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**SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF POLITICALLY ACTIVE UKRAINIAN
WOMEN IN GALICIA IN FEMINIST AND NATIONALIST
DISCOURSE FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY TO
1939**

Master's Thesis

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Summary

The thesis examines the meaning of nationalism and feminism, and arguments for their compatibility in the writings of prominent figures of the Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia from the second half of the nineteenth century to 1939. Two prominent leaders of the Ukrainian women's movement Nataliya Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska accentuated the compatibility of nationalism and feminism that was unique stance. Therefore, this research focuses on how they conceptualized feminism and nationalism to prove the compatibility of the two ideas.

To reach the goal of the thesis the analysis of the historical context and nine testimonies (seven essays and two speeches) by Nataliya Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska was conducted. The research has shown that Kobrynska defined nationalism and feminism as movements for social justice for Ukrainians. Meanwhile, Rudnytska viewed feminism as a tool for women's inclusion in the Ukrainian nationalist movement.

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Introduction

Feminism and nationalism in modern Ukraine is usually perceived as rival ideologies. Ukrainian nationalism centers around the Ukrainian identity that manifests primarily through language and traditional culture. Meanwhile, feminism revolves around universal ideas of equality and problematic aspects of gender norms. This division is relevant for nowadays Galicia, where Ukrainian nationalism is a prominent force in the region.

Notably, it was not always the case. In the second half of the nineteenth century, where both movements emerged, nationalism and feminism had different foundations and interpretations. In 1890 Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk, inspired by socialist ideas, established the Radical Ruthenian-Ukrainian Party (RURP) that adopted the independence of the Ukrainian state as their political goal five years later. This was the prominent event that established Ukrainian nationalism as a political movement while before it was more focused on cultural preservation. However, the important aspect of Ukrainian nationalism was its socialist inspiration. Mykhailo Pavlyk and Ivan Franko were known as young radicals who perceived the Ukrainian question as a matter of social justice. Yulian Bachynskyi, who was a member of RURP and the one who proposed the idea of independence of the Ukrainian state to be a part of the party's program, saw Ukrainian sovereignty as the way to solve economic and social issues that Ukrainians faced in the Polish-dominated and ruled by Austria region. Therefore, Ukrainian nationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century was a movement for social justice for Ukrainians in the first place.

At the same time, feminism, known as women's question among Galician intelligentsia, became one of the popular topics in Galicia. For the most part, radicals supported feminism as one of the movements to fight social inequality. Among them was the founder of the first Ukrainian society for women and the first theorist of Ukrainian feminism Nataliya Kobrynska. In her opinion, feminism was necessary to raise social awareness among Ukrainian women about their unfair status in society. Also, it was a tool to prepare women for an active role in the social and political life of their community. Therefore, Ukrainian nationalism and feminism in Galicia were based on the strive for social justice. Notably, some Ukrainian women in the Society of Ruthenian Women (1884) did not see feminism as the foundation of their organization and reserved themselves to charity work. Kobrynska was troubled by such tendencies. She stressed the importance of feminism as a sign of the social progress of a nation. Thus, she was a rare

prominent member of the women's movement, who documented her stances on feminism and nationalism as progressive movements.

Even though at the beginning nationalism and feminism were not conflicting with each other, the division between the two ideologies gradually became more distinct due to the radicalization of nationalist movement. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the meaning of the idea of independence of the Ukrainian state has changed. From being the resolution of Ukrainian social issues, it became the dominant goal of the movement. Polish-Ukrainian conflict escalated in the region. However, the radicalization of Ukrainian nationalism happened after the outbreak of World War I. In 1914 the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Rifleman was formed to fight under the Austro-Hungarian empire. This legion became the foundation for Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA) in 1918. Both military units consisted of soldiers that identify themselves as Ukrainian nationalists. Moreover, UGA became the first military force of the short-lived Western-Ukrainian People's Republic that was at war with the Polish Republic from 1918 to 1919.

After the Ukrainian side lost, Polish Republic established a policy aimed at Polonization of Galicia. Thus, Ukrainian nationalism that gained military power became the movement for fighting for the Ukrainian independent state as the sacred goal. In 1926 Dmytro Dontsov published his far-right work "Nationalism," parts of which became popular with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). This organization was represented by young Ukrainians who viewed violence as the tactic for regaining independence. At the same time, Ukrainian nationalism also manifested itself in a more liberal approach represented by Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (UNDU). They saw Ukrainian sovereignty as a goal but acted through establishing international communication and pressuring Polish authorities in parliament to decrease pressure on the Ukrainian community.

One of the members of UNDU Milena Rudnytska was also a leader of the Union of Ukrainian Women. The Union of Ukrainian Women was an organization established in 1917 to unite Ukrainian women to contribute to the Ukrainian nationalist movement. Notably, a member of the Union of Ukrainian Women was not necessarily a feminist. Milena Rudnytska, the head of the Union since 1928, emphasized the compatibility of nationalism and feminism and their mutual benefit in her most significant works. In the 1930s, when OUN became immensely popular with Ukrainian nationalist youth, Rudnytska had to argue with young members of the

Union of Ukrainian women about the importance of feminism for involving women in the nationalist movement. Therefore, Rudnytska, similarly to Kobrynska, was a rare prominent member of the women's movement that centered her writing around the compatibility of nationalism and feminism.

Notably, to argue for the compatibility of nationalism and feminism both women had to develop specific definitions of the two ideas. Hence, the **research problem** is centered around the arguments that emphasized the compatibility of nationalism and feminism in the writings of Nataliya Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska. Consequently, the **research question** is “How did Nataliya Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska conceptualize nationalism and feminism to make these ideas compatible?”

Research objectives are:

- Understand feminist and nationalist discourse in the second half of the nineteenth - 1939 Galicia.
- Discover factors that contribute to the harmonious coexistence of nationalist and feminist identification in politically active women in the said period in Galicia.
- Determine the difference between and inside of the various women’s societies in the said period in Galicia and, thus, different perspectives on the goals and nature of women’s movement.

The **sources** for conducting this research are works of Nataliya Kobrynska (1887 essays in “Pershyiv Vinok” (First Vinok)): “Ruthenian Women in Nowadays Galicia,” “About Women’s Movement in Modern Times,” “Initial Goal of the Society of Ruthenian Women in Stanislav,” 1898 speech on the day of the Revival of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Literature) and Milena Rudnytska (“The New Type of Woman” (1924), “The New Stage in Women’s Movement” (1925), “Ukrainian Reality and the Task of a Woman” (1934), “Misunderstanding Feminism” (1934), “Youth’s Attitude towards Women’s Movement” (1935)). Also, they include writings of the other politically active women of the said period, articles in the periodicals of the time such as women’s magazine “Nova Khata” and women's almanac "Nasha Dolya," scholarly articles and monographs written by prominent Ukrainian gender scholars.

The **theoretical model** of the thesis is based on the approaches of the history of ideas. This theory is most suited for the research due to its focus on the development of particular concepts

in a specific period. Also, the history of ideas is flexible within various approaches. The research is built on *Begriffsgeschichte* and Q. Skinner's method of close-reading of the primary sources.

A German project *Begriffsgeschichte* emphasizes the significance of the historical context in which a certain concept has been developed. It is necessary to understand the social and political situation in Galicia from the second half of the nineteenth century till 1939 since Kobrynska and Rudnytska had specific versions of nationalism and feminism. The analysis of the historical context helped to define the different reasons why Kobrynska and Rudnytska framed nationalism and feminism in a specific way and emphasized their compatibility. It also explains why Kobrynska's and Rudnytska's stances on this matter were unique for their time.

At the same time, Q. Skinner's method helps analyze the nine testimonies by Kobrynska and Rudnytska. His approach is based on the close-reading of the primary source to understand not only what the author has written but what they were trying to do with writing about a concept in a particular way. Hence, when in "Ruthenian Women in Nowadays Galicia" (1887) Kobrynska makes a parallel between nationalism and feminism movement as the sign of social progress she emphasizes the common cause for the emergence of these movements and their similarities. Meanwhile, Rudnytska defined compatibility of nationalist and feminist movements by proclaiming that Ukrainian woman has to be "a citizen at home and a mother in civic life" (Рудницька, 1998, 204) Rudnytska emphasizes the unique role of a woman due to her biological instincts that could be beneficial for bringing a new perspective to the nationalist movement. Therefore, Kobrynska and Rudnytska had different motivations to argue for the usefulness of feminism for the nationalism movement and their compatibility.

The thesis consists of two parts: displaying the historical context under which nationalism and feminism developed in Galicia and analyzing the primary source with a particular focus on the writings of Nataliya Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska. Hence, the historical context part is divided into two periods to explain the political and social situation in Galicia in the second half of the nineteenth century-1900s and 1919-1939. This part also includes tracing the development of nationalist discourse and women's movement in Galicia in the said periods. The analysis part includes nine testimonies by Kobrynska (three essays and one speech) and Rudnytska (four articles and one speech). This part focuses on the close reading of the texts and pinpointing the meaning of nationalism and feminism for these two activists and their arguments for compatibility of the two ideas.

Literature Review

The literature that discusses nationalist and feminist discourse in Galicia is usually focused on one of them and almost does not address the relationships between the two ideologies.

“Sketches of Ukrainian History: Formation of the Modern Ukrainian Nation” by A. Hrytsak is the main source to highlight the crucial historical events and social context of each Galicia from the second half of the nineteenth century to 1939. This book covers modern Ukrainian history starting from the late eighteenth century. In Ukrainian historiography, this textbook is considered one of the most comprehensive studies of general Ukrainian history through modernity. The author has particular chapters dedicated to Western Ukrainian lands, specifically Galicia. His book is most useful for understanding national conflict and the formation of the nationalist movement. Throughout the whole book, he does not mention feminist movements or organizations. However, there are enough historical descriptions of the social life in Galicia and the main historical events in the region. “Encyclopedia of Ukrainian History” (in 10 volumes) edited by A. Smoliy is focused on the more detailed information on specific topics (as reforms of Maria Theresia and Joseph II). This is the collection of descriptive articles by several selected Ukrainian historians on the most prominent people, events, documents, organizations, movements in Ukraine through the whole history.

The history of a woman’s position and feminist movement are covered by four books of authors from different periods. They are Sophia Rusova “Our prominent female figures: character sketches”; M.Bogachevska-Khomiak “Ukrainian Thought is of Feminine Gender”; S. Pavlychko “Feminism”; “The Ukrainian Woman in the Forging of Modernization” ed. by O. Kis. Sophia Rusova (1856-1940), who was a Galician educators and member of women’s movement in immigration herself. Her book “Our prominent female figures: character sketches” focuses on the prominent Ukrainian women and their social activism, cultural role. The valuable part of her book is an article about Nataliya Kobrynska, whom she praised as the pioneer of the Ukrainian women’s movement. Since it is a subjective description of Kobrynska’s personality and social work, this article proves the tremendous effect of Kobrynska’s work on further generations of the Ukrainian movement. Rusova’s book covers different women, primarily writers, from all parts of Ukraine. However, the book starts with Nataliya Kobrynska. M.Bogachevska-Khomiak’s

“Ukrainian Thought is of Female Gender” is an objective historical study dedicated to the life of women in Ukraine from the nineteenth century to post-WWII years. Until recent times this study was the most comprehensive analysis of women’s life, social status, and women’s movement in Ukraine. The author focuses on the historical context and institutional changes that influenced women’s life. There are several chapters specifically dedicated to Galician women and give crucial insight into female everyday life and the emergence of activism from women’s organizations in the nineteenth century till their active participation in missions of OUN. Notably, M. Bogachevska-Khomiak herself favors the nationalist idea, so her account of the women’s movement is viewed through the nationalist framework at some places in the book. Meanwhile, Solomiya Pavlychko’s book “Feminism” is closer to Rusova’s insight. Pavlychko was one of the most prominent Ukrainian feminists in postmodern cultural space. This book is a collection of essays mainly dedicated to the understanding of feminism in the field of Ukrainian literature. In one her essays dedicated to Kobrynska she her as “a central figure of Ukrainian feminist movement” (Павличко, 2002, 121). Pavlychko’s perspective comes from an outlook on intelligentsia, which is most useful for nineteenth-century discourse. The last book “The Ukrainian Woman in the Forging of Modernization” ed. by O. Kis is a collection of scholarly articles of most prominent Ukrainian gender scholars dedicated to the women’s life from the second half of the nineteenth century till WWII. This book is the most valuable modern source on the social climate of the time and its influence on women's role in Ukrainian society. Among ten articles three are dedicated to Galician women and two of them about marital relationships and women during WWI touches on Galician case as well as other parts of Ukraine. The greatest advantage of this book is the gender studies background that was lacking in previous texts (apart from Solomiya Pavlychko). Thus, “The Ukrainian Woman in the Forging of Modernization” is the least biased historical account of women’s position.

Scholarly articles dedicated to the nineteenth-century feminism place their focus on Nataliya Kobrynska and women’s organizations of the time. Y. Chernova's “Philosophical basis of nationalist identification of feminists in Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth and start of the twentieth century” states that Ukrainian feminist discourse in Galicia was inspired by European women's movements (Чернова, 2014, 109). The author focuses on the work on Nataliya Kobrynska and her attempts to contact female intellectuals from “Big Ukraine.” The author focuses on the personal letters between Kobrynska and Lesya Ukrainka (the most prominent

female intellectual in the Nadnipryanschyna region). Lesya Ukrainka was a niece of Mykhailo Dragomanov, so she was critical of Kobrynska's "female separatism" and attempted to create a space in literature solely for women. However, both women considered the nationalist approach to be the basis of the feminist movement since national and women's problems were all part of the same social issue.

