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N. Zemzyulina

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor of the Department of World History and International Relations, Director of the Institute of History and Philosophy in The Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9028-2093>

«In countries where governments have women in equal proportions with men, the economy is more efficient and sustainable, and society is more committed to peace and stability», – Ban Ki-moon, the eighth Secretary-General of the UN.

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN EARLY XX CENTURY ON THE CHANGE OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY FORMS OF THE PEASANT WOMEN IN UKRAINE*

The article describes social activity of Ukrainian female peasant during the revolution and civil war in the first quarter of the XX century. Motives and general forms of activity are discovered, moreover ideological and economic factors that formed the image of the “new woman” are outlined. The social moods that influenced the behavior and emotional state of female peasants are revealed while mechanisms for resisting stereotypes and ideological clichés are identified.

Keywords: *peasant woman, revolution, social stereotypes, patriarchal life, “new woman”.*

Problem statement. Implementation of gender approaches in all spheres of society’s life is a requirement of time, a key to its stability and development. Over the last two decades, there has been a trend of accelerated growth in the number of women in paid employment. Gender inequalities in the labor market have shrunk and the number of women entrepreneurs is noticeably increasing. The level of education women receive is growing worldwide. However, the position of women and men remains the subject of analysis by sociologists and economists, since access to paid work and the ability to receive wages determine a person’s economic status, and thus his or her personal independence and ability to self-fulfill. The results of a global survey of countries around the world in terms of equality of genders

according to the World Economic Forum indicate that in 2019 Ukraine was ranked 59th among 153 countries surveyed [1]. What factors affect the culture, behavior, and self-esteem of Ukrainians? What prevents Ukrainian women from being fully realized in today’s society.

Research analysis. The necessity for scientific study of the topic is determined by the need for a comprehensive analysis of the causes that led to the social activation of the female population of Ukraine. This period in national and foreign historiography is too politicized, which creates an incomplete picture of historical reality. Modern researchers are trying to find the internal motives of people, social stereotypes for the purpose of explaining their actions, worldviews. Speaking about a human in historical processes, one should refer to works whose authors have studied the history of everyday life, researchers of women’s history: Bohachevska M., Shevchenko O., Kasatkina Y., Kis O., Orlova T.; social transformations of stated period: Markova S., Volkova I.; the ideology of the pro-government party regarding women: Kryvulia O., Shevchenko O.; the history of social groups: Zemzyulina N., Sapyska O., Novikova O.; peasant mental history: Mykhailiuk O. et al. [2-13].

All of them attempted from different angles to show the everyday life of the woman and peasant woman in particular, her transformation from being “downtrodden up to enlightened”. They pointed to the real price of enlightenment and, most importantly, proved that a woman once again became a tool for solving more important ideological problems rather than her own needs.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the forms and motivation of activation of female population in the conditions of social transformation (on the example of female inhabitants of Ukrainian villages during the revolution period of 1917-1921).

The statement of the basic material. In order to understand the changes that took place in the Ukrainian village of the first quarter of the XX century, it is necessary to identify the main social trends of the time. The inhabitants of the territory of Ukraine, which was divided between the two empires, had not only different ideological influences, lived in different economic models, but also aspired to different ideological ideals. In our study, we will try to analyze the changes in the outlook of the Ukrainian peasant woman of the Dnieper Ukraine.

The ideologists of bourgeois revolutions, proclaiming the onset of a new era - the era of human rights, rejected the inviolability of the monarch’s complete dominion over subjects, man over woman. Instead, they declared the freedom and equality of all people before

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the law. This approach, in its depth, involves reviewing the very totality of power relations. From the relations of domination - conquest, they must become equal.

In the Russian Empire, the Imperial Manifesto of October 5, 1906 "On the Abolition of Some Restrictions on the Rights of Rural Inhabitants and Persons of Other Former Tax Classes" proclaimed the equalization of peasants in legal terms with other classes. This Manifesto, in particular, stated: "The great transformations of February 19, 1861, by attracting millions of rural inhabitants to civilian life, initiated the gradual equalization of peasants in rights with the rest of the empire." The manifesto provided peasants (except for "foreigners") "equal rights in regard to public service in accordance with such rights of persons of the nobility, with the abolition of all special advantages for substitution, according to the government's definition of some posts depending on class origin" [14,347]. The agrarian reform proposed by Stolypin was crucial for Russia. The decree of November 9, 1906, initiated the process of reforming land relations, eliminating the forcible attachment of peasants to the community and permanently destroying the enslavement of persons, which was incompatible with the "concept of freedom of man and human labor" [15, 104]. In Ukraine, the agricultural reform of P.A. Stolypin has become widespread. Thus, if in 40 provinces of the European part of Russia on January 1, 1916, almost 24% of the owners left the communities, then in Southern Ukraine - 34.2%, and in Right-Bank Ukraine - 50.7%. [16,212].

