

Goucher College

A Brief Look at Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Human Rights in Russia:

Reasons L1 Russians Remain or Immigrate: A Preliminary Study

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Honors Thesis in Russian

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Russia is the world's largest nation and makes global news headlines every single day. For the past several years, one social issue with which Russia has grappled has captured the attention of western observers, attracting perhaps the harshest criticism and outcry as well. The issue is a systemic violation of human rights set against the rights of a large subset of the population of Russia. This refers to the ongoing violence and discrimination faced by gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) Russians. Homophobia in Russia is a dark and complex issue with a long history that stretches more than a century before the "Gay Propaganda Law" was ever proposed. Tangled at the heart of the issue is a complex labyrinth of values, politics, economics, sexuality, repression, and religion, forming an impenetrable web around the current tragedy. As Winston Churchill once said, "I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest." This thesis is an attempt to unwrap the tangled web of perceptions, politics, and propaganda, as well as to understand not only the truth behind the issue of Russian homophobia, but also to see what effect this climate has had on native Russian speakers in their homeland and abroad.

Russia's issues with LGBT people have come to the forefront at a time when the country has been in one mode of crisis or another for twenty-five years. The generation of Russians coming of age today may not be old enough to remember the Soviet Union, or even the worst privations caused by the disastrously planned and horribly executed transition from communism to capitalism during the 1990's, but they are old enough to remember the wars in Chechnya, Dagestan and Georgia, terrorist attacks carried out in Moscow, and prolonged economic depression. They well remember growing up with a wounded sense of national pride, the insecurities brought about by living in the age of the Global War on Terror, political humiliation

at the hands of the West, recurring economic crises, extreme wealth inequity, and rampant corruption. Russia is often portrayed in the media as a country where only drunks and criminals stay, while anyone with even remote talent flees to the West. Combine this long line of indignities with a purposefully-cultivated sense of stoicism and an abject sense of continued societal decline, and sure enough, a scapegoat must be found; the one criterion for this scapegoat is that it must be a group that acts against the Russian national interest, while at the same time countering traditional Russian, and in particular, Russian Orthodox, values.

The Russian national interest is nebulous and difficult to define as a unified concept. However, it is not hard to understand what Russians would perceive as being in their best national interest. Russians desire economic prosperity, internal security, cultural morality, and above all else, to keep the motherland strong vis-à-vis the West. These prerequisites must be understood in the context of the challenges currently faced by Russia internationally and domestically. At this very moment, poverty is widespread, and Russia is in a state of depression and decline with both population and economics falling over the last few decades. The forecast is not very positive:

The economy will remain in recession this year. Weak private consumption is expected to be the main drag on growth in 2016 as high inflation, low wages and rising unemployment will continue to hit households' spending. However, a gradual rise in oil prices and the stabilization of the currency will provide some support to growth. Analysts expect the economy to contract 1.3% this year, which is unchanged from last month's forecast. For 2017, forecasters expect the economy to increase 1.3% (FocusEconomics).

The country is suffering the effects of the liquidation of the *intelligentsia* during communism, followed by the flight of talented Russians due to the deprivations of post-communist Russia.

The birth rate is low, the death rate high, resulting in the drastic decline in population. Russia is attacked from every side whenever it wishes to assert itself- whether to defend the people under its protection, as in South Ossetia (Nielsen), or to return what was historically Russia and still populated by Russians, but became ostensibly “foreign”, as in the case of the Crimea. The enemy within must be particularly insidious. It must subvert the moral values of the Russians. It must hurt prosperity. It must weaken the country. The defining characteristics, as with the scapegoat for AIDS in the 1980s, mean that the hunt for enemies must eventually set its sights upon the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community.

Homosexual males are perfect targets for frustration, precisely because they provide the main scapegoat qualifications in a patriarchal society. They are counterproductive to Russian societal aims: they cannot stop the population decrease (they are less likely to produce offspring because of their preference for male partners), their lifestyle counters Russian Orthodox values and dictates (based on the Bible), and they are the target of ridicule and prejudice (due to cultural prescriptions). In fact, because of Russian cultural perceptions, homosexual men, especially “bottoms” or receptive homosexuals, are considered to be weak, feminine – not true men by Russian cultural standards. Therefore, “homosexuality...came to be considered by many as anti-Russian, either because it was condemned by Russian Orthodox officialdom or because they believed it undermined Russian norms of machismo or patriarchy” (Schaaf). Thus, this section of the population came to be seen by the propaganda machine as being responsible, at least in part, for the inner weakness behind Russia’s continued and prolonged degradation.

Another reason behind the scapegoating of the gay community is the perception that gays are harming children, who are Russia’s future. The antigay laws passed so far have all been ostensibly enacted for the purpose of protecting the children of Russia. The “Gay Propaganda

Law” does not exactly *ban* homosexuality or *prohibit* depictions of homosexuality in the media. What it does is ban any mention of homosexuality anywhere that a child may see it. Likewise, the ban on homosexual adoptions was completed, not in the name of attacking gay people, but in the name of protecting the innocent children of Russia, as stated in defense of the position of the time of the 2014 Winter Olympics:

The new federal law is closely related to several regional laws that were already on the books, all of which seek to penalize “propaganda” of homosexuality, generally with the intent of “protecting” minors. The city of Sochi, which is the site of the upcoming Winter Olympics, has one of those regional laws in place. And while the regional laws are not uniform, like the new federal law, they all tend to advance vague definitions of propaganda that lend themselves to the targeting and ongoing persecution of the country’s LGBT community. The language of this new law focuses on “non-traditional” sexual relationships, to contrast with “traditional values” or “traditional family” language that Russia is promoting at the UN to oppose positive statements supporting the human rights of LGBT people (The Facts on LGBT Rights in Russia).

Very few Russian homophobes will claim outright to simply hate their LGBT fellow countrymen. They may claim they have no personal issue with homosexuality, or that they do not hate homosexuals, but that they simply do not want to see children either hurt directly by homosexuals or damaged psychologically by the confusion brought on by learning of or witnessing non-traditional sexual relationships or family structures. In fact, Russia’s President Putin himself reaffirmed these cultural claims, attempting to reassure the foreign LGBT Olympic community, while at the same time “defend[ing] Russia’s anti-gay law by equating gays with

pedophiles and say[ing] Russia needs to ‘cleanse’ itself of homosexuality if it wants to increase its birth rate.” (CBS News)

As for whether or not the gays can be trusted with children, the answer is of course, “No” according to the Russian administration. Putin himself said that the “law was aimed at banning propaganda of homosexuality and pedophilia, suggesting that gays are more likely to abuse children” (Barry). Even if someone who is gay does not harm a child sexually/physically, just having contact with a homosexual may be enough to cause the child significant, lasting, psychological distress and confusion, according to the law. This contact may even result in the child being gay, although Putin has repeatedly refused to answer the question of whether homosexuals are born gay or become gay (Barry). Of course, if the children are kept away from gays and told to hate them, then fewer people will be likely to become gay, so naturally fewer known homosexuals will be involved with incidents involving children, so therefore the children can be said to have been protected from the gay men, thanks to the laws. The inherent difficulty with all of this rationalization is that there exists any number of reasons as to why children come to harm, and many studies suggest that the sexual attraction to children is the result of certain brain functions in *pedophiles* in general (regardless of sexual preference), as opposed to *homosexual* proclivities (Schiffer et al).