Two articles by Alla Shvets "Ivan Franko-Nataliya Kobrynska-Mykhailo Pavlyk: consensus and controversy" and "I have a particularly interesting relationship with Dragomanov..." (Nataliya Kobrynska and Mykhailo Dragomanov: the direction of works through life) are dedicated to the personal and professional relationship between Kobrynska, I. Franko, M. Pavlyk, and M. Dragomanov. Both articles are based on the personal correspondence between Kobrynska and these three men. This approach allows us to see not only personal relationships (that got complicated) but the intellectual discussion around women's question specifically. The scholar focuses on the period, when Kobrynska established the first women's society in Galicia, published the female almanac "Persnyi Vinok" (First Vinok), and was going to publish the second one. During this process, she faced severe criticism from her male colleagues because she did not want to include them as editors or participants of councils in her women's society. Mykhailo Pavlyk wrote about her: "...in any work, especially so different as female, the leaders need to adopt objective perspective, calmness, and passionless judgment even of your opponent, and here Kobrynska ruined all of these by hatred towards men" (ШВЕЦЬ, 2014, 156). Dragomanov shared this view, but expressed it in a more sophisticated way: "I cannot understand the distinction between female and male arithmetic, to me is one for all and women will be equal as men sooner if they only start doing all of our jobs not worth then us" (ШВЕЦЬ, 2018, 220). Also, Shvets emphasizes how Kobrynska fallen out from a social radical perspective due to their view of free love. "Radicals consider it (free love) to be almost the only goal of female emancipation, while I am not interested in such question, and first of all would like to gain economic independence" (ШВЕЦЬ, 2014, 157). Nonetheless, the scholar does not concentrate on the nationalist aspect of Kobrynska's view on feminism but provides more insight into the discussion of the intelligentsia of the second half of the nineteenth century about how feminism should have evolved in Galicia.

The last decade of the nineteenth century - the beginning of the twentieth century brought significant social and political changes that influenced women's position in society. Scholarly

article “People’s teacher in Galicia in the second half of nineteenth-century - start of twentieth-century” A. Varanytsa explored the role of people's teacher as one of a few acceptable professions for a woman in the late nineteenth - early twentieth centuries. The author draws attention to the fact that men, who were able to get an education in universities, were not eager to teach in schools in the countryside due to the low wages and lack of social prestige. In the late nineteenth-century village schools started to lack teachers and women, who fulfilled these positions, were not socially acceptable even with a certain level of hostility. Varanytsa argues that people’s teachers were the first women “to step outside the house” in a search for personal income (Вараниця, 2011, 362). Moreover, these women started writing about themselves and left sources about personal experience of being a working woman in the early twentieth century Galicia. Another scholar V. Vengerska in “Paradox in assigning gender roles in formation of nationalist projects in the nineteenth-century” noted the strong dominance of traditional gender roles despite the more social opportunities in the early twentieth century. The prior role of a woman was still “daughter-mother-wife” but gained educational mission: women ought to teach their children to respect customs and traditions of their nation, cherish native language, and know their history (Венгерська, 2011, 131). It was a new responsibility that women were not obliged to follow since the nationalist movement was not as strong as it became in the early twentieth century.

Another crucial aspect of the early twentieth century is the development of the press that influenced both the nationalist and feminist movements. Several scholars note the importance of the emergence of women’s magazines that featured not only domestic, health care, fashion recommendations but elaborate on the ideological stances that women should follow in their everyday life. The article “Establishment and Development of Fashion Magazines in Western Ukraine (second half of nineteenth - first third of the twentieth century)” by I. Makovetska and O. Tsymbalyk stated that Ukrainian women’s periodicals go back to the establishment of “Meta” (The Goal) 1919 (Makovetska, Tsymbalyk, 2011, 33). During the same year magazine “Nasha Meta” (Our Goal) was created for working-class women. However, it was banned by the government of the Polish Republic that occupied Galicia.

O. Kochkodan in “Organizational work of women’s societies in Eastern Galicia represented on the pages of the regional press (1887-1939)” defines the two periods of development of women’s press in the early twentieth century. First period is the last quarter from

the nineteenth century till 1919. During this time the development of the female press is weak as well as a state of female societies. The second period is from 1919 till 1939. It was the time of the highest point of development of female press and female societies (Кочкодан, 2019, 132). During the first period, there were not many publications and most of them were pieces from individual authors that expressed their thoughts regarding the development of the female movement and mostly discussed the questions of female education. Meanwhile, the second period is represented by the strong publishing houses with the defined position and a mission to “make a woman into an individual” (Кочкодан, 2019, 134). The author does not go into details, but this observation of two distinct tendencies in different periods helps to prove the point that in the early twentieth century the image of a woman changed and was a part of larger discussion than in a circle of the intelligentsia.

According to the article “Between Emancipation and National Tradition: the woman, stereotypes, and everyday life on the pages of Lviv’s periodicals between 1920s-1930s” by R. Holyk the magazines developed a specific image for Ukrainian women to follow. The editors of “New Hut” (the most popular women’s magazine in the late 1920s in Galicia) preached the combination of “European trends” in female behavior (proactive, fashionable, educated) combined with the high national consciousness. On the one hand, Ukrainian women should be aware of “European” trends and tendencies to not be considered backward. On the other hand, she had a mission to choose a husband loyal to Ukrainian tradition and raise her children to become nationalists and work to oppose oppression.

This tendency of nationalist domination escalated in the 1930s. M. Hawryshko’s article “Attitude of liberal feminists in Galicia to OUN in 1929-1939” emphasizes the shift of political tendencies among members in the Union of Ukrainian women. A significant amount of young female members stated that the only way for Ukrainian women to gain freedom was following national interests and, thus, they claimed feminism to be “selfish” ideology (Гавришко, 2014, 95). The Union of Ukrainian women rapidly split into “old” and “new” feminists. Older generations with their leader Milena Rudnytska were preaching liberal methods and focused on social issues that needed to be resolved to better women's condition. Thus, even though they worked with OUN and considered themselves to be nationalist, their position of compromise was seen as “treason” of Ukrainian national idea to many members of the more radical wing of the

Union of Ukrainian women. After 1939 women, who participated in operations of OUN would not like to be called feminists despite participating in not traditionally feminine activities.

Articles “A woman and her “peaceful”, “semi-peaceful” and “military” methods in OUN and UIA” by T. Antonova and “Role of a woman in Ukrainian national fight in the middle of the twentieth century” by L. Onyshko dedicated to the women of radical nationalist movement and their perception of the female role in it. Despite being active in the nationalist organization and completing important military tasks, women were a part of the patriarchal model. Their activism was seen as an extraordinary necessity and not the usual behavior of a woman. A vivid example of this statement is the position of wives of commanders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA). They were not allowed to express their own opinion on the subject matter unlike unmarried activists (Антонова, 2004, 143). These strict gendered expectations signify the strong patriarchal idea of women’s belonging to the man and being his moral support while being not existent in the discourse for other people, especially, men. Another prominent part of feminist discourse in the 1930s is Hawryshko’s analysis of Galician feminists’ perception of German social-nationalist policies. She notes that the overall attitude was extremely negative, even though liberal feminists supported *Deutscher Frauen Arbeitsdienst* (mandatory labor), while left feminists were extremely negative towards this policy (Гавришко, 2009, 89). However, she does not define any “liberal feminists” apart from M. Rudnytska or “left feminist,” which complicates reconstructing a diversity in the feminist discourse in Galicia in the late nineteenth- early twentieth century. Some literature mentions the existence of “radical” (or “left”) feminism in Galicia, but there is no elaboration on why it is considered to be radical in comparison with liberal feminism.

Consequently, the present literature focuses on the social condition of women, female movements, organizations, and feminist ideas, or the development of nationalist ideology. Only the articles by M. Hawryshko “Attitude of liberal feminists in Galicia to OUN in 1929-1939” and “Between Emancipation and National Tradition: the woman, stereotypes, and everyday life on the pages of Lviv’s periodicals between 1920s-1930s” by R. Holyk talk about the relationships between nationalism and feminism among politically active women in Galicia. Therefore, there is no particular answer to how Galician women were capable of identifying both as feminists and nationalists almost eighty years before Soviet occupation. My research concentrates on the writings of politically active women that accentuate the compatibility of nationalism and feminism. The development of the relationship between nationalism and feminism in Galicia of

the said period will be covered to explain how it was possible to combine feminism and nationalism for politically active women in Galicia and what caused the unreturnable departure of the two.

Theory

The primary concepts for this thesis are feminism and nationalism, and their manifestation in the self-identification process of Ukrainian Galician women. The significant part of the research is identity change that concerns both feminist and nationalist identifications through the course of the late nineteenth - early twentieth century. This thesis uses existing sources to observe the identification process: articles, letters, memoirs, essays, pamphlets, etc. written about and by politically active women in the said period in Galicia. Therefore, the most relevant theoretical approach for this thesis is a history of ideas.

Generally speaking, the history of ideas (*Begriffsgeschichte* “history of concepts”) is a subfield of history that deals with the analysis of ideas in the texts of individuals or bodies of thought in the past (Richter, 1990, 39).

History of ideas is a broad theory that in itself can have numerous interpretations and definitions. Some argue that the history of ideas is the same as intellectual history. Thus, it heavily overlaps with the history of philosophy and philosophy of history. Some specify that the history of ideas is an independent field with emphasis on the formal analysis of ideas. The history of ideas is the disciplinary field that combines various approaches from the 1940s until today. Therefore, it should be viewed as a combination of historical and philosophical methods in the analysis of concepts within time.

This field of studies appeared approximately in the 1940s with its pioneer American historian Arthur Lovejoy and establishment of *Journal of the History of Ideas*, which invited Lovejoy as its editor (Randall, 1963, 475). Arthur Lovejoy was already known as the historian of ideas and even recognized as the person, who coined the term. His prior approach was in the concept of unit-ideas. According to Lovejoy, there are particular concepts that are universal through different periods such as the rationalism of the Enlightenment. It is a “characteristic idea-complex” that possesses certain unity regardless of the existing internal tensions and conflicts within this idea (Randall, 1963, 477). However, the major problem with Lovejoy’s approach was its universalism that worked for philosophical and theological doctrines but was not efficient for individual concepts.

Since then the history of ideas has been diversified and represented by the various intellectuals as R. Collingwood, J. Pocock and Q. Skinner (founders of Cambridge School), M. Bevir, M. Foucault, *Begriffsgeschichte* project, and others.

Consequently, the history of ideas provides the methodology to observe the context in which the text was created and “political language” in Galicia; pinpoint the “meaning” of nationalism or feminism to the activist/scholar; identify what the activist/scholar “is doing” with his or her text; track the change of “meaning” of nationalism and feminism and its influence on self-identification of Galician women.

History of ideas is suitable for this research because it deals with the analysis of the “meaning” of concepts in prominent personal accounts and historical works that is crucial for understanding the identification of Galician activists within feminist and nationalist discourses. Also, the variety of approaches within the history of ideas allows to combine methods to adjust the theory to the specifications of the research. Hence, the German project *Begriffsgeschichte* is used to analyze the context in which Ukrainian nationalism and feminism have changed in Galicia. At the same time, Quentin Skinner’s method is used to decode the meaning of the individual’s texts to deal with the identification of politically active women in Galicia.

The *Begriffsgeschichte* project is significant for this thesis since it focuses on the analysis of the particular concepts within their timeframe. According to Richter *Begriffsgeschichte* is best understood through three lexicons created in the 1960s. The most prominent of them was *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* that is a collection of articles dedicated to the historical development of specific concepts written by prominent German scholars of the history of ideas. One of the early findings related to *Begriffsgeschichte* belongs to German medievalist Otto Brunner. He debated the approach towards interpreting medieval sources from a modern perspective. The argument was to explain certain concepts (feudalism, for instance) relevant to their times instead of applying definitions from other periods. Thus, the most important category for *Begriffsgeschichte* is the historical context in which a particular term existed. Hence, *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* represented a version of “historical semantics” that related to structural continuities and changes in government, society, and the economy” (Richter, 1987, 250). Therefore, following similar guidelines this research defines the historical context in which nationalism and feminism established, evolved, and cooperated in Galicia from the second half of the nineteenth century until 1939.

The terms nationalism and feminism in the research are used as they were understood by Galician society and intelligentsia of the said period. Hence, the two definitions have changed due to the historical events that shifted nationalism and feminism from socialist discourse of the second half of the nineteenth century to the combat for a united independent Ukraine. This change explains why Milena Rudnytska had to justify her being a feminist and nationalist at the same time. Nataliya Kobrynska was criticized for segregating women from men by establishing women's society solely for female members. This criticism is derived from the sexist prejudices that women cannot deal with their issues without men's counseling. However, Kobrynska's authority was not questioned on the matter of lacking a nationalist position. Meanwhile, Rudnytska lived in Galicia, where nationalism was radicalized and militarized. It could hardly tolerate feminism and often referred to it as an anachronism and even harmful ideology. Thus, Rudnytska had to deconstruct this argument by redefining feminism.

