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PREREQUISITES FOR THE ACCESSION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UKRAINIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD DURING THE PERIOD OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT 1917–1921

Based on the analysis of scientific research devoted to the social history of Ukraine at the beginning of the twentieth century and its direct component – the “women’s issue”, the prerequisites for women’s joining the national democratic transformations of the period of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 are revealed. In particular, the author of the article focuses on the objective and subjective conditions and circumstances that contributed to the involvement of the representatives of the liberal-democratic and national-patriotic currents of the Ukrainian women’s movement of the early 20th century in the construction of Ukrainian statehood in this period. Namely: the absence of Ukrainian statehood and the entry of the Ukrainian lands of the historical and geographical region of Nadniprovyansk Ukraine as a provinces into the Russian Empire, the entry of the liberal-democratic and national-patriotic currents of the Ukrainian women’s movement Naddniprovyanskaya Ukraine into the Ukrainian national movement; the presence of a Ukrainian civil society and many years of experience in the participation of socially active women in the social and political life of Naddniprovyansk Ukraine; The First World War, which turned out to be an accelerator of processes related to social and democratic transformations in countries and the growth of both the social status of women in the Russian Empire and the Ukrainian national consciousness; glasnost period in the Russian Empire and practical experience of representatives of the liberal-democratic and national-patriotic movements of the Ukrainian women’s movement in Naddniprovyansk Ukraine in information and publicistic projects; the ripening of a revolutionary crisis in the Russian Empire, in particular in the Naddniprovyansk Ukraine, which caused a global crisis in the general imperial society; the overthrow of the Russian autocracy and the establishment of a transitional state system on the territory of the former Russian Empire, which led to the rise of the Ukrainian national movement in Naddniprovyansk Ukraine and gave the Ukrainians hope to build their own state.

Key words: gender equality, woman, Ukrainian women’s movement in Naddniprovyansk Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century, Ukrainian national movement at the beginning of the 20th century, Ukrainian national liberation movement of 1917–1921 .

The problem statement. Undoubtedly, the Ukrainian national liberation movement of 1917–1921 has a leading place in the history of the Ukrainian national movement. The question about the Ukrainian national movement of 1917–1921 entered the scientific discourse immediately after the end of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of the same historical period. This was caused by a critical rethinking by contemporaries and active figures of the problem of the formation of Ukrainian statehood in the course of this historical process. The question has not lost its relevance to this day, continuing to arouse considerable interest among scientists.

For almost a century, many memoirs and scientific works have been published on the state-building processes of the period of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle in 1917–1921. Among them are

historical sources of personal origin written by participants of the Ukrainian women's movement of the outlined period and scientific publications devoted to the problem of women’s participation in the national revival of the period of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 .

The problem of women’s participation in the Ukrainian national movement at the beginning of the twentieth century attracted and continues to attract the attention of researchers. However, in the scientific literature on women’s history and the history of the Ukrainian national movement during the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921, there are no scientific papers on the accession of representatives of the Ukrainian women’s movement to the construction of the Ukrainian state of this period. Although the above problems are reflected in historical science.

Studies of this phenomenon, along with the study of the specifics of the historical period and the direct course of events that became the prologue of women's participation in the national movement during the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921, will complement the general historical picture of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their statehood in the period indicated by us.

The analysis of recent research and publications. On the basis of a comprehensive understanding of scientific works, which makes it possible to find out the degree of development of the problem of joining representatives of the Ukrainian women's movement to the development of Ukrainian statehood during the period of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle in 1917–1921 and the nature of its coverage of its key aspects, we came to the conclusion that in the scientific literature on women's history and the history of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle in 1917–1921 there are no comprehensive scientific studies on the problem we have identified.

The works published in recent years and to a certain extent related to the problem we are investigating contain new methodological approaches and important conceptual conclusions that determine general issues on the problem of joining representatives of the Ukrainian women's movement in the construction of Ukrainian statehood during the period of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle 1917–1921. So, a significant component of modern historiography of women's studies concerning the problem of joining representatives of the Ukrainian women's movement in the construction of Ukrainian statehood during the period of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 is represented by studies N. Baranovskaya [1], S. Bilosorochka [2], M. Bogachevskaya-Khomyak [3], L. Filipenko [21], A. Gerasimenko [5], N. Kuzina [8], A. Labur [9], N. Lobko [10], O. Morshchakova [11], A. Nestertsova-Sobakar [12], N. Oleinik [14; 15], A. Onishchenko [16], T. Orlova [17], A. Orceva [18], L. Petrishina [19], I. Stashin [20], L. Smolyar [6], L. Yatsenko [22] others.

