MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPEAN FEMINIST ACTIVISM

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH BASE ............................................. 1
  1.1. Introduction ................................................................................................. 1
  1.2. Feminist protest actions and their image in the public perception as the object of 
       research ......................................................................................................... 3
  1.3. Substantiation of the problem ...................................................................... 8
  1.4. Purpose and objectives of the research ...................................................... 8
  1.5. Chronological framework of the research ................................................ 9
  1.6. Methodology of the research ..................................................................... 9

CHAPTER 2. FORMS AND METHODS OF FEMINIST PROTEST ACTIONS:
       HISTORICAL ASPECTS ............................................................................. 11
  2.1. Introduction ................................................................................................. 11
  2.2. Militancy in the suffragist history ................................................................ 11
  2.3. Forms of feminist protest actions after World War Two ............................ 16
  2.4. Conclusions ................................................................................................. 18

CHAPTER 3. COVERAGE OF FEMINIST ISSUES BY MASS MEDIA:
       GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS ................................................................. 20
  3.1. Introduction ................................................................................................. 20
  3.2. Representation of gender relations in mass media: theoretical constructs and practical 
       realities .......................................................................................................... 21
  3.3. Historical aspects of gender problems coverage by post-Soviet mass media .... 26
  3.4. Conclusions ................................................................................................. 33

CHAPTER 4. FEMINIST ACTIONS OF PROTEST IN POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES 
       AND THEIR COVERAGE BY MASS MEDIA ............................................... 35
  4.1. Introduction ................................................................................................. 35
  4.2. FEMEN actions (Ukraine) and the role of mass media ............................... 36
  4.3. Mass media’s attitude to the phenomenon of “PUSSY RIOT” (Russia) ............ 44
  4.4. Conclusions ................................................................................................. 55

CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY OF CONTENT ANALYSIS ..................................... 58
CHAPTER 6. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN NEWSPAPERS PUBLICATIONS ABOUT FEMEN

CHAPTER 7. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN NEWSPAPERS PUBLICATIONS ABOUT PUSSY RIOT

CONCLUSIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CURRICULUM VITAE

ABSTRACT (English)

ABSTRACT (German)
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

CHAPTER 4:
Figure 1 - Media rating of Pussy Riot and FEMEN in 2011 and in 2012 .............................................56

CHAPTER 6:
Table 1 - Total number of publications ..............................................................64
Table 2 - Total number of publications according to countries.................................65
Table 3 - Number of publications in conservative and liberal newspapers .............68
Table 4 - Mentioning of phrases about the protest in periodicals .............................69
Table 5 - Mentioning of phrases about protest in conservative and liberal periodicals (%) ........................................71
Table 6 - Mentioning of phrases about protest participants in periodicals ................72
Table 7 - Mentioning of phrases about protest participants in conservative and liberal periodicals ..............................................................74
Table 8 - Newspapers' opinion ranking (number of publications) .........................75
Table 9 - Newspaper's opinion ranking by countries (%) ........................................78
Table 10 - Newspaper's opinion ranking by periodicals according to its political affiliation (% of the total number of publications) ........................................78

Figure 1 - Total number of publications in each country ........................................65
Figure 2 - The percentage of distribution of publications according to their sources ......66
Figure 3 - The ratio of publications according to their sources, depending on the political affiliation of the periodical ..........................................................67
Figure 4 - Number of publications on events in periodicals depending on their political affiliation ........................................................................................................68
Figure 5 - Number of publications on particular event in different periodicals ..........68
Figure 6 - Mentioning of key phrases about the protests in periodicals ..................70
Figure 7 - The ratio of mentioning of the phrases about the protests, depending on the political affiliation of the periodical (%) ....................................................72
Figure 8 - Key words and phrases about FEMEN activists mentioned in different periodicals ... 74
Figure 9 - The percentage of use of phrases about protest participants, depending on the political affiliation of the publication ......................................................75
Figure 10 - Newspapers' opinion ranking (number of publications) .......................76
Figure 11 - Percentage of newspaper's opinion according to periodicals (%) ..........76
Figure 12 - Newspaper's opinion ranking by countries (%) .....................................77
Figure 13 - Newspaper's opinion ranking by periodicals according to its political affiliation (%) ................................................................................................................................. 78

CHAPTER 7:
Table 1 - Total number of publications ................................................................. 80
Table 2 - Total number of publications according to countries .......................... 80
Table 3 - Mentioning of phrases about the protest in periodicals ...................... 84
Table 4 - Mentioning of phrases about protest in conservative and liberal periodicals ................................................................................................................................. 86
Table 5 - Mentioning of phrases about protest participants in periodicals ........ 87
Table 6 - Mentioning of phrases about protest participants in conservative and liberal periodicals ................................................................................................................................. 88
Table 7 - Newspapers' opinion ranking (number of publications) .................... 90
Table 8 - Newspaper's opinion ranking by countries (%) .................................. 90
Table 9 - Newspaper's opinion ranking by periodicals according to its political affiliation (%) of the total number of publications) ................................................................................................................................. 92

Figure 1 - Total number of publications according to countries ....................... 81
Figure 2 - The percentage of distribution of publications according to their sources ................................................................................................................................. 82
Figure 3 - Number of publication about punk prayer «Mother of God, chase Putin away!» ................................................................................................................................. 82
Figure 4 - Number of publications about the trial ................................................ 82
Figure 5 - Number of publications about the reactions to the verdict .................. 83
Figure 6 - Mentioning of key phrases about the protests in periodicals .......... 84
Figure 7 - The ratio of mentioning of the phrases about the protests, depending on the political affiliation of the periodical (%) ................................................................................................................................. 86
Figure 8 - Key words and phrases about FEMEN activists mentioned in different periodicals ................................................................................................................................. 88
Figure 9 - The percentage of use of phrases about protest participants, depending on the political affiliation of the publication ................................................................................................................................. 89
Figure 10 - Newspapers' opinion ranking (number of publications) .................. 90
Figure 11 - Percentage of newspaper's opinion according to periodicals (%) ................................................................................................................................. 91
Figure 12 - Newspaper's opinion ranking by countries (%) ............................... 91
Figure 13 - Newspaper's opinion ranking by periodicals according to its political affiliation (%) ................................................................................................................................. 92
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH BASE

1.1. Introduction

In the last decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century European society faced with the increased attention to the phenomenon of feminism. Russian and Western scientists came to the conclusion that since the 80's of the last century feminism has been rising every year, increasing its role in society and trying to influence the course of political events. Each year the number of women who think about their social and political position in the society is increasing.

Feminism - the general name of various trends in the women's movement against the discrimination of women in the economic, political, family spheres of life, for equal rights in the society. Some scholars consider the broader concept of feminism - firstly, as an ideology, the foundation of which is gender equality and the expediency of the struggle for equality, impaired due to the socio-historical development of society (liberal feminism), or as a dominance of women in different areas of public life (radical feminism). Secondly feminism is considered a movement for women's rights, which is not limited by certain terms of beginning or duration of existence, with all its features. The main issues of feminism are usually family and marriage as a fundamental instrument for oppressing women; economic independence of a woman as a prerequisite for her social independence and self-fulfillment; active participation of women in political life; a woman's right to her own identity; development of intelligence and abilities; release from the "the cult of appearance" imposed by men.

Thus, feminism is the fight to end the oppression based on gender indices. However, dealing with the struggle, it tends to be fulfilled by certain, sometimes rather radical methods; one of them is the running of protest actions. One should mention that the radical feminism, compared with the traditional one, has changed its direction essentially. Instead of the real regular work in order to improve the quality of life and the social status of women, the feminists of post-modern epoch put forward the development of perception and change in strategies, aiming, in the most general sense, to change the whole system of values in the Western civilization. The feminists insist on their genuinely women’s method of the cognition of the world aiming at its further transformation. The protest feminism, originated from the representatives of suffragist movement – militants – in Great Britain at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} – beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries, and continued in the 1960-1980s by the actions of
the representatives of the “second wave” in the feminist movement development, is a kind of the radical feminism.

The actions by the feminist movements representatives are starting gradually to become the subject of discussion, the attempts are being made to “decipher” and analyze their reasons. The nature of the feminist protest actions in the national tradition is not sufficiently built into the context of tolerance as, say, political, economic, religious, ethnic, et al.; it seldom becomes the subject of a broad discussion. The lack of reflection, even in scientific circles, provoked mostly by the influence of the Western European and American social thought, is caused by the following: first, the national tradition of “formal chastity” did not allow long to speak directly about the traces/ codes of sexual discourse; and, second, there was some kind of gender censorship, aiming at maintenance of patriarch public relations. In the 1990s, the statement of the gender type of conflict became popular in Russian and Ukrainian publications, but the recognition of similar conflicts among the wide strata of population was not comprehended to a large extent. The similar implicit character of gender conflicts (if any) results in the situation when the gender sensitivity is not developed, the society is not prepared to make corrections in its stereotypes, the tension within it is enhancing and the social processes are arising causing the real changes in men’s and women’s statuses.

The situation is worsened by the fact that the process of gender stereotypes transformation cannot occur by the revolutionary way; it requires in-depth re-consideration and re-evaluation of profound values and cultural stereotypes. It is not occasional that sociologists more and more often speak about the existence of gender risks. The patriarch gender system deprives both economy and politics of the meaningful resource of its development. However, the achievement of equality among gender communities shatters the traditional order of things, breaks the equilibrium in the family, upbringing, socialization, production, etc. functioning, changes the structure of social and cultural space. The attainment of the new equilibrium takes time, material costs, and the victims-pioneers of some kind. The problem of gender risks minimization includes the necessity to involve all the society’s institutions, primarily those responsible for children’s, teenagers', youth's socialization, also to adapt and re-socialize both older and middle-aged generations in order to make changes in values and attitudes to men’s and women’s roles. The complicated character of this problem is obvious, but the necessity of its solution is also apparent.

The study of gender relations is gradually becoming an integral part of most of the social sciences. Different sciences and the scientific communities have varying degrees of sensitivity to the inclusion of gender issues in their intellectual field. In the process of global
transformation gender roles of Ukrainians have changed, creating a wide range of serious contradictions. The problems of gender relations, the debate on the position of men and women, women's struggle for harmonious relationships with men, the gender imbalance - in the covering of these issues media as the main instrument of reflection of reality plays a large role.

Gender stereotypes are connected with changes in the world: in the Soviet era, the ideal was "advanced woman-mother" in the post-Soviet - "sexy beauty as a lady vamp" in the 2000s - "a woman, successful in everything: family, work and personal life". Introduced in the late 1990s media images of women who have succeeded in all spheres of life, on the one hand, truly reflected the changes taking place in the world, on the other - have made her life even more dependent on the prejudices prevailing in the society. "Successful Woman" is a set of stereotypes associated with the duties of a woman who must: have children, be a good housewife, make a career, look like a model, etc.

Mass media play with this reference the extremely important role, however, some researchers note that the feminist protest actions are insufficiently elucidated by them in both Western and post-Soviet countries, excluding the radical, theatre-like actions, being to some extent a sensation and a good informational excuse for them. However, independent on the leitmotif of these publications, a lot of questions arise. The growth in public attention to the feminism problems, in the number of protest actions of feminist movement representatives, and in the number of publications concerning these problems in Ukrainian and Russian mass media evidences their topicality for post-Soviet communities.

The problem of the formation of civil society, the protest movements of different actions and their coverage in the media is relevant to any country. For the post-Soviet states which are now in the situation of collapse of democratic processes, among which the most painful are the deprivation of the right of citizens to protest, peaceful demonstrations and other ways to show citizenship issue are particularly relevant. These processes are now taking place in Russia and Ukraine. Thus, we can state the relevance of the study of media coverage of the protest movements, namely, movements of modern feminist groups FEMEN and Pussy Riot.

1.2. Feminists protest actions and their image in the public perception as the object of research

The movement for equal rights between men and women achievement or feminism (the French word originated from Latin femina meaning woman), appeared at the end of the
18th century, in the epoch of bourgeois revolutions in France, England, and the US, and took its distinguished form in the middle of the 19th century. The main objective of its first wave was the struggle for women’s political and economic rights, that is the opportunity to elect and to be elected to the republican authority bodies, for property rights in the marriage (then, a married woman in England and the US did not have the formal rights not only for her dowry, but also for the money earned by herself), for equality in the marriage, for the opportunity to obtain education and to choose a profession. A considerable number of outstanding women took part in the movement. They not only wrote books, but also arranged demonstrations and even hunger-strikes aiming to attain their goals (Зуйкова 2012, p. 32).

Consequently and gradually, after the issue of women’s rights to vote at the elections had been solved, and the situation with the primary women’s economic rights had been changed to some extent in women’s favour, the first wave of feminism exhausted itself. However, the second wave began to arise with the appearance of “The Second Sex” by Simone de Beauvoir (1949) and was increasing consequently until 1960. It was characterized by the women’s aspiration to bar their discrimination in very different, rather numerous public areas, not only in the apparent social sphere, but also primarily in the private sphere of maternity, marriage, and sexuality. The “personal” became “political”, and a woman had to liberate from the masculine power firstly herself. She had to eradicate inside psychologically all the thrust by the society stereotypes regarding the woman’s place and man’s superiority in the world. The groups on the “raising consciousness” could help to each one and everyone. Women there were telling to one another the histories about where specifically and how they were oppressed by the “men’s society.” The activists, the authors of the books, called primarily for the revealing of the specific women’s sexuality, which was not necessarily dependent on the men’s. They also were striving to own completely their “reproductive rights”. In fact, it was rather an intention to persuade women that their giving birth to children and the upbringing of children make them slaves being oppressed by the men’s world. This burden was conceptualized as a purely women’s business causing their exclusion from the rest: job, career, personal achievements, earnings, pleasure, freedom of movement, etc. in the Western world at the beginning of the 1960s, and at the end of “baby-boom”.

The third wave of feminism began to arise in the 1980-1990s and coincided with the times for the purely gender approach. This approach was connected with the recognition of the ‘plurality’ in both women’s and men’s worlds, emphasizing their “differences”; and with the attention to the construction of the variations of “masculinity” and “femininity” by
different worlds. They were considered in combination and twisted with day-to-day constructs of “class”, “race”, “ethnos” and other beliefs that earlier had been taken for granted, naturally and economically determined human properties. Now they began to be understood as “flowing” and “newly created every day” in the process of human interactions with each other (Емірсуінова 2000, p. 189).

The feminism considers not the experience of the sex, but the experience of the gender. Both “masculinity” and “femininity” are not the biological-anatomical, but the cultural-psychological characteristics, as the sex manifestations and the biological sexuality exist only as a product of “humanistic interactions.” According to the feminism, to attribute to the gender representation, inherent for a certain culture, to the very “human nature” and his sexual characteristics, is not to accept critically a number of the following hidden patriarchal considerations, such as: the certain type of division of labour, the hierarchical principle of subordination between the young and the older, the abstract-technological understanding of science, philosophy, progress, etc. (Маланчук-Рибак 2000, p. 124)

According to feminism, these positions have the cultural-historical nature and cannot be attributed to merely economic or legal reasons. Taking into account these directives, the attitudes between sexes are understood as one of the types of power relations manifestation, because the situation is represented as “objective”, when one part of humanity, having its own interests, represents simultaneously the interests of its another part. It relates to the specific understanding of the “objectivity,” being formed through the scientific concepts bearing the stamp of the “masculine orientation.” The woman is presented there only as the “other part”, in the feminist theory's opinion. They think that the schemes of rational control, prescribed to both men and women by the society, in fact differ, thus, the type of the feminine spirituality remains unclaimed in principle. The basis schematics of the culture are explored only in their masculine manifestation. That is why; the feminism purpose is to undeceive the feminine spirituality from the “sphere of silence”. The principal deficiency of the traditional theoretical analysis and the necessity of political actions are recognized. However, in distinction from the ordinary (from the point of view of compulsory) understanding of the political sphere, the feminism interprets it extremely broadly as “public affairs in general”. This re-definition of politics in non-violent direction is expressed in the slogan “Personal is political”. The feminism combines the critical-historical analysis of person’s rights with the ideology, acting as a “call to actions” in order to change the culture and to renovate spiritually all the spheres of social life. The liberal feminism is the oldest and most popular flow in the movement. Its main objective is to develop individual women’s capabilities and values by the reformist way. The radical feminism, as mentioned
above, appeared at the end of the 1960s as a public movement connected with the ‘new left’ and separated after it had not been supported by them. The groups and organizations arranging different protest actions relate to this wing in the feminist movement.

There may be various variants: from the “soft”, that is signing petitions and appeals, to “rigid” (radical) ones, often implying manifestations of violence. Only small groups of people (samples) related to the overall population are involved in the political activity. Nevertheless, this activity appears to be the integral fact in the up-to-date political life of the country (Маланчук-Рибак 2004, p. 203).

The concept of ‘protest’ (both social and purely political) often comprises the quite broad circle of phenomena. Researchers note that one can refer to the social protest the “arguing” and the “denying” of social activity as a whole, the very principles of the social-political life, the indignation by the existing orders and power institutions, and some settings to protest against the specific trends in the politics or ways of its running. Frequently, the general concept ‘social protest’ is related to the characteristics of phenomena different as to their mass base, their social-class appearance, their power, and the specific character of exciting factors.

Considering the popular approaches to the protest definition, one should primarily touch those based on the considerations of the normative character. Here the protest is defined as the form of “non-traditional” political behaviour. Thus, the criteria for the traditional and non-traditional politics distinguishing as a whole are the availability or lacking of the laws and regulations promoting the regular presentations of different group interests. The norm presuming the regular protest meetings, political demonstrations, boycotts, strikes, occupations of administrative buildings etc. are lacking within the non-traditional forms of political behaviour. However, the latter does not mean the absence of numerous normative documents limiting or prohibiting the conducting of similar actions (Брайсон 2011, pp. 44-51).

Another basis for the protest definition is used by the authors studying the problems of the political conflict. According to the forms of manifestation, it is divided into the protest and the rising. The former is considered as a form of the political conflict manifestation, the subject of which relates to the specific actions and politics of authorities. The protest behaviour mostly takes less time and includes such forms as demonstrations, general strikes, street collisions and other actions connected to the violation of the public order. Compared with the protest, the rising is concerned with the more fundamental issues of such types as “Who governs”, “Using which means” and, as a rule, presumes the manifestation of the armed violence between the representatives of the political regime and its opponents.
The most wide-spread theory, explaining the formation of the protest potential, is the theory of relative deprivation. Its representatives proceed from the deprivation as a base for the protest potential, that is, the “subjective feeling of dissatisfaction regarding one’s existence”. The main reasons of this dissatisfaction are the thoughts that the subject does not have some object, he is striving to own it, and he compares himself with other subjects owning this object, and considers the possibility to own it as the real one. It is characteristic for the feminist protest movement.

Thus, not only the fact of owning something is important for the deprivation appearing. It is rather the wish to own the object and the hope to change one’s position by changing the social and political order. It is of importance that the deprivation appears in a certain social medium: the individual compares himself with the environment by evaluating his position and by forming his inquiries. If the level of consumption is not high within the environment, then the claims tend to be low and so is the deprivation degree. If the level of consumption among the people differs sufficiently, then it will result in the formation of the feeling of unfairness, and it is one of the prerequisites of the deprivation. Therefore, it has something to do with the relative deprivation.

The relative deprivation is connected with not only the owning of material and social goods. It can also relate to the need for freedom and the opportunity to express oneself. The needs of similar types were subject to movements of most participants of students’ demonstrations in the 1960s. Therefore, the deprivation as a whole can be defined as the lack of accordance between the value expectations and the real possibilities for a subject. Other factors such as the ability of subjects to conceptualize their social and political relations and the dissatisfaction by the authorities’ operation affect the protest potential. The researchers think that the more factors influencing the protest potential formation affect simultaneously, the greater the protest potential is.

Besides, a number of factors relating not only to the peculiarities of the player and his social medium, but also the political conditions influence the protest activity. Among them, there is the availability of those social properties which allow the subject to be politically competent, mobile, and independent according to a lot of questionnaires ran in the countries with the developed democracy. The protest activity correlates negatively with such feature as the age, and positively with the level of education and the level of income. Besides, the positive correlation is observed between one’s participation in protest actions and his participation in the traditional forms of political activities (e.g., in a party’s organization).
The researchers also indicate such an important political factor as the ability of a representative system to channel social interests and social dissatisfaction of a group. This means that the level of the protest activity is increasing when the representative system proves to be incapable of integrating into some social, ethnic, religious, and other groups, or the institutions of political representation cannot carry out their main function. Thus, citizens take part in different kinds of protest political activities, where the traditional political participation proves to be ineffective, or where it is necessary to attract the authorities’ attention to an event. Of great importance is also the citizens’ confidence in the effectiveness of the protest actions (Емірсуінова 2000, p. 193).