Afterward, Quentin Skinner's method is used to analyze the particular texts and their influences on the discourse. The downside of Skinner's approach deprives the text of its historical context and looking purely inside of the specific body of texts from the author to find "the meaning." Skinner considered it to be impossible to analyze the historical context without modern biases, so it was better to look for meaning directly in the text (Skinner, 200, 58). Even though he did not dismiss the importance of knowing the context, he did not see its methodological value. At the same time, the advantage of Skinner's method is a close reading of the sources to find what the author was trying to convey in a specific text. Therefore, this analyzes of the works of Galician politically active women helps to understand their feminist and nationalist stances and their interpretation of these concepts to emphasize their compatibility.

Nataliya Kobrynska's works are centered around the reasons for gender inequality in the world and Galicia, tasks, and mission of women's organizations, and emphasizing the significance of feminism as a sign of national progress. For Kobrynska, feminism and the women's movement were synonyms. Notably, it was not the case for many women of her surrounding. The keywords for analysis of Kobrynska's texts are "national awakening," "nation," "women," "women's movement." These words relate to the explanation and meaning of nationalist and feminist movements as presented in Kobrynska's writings. Notably, the three essays in "Pershyi Vinok" were written for a female audience. Hence, her goal is to convince Ukrainian women about the significance of feminism. Meanwhile, in the 1898 speech,

Kobrynska's target audience is male-dominant Galician intelligentsia. Thus, her goal is to convince Galician men to include female writers as a vital part of Ukrainian literature and society.

Milena Rudnytska's works emphasize the dedication of the Union of Ukrainian Women to the nationalist movement. She also discusses the new type of woman and the new feminism. As well as Kobrynska, Rudnytska sees feminism and the women's movement as the same concepts. In the 1930s, a young generation of female nationalists in the Union of Ukrainian Women would not agree with this statement. The keywords for analysis of Rudnytska's texts are "nationalism," "feminism," "women's movement," "women." Rudnytska dedicates several essays specifically to prove the compatibility of nationalism and feminism. Rudnytska targeted her argument towards nationalist men that were hostile to the Union of Ukrainian Women and young female nationalists, many of whom dismissed feminism as well.

Galicia and women's movements in the second half of the nineteenth century and early to mid-twentieth century: historical context

The change in the relationship between nationalism and feminism directly depends on the timeline of historical events and social tendencies that dominated the region from the second half of the nineteenth century till 1939.

In the second half of the nineteenth century with the emergence of the first societies created by women and for women in Galicia, the co-existence of the feminist approach with any political force was a challenge. A woman's role in society has expanded due to the overall liberalization and modernization of Ukrainian society in the late nineteenth century. At the time, Galicia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. This region was considered to be the part of rightful Habsburg heritage, so it was, primarily, under the political control of Vienna. Nonetheless, Austria viewed Galicia as a backward economically unsuccessful province to which Austrian administrative and military workers could be exiled in case of misbehavior (Грицак, 1996, 35). Therefore, Austrians were not represented in Galicia as an ethnic minority and were ruling the region from a distance.

Consequently, the main ethnic conflict in Galicia was between Polish and Ukrainian minorities that consisted of around 40% of the population in the region each (Грицак, 1996, 13). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Galician Ukrainians ("Ruthenians" as they called themselves) had a distinct national identification due to this opposition. It was no longer religion

that distinct Ukrainians from Polish, but ethnicity and social class. Ruthenians were peasants in their majority, while Polish were landlords (“pomishchyky”). Due to the reforms of Maria Theresia Joseph II in the late eighteenth century, Ukrainians received a possibility to study in schools (four years) since primary education became compulsory for all. Girls were required to study at school at least for the three years that influenced the rise of literacy among Ukrainian women (Богачевська-Хом’як, 1993, 43). Also, the Greek-Catholic Church seminary was established that boosted the church gaining higher social and educational role afterward (Огуй, Стеблій, 511). As a result, one of the most prominent changes in the second half of the nineteenth century was the appreciation of female education. According to A. Varanytsya, it was even supported by the Greek-Catholic Church that was re-conceptualizing the social role of a woman in the late 1870s due to the said liberalization (Вараниця, 2013, 364).

Ukrainian peasants, specifically, were freed from personal dependence on landlords, should’ve worked less number of days in a year on the landlord’s land, and received the possibility to sue their landlords if they disregarded the law (Грицак, 1996, 35). The possibility to exercise civilian voice through court provided a huge impact on the formation of national ideas. Hence, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Ruthenian society in Galicia was more educated, confident, and economically better off than previous generations.

Another crucial historical influence was the creation of the first Ukrainian party that was represented in the Austrian parliament Holovna Ruska Rada (Supreme Ruthenian Council) (1848) during the “spring of nations.” This faced underground Polish opposition that created another party Ruthenian Sobor that would oppose the political demands of the Holovna Ruska Rada. Notably, Vienna was supportive of Holovna Ruska Rada as they wanted to use the Ukrainian minority to weaken Polish influence in Galicia (Грицак, 1996, 39). However, the political demands of Holovna Ruska Rada were not addressed by the Austrian parliament. Still, Vienna supported the cultural development of Ukrainians that contributed to strengthening the national movement.

At the same time, the emergence of feminist and nationalist discourse closely relates to the development of Ruthenian Galician intelligentsia. People such as Yulian Bachynskyi, Mykhailo Dragomanov, Ivan Franko, Mykhailo Pavlyk, and Nataliya Ozarkevych-Kobrynska engaged in the social debates around resolutions of social issue that Ruthenians faced in Galicia. Notably, all of them were under the strong influence of socialist ideas that were actively discussed and gained

popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century. The crucial text “Ukraina Irredenta”, where the idea of Ukrainian independence was raised first, was written by the member of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party Yulian Bachynskyi. The most prominent Galician Ruthenian activists and cultural figures gained the socialist perspective from the works of Mykhailo Dragomanov. Particularly, I. Franko, M. Pavlyk, and N. Kobrynska were all communicating with him through letters and saw him as their ideological mentor. Dragomanov himself was interested in Ukrainian nationalism in the different parts of the country and stressed the importance of gender equality. Notably, on several occasions, Dragomanov stated that he is a socialist. Thus, he was positive towards female emancipation and education, but usually emphasized on the “human unity” and was critical of Kobrynska’s idea of creating a society only for women to resolve gender inequality (ШВЕЦЬ, 2018, 216). Consequently, Franko and Pavlyk were in a similar position. They did not appreciate Kobrynska working on her second almanac for women without their consultation and accused her of “separatism” (ШВЕЦЬ, 2014, 156). However, the most important notion was that Franko and Pavlyk saw the national question resolution in bettering social conditions for Ukrainians first. Overall, Galician intelligentsia was supportive of an image of a proactive woman, who could be men’s ideological counterpart (Черчович, 2017, 49). However, they were still viewing women's social realization through marriage and did not appreciate women’s emancipation as radicals did.

Therefore, even though, Kobrynska was under attack from her male counterparts she also did not see the issue between being nationalist and feminist at the same time. Kobrynska and women from her surroundings considered education and economic emancipation to be the most important tools for achieving adequate social status for female citizens in Galicia. The primary task of the Society of Ruthenian Women founded by Kobrynska was education of Ukrainian women on the matter of social injustices through literature (Кобринська, 1887, 457). She was critical of the idea of free love and did not see it as the way of female emancipation unlike Pavlyk, who was the most prominent defender of free love among the intelligentsia. Kobrynska was also not supportive of ethnic diversity in Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party founded by Franko and Pavlyk in 1890. It was the only Ruthenian party that had women’s questions as a part of their program. Nonetheless, Kobrynska did not believe that Polish members were having any interest in bettering Ruthenian social condition but infiltrated the party to follow broader

“European” political trends (ЯКОВЛЕВ, 2017, 116). Therefore, the women's question for Kobrynska concerned Ukrainian women only.

The beginning of the twentieth century has changed the connotation in the relationship between nationalism and feminism with the approaching modernity, industrialization, and gradual radicalization of nationalist movements in the region. Galicia of this time was marked by the established political nationalist movement among Ukrainians from different social backgrounds. Before that Ukrainians were mainly associated with peasants and the working class with an exception to the group of intelligentsia. The strengthening of the Ukrainian middle class in Galicia significantly influenced the development both of nationalist and feminist discourses and their relationships.

During the late nineteenth century, the national movement split into two main positions: 1) opposing Polish domination by identifying with Moscow's tradition (“moscowphily”); 2) opposing Polish domination with emphasis on Ukrainian culture and traditions (“ukrainophily”). In 1898 the celebration of 100 years of Ukrainian literature and 25 years of literary work of Ivan Franko underlined the significance of Ukrainian culture in Galicia and revealed the domination of “ukrainophilic” tendencies in the nationalist movement (Грицак, 1996, 63). Hence, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the term “Ukrainian” was distinct from “Ruthenian,” who emphasized social issues that ethnic communities experience but saw the solution in unification with Moscow. In contrast, “Ukrainian” focused on the national oppression that to their opinion was the source of social injustice and emphasized the Ukrainian right to call Galicia their historical land. The new nationalist movement was focusing mainly on educational and cultural aspects. “Ukrainophily” was behind one of the most significant Ukrainian civil organizations at the beginning of the twentieth century “Prosvita” (“enlightenment”). In 1914 this organization had almost 80 departments across the region. The important notion is that this organization was sponsored by representatives of the Ukrainian middle class, specifically the cooperation movement. First Ukrainian insurance company “Dnister”, civil union “Selyanskyi hospodar” (“peasant master”), and Krayovyι (“kray” - administrative unit/district in Galicia) land bank (Грицак, 1996, 63). Therefore, the nationalist movement was supported on all levels of Ukrainian society that contributed to its more radical turn from universal ideas (such as social justice) to national interests. At the same time, the Polish minority actively opposed the new Ukrainian movement and even united with moswophils at some point to create stronger

opposition (Грицак, 1996, 64). Nonetheless, Ukrainians were gaining more political power in the region. In February of 1914, the Polish-Ukrainian compromise was signed: Ukrainians were promised one-third of the seats in Galician parliament (Грицак, 1996, 64). This “compromise” was less beneficial to the Polish minority that felt like losing their power. As Ukrainians gained more influence on political and social life in Lviv (“capital” of Galicia), Polish-Ukrainian conflict escalated to another level.

Consequently, the women's movement changed at the beginning of the twentieth century as well. Since Kobrynska and women from her surroundings were close to the nationalist movement, the women's society adopted the goal of Ukrainian independence as their own as well. In “Council of “Zhinocha Hromada” and Its Establishment in Chernivtsi” (1906) Kostyantyna Malyska, Ukrainian educator and active member of the women's movement, encourages women to unite for the “free, independent Ukraine” (Малицька, 2011, 270). This was the new idea among the women's movement that before focused primarily on women's education, raising social awareness, or focusing on philanthropic missions as charities. Therefore, later on, this new goal for Ukrainian feminists became the basis for the creation of the Union of Ukrainian Women in 1917 (Богачевська-Хом'як, 1993, 58). Notably, during the WWI some Ukrainian women participated in military actions. The most famous female soldier, member of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, and public figure was Olena Stepaniv. She gave numerous interviews for Ukrainian, Polish, and Austrian press where she stated her nationalist stances and the rights of Ukrainians to fight for their freedom (Богачевська-Хом'як, 1993, 60).

Through the course of World War I, Galicia as a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire was on the side of the Central Powers. Moreover, as a part of the Beresteyskyi Peaceful Treaty between Ukrainians and Central Powers (signed by Central powers and Ukrainian People's Republic), Galicia was proposed to become a separate kingdom on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian empire. After the defeat of central powers, the Polish side claimed this ideas of “independent Ukrainian Galicia” as “Austro-German cabal” (Грицак, 1996, 95). In October 1918 Ukrainian National council was organized to come up with a solution for the Ukrainian case. As a result, on the night of 31st of October secret Ukrainian military commissariat released a statement of taking control over Lviv by military force (Грицак, 1996, 95). In the course of these events, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic was created with the further mission to be

united with Ukrainian People's Republic. The short-lived unification of the two happened in January 1919 that brought nationalists the closest to witnessing Ukrainian independent state. However Polish-Ukrainian War from November 1918 till April 1919 ended with the Polish victory. These events were a major factor for the extreme radicalization of nationalist movements in the late 1920s and 1930s as the Polish minority exercised their power in Galicia to bring down the Ukrainian minority as much as they could. Therefore, nationalism became more important in rhetoric than feminism for a significant number of activists.

At the same time, the beginning of the twentieth century brought new challenges and new contexts that changed both feminist and nationalist discourses and their significance for the broader public rather than intelligentsia. Since industrialization was delayed in Galicia, its social consequences started to be seen at the beginning of the twentieth century the most. The appearance of ready-made products affordable for the larger audience influenced women's role as a homemaker. Middle-class ladies were capable of hiring servants to take care of home chores. The media was then discussing the "new woman" (primarily focusing on the middle-class women) that had to be educated and active to successfully perform as mother and wife. This change influenced the meaning of feminism in Galicia as a "European" trend that needs to be adapted to local traditions (Голик, 2014, 32). As national conflict escalated in Galicia, women in the Union of Ukrainian Women emphasized the difference between Polish and Ukrainian women in a narrative of oppression. The role of mother-wife-daughter that still was preferable to a woman gained a new educational connotation. A woman was now responsible to raise children with nationalist ideas for them to serve their nation in the future. Thus, she ought to be educated and socially-conscious to be able to fulfill this task. Some women as doctor and social activist Sophia Parfenovych even viewed Ukrainian-Polish marriages as treason since Ukrainian woman, in her opinion, would be polonized in such union and will not pass nationalist ideas to her children (Голик, 2014, 32). Therefore, Galician women had to be Ukrainian, in the first place, and then "European" (active and modern) afterward.