There was an intense destruction of the traditional patriarchal system. A woman who had been attached to her husband for centuries, his family has received a new social role. She got a real opportunity to get an education, to be the rightful owner of the household, to go to work in the city if necessary, to testify in court. Important meaning the authorities gave to the Law of June 3, 1912 "On the extension of the rights of inheritance by law persons of the female sex and the will of the ancestral estates." By this state act the property rights of women from among the disadvantaged classes were substantially expanded, and in the case of inheritance of property by law equated to the rights of men. Inheritance law has also been changed. Thus, by the law mentioned on June 3, 1912, the rights of women heirs were expanded. The law, in particular, equated daughters with sons in the inheritance of movable and immovable property [17, 574].

Unfortunately, women could not take full advantage of the acquired rights because they not only did not own property, but were simply illiterate. At the end of the XIX century 70% of Ukrainian women remained illiterate, while Polish women - 30%, Czech women - 6.9%. In 1897, only 4% of women were literate in the eight provinces of the Dnieper Ukraine, in 1890 86.18% of women were illiterate in 47 counties of Eastern Galicia, and 92.5% in Bukovina. [18, 10]

The status of women in society increased significantly during war. Woman had to do men's work. In cases when a man was at work, in military service or mobilized for war. "In the period from July 1914 to the end of 1916, 13 million people were mobilized in the Russian Empire, including more than 10 million from the village. In the Ukrainian provinces, the army took away half of the working male population. Thus, in Volyn province - 49.9% of working-age men, in Chernihiv - 50.6%, in Kyiv - 51.8%." [19, 287].

In the context of growing small land, expanding commodity-money relations, adult male peasants were often forced to leave to work, while women, old people, and teenagers kept the household and cultivated land. Such emancipation in the production process was a forced phenomenon and accompanied by an increase in the social activism of women peasants. At the time of the revolution, woman, as an electoral unit, was already a subject of ideological competitions. If the residents of the city somehow oriented themselves in these battles - the peasant woman was interested only in the ways of elementary survival, which were based on commodity-money relations. The very private property that so hindered the Bolsheviks from creating a "new man." This was the main confrontation between the Bolsheviks and the peasant women.

There are changes in the outlook models of peasants, especially the younger generation. "These changes were expressed in less rigorous piety, in a lesser inclination to tradition and power, in greater concern and in less commitment not only to the earth, but to life itself. With the advent of schools, the development of the railroad life of peasants becomes less closed. All this contributed to the emergence of a new generation of peasants who did not know serfdom, more educated, more open, more independent and "fronting". What was an exception yesterday was becoming a daily occurrence of the village life. Under the influence of these phenomena, the attitude towards women changes, and the stereotypes of traditional women's behavior change. The patriarchal life of the village, which was sanctified by religious, community and family traditions, was being destroyed. The traditional patriarchal system, while requiring subjection and restriction of liberty, gave the woman (as well as others) a certain status and social protection. In the context of modernization, women's social activity increased. Women to some extent contributed to the spread of modernization processes in the countryside. On the other hand, modernization transformations, the destruction of the traditional system, the fall of the tradition supported morality led to the deterioration of the life of the entire peasantry, to changes in the attitude towards women and in the position of women themselves" [13, 137].

Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Bolshevik Party of Ukraine on December 20, 1920, obliged all parties to immediately create special departments of work among women - "women's departments", the closest task of which was to "transfer the center of gravity from city to village, concentrating all forces and means of the party for the organization of district, delegate meetings of peasants" [20, 73].

The women's departments, through a mass network of delegate meetings, had to direct their activities to eliminate illiteracy among women-peasants, to involve them in social and community activities, to combat women's disempowerment in family, to organize preschools, hospitals, shops, and household workshops. The delegates were to set up commissions on the protection of women's work and to resolve maternity and childhood issues. Along with humanitarian tasks, the Communist Party did not forget to involve women activists in the fulfillment of party and ideological tasks. Thus, an important function of the women's departments was to combat any cases of religiosity,

moral imperatives of the old order and activity in the creation of a new socialist life.

