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The Portrayal of Women in the Oldest Russian Women's Magazine "Rabotnitsa" From 1970-2017

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by

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Abstract

This study focuses on the portrayal of women images in Russia, particularly the transformation from Soviet woman to modern woman based on the analysis of one of the oldest Russian women's magazine- *"Rabotnitsa"*. The sample for this study covers two periods: three decades of Russia during the era of the Soviet Union period (1970-1990) and two decades of the Post-Soviet period (1991-2017). A total of 586 relevant images were identified; 311 images by *Rabotnitsa* over the three decades during the Soviet Union's period by random sampling of 20 issues published by *Rabotnitsa* between 1970- 1990, and 275 images by *Rabotnitsa* by random sampling of 20 issues published in the Post-Soviet Union period. The study was analyzed using a quantitative content analysis and grounded in framing research. Goffman's six categories of Gender Analysis guided this research with one category being appropriated from a study by Kang (1997). The findings displayed that the images of women in the Post-Soviet Union period did not significantly change from the images discovered among the last three decades of Soviet Union period in the fifth category by Goffman. However, circulation of stereotypical portrayal of women did change in two categories- "Licensed Withdrawal" and "Independence".

Chapter One

Introduction

"It is important to remember that the opinion of women about their role in society depends largely on how their image is created in the press" (Zhukova, 1999). Every era brings change to all spheres of human life. The portrayal of personal beauty as an expression of internal character and appearance was assessed at different times in different ways. Thus, the concept of beauty is not stable and can be objective. Every historical epoch carries a different view of the woman's portrait. An integral part of any nation is the national image of women and men. The portrayal of gender often represents a structural element of that particular nation while helping to understand the gender dimensions of the country. It is no exaggeration to say that the "face era", as well as an ideological vector determine such images and stereotypes, in time with the historical process. More recently, society is increasingly showing interest in the issue of certain standards of physical attractiveness of women.

In the development of Soviet society, women's images in journalism played an important role. Female images illustrated the need for the emergence of socialism and images were frequently used as a propaganda tool. This leads us to the belief that, mass media is a source of "propaganda", which visually reflects the society's thoughts, opinions, the dissemination of cultural, and social development. "Media are to us as water is to fish" (Deuze, 2006). According, to Gerbner (1991), whom is a scientist of mass communication believes that mass media is closely related to public

policy and public opinion. Particularly its influence proceeds during transitional historical periods because society is most open to changing its beliefs.

Mass Media is one of the visual facets through which a company transmits information urging the consumer to purchase its goods. These images also act as socializing agents that influence our attitudes, values, behaviors, and beliefs (Kang, 1977). The fact that Russian contemporary society is on the verge of transition from an industrial society to an informational society, allows brings perception and description of image to come to the fore. One should note that the style of life and morals are changing as images and information that mass media provides change. Often this is a result from impositions on the society from mass media. Whether society approves, media covers every aspect of society.

Nevertheless, media is an informative source from which people can access a large amount of information. The visual image dominates in the advertising message, so the image of people is the most effective way to influence the target audience. According to the research, the images of the woman is the most common means of successful persuasion for advertising certain goods or products. "Advertising in many Western countries has been found to depict women in stereotypical ways" (Gilly 1988; Lysonski 1985; Mazzella et al.1992). Therefore, the media acts as a kind of laboratory for checking the strength of old ideas and the development of new stereotypes. Research by Signorielli (1990), suggests that publication advertising of gender role stereotypes has an impact on gender-stereotyped attitudes.

Timchenko (2013), concedes the phenomenon "Russian beauty". He described Russian women as the most beautiful women, who are wives of the Decembrists and heroines from Russian classical literature and folk tales. However, most of the studies suggested a lack of studies devoted

to the transformation of a woman in post-war Soviet media (Dneprovskaya, 2011). In all stages of the development, women's images in the Soviet society were being used in journalism as a powerful advocacy tool. The image that was grounded by mass media gives the ideology of an invaluable tool and a way to influence the levels of public awareness, creating new behaviors and emotional patterns.

During the demographic imbalance of the first post-war decade, woman began to be regarded as a source of production and reproduction. The main problem of periodical Soviet woman press represented the labor issues and focused particularly on working class women (Dneprovskaya, 2011). Therefore, the name of the popular women magazines speaks for themselves. For instance, the name of the magazine *"Rabotnitsa"* (1914) means "The Woman Worker", in addition, the magazine *"Krestiyanka"* (1922) means "Peasant woman". On the pages of these magazines, images of a Soviet woman are displayed. Basically, the images were depicted on posters. The woman in the poster were a reflection to the society since the current situation in the country started being evaluated according to the images of women depicted in these posters. Thus, the poster with the image of the woman depicted the reality and the cultural values which characterize the post-war Soviet society (Baburin, 2001).

The relevance of the topic is that the 21st century has brought enormous changes to society in Russia and has impacted every aspect of human life. It brings a transformation in the relationship between genders in particular, and the institution of family in general. Nonetheless, especially in the 1990s, there was a huge gap between the quality of life shown in the advertisements and the way of life characterizing most of the population. This certainly could not have escaped the population's notice (Fedotova, 2014). In that sense, female characters were an essential building block of the emerging Soviet-Russian ideology. Davidenko (2016) conducted a study based on

two Russian women's magazines *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'yanka* (the 1970s- 1990s). She analyzed changes in the female body in both the late Soviet and Post-Soviet periods. Analysis of data revealed that non-Slavik women were depicted as a working mother, while Slavik countrywomen were depicted by individual consumption. The result suggests that the relation to the body projected in the two magazines; *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'yanka* had "off-limits, such as sexuality was coupled with the homogenization of representations of women".

Zaharov (2004) designed the earliest study on the transformation of the portrayal of women in Russian mass media in the 70st-90's of 20th century. The same magazines; *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'yanka* inspired his study, but he also conducted his research using the first Western glossy magazine in Russia- *Cosmopolitan*. This research clearly showed that, even after the abolition of the authoritarian and totalitarian regime of control over informational activities, mass media continues to replicate the images of women in a stereotypical way.

Mass media will also need to understand why these sort of changes are taking place and what forces the media to cover one side or the other. Thereby, the situation of women's role in society is changing dramatically, as well as the notions of femininity and a woman, which makes the problem of the representation of women by the media particularly relevant.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Numerous international studies in have attempted to explain that female issue in Russian mass media during a long historical period. Researchers' asses that these issues have been studied insufficiently. A clear example is displayed through Azizbekova & Antonova (2004) by nothing, *"The history of Russian journalism has been studied unevenly: many phenomena have been studied in depth, while others, such as publications for women, are not enough" (p.1).* Goshilo (1996) highlights,

Yet the Russianist conception of culture remains more limited than the all-encompassing model proposed by cultural studies, especially with regard to those spheres and interactions, mainly involving women. In other words, Russian scholarship may scrutinize the (male) poet "at home", but it definitely overlooks the (female) cook in the kitchen (p.23).

