Reconsidering the Conventional Private/Public Dichotomy: Examining the Femen Movement through the Arendtian Lens of the Social

By
Viktoriya Arkhipenko

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of International Relations and European Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor Alexander Astrov

Word count: 13 437 words

Budapest, Hungary
2012

Abstract

The image of Ukrainian blond young women with semi-naked body and painted breasts became one of the most recognizable and scandalous phenomena during the last years. Femen protests against a large number of issues on the territory of Ukraine and abroad, tackling the problems of women's rights, sex tourism, decline of democracy, etc.

In my thesis, I examine the phenomenon of Femen, namely, why does the conventional private/public approach fail to explain Femen and what alternative theoretical framework can be used for the explanation of this case. My argument is based on the two lines of theoretical analysis. First, I analyze the classical private/public dichotomy and the change of its immutability in the times of Modernity, which was reflected in the demise of public sphere. Second, I use the rise of social theory introduced by Hannah Arendt to develop alternative dichotomy of social/intimate, which then with help of Femen case is proved to exist in Ukraine, where it substituted the traditional private/public divide. Thus, the emergence of Femen is analyzed through the lens of social/intimate opposition. I argue that it does not represent the violation of the border between traditional private/public spheres, but is an illustration of the expansion of the social realm and consequent strengthening of the intimate.

Table of Contents

Introduction

On 19 December, 2011 the anniversary celebrations of Lukashenko's re-election were undermined by the protests organized by Belarusian journalists, politicians and activists. However, the events became known worldwide after three Ukrainian Femen activists joined the campaign. The young women wearing Lukashenko-like moustaches were topless and had red stars painted on their bellies. The protest took place in front of the KGB headquarters in Minsk, where Femen chanted "Freedom to Political Prisoners" and "Long Live Belarus". Soon afterwards the international scandal erupted, when it was discovered that three Ukrainians and their accompanying Australian photographer Katty Green went missing. The situation got even worse, when in a while it became known that three activists were kidnapped by six unknown men, who, as claimed by Femen, were officers of Belarusian secret service. They took the girls to the forest somewhere near Homel, where the unknowns made them strip, cut their hair, soaked them in oil and threatened to burn the activists.[1] Fortunately, soon Femen members were found and with help of Ukrainian Consulate to Belarus they safely got back to Ukraine. This time the protest went further than a usual police detention; however it did not put an end to the scandalous initiative launched by this group of young activists.

The above example is only one of the numerous protests organized by Femen starting from 2008, when their organization was established. At the moment it is a well-known unregistered organization which includes about 300 members - young women under 25 with higher education. However, only few of them continuously take part in the topless-protests. Hanna Hutsol is the ideological leader and takes care of the management of organization, its financial part and development of new protests.[2] She is accompanied by the most active members Oleksandra

---

[1] Richard Solash, "Ukrainian Activists Allegedly Kidnapped, Terrorized In Belarus Found," *Radio Free Europe*, November 20, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/femen_activists_detained_by_belarus_kgb/24428304.html (accesed May 30, 2012).

[2] Homa Khaleeli, "The Nude Radicals: Feminism Ukrainian Style," *The Guardian*, April 15, 2011, http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2011/apr/15/ukrainian-feminists-topless-campaign (accessed May 24, 2012).

Shevchenko, Inna Shevchenko and Oksana Shachko, who have already become "face and body" of the movement.

At the beginning the protests, although scandalous and shocking, were still "dressed", if underwear, torn and provocative clothes could be named so. The issues addressed at that time, namely in the 2008-2009, were sex-tourism, prostitution, and women's rights. Starting from 2010 the design of the protests went further and they were converted into topless provocative rallies. The range of topics covered by Femen movement also increased and the number of political issues addressed during the protests augmented significantly. The protests can be divided in two types: group actions and "one-woman protests" (in this case only one activist take part in the action). Throughout the whole period of their activity Femen organized about 13 "one-woman" rallies. One of the most salient examples was the protest against surrogate motherhood. It took place in the railway station in Kyiv, where a pregnant topless activist was selling her unborn child to the passers by. [3] Another one-woman protest was made in the cemetery, where the activist with the slogan "Stable Quite" was protesting against the new policy of stability of Janukovych, which turned to be a cause of such social ills as poverty, pressure on the mass media and oppression of dissidents. The idea of the action was to show that life in Ukraine is as quite and cold as the cemetery. [4]

The years of 2011 and 2012 were also marked by the spread of Femen beyond the Ukrainian borders. Starting from the issue of the European Football Cup 2012, which is hosted both by Poland and Ukraine, the protests began to move westwards. The anti-Euro 2012 campaign first moved to Poland, where during the press conference in Warsaw, the activists presented new mascots of Eurorean championship. Instead Slavek and Slavko – the official mascots of the Cup, a new brand "Blyadek and Blyadko" (referring to the drunk football fans searching for satisfaction of their sexual needs) was introduced in the form of orgy imitation. This vector became one of the most salient of the whole Femen's activity and currently took form of the "UEFA Cup Hunting." The

---

[3] "Antysurogatna Kampaniya," [Anti-surrogate Campaign.] *Femen*, (May 31, 2011), http://femen.livejournal.com/154411.html (accessed May 24, 2012).
[4] "Mono-miting na Kladbishche," [One-woman Protest on the Cemetery.] *Femen*, (January 13, 2011), http://femen.livejournal.com/130234.html (accessed May 29, 2012).

2

Cup of Anri Delone was attacked by Femen activists during the official ceremonies in Kyiv, Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk. [5] But it is not the only target of Femen's rage. The protest against Pope's misogynous policy in the Vatican;[6] the celebration of Silvio Berlusconi's resignation in Rome; [7] the radical protest "Asian Cocktail" held in Istanbul, which was an act of solidarity with Muslim women, who suffered from the acid attacks in the Middle East; [8] attempts to wreck the election process by stealing the ballot-box, and support of anti-Putin demonstrations after the elections in Moscow [9] - these are only few of the most scandalous and provocative protests made by Femen.

Their actions resemble pointed strikes and rarely, except of the issues of sex tourism and Euro2012, have systematic character. They seem to react to every single problem that in their opinion should be of common public concern. Scandalous performances have converted the group into a recognizable brand, which probably stands in the lime next to Chernobyl, the Klitschko brothers, the Orange Revolution etc.

However, the question is whether this phenomenon is purely local, a child of specific "post"- elements (post-soviet, post – revolution etc.), or whether this movement tells us something more about the new order and structure of society. And although the issue of possible origins and reasons of emergence of the movement is beyond the scope of my research, in combination with the connection between Femen and feminism and Femen's overall goals and intentions, they constitute the main source of controversies around Femen. In order to navigate through the wide range of issues connected with Femen and get a more clear vision of the puzzle they represent, the analysis of the academic literature and scholarly interpretation of Femen has to be made. The literature

---

[5] Pavlo Palamarchuk, "Het-tryk FEMEN: Actyvistka Perekynula Kybok Anri Delone u Lvovi," [Hat-trick FEMEN: Activist Turned up the Cup of Anri Delone in Lviv.] *Gazeta.ua*, May 25, 2012, http://gazeta.ua/articles/euro-photo/_het-trik-femen-aktivistka-perekinula-kubok-anri-delone-u-lvovi/437516 (accessed May 27, 2012).

[6] "Molot Ved'm," [Witches' Hammer.] *Femen,* (November 6, 2011), accessed May 23, 2012, http://femen.livejournal.com/179004.html.

[7] "FEMEN Otpraznovali Otstavky Berluskoni," [FEMEN Celebrated the Resignation of Berlusconi.] *Femen,* (November 14, 2011), http://femen.livejournal.com/179758.html (accessed May 23, 2012).

[8] "Femen Znovy Zaareshtuvaly. Teper u Stambuli," [Femen was Detained Again. This time in Istanbul.]*Ukrains'ka Pravda,* March 8, 2012, http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/03/8/6960293/ (accessed May 24, 2012).

[9] "Golos za Golos, Zub za Zub," [Vote for Vote, Eye for Eye.] *Femen*, (March 4, 2012), http://femen.livejournal.com/197954.html (accessed May 25, 2012).

discussed is presented in chronological order, because this way it reflects the shift which was made from the analysis of Femen through the traditional private/public lens to the abandonment of this framework. The subsequent analysis of the media coverage helps to get the full picture of the discourse on Femen.

For better understanding of the overall academic debate on phenomenology of Femen the sources are divided into two groups: feminist and non-feminist. The first group includes the articles where Femen is implicitly or explicitly considered to be a feminist movement. The second group encompasses authors, although also working in the frames of gender and feminism, who abandoned the idea of Femen as a feminist movement and examine them as "a group with a political constituency" [10] or phenomenon of "post". [11]

First academic or better said semi-academic article on Femen was written in 2010 by Maria Majerchyk and Olga Plakhotnik. [12] They were pioneers who ventured to voice the concerns and questions raised around Femen. They argue that Femen is a new post-colonial and post-soviet phenomenon, a demonstration of grass-root feminism that eventually came to Ukraine from Europe. They tend to think of Femen more as a women's movement than a feminist one, supporting this view by mutual denial which emerged between Femen and feminists. The group rejects the academic and theoretical norms of feminism and by demonstrating their nude bodies on public they discredit themselves in the eyes of feminists, giving them sufficient grounds for disengagement. [13] Majerchyk and Plakhotnic see Femen's radicalism as a threefold structure. First, they courageously protest against new ethical and moral "education" applied by the neo-conservative government. Secondly, their activities could be a response to the strengthening of the right discourse, which tries to restrict women's role to conventional ideals of mother, virginity and family. The demonstration

---

[10] Jessica Zychowicz , "Two Bad Words: FEMEN & Feminism in Independent Ukraine," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 29(2) Fall 2011: 215-227.

