics of professional accomplishments either of women or men, inevitably there is a description of house surroundings and a family. One of the articles tells us about a woman who at 25 years old became a commander of the Red Army. Her husband is a military officer as well. However, instead of describing her professional career, the article mainly deals with the character's public and private life. "A cozy apartment, a comfortable sofa, a wooden cupboard, a large bookcase… A tasty dinner is under a bright lamp on the snow-white table-cloth. There are three people at the table: a military officer, a young woman, and a daughter in her arms. This is a family of the commander. It is very cozy in the room, all over the place one can

feel a caring female hand." ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 31, p. 21) Thus, instead of describing the woman's professional accomplishments, the article gives examples of how good she is a mother and a housewife.

From the very first years of its existence the Soviet government started to realize the Bolshevik's program to free a woman from work two months before giving a birth to a child and two months after it, while preserving woman's salary during all this time. However, in rural surroundings the time during which women could be free from work was less than for urban women workers: for peasant women (or *kolkhoznitsi)* the maternity leave was one month before and one month after giving a birth. The grounds for such difference in the length of maternity leaves between urban and rural workers seem to be lying in the need for more rural workers in *kolkhoz* (collective farm). Besides, another factor should also be considered – women engaged in collective farms almost did not need special professional training and education which were supposed to be covered by the government.

If we have a look at the articles and images in "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" of 1953, we will have to admit that, although almost 20 years passed, there are no significant changes in the topics discussed and the way women are represented in these two magazines. Due to the fact that the government had to justify its continuous pro-natalist policy which was introduced in mid 1930s and was even more reinforced after World War II on the grounds that dozens million of people had died and the state needed 'new people', it continued using a cult of family to inspire women to reproduce more.

One of the pictures in "Krest'ianka" magazine of 1953 (issue No. 3, 1953, p. 27) depicts a happy family: a woman of about 45 years old, sewing, and two children sitting beside her, reading a book – such a picture becomes a sort of symbolic since it illustrates a

typical Soviet family: a woman spending her evenings at home, educating children and doing typically women's work like knitting or sewing.

The text below the picture says that Marfa Andreevna (that is the name of the mother) has a large family – she brought up and educated nine children, and all of them but for the eldest son are living with her. The message of the text seems to be 'how wonderful it is to have nine wonderful children', and that others should follow the example. It is mentioned in the text that Marfa Andreevna Deeva was awarded with three Orders of the Glory of Motherhood. The image of such a big happy family became symbolic for that period of time. However, a question arises: where is the father? The father is depicted in none of the three pictures dedicated to this family. He is undoubtedly implied and mentioned in the text below the pictures, however, not explicitly represented in the pictures. This brings us to the conclusion that the father is 'absent' since his presence in the private sphere is not very important, it is the mother who is to be there, beside the children. However, besides being an ideal mother, a woman was supposed to meet another important requirement – she was to be the "working mother".

The cover of the issue No. 5, 1953 depicts an infant standing in his crib (The cover of the "Krest'ianka" magazine of 1953 is almost identical with the cover of "Rabotntsa" magazine of 1936, issue 33, which also depicts a child on its cover, as if 17 years had not passed). The message of this picture seems to sound as "Children are our future". Indeed, if we have a look at the magazine content, we will find a number of articles and pictures dedicated to children upbringing. For example, one of the articles narrates about Efrosin'ya Sauh. The article tells us the story that she was the first to introduce the system of seeding the fields with lint two times during the summer. Generally, the article deals with achievements of Efrosin'ya Sauh in the field of collective labor. Below the text, there is a picture of Efrosin'ya. However, this picture does not have anything to do with her work in

the collective farm. In the picture she is depicted sitting with her daughter and reading a book to her. The message of such an interesting symbiosis seems to be the following: an ideal worker and an ideal mother united, this is the way each woman should live her life. This article supports the idea that in the Soviet Union women were expected to perform two roles at the same time: to be a full-time worker striving to make new records for the sake of the state which claimed to be doing its best take care of its citizens, and to be a mother, ideally of several children, whose primarily responsibility is to educate children at home.