These studies should be interpreted in the context of a stream of Russian research on portrayals of females in Russian magazines for women. The portrayal of women takes a special place in domestic journalism. Media changes a sexual culture of people when it shows female images, they impose a distorted perception of the role and place of women in society (Zaharov, 2004). This study has approached this topic from a number of perspectives, particularly in the historical context of Russia. Throughout history, the role of women in society has repeatedly varied according to political conditions and discourse, for the purpose of serving the interests of those in power (Hardwick, 2014). An important point to note here is that magazines in Russia have

a long and influential history. Every magazine had a purpose to contribute to Russian history and most of the magazines in the 20th century were aimed at the female audience. The first factor that needs to be noted is the development of Russian magazines was influenced by many socio-cultural factors, such as the development of literature and culture. The most significant contribution to the progress and formation of the characteristic of women's magazines have become events of a political and economic nature (Smeyukha, 2012).

Russian Women's Magazines vs Feminine Identity

The 17th century in Russia is connected with the fact that the authority of the Russian church has been reduced while Europeanization has played an increasing role in creating a system of public representations. Thus, secular literature began to play a huge role in creating public opinion (Anpilogova, 2009).

Russia is one of those countries, which has a deep patriarchal background and throughout history has been firmly rooted in its traditions. The role of a woman was mostly domestic and it has been kept that way for centuries. In addition to that, Anpilogova (2009) in her study about Russian woman in contemporaries' perception claims that the society critically assessed the desire of the female to take precedence in the family. The woman is portrayed as a wife and has to completely obey her husband in all matters. The mind and pride of a woman were considered vices. In addition, there was adverse criticism to female's physical beauty. It was believed that the more beautiful a woman is, the worse her character is going to be. Moreover, the woman was more prone to a betrayal of her husband because of her beauty, which led men of that time to marry less beautiful women. Thus, the heroines of Russian literature were a perfect example of the destiny of

a woman in the 17th century, going down the road of spinsterhood through sacrificing their dreams of having a husband and family.

Comparatively, the 18th century brought many changes in media, significantly, the public gained a high profile for sentient life. There were noticeable changes in the question of the female personality. Further explain, Anpilogova (2009) shows a modification in a framework of female personality which occurred after the 17th century. A male could not make a decision without counseling his wife. Female wisdom and intelligence started emerging as important qualities for a woman. Most compelling evidence, of this is seen through the female beauty and her physical appearance because it was now a sign of great dignity and a happy family life. A good example of it is Catherine I who was the second wife of Peter the Great. According to John T. Alexander (2001) the costume of Empress Catherine, I was the representation of the female domination of Russia's first imperial century. Together with, her costume was also "…reflection of evolving, Europeanized Russian society." (John T. Alexander, 2001).

Her Majesty the Empress, was dressed as a simple Hollander the first day, and then later with all her ladies wore the dress of Amazons, and both of these outfits suited her extremely. She changed clothes several times…At the same time Her Majesty wore a sword encrusted with diamonds and her usual order (placed low like the cavaliers of the order) … (Bergholz 11, 1902).

At once, females became a respected segment of the society. The evaluation of the female personality was increased, but it should be mentioned that the role of the woman had not changed yet. Females were still restricted as a family-maker and their admission to public sphere was absent. (Anpilogova, 2009).

According to Sokolskaya (2006), "The purpose of a woman is a good wife and a loving mother" (p.18). It could mean that the 18th century was the century when the printed media for women in Russia started to become popular. The creator of the first female edition in Russia was Novikov (1779). The name of the first female edition was "Fashionable Monthly Publication or Library for Ladies' Toilet" (1779). This edition lasted for only one year, had 57 subscribers, and only seven of them were female (Ravinskiy, 2000). Mainly, the magazine consisted of poems; moreover, the magazine had a section devoted to fashion (Russian periodicals, 1702-1894). In addition, according to some critics, "This magazine could be considered the first Russian fashion magazine, in the sense that we understand it now if the very content of the magazine was not in clear contradiction with its title" (Berkov, p.401).

The Design of the "New Woman"

The changes in the political system and the overall economic, social and cultural transformations offered women more space for action, and the transformation itself resulted from women being on the move (Aino Saarinen, Kirsti Ekonen and Valentina Uspenskaia, 2014).

A large and growing spread of literature has identified that the activities of women's magazines were aimed at propagating the ideas of communism. In addition, the purpose of printed publications was to draw the attention of the reader to participation in the production process. Thus, a large part of the magazine was assigned to the sections of political education, while such sections as medicine and housekeeping were allocated no more than two pages. Consequently, in 1920 magazines portrayed women as worker-peasants. The evolution of the stereotype of a "new woman" soon followed. The portrayal of a "new woman" presented an infringement of interest of gender because women differ from men with political backwardness. Moreover, they have to keep

a balance between work and family because they also have to give rise to a new generation of workers (Attwood, 1999).

An established study by Lynne Attwood (1999) shows all the steps on how a new Soviet woman was created. In his homonymic book "Creating the New Soviet Woman" Attwood examined how a new woman has been portrayed in the pages of *Rabotnitsa* and *Krestianka* and how the images of the women were presented to females. He states that the print media played a significant role in the creation of a "new Soviet women" in the first three decades of the Soviet period, including the end of the Stalin era. Atwood emphasized that the definition of the "new Soviet person" was addressed for both genders, but the presentation of "new woman" had more challenges than the "new man". Likewise, women should run into social production instead of domestic science (p.1). Woman's press played an important role in shaping new views, in order to finally establish and retain new demands of attitudes and behavior in society.

It is considered that woman being printed in media in Russia began in 1914. For that reason, first women's magazine *"Rabotnisa"* was published. However, Russian women's magazines have a secular history of their existence and the first publication dates from the 18th century (Sokolskaya, 2006). In other words, the appearance of women's magazines in the late 18th century opened up a new status of Russian culture and mentality, newly formed social status of women, their education and worldview (Sokolskaya, 2006). Therefore, Sokolskaya (2006) pointed out that "magazine is a kind of indicator of the need for constantly updated information" (p.19).

The time between the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was the first crucial point in Russian woman's media. Russian history was overcome by social and economic factors, which had an impact on Russian media as well. The first noteworthy mention is

that certain period of time was the emergence of feminism. The development of feminism has led to great changes in the women's press. Meanwhile, the main purpose of the female magazines was to change the mentality of Russian readership (Smeyukha, 2012). Reasons such as the capitalization of society, the increase in women's education and the commercialization of the press, have served to make the women's press divided into general/ popular and political press. The concept of political press was to address the problem of feminism (Smeyukha, 2012).

Barbara Evans Clements (1997) claims that women had masculine behavior "free of individuals distinctions of class, ethnicity, and gender" (p.51).