[11] Maria Majerchyk and Olga Plakhotnik, "Femen: Analiz Dyskursiv," [Femen: Analysis of Discourses.] http://www.boell.org.ua/web/118-445.html (accessed May 18, 2012).

[12] Maria Majerchyk and Olga Plakhotnik, "Radykal'nyj Femen ta Novyj Zhinochyj Aktyvism,"[Radical "Femen " and New Women's Activism.] *Krytyka* (2010), http://krytyka.com/cms/front_content.php?idart=967 (accessed May 20, 2012).

[13] Majerchyk and Plakhotnik, "Radykal'nyj Femen ta Novyj Zhinochyj Aktyvism."

of bare breast in this case is "desecration" of all traditional interpretations of femininity. The last dimension of radicalism is the street character of their protests. They violate the boundary between the traditionally male space of the street and female world of household. Thus, the first facet of radicalism underlines the locality of phenomenon of Femen, which is later supported by the claims of Majerchyk and Plakhotnic that Femen could be also conceptualized as the post-revolutionary phenomenon, referring to the positive influence of Orange Revolution on the promotion of street protests. [14] In general, the authors leave the reader with the feeling of ambiguity because of the multitude of possible interpretations of Femen and because of the suggestion to examine Femen as a postmodern phenomenon, which was introduced without more detailed explanation.

Maria Dmytriyeva puts Femen in the frames of broader discussion of civil activism and development of nongovernmental organizations in Ukraine. She emphasizes the precarious position of Ukrainian feminism and lack of financing and governmental support to women's organization, which actually themselves have weak confidence in their activities. Dmitrieva expresses the most negative attitude to Femen movement and argues that the group aggravates the position of women in the current masculine society. She approaches Femen from the pure feminist position, which is clearly seen in her conceptualization of private and public realms. She sees the public space as purely masculine realm of decision making. In contrast female private space is filled with issues of nature, body and sexuality. [15] She argues that the reason why Femen attracts so much attention is that they cross the line of the private space and interfere into the public world of men, raising the wave of indignation on behalf of the male actors. The female sexuality is always an object of desire and whenever it is used it becomes the main object of interest and pushes the urgent problems to the back stage. Dmytiriyeva maintains that the reference to feminism in the name of movement enables Femen to use the achievements and potential of feminism, which they misuse by their stripping protests and personal rejection of their connection to feminism. [16]

---

[14] Ibid.
[15] Maria Dmytriyeva, "Femen na Tli Grudej," [Femen on the Canvas of Breasts.] *Krytyka* 15(1-2), http://krytyka.com/cms/front_content.php?idart=1037 (accessed May 20, 2012).
[16] Dmytriyeva, "Femen na Tli Grudej."

In contrast to the positions articulated above and the view on Femen as a reaction to the oppressed masculine society and neoconservative government, Larisa Lisyutkina claims that provocative street performances and their toleration by the government is a proof that Ukraine's democratic space became broader and now is characterized by alternative movements. Femen's strategies, although provocative, easily fit into the frames of street political activism. She argues that Femen is first of all valuable for academics in different fields of social sciences, because they represent exaggerated combination of street activism and feminist rhetoric, and therefore it is easy to use Femen as an illustration of the majority of abstract categories. [17] However, she does not specify which exact categories could be explained by Femen. She claims that feminism is multifaceted and probably Femen represents one of its sides. Like Majerchyk and Plakhotnic, Lisyutkina examines Femen as a phenomenon of post-soviet space and argues that they cannot be considered to be marginal in the opposition to women's movement, because this kind of activism is marginal itself. At the same time they are not marginal to academia, namely, to Gender Studies because at the moment this field of science is not widely recognized in Ukraine and is considered to be marginal. She sees them marginal as a part of broader marginal post-soviet space and time. [18]

Surprisingly, although tackling the connection between Femen and feminism, the alternative view on Femen was presented in the later joint publication of Majerchyk and Plakhotnik [19] and in the article of Jessica Zychowicz. [20] Majerchyk and Plakhotnik revise their position while claiming that Femen is rather post-modern and extra-systemic phenomenon, which cannot be explained through usual binary frames of mainstream/marginality. Their second work broadens the scope of categories which may be used in the analysis of Femen.

Argument of Majerchyk and Plakhotnik analyzed above is successfully complemented by the ideas of Jessica Zychowicz presented in her article "Two Bad Words: FEMEN & Feminism in

---

[17] Larisa Lisyutkina, "Fenomen Femen: Malyj Peresuvnyj Vybuxovyj Prystrij Made in Ukraine," [Phenomenon of Femen: Small Portable Bomb Made in Ukraine.] *Krytyka* 15(3-4), http://krytyka.com/cms/front_content.php?idart=1088 (accessed May 22, 2012).

[18] Lisyutkina, "Fenomen Femen."

[19] Majerchyk and Plakhotnik, "Femen: Alaniz Dyskyrsiv."

[20] Zychowicz, "Two Bad Words: FEMEN & Feminism in Independent Ukraine," 215-227.

Independent Ukraine." Although she also examines Femen from the standpoint of gender discourse, her approach is more objective in comparison with those used by the authors in the first group. She rejects the reading of Femen as a group of feminist activists and starts to explore them as a "group with a political constituency".[21] Thus she gets to the issues of innovative leadership of Hanna Hutsol and the use of body image. We see here definite success of the new approach, because it enables the author to raise new questions instead of digesting the old issues of goodness and badness of Femen, their connection to feminism and financial support.

Clearly, it is necessary to draw a number of concluding points from the above discussion. First of all, despite the existing and possible connections between Femen and feminism, the value of Femen for gender discourse is undeniable. Although their actions can be viewed as harmful and discrediting they still raise important issues of gender equality and level of democracy. This contribution, made consciously or not, explains the prevailing feminist approach to the issue, but does not impart feminism with strong explanatory power. Secondly, it is evident that feminist readings of Femen and their attempts to explain them through the binary oppositions of the female private/male public or the marginality/mainstream lead to the narrowness of possible explanations. The authors continuously use "phenomenon" in their analysis of Femen, but they are not precise in defining of its substance and meaning.

What is the phenomenon of Femen about? This question is impossible to answer without the juxtaposition of academic sources and media coverage of Femen. Journalistic articles, blog entries and photographic coverages form the majority of sources where the topic of Femen was covered. And actually the media were first, who tried to explain Femen before the issue was introduced to the academic debate. In the interviews and photographic coverages journalists and photographers we face the main controversy embodied in the Femen movement. No one denies the fact that Femen gained fame by the specificity of tactics it uses. The activists expose the nude body and imitate acts of physical harassment, coitus, and urination in public. All the mentioned issues pertain to the realm

---

[21] Ibid., 217.

7

of privacy and should be kept invisible to others. This means that Femen disclose their private side in public, thus violating the traditional understanding of private/public divide. However, if we take a look at the media coverage of the movement, we see a paradoxical tendency. All publications try to present a picture of the everyday life of Femen. Journalists do their best to show that the image they acquire during the protests is just a mask worn for the spectacle, not a daily reality.[22] They follow them to the kitchen and describe the poor utensils and design of the small flats they rent. "I think they are normal girls with normal problems, ideas and ideals who manage to break out of the routine and desperation during their protests." [23] Obviously such steps are undertaken mainly by sympathizers of Femen in order to evoke a positive attitude among the numerous opponents of the movement. In addition to this they try to depict Femen as private individuals, but how this "privacy" is different from the already discussed exposed "privacy" used in their protests. Here instead of desired divide of private and public individual we get two narratives about Femen as private actor. If we take into consideration the transition from the private/public approach to its abandonment, which was noticed during the analysis of the scarce academic literature on Femen, and combine this shift with the double-privacy of the journalistic narrative, a very important question should be asked. If Femen is not about private/public distinction, then what is it about? What does this phenomenon tell us about the broader issue of social structure?

In order to answer these questions and present my main argument, this thesis will be developed in three chapters. In the first chapter, the analysis of traditional private/public dichotomy will be discussed as the tool mainly used to explain Femen. I underline the number of problems with such category in the times of modernity and argue that this approach has little or even no explanatory power for the case of Femen. The second chapter is concentrated on the alternative

---

[22] Dialika Neufeld, "The Body Politic: Getting Naked to Change the World," *Der Spiegel,* May 11, 2012, http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/femen-activists-get-naked-to-raise-political-awareness-a-832028.html (accessed May 23, 2012) and Glass Katie, "Sisters of the Revolution! Time to Blow Your Tops," *The Sunday Times*, April 8, 2012: 16-21. *Newspaper Source Plus, EBSCOhost* (accessed May 26, 2012).

[23] Gleb Garanich, "The Femen phenomenon," *Photographers Blog,* March 1, 2012, http://blogs.reuters.com/photographers-blog/2012/03/01/the-femen-phenomenon/ (accessed May 19, 2012).

construction, which is based on Arendtian opposition of social and intimate. The final chapter is devoted to the detailed analysis of empirical case of Femen with help of the conceptual categories developed in the second chapter. Here I argue that Femen illustrates the transition from the private/public opposition and in a scandalous way reveals the reality of the novel social/intimate divide. The conclusion discusses the possible picture that could be obtained once the social/intimate opposition is applied to a broader scope of issues.