Throughout history, Russia and the Russians have struggled to deal with homosexuality. Homosexuality was illegal in Romanov Russia, but was legalized in 1917 under the provisional Bolshevik government. This only applied to Soviet Russia, as homosexuality remained illegal in Soviet Asia and was officially criminalized in multiple Asian Soviet Socialist Republics over the course of the 1920s. The Russian SSR under Stalin criminalized homosexuality in 1933 as part of a larger crackdown on individual liberties and a general move to combat dissidents. Only

male-male homosexuality was criminalized; lesbian activities were not covered under the statute and were not later criminalized. Even during the Khrushchev “Thaw”, when civil liberties were relatively broadened and societal attitudes liberalized, homosexuality remained both illegal and taboo. Homosexuality would not be addressed in any meaningful way in the public sphere again until Glasnost’, although the law criminalizing homosexuality would remain in place through the end of the Soviet Union and even through the first two years of the Russian Federation.

Homosexuality was legalized in 1993 in Russia, although it was still considered a mental illness (Schaaf). This designation of homosexuality as a diagnosable mental illness lasted until 1999, when it was finally removed from the list of officially recognized psychiatric disorders. In 2003, homosexuals were barred from serving in the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, owing to statements claiming that non-standard orientation could threaten unit cohesion, professionalism, and strength. At present, like most other LGBT laws, the ban is murky at best, claiming “the policy holds that ‘well-adjusted homosexuals’ are permitted to serve in a ‘normal capacity.’ But those alleged to have ‘sexual identity problems’ are to be drafted only during wartime” (Sennott). The issue is that this definition of the ban blurs the lines of what is acceptable or not, enforceable or not.

The oppression of LGBT people by labeling them as mentally ill is a throwback to a repressive tactic in the Soviet Union. “Punitive psychiatry—that is, the use of the mental health care system for the political lynching of dissidents and opposition members—has always been an inherent characteristic of Soviet totalitarianism” (Podrabinek). The Soviet Union used punitive psychiatry to get political dissidents first declared insane, and then if they did not desist and recant, have them locked away in insane asylums where they could not spread their dissent. Furthermore, it was routine for dissidents judged to be particularly incorrigible to be subjected to

inhumane treatment through superfluous medical procedures as a means of torture. And yes, homosexuals were disproportionately targeted for punitive psychiatry (Amnesty International). The Russian Federation has acknowledged the use of punitive psychiatry in the Soviet Union. However, Russia today still applies at least some of the principles of punitive psychiatry to both discredit and detain dissenters, all the while denying such procedures. While punitive psychiatry had been used since the Stalin Era, its popularity and prevalence grew over time as the Soviet Union liberalized and gulag prisons grew not only increasingly expensive, but also unpopular. Psychopaths in mental hospitals replaced criminals in prison camps. The ability to make political dissension a psychiatric illness was rooted in how the Soviet Union defined mental disorders. The Soviet system labeled socially unacceptable or unusual behaviors as the key components of mental illness, as opposed to them being symptoms of underlying problems. This treatment meant that eventually political disagreement could be labeled a mental illness for the outwardly visible actions of dissidents. This would also serve to stigmatize and isolate victims of state repression. In modern Russia, homosexuality is labeled as a psychiatric illness; it is still treated as a crime to be punished, and psychiatry is abused for the purpose of marginalizing and silencing LGBT Russians. (Vaughn) Despite this action, Russian L1 speakers continue to express dissent with current policy, staging demonstrations and speaking out for LGBT rights.

Along these lines, the first gay pride parade was held in Moscow in 2006. Officials denied the right of the demonstrators to march, but they did anyway. As a result, the parade was violently attacked, and people were beaten. This scenario remains a common occurrence, even when pride parades are officially permitted. In 2012, Moscow decided to not even allow the notion of permitting pride parades to happen, and so it banned all pride parades for the next 100 years, until 2112 (Schaaf). LGBT Russians brave enough to flout this ban find that the levels of

violence against them at the parades have escalated even further, and with the parades being illegal, the police often choose not to protect them from attacks by homophobic mobs. Marchers are routinely attacked and arrested. This is the case not only at Moscow Pride, but at pride parades throughout Russia. Police protection for marchers ranges from weak to nonexistent. Perpetrators of violence against LGBT people, whether at a moment of opportunity or at an LGBT event, seldom face arrest or punishment (Mohnney). As a result of more fervent expression, Russia has begun a crack down on LGBT rights through several nebulous laws, which are easy to enforce against nearly any infraction by LGBT people.

In 2013, a law banning what was termed homosexual propaganda was passed by the Duma. This law made it a crime for LGBT themes to be discussed or portrayed anywhere where they may be seen by children in an effort to supposedly allow children to grow up without being confused about sexual relationships. This law has been used to target and ban LGBT individuals, allies, and organizations, which provide information and support to young Russians (The Facts). Also in 2013, Russia banned adoptions of its children by homosexual couples, including both gays and lesbians, and also banned adoptions of children by Americans, supposedly as a reaction to the United States permitting same-sex couples to adopt and raise children (Black and Eshchenko). In addition to keeping Russian children from potential adoptive homes, the “notorious anti-propaganda law makes it very challenging to help LGBT youth. ““There are so many LGBT youth who have to run from their homes,’ said Mariya Kozlovskaya, a senior lawyer of the Russian LGBT-Network. ‘And opening a shelter for them would be illegal” (Madison). In 2014, “a chilling law was proposed in Russia to forcibly remove all children from LGBT parents.... [M]any LGBT Russian families would likely seek asylum in the West to stop the government from taking their children away from them [if the law passes]. The United States

has already seen an influx of asylum seekers from Russian-speaking countries” (Madison). In the current state of affairs, Russia has not recriminalized homosexuality, but repressive laws and unwelcoming social attitudes keep queer persons vulnerable and LGBT themes suppressed.

Russian homophobia is based on old societal mores and sexual ideas. This is because, for example, the anti-LGBT emphasis in Russia is, as previously mentioned, foisted almost entirely on men, and in particular, gay men. In the old Soviet Union, the only law ever passed against homosexuals targeted men exclusively; lesbianism and female sexuality were not legally regulated like male expressions of queer identity. To this day, the bulk of the violence directed at LGBT people in Russia is aimed at men by other men. The most common slurs used against queer Russians are terms like *padrila* ‘padre’ and *petuh* ‘male rooster; cock’, both of which are insulting terms for passive or receiving homosexuals. No such concern exists about female sexuality. Why? Because Russians conceptualize sexuality as something that men have and women open themselves up to receive (Pravda.ru).

