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Grassroots initiatives, conflicts and solidarities of LGBTQ scene of St. Petersburg

Russia

Elena Onegina

Centre for Youth Studies NRU 'Higher School of Economics', St. Petersburg

Executive summary:

As the aggressive promotion of a conservative ideology in Russia has increased dramatically in recent years, LGBTQ people have been pushed out of the public sphere. The critical discussion of 'different' gender and sexual identities in the mass media has led to the impossibility of public speaking. However, the pressure on non-heterosexual individuals has become also an incentive for the development of LGBTQ activists' associations and initiatives.

Empirical data drawn on in this report are 14 in-depth interviews with LGBTQ respondents and 16 days of participant observations in St. Petersburg. LGBTQ people are fighting against gender-based discrimination by organising protests, educational projects and other activities. The LGBTQ scene is constituted through a reflexive, often conflicting discussion of issues that have fundamental importance for the community such as status of sexuality, public actions, power and hierarchy, as well as new sexual and gender identities. The participants represent a decentralised, informal social movement, interacting in a flexible communication network.

Public actions, and participation in them, become a kind of a coming out both for activists and for the community. Bringing LGBTQ issues into the public space is an important element in the development of civil society, despite all the dangers and risks for participants.

The LGBTQ scene is a heterogeneous space of various organisations, initiatives and places. LGBTQ activists assess the effectiveness of their actions in different ways, depending on the goals and methods of action. The discussion of these topics reveals weak points, for example, risks and security of activism, power and solidarity within the scene, and the inclusion and exclusion of participants in the scene.

Local activities aimed at supporting community members are recognised as most effective at the moment. The possibility of change at the structural level is considered only in the long-term.

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1. Introduction

In contemporary Russia, we can observe a quite aggressive discursive advancement of conservative ideology, including strict regulation of gender and sexuality. In this context, the problematisation of LGBTQ communities and gender 'non-conventional' identities by the media becomes increasingly intensive. The models of 'correct' sexual behaviour and family life are produced discursively with the central image of a heterosexual family, based on a registered marriage and having many children, where sex and sexuality are reduced to reproductive functions. There are moral panics about sexual manifestations that go beyond the 'normative' model. At the same time, democratic values, including values of tolerance and gender equality, are considered in federal Russian media as Western – alien to Russian mentality and way of life. In the present-day Russian context, such values are defined as opposing 'traditional values' and are perceived as a possible threat to the future of Russia and Russian youth.

This ideology is supported by Russian legislation. In 2013, the State Duma supplemented the Code of Administrative Offences by Article 6.21[1]. These amendments have become famous as the so-called 'Gay propaganda law'. This law prohibits informing minors about 'non-traditional sexual relations' and their equality with 'traditional' ones. It has influenced the rhetoric about LGBTQ people and led to the almost total impossibility of speaking publicly on the theme of non-heterosexuality. If the policy of the USSR regarding LGBTQ people can be defined as a policy of silence, the present-day policy of the Russian state can be described as a policy of exclusion (Shulga, 2014, p. 119). The Russian state is represented as heterosexual, with official rhetoric tending to exclude all non-heterosexual citizens from the notion of 'citizen' (Stella, 2007: 161). As a result, LGBTQ youth (18+) becomes a stigmatised social group in public space, both discursively and within practices.

However, at the same time, the so-called 'Gay propaganda law' has become a kind of incentive for LGBTQ activists to form a community for joint action (Lapina, 2014: 167-168; Soboleva and Bakhmetjev, 2014: 220-222; Sozayev, 2010: 99-100). In recent years, the number of online and offline initiatives has grown, the repertoire of events has expanded considerably, and new issues have been raised within the LGBTQ scene.

Therefore, the key research questions are following: how is the LGBTQ activism space organised in St. Petersburg, taking into account situation of stigmatization of LGBTQ people, who are involved in it and what actions do they take? How is the agenda for LGBTQ activism built up, what are the places of conflicts and solidarity within this agenda? How do activists evaluate the effectiveness of their actions?