In each issue of the magazine there is a section called "Talks with mothers". The aim of this section is to give advice to women how they should treat their children and educate them at home. The articles of the section give recommendations on which books to read or how to make children be polite. The examples of such articles include: "Developing politeness" (issue No. 4, 1953), "How to inure children to order and neatness" (issue No. 6, 1953) It is rather obvious for the reader that women are held responsible for the order in the family. One of the caricatures in the issue No. 7 of the magazine features two scenes: in one of them a woman quarrels with her husband who is sitting at the table while the woman is standing, and supposedly was serving him a lunch or a dinner, while a child is watching the scene of parents quarreling. The second scene depicts the woman with her hands in a helpless gesture, she is looking at her child lying on the floor, crying, the room being in total mess. The sign under the second picture says: "I can't understand why my child is so capricious!" The sign above the first picture says – "Cause", above the second one – "Consequence". This 'page of humor', the way this section is called in the magazine, is definitely aimed to convey a message to women-readers of the magazine. The supposed message is that a woman should not argue with her husband, thus setting a bad example to her child. Instead, she should be polite with the husband and dedicate more time to the child.

Another example proving that the education of children is the primarily responsibility of women is the famous picture by F. Reshetnikov called “Fail Again”. The picture depicts a boy, who is standing in the forefront of the picture with his schoolbag in his hands, his face expression is rather sad because he got another ‘Fail’ mark. Since in the Soviet regime studying badly was considered rather shameful and highly irresponsible, every member of the family – mother, a sister, and a brother – look at the comer with disapproval. Again, father is not depicted but most probably he is implied. However, his presence is not very important as the responsibility of educating children was laid on woman’s shoulders. Therefore, if a child did not succeed in studies, it was presumed that his/her mother did not perform her responsibilities well enough.

The issue highlighted in numerous articles of that period quite complements the argument that women were not purely perceived as equal producers but more as reproducers of the nation, and this role was highly praised: “Each working woman pays particular attention to the article 132 of the new Constitution: “Military service in the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red army is an honorable duty of all USSR citizens”. The task of a Soviet woman in realization of this article is to bring up worthy sons who can be later on provided with an honorable duty to serve in the Red army”. (“Krest’ianka”, 1936, issue 23, p. 4) This quote clearly illustrates who indeed was meant in the article 132 of the new Constitution under “all USSR citizens”– “honorable sons”, and the ‘honorable duty of a woman’ was not to really serve in the army but, more importantly, to reproduce male population for the army.

The fact that such messages are stated in women’s magazines is of particular importance for when such claims are ‘put in the mouths’ of women, it gives such statements additional credibility. Both magazines were positioned to inform women about major decisions being made in the country on the grounds that women had finally become

equal citizens of the Soviet society fully engaged in all sorts of activities, therefore they were to be aware of main events in the country. "'Krest'ianka' organizes collective farm female workers for the struggle for implementation of the party's decisions. […] the magazine helps every collective farm female worker to work better and become a Stakhanovite worker in her work field." ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 28, p. 18)

The right to equally work as men guaranteed by the new Constitution was positioned to be logically connected with the new law prohibiting abortions: "Implementing Stalins' law of women and children, we will do everything possible to help a collective farm worker-mother bring up her children, give her an opportunity to study, raise the level of her proficiency, even more actively participate in production and public life of a collective farm and the country as a whole. We will take care of them in the same manner as comrade Stalin takes care of us. For that, we will agitate for subscription for the magazine "Krest'ianka" and will hold oral readings of the magazine, and will secure so that every collective farm female worker become a regular subscriber of the magazine 'Krest'ianka'". ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 29, p. 5) Hence, it appears quite obvious that the magazine "Krest'ianka", along with other means of agitation, was positioned to be an efficient tool in channeling state propaganda. Besides, the phrase that every citizen will come to help women to raise the children proves that the whole society was expected to participate in the process of nation building in which women were positioned to play a central part.