The dynamic is ironclad. Men give. Women take. Women have no sex to give, so therefore, whatever they can do does not really count as sex. This is why female homosexuality is not targeted and why lesbianism is quietly ignored. This also helps to explain why the primary targets of homophobia are men who receive sex from other men. It is because they are not masculine and, therefore, not real men, but an active disgrace to the male sex. Their sexuality is not being used on women to increase the population, but is, instead, seen as a waste of procreative ability on other men. Their crimes in the eyes of society are twofold. They not only allow women to lie fallow and produce nothing, but they also induce other men to waste valuable seed on something which can never bear fruit in the form of offspring. In a country facing severe population pressure, this is an idea that not only triggers surface outrage for being a seeming

perversion of the natural order and the received morals of society, but also contributing to the depopulation and weakening of the people and the nation as a whole by not producing more children, instead of wasting time and fertility on homosexual antics. Backed by the state and the Russian Orthodox Church, the policy leads to many homosexuals being attacked, beaten, or worse.

Hatred against homosexuals has another origin in Russia. To be brief, enormous sectors of the population were incarcerated in prisons during the days of the Soviet Union. The Russian prison culture is a very violent culture fueled by men with high levels of testosterone and poor outlets. When the old criminal culture met the mass incarcerations of people who were not criminals of similar stripes, but were instead businessmen, artists, poets, writers, intellectuals, philosophers, economists, scientists, engineers, designers, bankers, doctors, librarians, professors, and every kind of man unlucky enough to draw the ire of the state security apparatus, there was, of course, cultural exchange between mainstream Russians of every single social stratum and the criminal underclass. Homosexuality was widespread in Russian prisons, as both a means of sexual release and as a way of control, dominance, and humiliation (Scarce). The strong preyed upon the weak. Inmates who were sexually exploited and used by others became an even lower underclass of people who were essentially untouchables, more bags of skin and bones than men. As prisoners returned to broader society, they brought their new opinions of homosexuality and gays with them.

What had once been a taboo topic that people would simply dodge as carefully as possible was soon understood to be something loathed and hated as unmanly, effeminate, and weak. Even some of the words, such as *petuh*, which originated as prison slang for the receiving man, are now used in wider society as homophobic slurs or just slang for gay men in general.

The verbal emasculation of gay men even covers those who are not strict “bottoms” or receivers. Since they are not having sex with women, their manhood must be defunct, so goes the homophobic logic. Because they are not sexually involved with women, they are not fulfilling their male obligation of running a family, supporting a household, and fathering children. So even if a homosexual Russian man avoids falling into the trap of the disgrace of being a receptive homosexual, he still falls into the trap of avoiding what are the quintessential manly duties and identifiers of masculinity. He is still less than a man and, therefore, worthy of contempt and beneath the respect due to men, especially from each other.

A third origin for Russian homophobia lies in the Russian Orthodox Church. Christianity and homosexuality have a long, twisted, strained relationship, but what is more important in the case of the Russian Orthodox Church is its relationship with the state. The church was almost extirpated for good by Joseph Stalin during his antireligious campaigns of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Since then, however, the church has gradually come back into prominence (Curtiss). In communist times, this was done with the approval and quiet support of the state. Today, even though the Russian government grants four major religions favored status, Russian Orthodoxy is clearly the most favored by far (Thomas). Not only this, but Russian Orthodox Christianity is the most common belief of the Russian people by plurality, though not absolute majority. The state still supports the Orthodox faith and stands closely by the church and advocates for its principles. The Russian Orthodox Church, in return, comes out with moral and doctrinal stances that support the government and its ideas. This includes the government’s current antigay policies. This collusion between church and state means that government agendas can find their way even to apolitical Russians, or those who find themselves disillusioned or unhappy with the state and

political leadership. This circumstance can cause them to unknowingly back government policy, or if they are nationalists, back the policy even more ardently for both God and country.

Russia is also playing host to American bigots who hate LGBT people (Cimarusti). There are multiple reasons why American homophobes have turned their attention to Russia: its Christian culture, similar cultural and family values; and Christian fellowship. (People for the American Way) However, add the fact that the East and Global South are the new frontier for gay rights groups, and therefore antigay groups, and the focus on Russia becomes crystal clear. Groups like the World Congress of Families, American Family Association, and Defend the Family are traveling abroad to countries like Russia to try to gain an advantage by preemptively taking control of both public opinion and public policy before any progressive voices can hope to contend against them. This is also because the antigay movement has been largely defeated in the West (Pew Research).

With marriage equality becoming the rule rather than the exception, homophobes and antigay groups see the culture war as having been lost in the West, but overseas in societies that have yet to publically grapple with the issues of homosexuality and marriage equality, they see an opportunity to get their message out and set the tone. In the West, all they could ever do was simply defend the status quo. Abroad, however, they can lead the attack, gain momentum, seize the initiative, and cement victories before the other side can wage an effective counterattack.

Western antigay groups have made it clear that targeting currently undecided societies is being done purposefully and intentionally. Scott Lively, the head of the American Family Association, not only pushed for the “Gay Propaganda Law” in Russia, but has also been active working in Africa. His involvement in Uganda led to the drafting and then enacting of the “Kill the Gays” law. While that law has since been repealed, the consequences of it still remain.

Ugandans now overwhelmingly oppose homosexuality and violently attack pride parades and murder suspected homosexuals. In a karmic way, trying to marginalize and destroy other people for their lifestyle has come back to bite Scott Lively hard. He is currently facing a lawsuit from a Ugandan LGBT group, which alleges that his actions leading up to the passage of the “Kill the Gays” law, which has resulted in numerous deaths and still continues to rack up a body count even after having been repealed, constitutes a crime against humanity. As a result, Scott Lively is currently in very deep financial and legal trouble, which will only get worse if he loses the case. It is putting a great strain on his finances and ability to operate (Broverman).

Other American antigay activists have made an impact in Nigeria. Bringing homosexuality to national and religious attention in the African country led not to a unanimous banning, but instead, to a political and religious divide. Thanks to this, there is an ongoing split within the Anglican and Episcopalian churches around the world. This divide is centered on the question of homosexuality and religion (Merritt). Such a church split has not affected Russia, however. The Russian Orthodox Church still remains united with a unanimously damning stance against homosexuality. Its current leader, Patriarch Kirill of Moscow, firmly supports Putin and his United Russia Party. On March 21st, 2016, Patriarch Kirill said, “We are seeing how efforts are being made in many prosperous countries to establish by law the person's right to any choice, including the most sinful ones, those that contradict God's word, the concept of holiness, the concept of God” (Dolgov). And furthermore, he also said later in that same sermon, “Nothing like that had even happened on a global scale before. It is specifically at overcoming this present day's heresy, the consequences of which can become apocalyptic, that the church must aim the force of its protection, its word, its thought” (Dolgov).