Earlier studies found that women's magazines in capitalist countries were aimed at influencing femininity from the corporative capitalist forum. Thereby, women's capitalist magazines were focused on advertising beauty products and domestic products (Scanlon, 1995). In this case, the primary role of women was consumption, while the man was responsible for production. On the contrary, the woman's magazines in Soviet period were promoting women as a part of public realm, women performed two roles: production and consumption (Atwood, 1999, p.12). Forthwith, "…new Soviet woman became a symbol, even a slogan of the new socialist order and its superiority…" (Borodina and Borodin, 2000). The working woman was the definition of a "New Soviet woman".

"*Rabotnitsa*" as the main source of the woman portrayal

In the time of the Soviet Union period, women were lacking information which western countries possessed. One of the famous magazines during this period was *"Vokrug Sveta"* translated to "around the world". In *"Vokrug Sveta"* the readers could find information about other

counties and nations. However, the population of females did not have the opportunity to survey the situation and the portrayal of women in different countries (Maksovna, 2012).

Rabotnitsa (Woman Worker) is the oldest women's magazine in Russia and the most popular publication in the Soviet Union. The magazine has a long history. *Rabotnitsa* started before the October Revolution in 1914. The Paradoxical Success of Soviet Women's Magazine" concluded, that soviet women readers of *Rabotnitsa* could find an adviser, friend or consultant. By the same token, women "… sought standards and social ideals that they could emulate while adhering to party requirements" and of course, soviet women wanted to compare themselves to the other women. (Tolstikova, 2004)

It is important to realize that the Soviet Union time was a time of a strong connection between the politics and press.

Tolstikova (2004) highlights:

The charismatic and controversial personalities of V.I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin, and Nikita Khrushchev- the first leaders of the country- defined the existence of the state in general and the press in particular (p.131).

The first issue of the journal was published in 1914 on the initiative of Lenin to "protect the interests of the women's labor movement" and propagate the views of the labor movement. In the first magazine Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaia (1914) claims:

Recently, in Russia, the issue of organizing women workers has become one of the most relevant and urgent. "Rabotnitsa" will explain to the low-knowledge workers of their interests. It

will point out to them that their interests are shared with the entire working class not only in Russia, but also in all countries.

Thus, the first editorial already insisted that a working woman is the most backward sector in proletariat (*Rabotnitsa*, Issue, 1914). The female population during that time made up more than a half of the overall population in the country; therefore, the goal for *Rabotnitsa* was to bring women into the proletarian struggle (Tolstikova, 2004).

Most of the research on the portrayal of a woman in *"Rabotnitsa"* claimed that the magazine displays the "new women" mostly in a working process. Women were shown operating factory machines and were depicted as a working hand. It is important to understand, that some studies provide these fact based on the vision from a man's point of view. Women were thought lack physical ability and be unable to do this type of work. Meanwhile, *Rabotnitsa* published several images of smiling women performing a "man jobs" (Zyablikova, 1926). Numerous studies attempted to explain that women in those years worked at enterprises on a par with men, therefore exercising the right to work. They worked as builders and railway workers in the city, drivers of cars, drivers of trams, trucks, and machinists of cranes. Moreover, according to *Rabotnitsa* (1940-1953) the best profession for a woman was a metalworker.

Kasatkina (2012) maintains that on the second half of 20th century the tendencies of active involvement of women in the process of social production were identified. This was reflected on the publications of *Rabotnitsa*. The pages of the magazine began to be dedicated to new urban women's professions such as; bricklayer, electric- engineer, concrete workers, navigator and etc. (p.47).

The women in the magazine were mostly between the ages of 22 and 55 and portrayed as spending most of the time at work and not having enough time to get fully involved with her family.

Tolstikova (2004) emphasizes that visual pictures have a big influence on readers. Straightaway, a woman was shown in working clothes and engaged in a working process or activities such as reading, talking, and other activities. A single Soviet woman was mostly displayed on the cover of magazine. "To see one's face on the cover of Rabotnitsa was similar to receiving national recognition" (Tolstikova, 2004). To prove her outlook Tolstikova (2004) illustrates her study by examples of several covers of *Rabotnitsa* in a different period of time. For instance, on one of the covers of 1927 a woman was portrayed as having a typical appearance because she has short hair which resembles a man's haircut. Furthermore, the apparel of the woman was a military service jacket. Another key factor was the absence of beautification or any other beauty products. In addition, *Rabotnitsa* defined a typical portrayal of a female of the era. All of a sudden, the portrayal of a woman during the Stalin era was modified and became an attractive model, because before this, a woman on covers were represented by wearing makeup and more attractive feminine clothing.

Tolstikova's study reports that the article which was related to the topics of sexuality did not exist, meanwhile the woman on the cover in July 1960 was portrayed in a sexual association (Tolstikova, 2004).

Several studies have shown that the model of "Soviet sexuality" been as a totalitarian perception of the concept of Christian which is called "forbidden fruit". In fact, the rules of communist party leaders controlled all spheres of citizens' life, including their private life.

(Omel'chenko, 2000).

"Sexual attraction was dangerous to the party, and the party put it to work for itself"
(Orwell, 1984).

The end of the 20th century through the beginning of the 21century, marked an active involvement of the female population in the social, economic and political life of society, which was due to objective factors of socio-economic and political development (Zaharov, 2004).

The 70[s]- 90[s] became a period of a multifaceted transformation of ideas about the role of women in the development of society. Zaharov (2004) identified three main reasons for that alteration: impact of the scientific and technological revolution, the changing political structure and shift of historical emphasis. The United Nations Decades for Women (1976-1985) has left a huge imprint on the solution of the women's issue.

The international portrayal of Russian woman

The results of the study in 1997 by Maistrenko, revealed that American network news has portrayed Soviet woman in Russia in a more realistic way after the Cold War. The reason was the influence of Russian women on American ventures since Russian women were the main segments of American advertising of a product.

Preliminary work in this field draws a distinction between the portrayal of females in Russia and USA, which primarily focused on both countries in the 20th century. Yakovleva (2004) identified that Soviet magazine of the second part of 20th century imposed their views on women society, portraying women as the ideal image of a woman as a worker, a peasant woman, and party activist. In contrast, after the Second World War, US women began to work for the

first time, despite the fact that many of them were already married, and the stereotyped image of the US woman continued to be symbol of beauty along with being a homemaker. In this regards the press began to publish propaganda in order to return women to the traditional sphere they once belonged. In connection, the press began the propaganda in order to return the woman to the traditional sphere. Thus, women's magazines in the United States taught a woman how to be a good wife and mother. As a result, it was shown that Soviet magazines portrayed a woman as a heavy worker, while on the pages of the US magazine, women were portrayed in the form of a secondary study. In addition, Hopkins (1970) emphasized that *Rabotnitsa* "exemplary experience and codes of behavior, is somewhat the same way as American women's magazines cumulatively portray a model of the ideal American family and the women's role" (p.231). Further Yakovleva (2004) shows that a common feature of the journals of both countries was the exposure to a political attitude and ideology. Magazines showed the image of a woman which was beneficial for the government of a particular country. Once again proves to us, that by the portrayal of a woman was necessary for a society for the given stage of time.