Soviet women thank Stalin

Although, in reality, the reaction to the new Constitution and particularly to the new law prohibiting abortions was different, the magazines published only positive responses, articles in women's magazines of the 1930-1950s were indeed entitled "Thank you great

Stalin'. The feedback of women to the new Constitution provided in every issue of the both magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" is usually expressed in the following terms, "The Proposed Constitution lists all the demands and thoughts of the working class, as if the party and government leaders, when composing the Constitution, talked to each of us, knew our opinion in advance. So much care and attention our party, the Soviet government and comrade Stalin himself pay by including a special article about a woman in the Constitution". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, issue 29, p. 8) Thus, by 'putting such words into mouths' of women, the government attempted to add extra credence to what was said in the magazines' articles. Practically in every issue of the magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" of 1936 women thank Stalin for unbelievable improvements in their social and material position.

Stalin's Constitution is claimed to provide women with the opportunity to work. Therefore, the logic was that since the state was so progressive and farsighted regarding the provision of women with the opportunity to work, women were expected to justify the state's trust in them, i.e. though working. In one of the issues of the magazine "Krest'ianka" of 1936, an article called "We Will Justify the Trust". ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 20, p.9) deals with the discussion of the new law concerning abortion prohibition and family protection: "Comrade Stalin when elaborating the new Constitution approached the women question with father's care. Such attitude is obvious in every article of the new law. And we will justify the trust paid to a woman in Stalin's Constitution. Recently we have discussed the draft law concerning abortion prohibition and family protection. This law ideally suits the content of the new Constitution. State protection of mother's and child's interests, maternal leaves, family protection – all these give us, women, an opportunity to even more actively participate in public and collective farms' work." ("Krest'ianka", 1936, issue 20, p.9) This illustrative example supports the assumption made earlier in the first

chapter that one of the main objectives of the family policy of 1930-1950-s was to provide women with much more 'free' time to engage them either in industrial production or in collective farms.

"The extensive 'thank you Stalin' literature that emerged in the 1930s exemplified this symbolic relationship between Stalin and Soviet heroines. The correspondents addressed Stalin with the familiar form of 'you', *ty*, rather than the more formal *vy*, 'thou' and prefixed Stalin's name with the adjective *rodnoi* (one's own) to underscore the familial relationship that bound them to Stalin. […] The extensive concern for women's welfare that Stalin was credited with was in consonance with the public imaging of the dictator as the paternal champion of women's rights, and the sole guarantor of their upward mobility". (Chatterjee 2001: 63)

The articles aimed to glorify Stalin often consist of short biographies of women which illustrate how Stalin's policies have changed their lives from being illiterate citizens to skilled workers with a bright future. A typical paragraph was: "It now seems to me that my earlier life was some sort of nightmare. Soviet power and the party of Lenin and Stalin gave women economic independence, having raised her dignity to inaccessible heights. Woman is now an equal member of socialist society. You especially feel this when you read the draft of the new constitution, written by our own Stalin. I experience such a feeling of joy when I read these lines. ("Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka", no. 14, 1936, p. 14) (Buckley 1989: 123)

The general message that such articles seem to be trying to convey is "How wonderful it is to be alive now'. "A great number of women of the Soviet Union are happy about the new decree on the family which expresses Stalin's care about a mother and a child. They greet the new law prohibiting abortions because abortions are the greatest evil… All women in the USSR understand that the law is aimed to protect their health since

women in our country make up a half of the population, and, according to Stalin, not only constitute a great 'labor army' but "are called upon to raise our children, our future generation, i.e. our future. Every conscious mother should be ready to perform this role with honor and give to the country healthy 'herculeses' – a decent generation of our wonderful native land". ("Rabotnitsa", 1936, p. 4) Such statement is a typical example of the so-called feedback from Soviet women to the articles of the new Constitution in which women unanimously express their happiness about the recently introduced law.