May 17th is the International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia. The abbreviation for this is IDAHOT. On this day each year, Russian LGBT activists get together to show their pride, march through the streets of Saint Petersburg, and release balloons *en mass* from Saint Isaac's Cathedral in Saint Petersburg. Though in 2014 and 2015, the proceedings got police protection and official sanction, IDAHOT 2016 was not protected, so it was held illegally like the other IDAHOT marches starting from the first in 2009 (Coming Out). The number of marching LGBT activists is growing. While only twenty people marched in IDAHOT 2009, IDAHOT 2016 gathered a total of 350 marchers (Coming Out). Officials technically claim that the backlash against IDAHOT this year was because of the large and visible gay contingent in Saint Petersburg's May Day 2016 parade. May Day, which is the first of May every year, is one of the largest holidays of the year. In communist times, it was a day for Marxist global labor solidarity, but it still remains prominent even more than twenty years after the end of the Soviet Union.

Russian authorities do not like to allow gay rights marchers to march. Oftentimes, permits and permissions to hold marches are denied in a bid to try to silence LGBT marchers by not allowing them to march. This does not always work, and so many LGBT marches are simply held illegally with the result of the marchers being attacked by both police and homophobes, often assaulting the demonstration as soon as possible. The police of course arrest the marchers for illegal demonstration and for the spreading of gay propaganda, but also often do not take particular care not to brutalize them; nor do they deter the counter-protestors from doing much more than killing the LGBT marchers, and also often fail to both protect the demonstrators and/or punish their attackers on purpose. This situation has happened in Saint Petersburg already (FlashNord).

Recently, the Russian government allowed a gay demonstration to happen, but only right next to a Nazi demonstration. The Neo-Nazis proceeded to live up to their heritage and attacked the gay demonstrators. The police got involved to arrest the LGBT marchers for violating the gay propaganda law. This is arguably an attempt to let the authorities suppress LGBT activism while having plausible deniability about being oppressive. And in the past, a gay parade in Saint Petersburg was held on August 2nd, which is VDV Day – a day when muscular ex-paratroopers go out in public, get drunk, and start fights (Pravda.ru). This clearly shows dangerous situations for LGBT activists being clearly rigged to happen by the civil authorities.

Russian LGBT community members have been fleeing the country for their liberty, their happiness, and for their safety. In 2015, a record high number of Russian-speaking (L1) people marched in the New York City Pride March. All told, 250 Russian L1 speakers marched in the parade with RUSA LGBT. One of the people interviewed, Elena Kostyuchenko, a lesbian journalist based in Moscow, said, “This was my first Pride without fear. In Moscow, Pride demonstrations only last around 30 seconds to a minute... then the police come and beat us. I was hospitalized twice” (Madison). While Elena Kostyuchenko is still a resident of Russia, she makes clear the desire of queer Russians to live in a more tolerant climate where they can be who they are without fear of reprisal, and march without having to worry about being attacked.

Since Russia seems so keen to remove the gays, a growing number of homosexual Russians have decided to beat the homophobes to the punch by leaving the country of their own free will to find better and safer lives elsewhere. A gay Russian named Andrew Mironov had to say, “In Russia, I would have gotten my Ph.D. this fall, had a job and health insurance. Now, here, I'm nobody. Which is more important, happiness or success? I would say happiness. I feel no fear here” (Crory). He is not the only one, although there are no hard statistics on how many

specifically gay Russians are fleeing persecution, or even just how many of them are coming into the United States for these reasons. According to the United States Department of Homeland Security, the number of “Russians seeking U.S. asylum has risen from 68 in 2012 to 127 in 2013 and 161 through Oct. 30 of this year” (Crary). That is a nearly one hundred percent increase in the number of asylum seekers, and coincides precisely with the worsening of homophobia in Russia. It therefore stands to reason that a significant number of those asylum seekers are gay. While there are few stories of gay Russian emigrants saying that they fled from immediate threat of death, a running theme between different LGBT Russian expats is that they felt either unhappy or trapped at home; hence, why they ultimately decided to flee Russia.

The question then remains – why would some L1 Russian speakers remain in their homelands, while others would emigrate from those same countries?

When I first set out to write my undergraduate honors thesis, I had lofty plans to find answers. The proposed study would have been about the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Russian-speakers. Specifically, the questions I sought to answer were: which types of LGBT Russian-speakers are more likely to immigrate? What issues do they face that other LGBT Russian-speakers do not? Why do they face these issues? In general, what generates the immigration behavior or the behavior to remain in one’s country?

I had at first wanted to research the experiences of LGBT people of Russian ethnic origin or from a Russian-speaking country, such as Ukraine. There were two specific groups I had proposed to research and compare – LGBT Russians who are currently living in Russian-speaking countries, and LGBT Russians who have immigrated to the United States. I wanted to answer questions such as why certain LGBT Russian-speakers decide to leave their countries, while others decide to stay. My hypothesis was that homosexual/bisexual men and queer people

with children would be most likely to emigrate from their native countries, whereas childless lesbian/bisexual women would be most likely to continue living in their home countries.

I thought this was important to research, because I would have tried to correlate what types of issues people who decide to immigrate face that people who decide to stay do not, and vice versa. If certain common themes and experiences could be strongly associated with LGBT people who felt fleeing their native country was the best option, gay rights groups in those countries could pinpoint which issues affect their communities the most, and allocate resources and efforts to address the problems. One must seek the root of the problem before addressing the problem itself to ensure an effective solution.

I first obtained a pool of a possible 1,500 LGBT Russians through the Russian LGBT-Network and had received permission from its Saint Petersburg division to issue a survey to them. I did not personally have their contact information for security and privacy reasons. The responders' names and identifying information would have been kept private and coded, so as to not identify them. I also would have been surveying Russian-speaking LGBT immigrants in the United States. I had a pool of possible participants through RUSA LGBT, an American LGBT organization for Russian-speaking LGBT people, mostly immigrants from Russia and former Soviet Socialist Republics, such as Ukraine. I had plans to interview Elena Kostyuchenko about the current climate facing gay rights activists in Russia.

I encountered many roadblocks after proposing the study to the Institutional Review Board at Goucher College. The IRB committee wanted to be absolutely sure that no serious harm would come to the participants. This was a reasonable worry, as the laws and climate pertaining to gay rights in Russia is heated and uncertain. In Russia, the LGBT community is an at-risk community, with possible risks of ostracism, being beaten up, and/or possibly being jailed and/or

killed for their lifestyle. To counter and mitigate risks, the surveys would have been brief, sent out through an organization by e mail, and sent as a SurveyMonkey link, that itself was linked to the consent form (to avoid possible harm to participants). Psychological distress, such as anxiety and regret, were possible risks. Social risks of participating existed if the information were to surface attached to the subjects' real names. These risks were minimal, as they would have been addressed by keeping the information given anonymous and removing clear identifiers (use of pseudonyms and reduction of clear identifiers). Due to the fact that the survey was brief, would not have been attached to a particular person (filtered through a trusted activist and SurveyMonkey), and that the participants have already been exposed by being part of the Russian LGBT-Network, the risk was no more than what they already encounter by openly belonging to this organization. The subjects could have withdrawn at any time.

Nevertheless, the proposal was rejected multiple times. After a semester of rejection, I decided to focus only on the immigrants in the United States. I found sixteen willing participants from Russia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Turkey, with a larger pool of possible participants through RUSA LGBT. I wanted to know why certain LGB L1 Russian-speakers decided to leave their countries, and to find out what types of issues led to their immigration in order to see if there is a pattern or common theme.