Erving Goffman's Theory on Gender in Advertisements

The sociologist Erving Goffman developed a theory about the representation of gender in magazine advertising. Goffman claims that the media portrays genders in the way that the society thinks that they behave. In other words, he "speculates richly on what those ads tell us about ourselves" (Gornick,1979). In his monograph, Goffman pays attention to how advertising portrays a man and a woman; mainly he focused on the female gender.

According to an increasing number of social studies, the first minute of behavior has a huge impact on a public situation and on ourselves as well. This has led Goffman to investigate human

behavior as "displays". "Emotionally motivated behavior that becomes formalized, provides a readily readable expression of the animal's situation, specifically his intent…similarly, in human beings…" (Goffman, 1979). He contended that using visual meanings, advertising design a "pseudo-reality" about gender roles. In the coding system, Goffman focuses on facial expression, knees, eyes, the position of fingers, etc.

Preliminary international work in this field focused primarily on Goffman gender analysis revisited. Namely, studies by Mee-Eun Kang (1997) or Lindner (2004) were using the coding categories conducted by Goffman.

Above all, in his book "Gender Advertisement" (1979), Goffman outlines five categories via advertising portrays gender.

1. Relative size. Social weight is one of the ways the authority, power, rank can be expressed in a social situation. In a gender issue, social weight can be explicit through the authority-patriarchal position of the male gender. Thereby, the theme –relative size express male taller/bigger and takes up more space in the picture than female. Moreover, relative size can relate to the picture "whose every detail speaks to a single thematic issue" (p.29).

2. The Feminine Touch. The woman constantly touches or holds herself, or she uses her hands/ fingers to hold, grasp or manipulate an object. Also, the face position, self-touching can be used in this category instead of hands or fingers.

3. Function Ranking. This category is more likely presented as a hierarchical functions. Both genders cooperate together (face-to-face position), nevertheless men are taking an executive role. Additionally, function ranking can also show a woman as depending on a man, receiving the kind of help from men (pp.35). Children can also have a

place in the function ranking- "cuteness" is involved" (pp.34).

4.   The Family. The woman is portrayed as a mother and she is shown with her husband close to their children but at the same time the man in this position shown as a protector. From our perspective and to make the sample more approachable, we can describe this coding category that the woman can be portrayed as a good and happy wife/ housekeeper. This includes holding children's arms and man's arm, hugging them, lying/sitting on the bed, on the ground or by the table. Mostly, a woman is portrayed as a happy wife, which complies with man's decision and depends on a man decision. This also includes a woman who is surrounded by domestic appliances or with furnishings, doing and taking care of household chores. Moreover, the position of man (father or son) stands little further, for the protectiveness role.

5.   The Ritualization of Subordination. The woman plays a dependent role and is portrayed in a subordinate posture. That's why, a woman is mostly lying on the sofa or on the bed, sitting on the chair. If another person is present in the image (mostly a man) the woman is leaning her body or her head on the person. In most cases, the woman is embracing the man, in other words, the man is yielding to the movement of the woman. "…subordination an expression of ingratiation, submissiveness, and appeasement" (Kang, 1997).

6.   Licensed withdrawal. The woman is quietly absent from the scene around her. She is not participating and is not paying attention to what is going on around her. At the same time, the woman is shown as helpless and dependent on others. In our perception, the term "dependent" indicates highly sport motivated/ body aesthetics, following the latest

trend in cosmetics, mostly in natural medicine. Therefore, the woman depends on objects that surround her.

<center>**Chapter Three**</center>

<center>**Research Questions**</center>

Presentation of study

In the long run, the study seeks to examine the changing nature of portrayals of the Russian woman, analyzing the historical collapse in Russia, therefore to understand the nature of gender stereotype in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Union. For that purpose, one of the oldest women's magazine in Russia and the most popular publication in the Soviet Union period was selected for further analysis. *Rabotnitsa* (Woman Worker) was chosen because the magazine is intended for the female audience only and is still published today.

Rabotnitsa is a socio-political and literary-art magazine for women (since 2001 - for family reading) in the USSR and Russia. The magazine was established on Lenin's initiative for the "protection of the interest of women's labor movement". According to the information on the official website of *Rabotnitsa*, the first issue was published in 1914 by circulation of 12,000 copies. Between 1917- 1918, the average circulation was 30-43 thousand copies. During the Great Patriotic War its circulation decreased from 425 thousand to 75 thousand copies, but already in the early 1950s, it almost reached the pre-war level (350 thousand copies). Then it grew steadily until 1990 when it amounted to 23 million copies, but in 1991 it fell almost twice (to 12 million, the level of 1974). In 2013, it there was only 35 thousand copies. (Rabotnitsa.su). According to Tolstikova (2004) *Rabotnitsa* "became the most popular Soviet magazine, at one point reaching a circulation of several million… However, it started losing its luster in the Post-Soviet times,

becoming an ordinary women's magazine" (p.131). Therefore, the author attempts to explore the following questions through my research:

RQ1 Is there any significant difference in the portrayal of woman between the Soviet Union period and Post- Soviet Union period. If yes, what sort of transformation have taken place in the contemporary portrayal of a woman?

Chapter Four

Method

A quantitative content analysis of images in the magazine *Rabotnitsa* was used to answer the research questions. Particularly, the approach was taken to analyze the transformation of Russian females' images over the last 45 years. According to Wimmer &Dominick (2000), content analysis "can aid in comparing media content to the real world" (Wimmer &Dominick, 2000). The method has become "an important research technique in social science" (Krippendorff, 1989) and "seeks to analyze data within a specific context in view of the meanings someone- a group or- a culture attribute to them" (Krippendorff, 1989). Furthermore, the content analysis allows us to evaluate the appearance of the particular social group (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014) and investigate the portrayal of a woman in Russian magazines over several decades.

Data Collection

Magazine images, notably female portrayal in a gender role are examined in this study. The images were collected from Russia's prominent magazine –*Rabotnitsa* which is intended for the female audience only. A total of 586 relevant images were identified (see Table 2): 311 images by *Rabotnitsa* over the three decades of the Soviet Union's period (20 issues published by *Rabotnitsa* between 1970- 1990), and 275 images by *Rabotnitsa* over the Post- Soviet Union period (20 issues published by *Rabotnitsa* between 1991- 2017) (see Table 1). The selection of published issues for analysis was conducted by the availability of archival copies and circulation numbers.