First magazines for women played a massive role in presenting this combination of "nationalist" and "feminist" elements in the "perfect" female identity of the time. Women's magazine "Nova Khata" (New Hut) suggested a combination of modern, confident, sporty woman with traditionalist values of taking care of family and homemaking. In their eyes, Galician women should be always fashionable and educated, while expressing her patriotism by

marrying Ukrainian men and raising her children with a sense of pride in Ukrainian culture, which was associated with the rural area in opposition to Austrian urban lifestyle. Romanticizing of the countryside was mainly depicted in home decor and ethnic elements in incorporated “European” clothing (Голик, 2014, 32). However, some women in “New Hut” also raised more questions about gender normativity. For example, they published an article that condemned the tradition of kissing a woman's hand as a greeting. They claimed it to be degrading for a woman (Голик, 2014, 32). Instead, they proposed greeting women with handshakes as if someone would greet a man. Consequently, such ideas were viewed as “radical” for still quite traditional Galician society. However, they were not publicly condemned by nationalist movements unlike in the late 1920s - 1939.

On 11th September 1918, Poland became independent and announced the establishment of the Polish Republic (*Second Rzeczpospolita Polska*) after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Galicia became a part of this new state. It was transformed from the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria into three administrative units with centers in Lviv, Stanislav, and Ternopil. Hence, the young and fragile Western Ukrainian People’s Republic lost to Polish Republic that occupied the region till Soviet occupation in 1939. Consequently, the conflict between Ukrainians and Polish people grew into a new narrative. In the 1920s and 1930s Polish population became the dominant power in the region politically and was no longer dependent on Austrian resolutions. This resulted in too harsh opposition between Polish as oppressors and Ukrainians as oppressed on the whole level (represented in the late 1920s women’s magazines specifically). “National case” was no longer the priority of preserving and spreading Ukrainian culture, but started in the political demand of independence of the nation and radical hostility to other ethnicities (especially, Polish) that reached its peak in the 1930s.

Partially, the Ukrainian nationalist movement was radicalized due to the aggressive Polish politics of assimilation (“pacification”) of the Ukrainian population in Galicia. Ukrainians were strained from administrative positions of power or send to other places in the Polish Republic (Грицак, 1996, 136). The new politics brought the most damage to the Ukrainian educational system. The school system was transferring to be bilingual with emphasis on Polish language, Ukrainian schools were under constant attack and were closing rapidly (during the Polish Republic period the number of Ukrainian schools declined from 3,662 to 144), Ukrainian departments in Lviv university were closed (Грицак, 1996, 136). Hence, in the late 1920s, the

Ukrainian national movement was split into two directions: 1) Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) that were propagating radical methods to fight Polish oppression including homicide; 2) Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (UNDU) that was for finding a compromise with the Polish government and focusing on the specific issues rather than ideological mission.

Nonetheless, the Union of Ukrainian Women under the leadership of diplomat and social activist Milena Rudnytska was cooperating with the OUN in the late 1920s. Partially, this collaboration occurred due to the high number of women, who apart from the Union were the participants of nationalist movements in Galicia (Гавришко, 2014, 86). For the majority, there was no doubt that Ukrainians were oppressed and needed to get justice for themselves. Milena Rudnytska herself communicated with leaders of OUN and shared her perspective on the diplomatic side of the Ukrainian issue. However, she also was a part of a diplomatic mission with UNDU that sought a compromise between the Polish government and the Ukrainian people.

In the late 1930s, the Union of Ukrainian women split into “old” and “new” feminists. Many were unsatisfied with Rudnytska’s liberal position and focus on women’s role in society. Younger members started to question feminism as a “selfish ideology” and argued for resolving national issue that will inevitably bring better conditions for women (Гавришко, 2014, 92). “Old” (liberal) feminists still consider themselves to be nationalist and stress the importance of bettering female position as a benefit to the nation. For a significant number of young female nationalists, these “liberal” ideas were not “nationalist” enough. The older generation of Union of Ukrainian women were against the radicalization of youth and their participation in terrorist attacks (Гавришко, 2014, 92). Such beliefs of the older generation were another reason for young nationalists to disagree with feminists. They condemn them as not being loyal to the Ukrainian national idea. Even though, until the 1939 Soviet occupation liberal feminists were still able to combine nationalism and feminism in their identities, their female successors in OUN choose only nationalist identification instead.

Feminist and Nationalist Discourse in the second half of the nineteenth century and early to mid-twentieth century Galicia and writings of Nataliya Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska: primary sources analysis

Mykhailo Dragomanov and Young Ukrainian Radicals in the second half of the nineteenth century

Dragomanov was a huge influence on the nationalist discourse in Galicia through his impact on Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk, who in the late nineteenth century established Radical Ukrainian-Ruthenian Party (RURP). In “Bizarre thoughts about Ukrainian national case” and “Shevchenko, ukrainophils, and socialism” he elaborated on the harmful side of closed-mind nationalism. “Bizarre thoughts about Ukrainian national case” stressed the importance of reading Russian realist literature and do not condemn it just because it comes from Moscow (Драгоманов, 1991, 478). Dragomanov believed that it is beneficial to Ukrainians (specifically in Galicia) to read this literature to recognize the social injustice that has been done to Ukrainians. In this article, he also warned nationalists from the close-minded patriotism that could lead to violence and injustice (Драгоманов, 1991, 469). At the same time, Dragomanov admired the ukrainophilic approach in Galicia. In “Shevchenko, ukrainophils, and socialism” he compared ukrainophils to other members of the nationalist movement (“narodovtsi”, for instance). But he was still critical of ukrainophils' anticipation of everything Russian. And thus, he condemned the depiction of Shevchenko in a one-sided way and not as a universal unifying poet for all Ukrainians and even not-Ukrainians as Dragomanov himself considered Shevchenko to be (Драгоманов, 1991, 327).

Other significant works for national movement belong to I. Franko and M. Pavlyk. Franko's article “Bilingualism and two-faces” emphasized the importance of defending native language that gives people a purpose to consolidate and develop high ideals. Franko saw native language as one of the most important aspects to form an identity. To him, any “utilitarian individual” will recognize the significance of speaking and cherishing native language as a necessity (Франко, 1905, 231). At the same time, Pavlyk emphasized the tolerance of Ukrainians towards foreigners in his “Foreigners in Ukraine.” The most important part for him as belonging to the same social class rather than ethnicity (Павлик, 1907, 77). But he changed this idea for the benefit of the Ukrainian minority as an oppressed class in itself in the late nineteenth century after the establishment of RURP.

The most important text for Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia “Ukraina Irredenta” by Yulian Bachynskyi was published in 1895. The book focuses on the economic and social justice reasoning behind the independence of the Ukrainian state. Bachynskyi proposes that the modern state is the way to ensure economic stability and prosperity (Бачинський, 1924, 16). However, for Ukrainians to achieve that they need to form an independent modern state themselves. He

accentuates that various nationalist forces failed to make significant progress for Ukrainians' well-being because they did not have a "solid political stance" (Бачинський, 1924, 63). Consequently, the idea of an independent Ukrainian state is a clear political goal that could unify Ukrainians not only in Galicia but in other parts of Ukraine.

Nataliya Kobrynska and Early Decades of Ukrainian Feminism

The beginning of the Ukrainian women's movement stems from Nataliya Kobrynska and her unification of like-minded women from Galician intelligentsia into the first Ukrainian women's society in the region. Kobrynska cooperated with women from "Big Ukraine" as Olena Pchilka to spread feminist ideas through women's literature that was more socially inclined in "Big Ukraine" than in Galicia. However, her main focus was the organization of women in Galicia. In several essays, Kobrynska displays her concern with the perception of the women's movement as founding organizations with philanthropic goals instead of female education on the matter of social injustices. Her counterpart during the first decades of the feminism movement Yevheniya Yaroshynska also accentuates the significance of social awareness among Galician women. In one of her 1891 letters to Mykhailo Pavlyk Yaroshynska stresses the importance of unification of women that would strive for freedom and enlightenment as "nothing will be possible without that" (Ярошинська, 1958, 388). Considering the fact that Yaroshynska was closely related to RURP leaders she refers in this letter to the resolution of social injustices that Ukrainians face in the region. Also, as well as Kobrynska, Yaroshynska was concerned with the national awareness among Ukrainians. In another 1890 letter, she expresses her anger at the Ukrainian deputy in Galician parliament who supported patriotic sentiments solely to gain access to political influence among Ukrainians (Ярошинська, 1958, 382). However despite expressing active interest in women's and Ukrainian national cases Yaroshynska did not define herself as feminist or nationalist in the personal correspondence or other writings. This position differentiates her from Nataliya Kobrynska.

The personal stances on nationalism and feminism of the founder of the Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia is most vivid in her essays in "Persnyi Vinok" (1887) and a speech she delivered during the celebration of Revival of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Literature in 1898. The almanac contains three works that directly refer to the women's movement and its development among Ukrainian women. In "Ruthenian Women in Nowadays Galicia" Kobrynska makes parallels between the national awakening and development of women's movement to

show the correlation between them. In “About Women’s Movement in Modern Times” she discusses how economics shapes gender inequality in the world and proposes women’s education as the most efficient way to combat it. Consequently, “Initial Goal of the Society of Ruthenian Women in Stanislaw” is dedicated to endorse Ukrainian literature written by women as the most effective tool for women’s mass education on social injustices. Finally, in an 1898 speech on the day of the Revival of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Literature Kobrynska develops a thesis that women reflect the values of their society and, thus, their respectable position in society is a sign of progress for a whole nation.

“Ruthenian Women in Nowadays Galicia” starts by acknowledging the Ukrainian struggle and women’s position in society: “The history of our people is sad - so is the history of our women” (Кобринська, 1887, 68). She proceeds with metaphors that explain the position of Ukrainians in Galicia. For her, nineteenth-century Ukrainians are defined by their language and “faith of their fathers” (Кобринська, 1887, 68). Kobrynska draws attention to the intelligentsia that seek privilege by following foreign culture. However, she sees this as just a stage towards the realization of belonging to “one’s roots” (Кобринська, 1887, 68). Thus, she refers to the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the past that sought education and social benefit from Poland and Austria. In contrast, the new generation is full of “radicals” that form clear political demands through their work for their people.

In the next paragraphs, Kobrynska describes the state of Ukrainian peasants and artisans. She stressed that the majority of the peasants are poor and not educated. In comparison, artisans are in a better position but still, they are not developed enough. Kobrynska also notes that those who are wealthier “consider themselves Polish and refer to themselves as part of the Polish artisans” (Кобринська, 1887, 69). Afterward, she draws attention to women who work with men on the fields and participate in artisan’s work. Kobrynska accentuates that men only care about the job they do outside the home. Meanwhile, women are not only helping their husbands but do all the housework that is necessary for the family to survive (Кобринська, 1887, 70).

Peasant women also met with gender prejudices that restricted them from defending their inheritance rights. For instance, a widow, who had children from first marriage, would have trouble inheriting property in the countryside despite the law (Кобринська, 1887, 70). Thus, a Ukrainian woman was trapped in a sexist society that would value their prejudices as enough of a substance for denying justice for women even in legal matters. Interestingly enough, Kobrynska

traces the prejudices against women that justify judicial, economic, and even physical violence to folklore. She points out verses from Ukrainian songs that play violence against women as a joke. In some cases, these songs display “love under whip” that indicates sexual violence within marriage (Кобринська, 1887, 71). Therefore, Kobrynska accentuated the long-lasting tradition that kept Ukrainian women in subordinate roles.

The second part of the essay is dedicated to the Ukrainian women within Galician intelligentsia. Kobrynska draws attention to the role of priests whom she presents as the largest group that represent Ukrainian intelligentsia. Consequently, their daughters were brought up in better social conditions, and their education was taken more seriously than four years of basic education for peasant and working women (Кобринська, 1887, 73). Nevertheless, the daughters of these priests had to meet the same patriarchal prejudices as women of lower classes.

Besides, the Ukrainian clergy was under significant pressure of polonization. Ukrainian seminary in Lviv was quickly polonized in the 1830s with the spread of Polish as a study language. Nonetheless, Kobrynska considers this “Polish conspiracy” as a catalyst for Ukrainian national unity (Кобринська, 1887, 75). She draws attention to the Western ideas that influenced national discourse in Galicia. According to Kobrynska, one of the reasons for unification was cultural awareness brought up by the Romanticism movement in literature with its fascination with folklore and local cultures (Кобринська, 1887, 75). However, she proceeds to criticize the intelligentsia of the first half of the nineteenth century for the lack of social awareness. Ukrainian intelligentsia was striving to find aristocratic elements in the Ukrainian nation to prove their equal position with Polish people in Galicia (Кобринська, 1887, 75). Thus, they were ignoring the problem of social inequality, which also included the issue of gender inequality.