However, we should not forget that such statements were made in the context of the terror and bloody purges. Claims of unbelievable happiness were actually far to from being true, "just as were remarks about the progressiveness of the new Constitution". (Buckley 1989: 123) However, these heroic glosses on life were an integrant part of Soviet political reality since the 'Thank you Stalin' literature played a significant role in propaganda. "The theme of the liberation of women was harnessed to the cause of Stalin's personality cult and helped to further the cult". (Buckley 1989: 123)

Thus, as it was shown above, women were forced into a position to thank Stalin for their liberation. Therefore, they could not ask the government to promote that very same liberation. Besides, the woman question was claimed to have been solved, so they could not attract attention "to the officially non-existent difficulties of women's lives". […] "Nevertheless the official line of the 1930s and 1940s was that work among women was still of great significance to the party". (Buckley 1989: 123) The party needed the unified defenseless nation which was to be reproduced, brought up, and educated, therefore the party needed women to perform those tasks.

To conclude, the articles of the both magazines of 1936 and 1953 are constructed in such a way as if Soviet women were interviewed and had a chance to express their opinion. However, the expressed opinion is distinguished for being quite markedly unanimous – all

women, starting from heads of factory departments to ordinary peasant women, thank Stalin for issuing such a wonderful law prohibiting abortions and giving them a chance to realize themselves as citizens and mothers. The expression 'as a citizen and a mother' brings us back to the idea of the division between the private and public spheres, and that women, as distinguished from men, were to perform duties relevant to both the public and the private. Besides, almost every article highlights the statement: "We will justify the faith rendered to women in the Stalin's Constitution", which literally means that they were ready to willingly perform both functions as a committed worker and a mother who is bearing a very important responsibility of raising of a new generation of Soviet citizens. "Women were simply obliged to deal with domestic matters because of the enduring assumption that the wife should take on the bulk of the responsibility for shopping, childcare and housework, despite the fact that she was now often also involved in full-time paid employment". (Davies 2001: 92)

Conclusion

The thesis addressed the issue that policy concerning women and representation of the Soviet woman were key to Nation-building in the Soviet Union of 1930-1950s. For that purpose, I analyzed 40 issues of the magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krest'ianka" of 1936 and 1953, the marking ends of the Stalin's reproductive policy, among other issues raised in this work.

Although the issue of the position of women in the Soviet Union has already been studied by numerous scholars, the significance of this work is that this problem was approached from the perspective of the women's role in the nation-building process from the 1930s through the 1950s.

The First Chapter was dedicated to showing that Soviet women were used as symbolic markers of progress for the nation. Thus, the progress made by the whole nation was exemplified by the progress in the position women. "Women are often required to carry the 'burden of representation', as they are constructed as the symbolic bearers of the collectivity's identity and honour, both personally and collectively". (Yuval-Davis 1998: 29)

Thus, since the state claimed that women were equal with men, to achieve this equality and justify the state's trust in them, they were expected to work a lot, even to join the Stakhanovite movement, to join their efforts with men in the common cause of building a strong Soviet nation.

Even though the Soviet government proclaimed new opportunities and public roles available for women under state socialism, the images of women created through photography and in the magazine articles articulated relationships of domination and subordination in the Soviet society under the Stalin rule.

The images created in the women's magazines were one of numerous means which created female images to stand for 'the people' as a whole, "drawing on conventional gender codes and hierarchy to naturalise the subjection of society to the Stalinist state and legitimate the sacrifice of women's needs to those of industrialisation. The prevalence of female protagonists and the ideal of womanhood were closely connected with the escalation of the Stalin cult at this time: they modelled the ideal attitude of 'love, honour and obedience'." (Reid 2001: 194)

The Second Chapter argued that the reproductive policy of 1930-1950s in the USSR was key to nation-building, and therefore the images of women as mothers represented in women's magazines served as symbols of the nation's future. The Chapter has shown that during the Stalin's rule a quite intense cult of motherhood was developed.

Large families under socialism tended to be portrayed as problem-free and desirable. "The general message was that large families were quite normal and brought joy and responsibility rather than hardships and problems". (Buckley 1989: 133) Motherhood was being extolled, especially in the mass media. Women were encouraged to be workers and mothers at the same time

The section "Soviet women thank Stalin" is of significant importance since it shows that 'Thank you Stalin' articles in women's magazines were employed to further transmit propaganda through women's voices, thus securing extra credence to the reproductive policy introduced by the government. The general message that such articles seem to be trying to convey is "How wonderful it is to be alive now'. "Nevertheless the official line of the 1930s and 1940s was that work among women was still of great significance to the party". (Buckley 1989: 123) The party needed the unified defenseless nation which was to be reproduced, brought up, and educated, therefore the party needed women to perform those tasks.