These key conclusions are confirmed not only by the examples in the Western, but also by those in the post-Communist societies. Nevertheless, there are some differences caused by the peculiarities of their social-political development. As one seem to see, the Russian and Ukrainian citizens demonstrating the lower level of social health compared to those of the countries with the stable democracy, must tend to participate in the protest actions. However, the statistical data and the results of pools evidence the lower level of their participating in the protest actions and the lower degree of the readiness to take part in them. Besides, all the mass forms of the protest activity are less popular in the post-Soviet area than in the West. Especially, it concerns boycotts, meetings, demonstrations, and informal strikes. This equally relates to the feminist protest actions.

Note, that most researchers state that the rather controversial image of any protest actions has been formed in the public consciousness during the post-Soviet area. This postulate is especially true for the feminist protest movement in the light of the resonance actions taken place during the past years.

1.3. Statement of the problem

The basic problem of the research can be identified in the plain that the consideration of the practice of modern feminist organizations’ protest actions in the post-Soviet countries (Ukraine and Russia) and their reflection in the mass media space have not found the detailed coverage in the scientific literature yet.

1.4. Purpose and objectives of the research

The main purpose of the research is the analysis of up-to-date feminist protest actions in the post-Soviet space and of the peculiarities of their coverage by mass media.
The aim stated caused the key objectives of the research:
- To consider the essence of the feminist protest actions;
- To clarify the historical aspects of the feminist protest actions;
- To give the overall problem characteristics of the feminist problems in mass media;
- To analyze the quantitative parameters of publications about the feminist movement in the media;
- Identify the main approaches to covering the Pussy Riot and FEMEN actions in European newspapers;
- To explore the thematic spectrum of publications on Pussy Riot and FEMEN;
- Identify the characteristics of interpretation, methods of presenting and analyzing feminist protests of Pussy Riot and FEMEN in European newspapers of different countries.

1.5. Chronological framework of the research

The research covers the feminist protest actions and their coverage by mass media during the period of time from 2012 to 2013.

1.6. Methodology of the research

The methodological base of the research is the principles of historical, systemic approaches, and objectivity. It presumes the formation of the integrated knowledge comprising the results of study by different discipline spheres, primarily the history of social and political life; social and cultural anthropology, ethnography, sociology, and jurisprudence. The methods of several scientific directions and schools, primarily evolutionism, diffusion study, structuralism, and functionalism have been applied. The main research techniques are as follows: historiography analysis, diachronic and synchronic study of historical events and phenomena, analysis of historical texts within the framework of hermeneutical paradigm, synthesis method allowing analyzing the problem as a whole and in various aspects. The descriptive method enables us to study the character of the women’s protest movement ideology and the inductive method, the structural-functional approach, typological, factor and component analysis allows moving from the statement to the analysis of the specific conceptual postulates of the feminist protest movement to certain conclusions. The study of the establishing and development of feminist protest actions, in particular, in the context of the up-to-date Russian and Ukrainian public and political life, is
the typical example of women’s studies, which, naturally, should be based on the applying of the methodologies of feminist and gender research.

To understand the nature of the phenomenon of feminism is necessary to compare the current situation in Ukraine and Russia with the development of feminism and its coverage in the media in the countries of Western Europe. It will help to enter the post-Soviet feminism in a global context. To achieve the goals and objectives of the study there was used the method of content analysis.

This method was chosen because this is a standard method of research in the social sciences, where the subject of analysis is the content of a texts of correspondence and communication products. To use the content analysis to examine the information from the media is considered to be particularly effective, which is why to study European newspapers materials about the events connected with the FEMEN and Pussy Riot we chose this method.
CHAPTER 2. FORMS AND METHODS OF FEMINIST PROTEST ACTIONS.
HISTORICAL ASPECTS

2.1. Introduction

The historical excursion to the feminism history shows that the protest actions became wide-spread only when the movement itself had been transformed into the powerful political force in many countries, becoming the constituent of the broad spectre of public movements appealing for the democratization of the political life. Before that, any organized protest actions aiming at the protection of women’s rights in the political, economic, and social spheres were neither run nor found their reflection in scientific and historical literature.

2.2. Militancy in the suffragist history

On the eve of the 19th and 20th centuries the feminist movement practically everywhere was transformed from the moderate to more radical stage. This movement set forth as a main point its demand to grant women election rights. The struggle for the political equality of women was called suffragist movement, or suffragism. The very term “suffragism” is from English meaning election right in general, but thanks to English feminists having used this concept with regard to primarily the election right of women, it came into the history as the definition of the political direction in the feminism. In England, suffragists had the longest history in Europe and attained its maximum development. It united the huge number of women at the beginning of the 20th century and gave birth to such a specific direction in the suffragist movement as militancy, whose methods of struggle were close to those of terrorism.

The militant period (from English militant meaning military) is, perhaps, the best-studied period in the history of British suffragist movement. However, the historians have not come to the common opinion concerning the militants’ activity (its representatives were also called suffragettes in contradistinction to suffragists) and its evaluation. It is necessary to take into account that the concept of militancy was changed during the period of time from 1850 to 1914. The researchers have different points of view concerning the militancy concept and the terms of the militant actions beginning. Usually, it is connected with the activity of suffragettes (they broke windows and set fire on houses). However, it is necessary to take into account that the concept of “militancy” already existed even at the beginning of the 19th century. Then another meaning was attributed to it, different from that
at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Thus, for example, H. Taylor was considered \textit{militant} when she together with John S. Mill published their book about women’s rights. When in the 1970s, one of the founders of the suffragist movement, Peter L. Bakker started publishing her articles in newspapers and delivering speeches in public, she threw down a challenge to the generally recognized norms of women behaviour and was thought a militant. However, even at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the similar public activity of women was considered as the ordinary phenomenon (Шнурова 2001, p. 174).

The “militancy” concept is firmly tied with the activity of Women’s Social Political Union (WSPU), set up in 1903. The militant actions began in 1905, when the member of the Cabinet of Ministers, while delivering a speech in Manchester, was stopped by the WSPU activists C. Pankhurst and E. Kelly who were screaming “Voting right for women!” However, the first stage of the new tactics application could not be characteristic, as the period of ‘soft militancy’ was dealing with deputations, marches, demonstrations, meetings, and agitations, work at elections. The second stage began from throwing stones into the windows of Prime-Minister’s residence in Dawning Street in 1912. After that, the attacks on property became increasingly aggressive and wide-spread. In 1913-1914, the escalation of violence on the suffragists’ part led to the throwing of bombs into private houses, churches, and public buildings. Thus, the chronological framework for militancy can be determined differently depending on the approach to this phenomenon evaluation.

Similarly, it is still undetermined, which suffragist organizations can be referred to as belonging to this direction. Militancy is normally considered as destructive actions concerning someone’s property. In this case, only WSPU can be thought as the genuine suffragist organization, as the others did not apply similar methods. However, if to analyze this concept wider as a campaign of civil disobedience, then some other suffragist organizations can be referred to as belonging to the militant category, for instance, the Women’s League of Freedom, initiated in 1908 the campaign against paying taxes, in the course of which 100 women were arrested.

As mentioned above, the role of militancy in the suffragist movement is still subject to acute discussions. Many contemporaries and further researchers of the feminism tended to think that militants brought more harm than benefit to their business, because they had tuned both public mind and the government against the idea of granting political rights to women. No doubt, the methods used by WSPU, especially in the period of 1912-1914 seem inordinate. However, one cannot forget that the militant direction in the suffragist movement appeared after almost half-century long struggle for political rights for women by legal means without any result. By the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century all the traditional methods of
struggle by the National Union of Suffragist Society had been exhausted. The impossibility to achieve the main purpose by the constitutional methods made the most determined part of English feminists look for more effective techniques to influence the government and the public mind. It should be mentioned that the new tactics proved to be successful. The militant actions attracted attention of the press, encouraged new adherents, and increased donations to the suffragist organizations. Besides, the WSPU did not start using the militant tactics at once, its warlike behaviour was going up gradually in the specific circumstances. There are trustworthy evidences that during the period of militant struggle, not only aggressive actions on the suffragists’ part against the government, the police, and the property took place, but also the manifestations of unjustified violence on the part of the police and simply common Englishmen making attempts to foil their actions took part. The bright example was the events on the 18th November 1910, named “Bloody Friday.” Similar actions, indeed, promoted the escalation of warlike behaviour and intolerance on the WSPU part. It really began to lose increasingly the democratic features, and was transformed into the centralized organization, built on the hierarchy and subordination base (Шнурова 2001, p. 175).

Thus, even the mere listing of the problems related to the militancy evidences, that it was a complicated and non-uniform social and political phenomenon, which is necessary to be analyzed in the historical context, taking into account the whole complex of events having caused its appearance, and avoiding gender stereotypes pressing over historians’ evaluations too frequently.

Let us analyze the militants’ program, such as

1) Struggle with the candidates of the parties at the elections. It meant trying to foil all the electoral meetings arranged by liberals and radicals by several techniques. One of them is as follows. The candidate starts making a speech. “Voting for women” is heard from one of the corners. The lady is being removed, and then the spokesperson continues delivering his program, again the screaming slogans, etc. The strictness and logics of the speech is broken. He is muffing both the program and the speech and doing a favour to the militants in such a way.

2) Demonstrations in the Westminster Palace (the Parliament) and other places. Militants loathed especially greatly the Prime-Minister Herbert Henry Asquith and considered him their enemy because he rejected several times to receive women’s deputations. They were knocking into the door of his flat, also were gluing posters and breaking windows in his house.
3) Militants arranged parades and processions, e.g., the joker’s funeral of the Bill on Women’s Rights. In front of the procession the mourners were walking, then a boy was pulling the cart with the Bill muffled up in the shroud, then the mourners were walking following it. All of them were dressed in the black wearing mourning crape bands. The procession was walking along two main streets of central London. The militants from “Women’s Freedom League” were burying the Bill. The suffragettes from WSPU arranged the parade of amazons (Шнурова 2001, p. 174).

The militants put forward the following arguments advocating the necessity for active actions:
- First, it is the ignoring of this issue that has been taking place by the politicians for almost fifty years, “when women have been using meekly all the means available for them in order to obtain political rights”;
- Second, it is the necessity to affect the public in order “to make it address the Government itself with the demand to grant the voting right to women” (Зуйкова 2012, pp. 69-70).

However, they refused to see that their “militant appearances” instead of making the Parliament think about capitulation, made it furious and cruel.

Yet, despite the scandal character and the scope of the protest actions, the “militant suffragists” were trying to avoid making injuries to anyone. The suffragettes themselves claimed that several activists of the movement died as a result of their acts of starvation and compulsory feeding.

Having taken up hammers, women broke the windows of houses and luxurious shops. From 1912, when the regular bill on reform was declined, the most radical phase of the attacks on property took place. Militants damaged grounds for golf, cut telegraph wires, set fire and arranged explosions at railway stations and even in churches (Маланчук-Рибак 2001, p. 131).

The suffragettes’ “symbolic violence” and “sorrowful rage” were opposed to the rude power of the state. The slim women were demonstratively trying to act the role not inherent to them in order to attract attention to the best moral qualities of the human nature. While appealing to the nobleness and manliness of their opponents, the advocates of the Women’s Union were striving to emphasize their femininity. Militants were trying to follow fashion, dress faultlessly and behave as genuine ladies even in the most extraordinary situations.

The following evidence by Emily Pankhurst gives the clear idea of the character of management and the mechanism of taking decisions in the Women’s Union: “The spirit of the movement was wonderful, joyful and serious at the same time. All the personal seem to
digress as soon as women joined us. The faithfulness, the greatest virtue, was the base of the movement. First, it was the commitment to the common business; second, to those who were on the top and, finally, the commitment to each other” (Шнурова 2001, p. 175). First the constitutionalists, then the critics of militant movement called the public’s attention to the authoritarian style of management inherent to Women’s Social Political Union. Both Emily and Cristabel Pankhurst insisted on the absolute faithfulness of their supporter and the unquestioning obedience of the leaders’ directions. The very logics of the movement demanded their complete self-scarifying meaning factually the loss of personal autonomy and the construction of the organization “according to military style”.

The asocial behaviour and the extremism of suffragettes were not appreciated by the society. They could find the support and understanding most frequently among each other. The paternalist character of relations among the organizations’ members is confirmed by the characteristic for the leader’s manner to speak on behalf of all the Union’s participants. The significant phrase by Emily Pankhurst sounded at the meeting in 1912: “I am calling all the meeting’s participants to the insurrection! Be militant as you like. I am taking responsibility for everything you are doing.” (Зуйкова 2012, p. 75) At the same time, despite the authoritarian character of the leaders, the very common members of the organization proposed the new directions of militant tactics that later found recognition of the managers. The capability to independent initiative was even the necessary requirement to the WSPU’s adherents. This apparent contradiction inevitably led to further splits.

No doubt, the militants’ activity revived the traditional suffragist and attracted the public’s attention to it. However, far from everyone was encouraged by their war likelihood, and the “non-feministic” actions of the members of Pankhurst’s group. Though, primarily thanks to them, the women’s question acquired the unprecedented keenness, and “National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies” gained the number of more than fifty thousand people comprising it by 1914.

Thus, the protest tactics was carried out by breakage of “respectable meetings, chaining themselves to the gratings in the gallery of the Chamber of Commons, fights with the police, etc.” Despite the most different attitudes of the society and the press to the suffragettes’ tactics, one positive point was achieved: their actions resulted in the interest to the women’s question. The public mind was excited; all the press spoke about women’s rights. The effectiveness of militants’ activity can be subject to discussion, but anyway, it looks justified morally, as the participants of the radical women’s movement believed in their rightness, the fairness of their demands, and even in the very peak of struggling with
the Government they did not step on the way of the terror, saving the belief in the value of a human life.

2.3. Protest actions during the “second wave” in the development of feminist movement

One of the brightest Western intellectual and public-political flows connected with its roots with the revolutionary events of 1968, is, no doubt, the second wave of feminism uncovered itself during the 1970-1980s. The today’s most wide-spread notions about feminism, from the sympathetic to openly negative, are related to that period of its existence. In the public mind, the very radical, often provoking ideas and slogans of the feminism during the 1970-1980s are associated with the feminism pace: with the women taking the liberty not only to claim their “equal rights”, but also to declare their right for the “positive difference”, autonomy, and the wish to play according to their rules. The image of the feminist as a wild aggressive person, «hating all men in the world, using no make-up and never allowing to help her on with her coat, has formed then from the reflections in the distorting mirrors of the contemporary media-representations» (Gorman 2011, p. 96).

During this period of time the second, radical branch of the feminism – “liberating movement” began to be formed. This flow was growing gradually from the ‘new left’ movement, being simultaneously the response and protest for the student’s revolution. From the beginning of the 1960s, students took part in the university demonstrations, sitting strikes, protest marches against segregation on the South of the US, anti-war meetings-disputes against the war in Vietnam with enthusiasm. However, they consequently started to experience dissatisfaction by the role in the youth’s movement thrust to them. The frustration was related to the process of becoming aware of their full alienation from the management and decision-making in the new-left informal groups and organizations. The “new left” movement was the first in the US history mass rising of young people from the middle class against all the institutions and values of the Western democracy. The criticism and ideological nihilism of new radicals were connected with the whole system of values and institutes of the “rotten industrial civilization.” It appeared that having made doubtful the political ideals of “hundred percent Americanism” and having thrown the challenge to the bourgeois “American dream,” the “new as well as the old” ones made doubtful the patriarchate values and practice. The requirements of egalitarian democracy and the “democracy of participation” did not spread on the system of gender relations. The companions-in-arms daring to step aside of the prescribed for them role of office and kitchen
assistants and to put forward to the agenda of meetings for youth the problem of women’s equal rights, met rude mockeries, gibes, and full hostility.

The women leaving the students’ groups in sign of protest, formed their own communities and organizations. The slogan “Personal is political” is becoming their new concept. The declaration of the “liberating wing” set up the base for collective strategies and actions different from practices of liberal feminism. The main form of their activity became the small informal “conscious-raising” discussion groups being created. The perception of personal women’s deprivation and the personal experience as a political problem and as a social model of women’s as a group inequality inevitably led to the forming of the collective identity and the new solidarity activity, according to the organizers’ mind. “The personal experience and feelings give grounds to speak about the overall problem of all women’s suppression, was said in the Manifest of “Red Stockings” – the powerful radical group from New York. – The men’s dominating is the oldest form of supremacy and exploitation of women. The growth in self-consciousness is not psychotherapy; this is the development of the solidarity and class-consciousness of women. Our goal is to release women from all kinds of women’s "personality suppression” (Gorman 2011, p. 101).

It should be mentioned that the feminists of new radical direction started their activity from the thought by them tactics of spontaneous “direct determined actions.” They experimented with various external theatre-like events, oriented to the shaking of the system of gender cultural norms, stereotypes, and values. The political point of the transition to active measures became the famous feminist action in Atlantic City where the regular competition for the nomination of “Miss America” was taking place. The participants of the demonstration protested against the fact that “the women entrallled by the appearance standards dictated by the fashion industry, have to compete permanently for men’s appreciation.” During the demonstration, the participants made a rubbish “basket of freedom” where they threw their brassieres and waist bells as the symbols of women’s enslavement by the violent and unrealistic standards of beauty. The action obtained wide and very negative elucidation in the press, in particular, and then the history with the mass burning of brassieres was thought. In such a way the history of interrelations between the feminist movement and the mass press began, and, unfortunately, little has changed since then.

One should note that feminists’ protests took sometimes ridiculous, even rude forms. In 1970, the French feminists upset the conference called ‘The Woman’ ran under the guidance of the Elle magazine, by replacing the questionnaire about women’s happiness distributed by the conference organizers, by their own questionnaire with the mocking
questions, as follows: ‘Do you use cosmetics a) because you hate yourself; b) in order to look like another person whom you want to resemble? Or “While speaking with a woman, should a man pay attention to a) her busts and legs? B) Ass and bust? C) Only bust? “Nevertheless, the number of women understanding that the compromises are useless was increasing. In Oxford, at the conference of Women’s organization, the feminists unfolded the posters with the notices: “Fallos is the fascist”, “Get away the dictation of the penis!” In Western Germany, the feminists from Frankfurt-on-Main distributed the leaflet with the picture of a harridan keeping an enormous knife, and next to her, the cut penises hanging on the wall and the tables with the names of famous leaders from the “new left.” And above all there was the slogan: “Get free the socialist bolt from its bourgeois female screw!”

Let us stress that the feminist challenge became the leading topic in mass media, whereas the reasonable movement for women’s rights did not result in such a resonance. The reforms of women’s’ liberal organizations in the 1960s, as a whole, was natural for the democratic system in the US. At the same time, the radical character of liberating groups was threatening to break the multi-century social and cultural values, politics, and institutions. In 1971, the well-known journalist Gloria Steinem began to publish the magazine “Ms”. Its title itself emphasized one of the popular directions of the cultural struggle – instead of the sexist language norms Miss or Mrs. indicating the marital status, the new neutral form was directed to the liberation of women’s consciousness. The enormous popularity of the feminist publication demonstrated the importance and success of the “revolution” started. Gloria Steinem is becoming one of the leaders of the new movement. The recognized star of journalism, whose portrait as a photo model had been displayed on the gloss covers of fashion journals in the 1950s, first raises in her magazine the following topics: shocking the mass public mind: «women’s sexuality, control over the own body and the reproductive system, the sexual violence against women. The introduction of the similar problems to the puritan America into the public discourse was seen more than anywhere else as those undermining the fundamental moral grounds and the crushing of two hundred year long civilization» (Gorman 2011, pp. 106-107).

2.4. Conclusions

Thus, it can be stated, that at the beginning of the feminist movement, in the second half of the 19th century, its activists favoured the non-violate methods of the struggle, that is collecting of signatures, delivering speeches, lectures, disputes in the press. However, already at the beginning of the 20th century it became apparent that their words had not been
taken into attention until they made the governing circles listen to them. The militants (suffragettes), first in Great Britain, then in the US, started running mass protest actions and demonstrations. Moreover, the British feminists, whose attempts to attract the public’s attention to the women’s rights problem were cruelly laughed at, initiated the radical actions. The “second wave” in the feminist movement also used protests and demonstrations, however, instead of applying violence, turned in their actions to the creative, theatre-like forms of protest.
CHAPTER 3: COVERAGE OF FEMINIST PROBLEMS BY MASS MEDIA.
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

3.1. Introduction

Gender measurements are carried out through gender equity. The equity means equal rights, liabilities, and responsibility of both sexes before the law. The positive attitude to gender equity in the public consciousness appears when mass media cover the social and global community of men and women. Taking into account the importance of mass media in the modern society, note, they themselves play the leading role in the gender consciousness formation also in the determination of ways to overcome gender asymmetry and to create the harmonious society. Its success is determined by how professionally the journalists, following ethical and objective norms while reflecting the reality, demonstrate gender values and priorities, reveal and distinguish gender problems and look for the ways of their elucidation.