Chapter 1 - Traditional Theoretical Approach to Private/Public Dichotomy: Meanings and Problems

In order to generate a substantial analysis of the Femen phenomenon it is first necessary to start from the examination of private/public dichotomy. As it was already discussed in the introduction, these categories in form of mainstream/marginal or masculine public/feminine private were used as first conceptual tools in the early work of Majerchyk and Plakhotnik, and subsequently by Dmytriyeva and Lisyutkina to explain Femen. Therefore, in this chapter I will analyze the private/public distinction and show the problems of its applicability in the modern society. With help of Habermasian theory of public sphere, presented in the end of the chapter, the bridge will be built between the conventional private/public dichotomy and new social structure marked by the demise of public.

1.1 Multiple "publics" versus multiple "privates": difference in meanings

The private/public dichotomy, alongside the timeless oppositions of good and bad, state and individual, is a very important discourse starting from the philosophy of Antiquity. However, it comprises a great variety of meanings which come from different fields of thought and practice. The "private" and "public" categories not only help to conceptualize certain phenomena, but because of the great variety of meanings and spheres in which they are used they also frequently complicate the understanding of certain realia and make the distinction even more fuzzy.

First of all, we need to understand what actually we mean or what we refer to when we are speaking about the public or private realm. What do we define first? Is it a simple "what one is the other is not" or "what one is the other is opposite to"? The main underlying criteria of the private/public distinction are divided into "visibility" (including audibility) as being opened, accessible and exposed to everyone, and "collectivity" (pertaining to individual). These criteria have a great variety of explanations, which illustrate the difference in the relations between the

two. [24] Weintaub acknowleges that the meanings behind the terms private and public differ depending on the sphere of activities. He gives the four "major organizing types of private/public distinction", which, however, are not exhaustive: liberal-economic model; republican-virtu or classical approach; approach of sociability developed by Ariés, and feminist critique of the "great dichotomy". [25] The detailed discussion of the four approaches will be beyond the scope of my research, therefore I will only introduce the table constructed by Weintaub, which reflects his typology.

THE PUBLIC/PRIVATE DISTINCTION

	Private	Public	Sociohistorical Point of Reference
Aristotle	Household (oikos)	Political community	Polis
Ariès	Domesticity	Sociability	Old Regime
Marxist feminism	Family	Market economy	Capitalism
Mainstream economics	Market economy	Government (that is, administrative "intervention")	Capitalism

Figure 1. Organizing types of private/public dichotomy [26]

The second and the third columns of the above table reflect the main broad meanings of private and public in connections with the spheres they are associated with. However, this typology gives us only one side of this complex issue. While Weintaub approached the differences between private and public from the point of view of difference in the spheres of their usage, Nancy Frasner defines four main meanings of public regardless of the field of usage and is more concerned with the connection between the two. The meanings of public introduced by Frasner resemble Weintraub's typology: "(1) state-related, (2) accessible to everyone, (3) of concern to everyone, and (4) pertaining to a common good or shared interest." Meanings of "private" can be easily get by

---

[24] Jeff Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," in *Public and Private inTthought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, ed. by J. Weintraub and K. Kumar, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 5-6.
[25] Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," 7.
[26] Ibid., 35.

using the antonyms. [27] However, private realm is not limited just to these four definitions and also includes "(5) pertaining to private property in a market economy and (6) pertaining to intimate domestic or personal life, including sexual life." [28] This mismatch between the "multiple publics" and the "multiple privates" opens the space to argue that there is a possibility of dissolution of the private realm. The branche of intimate life, which did not find it corresponding meaning in the realm of public, will be a separately discussed in the next chapter, but at this stage it is important for the general need to reconcider the private/public divide.

Bearing in mind the specificity of the private/public definitions, it is relevant to understand their interaction. To this end, I analyse the argument of Noberto Bobbio presented in his book *Democracy and Dictatorship.* [29] Bobbio works with the concept of the great dichotomies, which he understands as certain pairs of political concepts which stand in opposition to each other. He brings few examples of such pairs, namely public/private, civil society and state, democracy and dictatorship. He argues that the private/ public distinction, which entered the Western political and social thought and became one of the "great dichotomies", came from the definition of the private and public law made by Justinian in *Corpus iuris.* This dichotomy crossed the limit of law and became a vital part of other branches of science.

Although Seligman squeezes Bobbio's approach to private/public dichotomy to the simple understanding of private - a sphere of relation between the parts, and public - one as the realm of relations "between the part and the whole", [30] there are more nuances which should be discussed. While trying to conceptualize the relationship between private and public, he defines the "great dichotomy" as a confronting distinction, where the two elements are mutually exclusive and each part can be either defined separately, or only one element of the dichotomy can be described whereas the second undefined part will be characterized as opposed to the defined one. He

---

[27] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1992), 128.
[28] Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 128.
[29] Norberto Bobbio, *Democracy and Dictatorship : the Nature and Limits of State Power (*Cambridge, UK.: Polity Press, 1989), 1-3.
[30] Adam B. Seligman, "Between Public and Private." *Society* 35, no. 3 (March 1998): 29.

maintains that the differentiation between the public and the private is often the case of the second mode of definition, when private is usually defined as "not-public". For him this way of defining the private realm gives considerable strength and superiority to the public component of the given dichotomy. According to Bobbio "…the space defined by the two terms is completely covered", which means that they mutually exclude each other and that the limits of public end in the point where the sphere of private begins and vice versa. This limitation has also influence on the size of the realms. The augmentation of one leads to the diminution of the other, regardless the private or public nature of the enlarged realm. [31]

Bobbio also claims that there are descriptive and evaluative meanings of the private/public dichotomy. In descriptive use these two terms function as contradictory elements: "...no element can be both public and private simultaneously or even neither public nor private." In contrast, the evaluative meaning is also an opposition but in terms that whenever a positive meaning is given to one realm, the other automatically acquires the negative one or the other way around. This difference in the descriptive and evaluating meanings is derived from the two different understandings of the relations between private and public. The first stems from the primacy of the private over the public and the second vice versa. [32]

Although the author's primary interest lies in the private/public dichotomy in the legal sphere it still gives us an interesting and valuable insight of the traditional understanding of private and public in the contemporary world. While supporting the unique value of this great dichotomy and arguing about the mutual exclusiveness of the two realms, he leaves space for a number of in-between cases, which are simultaneously private and public.The existence of such cases, on the one hand, underlines the movement of the boundary between private and public and their continuous transformations. He maintains that these phenomena make the distinction and limitation of the private and public realms less straight forward. For instance, the family belongs to the realm of privacy and is based on the principle of inequality, however the family unit constitutes one of the

---

[31] Bobbio, *Democracy and Dictatorship,* 1-3.
[32] Ibid., 9-10.

numerous cells of the state which encompasses the public realm. On the contrary, international society is an association of formally equal elements pertaining to the public sphere. [33]

The exceptions introduced by Bobbio raise the question why such cases exist. Clearly, we may argue that the private/public distinction and the strict borderline is an ideal construction and in real life we always face changes and interconectedness of the issues. However, if we apply the private/public category to the cases of family and civil society in different periods of time, it will be obvious that the level of their in-betweenness will rise and the applicability of the private/public explanation will be less plausible. One way to explain the reasons of weak explanatory power of the "great dichotomy" is by accepting Habermasian argument of demise of the public sphere, which will be thoroughly discussed in the following section.

1.2. Habermas and Refeudalization of the Public Sphere

Habermasian theory provides us with a thought provoking material regarding the decline of the public sphere and the incapacity of private/public opposition to explain the social practicies. Habermas defined his main concepts of public sphere and political public in his early work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.* Bourgeois society constitutes the main focus of his book and is used to illustrate the meaning of public and private sphere in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [34] He argues that the publicness of the fuedal era was based just on the public display, not involving the critical reasoning and participation of the people in the discussion of the vital issues. [35]

However, as a result of economic and political transformations the new phenomenon, which Habermas calls the bourgeois public sphere, has emerged. He gives a detailed socio-historical accout of its development and gives the substantial explanations to the reasons of its disintegration. The "rational critical argument" constituted the main axis of the public sphere, where both quality of the argument and quantity of participation mattered. He conceives of the bourgeois public

---

[33] Ibid., 9.
[34] Craig Calhoun, edit., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 6-7.
[35] Luke Goode, *Jürgen Habermas: Democracy and the Public Sphere* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), 4.

sphere as a historical category and is "the sphere of private people come together as a public." [36] He maintains that at the beginning the bourgeois public sphere was limited and exclusive, however these features changed to the inclusiveness and expansion of the members involved in the discourse, which actually led to the deterioration of the quality of discourse. And although these changes are negative, it is not possible to improve the public discourse by making it more elitist. [37] The importance of public discourse is marked by its ability to regulate the human life, which stands in opposition to the state and economy. Habermass describes the difference of the public sphere of the Enlightenment from that in the Antiquity. He maintains that the main difference lies in the understanding of the private realm. In Greek thought and practice, the realm of privacy was equale to the household - *oikos* - governed by necessity and tyranny. The public sphere encompassed the heads of the households who possessed private autonomy and were free only in the public realm. The bourgeois society of Habermas is defined as "the public of private individuals", who preserved and prioritised their private part and understood the private realm as the one of freedom and the one that should be defended against the institution of state.[38] This shift reminds of the earlier discussion of the primacy of private and public found in Bobbio. The main change that took place was that from the primacy of public over private in the Ancient Greece to the primacy of private in the bourgeois public sphere.