In general, the analysis of scientific research on Ukrainian historiography of women's history and the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 shows that there were enough preconditions of an objective and subjective nature that prompted representatives of the liberal-democratic and national-patriotic currents of the Ukrainian women's movement to join the building of the Ukrainian state the specified period.

Consideration of the problem of joining the Ukrainian women's movement to the national-democratic

transformations of the period of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 shows that this topic is sufficiently provided by scientific literature of different types and levels. In particular, various aspects of the problem we are studying are quite widely represented in the scientific literature.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the prerequisites for the joining of representatives the Ukrainian women's movement of Naddnipryan Ukraine to the construction of Ukrainian statehood during the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 .

Presenting the main material. The February Revolution of 1917 brought new socio-political realities into the life of Naddnipryan Ukraine, than contributed to the rise of the national consciousness of its population. Among those who paved the way from the oppressive patriarchal Russian autocracy to the cherished Ukrainian democratic statehood were women. Namely, women-representatives of socio-political organizations.

There were enough preconditions for the involvement of socially active womens in the national democratic transformations of the period of the the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921. Among the main ones:

– *the lack of a state of the Ukrainian people.*

The stay of the Ukrainian lands of the historical and geographical region of Naddnipryansk Ukraine as provinces within the Russian Empire [17, p. 111].

Historically, in the liberal-democratic and national-patriotic directions of the Ukrainian women's movement [6, p. 87], it was believed that their social progress directly depended on the solution of the “Ukrainian question”. Since they were components of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. In particular, such outstanding public women and participants of the Ukrainian women's movement as Natalia Kobrinskaya, Olena Pchilka and Zinaida Mirna, substantiating the inseparability of the problem of women's emancipation from other social tasks, pointed to its positive solution by the Ukrainian national liberation movement [19, p. 16].

Like male representatives of the Ukrainian national movement, women, being part of it, sought to realize the political and national-state ideals of Ukrainians by building a social and legal state [6, p. 91]. Women-participants of the Ukrainian national movement believed that only by joint efforts it was possible to win the freedom of the Ukrainian people, therefore they strongly supported men in everything related to the Ukrainian national cause [19, pp. 16–17];

– *the presence of a Ukrainian civil society.* By March 1917, the self-organizing social system of the

Naddnipryan Ukraine had already formed horizontal social ties between members of Ukrainian society. Such self-organization of communities included the activities of public organizations, elected bodies of local self-government (city councils and zemstvos) and political parties [18, p. 52]. An important role in this process was played by an increase in the level of civic consciousness [11, p. 22].

Awareness of Ukrainian women, especially educated and democratically inclined, of their political powerlessness contributed to their active participation in the self-organizing social system of Naddnipryan Ukraine. This happened in order to achieve liberation from the patriarchal relations imposed on the Ukrainian society by the Russian political regime [6, p. 91].

Women, as an organic part of the self-organizing communities of Naddnipryansk Ukraine, having a secondary position in the state under the legislation of the Russian Empire, were equal to men in the public opinion of the democratic circles of the region back in the 19th century [6, p. 95].

If we talk about the activities of civil society institutions at the local level in Naddnipryan Ukraine, then for example it is worth taking the period of the First bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in 1905 – 1907. When the district zemstvo assemblies began to receive applications from women's organizations to attract women to participate in zemstvo self-government. The arguments made by representatives of women's organizations in Naddnipryansk Ukraine about the need to amend the legal provisions regarding the rights and powers of elected officials were not meaningless. Since women at that time had the right to receive independent earnings, they paid taxes and duties on an equal basis with men, and therefore had the right to count on the same political rights with them [10, 46]. Some zemstvo leaders supported this initiative, pointing out the benefits that women could bring in contributing to public improvement. However, the proposals of both representatives of women's organizations and members of the zemstvo assembly, set out in statements and resolutions, did not receive practical implementation until April 1917 [12, p. 89];

– *the First World War*. Her is rightfully called an accelerator of the processes associated with social and democratic transformations in countries, and in our case, female emancipation [1, p. 80].