Kobrynska sees a similar problem among women of the intelligentsia in the first half of the nineteenth century. She acknowledges that they were more educated and more knowledgeable about the latest intelligentsia trends than their predecessors. However, they treated their education as an additional good quality for the future family or social status. They did not ask if the knowledge that they acquired “made them more open-minded, which was the trait of true education, and if it had any practical value in their lives”? (Кобринська, 1887, 76). Kobrynska also gives an example of Polish female educator Clementyna Hofmanova that saw female education as a way of being aware of their national heritage. According to Hofmanova, in daily life, a Polish woman has to be a submissive wife and mother in the first place. Kobrynska

criticizes her and states that such “education” validates patriarchy instead of challenging it (Кобринська, 1887, 77).

Among the critique of Galician intelligentsia, Kobrynska dedicates a few pages to the 1853 publication by Severyn Shekhovych about how a young Ukrainian woman should behave. She heavily criticized the author's negligence towards female education in favor of her physical appearance, meekness, and preparation of a submissive role to her husband. Shekhovych released this publication to influence youth filled with “democratic ideas” (Кобринська, 1887, 80). Hence, he thought a woman to be incapable of the same education as men. In return, Kobrynska emphasized the shallowness of the poised aristocratic image that Shekhovych recommended to young Ukrainian women (Кобринська, 1887, 82). Instead, she saw education and an active social position as a true woman’s virtue.

At the end of part two Kobrynska highlights the year 1860. Forty Ukrainian delegates were elected to the Galician parliament out of 150 seats. Kobrynska described this fact as a victory over Poles, who hoped for a much lesser Ukrainian representation. Hence, the “national and social arguments” were brought up on the major political scale in Galicia for the first time (Кобринська, 1887, 84). She also points out another significant event for young Ukrainian intellectuals. In the 1860s Shevchenko’s poetry was first published and distributed in Galicia. Kobrynska saw his socially critical poetry as something young Ukrainians can relate to and unify around to establish a new movement in Galicia known as “ukrainophils” (Кобринська, 1887, 86). She also accentuates the various arguments and debates between different movements among the Ukrainian minority that had different perspectives on Ukrainian identity. However, the unifying factor for all of them was “not to submit to Poles” (Кобринська, 1887, 86).

In the third part, Kobrynska discusses how national and social changes of the 1860s affected Ukrainian female intellectuals. After the unsuccessful Polish revolt at the beginning of the 1860s, Polish women mourn their country’s misfortune by wearing dark dresses and cutting their hair (Кобринська, 1887, 88). Notably, Ukrainian women, who wanted to be acknowledged in the high-class society in Galicia followed this fashion. These Ukrainian women were called “Wandas” and generally mocked in newspapers for being shallow and only pursuing something for the social benefit (Кобринська, 1887, 89). However, Kobrynska notes that the critiques of “Wandas” was more rooted in misogyny than nationalist stances. She acknowledges that by

following nationally aware Polish women, Ukrainian women started to realize their struggle and their role in Ukrainian society (Кобринська, 1887, 89).

Kobrynska criticizes Ukrainian intelligentsia for marrying Polish women and men. From her perspective, if a Ukrainian man who represents intelligentsia marries a Polish woman, he contradicts his nationalist beliefs (Кобринська, 1887, 90). Interestingly enough, she finds the root of this “problem” in gendered upbringing. Kobrynska argues that boys in middle-class families are raised to be the future breadwinners and, thus, told to be smarter than their sisters (Кобринська, 1887, 91). Growing up, boys consider their parents to be obliged to provide them higher education. Moreover, they feel comfortable to spend their wife’s inherited money or sell her property to cover their students debts (Кобринська, 1887, 92). Consequently, men from intelligentsia are not connected to the social and national problems because of their privilege. Therefore, Kobrynska explains that these men find it easy to neglect the “spiritual connection” between a wife and a husband by marrying a Pole or a German (Кобринська, 1887, 92).

In the last part of the essay, Kobrynska lists Ukrainian women, who are actively involved in cultural and national enlightenment. These women are generally involved in the educational process as the most socially acceptable role for a working woman was a teacher (Кобринська, 1887, 95). Kobrynska highlights women's participation in the literary process and ethnographic practices. She also mentions that Galicia still needs more talented female writers as most of the women mentioned in “Persnyi Vinok” come from “Big Ukraine” (Кобринська, 1887, 96).

Kobrynska ends the essay with the struggle inside of the “Society of Ruthenian Women” established in 1884 in Stanislav (now, Ivano-Frankivsk). She is worried that inside of the society many women see their work as “philanthropy” or “charity” instead of the social and national contribution (Кобринська, 1887, 102). Notably, she makes a juxtaposition between the two tendencies. Those who are more “conservative” and aimed at “philanthropy” are labeled by Kobrynska as “patriarchal” and “obscure” (Кобринська, 1887, 102). In contrast, women who have distinct national and social positions are described as progressive.

The whole essay can be described by this last comparison. Kobrynska does not separate national and feminist movements apart. In her opinion, Ukrainian women ought to be feminists to make a meaningful contribution to the nationalist movement. A woman, who perceives education as a social benefit or a way to climb a social ladder, does not understand the true purpose of the said education. At the same time, Ukrainian men, who live by patriarchal rules,

deprive nationalist movements of active members and contributors. For Kobrynska, women's economic and social liberation is an inevitable result of society's progress. Notably, the emergence of a strong nationalist movement among Ukrainians is viewed by her as the same progressive tendency. As a part of "young radicals" in Galicia, Kobrynska saw nationalist and feminist problems as a part of social struggle. However, to combine these two positions, Kobrynska was exclusionary on an ethnic basis. She talks about struggles Ukrainian women face from patriarchy and Poles. Thus, Kobrynska's feminism concerned solely Ukrainian women.

However, unlike her successors in the Union of Ukrainian women, Kobrynska's understanding of gender inequality still lies primarily within the social justice discourse and has to be resolved by improving social conditions and creating opportunities for women. In "From my memories about Nataliya Kobrynska" by her personal friend and Ukrainian writer Mykhailyna Roshkevych it is noted that Kobrynska was primarily focused on female education and the economic position of a woman in society (Рошкевич, 1993, 84). These two ideas manifested in "About Women's Movement in Modern Times" and "Initial Goal of the Society of Ruthenian Women in Stanislav."

In "About Women's Movement in Modern Times" Kobrynska emphasizes that men guard intellectual work from women by developing medical and psychological theories that support women's intellectual inferiority (Кобринська, 1887, 6). At the same time, her reasoning for the necessity of the women's movement derives from the socialist perspective. Kobrynska argues that the rise of the women's movement is a result of the capitalist order. The gender inequality started to be visible on a large social scale when women entered the workforce and the "old ways" of dividing the work between men and women in the household stopped being useful (Кобринська, 1887, 9). The economic reasons dominate any other intentions because they ensure the survival of the individual in modern times.

Consequently, from Kobrynska's perspective, the most successful women's movement happened to be in the countries where capitalism is the most developed and, thus, revealed the need for gender equality. She proceeds to describe the achievement starting from the U.S., England, and Germany. In her description of the development of the women's movement in Europe, Kobrynska highlights that the Austro-Hungarian empire is benevolent towards women's organizations and their education in arts (Кобринська, 1887, 14). She mentions that women,

who were able to get an education in universities abroad, had successful careers in various fields from medicine to linguistics. Notably, Kobrynska herself was one of those women.

She ends the essay by denouncing a myth that the goal of a women's movement is to push men out of the workforce. Kobrynska returns to the argument of the economic reasoning behind the struggle for equality. To prove her point once again she quotes John Mill's "The Subjection of Women" stating that recognition of the existence of inequality and allowing women to work alongside men with no judgment would at least lift the status of a woman from a servant to a coworker (Кобринська, 1887, 23). Kobrynska notes that the capitalist economic relationships are not going to last. Nonetheless, competition is a natural part of human life and every individual deserves to take part in it on an equal basis (Кобринська, 1887, 23). Notably, she does not mention Ukrainian women or their position in the world in this essay. However, taking into consideration the argument in "Ruthenian Women in Nowadays Galicia", it is safe to assume that Ukrainian women face the same economic struggle and need an education to change their social position.

In "Initial Goal of the Society of Ruthenian Women in Stanislav" Kobrynska elaborates on her program for the women's movement. She claims at the very beginning of the essay that a goal of Ruthenian Women in Stanislav is to "awaken women's spirit through literature" (Кобринська, 1887, 457). Inspired by Dragomanov, Kobrynska strives to carve female realist literature to educate young women on their struggle. From her perspective, the realist literature aimed at portraying "real" people is the most beneficial for women (Кобринська, 1887, 459). This literary movement focuses on the depiction of contemporary life, social issues, and the complex character of human beings. It also embraces the psychological study of a character through literature that could help to portray women as complex humans instead of beautiful objects and rewards for a hero.

Kobrynska argues that fiction is the most efficient way to convey the feminist message to a large number of Ukrainian women. Austro-Hungarian reforms regarding primary education influenced the rise of literacy among women of all social classes in Galicia. However, the majority of women could not pursue higher education. They also did not have access to the newspapers and other media of the time if they were not living in the city. Besides, reading newspapers was considered to be not feminine. However, it was different with fiction. Hence, Kobrynska states that for many women their social awareness and education stems from the

literature (Кобринська, 1887, 457). Consequently, it is important to develop a quality text about women's experience written by women for women.

Kobrynska also mentions that literature was for the longest time the only way to express a political opinion. She draws attention to times when the media was silent about particular social issues such as serfdom, while writers expressed their disagreement with real-life injustice through fiction (Кобринська, 1887, 460). This discourse is especially relevant for Ukraine, where national awakening started from the studies of folklore and where the voice for the Ukrainians who faced social hardships was poets. Kobrynska also emphasizes that “Ruth-Ukraine divided politically is unified by literature” (Кобринська, 1887, 460). Thus, she sees writers and fiction as the fruitful field to convey important ideas for Ukrainian society as a whole.

Consequently, the women's movement should make use of this tremendous social influence of fiction and its possibility to speak to the masses. Kobrynska also emphasizes that the Society of Ruthenian women should focus on the task of raising social awareness about the position of a woman in society instead of devoting energy to broad philanthropic goals (Кобринська, 1887, 462). This remark refers to the disagreement about the women's movement that grew more distinct in years. Kobrynska emphasized the necessity for equal rights for work and education for women and men. Meanwhile, a significant number of women understood the role of women's societies as spreading their ideas of family values and engaging in charity work. Therefore, Kobrynska repeats her concern for progressive ideas that have not to be lost in broad philanthropic understanding of social issues.

Notably, in the 1898 speech on the day of the Revival of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Literature Kobrynska accentuates the role of a woman and her place in Ukrainian literature. She states that “in every stage of historical development a woman took active action” and reflected morals and laws of her time (Кобринська, 1958, 349). Thus, the lack of women's participation in ancient times correlates with the turmoil period. Kobrynska goes further and states that low participation of women is a sign of low social progress (Кобринська, 1958, 349). This notion applies to Ukrainian literature as well.

Since Ukraine was conquered and divided by other states, women could not develop and, thus, literature was stagnant (Кобринська, 1958, 350). Kobrynska gives an example of the emergence of the special genre of folk songs during *kozachyna* (the period in Ukrainian history

of Cossacks' active participation in Ukrainian national and social struggle). She credits women with creating and singing these realistic portrayals of the Ukrainian struggle of the time (Кобринська, 1958, 350). Kobrynska proceeds with drawing parallels between the national awakening of the early nineteenth century and the emergence of the prose of Hanna Barvinok. This woman from the times of Shevchenko inspired many others, who embraced Ukrainian national and cultural awakening. Among them, Kobrynska draws special attention to Olena Pchilka, who was a co-editor and sponsor of "Pershyi Vinok" (Кобринська, 1958, 350). Kobrynska proceeds with naming Galician Ukrainian female writers to showcase the progress that society has made. She accentuates the significance of Yulia Shnaider's (Ulyana Kravchenko) poetry for the women's movement and, thus, Ukrainian people everywhere. Kobrynska also notes that Ukrainian women in the Hungarian part are not as active as in Galicia (Кобринська, 1958, 351). However, she is optimistic about the possible change in that region. She ends the speech by claiming that "it is not honorable for a nation to treat women as lesser than men" (Кобринська, 1958, 351). Thus, the active development of Ukrainian women's literature is a sign of progress and future prosperity.

The women's movement for Kobrynska was a natural cause that emerged from modernization. Notably, the nationalist movement to her was a signifier of a similar progress in Ukrainian society. However, what separates Kobrynska from her successors in the Union of Ukrainian women is her socialist perspective. She sees the nationalist and feminist struggle as the consequences of social injustices done to Ukrainians by Poles and to women by men. Hence, she does not see the issue of two marginalized groups to work towards their liberation. Ukrainians were oppressed by Poles that took the majority of administrative positions in the region. Thus, Ukrainians were limited in their opportunities of settling legal matters in court to their advantage, receiving higher education, and pursuing successful careers in the cities. At the same time, women were limited in their social opportunities due to the patriarchal society that perpetuated the sexist stereotypes. Hence, Kobrynska suggested Ukrainian women would suffer oppression from both sides and should be interested in the nationalist movement as a resolution of one of these issues. Still, Kobrynska did not claim that the women's movement is the part of Ukrainian nationalist movement as later on Milena Rudnytska did. Her prior focus was on giving women education and endorse proactive positions regarding issues that women face in society. Thus, nationalism to Kobrynska manifests in self-awareness regarding one's ethnicity and

culture and acting upon the interests of one's ethnic group through representation in government work and cultural enlightenment. It also implied the exclusion of any other ethnicity from the movement and the personal life of an individual that claims oneself to be nationalist (for example, seeing marriage to the Polish person as betrayal). Kobrynska's feminism concerns the accessibility of education for women and raising social awareness on injustices. Thus, feminism is a fight for women's representation in various careers (from medicine to politics) and their inclusion in movements that combat social injustices.