The Bolshevik ruling party failed to break public consciousness in a short time, and the overwhelming majority of the male population continued to consider women as asocial, incapable of independent thinking and activity human being. This is evidenced by archival materials. So, in the report note of NC WPI of the USSR on the results of checking the work on women's involvement in social construction, stated: "The resistance and neglect of female village council chairmen from the male council members began from the very first day, which greatly affects the authority of the village councils. Obukhiv RIC Commission is forced to state that voters reduce their turnout for a plenary session of women-led councils by an average of 5.6 people. Females increase turnout by 2 persons in comparison with men-lead sessions [21, 37].

The toughest working conditions for women activists were found in villages, where men did not allow their wives to attend meetings. For this reason, in the first years after the revolution, the private congresses of male peasants and female peasants were held separately. A clear testimony to the abovementioned may be found in H. Liacht's article in "Bezvirnyk" magazine in which he describes numerous cases of female abuse due to their active social position: "She was elected (Ivha Zemfirova) as a village council chairman mainly by female votes. After she was elected, men gave her a boycott... "To what we have lived, - they shouted, - the woman rules us!" All week long, no man, not even the members of the village council, except the watchman, entered the village council ... and still retarded religious peasants meet Zemfir's daughter with disdain, saying: "If you had a decent mother, then she would not work among the men". The child often came to her mother and asked her to quit her job because people were laughing" [22,48]

The centuries-old tradition of male dependence has accustomed Ukrainian women, especially peasants, to social passivity. There was a heavy burden on women, and on society as a whole, that managing was the responsibility and privilege of a man. When nominating a woman to the village council, she was given a kind of exams for "social maturity", and the slightest mistake ended with the conclusion that a woman is not capable of doing male work. Here is what may be found in archival documents: "231 people were elected to village councils overall in 17 counties (Odessa, AAMRD, Kremenchuk, Sumy, Volhynia, Nizhyn, Proskur, Melitopol, Lubny, Kamenets, Kyiv, Uman, Chernihiv, Konotop, Mykolayiv, Poltava and Kamenets-Podilsky). 47 women (20%) were dismissed during the whole time. It is interesting to note that 12 female village council heads (25%) were removed for distorting the class line and with purpose of purge the communist party" [23, 50].

The motives for dismissing women from the positions of heads of the village councils: "Odessa notes the following: 4 heads were removed for distorting the class line, and 1 according to the resolution of the commission with purpose of purge the communist party (non-payment of taxes by wealthy sections of the village who found protection in the heads of the village councils, insufficient literacy, which prevented the adoption of directives by higher authorities). In Volyn - one of the women nominated to the head of the District Council. The second

was eliminated due to unpreparedness and illiteracy so as not to compromise her. In Nikolaev district - dismissed for inactivity, connection with kurkuls, 1 as daughter of the big landowner, and 1 for discredit of Soviet government» [14,19]

Female peasant delegates of the councils dealt with the economic development of the village or district, the organization of the household and the upbringing of children, were members of the nursery committees, which raised funds for the organization of day nurseries and kindergartens and their food supply.

Female peasants became more and more involved in social life, and having a woman in the village council or any other authority or representation became fashionable. However, fashion, more precisely the fulfillment of ideological precepts was one of the reasons for the election of women. The percentage of women in the authorities did not correspond to the role played by the female peasant in the economic life of society.

Bolshevik ideologues offered citizens a new symbolic reality, the centerpiece of which was given to the "new person." The women's community, like society as a whole, was on different sides of the political "barricades", especially women who lived in villages; among women and men there were not only those activists who promoted new values, but also those who sought to actively defend their religious beliefs, personal property, family and community. In the 1920s, the government carried out a series of successful events aimed at attracting women to public life. Women were required to combine traditional family responsibilities with farm work and community services. We can talk about a triple load on a village woman.

The conclusions. Therefore, a significant role in the modernization of Soviet society was given to the "new woman." The Bolsheviks offered a vision of the women's place and role through her perception as a powerful, untapped reserve of labor. Rural women, who mostly identified themselves through fulfilling marital, maternal, and family functions, found it difficult to fit into the concept of a new gender ideology and were forced to combine traditional family responsibilities with the hard work in kolhosps. The official institutions for the emancipation of women were nurseries, playgrounds, homes for proletarian mothers, hospitals, maternity shelters, dairy kitchens and more. The Bolsheviks made a contradictory attempt to conclude a certain "social contract with women" by admitting them to republican and local authorities, equating women and men rights. Nationalization of peasant society was carried out by imposing a new communist ideology, which was formed according to each class, had a strictly normative nature, contradicted the realities of the daily life of peasants, and allowed the use of repressive measures.