Table 1

Sample Year Distribution

	Frequency	Percent
Soviet Union Period	311	
1970	21	3.6
1974	13	2.2
1975	21	3.6
1976	34	5.8
1977	23	3.9
1978	11	1.9
1979	16	2.7
1980	29	4.9
1982	17	2.9
1983	17	2.9
1984	19	3.2
1986	14	2.4
1987	16	2.7
1990	60	10.2
Post-Soviet Union Period	275	
1991	84	14.3
1998	48	8.2
2001	14	2.4
2016	33	5.6
2017	96	16.4
Total	586	100.0

Table 2

Image Type

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Women only	441	75.3	75.3	75.3
	Women & Men	145	24.7	24.7	100.0
	Total	586	100.0	100.0	

Coding Scheme

Magazine images were used as the unit for this study. The coding categories were mainly borrowed from Goffman's gender analysis (1979). The sample of codes is according to a stereotypical depiction of women in different categories. The images that portray one or more woman were coded in this study, specifically, the images that defined a frontal shot of a woman, the full-length and half-length portrait cover page of all issues. Images that contained only females were coded in all of the categories. Together with females, the presence of males was coded in all categories except the categories "the feminine touch" and "independence". Images that contained only the portrayal of males were not included in this study.

The images were coded according to the following theoretical definitions:

1. <u>Relative size</u>, where male dominates the female because a woman in the advertising is shown smaller or lower compared to a man's position. "one way in which social weight–power, authority, rank, office, renown- is echoed expressively in social situations through

relative size, especially height" (Goffman, 1979);

2. Feminine touch, where woman is touching herself, product of any other object;

3. Function ranking, where both genders are present and they are helping each other to complete the task, a man in this category takes the "executive role";

4. The family, where the man in this case – the father plays the important role;

5. Ritualization and subordination- subordination to the man present;

6. Licensed withdrawal, where a woman shows that she is not a part of the scene;

In addition to the categories defined by Goffman, we introduced one more category which is mainly borrowed from a similar study by Kang (1997). Kang in the study of the portrayal of women's images in a magazine advertisement, in addition to Goffman's six categories he put forth the categories of independence and self- assertiveness.

7. Independence - the woman is shown as a strong, independent woman, fully involved in the political life of the country. A woman who identifies herself with a man, thus showing that a woman and a man are equal genders. This also includes the image of women protesting for their rights and obligations, mainly for women's rights. Furthermore, in this category, the woman can be shown as a professional work in both heavy and light industry.

The results were coded like this:

1. The year of the magazine: (enter 1 for the Soviet Union period which was between 1970-1990 and 2 for Post-Soviet Union period, which was from 1991 to present)

2. Does the image contain women only: (enter Y for yes, N for no)

3. Does the image contain both men & women: (enter Y for yes, N for no)

4. Does the image show a specific stereotype: (each Column represents a specific

   stereotype; enter Y for yes, N for no)

Chapter Five

Results

Intercoder Reliability

In content analysis, intercoder reliability refers to the extent to which independent coders agree on the coding of the content of interest with an application of the same coding scheme. The following procedure was used to assess the intercoder reliability of the present study. First, the author (coder 1) coded all 586 images according to the coding scheme presented earlier. Using the same coding scheme, the second coder, who is a native Russian, was then invited to code 140 randomly selected images (20 images in each of the 7 coding categories). Table 3 presents two sets of intercoder reliability measures: Percentages of agreement between coders and Krippendorff's alphas. According to Neuendorf (2002, p. 145), percentage agreements "of .90 or greater are nearly always acceptable, .80 or greater is acceptable in most situations, and .70 may be appropriate in some exploratory studies for some indices." All but two percentages of agreement in this study were greater than .80, indicating acceptable agreement between the coders.

Krippendorff's alpha (α) is generally considered the most reliable measure of intercoder reliability. The general form of the measure is: $\alpha = 1 - D_o/D_e$, where D_o is observed disagreement and D_e is expected disagreement based on an interpretation of chance. According to Krippendorff (2011, p. 1), "when observers agree perfectly, observed disagreement $D_o=0$ and $\alpha=1$, which indicates perfect reliability. When observers agree as if chance had produced the

results, $D_o=D_e$ and $\alpha=0$, which indicates the absence of reliability." To interpret alpha, Krippendorff (2004, p. 241) suggests that "It is customary to require $\alpha \geq .800$. Where tentative conclusions are still acceptable, $\alpha \geq .667$ is the lowest conceivable limit." In this study all seven coding categories generated alphas greater than .667, with an overall alpha of .82.

Table 3

Intercoder Realiabiity

Coding Category	% Agreement between Coders	Krippendorff's Alpha
Relative size	95.0	.83
Feminine Touch	90.0	.81
Function Ranking	100.0	.92
Family	95.0	.85
Ritualization of Subordination	90.0	.85
Licensed withdrawal	75.0	.69
Independence	75.0	.71
Overall	87.9	.82

After the coding stage, the data coded were entered into SPSS and the research questions guided the data collection. The study explored the transformation of woman's portrayal that took place between two times periods by analyzing the gender images in the magazine *Rabotnitsa*. A series of pairwise z-test was performed to determine the difference between the Soviet Union period vs Post- Soviet period. Set of different images: all images, women only images, women and men images were performed in terms of the nature of each category. For instance, relative size category would be based on one separate group of images- women and men, alternatively

the analysis of independence category would be based on three separate groups- all images, women only images and women and men images (see Appendix C). If the Chi-square test results in a p- value smaller than .05, then there is strong evidence to demonstrate that there is a difference between two times period. All pairwise z-tests were performed with Bonferroni corrections to hold the overall type I error level at 5% or less.

RQ Is there any significant difference in the portrayal of woman between the Soviet Union period and Post- Soviet Union period. If yes, what sort of transformation have taken place in the contemporary portrayal of a woman?

Chi-square analysis was used to determine whether there is a significant difference between two periods of time.

Findings by Categories

Relative Size

Relative Size by definition involves women and men images. Chi-square test in Table 4 displayed no significant difference in images of both gender (x^2 =.005[a], df=1, p>.942). As Table 5 show during the Soviet Union period (60,6%) and Post-Soviet Union (60.0%) the portrayal of women was equal to men in positioning over a 45 years time span.

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.005[a]	1	.942		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.005	1	.942		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.541
Linear-by-Linear Association	.005	1	.943		
N of Valid Cases	136				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.21.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table
Table 4

Chi-Square: Relative Size

Table 5

Crosstab: Relative Size

			PERIOD		Total
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	
RELATIVE SIZE	YES	Count	40[a]	42[a]	82
		% within PERIOD	60.6%	60.0%	60.3%
	NO	Count	26[a]	28[a]	54
		% within PERIOD	39.4%	40.0%	39.7%
Total		Count	66	70	136
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Feminine touch

Feminine touch by definition involves three separate group. Chi-squire test shown in table 6 and table 7 suggest no significant difference in feminine touch between two periods of time in all images (X^2 =.002ª, df=1, p>.961; Soviet Union 76.2%, Post- Soviet Union 76.0%). Similar results were revealed for woman & man images, as shown in table 8 and table 9 (X^2= 2.8, df=1, p>.914; Soviet Union n=15, 21.7%, Post- Soviet Union n=8, 11.3%). In contrast, chi-squire test shown in table 10 revealed a significant difference among woman-only images (X^2= 12.826, df=1, p<001). Table 11 demonstrated that more feminine touch was shown in women only images during the Post-Soviet period (100%) than the Soviet Union period (93.5%).