After revising and translating everything into Russian, I was on the verge of starting my research. Unfortunately, I was again rejected by Goucher's IRB, and I was running out of time. My senior year was drawing to a close. I still had not even been officially approved to send out the survey. I decided that, as I required my transcripts to matriculate in the masters program that I have been accepted to and had scholarships riding on this matriculation, it was best to wait until I started my master's thesis to conduct the study, and to treat this honors thesis as the preliminary

study and set-up for the actual survey and study. I bring up these issues with IRB here as support for the idea that this work needs to be done, and that the danger perceived for conducting such a study, even here in America, indicates that this issue is both important and unresolved. The gay rights situation in Russia and its neighbors is fluctuating. Perhaps when I start my master's thesis, crucial new findings or laws will have come to be.

Beginning on the next page is the survey that I would have sent out to participants through SurveyMonkey. The consent form, embedded in the SurveyMonkey as a prerequisite for taking the survey, is also included. the survey and consent are written in Russian and English, in the order and general format in which it would have been received. The estimated time for the survey would be about thirty minutes. Once the survey results were received, they would have had identifiers removed, so that the final result and findings would be untraceable to an original participant, thereby mitigating as much risk for him\her as possible. I hope that, once I am established in my program at Binghamton University that I will be able to clear their IRB and study this question. Having spent an entire year in Russia looking at this topic and acquiring more of the Russian language, I sincerely hope to be able to run the study for which this honors thesis has served as the preparation, starting with the survey in the United States, which is most ready for distribution.

Опыт русско-говорящих членов ЛГБТ общины, живущих в США

Study of L1 Russian Speaking LGBT people living in the US

Название исследования: Опыт русско-говорящих членов ЛГБТ общины, живущих в США

Title of Study: Experiences of LGBT Russian-speakers in the United States

Если у Вас возникнуть вопросы об этом проекте, пожалуйста, свяжитесь с:

For questions regarding the research project, please contact:

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For questions regarding your rights as a research subject, please contact:

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Договорение для квирских русскоязычных, которые живут в США.: По-Русски

Описание

Я буду исследовать опыт русско-говорящих лесбиянок, геев, бисексуальных, трансгендерных, которые иммигрировали в США из России, Украины, Узбекистана, и Турции. Я хочу ответить на вопросы, как «Почему некоторые ЛГБТ, говорящие на русском языке решили уехать из своей страны. Я тоже хочу выяснить какие причины привели к их иммиграции, чтобы увидеть, есть ли повторы.

Опрос будет длиться минут 30-45.

Риск

ЛГБ считается общиной, которая существует под социальной угрозой в родине. Есть риски остракизма, физического насилия, и/или преследования. Возможные эмоциональные риски включают психологический стресс, чувства тревоги, ностальгии, и воспоминания травматических случаев. Есть социальные риски остракизма, семейного распада, и потери друзей.

Процесс опроса в этой анкете содержит много предосторожностей. Я буду задавать опросы и на русском языке и на английском языке. Опросы с ответом да/нет и пронумерованными оценками «Лайкерт» будут выполнены онлайн на SurveyMonkey. Я пошлю ссылку для опроса на SurveyMonkey участникам по электронной почте каждого участника. Таким образом мне можно будет читать ответы, не зная кто на них ответил. Участники все остаются в тайне. Если определённые опыты используются в качестве справочной информации или подробно, я назначу общий псевдоним («Маша» или «Миша», например) вместо настоящего имени.

Риск, что кто-нибудь узнает Вас через Ваши ответы минимален. Ваше имя, фамилия и вся информация, которую Вы дадите о себе будут конфиденциальными. Из-за того, что опрос короткий и не связан с Вашей личностью, Ваш общий риск не будет выше, чем он уже есть.

Участники имеют право в любое время отказаться отвечать на вопросы или уйти из исследования без каких-либо штрафных санкций или последствий.

Оплаты

Участники не получают никакой компенсации, денежной или другой, за участие в опросе.

Конфиденциальность

Личность участников, которые заполняют опрос останется полностью конфиденциальной. Участники получают произвольный номер в конце опроса. Вся информация идентичности будет уничтожена с номером в конце опроса. Если определённые опыты будут использованы в качестве справочной информации или подробно, я назначу общий псевдоним («Маша» или «Миша», например) опытам. Ни фотографий ни опознавательных знаков не будет в проекте.

Права Отхода

Вы принимаете участие в этом опросе совсем добровольно. Участники имеют право в любое время отказаться отвечать на вопросы или уйти из исследования без каких-либо штрафных санкций или последствий.

1. Добровольное Согласие

- 1. Я читал(а) информацию выше и я добровольно соглашаюсь участвовать в этом проекте.**
- 2. Я понимаю, что этот проект будет происходить по условиям строгой конфиденциальностью и что мои права участника будут защищены.**
- 3. Мне сообщили заранее какая у меня будет цель и что мне надо будет делать в опросе.**
- 4. Мне была предоставлена возможность задавать вопросы, и ответы на мои вопросы меня удовлетворили.**
- 5. Я знаю, что я имею право отказаться и прекратить участие в любое время, без ущерба.**
- 6. Если я решу не участвовать в этом исследовательском проекте не будут затронуты моё выступление и/или оценка в любом курсе, связанный с этим исследовательским проектом.**
- 7. Я понимаю, что мне надо быть 18 лет или старше, чтобы участвовать в этом проекте, или надо предоставить «Родительское Согласия для Участия в Проекте» с подписью моих родителей или опекуна (Отдел Провоста). Я тоже понимаю, что мне надо отдать эту анкету исследователю до того как я буду участвовать в проекте.**

Я подтверждаю, что мне 18 лет или больше:

☐ Да

☐ Нет

Я понимаю, что риски этого исследования, и что я могу уйти в любой момент без штрафных санкций. Продолжая исследование, я даю согласие на все вышесказанное.

☐ Да

☐ Нет

Consent for LGBT Russian L1 speakers, who live in the USA: In English

Description

I will be researching the experiences of native Russian-speaking (L1) lesbian, gay, and bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people from Russia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Turkey, who have immigrated to the United States. I am seeking answers to such questions as why certain LGBT L1 Russian-speakers decide to leave their countries. I would also like to find out what types of issues led to their immigration in order to see if there is a pattern.

The survey should take around 30-45 minutes.

Risks

The US LGBT community is an at-risk community, whose members risk ostracism, persecution, and potential battery. They also may also experience psychological distress, feelings of anxiety, homesickness, and memories of traumatic experiences. In their birth countries, the social risks of participating in a study could include family rejection and loss of friends. These risks will be minimized in this study because the subjects are living permanently in the United States and are considered “out”, so no further damage to them or their health will result from the SurveyMonkey survey.

All risks will be addressed through several safeguards. I will be conducting surveys in Russian and English. The yes/no and Likert scale survey will be conducted through Survey

Monkey. I will email a link to the Survey Monkey questionnaire to participants who have agreed participate in the survey (by signing and returning the consent form). The questionnaire will be completed online, and I will be able to read the responses without tracing them to the participants. Participants will be de-identified (names originally attached for purpose of surveying, but removed before analysis). If certain experiences are used as background information or discussed in detail, generic pseudonyms (“Masha” or “Misha,” for example) will be attributed to them.