2. Methods

This study of LGBTQ activism was carried out in St. Petersburg, a metropolis, which, on the one hand, accepts different lifestyles and identities, but, on the other hand – at the political level - demonstrates an extreme level of homophobia. St. Petersburg was, for example, one of the first administrative regions of the Russian Federation to pass a law on 'gay propaganda' at the city

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[1] Code of Administrative Offenses of the Russian Federation, Article 6.21. Propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations among minors (introduced by Federal Law No. 135-FZ of June 29, 2013).

level, even before the federal law was passed. The study was carried out within the case study methodology and included participant observation, interviews and analysis of online community activity. The empirical base was 14 in-depth interviews with LGBTQ activists and 16 field diary entries. Data were collected from October 2016 to February 2017 in St. Petersburg. The duration of the participant observations were 58 hours. During the observations, I was involved in various activities within the LGBTQ scene in St. Petersburg, participating as a volunteer and attendee in the work of groups and organisations.

Interviews were conducted with representatives of the LGBTQ scene aged from 18 to 37 years (3 people from 18 to 20 years, 7 people from 21 to 30 years, 4 people from 31 to 40 years). Such a wide distribution in age can be explained by the involvement of different generations of activists in the present-day LGBTQ scene in St. Petersburg. In my opinion, it was important to take several interviews with activists who have been involved in the community for a long time. In order to achieve the objectives of the study, it was important to include in it not only 'active' and public LGBTQ people, but also 'former' activists, and those LGBTQ people who are on the periphery of activism. They may not be particularly salient, but they are also part of the LGBTQ scene. Average length of interview is 94 minutes.

Informants who took part in the study can be referred to as belonging to the middle class, based on their educational status and current employment. Respondents included, for example, a volunteer, a student, a graduate student, a teacher of foreign languages, and a resuscitator. When specifying the gender of the informants, their self-identification and in what way the informants preferred to refer to themselves were taken into account. Gender identities of the interviewed participants of the LGBTQ scene included people identifying as men, women, non-binary and transgender. There were no informants with bigender or agender identity. The religious beliefs of the research participants were varied and include an atheist, an agnostic, a Catholic priest and an Orthodox.

Because there was a preliminary understanding of what LGBTQ initiatives exist in the city, it was assumed to start research with them. I learned about LGBTQ festivals, which would take place in the fall of 2016, and participation in them became the first entry into the field. The first observation (meeting) played, in my opinion, a key role in establishing contacts. Over time, informants began to trust me. A month later, I started to get in contact with activists who did not belong to LGBTQ organisations, but took individual actions. It opened up access to a new part of the scene, which had been closed before. The search for informants was carried out also through the social networks of the researcher and the snowball method, when the informants who had already taken part in the study offered contacts of other people within the scene. It is important to note that there were several entry points into the field, which allowed the collection of unique material concerning the space of LGBTQ activism in St. Petersburg.

3. Key Findings

3.1 Structure of the LGBTQ activism field, activities and hierarchy

The LGBTQ scene in St. Petersburg is a mosaic consisting of different initiative groups, organisations, and independent activist groups. The unifying factor is the awareness of the need to undertake a particular activity to improve the lives of LGBTQ people in contemporary Russia:

> If we take cohesion ... it's the result of some kind of aggressive laws and so on. Some bills that this crazy printer [State Duma] starts. Then some common actions begin, well, of different organisations. Well, in general, all do their own things, bend their own line, this is about the active part. (Katya)

Despite some cohesion of the scene, its participants are dispersed depending on the chosen methods of action, the degree of non/formality, and the purposes of activism. Key players of the LGBTQ activism space are represented by mapping of initiatives in online space. The network was built on the basis of open data on activity in the social media VKontakte by using the information system VKMiner_2017. The map includes 12 public pages (groups), which are important for activists in St. Petersburg. These public pages were repeatedly mentioned by informants during interviews (see Figure 1).
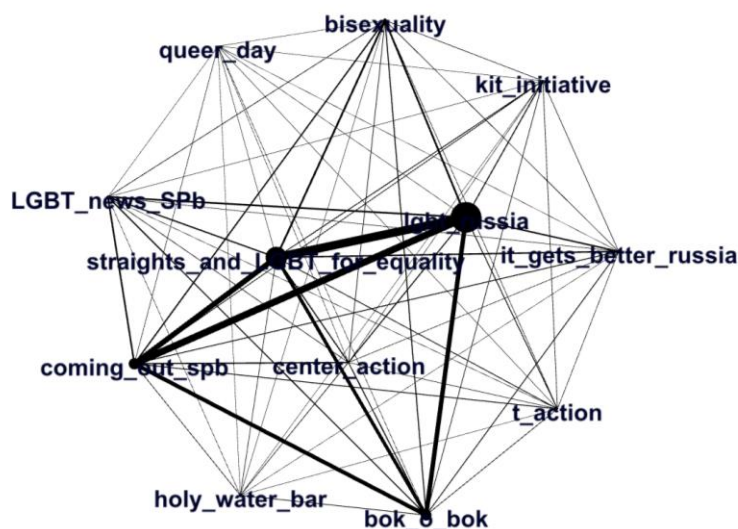