Table 6

Chi-Square: Feminine Touch (All image)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.002ª	1	.961		
Continuity Correctionᵇ	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.002	1	.961		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.520
Linear-by-Linear Association	.002	1	.961		
N of Valid Cases	549				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 62.76.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 7

Crosstab: Feminine touch of Periods (All images)

| | | | PERIOD | | |
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	Total
FEMININE TOUCH	YES	Count	218$_a$	200$_a$	418
		% within PERIOD	76.2%	76.0%	76.1%
	NO	Count	68$_a$	63$_a$	131
		% within PERIOD	23.8%	24.0%	23.9%
Total		Count	286	263	549
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table 8

Chi-Square: Feminine Touch (Women & Men images)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.795^a	1	.095		
Continuity Correction^b	2.084	1	.149		
Likelihood Ratio	2.829	1	.093		
Fisher's Exact Test				.113	.074
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.775	1	.096		
N of Valid Cases	140				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.34.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 9

Crosstab: Feminine Touch (Women & Men images)

			PERIOD		
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	Total
FEMININE TOUCH	YES	Count	15$_a$	8$_a$	23
		% within PERIOD	21.7%	11.3%	16.4%
	NO	Count	54$_a$	63$_a$	117
		% within PERIOD	78.3%	88.7%	83.6%
Total		Count	69	71	140
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table 10

Chi-Square test: Feminine Touch (Women only images)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.826[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	10.949	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	18.185	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.795	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	409				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.57.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 11

Crosstab: Feminine Touch (Women only images)

| | | | PERIOD | | |
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	Total
FEMININE TOUCH	YES	Count	203$_a$	192$_b$	395
		% within PERIOD	93.5%	100.0%	96.6%
	NO	Count	14$_a$	0$_b$	14
		% within PERIOD	6.5%	0.0%	3.4%
Total		Count	217	192	409
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Function Ranking

Function ranking by definition involves one separate group – woman and men images. As table 12 and table 13 shows, that Chi-square highlighted there was no significant difference between the time periods (X^2=.012, df=1, p>914; Soviet Union 59.1%, Post- Soviet Union 60.0%).

Table 12

Chi-Square Test: Function Ranking

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.012[a]	1	.914		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.012	1	.914		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.526
Linear-by-Linear Association	.012	1	.914		
N of Valid Cases	136				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.69.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 13

Crosstab: Function Ranking

			PERIOD		
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	Total
FUNCTION RANKING	YES	Count	39$_a$	42$_a$	81
		% within PERIOD	59.1%	60.0%	59.6%
	NO	Count	27$_a$	28$_a$	55
		% within PERIOD	40.9%	40.0%	40.4%
Total		Count	66	70	136
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

The Family

The Family by definition involves women and men images. The findings of the Chi-square test in Table 14 and 15 show there is no significant difference in the family between two periods in women and men images (X^2=.853, df=1, p>.356; Soviet Union 20.8%, Post-Soviet Union 26.4%).

Table 14

Chi-Square Test: The Family

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.853[a]	1	.356		
Continuity Correction[b]	.532	1	.466		
Likelihood Ratio	.855	1	.355		
Fisher's Exact Test				.438	.233
Linear-by-Linear Association	.847	1	.357		
N of Valid Cases	145				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.38.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 15

Crosstab: The Family

			PERIOD		Total
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	
FAMILY	YES	Count	15a	20a	35
		% within PERIOD	20.8%	27.4%	24.1%
	NO	Count	57a	53a	110
		% within PERIOD	79.2%	72.6%	75.9%
Total		Count	72	73	145

	% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

The Ritualization of Subordination

The ritualization of subordination involves women and men images. Chi-square test in Table 16 and table 17 validated that Soviet Union period and Post-Soviet Union period being nonsignificant (X^2=2.70, df=1, p>.102; Soviet Union (19.7%), Post- Soviet Union (93.5%). The issues between 1970 and 2017 showed very close scores.

Table 16

Chi-Square Test: The Ritualization of Subordination

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.679[a]	1	.102		
Continuity Correction[b]	2.081	1	.149		
Likelihood Ratio	2.711	1	.100		
Fisher's Exact Test				.122	.074
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.659	1	.103		
N of Valid Cases	138				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.22.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 17

Crosstab: The Ritualization of Subordination

| | | | PERIOD | | Total |
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	
SUBORDINATION	YES	Count	13_a	23_a	36
		% within PERIOD	19.7%	31.9%	26.1%
	NO	Count	53_a	49_a	102
		% within PERIOD	80.3%	68.1%	73.9%
Total		Count	66	72	138
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Licensed Withdrawal

The following results for licensed withdrawal based on three separates groups of images- all images, women only images, women and men images. Chi-square results and series of z-test provided evidence that there is significant difference between time periods in all three separate groups.

Table 18 and table 19 of all images in licensed withdrawal category shows (X^2=53.91, df=1, p<.000; Soviet Union 52.9%, Post- Soviet Union 83.1%). Further identical results for woman only images demonstrated by table 20 (X^2=52.40, df=1, p<.000). More licensed withdrawal as shown in table 21 was depicted in women only images in post- Soviet Union (87.4%) than during the Soviet Union period (53.7%). Table 22 also shows a significant difference among women and men images between the time periods under the study (X^2=5.95, df=1, p<.000). Table 23 provided

that more licensed withdrawal was shown in images of both gender during the Post- Soviet Union period (71.2%) than the Soviet Union period (50.0%).

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	53.908[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	52.549	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	56.008	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	53.805	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	524				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 81.40.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 18

Chi-Square: Licensed Withdrawal (All images)

Table 19

Crosstab: Licensed Withdrawal (All images)

			PERIOD		
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	Total
LICENSED WITHDRAW	YES	Count	146a	206b	352
		% within PERIOD	52.9%	83.1%	67.2%
	NO	Count	130a	42b	172
		% within PERIOD	47.1%	16.9%	32.8%
Total		Count	276	248	524
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table 20

Chi-Square: Licensed Withdrawal (Women only images)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	52.405[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	50.840	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	55.827	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	52.273	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	398				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 56.25.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 21

Crosstab: Licensed Withdrawal (Women only images)

			PERIOD		
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	Total
LICENSED WITHDRAW	YES	Count	116$_a$	159$_b$	275
		% within PERIOD	53.7%	87.4%	69.1%
	NO	Count	100$_a$	23$_b$	123
		% within PERIOD	46.3%	12.6%	30.9%
Total		Count	216	182	398
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table 22

Chi-Square: Licensed Withdrawal (Women & Men images)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.950[a]	1	.015		
Continuity Correction[b]	5.091	1	.024		
Likelihood Ratio	5.989	1	.014		
Fisher's Exact Test				.018	.012
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.903	1	.015		
N of Valid Cases	126				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.33.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 23

Crosstab: Licensed Withdrawal (Women & Men images)