There are at least two reasons why this work is significant for today. On the one hand, it gives background for understanding of the so-called 'backlash' against feminism in the former Soviet countries. On the other hand, the reproductive policy of the Stalin's era in a way reflects the contemporary pro-natalist policy in Russia which is now preoccupied with increasing the birthrate to the maximum possible.

"Nearly every researcher considering gender issues in post-socialist Eastern Europe has noted the development of what has been termed an 'anti-feminist' movement", notes Laurie Occhipinti in his article "Two steps back?: Anti-Feminism in Eastern Europe". These days we face the situation when women's return to domestic sphere and raising children is widely promoted as a key to a better society. Some theorists suggest that such a tendency is a response to socialist version, part of the backlash against all things communist. (Occhipinti 1996: 13)

Occhipinti suggests that in order to understand this tendency towards anti-feminism in Eastern Europe and the former USSR, it is necessary to consider that the theory and practice of feminism in this region significantly differs from feminism in the West. The theoretical foundation of feminism in the former USSR and Eastern Europe traces back to the work of Marx and Engels in which the major cause of gender inequality was defined as capitalist relations of production. Thereupon, as soon as full equality in the public sphere was achieved, the argument ran, equality in other spheres would follow. However, the practice of feminism in the socialist bloc showed that the real practice of feminism in communist countries had little resemblance with the theoretical work. (Occhipinti 1996: 14)

Eastern European feminists frequently point out problems connected with the multiple roles socialist women had to fulfill. During the Soviet rule the ideal woman was a professional worker, a caring mother, a wife, and an enthusiastic comrade. Women's responsibility for both professional and domestic spheres was never questioned in the

media or by the state. The concept of women's emancipation under Soviet rule did not presume individualism, as it was in the West, but 'collectivism' and 'social patriarchy'. Gender equality was measured not in terms of 'individual satisfaction and liberty', but of the collective good. (Occhipinti 1996: 14) Consequently for most women it was difficult if not impossible to fulfill all those roles successfully.

The traditional ideal of a strong woman, common throughout Russia, was extended in state propaganda and in popular belief. The principle of self-sacrifice was highly promoted in the media as a woman's responsibility to the 'socialist family'. (Occhipinti 1996: 15)

Too many demands placed on women during the Soviet era resulted in the anti-feminist movement after 1989. The concept of 'women emancipation' in the socialist sense was rejected with the rest of Soviet legacy, 'as a part of Communist propaganda'. (Occhipinti 1996: 15)

Thus, having analyzed 40 issues of women's magazines of 1930-1950s, I can make a conclusion that, according to the articles, there was no real debate concerning the woman question since it was presumed to have been solved. "Assertions about female roles replaced analysis of them". (Buckley 1989: 136) Women were encouraged to be a 'great force' in agriculture, industry, and war, while at home, they were expected to be caring mothers and wives, preferably awarded with motherhood medals. "Domestic labour, self-determination and sexuality became non-issues, kept off the political agenda and out of ideological tracts. Female shock workers and Heroine Mothers were praised to the hilt. Soviet women were portrayed as great achievers at home and at work, suffering no hardships or obstacles." (Buckley 1989: 136) The general message that we find in the articles of women's was that women were free and equal with men, and that there were no evident obstacles to perform their duties in the name of socialism in production,

reproduction and defense with smiling enthusiasm and desire. “In sum, women were an economic and demographic resource to be utilized to the full.” (Buckley 1989: 136) Women’s issues appear to be no on the list of political priorities. What we find in the pages of women’s magazines is the image of “successful and problem-free Soviet superwomen, ever-ready to contribute to the state and to praise Stalin”. (Buckley 1989: 136)

Finally, women were viewed not as individuals needed to be liberated, but as a collective body who could contribute to economic growth of the country and participate in the common struggle against class enemies with their male comrades. Literature of that period noted: “In working women and peasant women Comrade Stalin sees an enormous reserve, which under the correct policy of the working class is able to become, and must become, ‘a real army of the working class, acting against the bourgeoisie’. He said that the decisive task of the working class is ‘to mould out of the female labour reserve an army of working women and peasant women, acting side by side with the great army of the proletariat’. (Aralovets, 1947, p.17)” (Buckley 1989: 137) Thus, women were held to be an important part of the nation-building process the ultimate goal of which was to form a national army of workers in industry, agriculture and defense of the country.