Figure 1. The map of online communities on LGBTQ scene in St. Petersburg

The thickness of the line on the map depends on the number of people who are simultaneously in two groups. The thicker the line, the more people are members of these groups. The size of the node in the network is determined by the number of participants in the public page/group.

The core of the scene, according to the results of the research, consists of the most numerous groups; the core part of them are LGBTQ organisations operating both in online and offline spaces: 'Russian LGBT network' (the 'lgbt_russia' on map) has operated since 2006 and defines itself as All-Russian and the largest LGBT organisation in the country, and has branches in 14 regions; LGBT initiative group 'Exit' ('coming_out_spb') that has existed in St. Petersburg since 2008 and implemented many projects; Centre 'Action' ('center_action'), which provides free of charge services of a psychologist and psychological groups and focuses also on the medical problems of transgender people and people living with HIV; and the International film festival 'Side by Side' ('bok_o_bok') held annually in St. Petersburg (since 2008) and Moscow (since 2012).

The periphery of the scene is formed by groups and public pages focused on more narrow topics. Here, we see groups acting online and offline. An example is the discussion of non-binary gender identities within the groups 'queer_day' and 'KIT – Be Yourself' ('kit_initiative') that are initiatives oriented primarily towards trans-, intersex- and queer-people. This includes also the Holy Water Bar ('holy_water_bar'), a saloon that is considered now by LGBT activists as 'their' place, where they can spend time comfortably and safely. There are also important initiatives for the LGBTQ

scene that exist only in online spaces, including: 'Bisexuality', an initiative group of bi-activists; 'LGBT News in St. Petersburg' ('LGBT_news_SPb'), a group that accumulates the latest news of LGBT life in St. Petersburg and is an important source of information for the LGBTQ community; and the project 'It_gets_better_russia', the official representatives of the American initiative 'It gets better' in Russia, creating positive content about LGBTQ in Russia through the videos that support LGBT+ youth around the world.

Online space is a large platform for interaction between activists, constituting a particular sphere of 'Internet activism'. Many LGBTQ activists regularly cover their activities or the activities of their organisations. The Internet space expands the possibilities of public activism, providing it with a new and large arena. But, at the same time, there is a likelihood of isolation of Internet activism in the case when the audience of a blog, an online community or a website turns into a closed group.

Besides organised groups, initiatives and NGOs, the 'independent activists', a group of people who do not officially belong to any of the organisations, are also important participants in the LGBTQ activism space. The segment of independent activism within the LGBTQ scene is rather narrow, that is why almost all independent activists are familiar with each other. Most often, they become organisers and participants of public actions. 'Independence' of activism means that participants do not need to agree with others (colleagues, leaders) on the purpose, method and form of action, as happens in LGBTQ organisations, thus, they have freedom of action. At the same time, all emerging risks such as possible detentions, physical attacks and psychological pressure they take on themselves.

In addition to active participants, the scene is also constituted by LGBTQ people and their sympathisers who, being in the shadow, act as consumers of events and Internet content.

The LGBTQ activists solidarise with other civil groups. One of the important directions for cooperation and building horizontal ties for LGBTQ is the grass-root feminist scene of St. Petersburg. LGBTQ and feminists use common spaces for events, initiate seminars and discussions with representatives of both scenes, participate in joint actions. However, despite the intentions of consolidation and mutual development, these spaces are quite autonomous, support their borders and do not always come to a consensus. Another group with which LGBTQ activists try to develop and maintain relations is the 'Green', which becomes a resource for LGBTQ in the situation of urban mass marches and events, as they are ready to include the participants of the scene in their green column.