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Н. І. Земзюліна

ВПЛИВ СУСПІЛЬНИХ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЙ ПОЧ. ХХ СТ. НА ЗМІНУ ФОРМ СОЦІАЛЬНОЇ АКТИВНОСТІ СЕЛЯНКИ В УКРАЇНІ

Постановка проблеми. Впровадження гендерних підходів в усі сфери життєдіяльності суспільства є вимогою часу, запорукою його стабільності і розвитку. Становище жінок та чоловіків залишаються предметом аналізу соціологів психологів, економістів, які визначають моделі особистої незалежності і можливість до самореалізації.

Метою статті є дослідити форми та мотивацію активізації жіночого населення в умовах суспільних трансформацій (на прикладі мешканок сіл України періоду революції 1917-1921рр.).

Основні результати дослідження. Для розуміння змін, що відбувались в українському селі першої чверті ХХ ст., потрібно визначити основні суспільні тенденції того часу. Мешканці території України, що була розділена між двома імперіями, зазнавали не лише різних ідеологічних впливів, проживали в різних економічних моделях але й прагнули до різних світоглядних ідеалів. Ідеологи буржуазних революцій, проголосивши настання нової ери – ери прав людини, відкинули непорушність повного всевладдя монарха над підданими, чоловіка

над жінкою. І натомість заявили про свободу і рівність усіх людей перед законом. Такий підхід у глибині своїй передбачає перегляд самої сукупності відносин влади. Із відносин панування – підкорення вони повинні перетворитися у рівноправні. В Російській імперії Маніфест від 5 жовтня 1906 р. «Про скасування деяких обмежень у правах сільських обивателів і осіб інших колишніх податних станів» проголосив зрівняння селян у правовому відношенні з іншими станами. Відбувалась інтенсивна руйнація традиційного патріархального устрою. Жінка, яка протягом століть була прикріплена до чоловіка, його сім'ї отримала нову соціальну роль. Вона набула реальної можливості здобувати освіту, бути законним господарем двору, за необхідності піти працювати до міста, свідчити в суді. Статус жінки у суспільстві значно зріс під час війни та революційних потрясінь. У випадках, коли чоловік знаходився на заробітках, перебував на військовій службі або був мобілізований на війну, вони вели домашнє господарство, обробляли землю, торгували, захищали майно. Така емансипація у виробничому процесі була явищем вимушеним і супроводжувалася зростанням громадської активності жінок-селянок. Та сама приватна власність, яка так заважала більшовикам творити «нову людину». В цьому і полягало головне протистояння більшовиків з селянкою. На час революції за неї, як електоральну одиницю, вже точились ідеологічні змагання. Те, що це вчора було винятком, ставало явищем повсякденного життя села. Зазнають змін стереотипи поведінки жінок освячені релігійними, обцинними та сімейними традиціями. Жінвідділи через масову мережу делегатських зборів спрямовують свою діяльність на ліквідацію неписьменності серед жінок-селянок, залучення їх до суспільно-громадської діяльності, організації дошкільних дитячих закладів, лікарень, магазинів, побутових майстерень. Поряд із завданнями загальногуманітарного характеру, Компартія не забувала і про залучення жінок-активісток до виконання партійних та ідеологічних завдань. Так, важливою функцією жінвідділів ставала боротьба з проявами релігійності, моральними імперативами старого ладу, активністю в створенні нового соціалістичного побуту. Провладній партії більшовиків не вдалося за короткий час зламати суспільну свідомість, і переважна більшість чоловічого населення продовжувала вважати жінку істотою асоціальною, нездатною до самостійного мислення і діяльності. Незважаючи на це, селянки все більше залучалися до соціального життя, і мати у сільраді чи в будь-якому іншому органі влади чи представництва жінку ставало модним. Правда, відсоток їх присутності в органах влади не відповідав тій ролі, яку виконувала селянка у господарському житті соціуму.

Висновки. Більшовицькі ідеологи запропонували громадянам нову символічну реальність, центральне місце в якій відводилося «новій людині». У жінок поступово розширювалися можливості впливати на функціонування нових соціальних інститутів. Щоправда, чоловіки не завжди виявляли готовність сприймати жінок як рівних. Жіноча спільнота, як і суспільство загалом, перебували по різні сторони політичних «барикад», особливо це стосується жінок, які жили в селах; серед жінок та чоловіків були не лише активісти, які пропагували нові цінності, але й ті, які намагалися активно захищати свої релігійні переконання, особисте майно, родину, громаду.

Ключові слова: селянка, революція, суспільні стереотипи, патріархальний побут, «нова жінка».