In addition, specific background on the topic will be provided to me by Russian journalist and activist, Elena Kostyuchenko, who understands the risks, and has given many interviews on the subject of LGB rights without incurring additional risk to herself.

Subjects may withdraw at any time, with no harm or consequence to them.

Compensation

Subjects will not receive compensation, monetary or otherwise, for participating in the survey.

Confidentiality

Participants will be de-identified (names originally attached for purpose of surveying, but removed before analysis). Subjects will be assigned a number randomly upon receipt of the survey. All identifying information will be permanently removed with the assignment of the random number and receipt of the survey. If certain experiences are used as background information or discussed in detail, I will assign a generic pseudonym (“Masha” or “Misha,” for example) to said experiences. No photographs or identifiers will be utilized in the project.

Right to Withdraw

Participation in this survey is completely voluntary. Subjects have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any penalty or consequence.

2. Voluntary Agreement

- 1. I have read the information above and freely volunteer to participate in this research project.**
- 2. I understand that all aspects of this project will be carried out in the strictest of confidence and in a manner in which my rights as a human subject are protected.**
- 3. I have been informed in advance as to what my task(s) will be and what procedures will be followed.**
- 4. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions, and have had my questions answered to my satisfaction.**
- 5. I am aware that I have the right to withdraw consent and discontinue participation at any time, without prejudice.**
- 6. If I decide not to participate in this research project my performance and/or grade in any course associated with this research project will not be affected.**
- 7. I understand that I must be at least 18 years old to participate in this project, or have a “Parental Consent Form for Research Participation” on file with the Provost’s Office with my parent’s or guardian’s signature. I also understand that I must present a copy of this form to the researcher prior to consenting to this study.**

I confirm that I am at least 18 years old:

☐ Yes

☐ No

3. I understand the risks of this research and that I can withdraw at any time without penalty. By continuing the survey, I consent to all of the above.

☐ Yes

☐ No

Вопросы для квирских русскоязычных, которые живут в США.

Questions for LGBT Russian L1 speakers, who live in the USA: In English

4. Вы какого пола? (отметьте все подходящие варианты)

What is your gender? (check all that apply)

☐ Мужского

Man

☐ Женского

Woman

☐ Трансгендер

Transgender

☐ Другого [ответ]

Other (please specify)

5. Какая у Вас сексуальная ориентация?

What is your sexual orientation?

☐ Гей

Gay

☐ Лесбиянка

Lesbian

☐ Бисексуален/на

Bisexual

6. Сколько Вам лет?

How old are you?

7. В какой сфере Вы работаете?

What is your field of work?

☐ В научной

Science

☐ В сфере искусства

Art

☐ В СМИ

Media

☐ В сфере образования

Education

☐ В медицинской

Medicine

- ☐ Я не работаю
I do not work
☐ В другой [ответ]
Other (please specify)
-

8. Личная сексуальность влияет на Вашу профессию?
Was your choice of profession influenced by your sexual orientation?

- ☐ Да
Yes
☐ Нет
No

9. Местожительство? [город и штат]
Where do you live? [city and state]

10. Вы из какой страны?
Which country are you from?

- ☐ России
Russia
☐ Украины
Ukraine
☐ Другой [ответ]
Other (please specify)
-

11. Где Вы выросли? [город и окружение]
Where did you grow up? [city and region]

12. Ваша религия?
What is your religion?

- ☐ Православное христианство
Orthodox Christianity
☐ Католицизм
Catholicism
☐ Протестантизм
Prodestantism
☐ Иудаизм
Judaism

- ☐ Ислам
Islam
- ☐ Агностик / без религии
Agnostic / unaffiliated
- ☐ Атеизм
Atheism
- ☐ Другая (ответ)
Other (please specify)
-

13. Сколько Вам было лет, когда вы делали «каминг-аут»?
When did you come out?

- ☐ До 18 лет
Before age 18
- ☐ 18-23 лет
18-23 years old
- ☐ 24-29 лет
24-29 years old
- ☐ 30-35 лет
30-35 years old
- ☐ 36-41 лет
36-41 years old
- ☐ 42-48 лет
42-48 years old
- ☐ 49-55 лет
49-55 years old
- ☐ 56+ лет
Older than 56 years old
- ☐ Не было каминг-аута
I never came out

14. Когда Вы узнали, что Вы были квир?
At what age did you realize you weren't heterosexual?

- ☐ До 13 лет
Before 13 years old
- ☐ 13-17 лет
13-17 years old
- ☐ 18-23 лет
18-23 years old
- ☐ 24-29 лет
24-29 years old
- ☐ 30-35 лет
30-35 years old

- ☐ 36-41 лет
36-41 years old
- ☐ 42-48 лет
42-48 years old
- ☐ 49-55 лет
49-55 years old
- ☐ 56+ лет
Older than 56 years old

15. Кому Вы рассказали о Вашей идентичности? (отметьте все подходящие варианты)

To whom did you come out? (check all that apply)

- ☐ Матери
Mother
- ☐ Отцу
Father
- ☐ Брату или сестре
Siblings
- ☐ Другим родственникам
Other relatives
- ☐ Жене / мужу
Wife / husband
- ☐ Детям
Children
- ☐ Любовникам
Significant others
- ☐ Коллегам
Coworkers
- ☐ Начальнику
Boss
- ☐ Друзьям
Friends
- ☐ Соученикам
Classmates
- ☐ Профессорам
Professors
- ☐ Никому
I never came out

16. Кто-нибудь раскрыл Вас без Вашего согласия?

Have you ever been "outed" without your consent?

- ☐ Да
Yes

☐ Нет
No

17. С кем вы живете?

What are your living arrangements?

☐ Я живу один/одна
I live alone
☐ С партнером
With a partner
☐ С родителями / родственниками
With parents / relatives
☐ В общежитии
At university
☐ С товарищем по комнате
With a roommate
☐ Я бездомный/ая
I don't have a permanent home/I am homeless

18. В данный момент у Вас есть супруг(а) Вашего пола?

Are you currently married to or in a relationship with someone of the same sex?

☐ Да
Yes
☐ Нет
No

19. В данный момент у Вас есть супруг(а) противоположного пола?

Are you currently married to or in a relationship with someone of a different sex?

☐ Да
Yes
☐ Нет
No

20. Причиной вашего разрыва или развода явилась Ваша сексуальная ориентация?
Have you ever been divorced or ended a romantic relationship because of your sexual orientation?

☐ Да
Yes
☐ Нет
No

21. У Вас есть дети?

Do you have children?

☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

22. Вы когда-нибудь участвовали в «прайд»/гей-параде в родное стране?

Have you participated in Gay Pride demonstrations in your country of origin?

☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

23. Вы смотрели такие парады по русскому телевизору или передаче?

Have you ever seen Gay Pride parades on Russian-language television?

☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

24. Вас когда-нибудь задержали на гей-параде?

Have you ever been arrested while peacefully walking in a Gay Pride march?

☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

25. Вы считаете себя квир-активистом?

Do you consider yourself an LGBT activist?

☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

26. Ваши родные, друзья, коллеги, или начальство знают о Вашей квирской активности?

Are your family, friends, coworkers, or employers aware of your LGBT activism?

☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

☐ Я не активист(ка)

I am not an activist

27. Вы часто бываете в гей клубах?

Do you frequent LGBT nightclubs?

☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

28. В детстве, вы когда-нибудь хотели убежать из дому?

Did you ever run away or consider running away from home as a minor?

☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

29. В каком году Вы иммигрировали в Америку?

What year did you immigrate to the United States?

30. Какие проблемы были у Вас в родной стране? (отметьте все подходящие варианты)

What problems did you face in your country of origin? (check all that apply)

☐ Дискриминация на работе

Job discrimination

☐ Стигма

Ostracism

☐ Бездомность

Homelessness

☐ Физическое насилие

Physical violence

☐ Сексуальное насилие

Sexual violence

- ☐ Словесные угрозы
Verbal threats
- ☐ Покушения на вашу жизнь
Attempts on your life
- ☐ Угрозы против детей
Threats of your children being taken from you
- ☐ Другие [подпишите здесь]
Other (please specify)
-

31. Ваш партнёр иммигрировал/а с Вами?

Did you bring your partner with you when you emigrated from your native country?

- ☐ Да
Yes
- ☐ Нет
No
- ☐ Вопрос не относится ко мне
N/A

32. Ваши дети иммигрировали с вами?

Did you bring your children with you when you emigrated from your native country?

- ☐ Да
Yes
- ☐ Нет
No
- ☐ Вопрос не относится ко мне
N/A

33. Вы старались найти убежище?

Have you tried/succeeded in gaining asylum?

- ☐ Да, и я нашла
Yes, and I have succeeded
- ☐ Да, и я не нашла
Yes, and I have failed
- ☐ Я в процессе
I am currently in the process
- ☐ Нет, и у меня таких планов нет
No, and I don't plan to
- ☐ Нет, но я планирую искать
No, but I plan to
- ☐ Вопрос не относится ко мне
N/A

34. Почему Вы иммигрировали в США? (отметьте все подходящие варианты)

Why did you immigrate to the United States? (check all that apply)

☐ Найти работа

To find work

☐ Избежать насилия

To escape violence

☐ Избежать дискриминацию

To escape discrimination

☐ Найти лучшую жизнь

To find a better life

☐ Жить с родственниками которые раньше переехали в США

To live with family already living in the US

☐ Образование

To get an education

☐ Другое [подпишите здесь]

Other (please specify)

35. Какие проблемы есть у Ваас в США? (отметьте все подходящие варианты)

What challenges do you face now in the United States? (check all that apply)

☐ Трудно найти работу

Difficulty finding work

☐ Язык

Language barrier / learning English

☐ Бездомность / трудно найти жилище

Homelessness / housing discrimination

☐ Трудно найти любовь

Difficulty finding love

☐ Одиночество

Isolation

☐ Трудно найти приют

Difficulty obtaining asylum

☐ Трудно стать гражданином

Difficulty obtaining citizenship

☐ Бедность

Poverty

☐ Гомофобия

Homophobia

☐ Другое [подпишите здесь]

Other (please specify)

36. Вы были в «прайд»/гей-параде в Америке?***Have you participated in Gay Pride demonstrations in the US?***☐ Да

Yes

☐ Нет

No

Теперь мы перейдем к вопросам с оценочной шкалой. Выберите номер, который лучше описывает, как Вы думаете о каждом заявлении. 1 значит, что Вы очень не согласны, и 5 значит, что Вы очень согласны с заявлением.

You will now be presented with questions containing a number scale. Please choose the number that best describes your attitude towards each statement, with 1 indicating you strongly DISAGREE with the statement at hand, and 5 indicating you strongly AGREE with the statement at hand.

37. «Я открытый/ая лесбиянка / бисексуален/на / гей.»***“I am openly lesbian, gay, or bisexual.”***

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

38. «Я доволен своей сексуальной ориентацией.»***“I am comfortable with my sexual orientation.”***

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

39. «Людей, которые знают, что я квир, стали хуже относиться ко мне.»

“The attitudes of the people to whom I came out changed in a negative way.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал		Очень	Вопрос не относится
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Согласен/а	согласен/а	ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

40. «Была дискриминация против меня в университете, потому что я квир.»

“I experienced discrimination based on my sexual orientation at university.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал		Очень	Вопрос не относится
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Согласен/а	согласен/а	ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

41. «Я чувствовал/а себя неудобно или в опасности в университете из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I have felt threatened and uncomfortable based on my sexual orientation at university.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал		Очень	Вопрос не относится
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Согласен/а	согласен/а	ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

42. «Студенты в моем университете жестоко относились ко мне, из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“The students at my university treated me poorly based on my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал		Очень	Вопрос не относится
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Согласен/а	согласен/а	ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

43. «Профессора в моем университете жестоко относились ко мне из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“The professors at my university treated me poorly based on my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5	Вопрос не относится
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень	ко мне
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Agree	согласен/а	N/A

Strongly disagree Disagree reaction Strongly agree

44. «Я не мог/ла участвовать в некоторых мероприятиях в университете, из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I was unable to participate in certain activities based on my sexual orientation at university.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал		Очень	Вопрос не относится
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Согласен/а	согласен/а	ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

45. «Есть дискриминация против меня на работе из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I experienced discrimination based on my sexual orientation at my job.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал		Очень	Вопрос не относится
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Согласен/а	согласен/а	ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

46. «Я боялась за себя на работе, потому что я квир.»

“I have felt threatened and uncomfortable based on my sexual orientation at my job.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал		Очень	Вопрос не относится
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Согласен/а	согласен/а	ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

47. «Мне отказали в работе из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I have been denied a job based on my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не	Не	Нейтрал		Очень	Вопрос не относится
согласен/а	согласен/а	No	Согласен/а	согласен/а	ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

48. «Я потерял/а работу, из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I have been fired from a job based on my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5	Вопрос не относится
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Очень не согласен/а Strongly disagree	Не согласен/а Disagree	Нейтрал No reaction	Согласен/а Agree	Очень согласен/а Strongly agree	ко мне N/A
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49. «Мои друзья в основном квиры.»