Mass media are called idea generators and accelerators of institutional changes in the political system. Often mass media are equalized with the fourth power. It is practically the mass communication, often outrunning political and economic transformations in the country. Thus the mass communication is implemented using technical electronic means. Mass media form the public mind about the state of politics, the economy, parties, public organizations, discussion activities. They form the types of operation, find ways to protect one’s interests, definite values, form the social statuses of individuals, groups, etc. The mass media purpose is the excessive political involvement of the society, the participation in management, the affecting the stereotypes in mind, the aspiration to mass activation, the critics of former values, and the multi-scope elucidation of events, etc. Mass media can have different purposes – humane, anti-humane, and mercenary; they can be objective, biased, and subjective. The three main factors are taken into consideration, as follows: informational, perceptive (perception, notion, and reflection), and interactive (interaction of a communicator and an audience).

Mass media are to form civil belonging to a specific state, to reveal the essence of person’s rights and freedoms, to help obey laws and the Constitution, to define clearly one’s positions regarding patriarchate, to elucidate programs and documents at both federal and international levels. Mass media are to meet the population’s requirements in knowledge, distract its attention from everyday life, stressful moods, assist to emotional lessening of tension, and to be socially useful. And the main thing – to inform the society timely and
objectively about the changes taking place in the country. By owning information and knowing the real state of the society, women will be able to take active part in their problems solution.

3.2. Representation of gender relations in mass media: theoretical constructs and practical realities

What does a modern woman need? Is it the spreading of humanism principles? Is it the proofs of the necessity to obey parity in all the spheres of our society’s life? Mass media are to carry out propaganda actively about the new model of women’s life’s work, to give information on the developing and are to be developed technologies and forecasts in order to change the women’s social status, also to acquaint with the experience of the feminist movement in the world and its reflecting in the press. Thus, in 1989 in Japan the press announced the beginning the ‘women’s era.’ Earlier more than 70 women’s magazines were published, containing mostly rumours and fashion news. Since 1989, their contents have changed considerably. And such a thick journal as "Burger Shunji" started to publish the specialized women’s application “Crea” with articles on political, economic, and other serious themes. The new TV program “Yukuority – The Society Where Men and Women Co-operate on Equal Grounds” began to be broadcasted. In Great Britain, “The Guardian” newspaper comprises the permanent rubrics for discussions on women’s problems. And the London’s weekly “The Economist” publishes materials about the women’s position in Western European countries. The American press was mainly oriented to advising women how to charm everyone at the corporate party, how to make a man make presents, how to say “good-bye” amicably to the tiresome lover, etc. Nowadays, there appeared more than a hundred of reputable publications and book shops specializing on women’s problems. The new magazines appeared such as “On Women in Culture and Society”, “On Women’s History”, “On Women’s Psychology”, etc. In 1990, “The House of Sciences on Human Being” in Paris devoted the regular quarterly issue to the feminism problems. Thus, «Western countries were facing the process of mass media re-orientation concerning the women’s place and role in the 1980-1990s» (Литовская, Турыгина 2007, p. 22).

As mentioned above, the press, the radio, and television form the public mind. The articles in newspapers and magazines are to create the real notions about what is happening; to influence the contents and forms of the public mind; to appeal to the public opinion; to set conditions for discussing laws, regulations, decrees; to make contacts with the bodies of government; to inform the population; to organize dialogs in the press; to publish materials
regularly on women’s problems; and to engage in propaganda widely for the egalitarian theory.

In practice, the society faces either negative, pornographic elucidation of women’s problems by mass media, or their traditional ignoring or replacing with astrological forecasts, fashion novelties, make-up techniques, etc. M. Nenashev was fair noting that under conditions of recent decades’ radical reforms, destruction of people’s economy, wasteful privatization, and unprecedented impoverishment of the citizens of post-Soviet states, the press not only became the advocate of the offended and deprived, but also demonstrated no sympathy, having directed all its efforts in order to protect the people in power. Most women’s magazines published in Ukraine and Russia do not contain serious operative information; some others pay more attention to the recipes how to make food than to social problems (Литовская, Турыгина 2007, р. 24).

The chief editor of “Moscwichka” (The Muscovite”) newspaper А. Volynets (Russia) writes that the editorial public expert group established that the most popular Russian press “Arguments and Facts”, “Komsomolskaya Pravda” (“Komsomolsk Truth”), “Izvestiya” (“News”) published authors (both men and women) writing on different problems including those of forming women’s public mind, in order to defend their civil rights and social protection in the ratio 93.7% and 6.3% respectively (Литовская, Турыгина 2007). Regarding the specific publications on women’s question, they are single. Most press bodies do not analyze the political and economic situation formed that affected negatively the women’s state in the society. The implying trend to women’s increasing activities in production, political and social spheres has not received the proper elucidation yet.

The radio faces the same objectives. It should be the transmitter of advanced ideas, to propaganda the truth, to evaluate objectively the political activity of the leaders, including the women. However, we are facing the same problems: myths, lack of control over the creditworthiness of information. The American expert in politics Michael Parenti noticed very accurately that women appear in the programs much rarely than men and basically in subordinate roles of housewives, secretaries, and girl-friends, usually unable of own responsible deeds (Литовская, Турыгина 2007).

The third constituent of mass media is television called the “means of large calibre” in the press. Its roe is to form the personality. The research conducted in the US came to a conclusion that TV competed with other participants of person’s socialization – parents, school, company, brothers, sisters, persons of the same age, church. The TV’s audience is extremely wide, heterogeneous, and multitasking. The main goal is to form the public mind, to run the ideological upbringing work, to propaganda, to spread culture. However, the up-
to-date TV does not carry out this function, lacking, as a rule, attention to women’s problems. There is no dialog on TV, many presentations are incompetent and unprofessional (Литовская, Турыгина 2007).

Thus, mass media do not contribute to the process of the post-communism society democratization, and do not implement the concept of democratic relations where women would occupy the proper place. Mass media are designed to spread information being in fact the intermediary instance. However, in reality we can see the process of interpretation, and often the journalists, TYV leaders, authors of articles are indifferent to the events of the real life. They are concerned mainly with presenting sensations. The patriarchate point of view being distributed inspires the audience with the thought that the woman must execute her only natural functions beyond production and political activities. Mass media form our notions, opinions, judgments about the real life. They influence people’s sub-consciousness by constructing of certain motivations, evaluation etc.

The distortion of women’s image in mass media has taken place permanently and stubbornly for already decades. At the same time, the official big press published practically nothing dealing with women’s positive characteristics. The exclusions consist of only some women’s publications and some newspapers. Jane Mansbridge, Professor of Politico from North-Western University (Chicago) wrote in her article “Women, Management, and Public Good” that the feminist ideas appeared in the centre of debates about the nature of politics under democracy conditions. The democracy is not I, but we. Ideally, it is the resolving of conflicts not only by the will of majority, but also in the interests of majority, also it is the search of solutions, including minority. It gives the model of transforming I into we (Литовская, Турыгина 2007).

Life has shown that the patriarch model of country’s government has exhausted itself. The new millennium is the era of women, and the realization of their potential possibilities should be actively assisted by mass media. Their genuine destination is to serve their audience, and to be for women not only the instrument of objective information, but also a wise conversionalist reflecting their interests and requirements. The state has the leading regulating role in this system of relations in post-Socialist countries. The state itself, being the main subject of politics, determines rule and regulations for mass media operation. The free, independent state of mass media does not deprive them of the responsibility for negative consequences of formation of the ugly distorted image of a woman.

So, mass media are the most important means to translate gender stereotypes in the modern society. Television, the radio, and the press penetrate the social reality by the net of visual and verbal images, implying that the stereotype point of view for masculinity and
femininity is presented as some absolute phenomenon. To the first view, mass media reflect the real state of affairs, existing in the society where there are freedom, equal opportunities, and diversification of personal “scenarios.” Both men and women are the heroes, leaders, and addresses of information and entertaining programs, writers and readers, actors and spectators, musicians and listeners. However, if one investigates the situation more attentively, he will find out that the modern ‘advanced’ society is oriented to fulfilment of the traditional gender roles.

Mass media usually portray women either as a sexual object, or as a more or less lucky housewife. This is especially apparent in so called mass “women’s” magazines devoted in fact to teaching women to be beautiful, groomed, men’s sexual fun able to give him pleasure; or – in publications of “family” orientation – to be the organizer of family consumption; and most often – to combine both functions. This stereotype image is represented in numerous “ladies” novels singing of the ideal of great and beautiful love. The women-heroines there normally play the roles of Cinderellas patiently expecting their heroes.

The image of a housewife devoted herself to a house and a family continues to be one of the most popular in mass media. The roles acted by the screen and magazine “home” heroines, represent perhaps the most wide-spread stereotype about the women as the creatures owning the natural need to take care of others, responsiveness, orientation to personal/ family relations. It is suggested that their destination is to rest in the sphere of their families, carrying out the useful function of the wife and the mother. In this sense, they are opposite to men whose destination is independence, orientation to success and achievement of high social status beyond the home space.

Today, one can see many publications where a man cooks food, cleans the home, or feeds the children. But even those scenarios so not contradict the existing gender stereotypes, as they are built according to their canons. The image of an “incapable” man, as a rule, supplements the image of being absent for any reason and coming just in time woman in order to help him. In the situations where a man is the only hero, the hidden presence of a woman is read implicitly or explicitly. The similar scenarios emphasize something unusual in doing homework by men and confirm the inappropriateness of the “genuine man’s destination” and the home duties carried out by him.

The intolerance of mass media’s gender message regarding women is expressed with different degree of openness. On the one part, there exists the “rigid” pornography, where in most cases the roles of a man-violator and a woman–victim represented. In the pornography, the woman is portrayed as the object of sexual exploitation, lacking personality and
individualism (visually it is made by the fragmentation of women’s body). The man embodies power and dominance. He is thrust to the role of the active subject-conqueror and the suppressor.

The connection between the pornography and the spreading of violence in the society is direct. The negative influence of the pornographic industry is in actors’ imitation, identification with them, so the representation not only by men, but also by women of the models of sexual behaviour based on violence. In such a way the pornography consolidates the power misbalance in the society, the traditional ideology and men’s dominance and women’s sub ordinance and sex inequality. The problems of prostitution and trading with women, also of violence in relation to children, of the involvement of teenagers in prostitution are closely connected with them and are their consequences.

The sadist humour represented in the press, on the radio and TV has received wide popularity. Even more often one faces the “softer”, but not less consequent forms of symbolic violence demonstration. Thus, the “cover policy” in most publications represents the patriarchate stereotypes, and this related not only to openly ‘boulevard’ publications. On reading, say, the informational magazines, e.g. Russian “Ogoniek” (“The Fire”) one can hardly miss the image that all the men on its cover including sportsmen and rock-starts are dressed in the well-sewed formal suits; however, the women, including quite official persons, are presented in the image of sexual divas with different extents of bareness. The PR-experts developing the images of business men and women, point out the fact that the latter’s image is more complicated. The images of men-politicians and businessmen stress primarily such qualities as self-confidence, determination for success, and the firmness of the will. The lady-manager is expected to have all these features besides the purely “women’s” ones: readiness to the emotional support, care and patience. No doubt, she is to look good, to be enough coquet, “to see a man in a man” and to stress it constantly (Литовская, Турыгина 2007, p. 35).

The stereotype role is assumed not only for women, but also for men. In various professional and age groups the content of these roles may differ, but there is a common setting in their base: a man must be “masculine”, that is rational, harsh, reserved, ready to dominance and power, and only if he has all these qualities, it is well-being. The muscular brutal beauties on the covers of boulevard press, and the relatively small set of wealthy ‘stars’, in mass media’s beliefs, are of permanent success among women, and set the standard, which all without exceptions men are supposed to follow. The image of the successful playboy, whose most important occupations in life are self-grooming,
achievement of sexual victories, and choice of places to rest dominates in ‘men’s’ magazines.

Besides, the symbolically depicted in the image financial well-being implicitly suggests also high professional accomplishments. The men by any reasons not meeting the considerations of success, are, recognizing their “second-grade”, are to improve their parameters, to suffer restrain or to get self-confidence at the expense of both relatives and strangers. The high degree of criminalization and militarization of the society maintained by mass media, adds in the image of ‘real’ man also the readiness to not only symbolic, but also to physical forms of violence. The image of “macho” - the active socially and aggressive sexually beauty, fighting singly against criminals, secret services, or troops, is hymned in the ‘men’s’ serials.

Similar gender images, being translated many times, are thrust by the society. The objects of intolerant attitude are becoming not only women, but also the men not answering the standards of “real masculinity” (“weak”), also other men and women breaking the natural from the point of the society norms of sexes co-existence (homosexuality, lesbians, transsexuals).

The internal feelings of a person of any sex, found out that their aspirations did not meet the gender expectations of the society, the wish of any person was not to follow in his behaviour the gender cultural norms, the refusal of one or another group to carry out gender prescription involved deep crises, and fierce collusions of traditional (considered as normal, correct) and unusual. As a rule, they are rejected at once by the majority of the society, and it takes quite a long time when the irreconcilable conflict begins to be replaced by at least partial understanding.

3.3. Historical aspects of coverage of gender problems by post-Soviet mass media

After Russia and Ukraine had gained independence, the press oriented primarily to the laws of the informational market, began to develop there. The consumer’s demand acted as the single basic guaranty of their successful functioning. At the same time, some quantitative increase in women’s press took place. The audience accustomed to homogenous and small in number women’s publications, demonstrated the high interest to the new titles. The advertisers were also interested in placing advertisements, as it meant the address-correct turning to the potential audience, guarantying their financial profits. Besides the domestic market, foreign corporations received the opportunity to barrier-free distribution of their magazine products in Russia and Ukraine. The Russian readers got acquainted with
“Cosmopolitan”, “Harper’s Bazaar”, “Elle”, and “Marie Claire”. These gloss publications became the market leaders in the area of magazine periodicals (Боннер-Смеюха 2009). The purposes and the objective of women’s magazines were defined by the readers’ interests, as follows: the personal life of a woman, the improvement of her health and mood, her housekeeping, upbringing of her children, and interactions between people and sexes.

Under conditions of the growing competition, the publishers needed not only to create a women’s magazine, but also to take into account certain informational requirements of the audience in its typological model. This helped to research the social characteristics of potential consumers, and to differentiate the audience by segments. The publishers were oriented either to the age, or to the occupation, or to the level of women’s’ wealth, offering the most complete and the most complex informational product. The country began to publish the magazines for girls, for women with the defined level of wealth (for rich ones – gloss magazines full of advertising of expensive goods), for housewives, for mothers et al.

There began the new stage of typological modernization of the magazines "Rabotnitsa" (“The Employee”), “Krestianka (“The Farmer”), “Sovietskaya Zhenschina” (“The Soviet Woman”) in the history of Russian press. They preferred not to limit themselves with the family-everyday life direction despite the lack of political and ideological grounds. “Rabotnitsa” was transformed into the periodical studying the issues of women’s social inequality and instability in the families (the rubrics “Problems”, “Let’s Talk about Feminism,” “Acting Figures in Women’s Movement”). Besides, the new thematic divisions were developing there. They were introduced at the end of the 1980s. The most popular topics were women’s unemployment, their adjustment to new economic conditions, women’s and children’s criminality, homeless people, alcohol addiction etc. However, the publications were not limited by the above. The normalization of women’s psychological state appeared to be one of its most important directions The magazine started help to optimize the audience’s mood, the interpersonal relations; the rubrics “Confession” published readers’ letters, “The Fate” dealt with family essays, “I am the Psychologist for Myself”, “The Delicate Theme”, “Family’s Secrets” included conversations with specialists. The innovation was the opening of the Orthodox Church rubrics “Good Message”. The implementation of the holiday-making direction was developing in the literature division. Also, there were the materials acquainting the readers with the news of the cinema, theatre, variety (Боннер-Смеюха, 2009).

The “Krestianka” magazine has been transformed into the gloss one for a woman and her family. The model of the publication appeared to be partly close to the program of “Rabotnitsa”. It was expressed in the availability of themes about personal relations: such
rubrics as ‘In the Family Circumstances”, “My History”, “Personal Life”, “Men’s History”, Between Us, Adults”, “Psy-factor”. Also, the division about the religion (“On the Eternal”) was introduced besides the rubrics devoted the issues of morale and culture (“The Ladies and the Past”, Museums of the world”). In contradistinction to “Rabotnitsa”, the authors of “Krestianka” were less interested in the social problems; instead, they began to develop increasingly the consultancy direction. There appeared such rubrics as ‘The Bazaar Day”, “The Lawyer Is Consulting”, the entertaining ones “At your request” where interviews with stars were placed, also tests were published. The magazine began to attract to reading it not only a woman, but also all the members of her family (the following applications “Our Farmstead”, “Fashion in the House”, “General State”, “The Hostess”, “Family’s Library”, “Tag” for children) (Боннер-Смюха, 2009).

In 1992, the magazine “Sovetskaya Zhenschina” announced of its reorganization. Its title changed to “Mir Zhenschiny” (“The World of Women”). The considerable number of type pages was given to the materials about social problems and to discussions of the projects how to normalize the family’s position. The magazine reported on the operation of women’s organizations (rubrics “News from the Women’s Union of Russia”, “What Is the Women’s Committee Able to Do?”), running actions for women protection. The popular earlier topic of the life of contemporaries abroad disappeared from “The World of Women”. It was replaced by the theme of Russian regions’ life (“Provincial Plots”, “My Republic”, and “My Russia”). The rubrics “Secrets of Love”, “The Confession”, “Talk to Me, Psychologist”, “At Your Request”, “Saint Women’s Names”, “Sport”, “In the Orchard and Kitchen garden”, divisions devoted to housekeeping, for children, and family competitions. The cultural direction of the publication was represented by the materials on arts, people’s creative work, folklore, and historical essays (Боннер-Смюха, 2009).

In 1996, the publishing house “Peter” started to publish the magazine “Women’s Club”. The numerous rubrics according to themes were associated with the following divisions: the interviews with famous people on their professions, family issues (“The Taste of Life”, “The Guest”, “Tell Me, Who Is Your Husband?”), culture, history, people’s traditions, religion (“From Grandmother’s Trunk”, “The Past”, “Culture News”, “Orthodox Russ”), relations between sexes, peculiarities of characters and people’s physiology (“Men’s Secrets”, “Women’s Secrets”), upbringing of children (“Children and We”, “The Leisure with a Baby”), fashion, medicine, grooming, housekeeping, and needlework (Сидоренко, 2004).

At the end of 1995, the German publishing concern “Burda” began to publish the magazine “Liza”. It found its audience quickly and gained popularity at the media-market.
The concept of the publication was unusual for the domestic reader. “It was created for women to enable them to meet certain pattern of life: thinking, ready to look at the family being and family relations innovatively, to re-build them from the ordinary to those, saturated with warmthness, grace, beauty, and comfort.” The woman is the main initiator of the family traditions formation; therefore, she should not forget about her appearance, self-feeling, mood, rest, determining the climate in the family, and the mood of all its members. The magazine’s concept was presented in the following divisions: “Fashion and Beauty”, “Love and Life”, “Liza in the Kitchen”, “Kind Advice”. Besides, the information about medicine, tourism, popular persons was presented there. The short journalist materials became the distinctive features of “Liza” and other products published by the Publishing House “Burda” (“Liza. Bon Appetite!”, “Rest!”, “My Beautiful Garden”, “Liza. Kind Advice”, “Liza. My Child” et al.). These specific variants of the magazine must help to win the attention of the audience – the similar publications are comfortable for reading in the transport, as they contain various information which is easy to perceive due to the simplified style of its reproduction (Боннер-Смеюха, 2009).

In 1995, “Domashny Ochag” (“Good Housekeeping”) began to be published in Russian, the property of “The Hearst” Corporation. The magazine “Good Housekeeping” started in the US in 1885, and today its audience amounts to 32 million readers. The publishers are sure that the magazine’s success is defined by its audience – the family woman being proposed the themes connected with her life and everyday being. The woman’s image in “Good Housekeeping” was as follows: it is an attractive woman (division “Fashionable Beauty”), paying attention to herself, her health (“Health”); simultaneously she is a wise wife (“Your House”). There, the secrets of family happiness from famous women were published; early marriages, frequent divorces, incomplete families etc., advice of how to overcome personal crises, family relations and their normalization; advice for a capable and experienced housewife (“At the Kitchen”) were discussed. Also, “The Laboratory of Good Housekeeping” – the experts’ materials on the novelties of food industry and home appliances, and the materials about a loving modern mother (“Children’s World”) were published (Боннер-Смеюха, 2009).

One of the results of economic reforming at the beginning of the 1990s became the social stratification of the society. Such civil categories as “socially well-to-do”, “middle class”, “less social well-to-do” strata of the population appeared. The material wealth of the first two categories oriented the publishers to produce the expensive products, and some types of press began to be turning to it. The elite women’s magazines were addressed to the girls and the women with the middle and high level of wealth. They were distinguished from
the rest domestic periodicals by their considerable volume, quality of polygraph execution, great number of illustrative materials and advertisements (e.g., elite cosmetics, perfumes, clothes, shoes, furniture). These magazines, as a rule, represented the Russian language analogy of foreign women’s publications belonging to large publishing concerns, whose products had earlier entered a lot of world’s countries. In the 1990s, such magazines began to conquer confidently the Russian market of the press. Despite their high compared with other domestic magazines cost, they became very popular.