			PERIOD		
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	Total
LICENSED WITHDRAW	YES	Count	30[a]	47[b]	77
		% within PERIOD	50.0%	71.2%	61.1%
	NO	Count	30[a]	19[b]	49
		% within PERIOD	50.0%	28.8%	38.9%
Total		Count	60	66	126
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Independence

In terms of category of independence the analysis would be based on three separates group-all images, women only images, women and men images. Chi-squire result and series of z-test provided evidence that there is a significant difference between the time periods in all three separates group in the category of independence. As shown in table 24 and table 25 (X^2=71.06, df=1, p<000; Soviet Union (45.1%), Post-Soviet Union (12.3%). The Chi-square results as shown in table 26 and table 27 revealed that the number of women only images of independence category decreased in the Post-Soviet Union period (X^2=70.04, df=1, p<.000; Soviet Union 53.1%, post- Soviet Union 13.7%). Chi-squire results in table 28 and table 29 (X^2=3.74, df=1, p<.053; Soviet Union 19.7%, Post- Soviet Union 8.3%) shows there was a difference between time periods, however, it did not reach statistical significance at the .05 level.

Table 24

Chi- Square test: Independence (All images)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	71.058[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	69.468	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	74.567	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	70.927	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	542				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 77.42.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 25

Crosstab: Independence (All images)

			PERIOD		Total
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	
INDEPENDENCE	YES	Count	123a	33b	156
		% within PERIOD	45.1%	12.3%	28.8%
	NO	Count	150a	236b	386
		% within PERIOD	54.9%	87.7%	71.2%
Total		Count	273	269	542
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table 26

Chi-Square test: Independence (Women only images)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	70.039a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	68.290	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	73.896	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	69.865	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	404				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 66.80.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 27

Crosstab: Independence (Women only images)

| | | | PERIOD | | |
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	Total
INDEPENDENC E	YES	Count	110a	27b	137
		% within PERIOD	53.1%	13.7%	33.9%
	NO	Count	97a	170b	267
		% within PERIOD	46.9%	86.3%	66.1%
Total		Count	207	197	404
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table 28

Chi-Square test: Independence (Women & Men images)

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.745a	1	.053		
Continuity Correctionb	2.849	1	.091		
Likelihood Ratio	3.803	1	.051		
Fisher's Exact Test				.082	.045
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.718	1	.054		
N of Valid Cases	138				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.09.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 29

Crosstab: Independence (Women & Men images)

			PERIOD		Total
			SOVIET UNION PERIOD	POST SOVIET UNION PERIOD	
INDEPENDENC E	YES	Count	13$_a$	6$_a$	19
		% within PERIOD	19.7%	8.3%	13.8%
	NO	Count	53$_a$	66$_a$	119
		% within PERIOD	80.3%	91.7%	86.2%
Total		Count	66	72	138
		% within PERIOD	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of PERIOD categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Chapter Six

Discussion

Results of the quantitative content analysis revealed that only a few changes have been made in the portrayal of women in *Rabotnitsa* over 45 years. The findings revealed that the images of women in the Post-Soviet Union period (1991-2017) did not significantly change from the images discovered among the last three decades of the Soviet Union period (1970-1990). However, circulation of stereotypical portrayals of women did change in two categories.

Taken together, the significant difference in the portrayal of women were found in terms of licensed withdrawal and independence categories. The results of this study show that the portrayal of women was depicted as more independent in the Soviet Union period than in the Post-Soviet Union period. Moreover, these results were obtained in all three separate group of images; all images; the Soviet Union (45.1%), Post-Soviet Union (12.3%), women only images (53.1%) in the Soviet Union and 13.7% in Post-Soviet Union); although the result of difference between two periods of time in women and men images did not reach statistical significance, there is still a difference between the time periods under the study; Soviet Union (19.7%), Post-Soviet Union (8.5%).

These differences between two framing periods in the independence category in this study are unremarkable; it is probable that the reason for this is that the Constitution and Fundamental Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1977) and that the magazine under

the study- *Rabotnitsa* is focused on female audience.

The Constitution and Fundamental Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,1977 provides:

Article 35. Women and men have equal rights in the USSR. Exercise of these rights is ensured by according women equal access with men to education and vocational and professional training, equal opportunities in employment, remuneration, and promotion, and in social and political, and cultural activity, and by special labour and health protection measures for women; by providing conditions enabling mothers to work; by legal protection, and material and moral support for mothers and children, including paid leaves and other benefits for expectant mothers and mothers, and gradual reduction of working time for mothers with small children (Article 35)

Initially, the author thought that the findings of the Soviet Union period in the category of Independence could be equal or most likely the same as that in the Post-Soviet Union period. However, the results substantiate previous findings in the literature. The magazine displays women mostly in the working process (a woman was depicted as a work hand) and *Rabotnitsa* published several images of smiling women performing a "man jobs" (Zyablikova, 1926). The image of the Soviet woman identified as a companion in the arms of a man. Furthermore, such portrayal of woman was the honor of the country, since female labor was economically necessary in the post-war period (Vinichenko, Dneprovskaya & Rizhenko, 2011). This might mean that the magazine is frequently targeting women to catch up with the latest "proper" portray of women, by that be fully involved in the political situation in the country. Overall,

these results also brings into light the different perspectives of both time periods under the study and highlights how Russian media frame the publications, as reflected in official government statements.

Consequently, not surprising that the results of other five of Goffman's categories -Relative size, Function ranking, The family and ritualization of subordination revealed that women were depicted as being in an equal position with men over the 45 years. In other words, the scores by two periods of time under the study were not significantly different in women and men images in all the categories above. Such a lot of lack of differences of other categories might be the explanation that the category of independence could be incorporated with all these five Goffman's categories above.

One of the remarkable findings of the study is that the portrayal of women in Post-Soviet Union period displayed women more stereotypically. The results of the category of licensed withdrawal in three separates group revealed a greater percentage in the Post- Soviet Union period. This result has further strengthened our conviction that the research question under the research is approachable for this study. First of all, the utility of Goffman's category feminine touch also revealed, i.e. feminine touch in women only images increased in the Post-Soviet period (100%). These findings can be explained in a way that two of this category dealing with touches and the 21th century was the beginning of the development of advertising activities in Russia. Advertising was present in the publications and in the first half of the XIX century. But the number of publications and the limited right to publish advertising messages did not allow actively developing this field of activity (Havtorina, 2011).

Apart from this great discrepancy, the result of the data is confirmation of the influence of Western countries on the development of Russia after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, as well as the impact of Western countries on the Russian media in general. According to the nature of the category of licensed withdrawal by Goffman (1979) that images remove women psychologically from the scene around them, therefore "dependent on the protectiveness and goodwill of others who are present" (p.57). These results provide vital evidence of repercussions of the difference during the transition period of Russia. A recent review of the literature on this matter found that a woman of the new millennium plays by other rules. The women of contemporaneity know the power of female weakness and stopped to play as a man (Spivakovskaya, 2016). This is in agreement with our findings in this category. Moreover, The Constitution of the Russian Federation establishes the equal rights of women and men to legal and political rights. However, the Women's Labor Protection which bans women from certain professions. According to the Women's Labor Protection, nowadays there are 456 professions prohibited for women's labor.