Being engaged in LGBTQ activism in most cases is on the basis of personal experience of harassment and discrimination caused by sexual orientation and gender identity; individuals choose different ways in their activities. We can distinguish two key areas of work: service activism; and public activism. Service activism works most often with the LGBTQ community itself, and most of the activity is concentrated within the scene. The main directions are provision of psychological and legal help to LGBTQ people, organisation of cultural/educational/entertaining events. Service activism is also referred to as an activity of centres that provide HIV prevention, medical and information support to people living with HIV.

Public activism includes street actions, pickets, performances and rallies to draw attention to issues that are significant for the LGBTQ community. Through public actions, on the one hand, the ideas of equality and tolerance are brought to the whole society. On the other hand, solidarity is formed within the community through demonstrating the dignity and pride of belonging to 'one's

own', including those members of the LGBTQ community that are 'in the shadow'. Those involved in public activism are convinced that changes are possible only if regular, public actions are taken: '*You see, it's frightening, they will detain you, but it's even more frightening to go on living in such a situation*'. (Oxana)

LGBTQ activism is varied in terms of institutionalisation and stability. For example, some activists work independently and using their own money, others are salaried workers in organisations, while still others are volunteers in funded projects, having their main employment and income outside the scene, but not investing financial resources in LGBTQ activities. At the same time, the positions towards volunteering are contradictory. On the one hand, volunteers are seen as an important element and stage within individual biographies, the development of civic activism in the LGBTQ space:

> Yes, but, damn, in any case, but that is, for example, volunteers [Event] – it's some kind of a separate race of people, that is, for many it's an entry into activism. As well as the volunteers [the name of the organisation], in general, these kinds of events, in addition to the fact that they give some information, they are very good at bringing people together. Well, I also came into activism, because I volunteered at the festival, yes. (Anna)

On the other hand, they are regarded as temporary, not very reliable and, therefore, not serious employees and associates:

> But this is all such work, they, volunteers, there is an opinion in the community that people who do that are like… well. There are now people, who have been volunteers for a long time. They just go there when they have free time. And the new ones come when, with (the name of the event), who decided: 'Oh, come on, I'm going to do something about it'. But more or less serious human rights defenders do not do it anymore. (Artem)

The hierarchy in the LGBTQ activism space is based on the importance of someone's activity for the LGBTQ community from the point of view of the activists themselves. Respect is given to activists who organise risky but spectacular actions that receive a wide public response. The people-mentors who supervise large volunteer teams of festivals, pickets and rallies are also leaders within the scene. Formal heads of organisations often do not receive activist recognition, since they are characterised not as 'real activists', but as ordinary individuals doing managerial work for a wage.

In addition, there is a hierarchy of organisations based on allocated funding, since there are a number of LGBTQ organisations receiving support in St. Petersburg, but the volume of this support is different. It has caused conflicts between the leaders of organisations, and further between employees about 'unfair' distribution of funds between organisations or about how to spend the allocated money. For example, almost all informants who said that they are involved in public activism and associate themselves with it, believe that LGBTQ organisations spend money allocated to the community not on what is necessary.

It is important to note that among activists, there is no common idea of what a LGBTQ community is. Some say that LGBTQ community means uniting people of all gender identities and

orientations. Other activists suggest that the LGBTQ community, as a whole, does not exist at all. And the existence of the community is the result of activism, but not a condition.

Thus, it can be said that the field of LGBTQ activism in St. Petersburg is a heterogeneous space of various organisations, places, initiatives aimed at different groups of people with non-conventional sexual and gender identity. At the same time, LGBTQ activists build solidarity ties with other initiatives and movements of the civil sector. By engaging in activism, the individual not only chooses the form of participation (formal place of work, volunteerism or independent activity), but also the direction of the activity – orientation to work inside or outside the community. The main hierarchies within the LGBTQ scene are associated with the recognition and distribution of funding.