The history of development of the domestic women’s elite press started from the publication of the magazine “Vash Stil” (“Your Style”), the Polish version of the women’s magazine “Twoj Styl”. The publication was new by its format both for Russian and Ukrainian readers, and the national publishers. It was getting acquainted the audience with the lifestyle of women abroad. The magazine included the following permanent rubrics: “Portraits” – sketches about the famous figures of culture, politics, business (both men and women). The materials were accompanied by a great deal of photo illustrations, which was not characteristic for domestic women’s magazines. The rubric “The Reportage” included the articles on history, economics, and literature. The authors of the following rubrics: “The Fashion” (reports from exhibition and competitions, information about fashionable directions), “Lifestyle” (the articles about how to change the image), “Secrets of Beauty”, “Consultations” (about physical and moral health of a woman and the harmonious relations between men and women), “High Life” (news about the life of stars) helped the readers to take care of themselves, to raise their mood and self-assessment. Besides, the magazine published culinary advice, tests, clothes patterns, and crosswords. The publication did not touch the issues of politics; its themes were constructed according to the interests of the woman-wife, mother, housewife, creative person, rather than a member of the working team. The readers saw on the pages of the magazine a charming educated lady, the full-right hostess of her life.

In 1994, the company “Hearst Independent Media Publishing” brought to Russia the magazine “Cosmopolitan”, developed by the American publishing concern “The Hearst Corporation”. Its first issue came out in New York in 1866. The magazine was positioned as that for people from the high society. In 1905, the new owner of the publication William Randolph Hearst changed its type, having transformed it into the literature one. In the 1960s, the audience of the “Cosmopolitan” began to go down, and, in order to save its product, the company decided to replace its Editor-in-chief. The author of the book “Sex and the Single Woman” Helen Harley Brown was invited to this position. The new manager transformed the magazine into the edition for young and determined women. This very model put it
forward as a leader among women’s magazines in a lot of world’s countries, e.g., in the US, Germany, Great Britain, Australia, and Japan. The magazine popularizes the “Cosmo style”, that is youth, independence, career success, beauty, health, fashion, and sports. Such a lifestyle began to be subject to propaganda also among the Russian and Ukrainian audiences. The publication «refused from the popularization of the image of the woman as a wife or a housewife depending upon her husband» (Сидоренко, 2004, p. 44).

In 1996, the project of “Ached Philipaki Press” (Paris) and the group “Sehodni” (“Today”), Moscow, - the Russian version of the “Elle” magazine appeared. The editorial board of the monthly illustrative magazine considered the “common well-groomed” our contemporary as the» ideal” woman. The age of its readers’ audience fluctuated from 25 to 35; its financial status was the middle and above the middle well-to-do. The publication consisted of six chapters: “The Fashion”, “Beauty and Health”, “Faces and Fates” (articles about famous persons, news of the cinema, theatre, sports), “Events and Opinions” (the rubrics “Koki Elle” – the information of holiday-making character, “Elle is Choosing” about novelties), “In Each Issue” (the horoscope and readers’ letters).

In 1996, the company “Independent Distributor” organized the publication of the magazine “Harper’s Bazaar”. It translated the image of an elegant lady, whose priorities were high fashion, the exquisite circle of socializing. This lifestyle obliges not only to be aware of the latest fashion flows, but also to adhere to them (rubrics ‘The Fashion”, “Beauty and Health” include not only the reports about the latest fashion-shows, but also the materials about the fashion business development). The audience of this magazine is apolitical; it lives by the interests of the elite Bohemia: exhibitions, private viewings, night clubs, meetings, trips. The marital status and the profession in this case do not matter (the division “Articles” with rubrics “Music”, “The Cinema”, “Books”, “Memories”, “Fine Art”, “Lifestyle” etc.). The ordinary for women’s’ press chapters on housekeeping and children’s upbringing were not included in the structure of the magazine.

In 1997, the publisher of “Harper’s Bazaar” started the magazine “Marie Claire”. By its concept, it is similar to “Cosmopolitan” and “Elle”. Its rubrics are as follows: “Topics of the Issue”, “Marie Claire Interviews”, “Marie Claire Investigations” (articles about the social problems of women and in the family), “The World of Culture”, “Personal Life”, “The Fashion”, “Health”, “The Beauty Saloon”.

The magazine “Vogue” began to be published in Russia in 1998 and in Ukraine in 2001. It was founded in the US in 1892. This publication is daily. The “Vogue” is designed for the well-to-do audience interested in the fashion and the lifestyle. In the 1960s, it
In the middle of the 1990s, women began to represent themselves in business more actively. However, mass media continued circulating the image of a housewife in the ordinary forms. The press chose the actresses as its heroine-characters, the second rating by the number of mentions were the prostitutes. Some feminist journals appeared in the market, but their share was small. The publications of the similar type are not popular among mass readers. In the 1990s, some women’s professional journal began to appear at the market of printed mass media. Their main objective was to satisfy both the professional and the personal interests of the readers dictated by the women’s place of work and lifestyle.

There also appeared some publications on religious topics. In 2006, the Orthodox women’s journal “Slavianka” (“The Slav”) came out. “From issue by issue, the journal tells about the high women’s vocation, about women’s fates, love, miracles of the belief, health, moral grounds of the marriage, family relations, children’s upbringing, Russian traditions. Our permanent authors are the priests answering the simple and complicated readers’ questions, explaining how to behave in the church, telling about of meaning of the Sacraments, about the history of church holidays, about lives of the saints and miracle-working icons.” It should be noted that most of domestic women’s journals prefer not to address the religion theme. That can be explained by several reasons. First, the theme of the religion, in particular the Orthodox one, was almost never touched by the Soviet women’s periodic. Second, the audience of women’s magazines is multinational, and it would not be ethical to separate the interests of only one group of the believers. Third, the Western publications were of great popularity in the Russian and Ukrainian media markets, where this topic was not also employed. So, both Russian and Ukrainian publishers did not find it necessary to touch the religion theme in their publications. The Orthodox women’s journal began to offer the topics and the research problems that had been ‘refused’ by the most mass magazines for women. Besides, the mass women’s periodicals acquaint the audience with a very limited spectre of women’s images associated by the contemporaries’ aspirations to achieve success in politics, business, science, by approaching to the parameters of the “fashionable beauty”; and wrote nothing about the spiritual world of the woman. However, the publication of similar editions by mass media «faces a number of economic problems: in contradistinction to mass women’s magazines, its objective has nothing to do with the attracting of advertising investments» (Боннер-Смеюха 2009, p. 137).

Every year new women’s publications appear. One of the reasons of the audience’s rising interest to them is the successful implementation of the upbringing function carried
out by this kind of mass media. The readers, while defining their models of personal behaviour in the society, use the information proposed by women’s magazines to large extent.

3.4. Conclusions

The analysis of reasons of tolerant/ intolerant thinking and behaviour in the gender relations pattern of the up-to-date society is one of the topical problems of the gender theory. And this is natural, as the rise in the theoretical background of feminism gender research only approached the problems of description and analysis of gender relations in the contemporary society. The feminist heritage has deepened and emphasized the problem of feminine and masculine interaction in the gender system construct. It has shown the logics in the social gender construction and revealed the discourse mechanisms of authorities operation on the masculine and feminine production. Besides, neither the forms of the feminist movement direct struggle, nor the productive as a whole boom of gender research solved the problem of forming, mastering, and developing of the gender tolerant behaviour in the everyday culture. The aspiration to gender tolerance requires the appropriate culture of differences and distinguishing recognition. The culture of the everyday tolerant interaction demands the substantiating of a new humane standard; in particular, the developing of the typology of communicative tactics of tolerance, actual in gender interaction and represented in the spheres of education, upbringing, media etc.

For this, the analysis of femininity/ masculinity as social constructs is done, the national gender stereotypes inducing the confrontation of masculine/ feminine are found out, and the representation of masculine/ feminine in the images of the culture are under research. The gender interpretation of the normative tolerant behaviour is of great importance. It presumes finding out the system of everyday life and forming the caused by any culture scenarios of gender behaviour determining the degree of the communicative tolerance, the gender identity, the principles, strategies, and tactics of the tolerant gender communication. The tolerance assumes the awareness that the “myth of femininity” and the “myth of masculinity” are the means to masc. the patriarchate notions about the nature and the social character of gender ideas. The only opportunity of self-realization, that is to become the “real” woman or to “real” man is to be free in choosing one’s own way, not to be the object of manipulation, to recognize the right of other people, and to be and act according to their vocation.
Public people, scientists, politicians, journalists, and representatives of arts continue to pay attention to the intolerance of strategies to represent men and women by the contemporary mass media. The objects of their critic are the consuming character of men’s and women’s sexuality, and the beauty etalons subject to propaganda by the fashionable trademarks, and the industry of children’s entertainment forming the sexist stereotypes in the process of children socialization. The world’s community is becoming aware gradually of the mass media role in the formation of the person’s identity, and of the destructive character of the huge number of visual and verbal images, saturating the space of mass communication. The gender expertise of mass media contents would enable the further re-considering of gender relations from the position of tolerance.
CHAPTER 4. FEMINIST ACTIONS OF PROTEST IN POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES AND THEIR COVERAGE BY MASS MEDIA

4.1. Introduction

If to ask the citizens of most post-Soviet state, which feminist actions they have seen, they will recall with the indispensable smile Ukrainian FEMEN and Russian «Pussy Riot». At the same time, the associations with these advertised groups irritate the representatives of the influencing feminist organizations. And this is understandable: they create groups to raise consciousness, to read the courses on gender research in universities, to develop bills on gender equality, to run feminist meetings against anti-abortion legislation, so, in general, to carry out useful and important work, and the society does not response to these efforts and does not notice the women remaining the “second sex”. The people aiming at mass media and pops perception, cannot see and do not want to see the problems proclaimed by the opposition, trade unions, feminists, and simply non-indifferent citizens. And this is despite the fact that the problems raised by the activists relate to everyone. Many people up to now have trusted mass media and obtained information from them, however, the latter began to present any dissatisfaction as a scandal. And, to their mind, a spectator is able to percept this dissatisfaction only in this scandalized form However, he takes it in a peculiar way: the person making a scandal is wrong, not the authorities. He remembers only the visual image. So, with the word “feminism” the pictures of shocking actions by FEMEN and «Pussy Riot» are floating in the consciousness, - the unconditioned reflex has worked.

And this reflex of mass subconscious is not the fault of the above feminist movements, but the misfortune of the society, which is not ready to get aware of the gender equity ideas. The fault is not with the feminists, but with mass media and with the state politics in area of mass media. They are the people who fail to denounce on the broad audience the layer of the culture, dealing with the liberating women’s movement. The breakdown of Soviet shortage economy, the construction of the “masculine” Soviet system caused for most people difficult problems of their own survival. They had no energy to solve the state issues and to build the civil society. Mass media served the requirements of the exhausted in the chase for the elementary comfort and the reliable minimal consumption of people. The feminist critic of the post-Soviet society remains unknown to the very society, the spectator hear only echoes of FEMEN and «Pussy Riot». Let us find out what these movements are and how their protest actions are depicted in the means of mass media.
4.2. FEMEN actions (Ukraine) and the role of mass media

“FEMEN” is the unregistered Ukrainian public movement, acting in Ukraine and in Europe. It is famous for its scandal and shocking actions of protest against women’s discrimination, corruption etc, during which the women-activists strip their busts. The organization began to operate in 2008, and has become well-known enough since the middle of 2009. The “FEMEN” actions of protest are run by three-four topless girls (always wearing Ukrainian wreaths and jeans).

In November 2009, when the organization conducted the meeting at the building of the Ministry of Education and Science, demanding to set up a committee in order to “investigate the facts of sexual solicitations of rector-professor faculty towards students.” The action was run in connection with the arresting of the Rector of Kiev State Academy of Water Transport Vasily Mikhailov, suspected in making porn films with participation of under age girls (aged from 12 to 15 years)” (Феминисткы пикетировалы Минобразования 2009).

On the 5 December, 2009 the movement ran the action “Devil’s Road” in response to the competition “Miss Ukraine- Universe – 2009” on Mikhailovsky square near the entrance of the five-star hotel InterContinental (Активистк FEMEN устроил Лядскую дорожку 2009).

In January 2010, “FEMEN” activists dressed as prostitutes ran the action “SEXExit Pool” at the building of the Ukrainian Centre of Election Committee, bothering the drivers of the cars passing by. By this action, the movement wanted to illustrate the Presidents’ elections in Ukraine. Besides, FEMEN regularly conducted actions against women’s prostitution under the slogan “Ukraine is not the brothel!” The movement leader Anna Hutsol claimed that 60% of Kiev prostitutes were students (Боннер-Смеюха 2009, p. 219).

On 17 March 2010, “FEMEN” ran the action against “the usurpation of all the leading positions in the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine by men” at the Cabinet of Minister’s walls. One of its participants was detained by the police (Милиция помешала участникам 2010).

On 29 October 2011, the day of the stadium “Arena Lvov” opening, the activities conducted the “protest against Euro-2012”. Two of the protest action’s participants were arrested. On 12 May 2012, in Kiev one of the “FEMEN” activists threw from the pedestal the cup of the championship of Europe on football placed for everybody’s viewing. Both actions were directed against Ukraine’s transformation in the centre of sex-tourism (Маерчик, Плахотник 2011).
It is high time to recall one doubtful moment of “FEMEN” activity – their relations with feminism. The reference to the feminism in their title is quite transparent. Nevertheless, in all the interviews raising this theme, the leader of the movement Anna Hutsol stresses that they have no relation to the feminism. “No, we are not the feminists. Feminists place the man, whom they want to imitate, dress like him, and finally take on all his functions in order to become a strong and independent woman-man, in the centre of their attention. In the centre of the public organization “FEMEN” is the woman, – beautiful, feminine, sexual, and, at the same time, strong and decisive, ready to stand for herself” (Маерчик, Плахотник 2011). Thus, by using the ideological potential of the feminism and the emotional luggage related to it, the “FEMEN” participants deny it demonstratively and emphasize their femininity, trying to win at the expense of the contrast to the wide-spread in Ukraine notion on the feminists similar to men.

However, everything is not so easy. The following text has been for a long time on the English page of “FEMEN” in MySpace:

“We are building the national image of femininity, maternity, and beauty based on the experience of Euro-Atlantic women’s movement.

We are establishing the new standard of the civil movement in Ukraine.

We have developed our own unique form of civil self-expression based on brevity, creativity, effectiveness, and shock.

We show that civil movements are able to influence the public mind and to lobby the interests of the target group. We are planning to become the greatest and the most influencing feminist movement in Europe” (Маерчик, Плахотник 2011).

Now, there is no such a text there, but Anna Hutsol mentions in her interview that they want to become the large-scale women’s movement of the European level.

For a foreign audience, “FEMEN” probably demonstrates another attitude to feminism, but Ukrainian journalists failed to clarify how these words are compatible with the humiliating comments to the address of feminists for the Ukrainian audience. Nevertheless, mass media often call FEMEN activists the feminists, namely, “the Ukrainian feminists protest.”

Many Ukrainian “real” feminists argue that “FEMEN” does the important and necessary business, while protesting against the legalization of prostitution and sex-tourism in Ukraine by playing up the stereotypes of the consumed by the patriarchate society hyper sexualized (almost prostitute) feminine nature and by trying to act as subjects rather than objects of their own sexuality while demonstrating it under their own conditions. The other perceive their activity as the technical project directed to the working out of some political
capital, which will be used afterwards by the certain other players in the Ukrainian politics. Among the people not connected with women’s organizations, the attitude to “FEMEN” is quite diverse – from the full and unconditional support of both their provoking character and the direction of their actions, to their complete enmity due to their habit to demonstrate their naked bodies and lack of creativity in their actions. These multiply points of view are clearly presented in the comments on “FEMEN” blog in the Live Journal - someone speaks in support and someone complaint about someone’s small bust.

One can find many other strange moments in “FEMEN” activities. The only person doing all the official communication with the press, appears on TV and on the radio as the invited speaker for a serious conversation or distributes program interview on behalf of the organization is Anna Hutsol. Moreover, she has two official blogs: one on the site of the Ukrainian journal “Correspondent” and one on the site of the Russian radio station “Echo of Moscow”. Alexandra Shevchenko, instead, takes part permanently in all street actions and breakthroughs to television (some mass media’s materials mention sometimes that she undresses wherever it is necessary or not, sometimes she has to be even restrained). Many publications about “FEMEN” say that Anna is the brain of the movement, and Alexandra is its body. Journalists cannot help surprising at their unscrupulous excuses for protesting. V. Ageeva writes: “Often the impression is formed that they do not matter what the excuse of their undressing before cameras is. The only thing they need is more journalists, and what they do is the shocking for sake of the shocking itself, as they do not go further one time or non-systemic street actions (Агеєва 2012, p. 205). Although Ms. Hutsol herself says the following: “We want to show that a woman should response to everything happening in the country, to have own thoughts concerning all the acute questions. We do not want to be limited by only “women’s” themes and problems. We have to do with everything including politics” (Маерчик, Плахотник 2011).

Some of these actions have openly xenophobia character. Say, before the football match in Lvov between the Ukrainian and the Turkish teams, they demanded to forbid the Turkish fans to enter Ukraine, because usually the Turkish men more than the others weary Ukrainian girls with their solicitations.

All “FEMEN” actions are thoroughly fixed on photos and video (the video is then placed in YouTube); all materials about them are traced; and the references are placed on their blog in the “Live Journal”. Today, one can confidently state that “FEMEN” has become well, though sadly known not only in Ukraine.

Note, that according to the recent research, the share of “FEMEN” protests accounted for 42% in 2010, 64% in 2011, and 44% in 2012 of all the protests in Ukraine,
raising the issues of women’s rights and abortions (Ареєва 2012). Their topless actions do not require the wide-scale mobilization and can be carried out by the “nucleus” of the organization. The participants of the movement raise most frequently the questions of how the church is intruding into one’s personal life, and the prostitution (especially those connected with the running of EURO-2012). However, the using of the tournament, the shouting of insults to the address of fans arrived and even the chaining themselves in the fun-zone as a sign of the protest against the “group harassment” of Ukraine, do not solve the problem of prostitution, because they do not even mention the social and economic reasons of this phenomenon – poverty and unemployment. As we have already mentioned, in May 2012, the “FEMEN” activists ran their actions in Kiev, Dnepropetrovsk, and Lvov by attacking the Cup of EURO-2012. These actions like many similar ones have nothing to do with women’s everyday discrimination. To our mind, the media effect created by them, makes harm to the social women’s initiatives appearing now in Ukraine. Some FEMEN actions are shocking with regard of their lack of the political thought. For example, in April 2012, the activists of the movement climbed to the chapel of the Sofia Cathedral, protesting in such a way against the legitimating of abortions prohibited. The activists were not concerned with the fact, that this initiative had already spoken out by the leader of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic church, and the National Reserve Kiev Sofia has nothing common with the legislative initiative to forbid abortions.

Despite the fact that, as it has been noted, for Ukrainian audience, “FEMEN “does not identify itself with feminism, at the everyday level; their activity is referred to it mistakenly. Besides, the “radical” exhibitionism results in the Ukrainian society rather moral disapproval, and it does not help raising discussions concerning the above social problems, such as the sex-tourism and the home violence. Under the circumstances when “FEMEN” attracts the considerable part of media’s attention, the struggle with the wide-spread prejudices about feminism has been made more complicated. Therefore, it is not surprising that the comments to the news about feminist actions against prohibiting of abortions are bristled with the disappointed comments like, “Where is the naked bust?”

Their aggressive feminism does not help them make friends among foreign activists. After opening of the “subsidiary” of FEMEN in Paris, there were run twice simple, but effective by their mechanics actions. On 15 October 2011, the Ukrainian feminists and several French activists conducted in front of the Ministry of Justice the protest action against the extremely light, in their opinion, punishment for the figurants of the case about the harassment in Fontenay-sous-Bois. Their photographs immediately flew via the Internet, not only in France, but all over the world, moreover that some of them showed next to the
activists the woman-monk passing by. After one of “FEMEN” leaders Inna Shevchenko moved into Paris, the small feminine world and its blogs speak increasingly much about this event. Inna adds her advocates by leaving in the Facebook the following message, “Inna offers you to become the sex extremist. You may contact her by email address femen.ks@gmail.com and by the mobile phone.” In Europe, the “FEMEN” activity with naked busts results in hot arguments in the feminist mass media, and, in the general opinion, their aggressive behaviour is considered as the threat to the business of the overall women’s movement (Агеєва 2012).