Paradoxical as it may sound, but it was the First World War that enhanced the influence of women in society, primarily contributing to the next growth of them role in social production. This, in turn, opened the way for women in Naddnipryansk Ukraine to professional self-realization through the development of

new professions that were inaccessible in peacetime and significantly reduced the level of competition in the domestic labor market in their favor [2, p. 33].

However, the incentives of the First World War were not limited to this. It led to the growth of national consciousness and understanding in Ukrainian society of the need to change the state and legal status of the Naddnipryan Ukraine in the direction of building a Ukrainian state [1, p. 81];

– *the period of glasnost in the Russian Empire*. We are talking about 1905 – 1917 [21, p. 308]. Even in spite of some of its limitations during the period of government reaction [8, p. 62], democratic-minded women of Naddnipryan Ukraine continued to convey the ideas of emancipation through the mass media of that time, primarily publicistic works [2, p. 35]. The fact that even before the start of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917–1921, representatives of the Ukrainian women's movement gained practical experience by participating in information and publicistic projects, is evidenced by the large number of women's magazines and newspapers distributed among the population of the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire in the period indicated by us [11, p. 15]. According to researchers of this issue, about sixty printed periodicals contained material dedicated specifically to women's topics, primarily women's labor, education and legal status [21, p. 310];

– *the ripening of a revolutionary crisis in the Russian Empire, including in the Naddnipryan Ukraine*. The first factor that caused its growth was the presence of the Naddnipryan Ukraine as a part of a state dominated by patriarchal foundations [17, p. 113]. The latter circumstance negatively affected the social and legal status of women in the Russian Empire. Since it provided, obviously, unequal starting opportunities for men and women in realizing their needs. This ensured the gender asymmetry of society [11, p. 16].

Even with a civil society in the Russian Empire, the imperial society continued to be dominated by patriarchal consciousness and a clear indifference to the women's issue [6, p. 83]. Especially to the issue of granting a woman's suffrage [12, p. 156]. In the mind of the then average man, a subject of the Russian monarchy, the equalization of a woman in rights with a man concerned only her right to education, participation in the spiritual sphere of social life, material and non-material production [6, p. 95; 17, p. 112].

It is worth noting that despite the dominance of conservative-patriarchal values in the all-Russian imperial society, women were admitted to public life long before the revolutionary transformations of 1917. For example, to social activities. This was actively used

by participants of the liberal-democratic and national-patriotic directions of the Ukrainian women's movement in Naddnipryan Ukraine [16, p. 158; 9, p. 47].

Despite the above circumstances, gender relations in the general imperial structure of society as of March 1917 nevertheless testify to the clear advantage of women in the private sphere of society. Basically, they limited her activities to the household [7, p. 273].

All this, in turn, ran counter to the traditional social position of the Ukrainian woman. Since the basis of gender relations, Ukrainian society at one time laid democratic principles. Hence, it follows that this is the natural desire of Ukrainian women to be close to men both in family life and in public affairs. A Ukrainian woman mentally has a sense of her own dignity, she is used to having more freedom and rights than a Russian woman. Refusing to obey the patriarchal foundations of the Russian Empire with its political and legal traditions, which carried obvious discriminatory practices against women, a Ukrainian woman becomes an active participant in the national movement. This also contributed to her involvement in March 1917 in the construction of the Ukrainian state [6, p. 104].

The second factor was the legal and regulatory framework of the Russian Empire with a clear anti-feminist attitude. In the public and private plane of the legal system of the Russian Empire, men dominated [12, p. 81]. It should be noted that neither the revolutionary upheavals of 1905 – 1907, nor the example, in this regard, of the leading countries of the world, nor the First World War, neither the desire of Ukrainian women to obtain active and passive suffrage became the reasons for their provision [15, p. 78].

Even such a circumstance as the legal framework for a woman to obtain a passport (since February 1914). Which, in turn, limited the power of a father, brother, or husband over her. Thus, giving the opportunity for women-representatives of all social groups of the general imperial society, without asking their permission, to freely move around the country, change their place of residence, study and have an independent income. The presence of a passport was not considered by the imperial authorities as a transitional stage in the matter of a radical change in the public-legal status of women: from lack of rights to full participation in the political life of the state [12, p. 91].

The Russian absolutist political system with obvious political and legal norms discriminating against women existed until the democratic reforms of 1917. She did not give women the opportunity to become full participants in electoral processes [6, p. 104].