Although referring to the private/public divide in Antiquity, Habermas is more concerned about the further transformations, which the classical liberal public sphere face, once the process of "refeudalization" of public sphere began. [39] The idea of decline of the public sphere, or following Habermasian description, the return to the representation used in the Middle Ages, was a result of intertwined realms of private and public, which were clearly separated before. On the one hand, the private organizations began to penetrate in the realm of state power. And the interference of the

---

[36] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1993), 27.
[37] Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 1-3.
[38] Ibid., 6-7.
[39] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 175-176.

state into the private realm increased accordingly, on the other hand.[40] In addition to this the political parties and organizations acquired the roles of the mighty feudals of the Middle Ages. By representing themselves in public, which encompasses their voters, they try to manipulate the public opinion by taking advantage of the loss of its critical reasoning. From one point of view, mass literacy and struggle for women's rights and antislavery campaigns made the public sphere more inclusive and widespread, however, at the same time this inclusiveness lowered the quality of the discourse. From the other point, the "refeudalisation" made the private/public distinction less feasible. In other words, the strengthening of the market economy and its dissolution from the family life introduced complexity and fuzziness to the notion of private.[41] The destruction of the distinction between the state and society caused the dissolution of bourgeois public sphere and gave rise to "a repoliticized social sphere", which was incompatible with the private/public divide.[42] In these circumstances the sphere of intimate, which was once the heart of the private realm, was banished to the periphery and was accompanied by the deprivatization of the private.[43] This mutual infiltration of the private and public produced the conflict between the private and public law[44] and mass consumption of the culture and critical debate, which was closely related to the lowering of culture in general.[45]

Surprisingly enough, even though Habermas reveals such negative transformations, he leaves room for the possible revival of the bourgeois public sphere. Firstly, even in the conditions of "in the mass democracy of the social-welfare state" the rationalization of the public sphere may be reconstructed with help of the public elections and referenda, which constitute an organized way of public participation in the decision making process.[46] Secondly, there should be a strong demand for publicity of the institutions, which at the moment are not the subjects of public supervision.

---

[40] Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 21.
[41] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 151.
[42] Ibid., 142-143.
[43] Ibid., 151-152.
[44] Ibid., 141.
[45] Ibid., 161.
[46] Ibid., 212.

These institutions include political parties, mass media possessing strong political influence, and "special-interest associations under public law".[47]

Obviously, the new public sphere will be not identical to the classical liberal one, but its still gives some perspectives for the creation of its modified version. One of the possible recreations is seen in the virtual space. Blogging and social networking are conceived to be promising platforms for the critical debate, which under the influence of globalization can evolve from the level of nation-state to the international level.[48] This mode of recreating does not in fact give any guaranties because the quality of discourse is questionable. I will not go further along this line, because it will get us from the primary concern of this theoretical discussion.

Nevertheless, the analysis of Habermasian theory of public sphere and its decline in combination with the example of new public sphere given above is aiming at fulfilling of two crucial tasks. First, the dissolution of the private/public distinction caused by the refeudalization of public sphere is a supporting argument in favor of the inability of private/public category to explain certain social phenomena. Second, the optimistic position of Habermas regarding the revival of the public sphere provides a gradual transition from the conventional private/public to the Arendtian rise of the social, which will be discussed in the next chapter. And although the ideas of Habermas presented in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) were influenced by the earlier work of Hannah Arendt and in many respects reflect those concepts articulated in *The Human Condition* (1958), they precede the Arentdian argument, which is put in the basis of this analysis, because unlike Habermas, Arendt presents more radical account of the dissolution of the private/public distinction, which has more value for this research.

---

[47] Ibid., 208-10.
[48] Muhammad Zubair Khan , Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani and Dr. Allah Nawaz, "From Habermas Model to New Public Sphere: A Paradigm Shift," *Global Journal of Human Social Science* 12 (5) (March 2012): 43-51, https://globaljournals.org/GJHSS_Volume12/6-From-Habermas-Model-to-New.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012).

Chapter 2 - Arendt and the Social/Intimate Opposition

In the light of the previous chapter, the further analysis will be focused on the Arendtian approach to the private/public opposition and the rise of social realm. The theory presented by Arendt will give us the pessimistic account of the development of mass society and unlike in Habermasian case, will leave no open space for the possible reconstruction of the classical public space. This chapter starts from the introduction of the social realm and its influence on the old realms of private and public. The distinctions between the realms of private and consequently emerged intimate sphere are examined next. In the final part, the issue of the political action and theatricality, which constitute a vital part of the conventional public space, will be addressed to build a parallel between the role of transformations and self-disclosure in the traditional private/public discourse and their role in the world of social.

2.1. Introduction of the social

In *The Human Condition* Arendt addresses the private/public dichotomy and starts her argument from the very foundation of the Greek *polis*. She derives the notions of private and public from Aristotle's understanding of *polis,* where free men engaged in the communication between each other, making decisions with speech and persuasion as the main tools, but not coercion and violence. Aristotle defined man in polis as *dzôon politikon* and a *dzôon logon echon* − man as a political animal who posesses *logos.* In contrast, barbarians and slaves were defined as *aneu logon* (not deprived of speech but of the life in polis based on speech as a means of decision making and communication of free man). However, this very definition of man as a political animal later became the source of the ambiguity and misunderstanding, when in Latin translations *dzôon politikon* (political animal) became a man as a *social* animal. This misunderstanding gave root to a common equating of the political realm to the socail realm, which Arendt finds problematic. She argues that the private/public distinction corresponds to the distinction between the household and the political realm since the creation of the ancient city-state. However, the emergence of the social realm which coincided with modernity and foundation of the nation-state put an end to the

traditional dichotomy, whose existence was axiomatic. For us the dividing line between the two realms is blurred and therefore it is more problematic to conceptualize the new order, where the state acquired activities once pertaining to the household.[49]

The reading of Arendt as anti-egalitarian thinker, who advocated the supremacy of exclusionist public sphere is misleading. Although she acknowledges the primacy of the public realm in the Greek polis over the realm of household, she also underlines the vital interconnectedness of the two. On the one hand, man could not be called free and engage in the political realm unless he owned his private location, where all the necessities of his body were satisfied. [50] On the other hand, the integrity of the private realm was guaranteed by the political decisions made in public. Freedom as a main feature of the public realm was of the extreme importance and could "…exist only in the unique intermediary space of politics." [51] In turn, the sphere of household was considered to be pre-political, ruled by the tyrant head of the family and violence, whereas public realm encompasses the categories of freedom and equality.[52] However, such balanced coexistence could not be possible without a clear border between the household and city square.

The maintenance of the dividing line was not an issue in the Middle Ages, when the institute of the public sphere was absent, but its importance reappeared with the emergence of the social. However, the relevance of the threshold became more salient in the discourse and not fully implemented in practice. Arendt argues that this new realm of social not only erased the old borderline between private and public, but also dramatically changed their meanings. [53]

As I have mentioned elsewhere, [54] with the emergence of social the state became as a prototype of a big family, where the life preservation and sustention is the major concern for its

---

[49] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 27-28.
[50] Arendt, *The Human Condition,* 29-30.
[51] Hannah Arendt, "Introduction into politics", in Jerome Kohn ed. The Promise of Politics (New York: Schocken Books, 2005), 95.
[52] Arendt, *The Human Condition,* 32.
[53] Ibid*.,* 38.
[54] Term paper for the Evolution of European Political Order at the Department of International Relations and European Studies, Central European University, fall semester, 2011.

"nation-wide administration of housekeeping." [55] Politics, once being located in the public realm of free equal men, now constitutes a part of the social and becomes its function. [56] Political action was substituted by the behavior, which is dictated by the masses.

In addition to the abovementioned characteristics of the social, Arendt also identifies its ability to absorb the political, private and intimate.[57] However, her subsequent discussion of the specific relations between the realms of social, private, public, and intimate leads to the ambiguity, which has been observed by a number of scholars.[58] Such ambiguity and perception of the social as a matrix which encompasses the humans and the private and public realms accordingly, as it is in case of Robert Wolf,[59] could be explained by the gradual strengthening of the social realm. Such readings of the social prove Arendtian predictions about the elimination of the public realm, which will be followed by the disappearance of private. If we briefly return to the issue of Femen, we will admit striking level of intolerance to the protests. It is supported by the desire to exclude any possible rationality of the raised issues by narrowing them to the issues of intimate level. However, it is important to distinguish the difference between the private and intimate realms, which we come across while reading Arendt.

2.2. Dissolution of the Private Realm and Emergence of the Intimate

This part of the research is of special importance for the general argument, because the distinction between the private and the intimate realm will enable us to trace the scale of prevalence of the social realm in contemporary world. The case of Femen will be a touchstone of its spread or the extent to which it absorbed the public, private and consequently the intimate realms. First I will address the more general approach to the connection between private and intimate realms made by

---

[55] Arendt, *The Human Condition,* 27.
[56] Ibid., 31.
[57] Ibid., 37-39.
[58] Robert Paul Wolf, "Notes for a Materialist Analysis of the Public and Private Realms," in *The public Realm: Essays on Discursive Types in Political Philosophy*, ed. R. Schürmann (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 143. and Jeff Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," in *Public and private in thought and practice : perspectives on a grand dichotomy*, ed. Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar *(*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 35.
[59] Wolf, "Notes for a Materialist Analysis of the Public and Private Realms," 143.

Daniel J. Solove. This step will provide solid ground for further understanding of intimate, definition of which I find problematic in Arendt's work.