Bibliography

Althusser, Louis, 1969. "Ideology and the State", *Lenin and Philosophy* translated by B. Brewster, in *Modern Literary Theory.* New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971

Attwood, Lynne, "Women Workers at Play: the Portrayal of Leisure in the Magazine *Rabotnitsa* in the First Two Decades of Soviet Power", in *Women in the Stalin Era*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 29-49

Bobroff, A., "The Bolsheviks and Working Women, 1905-20", in *Soviet Studies,* vol. 26, no. 4, 1974, pp. 540-67

Bonnell, Victoria E., "The Representation of Women in Early Soviet Political Art", in *Russian Review,* Vol. 50, No. 3. (Jul., 1991), pp. 267-288

Buckley, Mary, "Soviet Interpretations of the Woman Question", in *Soviet Sisterhood,* Barbara Holland (ed.), Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985, pp. 24-54

Buckley, Mary, "The Untold Story of the *Obshchestvennitsa* in the 1930s", in *Women in the Stalin Era*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 151-173

Buckley, M., "Women and ideology in the Soviet Union", Mary Buckley (ed.), USA: The University of Michigan Press, 1992

Chatterjee, Choi, "Soviet Heroines and the Language of Modernity, 1930-39", in *Women in the Stalin Era*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 49-69

Conze, Susanne, "Women's Work and Emancipation in the Soviet Union, 1941-50", in *Women in the Stalin Era*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 216-235

Davies, Sarah, "'A Mother's Cares': Women Workers and Popular Opinion in Stallin's Russia, 1934-41", in *Women in the Stalin Era*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 89-110

Desfosses, Helen, "Demography, Ideology, and Politics in the USSR", in *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2. (Apr., 1976), pp. 244-256

Enloe, C. (1990), "Womenandchildren: Making Feminist Sense of the Persian Gulf Crisis", in *The Village Voice,* September 25, 1990

Evans, J., 'The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Women's Question: the Case of the 1936 Decree "In Defence of Mother and Child"', *Journal of Contemporary History,* vol. 16, no. 4, 1981, pp. 757-75)

Goldman, Wendy, "*Babas* at the Bench: Gender Conflict in Soviet Industry in the 1930s", in *Women in the Stalin Era*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 69-89

Gordon, L. (ed.), "Women, the State and Welfare", London, 1990

Gray, Francine du Plessix, "Soviet Women", in *The New Yorker* – Feb. 19, 1990 – pp. 48-81

Gray, Francine du Plessix, "Soviet Women: Walking the Tightrope" / Francine du Plessix Gray. – 1st ed. – New York: Doubleday, 1991

Harper, Douglas, "An Argument for Visual Sociology" in *Image-based Research: a Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers,* edited by Jon Prosser, London: Falmer Press, 1998

Heitlinger, Alena, "Women and State Socialism: Sex Inequality in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia", Great Britan: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979

Heer, David M. & Bryden, Judith G., "Family Allowances and Population Policy in the U.S.S.R.", in *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 28, No. 4. (Nov., 1966), pp. 514-519

Hodder, Ian, "The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture" in Denzin, Norman K., Lincoln, Yvonna S. eds. *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials.* Sage London, 2003

Ilič, M., "*Traktoristka*: Representations and Realities", in *Women in the Stalin Era*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 110-131

Kollontai, Alexandra, Communism and the Family (1920), in *Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai*, Allison & Busby, 1977; translated by Alix Holt. – Derived from: http://www.marxists.org/ archive/kollonta/1920/communism-family.htm