The third factor was the socio-economic development of the Russian Empire and directly in the Naddnipryan Ukraine of the inter-revolutionary period. Regarding him, the state developed under the conditions of the capitalist mode of production [7, p. 271].

Regarding the Naddnipryan Ukraine, even before the start of the First World War, the result of the bourgeois development of Ukrainian society was a certain destruction of its traditional estate stratification and the launch of emancipation processes. This social phenomenon has become possible largely due to the fact that women have become more educated and active participants in social and labor relations [12, p. 79].

As for the branches of the economy. First of all, agriculture, industry, finance and transport. They were not able to withstand the overload of wartime, therefore they were in a state of crisis. In particular, they had an inherent low level of development and unsatisfactory organization in the system of meeting the needs of the army and the civilian population [1, p. 87].

In the Russian Empire of this period, there was a total deficit of everything. Starting with ammunition and ending with consumer goods, primarily goods of daily demand [1, p. 88]. In turn, this deepened the social crisis and contributed to the emergence of a political crisis. All this influenced the revolutionary situation in the country.

The fourth factor that led to the growth of the revolutionary crisis in the Russian Empire, in particular in the Naddnipryan Ukraine, was the ineffective gender policy of Russian tsarism, primarily in the sphere of state law.

Women in the Russian Empire were full participants in the professional and labor sphere of public life. For example, according to the general imperial Russian legislation, they had the right to engage in trade, handicrafts and industrial activities on an equal footing with men [12, pp. 111–112]. Like men, women paid taxes and duties, as discussed above.

In addition, according to the peculiarities of the class principles of the general imperial society, women from its privileged strata had, albeit limited, but still access to public law relations. True, they were obliged, in accordance with the general imperial Russian legislation, to delegate their powers to male relatives [12, p. 115]. But, nevertheless, despite the fact that this was an insignificant percentage of women citizens of the Russian Empire. And the main role in this was played by their belonging to privileged families and their high property qualification. This practice also prompted to socially active women from other sectors of society, taking into account the general changes in the social status of women in

the general imperial society [12, p. 116], as well as gender policy in the countries of the Old and New Worlds, the same Finland (women receive electoral rights in 1908) [20, p. 170], actively seek the transition of society from patriarchal gender norms to democratic ones.

In other words, women of Naddnipryan Ukraine entered the new revolutionary reality of 1917 equal to men in the right to receive education, including higher education [13, p. 213], to perform qualified work, to engage in intellectual labor [7, p. 272] and participation in social and political life [3, p. 125]. But most of them did not have political rights, first of all, the right to elect and be elected to local self-government bodies and to the highest legislative body [12, p. 178]. Since political activity, as historically developed in the Russian Empire, was considered the prerogative of men [20, p. 171].

Therefore, the gender practices of the Russian autocracy in the context of the then social realities became one of the destabilizing factors of influence on the political system of the Russian Empire. In general, they contributed to the exacerbation of the crisis in the country and the collapse of the monarchical system [12, p. 93], and in specific to the involvement of the Ukrainian women's movement to participate in the perestroika processes in Naddnipryanskaya Ukraine. This happened because the overwhelming majority of women, former subjects of the Russian monarchy, and in our case, women of Nadnipyryansk Ukraine, before the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 did not even have the limited political rights that men possessed [22, p. 389].

A natural consequence of the crisis phenomena not only in economics and politics, but also in social life was the ripening of a revolutionary crisis. In the winter of 1917, the population of the Russian Empire could not boast of social and psychological well-being, since for two years the country, like rust from the middle, was corroded by social contradictions and anti-government sentiments. Which only got worse with each passing day [1, p. 91].

The inability of the ruling regime to bring the state out of a protracted and deep crisis state had a negative impact on its authority. This was evidenced by: oppositional moods among the State Duma deputies, as a result of the government's failure to carry out democratic reforms [12, p. 112]; mass strike movement, for example, peasant women's revolt [5, p. 255]; the spread of anti-government sentiments from the rear to the front led to the refusal to fight entire regiments in the active army and the mass desertion of soldiers [2, p. 34].