Although derived from thelegal literature, Sololve's definition and typology of private raises the important issue of the interrelation between private and intimate spheres. He argues that although there is great variety of meanings behind the concept of privacy, most scholars try to employ only one "core" meaning while making their argument. He deems this approach to be incomplete and claims that, at least in the Western tradition, we are used to refer to private as to family, body and home. Moreover, it is possible to arrange the meanings of privacy into six headings:

"(1) the right to be let alone; (2) limited access to the self; (3) secrecy; (4) control over personal information; (5) personhood-the protection of one's personality, individuality, and dignity; and (6) intimacy - control over, or limited access to, one's intimate relationships or aspects of life." [60]

Such scholars as Fried, Rachels, Inness etc. define privacy through the category of intimate. Their understanding of intimacy varies from intimacy as special relation of trust, love and caring (which play the role of a motivation to the action) to intimacy as a limited access to personal information and to the self. However, not all the scholars see the concepts of private and intimate as interchangeable. For example, Tom Gerety claims that one should define the intimate and private spheres as independent phenomena.[61]

The definition of the private as intimate marked out by Solove actually reflects the Arendtian interpretation of the intimate realm. She argues that what we call today as a private realm is a sphere of intimacy, whose existence can be traced back to the late Roman period. This realm was almost unfamiliar to the Greeks and is characterized by its "manifoldness and variety". Notwithstanding the fuzziness of distinction between private and intimate made by Arendt, the raise of social caused the emergence of additional realm of intimate.

---

[60] Daniel J. Solove, "Conceptualizing Privacy," *California Law Review* 90, no. 4 (2002): 1092-1093.
[61] Solove, "Conceptualizing Privacy," 1124.

Furthermore, Arendt continues that this new understanding of private – in other words intimate - lost the sense of deprivation, which it had during the times of antiquity, and it is as much opposed to the sphere of social, which actually emerged out of the private, as to the political realm. However, she also argues that the private sphere, whose main function was to protect the intimate, first "was discovered as the opposite not of the political sphere but of the social". She gives the example of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who saw the oppression of the private not by state but by the society. [62] As we have learned from the first Chapter, meanings attributed to the public realm include the notions of society, state administration, common good, etc. This can be the ground for the argument, that the reason why private and intimate are in opposition to both social and political, and moreover why this opposition was first noticed in the relation to the social, is that the social realm devoured the political realm and made the distinction untraceable.

Once accepted that the intimate sphere is the last resisting element to the emerged realms of the social, it is important to build a clear picture of the issues, which pertain to this realm. According to the comments of Patricia Boling on the private-intimate distinction found in *The Human Condition*, the difference between the realm of private and the realm of intimate is that the former is based on material grounds (property and physical boundaries protecting the private sphere), whereas the latter is founded on the emotional side of our personalities. "Intimacy provides a space for personal development and meaning that make up for the loss of meaningful public life." [63] Arendt herself underlined the emotional side of the intimate life by arguing that is includes "the passions of the heart, the thoughts of the mind, the delights of the senses." [64] However, the body with its certain necessities and sexuality also form a significant part of the intimate realm and this element obviously is a remnant of the private sphere, devastated by the social.

Pursuing further the discussion of the changes that were caused by the social realm it is necessary to analyze separately the issues of theatricality and political action. First, the analysis of

---

[62] Arendt, *The Human Condition,* 38-39.

[63] Patricia Boling, *Privacy and the Politics of Intimate Life* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 172.

[64] Arendt, *The Human Condition,* 50.

these elements and the change in their nature over the time is of crucial importance, because it gives the additional possibility to understand the influence of the social realm on the elements once pertaining to the public sphere. Second, it is in the direct connection to the tactics of street theater performance used in case of Femen. Thus, it will help to understand how exactly the idea of political action and theatricality changed. The precise illustration of the changes found in the case of Femen will however be included in the next chapter.

2.3. The Role of Political Action and Theatricality

Arendt argues that with the emergence of social the quality of action and speech, which was so crucial for the public realm of antiquity, lost its quality and was "banished into the sphere of the intimate and the private."[65] To understand the exact meaning of such claim it is necessary to analyze the concepts of political action and theatricality, which are used by Arendt. Dana R. Villa in his work discusses public space presented by Arendt as a "space of appearance". He argues that Arendtian description of the political action is twofold and combines expressive and communicative action, thus bringing the ambiguity to the broader understanding of politics. [66] Although for the purpose of the given research I am less interested in the tension between these two modes of action, the examination of both I find relevant for the assessment of transformations which take place once the threshold between private and public is crossed. Moreover, the generated knowledge will be useful for understanding of the modern processes.

The tension between the agonistic and associational modes of action was deeply analyzed by Seyla Benhabib. First, Arendt articulates the idea of agonistic or theatrical model of public space, which refers to the space of appearance where the individuals come together and perform their outstanding actions. This account is found in *The Human Condition*; whereas the second model - associational public realm – is present in her other works *(On Revolution, Crises of the Republic)*. The latter model stems from the voluntary initiative of citizens who are capable of political

---

[65] Ibid., 49.
[66] Dana R. Villa, *Politics, Philosophy, Terror: Essays on the Thought of Hannah Arendt* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 128.

judgment. She claims that these two models "correspond[s] to the Greek versus the modern experience of politics." The public space as a stage for performative action was an exceptional feature of the ancient restricted public realm. However, with the emergence of the social this model does not work, therefore the associational model of public space is the only applicable model for the modern world. [67]

In contrast to Benhabib, Villa maintains that the reason Arendt brings the agonistic model of the public space is not to restore the old practices of the Greek polis with all the inherent inequality and exclusiveness which it is blamed for, but to give an example of how the pure political action and public space were created and maintained in different societies. Arendt viewed the political action as one of the fundamental elements nurturing the worldliness or our common sense of the world which is far more than participatory democracy or communal action.[68]

The message Arendt wants to deliver by discussing mask-wearing and role-playing, is not that the political action is all about self-expression, but rather she stands for the depersonalized principled action. This kind of action does not refer to the exposure of the true self and your inner world; it is rather highlighting the distinction that should be "between the private and the public self". This difference, criticized as mask-wearing and role-playing and comprised in one idea of hypocrisy, was erased during the times of the French Revolution, when there was a demand for the "whole human being".[69] It could be better understood from the example of a statesman. In the agonistic mode there was a clear distinction between the private and public sides of the statesman. Once he crossed the threshold of his household he put on the mask of the public person, able of making decisions. In the associational model we no longer tolerate this mask-wearing and demand the disclosure of the personal part as well.

In this instance we can clearly see that this shift form the agonistic or theatrical mode of political action to associational one coincided with the emergence of the social realm described

---

[67] Seyla Benhabib, "Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere,* ed. by Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 73-98.
[68] Villa, *Politics, Philosophy, Terror*, 134.
[69] Ibid., 140.

earlier. On the basis of the previously discussed phenomenon of mask-wearing, I argue that two main conditions were important for the flourishing political space. First is the existence of a clearly defined line between private and public realms. Second, but not less relevant, is the essential transformations which took place once the threshold was crossed. What indeed happened with the emergence of the social is the erosion of the boundaries between the realms, their interweaving and the loss of transformations or in other words "translations".

Thus, interestingly, the absence of these transformations combined with the disappearance of the private/public distinction supports the strengthening of the social realm and its contrasting relations with the sphere of intimacy. Here I do not claim that such "translations" do not exist at all, and that the omnipresence and omnipotence of the social went to its extremes in all respects. Once such conceptualization of the reality is accepted, the further step will be the application of this theoretical framework to the case study of Femen. Thus, in order to elaborate on this statement, in the next chapter I will present the empirical investigation of the Femen movement and its analysis with help of the categories developed in present chapter.

Chapter 3: Application of the Theory to the Case of the Femen Movement

After exploring the main features and problems of the debate on the conventional private/public dichotomy and analyzing the alternative structure of the modern world based on the Arendtian idea of the social, it is important to situate Femen in the developed framework. The puzzle, which was introduced earlier and which emerged after the juxtaposition of the arguments in academic and semi-academic sources with the journalistic coverage, now become more clear and can be addressed directly.

3.1. Femen in the Conditions of the Social/Intimate Opposition

Considering the main features of the social realm, namely the equalizing and "normalizing" function of no-man rule of mass society, the behavioral conformism and banishing of the political speech and action into the realm of private, it is necessary to see them in action in the case of Femen.

With the emergence of the social the substitution of the free political action and desire for excellence and admiration by the common standards of behavior took place. The size of the mass society influences the toleration of non-behavior and the bigger it is the less likely the non-behavior will be tolerated. [70] In case of Femen, with total number of about 300 activists, it represents a statistically insignificant part of the population and at the same time use tactics which are socially unacceptable. It is obvious that Femen has more opponents than supporters and this "alignment of forces" clearly reflects the equalization of mass society.

No surprise, that in such circumstances of behavioral conformism and mass consumption the negative attitude to Femen prevails. The overall critique regarding Femen could be divided into two categories. One side is represented by academic and feminist position. They consider Femen to be the victims of patriarchal society and cannot even clearly state their demands and position. [71] The bodies they expose are only a tool to gain popularity and promotion up to the social ladder. Here the

---

[70] Arendt, *The Human Condition* , 43.
[71] Majerchyk and Plakhotnik, "Femen: Alaniz Dyskyrsiv."

positions of left and right coincide as they both see Femen as a common evil. For the right wing their guilt lies in the defamation of national symbols and values. [72] At the same time the representatives form the left conceive of Femen as a movement, which discredits the achievements of feminism and civil activism.