3.2 Conflicts and solidarities in the space of LGBTQ activism

LGBTQ activism is a space of periodically arising internal and external conflicts. This leads to a revision of the agenda relevant to the LGBTQ community, to a critical evaluation of each other's actions, and to a search for new solidarities and consensuses:

> It seems to me that people who… they just see how to improve the situation differently, constantly argue about this and because of that do not like each other. I don't understand, it seems to me, this is absurd. Like some people from [name of organisation A] do not like [name of organisation B] because they think that they work there, but they are not visible, you need to go out, draw attention. And so to say actions are our everything. (Vera)

The majority of contradictions, internal conflicts and disapprovals relate to four areas: the status of sexuality; public actions; control and accountability of organisations/initiatives; and gender and sexual identities.

One of the main divisions within the LGBTQ scene is between the understanding of sexuality as private, that should remain in the personal space of the individual, and the understanding of sexuality in the context of 'personal is political', implying the actualisation of sexuality is a resource for political change. Depending on how activists define their own sexual identity and sexuality in general, they refer themselves to one or another part of the LGBTQ scene, which is characterised by certain methods of action/inaction. Thus, those who perceive sexuality as a personal and intimate part of life choose nonparticipation in public actions, closed organisation of lectures and meetings, develop the 'shadow' zone of the LGBTQ scene. Those who perceive sexuality as part of the social and political regimes of society move from the organisation of the quality of everyday life to the level of national/international issues such as struggle against discrimination and stigmatisation, protecting human rights, recognising diversity, and engage in a broader democratic agenda.

A big discussion is built around public actions and events in general. On the one hand, participants using flash mobs, actions, performances etc. can influence the dissemination of information about themselves, present the LGBTQ agenda to wider audiences and promote the development of solidarity within the community:

> And when we go out into the street, we do not go out in order that somebody, I do not know who, will see us and pass the law or will not pass it. We go out in order that our own people will see us. I go out to be seen. (Anna)

On the other hand, carrying out public actions and events is criticised in terms of impossibility in the present political situation in Russia to ensure security for participants, both during the actions (for example, there are risks of arrest) and after them (for example, harassment and violent outing):

> If there are any communications, I feel very uncomfortable, even if they are positive, not to mention negative ones, I do not even know how to behave. Now, I'm not so afraid of any attacks, because it seems to me that it's very unlikely, given that I'm a girl, it's unlikely that any homophobic people will immediately attack me with their fists. But anyway, there can be all kinds of comments. (Vera)

Another difficult and conflictual issue, in many respects related to the above one, is the issue of control and accountability. Thus, within the internal discussions of activists, the monopolisation of activities in the sphere of protecting the rights of people with non-normative gender or sexual identity is problematised. For example, the organisation 'Nuntiare et Recreare', which unites religious gender and sexually non-conformist people, announced its withdrawal from the 'Russian LGBT Network' because of the need to report. The following statement was published on the official website of 'Nuntiare et Recreare': 'We consider as groundless the demands of the Council of the Russian LGBT Network to provide an annual report and plans for the organisation of a collective participant from organisations that are virtually independent and uncontrolled by the Council of the Network.' Discussions are also provoked by the actions of Russian activists that were not coordinated with other participants on the city scene.

The gender identities that are new in the Russian context are being increasingly discussed in the St. Petersburg LGBTQ community: intersex, asexual, people with non-binary gender identities. On the one hand, within the LGBTQ-scene, there is a discussion about the privileged position of one part of the community and the oppressed position of another. Based on the analysis of the interviews and the participant observation, it can be said that there is a tension between people with non-binary gender, etc. identities and cisgender people[2]. Cisgender homosexual people are accused of holding a privileged position in a common culture in relation to 'new' identities, monopolising speaking and acting on the scene, and ignoring the specifics and problems of non-binary, queer, etc. people:

> Yes, after the recent [name of the event], it was fuel added to the fire, [name], in short, with his dislike for everything that is queer, as if ... more precisely the opponent of this word, the opponent of non-binary transgenders, apparently, too, very much, well, it touched me, well, that is, what he writes it's, in short, quite hard. He wrote an article of the type: 'Queer must die', in short. (Vadim)

On the other hand, due to an unclear definition of queer identity or non-binary gender identity, the process of elaborating a common and universal activist position becomes more complicated. Both non-binary and queer people are accused of blurring out boundaries of the movement and non-participation in activism:

> Ah, look, [name of the organisation] has now started on another very fashionable European theme of non-binary identity, yes. Non-binary identities for Russia, just like

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[2] Cisgender is the term referring to people, whose gender identity matches the biological sex. Non-binary is the term referring to any gender identity that is outside the binary dichotomy 'man – woman'.

the queer theory, are purely, yes, philosophically, yes, and not at all a matter of practice, yes. (Vanya)

The heterogeneity of the LGBTQ activism field and the presence of individuals and initiatives with different interests, goals and identities has led to difficulties in the setting of a universal and consensual agenda. Despite the existence of some general ideas about common tasks including struggles against discrimination and for the rights of LGBTQ people, the LGBTQ scene is constituted rather through a reflexive, often conflicting discussion of issues that have fundamental importance for the community.

3.3 Participants' views on the effectiveness of LGBTQ activism in St. Petersburg

Participants in the LGBTQ activism field in St. Petersburg are united by the fight against various forms of discrimination. Despite this, the activists set multiple goals, choosing different means of achieving them and taking various collective actions. As a result, they assess the effectiveness of activist practices in different ways.

Some LGBTQ activists evaluate their actions as effective if they contributed to a strengthening of the community. The senses of pride and unity become a goal for activists to carry out and participate in actions and events: 'And when we go out into the street, we do not go out in order that somebody, I do not know who, will see us and pass the law or will not pass it. We go out in order that our own people will see us. I go out to be seen'. (Anna)

Effectiveness is also evaluated in reference to raising awareness among community members and to improving the human condition in each situation. The proposal of concrete solutions to problems and the departure from the level of abstract goals on the LGBTQ scene is considered by a number of participants as an opportunity to achieve changes in the present or near future:

> Interviewer: What is more effective in your opinion, if I may put it that way?
> Informant: The formation of a comfortable environment in order not to prove that we are such, that we exist. And to form a community of those who understand, accept and so on, yes, where it's comfortable. But for this it's necessary to do a huge amount of work on the community as a whole, yes. Because it's necessary to make the community something that people would like to join. (Efim)

For the scene participants who are involved in public activism, the criterion of success is broad media coverage of the action. The event is produced to reach the media with the maximum coverage.

Criteria for success/failure include also the notion of safety. For instance, the organisers of the annual flash mob perceive the action as well-conducted, if all participants managed to come freely to the action, to be at it and to leave. That is, a 'peaceful' presence in a public space is evaluated as a success.

The number of people who attend an event or festival is, in itself, an indicator of success for the actions, the purpose of which is education. At the same time, public independent activists evaluate the effectiveness of their actions in the way: 'the brighter, the cooler'.

The possibility of change at the societal level is not something that activists believe in, at least not in the near future. Participants in the scene say that the present political situation does not contribute to positive change and that some time must pass before such change can materialise. One of the reasons why change, according to the activists, will be slow is the fear and passivity of the majority of LGBTQ people and LGBTQ sympathisers, including fear of getting involved in activities, participating in actions and exercising educational initiatives.

LGBTQ activists assess their effectiveness on various grounds including the number of participants in the action, the coverage of the media and the security of the event. In terms of development and strengthening of the community, effectiveness is assessed through a solidary response to a particular problem and assistance to a particular person. However, in general, LGBTQ activists do not make optimistic prognoses and do not expect rapid social change. The barriers to such change are both the government policy and cultural codes of the majority, and the fear and passivity of ordinary members of the LGBTQ community itself.

4. Conclusion

The advancement of conservative ideology, the rhetoric of 'traditional values' and the regulation of sexuality, including through legislation, lead to the problematisation of LGBTQ communities and 'non-conventional' gender identities and their almost complete exclusion from public space in contemporary Russia. However, the pressure on non-heterosexual individuals has become an incentive for the development of LGBTQ activists' associations and initiatives.

The space of LGBTQ activism in St. Petersburg is a heterogeneous space of different organisations, places, initiatives aimed at different groups of people with non-conventional sexual and gender identity. Initiatives on the LGBTQ scene are aimed both at the development and maintenance of the community itself, and at the transformation of the cultural and social order that determines the status of LGBTQ individuals.