Dmytro Dontsov and Radicalization of Ukrainian nationalism in late 1920s-1939 Galicia

The radicalization of the nationalist movement can be traced to one of the most controversial and radical nationalist texts "Nationalism" (1926) by D. Dontsov. His book is a guide to what can be considered nationalism and what should be extinct from the Ukrainian field of thought. Dontsov preached "national dogmatism" (ДОНЦОВ, 2013, 166). He compared the national movement to religion and condemned any idea that was supposed to question the movement and its methods. He draws parallels of how believers behavior is the example of only true dedication. Thus, this behavioral pattern has to be adopted by Ukrainians towards their national idea For Dontsov, the only way of resolving the national question was "dogmatic" loyalty to a nation and its inherent superiority to other ethnicities in the region.

Dontsov harshly criticizes any ideas of social structure and leaves room only for 'national doctrine' (ДОНЦОВ, 2013, 166). Naturally, Dontsov especially condemned socialism and any ideas that were aimed at resolving social issues rather than serving a national mission. Thus, feminism for Dontsov was a part of previous socialist sentiments and was not useful to fulfill the national mission. The book was positively received by a significant number of OUN members and influenced further radicalization in the organization, especially among youth.

Milena Rudnytska and Radicalization of Nationalism in the late 1920s-1939 Galicia

Milena Rudnytska was a leader of the Union of Ukrainian Women (1928-1939), a member of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union, a diplomat, and a journalist. Among her many articles, essay, and speeches she addressed the nationalism and feminism discourses, and their coexistence in "The New Type of Woman" (1924), "The New Stage in Women's Movement" (1925), "Ukrainian Reality and the Task of a Woman" (1934), "Misunderstanding Feminism" (1934), "Youth's Attitude towards Women's Movement" (1935).

In the 1920s Galicia the discourse of “a new woman” was popular in the media of the time. Women’s magazines such as “Nova Khata” proposed this image of a proactive educated woman whose civic role still aligned with the traditionally feminine tasks. For instance, in the November issue of the 1927 “Nova Khata” Siropolko wrote an article on preparing women to work in the cultural field, where women can bring out their full potential (Siropolko, 1927,2). Thus, the proactiveness of Ukrainian women should be limited to the cultural work, organization of preschool education, or caring for the preservation of traditional handicraft. In another article in the same issue of “Nova Khata” “How does housework in America look like?” the author encourages Ukrainian women to follow the American example of leaving some house chores as laundry to public services to spare time for education (“How does housework in America look like?”, 1927, 18). However, the author also finds some troubling aspects in American examples. The article accentuates that American’s woman desire to free herself from housework stems partially from “loss of respect for tradition” which seems troubling for the author (“How does housework in America look like?”, 1927, 18). The critique of “a new woman” can also be found in Solomiya Krushelnytska’s article in the 1929 women’s almanac “Nasha Dolya.” Krushelnytska, who was a famous opera singer and put her career in the first place, nonetheless negatively describes “boyish,” “short-haired woman” who understand gender equality on the superficial level (Крушельницька, 1929, 29). This “new woman” focuses on expressing her freedom through extravagant appearance instead of showing-off her education or pursuing a respectable career. Krushelnytska states that this is a result of WWI, where many men had died and women had to take responsibilities unusual to them (Крушельницька, 1929, 30). Thus, “new woman” is a temporary phenomenon of her time. Notably, in this discourse, Milena Rudnytska takes a different stance.

In a 1924 article “The New Type of Woman” for a newspaper “Dilo” (Business) Rudnytska discusses the advantages of the “new woman” that has been under attack by the worldwide press. The article starts with a mention of an English journal that published a comparison between the “old” woman and the “new” woman. Rudnytska emphasizes that the primary problem of a “new woman” for the author was the loss of “femininity” (Рудницька, 1998, 107). Rudnytska’s article argues that this change is positive and is a direct result of social progress.

She starts by acknowledging that the “new woman” is different from the woman from the past. This “new type of a woman” is a product of the women's movement, “the most powerful liberation movement in history” (Рудницька, 1998, 107). Rudnytska credits the women's movement with liberating a woman from submission to father and husband. From the point, a woman has gained freedom she started to change and acquire new characteristics. Rudnytska also notes that the description of a “new woman” is full of speculations and misconceptions because this type is still evolving and, thus, is hard to describe precisely (Рудницька, 1998, 107). Nonetheless, this “new woman” possesses qualities that the “old woman” did not have. therefore, they still should be distinguished from one another.

Rudnytska states that the primary difference of a “new woman” is her strive for independence, social and national awareness, and active position in society. The “old woman” needed to be independent because of hardships such as lower social class or absence of family support that forced her to find financial support on her own. A “new woman” wants to be independent consciously (Рудницька, 1998, 108). This quality is the basis of her character. Independence leads to her awareness about the reality and active participation in “state-building, law, science, religion, development of moral standards” (Рудницька, 1998, 108).

The “old woman” viewed the world from her male counterparts’ perspective. Thus, she remained submissive, naive, and codependent. According to Rudnytska the “new woman” faces a whole range of new emotions due to the internal conflict between tradition and progress. “How to be a human and a woman at the same time?” (Рудницька, 1998, 109) This paradoxical question reveals that the new activities a woman participated in are still considered as male interests. Thus, her love life and creation of a family represent female archetypes.

Nonetheless, Rudnytska stresses that a “new woman” benefits from this internal conflict as it enriches her intellectually and forces her to choose a life partner with the same values as hers. The article argues that “femininity” is no longer the direct opposite of masculinity (Рудницька, 1998, 110). The relationship between women and men have changed because the societal demands have changed. Moreover, Rudnytska states that modern men prefer a “new woman” to be their life partners (Рудницька, 1998, 110). Thus, they create an equal union based on mutual values and intellectual capacities.

This article is Rudnytska’s attempt to show an independent, proactive woman in an attractive light. Through the constant comparison with the “old childish woman”, she portrays a

“new woman” as a strong admirable individual that young women would like to be associated with (Рудницька, 1998, 110). However, Rudnytska also pays special attention to the attractiveness of a “new woman” revealing the dependence of a woman's happiness on male validation. This emphasis on the mother and wife role as a part of a woman's happiness significantly differs from Kobrynska’s initial vision of feminism. Nataliya Kobrynska was criticizing her contemporaries for making a woman desirable for men first. In contrast, Rudnytska pays special attention to women's fulfillment in marriage and motherhood alongside her active social position. This statement signals the 1920s trend that placed women's social and national awareness as necessities for educating nationally aware proactive youth.

In the 1925 article “the New Stage in Women’s Movement” from the newspaper “Dilo” this idea gained even more expression. Rudnytska states that modern times signal a new stage of feminism. The “old” feminism, which dates from the French Revolution till the 1920s, existed in the “fighting mode” (Рудницька, 1998, 111). This type of feminism was a result of the long-lasting oppression and, thus, was full of slogans and emotions. Rudnytska argues that because this feminism was young and undefined a lot of women, who forced emancipation, saw their goal to “get rid of everything female” (Рудницька, 1998, 112). These women desired to be men to be equal with them. They state that the only difference between men and women is biological factors. Rudntyska claims that attempts of western feminist to adopt male fashion is a prominent example of wanting to be a man (Рудницька, 1998, 112).

In contrast, new feminists realize the psychological differences between the two sexes, accept them and their unique female perspective. “A woman does not want to be equal with a man but to be herself” (Рудницька, 1998, 113). Rudnytska states that women have different perspectives on society and morals that can be beneficial for governmental work and national life. She does not elaborate on what exactly differs a woman from a man in these fields though. Rydntyska continues to argue that a new feminist is more accepting of herself and ends the article with a citation from Rabindranath Tagore’s poetry that praises a woman’s beauty.

The article is contradictory in some places to “The New Type of Woman.” Rudnytska criticizes old feminists for wanting to be a man instead of a human. However, in “The New Type of Woman” from a previous year she acknowledges that modern women face an internal conflict of being human and a woman at the same time. The idea of modern feminists being herself is vague as well. She never explains what “being herself“ means in comparison to “old feminists”

fancying male clothes. Nonetheless, considering Rudnyska's emphasis on fulfillment with marriage in the previous article it could be suggested that "being herself" is balancing proactive social position and family life.

Rudnyska elaborates more on the national stances of the proactive woman in the 1934 speech "Ukrainian Reality and the Task of a Woman" presented at the first All-Ukrainian Women's Congress. She starts by congratulating everyone on this occasion and emphasizes that despite the "catastrophe of a Ukrainian liberation movement" Ukrainians from all places come together under one national idea (Рудницька, 1998, 185). This day was also marked as the fiftieth anniversary of the women's movement. Hence, using the symbolic date, Rudnyska states that those women, who are "gathered consciously today with the responsibility for Ukrainian reality", work for building of Ukrainian future (Рудницька, 1998, 186).

She uses the opportunity to remind women about Ukrainian national issues and atrocities done by Moscow in "Big Ukraine," specifically 1932-1933 Holodomor. Rudnyska states that the Ukrainian primary problem is the absence of an independent state, which is "poverty, wasteful use of potential spiritual energy, and indignity" (Рудницька, 1998, 186). She proceeds with the problems in "Big Ukraine." Rudnyska talks about Holodomor as the destruction of the Ukrainian nation on a biological level (Рудницька, 1998, 187). However, Rudnyska accuses Ukrainian intelligentsia of allowing bolsheviks to commit Holodomor. She states that because they were "not ready to make necessary sacrifices before" Ukrainian people are dying in this terrible indignant way (Рудницька, 1998, 188). Thus, she proceeds to criticize political disagreements between Ukrainians as the main restriction from the consolidation of the nation.

Rudnyska accentuates two positive historical outcomes in Galicia. One of them is the eradication of "sovietophilism" in the region and unification of Galicia and "Big Ukraine" under one nationalist idea (Рудницька, 1998, 188). Notably, she states that both events happened due to the women's movement. Rudnyska brings attention to the national tension between the two parts of Ukraine between 1919 and 1921. She probably refers to the disagreement between the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the matter of allying with Poles or the Russian White Army during these turmoil times. Ukraine Women's societies stayed united on both sides (Рудницька, 1998, 190). Women understood that they were Ukrainians first and had to support each other. Also, Rudnyska mentions that the Union of Ukrainian Women was the first active anti-soviet resistance in Galicia through publications in

their newspapers (Рудницька, 1998, 190). At the same time, Rudnytska points out that the unity of Ukrainian women and their active position in nationalist movements is a result of the rise of national awareness in Galicia. She states that all Ukrainians from different social classes realize themselves as Ukrainians and started to work towards “National Ideal” (Рудницька, 1998, 191). Hence, for Rudnytska, women’s active position in society derives from their nationalist stances first.

The Ukrainian national idea of an independent state attracted attention from the international political arena. Rudnytska draws attention to the international press coverage of Ukrainian case and support for independent Ukrainian state (Рудницька, 1998, 193). She emphasized that during this spark of interest towards Ukraine both Ukrainian women and men have to take action. Therefore, Ukrainian women can fulfill their national duty within the women's movement.

Rudnytska mentions the struggles that contemporary women’s movements have to face. A significant number of Ukrainian intelligentsia doubts the purpose of the existence of feminism since women have already received their political, economic, and educational rights. Rudnytska worries that Ukrainian women would need to repeat the same arguments that Kobrynska raised fifty years ago. She brings up people, who understand the significance of women’s movement but see feminism as a root of all evil as if “they do not know that these women’s movement and feminism are the same thing” (Рудницька, 1998, 195). She proceeds with the explanation of what the women's movement is actually about.

Rudnytska starts with a statement that equality was never a final goal of the women’s movement (Рудницька, 1998, 195). Equality for women was a tool for receiving political rights to participate in the nation-building process. She argues that a strive towards equality was a necessity in the world that restricted women from political and social activities. Then Rudnytska proceeds to contradict herself by stating that the absence of equality ruins the balance in the world. Thus, she acknowledges the importance of gender equality as more than just a tool. She states that this world is lacking “female power” to balance out male “technological, materialist, rational world” (Рудницька, 1998, 195). Hence, women’s societies are the organizations that can unify women and educate them to use these “female powers” for the good of the people.