“I confine my circle of friends to the LGB community.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а Strongly disagree	Не согласен/а Disagree	Нейтрал No reaction	Согласен/а Agree	Очень согласен/а Strongly agree

50. «Я сталкиваюсь с дискриминацией / люди придираются ко мне из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I experience daily discrimination or harassment based on my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а Strongly disagree	Не согласен/а Disagree	Нейтрал No reaction	Согласен/а Agree	Очень согласен/а Strongly agree

51. «Меня избивали из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I have been physically attacked because of my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а Strongly disagree	Не согласен/а Disagree	Нейтрал No reaction	Согласен/а Agree	Очень согласен/а Strongly agree

52. «Меня компрометировали из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I have been blackmailed because of my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а Strongly disagree	Не согласен/а Disagree	Нейтрал No reaction	Согласен/а Agree	Очень согласен/а Strongly agree

53. «Я изнасилован/а, из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»

“I have been sexually assaulted because of my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а Strongly disagree	Не согласен/а Disagree	Нейтрал No reaction	Согласен/а Agree	Очень согласен/а Strongly agree

54. «Покушали на мою жизнь, из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»
“My life has been threatened because of my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

55. «Я живу с партнёром и соседям это не нравится.»
“I live with my partner, and the attitude of my neighbors to the arrangement is negative.”

1	2	3	4	5	
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а	Вопрос не относится ко мне
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A

56. «Общественное мнение о ЛГБ постепенно изменяется к лучшему. Сейчас гей сообщества более терпимы в России чем было раньше когда я был/а моложе.»
“I have found more tolerance towards LGB people as I have grown older.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

57. «Есть больше допуска, для лесбиянок, чем для бисексуальных или геев.»
“There is more tolerance towards lesbians than gay men and bisexuals.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

58. «Существует больше поправок в обществе, для геев, чем для лесбиянок или бисексуальных.»
“There is more tolerance towards gay men than lesbians and bisexuals.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

59. «Существует больше поправок в обществе для бисексуальных, чем для лесбиянок или геев.»

“There is more tolerance towards bisexuals than gay men and lesbians.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

60. «Существует больше поправок для лесбиянок и бисексуальных женщин, чем для геев или бисексуальных мужчин.»

“There is more tolerance towards lesbian and bisexual women than gay men.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

61. «Существует больше поправок, для геев и бисексуальных мужчин, чем женщинам.»

“There is more tolerance towards gay and bisexual men than lesbians and bisexual women.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

62. «Трансгендерии принадлежат в ЛГБТ общине.»

“Transgender people belong in the queer community.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

63. «Я знаю много о квин-активности в родной стране.»

“I am knowledgeable about LGBT activism in my country of origin.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

64. «Я знаю много о квир-активности вне родной страны.»

“I am knowledgeable about LGBT activism outside of my country of origin.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

65. «Я положительно отношусь к квир-активности в родной стране.»

“I have a positive attitude towards LGBT activism in my country of origin.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

66. «Я положительно отношусь к квир-активности вне родной страны.»

“I have a positive attitude towards LGBT activism outside of my country of origin.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

67. «Отношение к ЛГБТ лучше вне родной страны.»

“Attitudes regarding LGBT people outside of my country of origin are more positive.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

68. «Моя религия не одобряет мою сексуальную ориентацию.»

“My religious beliefs conflict with my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

69. «Люди признавались мне, что у них плохое мнение сложилось к ЛГБТ из-за религиозных убеждений.»

“People have cited religious beliefs in their negativity towards my sexual orientation.”

1	2	3	4	5
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Очень не согласен/а Не согласен/а Нейтрал Согласен/а Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree Disagree No reaction Agree Strongly agree

70. «Я думал/а об эмиграции только из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»
"I considered emigrating from my country of origin due to my sexual orientation."

1 2 3 4 5
Очень не согласен/а Не согласен/а Нейтрал Согласен/а Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree Disagree No reaction Agree Strongly agree

71. «Я думал/а искать убежищу из-за моей сексуальной ориентации.»
"I considered seeking asylum in another country due to my sexual orientation."

1 2 3 4 5
Очень не согласен/а Не согласен/а Нейтрал Согласен/а Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree Disagree No reaction Agree Strongly agree

72. «Моя ЛГБТ идентичность явилась главной причиной иммиграции в США.»
"Being identified as LGBT was the primary reason I immigrated to the United States."

1 2 3 4 5
Очень не согласен/а Не согласен/а Нейтрал Согласен/а Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree Disagree No reaction Agree Strongly agree

73. «Моя жизнь улучшилась после того, как я иммигрировал/а в США.»
"My life has improved since I immigrated to the United States."

1 2 3 4 5
Очень не согласен/а Не согласен/а Нейтрал Согласен/а Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree Disagree No reaction Agree Strongly agree

74. «Жизнь в США легче, чем в родной стране.»
"Life in the United States is easier than life in my country of origin."

1 2 3 4 5
Очень не согласен/а Не согласен/а Нейтрал Согласен/а Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree Disagree No reaction Agree Strongly agree

75. «Я хочу вернуться обратно в свою родную страну.»
“I want to return to live in my country of origin.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

76. «Люди в Америке более толерантно относятся к моей сексуальной ориентации, чем люди в моей родное стране.»
“People in the United States are more accepting of my sexual orientation than people in my country of origin.”

1	2	3	4	5
Очень не согласен/а	Не согласен/а	Нейтрал	Согласен/а	Очень согласен/а
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No reaction	Agree	Strongly agree

Теперь ответьте на один открытый вопрос. Пожалуйста, ответьте, как хотите. Длина не важна.

You will now answer one open-ended question. Please answer to the best of your ability. Length is not important.

77. Сравнивайте вашу жизнь как ЛГБТ в вашей родной стране с жизнью в Америке.

Please compare your experiences living as an LGBT person in your country of origin to those in the United States.

This image shows a full page of white paper with horizontal blue ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

The state of affairs for LGBT people in Russia is poor. Homophobia has a long history in Russia, especially against gay men. Homosexuality was illegal and considered a mental illness throughout much of the Soviet era, and while homosexuality is not illegal in Russia anymore, it is considered a mental defect and a moral failing. Homosexual relationships, as well as resources for queer Russians, are restricted by the “Gay Propaganda Law”, which is allegedly for the sake of protecting children, but in practice is used for the persecution of LGBT individuals and groups. The law also makes it difficult for LGBT Russians to find support or resources. Gays are discriminated against for a number of social and political reasons, such as conflict with the

teachings of the state-aligned Russian Orthodox Church, being seen as unmanly, not producing children for the nation to increase population, and being perceived as a threat to children.

Homosexuality is against traditional Russian mores. Russians today either remember the grim years following the end of the USSR, or grew up in their shadow. The perceived perversity of people who stand for sexual deviancy and moral decay makes homosexuals a marginalized and vulnerable group at whom anger for current affairs can be directed. The Soviet years introduced harsh ways of thinking, such as derision of gay men, into mainstream culture, and American antigay activists and interests have decided to exploit Russian public naïveté about LGBT people and issues to try to win there the culture war they lost in the West. Gay pride parades do occur in Russia, but seldom with official permission or protection, and often are scenes of brutality by spectators and police against the marchers.

In the face of everything, a number of LGBT Russians have chosen to leave Russia rather than live there, even though they had strong reasons to stay and no guarantees of success abroad. These LGBT refugees are becoming more numerous by the day. In order to understand them, their experiences, and why they have emigrated, I set out to survey queer Russians about their lives and experiences as LGBT persons at home and abroad. I hope one day I am finally able to conduct the study I have designed, in order to provide valuable findings to the gay rights movements in Russian-speaking countries.

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