Jeffrey Tayler in her article “Femen in Paris: Ukraine’s Topless Warriors Move West”, published in the newspaper “The Atlantic” calls the public to “repulse” the uninvited guests. (Tayler 2013) Certainly, a lot of comments followed. C. Tasin from echoes her: “The participants of this group who call themselves feminists and fighter with prostitution, in reality are what newspapers badly need for their sexist propaganda: the girls in porn star style (well-proportioned body, smooth skin), naked bust, written straight on the body slogans and the poses resembling pornographic. And they pretend to protest against the dictation, sexual propaganda, and religion.” In the course of “FEMEN” campaign in order to recruit activists it looks similar to the invitation to the striptease club, and their Internet-advertisement are more suitable for porno-magazine; women are called for “The French-ladies, strip!” “Under the aggressive masculine call, distorting the republican slogans: ‘bareness, struggle, freedom’ and the three women in the blue-write-red colours covering their genitals, the striking mixture of sexism and militarism are hidden. The feminism priorities must be our protection and the standing for our humane self-respect, that is why I have to admit sadly that the wrong methods make activists subject to danger, but cannot even touch authorities” (C. Tasin 2012). The journalist from the German “Die Welt” Margaret Koch noticed, “The actions of “FEMEN” are so shocking by their form, that their little contents are not perceived at all. People, primarily men, consider them as a performance with beautiful naked girls and do not listen to what these actions would like to convey” (FEMEN: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

The Portuguese newspaper “Euro Noticias”, on the contrary, was trying to argue, “Apart from the fact that in the Eastern countries societies’ bareness is perceived quite differently from that in the Catholic tradition countries in the south of Europe, (…). It should be noted that women from the East are fully aware that they have begun to be perceived as something of a doll type, especially if they have studied in their countries’ universities. As well as they are completely aware of the fact that the whole generation of women became the victims of prostitution. It means that it is not surprising that they without any doubt use
the extreme methods, which, probably, are not very suitable for our countries where these problems are understood differently and relate to other issues (FEMEN: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

The journalist of the Ukrainian publication “Correspondent” D. Pevtsov noted that the images created by FEMEN evidence what a “cocktail” can be obtained if to mix “neo-feminism, ancient cults, addiction to Freud, and cheap film of horror.” At the same time, the reviewer of the Ukrainian journal “Vremia” (“The Times”) S. Kornienko is sure that the FEMEN actions result in allusions with the ancient orgy-ecstasy cults, with Orpheum torn to pieces by the Bacchantes, and the cults of the Great Goddess-Mother (Маерчик, Плахотник 2011).

The German journal “Spiegel” gives such a mocking piece of advice to French feminists with regard to a “FEMEN” action: “Come to the streets with placards and announce that you will not undress, and, on the contrary, will put on the Phrygian cap with a concord in order to say that you are the French, not the Ukrainian, and arrange a revolution, and if someone needs, you will arrange it again. Say that Olimpia de Gouges was the French as many other less famous revolutionaries. And that if anyone wants to join you, they will joyfully be met in the country of the French revolution, if they agree to put on the Phrygian cap (they, as you understand, will again need your head). After that it does not matter, whether they are walking along the street with a baked bust or not. The principal thing is that they will take the oath of faithfulness and bow their knees, whereas now they penetrated to your country as thieves (FEMEN: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

The similar enmity is felt in Brazil in the article “My View on FEMEN”. The journalist from “Brazil Post” Sarah Dos Santos compares this movement with the association on the protection of animals rights PETA, which has created its reputation and collected considerable donations using the purposely shocking and bloody campaigns. In their comments to the article some journalists reminded her that, though the actions by “FEMEN” and similar ones such as “The Marche of Tarts” may be insulting and to be reflected negatively by the whole women’s business, they are still enjoying the support of the young generation who think that the “classical” and more structured feminists are distinguished by some excessive integrity, elitism, and reserve (FEMEN: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

Thus, one can state that the world’s community is observing permanently over the shocking actions of the Ukrainian activists trying to express their protest. The baked body became the peculiar ‘visiting card’ of “FEMEN” activists, and only thanks to its cheeky
shocking and hooligan behaviour this organization has gained sad popularity all over the world. Despite their frequent conflicts with right-protecting bodies and the court proceedings, the organization does not stop its activity. Nowadays, “FEMEN” is trying to obtain the status of all-Ukrainian “opposition movement”. Yet, it is necessary to admit that no-one takes seriously these feminists...

By thrusting pseudo ideals and pseudo values, the representatives of the movement create the wrong artificial image of a modern woman: cheeky, protesting, aggressive rebels, ready for any actions for sake of proving her rightness. While fighting against everyone and everything, FEMEN used different methods in order to act on the public, primarily the baked bodies of its activists as a shocking factor. Note, that within the framework of the “feminine art” the bareness is used as the problem inducing position of women as the object of men’s view, the object of depiction and the object of consumption. The addiction to the body, especially, the women’s one, is considered as relating to its sexuality and subjectivist character, so the new frameworks and contexts for its interpretation are built. One of the important components of women’s sexuality is her bust. This is the very territory that men can freely become exposed, but for women, it is a very arguable territory of the discourses and power collisions. It is interesting to note that if in the sexualized contexts the naked women’s bust is becoming more and more acceptable (covers of magazines, street and television advertising), the same bust, but in the context of feeding babies, is perceived with greater intolerance. Here is the example: “More than 700 letters from the indignant readers-women have been sent to the editorial board of the magazine “Babytalk” since last week when the readers found out on the cover of the August issue the imprint of a baby leaning to feeding her mother” (Агеева 2012, p. 213).

However, women are fighting for their right to go with the naked torso as well as men can do so (in Sweden, for example, this struggle ended in their victory, but in the US, this struggle is still continuing). In Canada, for instance, there is the Association for Equal Rights for Top-Free, that is the people preferring the naked torso (men as well as women). The creative project of Jordan Metters “Uncovered” is interesting in this relation, where one hundred of volunteers with their naked busts were objects of taking photos in New York streets. These were the women of different ages, different body-building types; there were some women subject to mastectomy, also the pregnant ones. They did not coquet, did not play the sexual attractiveness, which our culture attributes to the naked bust; they were as they are doing their everyday business and homework. And if during the first survey these photographs seem rather cheeky, after some time they are beginning to be perceived as something quite normal and natural, something from the everyday life. In the view of the
ordinary character of the situations shown, the addition of extra sexuality to the women’s
body is being eliminated; and it is presented as the common human body: unconstrained,
subjective, and not designed for consumption.

As we can see, in all the cases described, the problem of the emphasis on body and
sexuality subject to our discussion, and the breakage of various taboo connected with the
body, are associated with the clear subjective positions of the women, who are talking about,
revealing, and violating the taboo. They themselves determine the context for the
interpretation of the said, and the patriarchal model of the femininity and the sexuality
oriented to consumption are clearly and unequivocally de-constructed. With “FEMEN”, we
can see something different – they do not de-construct the patriarchal femininity, they use
and stress it; but even by turning to advantage this femininity, they do not doubt it and do
not establish a distance from it, they play up according to the patriarchate rules. Their
demonstrative “Ukraine is not the brothel” in combination with the purposely sexualized
clothes (depicting prostitutes and addressing to this image permanently at the level of signs)
distinctively resembles the classical “no means yes” prescribed by the patriarchate. It means
to demonstrate one’s availability, not to speak out disagreement, as the respectable women
do not want and must not want sex (otherwise they are becoming the tarts), but they are
ready to grant it to the decent or merely to the man stubborn enough. The essential
discordance between the form and the content of their message leads to our doubts in the
sincerity of the slogans declared by them, whatever protesting they could seem.

We want to note that the PR-product in our world knows no borders: everyone is
ready to break the morale and traditions of the society in order to made people notice them.
Even if the spectators remain dissatisfied and will negatively speak about anything – the
black PR is also PR, that is the deed is done. This way, in our opinion, is followed by the
activists of the “FEMEN” movement. As a protest, they always take off clothes and
accompany their performances by the slogans-proverbs. As we can see from the
participants’ interview, they have no ideology and lack direct associations with both
feminism and politics. The undressing itself does not bear any message, and they can offer
no other program for a spectator. This results in a simple show rather than the method of
protest. No doubt, these events give an attractive picture for mass media, but they hardly
present the adequate form of the struggle for women’s rights. Most both Ukrainian and
foreign mass media evaluate the activity of “FEMEN” in the similar way.
4.3. Mass media’s attitude to the phenomenon of “PUSSY RIOT” (Russia)

“Pussy Riot” is the Russian feminist punk-rock group, arranging their performances in the format of illegal actions in the non-traditional places such as stations of Moscow metro, trolley-bus roofs, detention facility in the police, Red Square, and the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour.

The group was founded in 2011 and consists of several participants giving performances by their nicknames. Both at the performances and while socializing with the press the group participants put on their faces knitted balaclavas and even during the frosty weather, wear light bright dresses and colourful panties.

The group’s participants consider themselves a part of the “third wave of the feminism” and define their views as the “left anti-authoritarian regime”, support the protesting actions against falsification of the elections in 2011, act for the retirement of Vladimir Putin and for the gender equity and gender freedom, under which they understand the refusal from the opposing of hetero- and homosexuality. The participants of the movement consider Vladimir Putin the “symbol of patriarchal views and sexism”. To their mind, the President of Russia claimed several times that the main women’s functions are to give birth to children and to remain in the passive position towards men. Also, the participants struggle for releasing of political convicted, against the bar for propaganda of homosexuality and against the law limiting abandonations. Among the figures of feminism, whom they consider their ideological authorities are Simone de Beauvoir, Andrea Dworkin, Emily Pankhurst, Shul Firestone, Kate Millett, Rosi Braidotti, Judith Butler (Chehonadskih 2012).

The group accompanies each of its songs either by the “illegal tour”, including the series of performances (comprising the self-willed takeover of the space and live singing of their songs under accompaniment of the guitar), or the only performance in the similar format. The illegality is thought by the participants the necessary condition of the performance and the essential part of their creative work. Their recordings are used then for creating video rollers (with the studio audio-records laid on above it) and are published in YouTube. The texts and music are written by the participants of the group altogether.

“Pussy Riot” considers suffragists, Emily Pankhurst and her supporters, women-members of the military organization of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, the Soviet advance-guard artists Stepanova, Mukhina, Rozanova with their attempts to oppose the machismo in the art, Nina Hagen, ORLAN, Sarah Lukas, Guerrilla Girls, Valery Solanas,
Katharine Breaux, and Vera Akulova as their predecessors in the history of art and feminism (Chehonadskih 2012).

Their most famous actions are as follows:
- “Release the Gobblestones”
- “Kropotkin Vodka”
- “Death to Prison, Freedom to Protests”
- “Putin Zassal”
- “Mother of God, Drive Putin Away!”

According to the Ukrainian culture expert, Nadezhda Parfan, the activity of “Pussy Riot” is not the punk-music; it is rather the political performance and the feminist actionist. The art-critic David Ruff points out the high theoretical background of the participants but thinks that their artistic gesture, including the “consciously badly performed punk songs” and reducing the theme of urban intervention, are too simplified and have no opportunities for development, nut able to inspire others for ‘analogous and more complicated things. The music author of survey Boris Barabonof believes, that the inherent for the group combination of musical and protest activities are quite traditional for punks and defines its musical style as hardcore. The author of survey of “Business Week” Peter Savodnik finds in the group sounding the “energetic characteristic for Ramones”. The musical critic Artemy Troitsky thinks that while there is some ideological closeness to the movement Riot Girt, “Pussy Riot” are close to the American group “NC5” according to the form of their performances, also participated actively in political actions. The researcher of arts Andrei Yerofeyev announced about his admiration by the group: “while men are brandishing with flags and raising fists at the political actions and shouting slogans, girls protest in an artistic and soft way” (Десятерик 2012, р. 42).

The moment of the group establishment was August 2011. In another interview, while answering the journalist’s question, “Pussy Riot” said that one of the events pushed them to create the group, was the lateral movement between Putin and Medvedev on the 24 September. However, already in March 2011, activists began to show their interest to American and European punk-feminist groups, also to follow the events of the Arabian political spring. Then the idea was born to create a feminist group. It is said that several activists of a special movement simultaneously gave birth to this idea because they were having a row on the feminism theme. This movement was dealing with the issues of the power opposition, feminism, and ecology, sexual minorities’ rights (lesbians, homosexuals, bi-sexuals, and transsexuals) and took part regularly in the meetings and other forms of protest. As the activists themselves write, “It was evident for us that Russia was lacking the
explosion action of punk-feminist group, pushing citizens to the protest culture development. We wanted to create the precedent of such a group in Russia and further to win the successors of “Pussy Riot”. In the West, the feminist culture is very active: music, performances, “Bikini Kill” (the American rock-group famous by their hyper-political texts, feminist ideas and slogans). Many of us were going in for arts, looking for some forms in order to let our creative energy way out, and, finally, had thought the “Pussy Riot” (Chehonadskih 2012).

The history of the “Pussy Riot” group appearance is impetuous: everything has occurred for almost five months: the first performances in October 2011, the first clip in November, and three participants of the group are arrested at the beginning of March, then the new clips stop to be shot (anyway, by the group itself). For five months “Pussy Riot” managed to record five clips entered the debate album, “Kill the Sexist” and to carry about nearly twenty non-sanctioned partisan performances on the different grounds of Moscow. The first rollers of their actions, which appeared in the network, were quite joyful by their energetic but not very distinctive by their contents. The negative reaction of a number of spectators followed, and the feminist revealed especially many dissatisfied persons. The group was using the feminist symbols, in particular, the violet flag with the drawn there clenched fist, written in the Venus’ mirror, and the feminist rhetoric; however, its calls and ideas were very original. The appearance of the feminist group, which was unable to be written in the “canons” of feminism, resulted in the situation, when the political space response was to tear them away. Those who had already fixed his vision on the feminist ideas, hurried to alienate themselves from the impostors, moreover that in their first songs, the calls were perceived as extremely radical, revolutionary, and party absurd.

Initially, the group comprised five permanent participants. On the performers’ heads, the colourful hats with apertures for eyes and the mouth were put on. It was the special mask, balaclava, which, on one hand, ensured their anonymity, and on the other hand, allowed them not to speculate and to export the women’s image. In contradistinction to “FEMEN”, they did not strip, but only hid their faces (closed from the environment). The participants of “Pussy Riot” claimed, “We do not want to trade in our women’s faces from the boards, as it is happening to pop-groups.” It was important to them to attract attention to the protest sense of the action rather than to enable the philistine to assess the sexuality of the participants (Chehonadskih 2012).

So, the faces of “Pussy Riot” were hidden under the masks, their names were concealed under the nicknames similar to the conspiratorial names. The anonymity was their principle; it was built in their image. It helped to avoid fixation to specific persons in order
to allow the possibility of replacing of each other and the impossibility to recognize them by the video materials. The anonymity deprived them the difficulties and losses of personal fame, especially in the police media. The biographies of the participants had no meaning, only the idea was important. They did not promote some people; they promoted the chosen cultural form and the political sense, built in their songs and performances. Both actions and clips should be the pure protest utterance. And the super-heroines in bright masks and colourful panties captured the public space of Moscow.

The name “Pussy Riot”, as they explained, was induced by the cult punk-feminist movement Riot Girl, active in the US in the 1990s. On the other hand, in the group title, there is the turning to the protest culture in the countries where the riot means for citizens the possibility to affect actively the policy ran by the authorities. The reference to the riot is quite understandable and foreseeable, as most participants of the group “Pussy Riot” adhere to the leftist views to the future society that must not be authoritarian. Some participants refer themselves to anarchists; the others hold the left-liberal position. Their political ideal is the developed civil society, where people are aware of their rights and interests and are able with the help of legislation, in particular, of such its forms as the electronic democracy, try to vindicate it. For this, one should involve the mechanisms of direct democracy – the political decisions must depend on the civil society principles. The most important thing here is the radical refusal from the power vertical and the development of horizontal political activity, the self-organization, the ability to realize a person as an equal-right participant of the civil politics, to understand one’s rights and to fight for them. The activists of the group “Pussy Riot” think that the single centre cannot take into account the peculiarities of each region; that is why it is important to develop the regional self-management rather than to move in the direction of greater centralization of the political life. In the society, being built on the grounds of the genuine democracy, the first thing to do is to change the justice system. The democracy is impossible without the independent judicial branch. Also, it is necessary to conduct the reform of education without intrusion of the church. Overall, no confession must be represented in the educational process. The young participants of «Pussy Riot» are concerned with the run by the authorities training politics, which makes even the secondary education partly paid. They are troubled also with the bills in the sphere of medical care, which are oriented not to the women’s health and reproductive rights, but are promoting such doubtful things as the anti-abortion law and the directive for the traditional family values, according to which there is no home violence as itself. In order to enable the future society to take place in principle, one should in the compulsory order make the priorities of the culture and all its institutions and make them attractive for the youth. The
Russian society is lacking tolerance and openness. While the culture is kept down, the intolerance, xenophobia, the sexist thinking limiting the diversity of people's lives by their sexist roles are becoming firmly established. Thus, such a political program was worded by the participants of «Pussy Riot», when the journalists were asking them about their political views (Chehonadskih 2012).

They themselves were trying to build the group on the non-authoritarian principles. The indicators of that were their anonymity and the lack of leaders, front men. The group began with five participants, and then the others joined it. Eight performers came to Red Square. And in reality there were much more participants, as there were some assistants, document recorders, montage specialists. In general, “Pussy Riot” does not resemble the classical musical group according to its structure. Thanks to its anonymity and mobility, the group was able to germinate in any, the most unexpected place. The group arrangement was not vertical-centralized, but horizontal-networking, where everyone was equal, and the entrance was declared free for everyone who wanted to become the “puss riot.” One could either take part in the concert himself, or to organize together with his friends a performance bearing the image of “Pussy Riot”. Indeed, such organizers appeared in masks of “Pussy Riot” after arresting the three of their participants, and «much more of those people appeared telling they were supporting and sympathizing to the group» (Десятерик 2012, p. 46).

If the first clip on YouTube was seen by more than 180 thousand users, then further their number increased greatly. Moreover, in the further clips, the illiterate initially, being in full swing and directing to the absurd revolutionary spirit of “Pussy Riot” were overcome, and the final product the spectator met (taking into consideration of the brevity and danger of partisan performances) became the media rollers where the quite sensible calls sounded such as: “The direct action is the future of mankind, LGBT, feminists, defend the Motherland!” And the rollers themselves were made with more quality and quite operatively, including their sound (Chehonadskih 2012).

«Pussy Riot» announced of itself in October 2011 by the series of illegal partisan performances on trolley-buses roofs and in the Moscow metro. On 7 November, the result of these performances became the clip “Release the Gobblestones!” issued to the anniversary to the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was devoted, besides others, to the introduction of limitations on women’s reproductive rights. In its blog in LiveJournal where they told about this first clip and about how it had been doing, “Pussy Riot” separated the themes and problems raised in the texts of their first album “Kill the Sexist”. A lot of everything was mixed there: the tree-times longer working day for women, the dethronement of regimes in
the East, the anti-Putinism, the struggle against right-protective bodies, the protection of LGBT, the radical decentralization of authorities, the saving of the forest in Khimki, and the transfer of the capital of the Russian Federation to Eastern Siberia. Overall, everything could not be considered a well-built political program. It was not surprising if to take into account that “Pussy Riot” had only begun their operation, and they had began as an Oh-Punk group.

The second series of the illegal performances of “Pussy Riot” took place in November 2011 in the places of the Moscow bourgeois gloss habitation: boutiques, fashion shows, next to the bar belonging to the famous fashion designer Denis Simachev. The performances included settings fire and a series of musical occupations of the gloss grounds of the capital. On 1 December, before the elections to the State Duma (Supreme Council) of the Russian Federation, the group made the expose of its second clip with the song “Kropotkin Vodka”, where the call sounded to make radical changes in Russia.

On 14 December, the group’s performance took place on the roof, near the special reception No.1 where the detained after the election protests activists were maintained. Then the song “Death to Prison, Freedom to Protests” was sung.

And on 20 January 2012, the brighter by the place and the quality of the media-roller performance of the song “Putin Zassal” took place on the Place of Execution in Red Square. Then the participants of the group had been detained, and the list of their data had been made, which then floated in the network to the open access. And at almost the same time, “Pussy Riot” first performed under the feminist flag. As it was told by them, that song meant the capture of the Kremlin by feminists (Chehonadskih 2012).

The last performance of the group «Pussy Riot», the very punk-prayer “Mother of God, Drive Putin Away!” occurred on 21 February 2012. One million two hundred sixty thousand users saw the roller on the official channel of the group. The response of the Russian Orthodox Church was the complaint about it to the General Procurator Office. On its grounds, the criminal case was filed against them according to the clause “hooliganism” able to result in the punishment up to seven years of imprisonment. On 3 March Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Maria Alyokhina were detained. On 5 March the court took place. The girls refused to make any deposition, but the term of their maintenance was saved until 24 April. On 15 March one more assumed participant processing as the witness in this case Yekaterina Samitsevich was detained. The Amnesty international recognized the arrested by the case of “Pussy Riot” Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, Maria Alyekhina, and Ekaterina Samitsevich the prisoners of conscience. After arresting of the three and the sentencing of the two of them to two years of imprisonment, the phenomenon of “Pussy Riot” has grown itself.
According to the data of the research, conducted by the monitoring agency “NewsEffector”, the passing of the accusatory verdict became unprecedented by the world’s resonance and the response Russian event for the recent years. Eighty six percent of the world mass media wrote about «Pussy Riot» (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

It should be noted, that the elucidation by mass media of both the very action in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour and the criminal processing over the “Pussy Riot” ’s activists has passed certain stages: from the restrained at the beginning, to the protest – after the verdict had passed, and the weighted, when the passions had become somewhat softer. The Western mass media, as a result, have reviewed their attitude to the action of the radical feminist punk-group “Pussy Riot”.