Rudnytska also mentions the antifeminist wave that manifests in reducing places for female students in universities in Galicia and restricting women from the executive positions

even in the fields that are perceived as traditionally feminine. Thus, Ukrainian women in Galicia still struggle to be fully integrated into the national life. By bringing this problem up Rudnytska makes a counterargument to claims that feminism has isolation of women from society as its goal (Рудницька, 1998, 199). The women's societies work directly to consolidate women around the social realities and national issues. Rudnytska proceeds to cite Kobrynska on the importance of social awareness for a modern woman (Рудницька, 1998, 200). Women's societies are the most effective tool to consolidate as many Ukrainian women from different parts of the country as possible and educate them on the matter of civic responsibilities and their special role in the nation-building process. Thus, Rudnytska disapproves of another similar critique of feminism as selfish ideology. She states that women were "asking for responsibility, not rights" and if they were asking for certain rights it was motivated by the desire to get access to the political activities to be a part of the nation-building process (Рудницька, 1998, 200). She also argues that the women's movement has been falsely accused of internationalism. Ukrainian women's society were the first-runners for raising national awareness among women and based their program according to nation-building tasks (Рудницька, 1998, 201).

Rudnytska also touches on the subject of the sexual liberation of a woman. She criticizes the idea of "free love" and argues that women's movement's task is to raise men on the same spiritual level as a woman and not "degrade her" to the sexual level (Рудницька, 1998, 202). Rudnytska points out that prostitution has developed due to the male-dominant society. Thus, women are not responsible for the "moral degradation of youth" (Рудницька, 1998, 202). On the contrary, women's society does not see a woman as a sexual being but a citizen first. The role of mother does not only refer to the bearing and raising children but sharing the nurturing nature of a woman's identity with her homeland (Рудницька, 1998, 203). Thus, a woman should not be a house slave and speechless citizen. The primary calling of a Ukrainian woman and the main program of women's movement is "**being a citizen at home and a mother in civic life**" (Рудницька, 1998, 204). This statement means that, on the one hand, a woman should raise nationally aware citizens and by showing an example of an active citizen and contributor to the nationalist movement herself. On the other hand, she should apply her mothering instinct to her civic activities to "preserving, consolidating and healing Ukrainian life" (Рудницька, 1998, 205). Therefore, Rudnytska argues for the home-career balance as the marker of socially conscious (feminist) and politically active (nationalist) woman.

In the 1934 article “Misunderstanding Feminism” for the newspaper “Dilo” Rudnytska argues with her contemporaries about the meaning of feminism and its benefits for the nationalist movement. The article is an answer to the other articles in newspapers “Visti” (“News”) and “Studentskyi Shlyakh” (“Student’s Way”) that criticized feminism. She notes that the criticism of the Union of Ukrainian Women derives primarily from the Catholic Church and on a lesser from nationalist organizations and parties (Рудницька, 1998, 170). This observation relates to the strict gender norms that the church puts on men and women. Rudnytska addresses accusations of “segregation women from men,” “creation of women’s ideology,” and “internationalism” of Union of Ukrainian Women (Рудницька, 1998, 171). She emphasizes that Ukrainian women’s organizations exist to prepare women for fulfilling their civic duty and serving the Ukrainian nation. She admits that the Union of Ukrainian Women cooperates with Ukrainian women in other countries and informs women on the latest trends and discussions in the women's movement all over the world. However, Rudnytska sees this international communication as a way to establish contacts that can help the nationalist Ukrainian movement in some ways (Рудницька, 1998, 171). Hence, the debate around the harmful effects of feminism derives from misunderstanding what feminism means for Ukrainian women.

The prior argument against feminism is that women’s movement has already resolved social issues for women and nowadays “women’s question can only be solved by nationalist movement” (Рудницька, 1998, 171). Rudnytska does not disagree with this claim completely. She states that nationalism is a core of the Ukrainian women’s movement. Thus, she agrees that “development of creative potential of Ukrainian woman” is the prior task for both nationalist and feminist movements (Рудницька, 1998, 172). However, she completely disagrees with the definition of “creative potential of a woman” proposed by the author in the article “Visti.” Rudnytska states that a woman that participates only in domestic family life is not compatible with the active citizen. “Visti” propose that an “active revolutionist” woman is the necessity of the period of national struggle towards independent state (Рудницька, 1998, 172). Meanwhile, the greatest potential of women in the prosperous times is to be a mother and a wife. This “scandalous” sentiment to Rudnytska is similar to “Hitler’s resolution of women’s question” (Рудницька, 1998, 172). She harshly criticizes this attempt to put women in a completely subordinate position. For Rudnytska, a healthy nation requires “female powers” to be in balance with “male powers” and that manifests in working together for the sake of a nation in all times

(Рудницька, 1998, 173). She also draws attention to the examples of Indian and Italian women that “Visti” present as role models. Rudnytska claims that there is no point in comparing women of other nations to Ukrainian women as every nation have different needs and requires different strengths from women (Рудницька, 1998, 174). Moreover, she sees this comparison to be ironic since following the examples of women from other nations does not align with nationalists stances to her. Hence, the accusations of globalism could be reversed to the author of the article in “Visti.”

Rudnytska also elaborates on the context that forced her to write this article. In 1934 there had to be an All-Ukrainian Women’s Congress that marked fifty years of Ukrainian female movement. The anti-feminist articles seem to her as the way to radicalize society against women’s movement and prevent the Congress from happening (Рудницька, 1998, 175). Rudnytska saw these sentiments against the women’s movement as dangerous radicalization of the nationalist movement that could lead to a situation similar to 1930s Germany. Rudnytska cites the article from the newspaper “Meta” (“The Goal”) that addresses the “confrontation in women’s movement” between liberal and nationalist approaches and presents an example of “Hitler’s view of a woman” as something that “almost overlaps with the Catholic view of the woman” (Рудницька, 1998, 175). Hence, both “Visti” (nationalist newspaper) and “Meta” (Catholic newspaper) see Hitler’s approach to women’s question more appropriate than what “liberals” in the women's movement propose. Rudnytska notes that for the catholic Church in Galicia it should have been obvious that national-socialism does not reflect values of Catholicism (Рудницька, 1998, 175). Therefore, Rudnytska was deeply concerned by the popularity of the idea of a woman as a reproductive function only and, eventually, became the basis for her disagreement with young female Ukrainian nationalists.

In the 1935 article “Youth’s Attitude towards Women’s Movement” for the newspaper “Zhinka” (“The Woman”) Rudnytska raises her concerns about young nationalist women’s negative perception of feminism and the Union of Ukrainian women. She worries that with such a negative attitude all the accomplishments that two generations of Ukrainian women made could be lost (Рудницька, 1998, 218). In the article, she searches for reasons for this attitude.

One of the main arguments against the existence of the women's movement separately from nationalist movements is the success of early feminism. Youth argues that women have access to education, workforce, and government (Рудницька, 1998, 219). Therefore, the

women's movement has fulfilled its purpose and cannot propose anything new and valuable for Ukrainian society. However, Rudnytska states that young women do not appreciate these achievements enough as they do not think that some women who made these changes possible are still alive and remember the life before the improvements and opportunities for women (Рудницька, 1998, 219). Young women are used to the privileges that their predecessors did not have. Thus, it is hard for them to appreciate the possibilities they have as women in the 1930s.

Rudnytska also notes that even from the economic and social perspective, women are not treated as they should be. She proceeds to repeat her explanation of gender equality as a tool for women to become active citizens and contribute to the nationalist movement as only women could (Рудницька, 1998, 219). However, the prejudices against women in the work field and especially administrative and government positions are still strong in the 1930s. The actual involvement of women in the governmental work is extremely low (Рудницька, 1998, 220). Therefore, there is still a lot of work to convince society and women of the necessity of bringing balance to female and male forces.

The nationalist movement for Rudnytska is the reason for the existence of the feminist movement. For her, they are codependent and the feminist movement appears in subordination to nationalist ideas. As well as Malytska, Rudnytska sees nationalism as working towards achieving independence of the Ukrainian state. However, at the time of writing her most prominent essays, Rudnytska had witnessed a short-lived union between the Ukrainian People's Republic and Western Ukrainian People's Republic in 1919 that was the closest to the reality of the Ukrainian political independence. Her nationalism manifests through a clear goal of unification of all Ukrainian lands under the independent state. This demand is significantly different from Kobrynska's socialist perspective on the national question and Malytska's vague romantic ideas of independence in 1906. Thus, feminism is a tool of inclusion of women in the nationalist movement to achieve said goal. For Rudnytska, who was a party member and a diplomat, this inclusion meant accepting more women on the administrative and government positions so they could be actors of political changes in the region and the country.

Consequently, the most problematic argument against feminism for Rudnytska is its incompatibility with nationalism. She states that this is the most devastating view of women's movement for the older generation of feminists (Рудницька, 1998, 220). Rudnytska emphasizes again the nationalist approach to the women's movement and especially the formation of the

Union of Ukrainian Women as one of the responses to the national cause of the twentieth century Ukrainians. She claims that when youth frames feminism as “fighting men” it misunderstands the goal of gender equality (Рудницька, 1998, 220). Hence, they do not pay attention to the work done by the women's movement. Rudnytska suggests that this disagreement stems from “spiritual laziness” and “bourgeois close-mindedness” of youth (Рудницька, 1998, 220). These young women do not want to be active citizens for all their lives and seek the solution of every issue in men. They also ignore the fact that without women's movement they would not be able to voice their opinions or have any participation in the nationalist movement (Рудницька, 1998, 221). However, Rudnytska also mentions that this situation is partially the fault of the older generation as well. “Old feminists” were not able to communicate the nationalist position of the Union of Ukrainian women to engage youth (Рудницька, 1998, 221). Thus, Rudnytska accentuates the importance of a dialogue between the two generations of women.

Notably, the need to address the conflict between young female nationalists and women from Rudnytska's circle derive from the incident during All-Ukrainian Women's Congress in 1934. As a leader of the Union of Ukrainian Women Rudnytska prevented young member of the Union Oksana Lemekha from delivering her speech “Organizational Thresholds of Female Youth” (Гавришко, 2014, 91). This act was met with loud dissatisfaction on the part of young members of Union Ukrainian Women. However, the reasoning behind Rudnytska's action was fear to provoke the Polish investigation into Union of Ukrainian Women's activity by Lemekha's speech (Гавришко, 2014, 91). Polish government has already suspected that many of these women were a part of OUN, an illegal nationalist organization at the time. Nonetheless, despite Rudnytska's attempts to protect the Union of Ukrainian women, she was from now on perceived as a feminist that shifted the focus to women's problems instead of national issues (Гавришко, 2014, 93). In the late 1930s, the radical wing of the nationalist Ukrainian movement gained significant popularity among Ukrainian youth. Therefore, Rudnytska's argument for feminism lost its meaning for the significant number of young Ukrainian nationalist women, who were more attracted to OUN and its military solutions to the national question. Thus, Rudnytska was one of the last prominent Ukrainian female nationalist leaders to identify herself as a feminist till the Soviet occupation of Galicia in 1939.

Conclusions

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the nationalism and feminism movement emerged in Galicia. They were represented by the young Ukrainian intelligentsia that rose due to the liberalization of the society through the late eighteenth century reforms of Maria-Theresa and Joseph II. Galicia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire and treated as a distant backward colony by Vienna. The ethnicities that dominated the region were Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. Ukrainian identity at the time was defined primarily by the three popular movements: 1) moscowphils, who defined Ukrainians as part of the Russian nation, 2) ukrainophils, who admired Ukrainian culture, language, and tradition but did not have clear political demands for Ukrainian minority, 3) radicals, who inspired by the socialist ideas presented to them by Mykhailo Dragomanov, saw Ukrainian question as a matter of social justice. Notably, radicals were the most prominent force in the nationalist movement. In 1890 Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk established the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party (RURP) that was the largest representation of the Ukrainian minority in the Galician parliament dominated by Poles. In 1895 the member of RURP Yulian Bachynskyi published a book “Ukraina Irredenta,” where the idea of the Ukrainian independent state was proposed for the first time. Notably, the sovereignty of Ukraine became the goal of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Galicia from the beginning of the twentieth century. The term “Ruthenian” to define a member Ukrainian nation was abandoned as the identification for moscowphils and the term “Ukrainian” was used instead.

At the same time, feminism started to develop in Austro-Hungarian Galicia. Due to the previous educational reform about the mandatory primary education for all children in the Austro-Hungarian empire, Ukrainian women gained access to education. And Ukrainian women, who were from middle-class families, could even pursue higher education abroad and be exposed to such ideas as feminism. The pioneer of Ukrainian feminism Nataliya Kobrynska was one of them. She got her ideas about women’s question primarily from John Stuart Mill’s “The Subjection of Women.” She was also personally close with Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk, with whom she shared socialist beliefs about inequality. In 1884 she founded the first Ukrainian women’s organization in Galicia Society of the Ruthenian Women. Her goal was to raise social awareness of women on the matter of social injustice and their position in society. In 1887 Kobrynska with the assistance of a female writer and educator from the “Big Ukraine” Olena Pchilka published the women’s almanac “Persnyi Vinok.” It was a collection of poems, short

stories, and essays about women's experiences by women for women. Three prominent essays ("Ruthenian Women in Nowadays Galicia," "About Women's Movement in Modern Times," "Initial Goal of the Society of Ruthenian Women in Stanislav") on tasks and development of women's women were written by Kobrynska for this almanac. Kobrynska was criticized by her male counterparts for being exclusionary to men and not allowing them to participate in the activities of the women's organization. However, her dedication to the Ukrainian national movement was not in question. She became a member of RURP since the day of its establishment. RURP was also the first party in Galicia that expressed the need for equal participation of men and women in political activities.