The above proves that the authorities in the Russian Empire on the eve of the February Revolution of 1917 did not control the situation in the country. For example, she could not stop the anti-government movement, which also included the women of Naddnipryan Ukraine. Therefore, the ripening of a revolutionary crisis in the Russian Empire should also be considered a powerful incentive for representatives of the Ukrainian women's movement. First of all, for his liberal-democratic and national-patriotic directions regarding their participation in the national-democratic processes during the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921. Its presence proved the need to restructure the socio-political system of the Russian Empire;

– *change of the political regime.* National transformations in the Russian Empire, which arose as a result of the revolutionary crisis and were consolidated by the February Revolution of 1917, led to the overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment in Russia of a republican form of government [1, p. 87].

Such socio-political metamorphoses in the now former Russian Empire caused the rise of the national liberation movement in Naddnipryan Ukraine. Thus, laying the foundation for the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 [4, p. 149];

– *gender policy of the Provisional Government.* The transition period in Russia to democracy opened up a “window” of new opportunities for women, leading to a change in their political and legal status [9, p. 47] and the growth of their social and political activity [14, p. 136]. Having received the right to vote, women-citizens of the Russian State have turned from an object of political control into a subject of the political process.

Conclusions. Summing up the above, we consider it appropriate to emphasize that the women of Naddnipryan Ukraine, even before the start of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921, were noted for their social activity. Their representatives, as members of Ukrainian socio-political organizations, including female, being part of the Ukrainian national movement, showed their readiness to join the development of Ukrainian statehood laid by the Ukrainian Central Rada.

In our opinion, the conditions and circumstances that prompted the women of Naddnipyryansk Ukraine to join the national democratic reforms during the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of 1917–1921 were: the absence of Ukrainian statehood and the entry of the liberal-democratic and national-patriotic currents of the Ukrainian women's movement in

Naddniproansk Ukraine into the Ukrainian national movement; the presence of a Ukrainian civil society and the participation of women in the social and political life of Naddniproan Ukraine; The First World War and the growth of both the social status of women and the Ukrainian national consciousness; the ripening of a revolutionary crisis in the Russian Empire, in par-

ticular in the Naddniproan Ukraine, which caused a global crisis in the general imperial society; the overthrow of the Russian autocracy and the establishment of a transitional state system on the territory of the former Russian Empire, which led to the rise of the national movement in Naddniproan Ukraine and gave the Ukrainians hope to build their own state.

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Мотуз В.К. ПЕРЕДУМОВИ ДОЛУЧЕННЯ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦЬ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ЖІНОЧОГО РУХУ ДО РОЗБУДОВИ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ ПЕРІОДУ НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-ВИЗВОЛЬНИХ ЗМАГАНЬ 1917–1921 РР.

У статті на основі аналізу наукових досліджень, присвячених соціальній історії України початку ХХ століття та безпосередньо її складовій частині – «жіночому питанню», розкриваються передумови долучення жінок до національно-демократичних перетворень періоду українських національно-визвольних змагань 1917–1921 рр. Зокрема, автор наукової розвідки зосереджується на об'єктивних і суб'єктивних умовах та обставинах, які сприяли долученню представниць ліберально-демократичної та націонал-патріотичної течій українського жіночого руху початку ХХ століття до розбудови української державності в окреслений період. А саме це: відсутність української державності та перебування українських земель історично-географічного краю Наддніпрянська Україна на правах губерній у складі Російської імперії, входження ліберально-демократичної та націонал-патріотичної течій українського жіночого руху Наддніпрянини до складу українського національного руху; наявність українського громадянського суспільства та багаторічний досвід участі соціально активного жіноцтва у громадсько-політичному житті Наддніпрянської України; Перша світова війна (1914–1918 рр.), яка виявилась прискорювачем процесів, пов'язаних із соціально-демократичними трансформаціями у країнах; зростання як суспільного статусу жінки в Російській імперії, так і української національної свідомості; доба гласності в Російській імперії та практичний досвід представниць ліберально-демократичної та націонал-патріотичної течій українського жіночого руху Наддніпрянської України в інформаційно-публіцистичних проектах; назрівання революційної кризи в Російській імперії, зокрема в Наддніпрянській Україні, яку спричинила глобальна криза загальноімперського суспільства; повалення російського самодержавства та встановлення на теренах колишньої Російської імперії державної системи перехідного типу, що спричинило піднесення українського національного руху в Наддніпрянській Україні та дало сподівання українцям на побудову власної держави.

Ключові слова: *гендерна рівність, жінка, український жіночий рух в Наддніпрянській Україні на початку ХХ століття, український національний рух на початку ХХ століття, українські національно-визвольні змагання 1917–1921 рр.*