We were surprised to find that there was no significant difference between the Soviet Union period (20.8%) and Post-Soviet Union (27.4%) in the category of The Family. This would seem to reinforce established study by Attwood (1999) where he suggested the idea of "The New Soviet Woman" which should run into social production instead of domestic science. Which is argued that the definition of "The New Soviet Woman" was transferred to the era of our time.

Even though there had been some changes in the transformation of the portrayal of women since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the present study revealed that the process of this transformation in the Russian media is fairly slow; there emerged a necessity of an open

question: Is the Russian portrayal of modern women being haunted by remnants of the Soviet

ideology?

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

This study, most probably the first empirical Russian study of the transformation of the portrayal of women in Russian media from 1970-2017, has come up with the results of the quantitative content analysis.

A content analysis under this study was done on the *Rabotnitsa* magazine, during one of the most historical transition periods in Russia. One can conclude that the subtle difference between the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Union period did exist in the portrayal of women in Russian media. The results have indicated that the role of a woman during the Soviet period was currently artificially elevated through mass media, because the leaders of the country were trying to put forward their position of democracy, in order to keep pace with developed countries. Nevertheless, eventually the transition period revealed more democratic with all the desirable and non-desirable circumstances. Owing to the impact of Western countries, the real nature of woman slowly coming to the forefront.

One important goal of this research has been to investigate the transformation of the women's portrayal between two time periods in Russia by using the most influential analysis on the media on gender relations by Goffman (1979). This study shows that some categories implicated by Goffman such as- "Function Ranking", "Ritualization of Subordination", "Relative Size" and "The family" were found so similar to each other regarding Russian culture and thus,

are no longer valuable in the Russian magazines. Likewise, Goffman's 1979 findings may not relate to all nations in consequence of cross-cultural nature.

This content analysis included only one magazine which suggests the findings may not be generalized. However, it provides a good starting point for future studies and case studies of the similar nature to follow. Oftentimes, the very few studies for comparison have been found appropriate to the texture of the study. Future study can analyze additional magazines relevant in Russia and compare with international magazines. Future research could also exam the images of frame building, including visual text on the pictures in each rubric. It could better explain the nature of the country in general and the trace of remnants of the Soviet Union ideology.

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Appendix A

Content Coding Scheme

Coding sheet

Year of magazine: _____

Issue #: _____

Image #   : _____

Relative size	Yes _____	No _____	D _____
Feminine Touch	Yes _____	No _____	D _____
Function Ranking	Yes _____	No _____	D _____
The Family	Yes _____	No _____	D _____
Ritualization of Subordination	Yes _____	No _____	D _____
Licensed withdrawal	Yes _____	No _____	D _____
Independence	Yes _____	No _____	D _____

Appendix B

Coding Examples #1

N=No

Y=Yes

D=Unsure

| Y	#	Women only	Women & Men	Relative size	Fem. Touch	Function	The Family	Subord.	Licensed	Independ.
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	D
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
1970	March	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
1970	March	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
1970	March	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
1970	March	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	D	Y	N
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	D
1970	March	Y	N	N	D	N	N	N	D	Y

1970	March	Y	N	N	D	N	N	N	D	Y
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	D	Y
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
1970	March	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	D	Y	N
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
1970	March	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
1970	March	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	D	Y
1970	March	N	Y	D	N	D	Y	D	D	N
1974	July	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
1974	July	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
1974	July	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
1974	July	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
1974	July	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
1974	July	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	D	Y

Appendix C
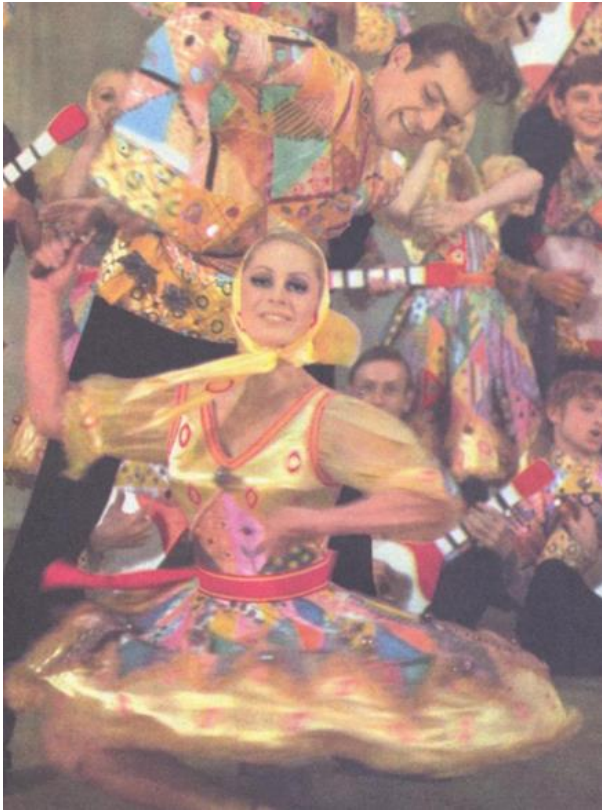
Coding Example #2

Relative Size
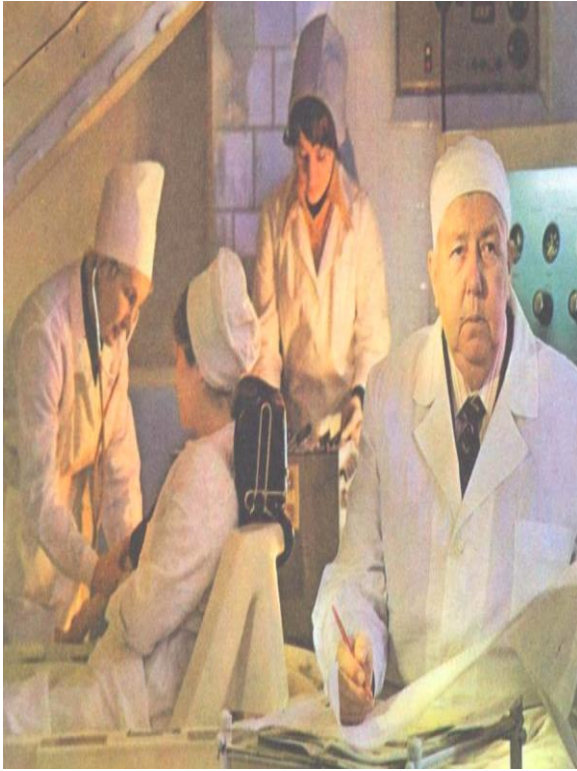
Yes	No

Feminine Touch

Yes	No

Function Ranking

Yes	No

The Family

Yes	No

Ritualization of Subordination

Yes	No

Licensed Withdrawal

Yes	No

Independence

Yes	No