Koven, S., Michel, S. (eds.), "Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States", New York, 1993

"Krest'ianka" magazine, issues No. 19-33, 1936. Moscow: Pravda

"Krest'ianka" magazine, issues No. 1-7, 1953. Moscow: Pravda

Liborakina, M.I., Rossiskie zhenschini: nemnogo o traditsiyah, samopozhertvovanii I grazhdanstvennosti, in *Materiali koferentsii "Gendernie issledovaniya v Rossii: problemi vzaimodeistviya i perspectivi razvitiya"*. Moscow, 1996. – pp. 83-94

Mazur Peter D., "Reconstruction of Fertility Trends for the Female Population of the U.S.S.R., in *Population Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 1. (Jul., 1967), pp. 33-52

McAndrew, Maggie, "Soviet Women's Magazines", in *Soviet Sisterhood*, Barbara Holland (ed.), Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985, pp. 78-116

Mezentseva, Elena, "Equal opportunities or protectionist measures? The choice facing women", in *Women in Russia: a new era in Russian feminism* /edited by Anastasia Posadskaya; translated by Kate Clark. New York: Verso, 1994. – pp. 109-123

Occhipinti, Laurie. Two steps back?: Anti-feminism in Eastern Europe. In *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 12, No. 6 (Dec., 1996). – pp. 13-18

Pateman, C. (1988), "The Sexual Contract". Cambridge: Polity Press

Peers, Jo, "Workers by Hand and Womb – Soviet Woman and the Demographic Crisis", in *Soviet Sisterhood,* Barbara Holland (ed.), Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985, pp. 116-145

Polivaeva, N.P., "Zhenskiy vopros v Rossii", in *Materiali koferentsii "Gendernie issledovaniya v Rossii: problemi vzaimodeistviya i perspectivi razvitiya"*. Moscow, 1996. – pp. 39-43

"Rabotnitsa", issue No. 37, 1927. Moscow: Pravda

"Rabotnitsa" magazine, issues No. 26-36, 1936. Moscow: Pravda

"Rabotnitsa" magazine, issues No. 1-10, 1953. Moscow: Pravda

Reid, Susan E., "All Stalin's Women: Gender and Power in Soviet Art of the 1930s", in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 57, No. 1. (Spring, 1998), pp. 133-173

Reid, S. E., "The New Soviet Woman and the Leader Cult in Soviet Art', in *Women in the Stalin Era"*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 194-216

Scheide, Carmen, "'Born in October': the Life and Thought of Aleksandra Vasil'evna Artyukhina, 1889-1969", in *Women in the Stalin Era*, Melanie Ilič (ed.), New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 9-29

Schrand, T., "Soviet "Civic-minded Women" in the 1930s: Gender, Class and Industrialization in a Socialist Society", in *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1999, pp. 126-150

Tupitsyn, Margarita, "Against the Camera, For the Photographic Archive", in *Art Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 2, Contemporary Russian Art Photography. (Summer, 1994), pp. 58-62

Vainshtein, Ol'ga 1996, "Female Fashion, Soviet Style: Bodies of Ideology", in *In Russia, Women, Culture*. Goscilo and Holmgren (eds.) Bloomingtom: Indiana Univ. Press

Viola, L., "*Bab'I bunty* and Peasant Women's Protest During Collectivization", *Russian Review*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1986, pp. 23-42

Williams, B., “Kollontai and After: Women in the Russian Revolution”, in S. Reynolds (ed.), *Women, State and Revolution: Essays on Power and Gender in Europe since 1789* (Brighton, 1986), pp. 65-6

Winston, Brian, “‘The Camera Never Lies’: The Partiality of Photographic Evidence”, in *Image-based Research: a Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*, edited by Jon Prosser, London: Falmer Press, 1998

Yuval Davis, Nira, 1998, “Gender and Nation” in Wilford, R., and Miller, R.L., (eds) *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: The Politics of Transition*. London: Routledge

Zhurzhenko, T. (2001), “Strong Women, Weak State: Family Politics and Nation Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine”, in *Social Reproduction and Gender Politics in Ukraine* [in Russian]. Kharkiv: Folio