The position of an average citizen, better said of the mass society, ignores the political and ironical parts of the Femen's performances and focuses attention on the nudity and sexuality of the young female body. The representatives of this approach critique Femen to a lesser extent than the scholars and politicians from the right and left. However, they try to discredit and neutralize the protests and ideas brought by Femen and narrow them to the public strip-shows. Such attitudes can be found in the comments to posts made by Femen in such social networks as vkontakte.ru and facebook.com, and on their official page in livejournal.com. Most of them are made by male users. In other words, this approach was explicitly stated by Garanich: "The public has two ideas of them, "funny girls" or "damn prostitutes," I wonder who's paying them." [73]

Clearly, sexuality, sex and semi-naked body, alongside the issue of prostitution, partially moved to the realm of intimate, once the private/public distinction disappeared. There these issues "lead an uncertain, shadowy kind of existence unless and until they are transformed […] into a shape to fit them for public appearance." [74] They become part of our reality once they are discussed in public. And usually storytelling or theater-like performances are used to transmit the intimate issues into the public realm. However, the performances of Femen look so realistic and not adapted to the social norms of behavior, that they provoke the negation of the visual image, which audience got while observing the protests. On the one hand, it could be a possible explanation to the fact that the society rejects the subjectivity of Femen and does not see it as a strong independent actor. On the other hand, it could tell us why the audience constantly searches for the real "face" of Femen and underlying contexts of this scandalous group.

---

[72] Mridula Gosh, "A Protest zhe Golyj," [But it is a Naked Protest.] *Den'.* January 10, 2012 (10), http://www.day.kiev.ua/222431/ (accessed May 18, 2012).
[73] Gleb Garanich, "The Femen phenomenon," *Photographers Blog,* March 1, 2012, http://blogs.reuters.com/photographers-blog/2012/03/01/the-femen-phenomenon/ (accessed May 19, 2012).
[74] Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 50.

The non-toleration of Femen in the mass society can be also explained through the perception of the protests as a form of offence. This will be better understood with help of analogy to the case of Diogenes, presented by Raymond Geuss in his book *Public Goods, Private Goods*. He tells the story about Diogenes, who continuously masturbated in the marketplace in Athens. If we examine this example by going further than a simple judgment that he was a perverted man, a few important conclusions could be drawn, which actually are presented by Geuss. First of all, he discusses the principle of "disattendability" or "civil inattention" by which he means that the way we behave in public places is regulated by the principle of not attracting attention of the people around you by any kind of your actions. Diogenes breaks this rule and in this way makes an offensive action. His violation is intentional and voluntary and is regarded by Geuss as the first of three possible reasons for the offensiveness of his deed. [75] In principle, the same logic of "disattendability" and its violation could be also applied to Femen, because the protests they launch immediately make the people around involuntary witnesses. The actions automatically engage them in the process of transition of the intimate (the nude body incorporating the message of sex as a commodity) into the sphere of public.

The second reason is less connected with the principle of "disattendability". [76] The principle of "avoiding near occasions of envy" could be interpreted as unacceptable behavior. It emerges when you make satisfaction of specific basic needs and desires visible to the public, and the same satisfaction is problematic or impossible for the people around you. This reason can probably give narrow explanation of the feeling of rage, which is experienced by male part of opponents, who are attracted aesthetically or sexually to the image of young beautiful body, but at the same time realize its unavailability. Such feelings become the foundation for such comments as "How much do Femen girls cost?" etc.

The last reason is associated with certain actions which can provoke a feeling of disgust, because they not only attract attention, thereby violating the principle of "disattendability", but also

---

[75] Raymond Geuss, *Public Goods, Private Goods* (Princeton University Press, 2001), 13-14.
[76] Raymond Geuss, *Public Goods, Private Goods*, 13-14.

because they are associated with something dirty and polluted. Geuss refers to the fact when Diogenes after an attempt to make a philosophical speech which got no attention, began to whistle, in this way the public paid more attention to the whistling than to the speech. Disgust is not a reflex action inherent by all humans; it is a reaction which must be taught and which is deeply connected to the social norms and practices. [77] There is also a different measure of disgust: if you see someone urinating on the street your feeling is stronger than when someone just tells you about this offensive and inappropriate action. Here the image of prostitutes incorporated by Femen comes into play. Being considered by the mass society as an inappropriate mode of behavior, it provokes the feeling of disgust and discredits all the concerns uttered by Femen, regardless their importance and urgency.

Summing up, the parallels between the cases of Diogenes and Femen illustrate the perception of Femen as intimate nucleus by the mass society and give possible explanations of the negative attitude towards the group. However, the feelings of disgust and shame provoked by the protests are also more complex than those derived from the case of Diogenes. On the one hand, Femen becomes the object shame and disgust. People may feel these feelings because of the violation of the principle of "disattendability". It emerges once the passer-by involuntary becomes engaged into the street performance simultaneously converting himself in a spectator. The disgust could be felt in reaction to ignominious image of prostitutes, which historically is viewed by the society as filthy and inappropriate, moreover it pertains to the list of taboo topics. On the other hand, Femen ceases to be an object of shame and disgust, and the spectators convert into the twofold phenomenon of being an object and a subject of the given feelings. This situation is possible when spectator already feels shame or disgust towards Femen, but at the same time is attracted to the image they produce and makes steps towards the elimination of such attitude. Thus, a person is caught in inner conflict and being unable to fully analyze the phenomenon of Femen reacts with hostility and criticism in their address. The inability of deep understanding is caused by

---

[77] Ibid., 15-18.

the fact that the binary opposition of private and public, despite the revolutionary changes of modern order, remained the main tool of analysis used by mass society. The picture is worsened by the lack of appropriate academic interpretation of the issue and open disregard or derision of Femen's activities on behalf of state officials.

3.2. Theatricality and Femen

Instead of the mainstream/marginal opposition as a tool of understanding for the case of Femen, Majerchyk and Plakhotnik propose to study Femen as phenomenon which could be described with the help of such postmodern categories as irony, performance, play, and kitsch. [78] The categories of description proposed by the authors are evoked by the tactics they incorporate during the protests. The actions initiated by Femen have the form of a well-engineered theatrical performance with elements of carnival parody and burlesque. The protesters play on the stage and those who observe the actions intentionally, or more frequently unintentionally, become the audience of these theatrical events. [79] The performances do remind us of the experimental plays where there is no clear limit between the stage and audience. There is always close engagement between the actors and spectators, however the spectators are never called to action (in the sense that Femen never calls for joining their organization and engaging in action). The image they produce seems very exclusive, because of the physical appearance of Femen's members.

However, theatricality of Femen has little to do with theatricality of agonistic model of public space. In fact the performances resemble reverse transformations. For instance, in the traditional understanding of mask-wearing, an actor acquired new appearance and mode of action once he crossed the threshold of the household. Thus, the free men had to abandon all the issues concerning the sustention of life and necessity and only by doing so they could engage in the public sphere. In the case of Femen the mask wearing is also in place, but instead of putting on the masks of public figure, they disguise themselves in "condensed" absurd costumes, to emphasize their intimate nature. Due to this reverse theatricality Femen get the desired attention, however, such re-

[78] Majerchyk and Plakhotnik, "Femen: Analiz Dyskursiv."
[79] Lisyutkina, "Fenomen Femen."

30

enactment of the intimate realm make a significant part of Femen's audience blind to the initial concerns and the limits of the stage. [80]

Interestingly, the example of Diogenes can be used not only for the explanation of the feelings of offence, disgust and shame. The act of masturbation in public can be paralleled with the provocative actions of Femen and illustrate how the exposition of intimate is used to convey the messages to the public. Of course, the success of such mode of communication between the performer and the audience can be questioned. This was further shown by Diogenes, who was whistling to attract attention of the audience after he failed to do that with help of rhetoric. [81] The attention was indeed attracted, the message was sent, but whether it was received and decoded by the recipient is doubtful.

Accordingly, the reverse theatricality causes the twofold narrative of privacy found in the media coverage, which was discussed in the Introduction. This concept of twofold privacy can be better understood through the process tracing of the shift from the private realm to intimate as it was mentioned by Habermas and Arendt. In the classical private/public divide both the coverage of topless demonstrations and the articles about daily life of the activists would be tagged as narratives of privacy. In contrast, in the conditions of social/intimate opposition, when the old private sphere is dissolved and great chunk of it is devoured by the social, we deal with the issue of pseudo-privacy, [82] which although is still called private pertains to the realm of social. Therefore, the bare breasts in the journalistic reports should be conceived as the depiction of privacy used by Femen and "the tea ceremonies" at the kitchen table should be considered as a pseudo-private discourse.

Moreover, this twofold narrative has an additional meaning for the discussion, because in fact it illustrates the desire to reconstruct the private/public distinction and is strongly connected with the theatricality. The role-playing in the Arendtian agonistic public space implied the transformations in the process of crossing the line between public and private. The person had two

---

[80] Zychowicz, "Two Bad Words," 218.
[81] Geuss, *Public Goods, Private Goods*, 15-16.
[82] Habermas, *The Structural Transformations*, 156.

31

different roles depending on the realm he was in. Thus, by showing the everyday life of Femen activists, journalists try to show the private part of Femen as an actor. By doing this they assume that the image Femen itself show during their protest is the public mask. However, the issue is more complicated, and from the overall analysis it is clearly seen that this image has intimate nature instead of public. This desperate search for the private side and reconstruction of the distinction between private and public individual is not fruitful for two reasons. First, such approach does not explain the nature of Femen and the reasons of its emergence. Second, it underlines that although already living in the social/intimate opposition, the conventional private/public dichotomy is still a prevailing category in the assessment of the surrounding events and practices.

3.3. Applying the Social/Intimate to Phenomena other than Femen

Although the developed social/intimate opposition was proved to correspond to the modern reality by the analysis of the Femen movement, it is interesting to see however, whether it is applicable to other cases. On the one hand, it will resolve the problem of locality inherent in Femen and, on the other hand it will open space for the further research, which might aim at testing the applicability of this distinction.