The heterogeneity of LGBTQ activism leads to difficulties in the setting of a universal and consensual agenda. The LGBTQ scene is constituted rather through a reflexive, often conflicting discussion of issues that have fundamental importance for the community such as status of sexuality, public actions, power and hierarchy, as well as new sexual and gender identities.

The hierarchy within the scene is set by various configurations of organisational affiliation, symbolic capital and recognition, financial opportunities and the identity of the initiative/activist. This hierarchy provides some participants of the scene with the voice and the opportunity to speak on behalf of the community while taking that voice from the 'others'. For example, the identity of an 'independent' activist or the status of a cisgender person gives the right to speak publicly about the problems of the LGBTQ community as a whole. At the same time, people with non-binary gender identities often form more local groups and associations, where in private and closed milieus they share their feelings and experiences.

Nevertheless, LGBTQ activists solidarise in the face of symbolic, mental and physical violence and coercion from the state and social institutions, as well as from the homophobic population. The answer to social exclusion is the struggle for the rights of LGBTQ people. Public actions and participation in them become a kind of coming out for both the activists and for the community.

Bringing LGBTQ issues into the public space is an important element in the development of civil society, despite all the dangers and risks for participants.

LGBTQ activists assess the effectiveness of their actions in different ways. For example, both public action that attracted high-volume media and an event that took place without any psychological and physical consequences for the participants are considered to be successful. Given the space heterogeneity, actions that contribute to consolidation and mobilisation of the community are defined as successful and effective. In general, local activities aimed at supporting community members are recognised as being more effective at the moment. The chances for change at the structural level are considered only as something on the horizon in the longer-term..

5. Future analysis

For future analysis within the gender/sexuality cluster, I would like to propose several topics:

1. *Politicisation of gender / sexual differences.* In what contexts and in what ways do the external and internal (for the activist field) politicisations of gender / sexual identities take place?

2. *Conflicts and consensus.* With regard to what structural, cultural, and political constraints is there a relative consensus about the purpose and ways of overcoming them, and which ones are problematised within communities and cause conflicts?

3. *Solidarisation and integration with other activist scenes.* What are the mechanisms of mutual support, reciprocity, benefits in the interaction of different groups of active youth?

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Appendix

Respondent	Age	Gender	Education	Employment	Residential status	Family Status	Ethnicity	Country of birth	Religion
Anna	22	Female	Studies at University	Job and education	Unknown	Lives with parents	Russian	Russian Federation	Unknown
Artem	19	Male	Studies at University	Education, activism	Unknown	Partner	Russian	Russian Federation	Unknown
Oxana	20	Female	Studies at University	Education, activism	Rent a room	Unknown	Russian	Russian Federation	Agnostic
Vera	22	Female	Studies at University	Education	Live on campus	Single	Russian	Russian Federation	Agnostic
Katya	30	Female	Graduate	Full-time job	Rent a flat	Unknown	Russian	Russian Federation	Baptized, but unbelieving
Natalia	22	Female	Studies at University	Education, activism	Live with her parents	Unknown	Russian	Russian Federation	Unknown
Harold	29	Male	High-school completed	Activism	Rent a flat	Unknown	Russian	Russian Federation	Unknown
Lena	31	Female	Studies at phd at University	Education, activism	Live with mother	Partner	Russian	Russian Federation	Atheism
Ilya	20	Male	High-school completed	Part-time job	Rent a room	Unknown	Ukrainian	Russian Federation	Catholic priest

Pasha	37	Male	Graduate	Full-time job, activism	Unknown	Unknown	Russian	Russian Federation	Baptized, but unbelieving
Vanya	31	Male	Graduate	Full-time job	Live with partner	Lives with civil husband	Russian	Russian Federation	Baptized, but unbelieving
Vadim	23	Male	Graduate	Full-time job, activism	With friends, rent a flat	Unknown	Russian	Russian Federation	Baptized, but unbelieving
Max	26	Male	Two unfinished higher education	Part-time job, activism	With partner, rent a flat	Lives with partner	Russian	Russian Federation	Previously he was a Catholic, he was baptized at age of 19.
Efim	34	Male	Graduate	Part-time job	Lives in his own flat	Unknown	Russian	Russian Federation	Baptized, but unbelieving