At the beginning let us note the unprecedented crudity of the official Russian media evaluations, such as: “the brutal provocation”, “traitors and villains”, “mocking all over the country”, “God-disgusting action”, “the plot against the President”, “the crime against Russia”, “the hit made in the very heart” (Chehonadskih 2012).

The journalist from the Polish newspaper “Krytyka Polityczna” Cezary Michalski in his article ““Pussy Riot” on the Christ without Ivy” saw in this problem the religious background what looked quite unexpected. “On the background of religious wars ran in Europe by Catholics, Orthodox, and Protestants, the war of “Pussy Riot” and “FEMEN”, being ran for sake of secularism and emancipation, against the things that they themselves consider rather the secular cult of idols than a region, is the peaceful war, following the principles of humanism, which the opposite party does not adhere in relation to them.” (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012) The utterances by Andrus Kivirahk from the Estonian “Eesti Paevaleht” are similar, “Patriarch Gundyaev believes in Putin. He had better believe in Christ” – sang the girls in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour. I cannot find in these lines anything sacrilegious. Maybe, some people do not consider saint the citizen Gundyaev. However, in this case, we deal with another religion named after Gundyaev. The real Christian has nothing to do and to be troubled with in the performance of “Pussy Riot” (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012). Evhenia Belorusets in her article “Pussy Riot” as the “successful project” claims that “the action in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour acquires the status of the internal acquisition, the long-expected Russia’s contribution into the world’s culture. Thanks to this action, as if first for many years, Russia is appearing at the international scene of the modern art with its original product, in which one cannot read the disappointing ‘simulation to the West’” (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).
The similar utterance is becoming possible only on the background of the outlook, according to which, the considerable barrier separates Russia from the myth of the “Western”, or the “world” context. It is very difficult of admit such a point of view.

The German conservative newspaper “Frankfurter Allemande Zeitung” - one of the most popular serious newspapers of the Federative Republic of Germany, having large circulation, explains the performance of the girls from “Pussy Riot” by their aspiration to get famous at the expense of the public shocking. Having devoted to this even the whole type page, Moritz Gutman, the author of the article “utters about the unacceptability to consider the case only in the recourse of political struggle. The main thesis of the German journalist is as follows: the group’s activists do not observe the generally recognized in the Russian society decencies norms, striving for their glory and recognition. He also compares the “Pussy Riot” group with the students’ movement of the 1970–1980s in Germany, arisen at the wave of protests in 1968 and beyond the Parliament opposition. The author emphasizes the fact that the action in the located in the centre of Moscow Cathedral of Christ the Saviour was criticized even by the acting leaders of opposition in Russia. In his opinion, all the activists’ utterances in reality prove to be hypocritical primarily because they do not take into account even their children making them instruments and even the protective shield for their actions. The activist of the terroristic group “The Fractions of Red Army” Ulrike Meinhof taking part in the preparation of the terroristic acts with four victims at the beginning of the 1970s treated her children in the similar way. Gutman doubts in the sincere intentions of the members of the group who decided to insult the feelings of the believers for purpose, explaining it by their presumptions, that after the USSR breakdown, Russia has always been lacking the genuine ideology, and its only moral anchor remaining has been the Church (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

The correspondent of the French newspaper “Agora Vox” Chien Guevara in his article “The case of “Pussy Riot” and the mediocrity of the press” calls, “Ladies and Gentlemen (Journalists), I am begging you, don’t write in the heading “In Gulag for the song” even if it sounds great and is sold well, as though the accusative verdict is a really regrettable event, its real reasons go much farther than the improvised concert in the church” (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

“The sentence in the case of “Pussy Riot” corresponds completely to the laws of number of European states”, the British “Daily Mail” writes (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012). The French publications imagine with horror that the similar action could take place in one of the churches in Paris. The
serious publications call their readers to assess the scandal objectively. “The availability of only two approaches – good and bad – to the sentence of “Pussy Riot” does not allow the possibility to do the more in-depth analysis of the situation,” the French journal “Le Nouvel Observateur” writes; also “New York Times” admits that it is ‘much concerned by the fact how negatively the West takes this judicial process”. “The Russian riots are not the liberals looking for self-expression, - the surveyors of the publication write. – They, to their own admission, are the successors of surrealists, aiming at the radical, partly violate change of the society”. People are to support these brave women only in the case if they themselves are ready to go with them to the very end, - the journals emphasize (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012). “The British Guardian”, on one part, considers the “genuine hypocritical” the fact that “London and Washington ‘are climbing the high tribune’ and beginning to read morals regarding the sentences delivered in Russia”. “The same Western democracies have been keeping people in prison for decades for the crimes dealing with drugs, and have been maintaining the assumed accomplices of terrorists in prisons timelessly,” the newspaper says (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

Other publications also note the dualism of the foreign advocates of “Pussy Riot”. “The Western leaders who are so ‘shocked’ by the judicial pursuing of the activists, treat quite indifferently the dictator regimes, for example, in Saudi Arabia, near which even Russia looks innocent” the British newspaper “The Daily Mail” writes (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012). “Not only the Russian regime, but also the government of any world’s country treats in an authoritarian and cruel way the people who violate the traditional moral norms”, is the opinion of the Austrian “Der Standard” (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012). In this connection, as the authors of the American journal “The Atlantic” think, “The international campaign in support of “Pussy Riot” is absolutely unconstructive”. To The Atlantic’s mind, “people in Western countries advocate with enthusiasm those who is likely to fight for the right deeds, but they do not find time to clarify, whether these Russian ‘punks’ have chosen the appropriate method for their struggle” (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

Several sources wrote simultaneously that the ‘method’ of “Pussy Riot” was clearly inappropriate. For example, the mentioned above “Le Nouvel Observateur” is asking the rhetorical question, “What would happen to the punk-group if it ran the forbidden concert in the Notre Dame or another church, a synagogue or a mosque? (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012) And “The Guardian” adds, “The
whole world is up in arms against the Russian judicial system, calling the sentence to “Pussy Riot” ‘extraordinary’ or ‘too strict’. However, what would be the response of authorities and common citizens of Great Britain if they learnt that the representatives of the creative youth were dancing on the altar in the Saint Paul Cathedral shouting obscenities to the address of the Queen?” (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012) If “Pussy Riot” arranged the similar action in a Jerusalem synagogue or Istanbul’s mosque, they would also demand the severe punishment for the girls,” notices the French news site “Atlántico” quite reasonably. “The country ought to take care of the fragile religion equilibrium, and this very fact explains such a cruel response on the part of the judicial authorities,” – in this way “Atlántico” interprets the verdict delivered (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012). “Despite the protests of the international public, one can announce confidently that the delivered in Moscow verdict according to the “Pussy Riot”’s case fully corresponds to the legislation of a number of European states,” “The Daily Mail” is summing up the discussion (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

Regarding the group “Pussy Riot” directly, some Western mass media are getting at the straight forwardness and the ‘one-time’ character of this project. “The group is starting to lose its aura of ‘fighters with the regime’ and the ‘stars of Indi-rock’, states “Financial Times” adding that, “the history of this Russian punk-group is developing according to the well-known scenario: popularity at the beginning and forgetting after some time.” The publication is resuming, “The only thing saving the group is its title that has already given birth to a whole genre of jokes”, the publication resumes (Pussy Riot: обзор иностранных СМИ за март-сентябрь 2012 года, 2012).

The unexpected shift in opinions may be connected with the actions in support of “Pussy Riot”. As a result, the Western public could place itself instead of the Russian authorities and to try evaluating not the operation of the judicial system as a whole, but the performance of the punk-group. The advocates of “Pussy Riot” ran a demarche in the Köln Cathedral and obtained the accusation threatening them with a three-year imprisoning. And that was a good excuse for the Western public to think about how compatible the punishments existing in different countries for the similar actions are, also to look at the situation more or less impartially, beyond the context the Western’s public attitude to Putin’s regime and, overall, to “wild Russia.”

However, “Pussy Riot” was able to introduce the feminist rhetoric into mass media. And the fact that the sympathetic to the girls educated and artistic circles, who were following the creative work and the pursuing of “Pussy Riot” with interest and the feeling
of solidarity, remain in their grounds indifferent to both the feministic movement and to women’s problems, - this is not the fault of the feminist punk-group.

Some journalists uttering about how to regard the appearance of such kind of modern initiatives as “FEMEN” and “Pussy Riot”, declaring themselves as “feminists” believe that in the society where the democratic values have not become the norm, each protest strategy works in its favour. This conclusion is well illustrated by the “FEMEN” example – the failing both as the artistic expression and as the appeal to feminism (on the background of the endless manipulating of the primary sex indices). The words of Nadezhda Nartova, the activist of Russian reasonable feminist organization “Women’s Union of Freedom and Equal Rights” evidences, “First, I would like to say that I consider “Pussy Riot” feminists, as this is the feminist utterance, their self-identification, and the fact that their way of operation cannot coincide with mine does not mean that I can refuse them in their feminism. It seems to me that this permanent discussion where the border is, who is the feminist and who is not in reality does not help any mobilization and consolidation of any feminist organization, because the feminism is really different. We can see both democratic and feminist effect in the West in the diversification, often even the direct confrontation of a lot of different feminist groups. That is why, it seems to me that this protest is certainly feminist, and as feminists they have a right to criticize the existing social order… What the “Pussy Riot” has done now and what discussion it resulted in is very-very important, as all the traditional methods of the feminist civil activity have led to no resonance, let us say, the absolutely no resonance” (Десятерик 2012, pp. 46-47). Thanks to “Pussy Riot”, the feminist rhetoric has appeared in mass media, although I can agree with the fact that the feminist position of “Pussy Riot” is not developed enough, and may be even insufficiently developed. However, the fact that they did introduce the women’s position in the talks about politics means much. The society is oversaturated with information, and «any media product is to be maximally effective and pressed into the clear and understandable form» (Десятерик 2012, p. 47).

The leitmotiv of some feminists performances is expressed by Irene Skobtseva, “…the pattern of the enormous and strong response to the performance of “Pussy Riot” shows that our up-to-date political actions should be inventive, artistic, interesting, and only so, because the press is oversaturated, they need to give the informational excuse, and both the society and people are passing by us, and I am handing leaflets in the picket or is standing with a banner in the picket – people do not see you, these must be only bright shows. This requires different means: intellectual, creative, and material; nevertheless, it is necessary to arrange them attentively, accurately, for a long time, but successfully. It is high time for us to approach creatively the organizing of such actions”. (Десятерик 2012, p. 48).
4.4. Conclusions

It should be noted that the stereotyped image of a feminist as a man-like, unsatisfied sexually and aggressive pervasive woman (and of the feminism as the corresponding ideology) have been dominating in the mass media Russian and Ukrainian discourses. Thanks to the discrimination of the feminism concept within the framework of the communist ideology and Soviet practice, women in their mass percept this term with precondition, seeing here the regular threat to their abstract “eternal femininity”. Most publications in the press and in the Internet, TV and radio-broadcasting conduct the key idea of stigmatization of the “feminism” concept as the socially harmful, “extraneous”, and distorted. However, recently, after the actions by “FEMEN” and “Pussy Riot”, one more interesting tendency had been noticed in the social and cultural discourse about the feminism – its carnival-like character. What is meant under this term? It has something to do with the carnival-laughing aspect of the concept “feminism” existing in the up-to-date media space. The humorous, and frequently ironical, even cynical intonation is dominating in the utterances of journalists, writers, public figures regarding to feminist paradigm as the self-definition. From the psychoanalytical point of view, according to Sigmund Freud the similar action can be interpreted in the terms of psychological defence. However, the carnival-like character of feminism in the modern media-discourse is appearing as the ‘by-product’ of the gender built in the much more complicated comparing with simply the execution over the inappropriate ideology scheme of the post-modernist perception of the world, which has been understood primitively.

The National Monitoring Service* (www.monitornews.ru) prepared the data for «Pussy Riot» and FEMEN ratings for 2011-2012. In 2011, the group «Pussy Riot» was mentioned by mass media 53 times, FEMEN – 1,435. For eight months of 2012, the group “Pussy Riot” was mentioned by mass media 12,473 times, FEMEN – 2,960 times.

* The Rating is built based on the analysis of more than 600 publications in Russia and Ukraine: TV, radio, press, informational agencies, and the Internet mass media; More than 22,000 informational messages have been analysed; The period of the research is from 1 January 2011 to 20 August 2012.
Figure 1. Media rating of “Pussy Riot” and FEMEN in 2011 and in 2012

The rapid growth of “Pussy Riot”’s rating in 2012 was explained not only by their actions run, but also the consequences of one of them, taking place in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour. The criminal case against the “Pussy Riot” participants and the court over them resulted in the broad public resonance.

The following conclusion is to be made: the increased interest to the feminist (or pretending to be so) problems is the evidence of both the topicality of the theme in Ukrainian and Russian mass media (at least taking into consideration the quantitative factor), and mostly the apparent non-preparedness to accept and understand the occurring society liberalization and the role (objectives) of the feminist idea. The laughter in this case is masked by the lack of information, by the rigidity of the stereotyped thinking, by the elementary social protection, and by the erosion and overloading of concepts, – that look frightening and being subject to laughter as a rule. The conscious carnival-like character of feminism as the ideological construct as the predictable element of post-modernist perception lies in completely another plane. As a result, it can be stated that the feminism in the media space is either stigmatized, or carnival-like, that is it has transformed from the serious political phenomenon into something (sexually) indecent, unimportant, pervasive, and marginalized.

To sum it up, both the Ukrainian FEMEN and Russian “Pussy Riot” use different methods and the stylistic differences between then are serious. The similarity between the two groups is only in two positions. First, both of them are women’s groups. They both are inclined to shocking and scandalized actions. The punk-stylistics and the peculiar, but near-musical creative work dominate over “Pussy Riot”; and “FEMEN” participants do not sing,
they only undress. The groups are associated with each other by the love to scandal, but they have different techniques of messages delivering. The former uses primarily musical means, the latter – only bareness. Besides, the “FEMEN” action, when they have sawn the Christ to victims of political repressions did not induce the feeling of solidarity among the participants of “Pussy Riot”. One of them, Maria Alyokhina, told the journalists about it. Thus, while answering the question if the Ukrainian movement “FEMEN” is close to them, she said, “Their suddenness of attacks and the protest against authoritarian powers are close to us, but we look at feminism differently, and primarily it corresponds to the form of performances. We would not strip, and we are not going to do that. The last action of sawing the Christ also does not result in the feeling of solidarity with us.”
CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY OF CONTENT ANALYSIS

In the process of study conducted in the previous chapter there have been defined theoretical and historical approaches to the problem of feminism, tendencies of covering feminist issues in the media in the post-Soviet space. Content analysis is an independent piece of research within the framework of our study.

To understand the nature of the phenomenon of feminism it is necessary to compare the current situation in Ukraine and Russia with the development of feminism and its coverage in the media in the countries of Western Europe. It will enter the post-Soviet feminism in a global context. To achieve the goals and objectives of the study there was used the method of content analysis. This method was chosen because this is a standard method of research in the social sciences, where the subject of analysis is the content of texts and communication correspondence products. The use of content analysis to examine the information from the media is considered to be particularly effective, which is why to study the materials from European newspapers about the events connected with the FEMEN and Pussy Riot there has been chosen this method.

As we know, the study in the field of media without a content analysis of the press can’t give a complete picture of the state of the media. The choice of method of content analysis provides an additional opportunity to compare information in time dynamics, as we consider the events that took place at different times.

The essence of the content analysis is that in the text, according to the research purposes, are allocated certain semantic units of content and forms of information, and we determine the frequency and volume of such units in the references in particular number of texts.

Content analysis provides a method with which it is possible to generalize manifestations of behavior and attitudes of different types of subjects. Content analysis can be used to answer the research questions if there is any available physical media that touches particular subjects of our interest, and when the researcher has access to this information source. In this case, the information source are printed periodicals. American professors J. Manheim and R. Rich consider the content analysis “technique of wide range application, with certain advantages in the form of cheapness, small sample size, availability of data” However, perhaps more than any other method, it requires a detailed operationalization of all variables and constant monitoring of the observation process. The results can be highly informative, however, should be interpreted only in the particular context”. 80
Using content analysis determines "the frequency of appearance in the text of certain, interesting for the researcher, characteristics, which allows the researcher to make some conclusions about the intentions of the creator of the text or the possible reactions of the recipient." Application of the measurement procedure in the analysis of texts makes it possible to obtain accurate, objective data on the nature of all kinds of communication of their content. In the process of communication, according to V. Mansurov, "content is central. That's the intent of the communicator and the possible reactions of the recipient".

Content analysis is characterized by the objective conclusions and strict procedure and is a quantificational processing of the text with the following interpretation of the results. Content analysis should be used in our work, because to achieve the results of the study we need a high degree of accuracy and objectivity of the analysis, given the large number of publications in European newspapers on the subject of the research.

In our research framework the task of content analysis was to examine certain aspects of the content of the print media, in this case, the object of the study were newspapers themselves and published their texts on feminist protest movements of FEMEN and Pussy Riot.

Terms and concepts.

Content analysis - research technique for getting conclusions through analyzing the content of audio-visual or textual information about the states and properties of social processes (objects, phenomena), which this information presents.

The research program.

At the beginning of the research we highlighted the problem of developing a program of content analysis research, which is suitable as a tool for:
- studying the contemporary texts of periodicals containing gender representation in Ukrainian, Russian and British press;
- determination of the characteristics of the media coverage of the protests of feminist movements in the former Soviet Union;
- studying the characteristics related to participants of feminist protests;
- determination of the coverage specificity of feminist protests by liberal and conservative European editions.

Of course, it would be incorrect to expect that a small sample of data (six newspapers from three countries) will be sufficient for representative conclusions about the entire amount of processes and phenomena associated with modern coverage of protests of feminist movements in the media. However, we can assume that even a small sample may give us reason for a critical review of any stereotyped views.
The topic of interest to us is the feminist protest actions and attitude towards covered on the pages of European newspapers in 2011-2013, as well as ways of presenting the participants on the example of the punk band Pussy Riot and Ukrainian organization Femen. Chronologically, the work covers the period from late 2011 to 2013, which will track changes in the frequency and nature of messages about women's protest movements on the pages of European newspapers.

The objective of work is to conduct quantitative analysis of the texts from newspapers within the period from 2011 to 2013, which contain information about the activism of groups Pussy Riot and Femen, for further substantive interpretation of the identified pattern (content analysis).

In this research, the main target of the analysis of printed press materials devoted to the coverage of the protests by feminist groups, was to test hypotheses about the influence of democratic processes in the country and the degree of liberalism or conservatism of the edition on the formation of the image of women and the nature of the coverage of feminist protest activism.

Other hypotheses of the study:
- A positive image of feminists found in the publications of liberal newspapers;
- A negative image of feminists found in the publications of conservative newspapers.

In order to minimize the subjective factor when considering the topics, we counted the amount of material in the papers (articles, memos, newsletters, presentations, etc.) containing information about selected events within the selected time period.

The object of the research.

Publications in Ukrainian, Russian, British press over the period from 2011 to 2013 on the Russian punk band Pussy Riot (PR) and Ukrainian organization Femen, as well on feminism, protest actions, the image of women in modern media, reaction of Ukrainian, Russian and British society at the events. Such an extension of the subject is due to the fact that the materials of the last areas of study may reflect presentation of information in different countries.

The selected time period corresponds to the most intense flow of publications on selected events. Materials which contain information about the groups were structured on the basis of their relation to the following events:

1. For Pussy Riot:
Event №1. Punk prayer “Mother of God, chase Putin away” in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior (February 21, 2012).
Event №2. The Pussy Riot trial (July 30, 2012 in Khamovniki district court in Moscow the
trial began).
Event №3. Reaction to the verdict (August 17, 2012 members of the band were found guilty of hooliganism motivated by religious hatred and sentenced to two years of imprisonment in a penal colony).

2. For Femen:
Event №1. Protest "God, kick away the king" (9 December 2011)
Event №2. FEMEN protest in support of the members of the Pussy Riot in Kiev city center (17 August 2012).
Event №3. The protest against Vladimir Putin policy at the industrial exhibition in Hanover (8 April 2013).

Between these events there is a significant decrease in the intensity of publications on Femen. As for Pussy Riot, it should be noted that the interest of newspapers to the group hasn’t decreased for more than a year. Constantly appear newsworthy events, which are reflected in the newspapers: nomination of members for prizes, celebrities protest against their imprisonment etc. As for Femen, they create their own informational reasons, from time to time arranging protests in various European countries.