The first cases, which are in close relation to Femen and possess similar features, are a number of Femen's splinter groups. Their existence can be proved by the official facebook profiles of Femen movements in Serbia, Spain, Poland, Tunisia, Turkey, Holland and Italy [83] and their joint protests. One of such examples is Femen protest on Wall Street. Two girls organized the action under the slogan "Hands off of Our Sisters", referring to the violent treatment of women, who were detained and took to the police stations. [84] And although the tactics they use are less radical and provocative, the spillover effect of Femen is noticeable. Another possible homologous phenomenon is the SlutWalk movement, which was originally established in Toronto in 2011 "against victim-

---

[83] This conclusion is based on the facebook.com search for Femen groups and on the number of Femen's articles concerning the groups of followers from abroad.
[84] "Femen v New York City," [Femen in the New York City.] *Femen*, (November 18, 2011), http://femen.livejournal.com/180286.html (accessed May 30, 2012).

blaming and slut-shaming around sexual violence" and then spread across the globe. [85] The causal

relation between the Femen movement and SlutWalks cannot be proved, and their equation is even

more problematic if we take into consideration strong relation of the latter to feminism. However,

the provocative tactics related to the use of nude body and the language of protests resemble that of

Femen. Similarly the stripping idea was used by Putin's army, a new activist group of young

attractive women, who were advocating Putin's re-election this year and used slogan "Porvu za

Putina" or "I'll Tear It Up for Putin" [86] reffering to a word play, where "I'll tear up for" has twofold

meaning: to fight (kill) for someone and to rend one's garments. In this example it is seen that

Femen-like practices are not only used against the current regimes and conventional patriarchal

norms, but this tactics were also incorporated by the representatives of the opposite side. Although,

there is a possibility that "Putin's Army" is just pretence and has nothing in common with the

genuine desire of the grassroots movements to change the existing reality, the same can be argued

about Femen, which is frequently seen as a special project designed to distract public attention and

transmit it from the official decision making and vital issues to the scandalous catchy topics.

Nevertheless, the issue of interrelation among these movements and the possible causal paths has

less or even no significance for the question why on a larger scale and in different societies such

open demonstrations of the intimate matters take place.

Relevant conclusions can also be derived not from the comparison of the Femen movement

and the alike, but from the contrasting of the wave of Occupy movements, with the Occupy New

York as the main subject, and Femen. As already discussed, Femen is in a way a reflection of

Arendtian social/intimate opposition found in practice, and it actually constitutes the antipode to the

classical Greek agonistic public space. Once examining the Occupy Wall Street New York we get a

totally different picture.

---

[85] "How," SlutWalk Toronto, http://www.slutwalktoronto.com/about/how (accessed May 25, 2012).
[86] Julia Ioffe, "Taking it off for Putin," *The New Yorker*, July 21, 2011, http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/newsdesk/2011/07/putins-army.html (accessed May 25, 2012).

33

The movement was mobilized through the internet and started on the 17th of September 2011 in New York. Consisting of the students, artists, unemployed, etc. they established New York City General Assembly, which started from being an organizing committee and gradually converted into a decision making body.[87] While protesting against the social and financial inequality and precariousness of the 99% of the world population, this group declared the movement to be horizontal and opened to the participation of everyone.[88] The occupiers have three different types of bodies, which comprise commissions, working groups and general assemblies. Everyone can take part in the work of commission or working groups. The meetings are organized in public places and every decision is recorded in minutes, which are then published. The groups do not have strict rules of organization and are flexible to changes throughout their functioning. General Assembly is run by facilitators and is to approve the issues raised by the working groups and commissions.[89] The use of human microphone helps to spread the information from the speaker to the enormous audience and is basically repeating of the small parts of sentences after the speaker.[90] The "Occupation's spirit of cooperation and selflessness"[91] accurately expresses the nature of the movement and it desire to reconstruct the traditional public sphere.

By occupying the Zuccotti Park in September of 2011 the Occupy New York movement started to build "the city in the city" structure. The movement has clearly defined private and public realms. First they erected a tent city, which increased to such extent that "the people living there have created miniature streets between their "houses".[92] In addition to the establishment of the household, the occupiers created a set of groups to satisfy the basic needs of protesters on a daily

---

[87] Nathan Schneider, "From Occupy Wall Street to Occupy Everywhere," *Nation* 293, no. 18 (n.d.): 13.
[88] "Declaration of the Occupation of New York City," New York City General Assembly, http://www.nycga.net/resources/declaration/ *(accessed May 26, 2012).*
[89] Wade Rathke,"The Global Substructure Beneath the Occupy Movement," *Social Policy* 41, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 84.
[90] Richard Kim, "We Are All Human Microphones Now," *The Nation*, October 3, 2011, http://www.thenation.com/blog/163767/we-are-all-human-microphones-now (accessed May 26, 2012).
[91] Richard Kim, "The Audacity of Occupy Wall Street. The protesters have put their faith in the last seemingly credible force in the world: each other," *The Nation* 293, no. 21 (n.d.): 15.
[92] Matt Sledge, "Occupy Wall Street Erects A Tent City In Zuccotti Park, With Little Reaction From NYPD," *The Huffington Post*, October 26, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/10/26/occupy-wall-street-tent-city-nypd_n_1033987.html (accessed May 26, 2012).

basis. Thus, the groups of Sanitation, Comfort, Medics, Security and Sustainability started their work fulfilling in this way two functions: sustaining of life and creation of working places. However, the latter is not rewarded by financial compensations.[93] The combination of the above private space and participatory public sphere discussed earlier converts the Occupy New York movement into self-sustaining organism. The participators advocate the equality of the movement and therefore use the genderless and statusless name of occupier.

Without a shadow of doubt, the classical public sphere recreated by the Occupy movement undergone a number of significant changes, namely the incorporation of the internet sphere, which constitutes the virtual dimension of the public space in view of occupiers. In this respect, the new media and internet works differently in case of Femen, because instead of spreading the message and getting support, they spread the image which without appropriate context will be misused and misinterpreted. The outsourcing of the street performance to the visual and text representation, which they post on their accounts in different social networks and blogs, began in 2010. And in this way they prolong the duration of their protest by giving people an unrestricted possibility to observe and comment. [94] The role of the internet and the new media in the conditions of the social/intimate opposition is complex and should be studied separately. And at the moment only its twofold nature can be underlined.

The comparison of Femen and Occupy Wall Street also clearly illustrates the pessimistic Arendtian rise of the social and the optimistic Habermasian revival of classical public sphere. It is obvious that the general principles of equality, participation and clear divide into the private and the public, which were articulated by Arendt and presented in the previous chapter, are in place and enable us to conclude that on a large scale the Occupy and the Femen movements represent the opposite cases of flourishing public sphere and its disappearance.

Femen is playing on the edge. On the one hand, they use absurdity of foul language and public imitations of sexual abuse, urination, desecration of churches, etc. as the main tactics of their

---

[93] Kim, "The Audacity of Occupy Wall Street," 15.
[94] Zychowicz, "Two bad words," 222.

protests. On the other hand, they try to raise awareness and attract attention to the vital issues of the Ukrainian and world societies. However, their prospects are not very optimistic. The position of Femen is aggravated by the small number of their activists in comparison with the size of audience, which is increasing with help of new media and transition of the visual material via internet and television, who at the same time represent the mass society guided by the norms of behavior. The fact that the nature of spectators is originated in and formed by the social realm gives no hope for their future ability of critical evaluation of the ongoing events. So despite the efforts of Femen, the main attraction for the majority will still be the image and not the content.

Conclusion

The clear private/public distinction which once was the basis of the Greek city-state has continued to be an important category throughout the historical development up to nowadays. However, it is impossible to deny that it undergone significant transformations such as the absence of public sphere in the Middle Ages [95] and subsequent periods of the refeudalization of the bourgeois public sphere of Habermas and Arendtian rise of the social. The dichotomy is still widely used as an assessment tool for events, practices and norms, it is easily seen in the legal sphere, where the debates about the limits of private and the depth of state penetration into the private lives of individuals take place. Thus, it is obvious, why the scholars in their first attempts to evaluate and make sense of Femen applied the traditional private/public distinction. By undertaking this step they wanted to show that the phenomenon of Femen is about their scandalous, provocative and socially unacceptable violation of the borderline between the private and the public. They also tried to assess them through the specific binary oppositions of female private/ male public and mainstream/marginality, which pertain as smaller constituent parts to the wider private/public dichotomy. However, such explanations did not go deeper than evaluation of the role Femen plays in the Ukrainian society in general and feminism in particular.

The subsequent juxtaposition of academic and journalistic narratives made the puzzle of Femen more clear. If Femen is not about private/public distinction, then what is it about? What does it tell us about the current social order? Is this phenomenon purely local and Ukrainian or does it have higher theoretical value? In order to answer these questions, I used theoretical analysis of the traditional private/public dichotomy to show that the mismatch between the meanings of private and public discussed by Frazer, the bothering exceptions of family and civil society presented by Bobbio and the gradual move to the decline of the public sphere made by Habermas give us sufficient grounds to question the correspondence of the private/public categories to the reality at least in certain societies. The subsequent use of Arendtian theory of the social enabled me to derive

---

[95] Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 38.

the opposition of the social and the intimate and apply these categories to the examination of Femen. At this point, the analysis has shown that Femen demonstrated the extreme example of the social/intimate opposition. The image of Femen, depicted in the media, which at the beginning resembled the twofold privacy, can be now divided in the revelation of intimate (Femen during the protest) and pseudo-private realms (Femen at home). At this point it is no longer possible to talk about the violation of the boundary between the private and the public, because instead of public and private individuals we get an image of intimate unit, which does not change its nature in the movement from private to public realms. As the social realm devoured the old realms of private and public, the sphere of intimate became the last point of resistance to the spreading and powerful realm of mass behavior and substitution of state government by state administration.