In "Ruthenian Women in Nowadays Galicia" (1887) Kobrynska discusses the social position of Ukrainian women, development of nationalist and feminist movements. She focuses on describing social struggles that peasant women face due to sexist prejudices such as troubles in inheriting property after the death of a husband or discouragement from pursuing education after primary school. Kobrynska traces the roots of these struggles to the ancient time and traditional culture reflected in folklore that justified physical and sexual violence against women by portraying it in a humorous way. She also discusses the position of women in the middle-class family. She criticizes them for viewing education as a way of climbing the social ladder and getting married to presentable men. Kobrynska also stresses that this mindset is supported by society and, thus, women rarely try to view education as a tool for raising their social awareness. Through the essay, she emphasizes how Poles are the main oppressor to the Ukrainian minority. Kobrynska even goes on to claim that one cannot consider themselves as Ukrainian nationalists if they married a Pole. After explaining the economic background for gender inequality, she proceeds to explain that feminism is the necessity of modernity. Thus, Kobrynska makes parallels through the text that both nationalism and feminism are parts of "awakening" movements, consequences of modernity, and progress.

In "About Women's Movement in Modern Times" (1887) Kobrynska describes the development of women's movement in the U.S. and European countries. She repeats her argument on economic reasoning for gender inequality. Kobrynska argues that women's movements are the most successful in the countries with the most developed capitalist economy, where the inequality was the most vivid. She accentuates that the capitalist economy is just a stage towards making progress as a society. Thus, this essay clarifies Kobrynska's socialist

approach to feminism. In “Initial Goal of the Society of Ruthenian Women in Stanislaw” (1887) Kobrynska explains the primary goal and task of the first women’s organization. She argues that literature is the best medium for educating women on social injustices since the majority of women from different social backgrounds have access to fiction. The main task of the Society of Ruthenian Women is to mass-produce collections of texts about women’s experiences written by women. This literature was supposed to educate Ukrainian women about their social position and prepare them for the political activism to speak against social injustices that Ukrainian women face in the region.

Finally, in an 1898 speech on the day of the Revival of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Literature Kobrynska accentuates the importance of female authors in national literature as the sign of progress of society. She makes a parallel that most developed societies include women in various spheres of social life, including literature. Hence, national literature reflects the position of the woman and the progress that society has made. Kobrynska states that a nation that does not have prominent female writers is not worthy of praise. She names important female authors in all parts of Ukraine, accentuating the lack of female authors on Bukovyna as a disturbing sign. However, Kobrynska emphasizes that the presence of female writers, who are at the same level as their male counterparts, is a positive prognosis for the Ukrainian nation.

Therefore, for Kobrynska nationalism means being exclusionary to any other ethnicity apart from Ukrainians and solving the social issues that the Ukrainian minority faces. Meanwhile, Kobrynska understands feminism as the movement for equality between men and women in the workforce and education. However, she would not accept women of any other ethnicity into the society that she has founded. Kobrynska viewed feminism as a tool to achieve equality and raise social awareness among women to encourage them to take a proactive social role. Therefore, for Kobrynska feminism and nationalism are compatible because of being rooted in social justice discourse, being centered around Ukrainian identity and Ukrainian social issues that include the issue of gender inequality.

In the 1910s of the twentieth century, the radicalization of nationalist movements escalated after the outbreak of WWI and the 1918-1919 Polish-Ukrainian War. The nationalist movement was supported by the first Ukrainian army in Galicia that fought on the side of the short-lived Western-Ukrainian People’s Republic. Also, during the turmoil of 1919, there was an eleven-month period of unification of the Ukrainian People’s Republic and Western-Ukrainian People’s

Republic. It was the closest that Ukrainian nationalists were to the union of all Ukrainian lands under the independent state through decades. Therefore, the Polish-Ukrainian conflict was escalated in Galicia by the defeat of Ukrainians in the Polish-Ukrainian War in November 1919 and the denouncement of the Western-Ukrainian People's Republic.

However, these events and military support of Ukrainian nationalism contributed to the rise of the radical wing in the nationalist movement known as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In 1926 Dmytro Dontsov published his far-right work "Nationalism" which became popular among a significant number of young members of OUN. This organization was implementing such methods as terrorist attacks on Polish authorities to destabilize the political situation in Galicia and pave the way to establish Ukrainian independence by force. At the same time, Ukrainian nationalism also manifested in more liberal methods presented by Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (UNDU). It was the largest and most influential part of Western Ukraine, especially Galicia. They saw Ukrainian sovereignty as their primary goal but UNDU took a more gradual approach. They were building up international connections to spread the idea of a necessity of an independent Ukrainian state in the international arena and they tried to pressure Polish authorities in the parliament to decrease the polonization of the Ukrainian minority in the region.

At the same time, the women's movement in Galicia has changed as well. The Union of Ukrainian Women was established in 1917 by united initiatives of Galician women organizations and the "Hanna Barvino Club" from the "Big Ukraine." The center of the Union of Ukrainian Women was Lviv. Hence, the goals, tasks, and the mission of the organization was dictated primarily by the female activists from Galicia. Notably, the Union of Ukrainian women was focused on female education, spreading information about female health, and preparing women to be active citizens and members of the international women's movement. The primary task though was the consolidation of Ukrainian women and their contribution to the nationalist cause. In the several 1920s women's magazines such as "Nova Khata" and "Zhinocha Dolya" alongside with the articles about trending silhouettes and home design solutions, there were a significant number of articles on national awareness of Ukrainian women and their special contribution to the nation through maternity and cultural work. Feminism was a part of the organization's ideology as well. However, it was primarily a way to connect to the Ukrainian women's

organizations abroad and was defined specifically to suit the Ukrainian social and political situation from 1919 till 1939.

Later, in the 1930s a significant number of women did not see feminism as a necessary framework for the Union of Ukrainian Women at all. The position of a woman has changed and more women were included in the different spheres of society. They could get higher education, pursue careers in typically male fields such as medicine, they could do sports, and become members of sport youth organizations. Hence, Galician society considered that feminism has achieved its initial goals of gender equality and has no use in modern times. This idea was dominant in nationalist periodicals such as “Visti.” Hence, the head of the Union of the Ukrainian Women since 1928 Milena Rudnytska had to justify her feminist position that was compatible with her nationalist beliefs.

In “The New Type of Woman” (1924) Rudnytska explores a popular idea of the 1920s about the redefinition of the image of a woman according to modernity. She argues that “new woman” is independent by choice, knows her worth, and is not afraid to be herself. She is also an active citizen and contributor to the national cause. A “new woman” is the active type that is socially and nationally aware by choice and, thus, could be a good citizen and raise nationally conscious children. In “The New Stage in Women’s Movement” Rudnytska accentuates that feminism has changed. She states that before feminism was just a movement for equality and did not have the necessary ideological basis to be the most efficient for the nation. In contrast, the “new stage” of the women’s movement focuses on tasks and roles that only women can complete to contribute to the development of a healthy nation. She also accentuates the importance of “female powers” that society lacks to bring balance to social life.

In “Ukrainian Reality and the Task of a Woman” (1934) Rudnytska proposes the main thesis of the Ukrainian women’s movement, which is to be “a citizen at home and a mother in civic life” (Рудницька, 1998, 204). This thesis encapsulates the idea of the work-home balance that women have to maintain to be themselves but also being active members of Ukrainian society. In this speech during the All-Ukrainian Women’s Congress Rudnytska emphasized the importance of women in Ukrainian society under such difficult historical circumstances. She states that when Western Ukraine and “Big Ukraine” had a disagreement over political alliance and were hostile to each other for a long time afterward, Ukrainian women's organizations were united in their civic activities on both banks of the Dnipro River. Rudnytska also claims that the

Union Of Ukrainian Women was among the first organizations that actively denounce Bolshevism in Galicia and were acting to stop the spread of these ideas in the region. Thus, Rudnytska claims that such an active position of Ukrainian women was only possible due to feminism. She disapproves of critique feminism as an internationalist ideology and defines feminism as women's right to participate in the nationalist movement on an equal basis as men.

In "Misunderstanding Feminism" (1934) Rudnytska specifically addresses the issue of hostile attitude towards feminism from Greek-Catholic Church and nationalist organizations. She addresses the critique of the Union of Ukrainian Women displayed in the articles in the newspaper "Visti" and "Studentskyi Shlyakh." Rudnytska disagrees that feminism is a specific women's ideology that aims at segregating women from men. She emphasizes that feminism was never about equality of sexes but the movement for inclusion of women in the political life of a nation. Feminism to Rudnytska is about enhancing women's responsibilities as citizens and not fighting solely for them to be nationally aware and contribute to the Ukrainian cause. She also argues that the Union of Ukrainian women has nothing to do with internationalism and only uses their international connections to spread the information about the Ukrainian situation and support the Ukrainian nationalist movement abroad. Rudnytska accentuates the troubling aspect of the article in "Visti" that approves Hitler's approach to the women's question. She expresses her worries for glorification of fascism and states that a woman under such conditions is again trapped in her home and reduced to a function.

Finally, in "Youth's Attitude towards Women's Movement" (1935) Rudnytska addresses the conflict between the two generations in the Union of Ukrainian women on the matter of compatibility of feminism and nationalism. In the 1930s many young Ukrainian female nationalists sympathized more with the ideals of OUN than the liberal approaches of the Union of Ukrainian women. Rudnytska saw an issue of young women to dismiss the importance of feminism and the privileges that they experience as citizens due to it. She argues that feminism is a necessary part of the women's movement and is the framework that helps to shape the image of a proactive Ukrainian woman. Rudnytska also disagrees that feminism is an anachronism and considers that there are still not enough women in administrative positions to balance out male perspectives. She explains that this misunderstanding of feminism by youth is a result of young women's close-mindedness and reliance on men in the matters of national questions. However, she also notes that older generations, which Rudnytsky represents as well, have failed to convey

the meaning of feminism to young Ukrainian women so they would not perceive it as unnecessary or even hostile to nationalism ideology.

Therefore, from Rudnytska's perspective nationalism is the movement for the unification of all Ukrainian lands under the independent state above any other goals. The Union of Ukrainian Women is an organization that shares this mission by contributing to the movement from a female perspective. Hence, Rudnytska frames feminism as the tool to educate women on the matters of nationalism and encourage their proactive position in society. She stresses in several essays that equality is not the goal of feminism but the inclusion in the national movement towards sovereignty. As well as Kobrynska, Rudnytska did not see the way of including any other ethnicities to Ukrainian nationalist or feminist movements. However, unlike Kobrynska Rudnytska based her argument of compatibility of nationalism and feminism as one being the background for another. Feminism is not just a sign of progress but a method to achieve women's inclusion in the nationalist movement. Thus, Ukrainian nationalism to Rudnytska is the reason for Ukrainian feminism to exist.

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Summary

The primary goal of this thesis was to define the arguments for compatibility of feminism in nationalism in the writings of the prominent members of the Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia Nataliya Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska. The research focused on the conceptualization of feminism and nationalism in their writings that made the compatibility of the two ideas possible.

The analyzed literature dedicated to the nationalist and feminist movement in Galicia between the second half of the nineteenth century till 1939 is represented in the books and scholarly articles of prominent Ukrainian historians and gender scholars.

The primary focus of the research is the personal understanding of nationalism and feminism in the accounts of the leaders of the women's movement in Galicia. Therefore, the theoretical framework for the research is the history of ideas. Specifically, the German project *Begriffsgeschichte* is used for analysis of historical context and development of nationalism and feminism in Ukrainian Galician society from the second half of the nineteenth century to 1939. Q. Skinner's method of close-reading of the primary sources is used to define the specific meaning of nationalism and feminism in the works of Nataliya Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska.

The works that have been analyzed are "Ruthenian Women in Nowadays Galicia" (1887), "About Women's Movement in Modern Times" (1887), "Initial Goal of the Society of Ruthenian Women in Stanislav" (1887), the 1898 speech on the day of the Revival of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Literature by Nataliya Kobrynska and "The New Type of Woman" (1924), "The New Stage in Women's Movement" (1925), "Ukrainian Reality and the Task of a Woman" (1934), "Misunderstanding Feminism" (1934), "Youth's Attitude towards Women's Movement" (1935) by Milena Rudnytska.

The analysis has shown that the compatibility of nationalism and feminism in Kobrynska's and Rudnytska's writings is based on their specific understanding of these two ideas. Nataliya Kobrynska viewed nationalism and feminism as a sign of social progress. She considered the development of Ukrainian nationalist and feminist movements in Galicia as the attempt to fight social injustices that Ukrainian society faced in the region. Her explanation of such compatibility of nationalism and feminism derives from a close relation to the radicals among Ukrainian Galician intelligentsia with whom she shared socialist values. Milena Rudnytska viewed

nationalism as the reason for feminism to exist. She accentuated that feminism is the idea of including women into the Ukrainian nationalist movement so they can contribute to Ukrainian society in a uniquely female way. Her accentuating the compatibility of the two ideas derives from the need to prove to the radicalized nationalist movement that feminism is not harmful or unnecessary for Ukrainian nationalism.

Confirmation

I confirm that I am the author of submitted *essay/paper/thesis: Title*, which has been prepared independently and has never been presented for any other course or used in another educational institution, neither in Lithuania, or abroad. I also provide a full bibliographical list which indicates all the sources that were used to prepare this assignment and contains no un-used sources.

Name, Surname

Signature