In order to verify the hypotheses of the study, we conducted a content analysis of publications in European media regarding coverage in the newspapers of specific events related to Pussy Riot and Femen.

For the content analysis were selected the publications of six european daily newspapers from the UK - «The Guardian» and The Daily Telegraph; Russia - "Novaya Gazeta" (“New Newspaper”) and "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" (“Russian Newspaper”); Ukraine - “Den” (“Day”) and “Segodnya” (“Today”).

Selection of newspapers as an object of content analysis has been made due to following reasons. For our research we selected six newspapers from three countries. Each country is represented by one liberal and conservative newspaper. In case of Ukraine and Russia, the liberal (or democratic) are oppositional newspaper to existing regimes. The conservative camp is represented by pro-government publications.

This approach to the study will objectify the analysis of material, to determine the connection of the content and quality of publications with political and social situation in a particular country, to reveal the dependence of the method of presentation of information on the position of the editorial board, designate journalistic standards in different countries. The choice of the United Kingdom as a country with centuries-old democratic traditions, as well as Ukraine and Russia, as representatives of the emerging democracies, will determine the differences in the approaches of covering events. To study the image of women in
contemporary media is important to define the differences between the various European countries.

Another reason of such a selection was the degree of influence of the newspaper on the formation of public opinion.

So, for our analysis we chose British newspapers The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian.

The Daily Telegraph - British daily newspaper, founded in 1855, is one of the most popular and mass-circulation newspapers in the UK, along with The Times, The Guardian and The Independent. Average daily circulation is more than 600 thousand copies. Political alignment – centre-right, conservative. Website - [www.telegraph.co.uk](http://www.telegraph.co.uk)

The Guardian - daily newspaper in the UK, founded in Manchester in 1821 under the name of The Manchester Guardian. In 1959, changed its name to the present, and in the 1964 edition had moved to London. Sunday edition is designed as a newspaper The Observer (Guardian became part of the group in 1993). Website of the newspaper - [www.guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk) - the most visited websites among British newspapers, and its articles can vary from articles in printed edition. The Guardian belongs to a group of companies Guardian Media Group. Political alignment – centre-left, liberal.

The choice of the British media was due, above all, their influence in the political and social circles, not only Britain, but also among most English-speaking audience in Europe, America and other continents.

For the content analysis were selected two Russian newspapers, "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" ("Russian Newspaper") and "Novaya Gazeta" ("New Newspaper"). "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" – Russian language daily newspaper, the official organ of the government of the Russian Federation. According to the study, "Rossiyskaya Gazeta", along with "Kommersant" and "Izvestia" "are key sources of business and political news in the Russian information space." Website - [www.rg.ru/](http://www.rg.ru/)

"Novaya Gazeta" - a daily political newspaper, one of the Russian periodicals. First published April 1st 1993. "Novaya Gazeta" is considered an icon of Russia's liberal press. During its existence, four of its most prominent journalists were killed, the most famous of which was Anna Politkovskaya. Despite pressure from the authorities, the charges of extremism and financial problems, "Novaya Gazeta" still covers actual events. Website - [www.novayagazeta.ru](http://www.novayagazeta.ru)

From Ukrainian newspapers for the content analysis were chosen daily newspapers “Den” ("Day") and “Segodnya” ("Today").
"Den" - authoritative weekly political newspaper, a brilliant representative of the quality press in Ukraine, which has the highest ratings in the state. It is a respectable periodical with deep analysis, objective information on the political, economic and cultural life of the country and the world. The paper represents the interests of the liberal intelligentsia, which seeks to improve life in the country, and is considered one of the best newspapers in the country. Website - www.day.kiev.ua/ru

"Segodnya" - mass daily newspaper of national character. Over the years the newspaper has acquired the reputation of a conservative anti-Ukrainian edition. Owned by oligarch R. Akhmetov and support the administration of President of Ukraine. "Segodnya" has repeatedly been criticized for anti-Ukrainian nature and unreliability of publications. Website - www.segodnya.ua/

Given the fact that all of the above are national newspapers of large circulation and influence, we can conclude that they form a modern representation of a woman in the private, public and political spheres.

According to the goals, hypotheses and objectives of the research were developed categories of content analysis according to following parameters:
- "subject of the text content": what events are covered and quantitative indicators of publications;
- "attitude to the subject of the text content": the opinion of the edition, view on the event, the attitude to the participants of the protests.

Thus, by means of content analysis were examined trends in modern European information space concerning coverage of feminist protests on the example of Pussy Riot and Femen. Studying the content of European publications within the given research period gives us a right to state a number of common phenomena, clearly visible in the journalistic practices in various countries. These trends will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.
CHAPTER 6. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN NEWSPAPERS
PUBLICATIONS ABOUT FEMEN

To verify the hypotheses of the research we selected articles published within one week after the event took place. Thus, following materials were analyzed:
- From 9 to 16 February 2011 - event №1 - the protest action "God, kick away the king" near the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow;
- From 17 to 24 August 2012 - event №2 - FEMEN protest in support of the members of the Pussy Riot in Kiev city center;
- From 8 to 15 April 2011 - an event №3 - The protest action against Vladimir Putin policy at the industrial exhibition in Hanover (8 April 2013).

In total within this period were recorded 38 publications. Total number of publications in the periodicals is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Total number of publications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>&quot;God, kick away the king&quot;</th>
<th>Protest in support of Pussy Riot</th>
<th>Protest at exhibition in Hanover</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«Rossiyskaya Gazeta»</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«New Newspaper»</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«Der'l»</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«Segodnya»</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the newspapers didn’t write much on the first protest "God, kick away the king" - 5 publications. The protest "God, kick away the king" held near the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow December 9, 2011, was not been selected by us by chance. Girls from the group Femen held a protest directly connected with the punk prayer Pussy Riot did. In both cases their names were not called, the girls turned to God (Femen) or Mother of God (Pussy Riot) with an appeal to unseat Putin. In the Femen action, two and a half months before the punk prayer of Pussy Riot, we heard about the falsified results of the elections to the Duma, the fight against "Kremlin autocracy" and "king" Putin. The Cathedral of Christ the Savior was declared a "bulwark of Putin's dictatorship", which emphasizes its political, not a sacred significance, the girls are turning to Christ with a request to "chase the king" Putin - exactly the same as the girls from Pussy Riot approached...
with a similar request to the Virgin Mary. The difference is that the girls of Femen held a protest near the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in the form of a half-naked look, while girls from Pussy Riot - inside of the Cathedral, but dressed. In terms of style, messages, semantic value the two protests are very similar. So we made sure that performance of Femen went almost unnoticed in the press while Pussy Riot has become a resonant event. In Russia it was perceived as a threat to Russian spirituality and statehood.

More active newspapers were covering other two events: sawing of the Cross in support of the members of the Pussy Riot - 17 publications, the protest against Vladimir Putin policy at the industrial exhibition in Hanover - 16.

Table 2 shows how publications were mentioned in one or another newspaper in different countries. The table shows the number of articles published on each event and the sum of these indicators.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>&quot;God, kick away the King&quot;</th>
<th>Protest in support Pussy Riot</th>
<th>Protest at exhibition in Hanover</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let’s analyze the quantitative indicators in Tables 1-2 and Figure 1. As in the case of Pussy Riot, the largest number of materials about FEMEN was published in Russian newspapers (58%). This is followed by the UK (24%) and the lowest number of printed publications is in Ukrainian newspapers. (18%)

![Figure 1. Total number of publications in each country](image)
The campaign in support of Pussy Riot on the pages of the conservative Russian newspaper was followed by critical nature of the materials (subtly immoral action, the trick of radical feminists, etc.) with the calls to punish FEMENs ("shameless feminist", "girls", "hysterical young women").

It is worth mentioning that in the Ukrainian society and in the media the opinion is different. In August 17, 2012 FEMEN activists held a campaign in support of the members of the Pussy Riot, who at this time were sentenced to 2 years for punk prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. Femen chainsaw and knocked down a wooden cross by the October Palace in Kiev in the center of Kiev. For example, in an interview with the "Day" (“Den”) (18.08.2012) archpriest G. Kovalenko, head of the Information and Education Department of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate said: "What happened in our country with Femen, of course, insults the orthodox. But once we religious people, we need to respond in a Christian way, and not from the point of view of the state. It is necessary to pay less attention to the, all together, not react. The quieter the reaction, the less is the resonance. We believe that the state should not protect the Church, people should".

Figure 2. Shows the percentage of distribution of publications according to their sources

According to the number of materials, there is more of them in the pro-government newspaper "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" (“Russian Newspaper”) (34%), and the opposition one "Novaya Gazeta" (“New Newspaper”) (23%) and the lowest number of articles published in the conservative periodical “Segodnya” (“Today”) (5%) and the conservative The Daily Telegraph (8%).

66
Let’s see how the newspapers covered events according to their political affiliation.

(Table 3, Figures 3-4)

Table 3. Number of publications in conservative and liberal newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political alignment of newspaper</th>
<th>&quot;God, kick away the King&quot;</th>
<th>Protest in support of Pussy Riot</th>
<th>Protest at exhibition in Hanover</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. The ratio of publications according to their sources, depending on the political affiliation of the periodical

As we can see on Figure 3, liberal and conservative periodicals have published approximately equal amount of articles on three events. Analysis of publications on each particular event showed that on the first protest both conservative and liberal newspapers reported significantly less than on the second and the third. The protest "God, kick away the King!" was mentioned only once. Both conservative and liberal newspapers covered the second and the third events equally (Figure 4).
Figure 4. Number of publications on events in periodicals depending on their political affiliation

Figure 5. Number of publications on particular event in different periodicals

The data in Figure 5 demonstrate the quantitative indicators of the three protests covered by a particular source of publication.

Analyzing the publications about the events helped us to find key words and phrases. To start, we highlighted key phrases, which newspapers would use as a different way to call protest: action in support of Pussy Riot, protest action, anti-dictator attack on Putin, tricks of radical feminists, naked protest, naked breasts protest, impudent protests, subtly immoral protest, new topless protest, «feats» of FEMEN, «nude» action, abusive act, PR-rudeness of
FEMEN, crime, provocative activities, provocation, protest against authoritarianism, direct women’s activism, scandalous movement, sudden protest, topless-protest, shocking action of protest, erotic performance, effective action.

The results of quantitative analysis of phrases distribution about the protests in the newspapers are listed in Table 4 and Figure 6.

**Table 4. Mentioning of phrases about the protest in periodicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words and phrases for analysis</th>
<th>The Daily Telegraph</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>Ross. Gazeta</th>
<th>Novaya Gazeta</th>
<th>Den' Segodnya</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>action in support of Pussy Riot</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protest action</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anti-dictator attack on Putin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tricks of radical feminists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naked protest</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naked breasts protest</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impudent protests</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtly immoral protest</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new topless protest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«feats» of FEMEN</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«nude» action</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abusive act</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR-rudeness of FEMEN</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crime</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provocative activities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provocation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protest against authoritarianism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct women’s activism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scandalous movement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sudden protest</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topless-protest</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shocking action of protest</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erotic performance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effective action</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69
As we can see from the data, most often actions of Femen in the newspapers were called "protest actions", "provocative protest", "impudent protest", "provocative activities", "provocation", "sudden protest". Least used phrases were: “feats of Femen”, “PR rudeness of Femen”, “tricks of radical feminists”, “new topless protest”, “erotic performance”. The table shows that all the newspapers report protest character of Femen activities, as well as their outrageous, shocking, scandalous, daring, provocative behaviour. Newspapers use a lot of synonymous names such as "naked", "nude" and "topless".

We should note that only the Russian conservative newspaper called the protest as "tricks of radical feminists", "subtly immoral protest", "criminal", more often then other newspaper refers to them as "abusive act", "provocative", "shocking". Did not use or used rarely such phrases as “action in support of Pussy Riot”, “anti-dictator attack on Putin”, "direct women’s activism", "new topless action", "protest against authoritarianism", "erotic performance" and "effective action".

Russian liberal "Novaya Gazeta" writes frequently about the protest, effectiveness and suddenness of protest, calls them "impudent". The newspaper does not turn to harsh words, unlike "Rossiyskaya Gazeta".

The conservative Daily Telegraph was more likely to use "protest action", "impudent protest", “shocking action of protest”, least - "scandalous", "erotic performance." This newspaper, as well as the "Segodnya" published least amount of articles about Femen. Ukrainian edition mentions protests and scandals, calling then "topless protests" with their
"suddenness" and "impudity".

As for the newspaper "Den", the most useful phrases are - "protest action", "impudent protest", "sudden protest". The Guardian stresses on the scandalous character of the protest. The phrase "direct women’s activism" in respect of Femen is used in the articles about history and modern feminist protest movements. These kind of articles are often can be seen on the pages of Guardian.

Now let’s look at the data from Table 4 from a different angle. Let’s sort it according to the political affiliation of the periodicals. See results in Table 5 and Figure 7.

**Table 5. Mentioning of phrases about protest in conservative and liberal periodicals (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words and phrases for analysis</th>
<th>Conservative newspapers (%)</th>
<th>Liberal newspapers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>action in support of Pussy Riot</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protest action</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anti-dictator attack on Putin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tricks of radical feminists</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naked protest</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naked breasts protest</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impudent protests</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtly immoral protest</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new topless protest</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«feats» of FEMEN</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«nude» action</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abusive act</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR-rudeness of FEMEN</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crime</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provocative activities</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provocation</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protest against authoritarianism</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct women’s activism</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scandalous movement</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sudden protest</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topless-protest</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shocking action of protest</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erotic performance</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effective action</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 7. The ratio of mentioning of the phrases about the protests, depending on the political affiliation of the periodical (%)

As we can see from Table 5 and Figure 7, phrases such as "tricks of radical feminists," "subtly immoral protest", "feats of Femen" abusive act", "PR rudeness of FEMEN", "crime" are used in conservative publications only. Phrases as "erotic performance", "effective action", "direct women's activism," "action in support of Pussy Riot" are mainly used by liberal newspapers.

Let’s take a look at how the selected newspapers refer to the participants, members of FEMEN. After analyzing the articles we picked out following key words and phrases: activists, shameless feminists, nude feminists, group of young girls, girls, demonstrators, women's movement FEMEN, young ukrainians, naked feminists, protest art-group FEMEN, radical action group, radical activist, radical feminists, scandalous group FEMEN, topless-activists, Ukrainians, femens, feminest opposition movement, spectacular blondes.

The results of quantitative analysis of phrases distribution about the protest participants in the newspapers are listed in Table 6 and Figure 8.

Table 6. Mentioning of phrases about protest participants in periodicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words and phrases for analysis</th>
<th>The Daily Telegraph</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>Ross. Gazeta</th>
<th>Novaya Gazeta</th>
<th>Den’</th>
<th>Segodnya</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>activists</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shameless feminists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nude feminists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group of young girls</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the results from the Table 6 the most widely used in all European newspapers names for the members of FEMEN are: "activists", "ukrainians" and "girls". Quite often participants are called "radical" – radical activists, radical feminists. Several times were used the phrases "naked feminists", "spectacular blondes", "radical action group".

"Rossiyskaya Gazeta", for example, more often referred to FEMENs as to “ukrainians”, radical “feminists” and “activists”, calling the organization "the women's movement". In the “vocabulary” of this newspaper we also found some more offensive words, they would use - "shameless feminists", "girls", "hysterical young women", "young sluts", "sluts from the Ukrainian movement Femen».

The Daily Telegraph often refers to the girls with "activists", "Ukrainian women" and simply "girls".

Ukrainian newspaper "Den" does not allow sharp statements, and always chooses a neutral expression. Another paper from Ukraine uses the expressions "nude feminists", "activist", "Ukrainians", "women's movement." Rare – “femens”, “spectacular blondes".
Now let’s review the percentage of use of phrases about Femen activists, based on the degree of liberalism or conservatism of the periodical (see Table 7 and Figure 9).

Table 7. Mentioning of phrases about protest participants in conservative and liberal periodicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words and phrases for analysis</th>
<th>Conservative newspapers (%)</th>
<th>Liberal newspapers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>activists</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shameless feminists</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nude feminists</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group of young girls</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrators</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women's movement FEMEN</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young ukrainians</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naked feminists</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protest art-group FEMEN</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radical action group</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radical activist</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radical feminists</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scandalous group FEMEN</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topless-activists</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukrainians</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>femens</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminist opposition movement</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spectacular blondes</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The percentage of use of phrases about protest participants, depending on the political affiliation of the publication

According to the data we studied, conservative newspapers present the activists to the reader as "shameless feminists", "nude/naked feminist", "scandalous group Femen". It’s not typical for liberal periodical to use these kinds of expressions. Such phrases as "shameless feminist" and "naked feminists" were used only in conservative publications. But the phrases "group of young girls", "feminist opposition movement", "demonstrants", "radical action group", "femens", "feminist opposition movement" are much more used by liberal than conservative newspapers.

In the process of content analysis, we observed, that among the texts of publications there is an obvious domination of informational messages, which characterize the opinions of the newspaper about the member of Femen, as a neutral, positive or critical. In order to confirm this thesis, from total amount of publications we have grouped positive and critical messages as well as those articles where author tried to stay neutral. (Table 8 and Figure 10-11).

Table 8. Newspapers' opinion ranking (number of publications)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper's opinion</th>
<th>The Daily Telegraph</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>Rossiyskaya Gazeta</th>
<th>Novaya Gazeta</th>
<th>Den'</th>
<th>Segodnya</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data in Table 8 shows that the reviewed newspapers dominate critical opinion (42%), neutral position scored 37% and from total number of publications there are just 21% of articles with positive reviews.

Figure 10. Newspapers' opinion ranking (number of publications)

Figure 11. Percentage of newspaper's opinion according to periodicals (%)

Figures 10-11 demonstrate opinion of each periodical. As we can see, the negative message prevails in “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” ("Russian Newspaper"). British newspapers prefer to stay neutral, as well as Ukrainian.
Now let's see how the opinions about the members of Femen differ in United Kingdom, Russia and Ukraine. (Table 9, Figure 12).

Table 9. Newspaper's opinion ranking by countries (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100% 100% 100%

![Bar chart showing the distribution of newspaper's opinions by countries.](image)

Puc.12. Newspaper's opinion ranking by countries (%)

Results of the research show, that Brittish newspapers generally demonstrate neutral attitude towards participants. Ukrainians express both neutral and critical opinion about the girls. Russian periodicals demonstrate rather critical message in their publication, than neutral or positive.

In Table 10 we again put together data on newspapers' opinion, according to their affiliation.

Table 10. Newspaper's opinion ranking by periodicals according to its political affiliation (% of the total number of publications)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper's opinion</th>
<th>Conservative newspapers</th>
<th>Liberal newspapers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 13. Newspaper's opinion ranking by periodicals according to its political affiliation (%)

Looking at the table and the Figure we can say that only in publications of liberal character can be recorded a positive approach to object of the study. In conservative newspapers prevails critical approach.

Critical opinion is primarily expressed in "Rossiyskaya Gazeta". British The Daily Telegraph covers events neutral, Ukrainian "Segodnya" – both critical and neutral. The results showed that the British conservative newspaper seems very liberal next to the Russian one. Liberal newspapers cover events neutral and positive.

Conclusions. As a result of a content analysis of materials about Femen from European newspapers, we have confirmed the hypothesis of the effect of the degree of democratic society and the political orientation of the periodical on methods of forming images of feminist protest actions and their participants. The analysis showed that British newspapers cover the protests neutral and positive. Russian newspapers vary greatly in the way they present the material, depending on whether the periodical is government or oppositional. Ukrainian approach is similar to the way British newspapers present the material.

Fully confirmed the hypotheses that a positive image of feminists is presented in the publications of the liberal newspapers, while conservative press forms the negative image of feminists. We also confirmed that the opinion about the protest activism depends on degree of development of the democratic society. Thus, British newspapers do not allow themselves to rude, harsh and sexist commentaries on the participants of the protests. The most critical towards Femen, as in case of Pussy Riot, was "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" ("Russian
Protest itself and its participants received the most negative, unpleasant, rude characteristics on the pages of this newspaper.

It should be noted that the Ukrainian and British editions have paid equal attention to the events. Russian newspaper most often wrote about Femen. First protest, "God, kick away the King", went almost unnoticed in the European press, while protests in support of Pussy Riot and at the exhibition in Hannover attracted more attention.
CHAPTER 7. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN NEWSPAPERS
PUBLICATIONS ABOUT PUSSY RIOT

To verify the hypotheses of the research we selected articles published within one week after the event took place. Thus, following materials were analyzed:

- from 21 to 28 February 2012 - Event №1. Punk prayer “Mother of God, chase Putin away” in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior (February 21, 2012);
- from 30 July to 6 August 2012 - Event №2. The Pussy Riot trial (July 30, 2012 in Khamovniki district court in Moscow the trial began);
- from 17 to 24 August 2012 - Reaction to the verdict (August 17, 2012 members of the band were found guilty of hooliganism motivated by religious hatred and sentenced to two years of imprisonment in a penal colony).