The reasons of why Ukraine became a birthplace of the Femen movement are not yet clearly and properly articulated. First of all, it is seen as the exceptional case for post-soviet and post-Orange-Revolution terrain and as a reaction to the democratic decline brought by the new government. However, the influence of the movement on the grass roots initiatives beyond Ukraine is significant. In the framework of social/intimate opposition such movements as SlutWalks and Putin's Army can become the object of the future research. The interrelation among these movements and the possible causal paths has less or even no significance for the question why on a large scale and in different societies such open demonstration of the private matters takes place. The future research, however, should not be restricted only to new social movements.

Although, because of the limited scope of the research the given work makes contribution to the study of social/intimate opposition only by using the example of Femen, it opens space to the possible application of the mentioned opposition to the cases of "intimatization" in the media and on the internet, which will go beyond the new social movements and groups of activists.

Bibliography

"Antysurogatna Kampaniya." [Anti-Surogate Campaign.] *Femen*. (May 31, 2011). http://femen.livejournal.com/154411.html (accessed May 24, 2012).

Arendt, Hannah. "Introduction into Politics." In *The Promise of Politics*, edited by Jerome Kohn. New York: Schocken Books, 2005.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Benhabib, Seyla. "Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas." In *Habermas and the Public Sphere,* edited by Craig Calhoun, 73-98. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.

Bobbio, Norberto. *Democracy and Dictatorship: the Nature and Limits of State Power.* Cambridge, UK.: Polity Press, 1989.

Boling, Patricia. *Privacy and the Politics of Intimate Life.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Calhoun, Craig, edit., *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.

Dmytriyeva, Maria. "Femen na Tli Grudej." [Femen on the Canvas of Breasts.] *Krytyka* 15(1-2). http://krytyka.com/cms/front_content.php?idart=1037 (accessed May 20, 2012).

"Femen Otpraznovali Otstavky Berluskoni." [Femen Celebrated the Resignation of Berlusconi.] *Femen.* (November 14, 2011). http://femen.livejournal.com/179758.html (accessed May 23, 2012).

"Femen v New York City." [Femen in the New York City.] *Femen*. (November 18, 2011), http://femen.livejournal.com/180286.html (accessed May 30, 2012).

"Femen Znovy Zaareshtuvaly. Teper u Stambuli." [Femen was Detained Again. This Time in Istanbul.] *Ukrains'ka Pravda.* March 8, 2012. http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/03/8/6960293/ (accessed May 24, 2012).

Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." In *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, edited by Craig Calhoun, 109-142. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.

Garanich, Gleb. "The Femen Phenomenon." *Photographers Blog. (*March 1, 2012). http://blogs.reuters.com/photographers-blog/2012/03/01/the-femen-phenomenon/ (accessed May 19, 2012).

Geuss, Raymond. *Public Goods, Private Goods*. Princeton University Press, 2001.

"Golos za Golos, Zub za Zub." [Vote for Vote, Eye for Eye.] *Femen*. (March 4, 2012). http://femen.livejournal.com/197954.html (accessed May 25, 2012).

Goode, Luke. *Jurgen Habermas: Democracy and the Public Sphere*. London: Pluto Press, 2005.

Gosh, Mridula. "A Protest zhe Golyj." [But it is a Naked Protest.] *Den'*. January 10, 2012 (10). http://www.day.kiev.ua/222431/ (accessed May 18, 2012).

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1993.

Ioffe, Julia. "Taking it Off for Putin." *The New Yorker*. July 21, 2011. http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/newsdesk/2011/07/putins-army.html (accessed May 25, 2012).

Katie, Glass. "Sisters of the Revolution! Time to Blow Your Tops." *The Sunday Times*, April 8, 2012: 16-21. Newspaper Source Plus, EBSCOhost (accessed May 26, 2012).

Khaleeli, Homa. "The Nude Radicals: Feminism Ukrainian Style." *The Guardian*. April 15, 2011. http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2011/apr/15/ukrainian-feminists-topless-campaign (accessed May 24, 2012).

Khan, Muhammad Zubair, Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani and Dr. Allah Nawaz. "From Habermas Model to New Public Sphere: A Paradigm Shift," Global Journal of Human Social Science 12 (5)

(March 2012): 43-51. https://globaljournals.org/GJHSS_Volume12/6-From-Habermas-Model-to-New.pdf (accessed May 30, 2012).

Kim, Richard. "The Audacity of Occupy Wall Street. The Protesters Have Put Their Faith in the Last Seemingly Credible Force in the World: Each Other." *The Nation* 293, no. 21 (n.d.): 15-21.

Kim, Richard. "We Are All Human Microphones Now." *The Nation.* October 3, 2011. http://www.thenation.com/blog/163767/we-are-all-human-microphones-now (accessed May 26, 2012).

Lisyutkina, Larisa. "Fenomen Femen: Malyj Peresuvnyj Vybuxovyj Prystrij Made in Ukraine." [Phenomenon of Femen: Small Portable Bomb Made in Ukraine.] *Krytyka* 15(3-4). http://krytyka.com/cms/front_content.php?idart=1088 (accessed May 22, 2012).

Majerchyk, Maria and Plakhotnik, Olga, "Femen: Alaniz Dyskyrsiv."[Femen: Analysis of Discourses.] http://www.boell.org.ua/web/118-445.html (accessed May, 18, 2012).

Majerchyk, Maria and Plakhotnik, Olga. "Radykal'nyj Femen ta Novyj Zhinochyj Aktyvism."[Radical "Femen " and New Women's Activism.] *Krytyka* (2010). http://krytyka.com/cms/front_content.php?idart=967 (accessed May 20, 2012).

Miron, Ronny. "The Self in the Realms Ontology: A Critical View of Hannah Arendt's Conception of the Human Condition." *International Journal Of The Humanities* 6, no. 11 (March 2009): 41-52. *EDS Foundation Index, EBSCOhost* (accessed May 9, 2012).

"Molot Ved'm." [Witches' Hammer.] *Femen.* (November 6, 2011). http://femen.livejournal.com/179004.html (accessed May 23, 2012).

"Mono-Miting na Kladbishche."[One-Woman Protest on the Cemetery.] *Femen*. (January 13, 2011). http://femen.livejournal.com/130234.html (accessed May 29, 2012).

Neufeld, Dialika. "The Body Politic: Getting Naked to Change the World." *Der Spiegel,* May 11, 2012. http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/femen-activists-get-naked-to-raise-political-awareness-a-832028.html (accessed May 23, 2012).

New York City General Assembly. "Declaration of the Occupation of New York City." http://www.nycga.net/resources/declaration/ (accessed May 26, 2012).

Palamarchuk, Pavlo. "Het-Tryk FEMEN: Actyvistka Perekynula Kybok Anri Delone u Lvovi." [Hat-Trick FEMEN: Activist Turned up the Cup of Anri Delone in Lviv.] *Gazeta.ua*. May 25, 2012. http://gazeta.ua/articles/euro-photo/_het-trik-femen-aktivistka-perekinula-kubok-anri-delone-u-lvovi/437516 (accessed May 27, 2012).

Rathke, Wade. "The Global Substructure Beneath the Occupy Movement." *Social Policy* 41, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 84-85.

Schneider, Nathan. "From Occupy Wall Street to Occupy Everywhere." *Nation* 293, no. 18 (n.d.): 13-17.

Seligman, Adam B. "Between Public and Private." *Society* 35, no. 3 (March 1998): 28-36. *MasterFILE Premier, EBSCOhost* (accessed April 25, 2012).

Sheller, M., and J. Urry. "Mobile Transformations of "Public" and "Private" Life." *Theory Culture And Society* 20, (2003): 107-126. *British Library Document Supply Centre Inside Serials & Conference Proceedings, EBSCOhost* (accessed May 2, 2012).

Sledge, Matt. "Occupy Wall Street Erects A Tent City In Zuccotti Park, With Little Reaction From NYPD." The Huffington Post. October 26, 2011. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/10/26/occupy-wall-street-tent-city-nypd_n_1033987.html (accessed May 26, 2012).

SlutWalk Toronto. "How." http://www.slutwalktoronto.com/about/how (accessed May 25, 2012).

Solash, Richard. "Ukrainian Activists Allegedly Kidnapped, Terrorized In Belarus Found," *Radio Free Europe*, November 20, 2011. http://www.rferl.org/content/femen_activists_detained_by_belarus_kgb/24428304.html (accesed May 30, 2012).

Solove, Daniel J. "Conceptualizing Privacy." *California Law Review* 90, no. 4 (2002): 1087-1155. *JSTOR Arts & Sciences IV, EBSCOhost*(accessed April 30, 2012).

Thompson, JB. "Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private Life." *Theory Culture & Society* 28, no. 4 (n.d.): 49-70. *Arts & Humanities Citation Index, EBSCOhost* (accessed April 30, 2012).

Villa, Dana R. *Politics, philosophy, terror: essays on the thought of Hannah Arendt*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Weintraub, Jeff. "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction." In *Public and private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, edited by Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, 1-42. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Wolf, Robert Paul. "Notes for a Materialist Analysis of the Public and Private Realms." In *The Public Realm: Essays on Discursive Types in Political Philosophy*, edited by Reiner Schürmann, 132-145. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

Zychowicz, Jessica. "Two Bad Words: FEMEN & Feminism in Independent Ukraine," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 29(2) (Fall 2011): 215-227.