In total within this period were recorded 113 publications. Total number of publications in the periodicals is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Total number of publications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Punk prayer “Mother of God, chase Putin away”</th>
<th>The trial</th>
<th>Reaction to the verdict</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«Rossiyskaya Gazeta»</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«New Newspaper»</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«Den'»</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«Segodnya»</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table 2 shows the number of articles published on each event in each country and the sum of these indicators.

Table 2. Total number of publications according to countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Punk prayer “Mother of God, chase Putin away”</th>
<th>The trial</th>
<th>Reaction to the verdict</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK: The Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia: «Rossiyskaya Gazeta»</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«New Newspaper»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine: «Den'»</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>«Segodnya»</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80
As we can see on Figure 1, the biggest number of articles on the subject was published in Russian newspapers (45%). Almost similar amount was published in the UK (27%) and Ukrainian (28%) papers. These results are quite natural: the reason for the bigger number of publications on the subject in Russia is the fact the Pussy Riot protest actually took place in Russia.

Figure 1. Total number of publications according to countries

Figure 2. Shows the percentage of distribution of publications according to their sources

According to the amount of publications, there are more in «Rossiyaskaya Gazeta» (25%), least – in The Daily Telegraph (11%).
Figure 3. Number of publication about punk prayer «Mother of God, chase Putin away!»

Figure 4. Number of publications about the trial
Figures 3-5 demonstrate number of publications about particular events. As we can see, according to the number of published articles the leader is «Rossiyskaya Gazeta» (28). «Novaya Gazeta» published 23 pieces. And the least was published in The Daily Telegraph (12).

Analyzing the publications about the events helped us to find key words and phrases.

To start, we picked out key phrases, which would help us to define, how newspapers present protest in the cathedral, the trial and reaction to the verdict.

We decided to start with the key phrases, which newspapers would use as a different way to call Pussy Riot’s protests: a group of women came to the church to pray, impudent action, Ill-fated punk prayer, prayer, unacceptable performance, abusive protest of femininst punk group, punk prayer, punk prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, dances of feminists, scandalous, perfrormans of punks, so called «punk prayer», hooligan protest.

The results of quantitative analysis of phrases distribution about the protests in the newspapers are listed in Table 3 and Figure 6.
As we can see from the data, most often to mention the protest in the cathedral were uses phrases such as "punk prayer", "hooligan protest", "Punk Prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior". Least used phrases were: "ill-fated "punk prayer", "scandalous
It should be noted that the Russian conservative newspaper often called the protest in cathedral "hooligan", "so-called punk prayer", "unacceptable performance". Did not use or rarely used the phrases "a group of women came to the church to pray," "ill-fated" punk prayer", "prayer", "punk prayer", "Punk Prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior". Conservative The Daily Telegraph wrote more often presented the protest as a "punk prayer", "prayer", rarely as an "impudent", "ill-fated" punk prayer 'and "abusive protest of feminist punk group". Ukrainian "Segodnya" often described the protest as "hooligan", rare - as "impudent action".

As for the democratic newspapers, the Russian "Novaya Gazeta" most often used "punk prayer", least - “impudent action” and “ill-fated punk prayer." The Guardian interprets the event as "a group of women came to the church to pray". The most mentioned phrases – “punk prayer” and “punk prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior”.

Now let’s look at the data from Table 4 from a different angle. Let’s sort it according to the political affiliation of the periodicals. See results in Table 4 and Figure 7.

Table 4. Mentioning of phrases about protest in conservative and liberal periodicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words and phrases for analysis</th>
<th>Conservative newspapers (%)</th>
<th>Liberal newspapers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a group of women came to the church to pray</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impudent action</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-fated punk prayer</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unacceptable performance</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abusive protest of feminist punk group</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punk prayer</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punk prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dances of feminists</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scandalous performans of punks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so called «punk prayer»</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hooligan protest</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking at the Table 5 and Figure 7, we see that the phrase «dances of feminists» was used by only one conservative periodical («Rossiyskaya Gazeta»), and the phrase «scandalous performance of punks» - by democratic press only. Liberal newspapers prefer to interpret the event the following way: «a group of women came to the church to pray», «prayer», «punk prayer», «punk prayer in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior», «ill-fated punk prayer». Conservative newspapers, especially Russian ones, hardly ever use this kind of expressions.

Let’s take a look at how the selected newspapers refer to the participants, members of Pussy Riot. After analyzing the articles we picked out following key words and phrases: girls, three young women, mothers of little children, young mothers, singers of the group, ladies, punkies, women, these girls, activists, germs, persons, paricipants of unnacaptable performance, these people, punks.

The results of quantitative analysis of phrases distribution about the protest participants in the newspapers are listed in Table 5 and Figure 8.
Table 5. Mentioning of phrases about protest participants in periodicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words and phrases for analysis</th>
<th>Number of mentioning in European newspapers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Daily Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three young women</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mothers of little children</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young mothers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singers of the group</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ladies</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punkies</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>these girls</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activists</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>germs</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>persons</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participants of unacceptable performance</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>these people</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viruses</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in the table show that the most widely used in all European newspapers name of the participants - "women" and "girls." "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" called them "germs" (twice), "viruses" (3 times) and "participants of unacceptable performance." These expressions are least common and it should be noted that they are most harsh. Russian newspaper does not mention that the girls are young mothers and activists. Thus, we conclude that this newspaper allows itself to call the Pussy Riot activists the rudest names. The Daily Telegraph often refers to the participants with words "women" and "girls", rare - "punk" and "persons". The Guardian doesn’t only mention that they are girls and women, but also stresses on that they are “activists”. "Novaya Gazeta" often uses words “women”, “girls”, “activist”. The sharp way of presenting information is not typical for this newspaper, they more than others mentioned the motherhood of girls from Pussy Riot. Ukrainian newspaper "Den" (“Day”) also mentions the motherhood, youth and the fact that women are activists. The newspaper does not use harsh words and correctly cover the essence of what is happening. Another paper from Ukraine uses "girls", "ladies", "persons", sometimes – “punk”, “young mothers”.

87
Now let’s review the percentage of use of phrases about Pussy Riot activists, based on the degree of liberalism or conservatism of the periodical (see Table 6 and Figure 9).

**Table 6. Mentioning of phrases about protest participants in conservative and liberal periodicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words and phrases analyse</th>
<th>Conservative newspapers (%)</th>
<th>Liberal newspapers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girls</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three young women</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mothers of little children</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young mothers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singers of the group</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ladies</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punkies</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>these girls</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activists</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the calculations demonstrate such phrases as «germs», «viruses», «these girls», «participants of unnacceptable performance» were used in the conservative newspaper «Rossiyskaya Gazeta» only. And the phrase «punkies» use just the democrats. Conservative newspapers refer to the activists as to «these people», «ladies», «persons». Using such expressions is not typical for liberal periodicals. But they are more likely to write about the girls as about «young mothers», «three young women», «mothers of little children», «activists», «singers of the group» and «punk». 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>germs</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>persons</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participants of unnacceptable performance</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>these people</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punks</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viruses</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9. The percentage of use of phrases about protest participants, depending on the political affiliation of the publication

In the process of content analysis, we observed, that among the texts of publications there is an obvious domination of informational messages, which characterize the opinions of the newspaper about the member of Pussy Riot, as a neutral, positive or critical. In order
to confirm this thesis, from total amount of publications we have grouped positive and critical messages as well as those articles where author tried to stay neutral. (Table 7 and Figure 10-11).

Table 7. Newspapers' opinion ranking (number of publications)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper’s opinion</th>
<th>The Daily Telegraph</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>Rossiyskaya Gazeta</th>
<th>Novaya Gazeta</th>
<th>Den’</th>
<th>Segodnya</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table 7 shows that is the reviewed newspapers dominates positive opinion (42%), neutral position scored 28% and from total number of publications there are just 31% of articles with critical reviews.

Figure 10. Newspapers' opinion ranking (number of publications)

Figures 10-11 demonstrate opinion of each periodical. As we can see, the positive message prevails in “Novaya Gazeta” (“New Newspaper”) and negative – in “Rossiyskaya Gazeta”. Ukrainian newspapers prefer to stay neutral or show positive reaction and British – show more of a supportive attitude.
Now let's see how the opinions about the members of Femen differ in United Kingdom, Russia and Ukraine. (Table 8, Figure 12).

**Table 8. Newspaper's opinion ranking by countries (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 11. Percentage of newspaper's opinion according to periodicals (%)**

**Figure 12. Newspaper's opinion ranking by countries (%)**
Results of the research show, that British newspapers generally demonstrate positive attitude towards participants. Ukrainians being less critical then neutral or positive. Russian periodicals demonstrate rather critical message in their publication, than neutral or positive.

In Table 9 we again put together data on newspapers' opinion, according to their affiliation.

Table 9. Newspaper's opinion ranking by periodicals according to its political affiliation (% of the total number of publications)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper's opinion</th>
<th>Conservative newspapers</th>
<th>Liberal newspapers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13. Newspaper's opinion ranking by periodicals according to its political affiliation (%)

Looking at the table and the Figure we can say that in publications of liberal character prevails a positive approach to object of the study. In conservative newspapers prevails critical approach. Critical opinion is primarily expressed in "Rossiyskaya Gazeta". British The Daily Telegraph covers events neutral, Ukrainian "Segodnya" are not so critical, more neutral. The results showed that the British conservative newspaper seems very liberal

92
next to the Russian one. Liberal newspapers cover events neutral and positive with a part of criticism.

**Conclusions.** Thus, our work with the materials of European newspapers devoted to Pussy Riot leads to the following conclusions. Content analysis, carried out in the research, showed that the information policy of the European media towards the protest movement has its own specificity, depending on the country and the political affiliation of the edition - liberal or conservative. This research confirmed the main hypothesis about the impact of democratic processes in the country and the degree of liberalism or conservatism of publication on the formation of the image of women and way of covering of feminist protest actions. The most critical towards the feminist protests turned out to be "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" - the official periodical of the government of Russia. The protest itself and its participants received the most critical, hard-hitting, rough, and sometimes unacceptable characteristics of the pages of this newspaper.

Ukrainian and British editions have paid equal attention to the events. British covered more the cultural and political component of the problem, and Ukrainian have focused on politics and religion. There were as well other confirmed hypotheses. We found out that a positive image of feminists is presented in the publications of the liberal newspapers, while conservative press forms the negative image of feminists.
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The conducted research allows us to make following conclusions.

The public movement for women’s equal rights was formed in the history of Western civilization in the second half of the 19th century, when women first performed as a self-organized political force. A few of women’s groups in America and Europe were later transformed into the powerful national coalitions and associations by the beginning of the 20th century. The suffragists were trying to achieve changing legislation and to do everything to make their voice heard by all the means of civil activities. Their mass demonstrations, petitions, turning to parties and political figures: meetings, demonstrative, even provocative protest actions were aiming at the attraction of public attention, changes in politics, and conducting of reforms. In the 1920s, the feminist movement of the first wave took place in Europe and the US. It attained, together with election rights, the adoption of laws allowing women to study at universities and to work out of their homes. After that the movement thought their problems solved, and the activity of women’s organizations were subject to abatement.

After World War Two, the peace with its hopes for the long waited calmness, safety and prosperity, seemed to leave no space for social protests and dissatisfaction. The gender relations should look so harmonious in the social consciousness. The women who had during the war to hold the men’s jobs, to work both in the offices and at plants, now could return to their habitual “natural” occupations and to find satisfaction in the traditional home circle, not taking care of their ambitions and rights in the public sphere.

The thunder in the middle of the clear sky was the publication of the book of the French writer and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir “The Second Sex”. In this book, based on the philosophical, psychological, historical, literature, and life material, De Beauvoir first was trying to think over the problem of women’s existence in the modern world. In fifteen years after the book publication, these very ideas will become the slogans of the new wave of the mass women’s movement. The peak of the Western feminism as a social-political movement accounts for the 1960-1970s. These two decades were the time of social shakes in Europe and America. The students' and anti-war performances, and the struggle of race and ethnic groups for their civil rights determined the political climate during those “revolutionary” years. The researchers, politicians, and journalists were unanimous in the thought that unexpectedly the mass women’s social activity resulted in the original form of the social and Cultural Revolution in the Western world, and influenced cardinaly the system of gender relations.
From the beginning of the 1960s, the students start creating their own groups, having no strict formal structure, no managers, and no clear political program. Any woman could arrange such a group at school, at university, on the job, among her friends, neighbours, at the church or in the housekeeping study group. Women obtained the possibility to talk about their problems, suffers, wishes and ambitions that they had conceal and had not even been aware before, in the informal circumstances. The idea of the “world’s sister nursing” was gradually becoming the defining in the new movement. The second radical idea was the patriarchate image as the historically formed system of total men’s domination in all the spheres of life. The men’s power, according to its understanding by the supporters of “women’s liberation”, was spread not only on politics and economics; it was penetrating the personal life of women. The men cannot reform the system that has been giving them privileges themselves; that is why the compromise program of liberal feminism concerning the legislation reforms does not solve the principal task of women’s liberation from dependence and suppression. Only the women’s revolutionary struggle can undermine the patriarchate system.

In contradistinction to the activists of the liberal direction, the members of “liberating groups” did not strive for respectability and to their recognition as political elite. It was hardly possible to throw down the powerful patriarchate system by only polite demands to make changes in laws, it was necessary to change the whole system of values and to destroy the stereotypes that had been valid for centuries. That is why, it was necessary to disturb the mass public consciousness, to affect both men and women, to provoke discussions and collusions of opinions. The radical feminists enhanced their educational and volunteer work by the tactics of “direct, expedient actions.” They arranged different performances in the street, also the theatre-like actions directed to the cracking up the traditional stereotypes and values. According to its scope, the “liberating” women’s movement was beginning to outrun in the US the scopes of performances against the war in Vietnam in the middle of the 1970s.

The feminist challenge is becoming the leading theme in the mass media. The public, having been intrigued or got angry by the activity of young feminists, finds itself involved into the all-national discussion on the topics that had been forbidden before. The previous stage of the movement for equal women’s rights had never caused such a resonance in the world.

A notable phenomenon today is the problem of stereotyping of women in the media on the grounds of sex, lack of a balanced image of women. Media, are known to play a key...
role in the formation of gender consciousness, so gender stereotypes are actively functioning in the media space.

The analysis showed the specificity of post-Soviet Ukrainian feminist movement, one of the signs of which is the stigma and carnivalization of feminist discourse. The performing actions in Ukrainian public space are the most effective. The research showed that the most radical political protests in Ukraine and Russia were committed by feminist activist (Pussy Riot and Femen).

Ukrainian Femen and Russian Pussy Riot use different techniques and stylistic differences between them are significant. What unites them is that these are groups seeking to shocking and scandalous actions. In the Russian group dominates punk style. Participants of Femen get undressed, to draw attention to a particular issue. Shocking and scandalous character of the movements unite them. In one case, the tool is music, and in the other - exposure. What else brings together these two groups is the surprise and sudden factor of their protests and protest against authoritarianism, but in the different forms of performances: Pussy Riot have never undressed, hiding faces during protests.

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The protests of Femen and Pussy Riot had historical counterparts, including the feminist punk movement Riot Grrrl, Czech group «Sto goven», Belarus «Contra La Contra». These art groups act on the verge of social activism and art. Common to all of them is the impudence, politicized texts, the importance of feminist discourse, non-standard female image.

The emergence of Femen and Pussy Riot turned out to be quite significant for public discussion, stepped over various borders. From my point of view, this happened because they put in a whole variety of discourses, tied the multiple social contradictions and diverse layers of social reality. The action is never pointless if it is taken to publicity - the media, the Internet, social networks.

The conducted content analysis allowed us to determine the trend of modern European press coverage of feminist protests on the example of Pussy Riot and Femen. The study of publication of European newspapers allowed us to identify common phenomenon in the practice of the various European countries. As a result of the content analysis, we noted the influence of the degree of democratic society and the political orientation of the publication on the methods of forming images of feminist protest actions and their participants. The analysis showed that the approach of Russian newspapers is radically opposite, depending on the political affiliation of the publication. The Government's "Russian newspaper" presents the most negative attitude towards feminist protest actions and their participants on its pages. The Western European press - British The Daily
Telegraph and The Guardian - covers protest mostly neutral and positive. The research has shown that the approach of Ukrainian newspapers is closer to British method of presenting materials. Thus, despite the geographical proximity to Russia, Ukrainian opinion on protest actions is fundamentally different.

During the research we determined that liberal newspapers form a positive image of the protests and their participants. The negative image of feminists is more often presented in conservative publications.

It should be noted that the Ukrainian and British editions pay equal attention to the protest feminist movement. Russian newspapers more often wrote about Femen and Pussy Riot. British newspapers wrote more about the cultural and political component of the problem, and Ukrainian have focused on politics and religion.

Analysis of newspapers allows us to conclude, that various European countries have different journalism standards. The conservative newspapers in Russia and in the UK present totally different journalistic standards. "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" represents an extreme negativism regarding movements, and the British The Daily Telegraph demonstrates a balanced approach.
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Curriculum Vitae

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Abstract (English)

The main purpose of the research is the analysis of up-to-date feminist protest actions in the post-Soviet space and of the peculiarities of their coverage by mass media.

The aim stated caused the key objectives of the research: to consider the essence of the feminist protest actions; to clarify the historical aspects of the feminist protest actions; to give the overall problem characteristics of the feminist problems in mass media; to analyze the quantitative parameters of publications about the feminist movement in the media; identify the main approaches to covering the Pussy Riot and FEMEN actions in European newspapers; to explore the thematic spectrum of publications on Pussy Riot and FEMEN; identify the characteristics of interpretation, methods of presenting and analyzing feminist protests of Pussy Riot and FEMEN in European newspapers of different countries.

The problem of the formation of civil society, the protest movements of different actions and their coverage in the media is relevant to any country. For the post-Soviet states, which are now in the situation of collapse of democratic processes, among which the most painful are the deprivation of the right of citizens to protest, peaceful demonstrations and other ways to show citizenship issue are particularly relevant. These processes are now taking place in Russia and Ukraine.

The feminist challenge is becoming the leading theme in the mass media. The public, having been intrigued or got angry by the activity of young feminists, finds itself involved into the all-national discussion on the topics that had been forbidden before. The previous stage of the movement for equal women’s rights had never caused such a resonance in the world.

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Abstract (German)

Der hauptsächliche Zweck der Recherche sind die derzeit aktuellen Feministenbewegungen und Proteste im ehemaligen Sowjetraum sowie deren auffälligen Vertretung in den Massenmedien.

Der angegebene Zweck führte zu folgenden Schlüsselbegriffen in der Recherche: das Wesentliche der Feministenproteste zu beachten; den geschichtlichen Hintergrund der Feministenproteste zu klären; Überblick über die charakteristischen Probleme in den Massenmedien bezüglich der Probleme der Frauenrechtler; Analyse der mengenmäßigen Einflussfaktoren über die mediale Veröffentlichung der Frauenbewegung; Ermittlung der Vorgehensweise um die Pussy Riot und FEMEN Aktivitäten in Europäischen Zeitungen abzudecken; Erforschung der thematischen Breite bezüglich der Veröffentlichungen über Pussy Riot und FEMEN; Ermittlung der Art und Weise von Interpretationen, Methoden der Darlegung und Analyse der Feministenprotest von Pussy Riot und FEMEN in Europäischen Zeiten verschiedener Länder.

Das Problem der Gesellschaft ist, dass Protestbewegungen unterschiedlicher Handlungen und deren medialen Veröffentlichung jedes Land betrifft. Das Schlimmste für die ehemaligen Sowjestaaten, welche derzeit einen Zusammenbruch des Demokratischen Systems fürchten müssen, ist die Entbehrung des Protestrechts der Bürger, um bürgerliche Probleme aufzuzeigen sind nun friedliche Demonstrationen besonders maßgeblich. Dieser Prozess findet derzeit in Russland und in der Ukraine statt.

Die Herausforderung der Feministen ist eines der hauptsächlichen Themen der Massenmedien. Die Öffentlichkeit, welche einerseits durch die Aktivitäten der jungen Feministen verärgert ist und andererseits aber Interesse zeigt, sieht sich in sämtliche nationale Diskussionen bezüglich dieser Themen, welche vormals verboten waren, mit einbezogen. Die vorherigen Bewegungen für rechtliche Gleichberechtigung von Frauen haben niemals solche weltweite Resonanz erfahren dürften.

Hervorzuheben ist das heutige Problem der Verbreitung des Klischees über Frauen in den Medien aufgrund des Geschlechtes und der Mängel eines ausgeglichenen Abbildes der Frau. Medien spielen eine Schlüsselrolle für die geschlechtliche Bewusstseinsbildung, so sind Geschlechterstereotypen aktiv im Medienraum vertreten.

Die Analyse zeigte die Ausprägung der Ukrainischen Feministenbewegungen im ehemaligen Sowjet. Derzeitige öffentliche Ereignisse in der Ukraine sind die Effektivsten.

Die Recherchen zeigten, dass die radikalsten politischen Proteste in Russland und der Ukraine von Feministen getragen worden sind (Femen und Pussy Riot).