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IREX/IARO Fellowship  
Research Report  
July 2001

My dissertation, “Making Crime and Sex Soviet: Women, Deviance, and the Development of Soviet Criminology,” explores the profession of criminology after the Bolshevik Revolution and examines the criminologists’ attitudes toward the women criminals that they studied. In 1920s Russia criminology flourished, and its adherents—sociologists, statisticians, psychologists, psychiatrists, and jurists—studied all aspects of the motives and dynamics of crime and the personality of the criminal. By 1930, however, criminology came under attack as non-Marxist, and the study of criminality and criminals basically came to a standstill until after the death of Stalin. My dissertation looks at the emergence of this profession and the factors that influenced its sudden liquidation in terms of the development of the Soviet state and Stalinism. Focusing on criminology as a discipline that functioned both with support from the state but also semi-independently allows us to understand better the processes that shaped the New Economic Policy (NEP) and that led to Stalinism. In this way my dissertation will contribute to the debates about the “Cultural Revolution” in Russia and add to the literature on the NEP as an important period in the development of Soviet society.

In addition, my dissertation examines the attitudes of the criminologists toward female crime. In their attempts to understand crime and the motives of the individual criminal, the criminologists examined the backgrounds and circumstances of many criminals, including women. They looked for social and economic causes, often citing material need and cultural backwardness as the main reasons for criminality, but they also identified “biological” factors such as puberty, menstruation, and pregnancy as influences, particularly on female criminality. In the dissertation I argue that in the chaotic days of the NEP, the ways in which the criminologists understood the boundaries of proper behavior and the causes of deviant behavior reflected wider attitudes in society and helped to shape the course of Soviet social evolution. Using female criminality as an indicator, I explore not only the changes in attitudes toward women in revolutionary Russia, but also the boundaries of proper behavior and the development of new Soviet social norms. Thus, my dissertation will enrich the historical literature on women and the role of women in Soviet society by examining them from the margins of society and showing the circumstances that women, and all Russians, endured during and after the Bolshevik Revolution.

During my research I investigated the archival holdings of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), the Municipal Archive of Moscow (TsMAM), the Moscow Regional Archive (TsGAMO), the Central State Archive of St. Petersburg (TsGA SPb), and the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE), as well as the holdings of the Russian State Library, Library of the Academy of Sciences, Russian National Library, and State Public Historical Library. When I began my research I was interested to find the files of the various criminological organizations that existed during the 1920s, including the State Institute for the Study of Crime and Criminals and the *Kabinet* for the Study of the Personality of Criminals and Crime. While I did manage to locate some documents concerning these organizations, I was unable to find a large

collection of such sources. Most of the documents I found related to the foundation and establishment of these organizations, but did not address their day-to-day workings or their research interests. Nevertheless, the archival documents I located in addition to the extensive published sources reporting the activities of these criminological organizations provide me with sufficient material to begin to understand their functions and position in Soviet society. These documents show that the criminological organizations of the 1920s were indeed established, funded, and overseen by state institutions, and that they conducted work on a variety of questions and issues relating to crime and criminality from sociological, psychological, statistical, and biological perspectives. They reveal what can be called a growing “professionalization” of the science of criminology, a tendency toward specialization and centralization of the study of crime. They also provide information that will allow me to address why the study of criminology was terminated abruptly in 1931 and the fate of criminology afterward. Many criminologists at that time were accused of using improper and un-Marxist methods to study crime. However, this was just the pretext for dissolving a field of study that was coming into greater conflict with the aims and goals of the state under Stalin.

I was less fortunate in locating relevant criminal cases involving women. Only a very few cases have been preserved in the archives from the 1920s (most of the cases that exist today from the revolutionary period are from 1918-1920 or after 1934) and, of these, only a fraction involve women as the perpetrators. Frequently the archives would deny access to criminal cases because of the poor condition of the files or because of archival policy. When I was able to look at the files, I found that they consisted mostly of statements of witnesses and arrest and transfer orders that have little to do with the substance of the case. I rarely found a copy of the court judgment and never a transcription of the proceedings. Since I wanted to learn what role the criminological experts played in the court, these provided little assistance. Nevertheless, I did identify some interesting cases that can be used as examples of how certain behaviors were interpreted as Soviet social norms developed.

In addition to archival documents, I tracked down a wide variety of published sources, including monographs and journal articles, that the criminologists wrote during the 1920s. These publications include their analyses of female criminals and their perceptions of the dynamics of crime. They allow me to determine the attitudes of the criminologists toward their subjects and their understandings of the nature of crime and deviance. From this I can tentatively conclude that while the criminologists emphasized the social and economic causes of female criminality, they nevertheless relied on “biological” factors such as pregnancy and menstruation to explain female deviance, preserving inequalities between men and women and permitting pre-revolutionary attitudes to shape the new Soviet social norms.

There are a variety of subjects in this field that are open to future scholarly investigation. The Russian archives hold a vast amount of materials relating to venereal and other social diseases and efforts to control and eliminate them in the early Soviet Union. This is an area rich for future work. In addition, the records dealing with juvenile crime, juvenile delinquency, and homelessness are extensive. Much more work needs to be conducted in this area (only one monograph on child homelessness exists at the moment). Unfortunately juvenile delinquency lies beyond the scope of my dissertation. Furthermore, there are records that would help with an investigation of prison life and

prison experiences in the 1920s (although the records of actual prisoners are closed). These and many more topics dealing with the internal affairs of the early Soviet Union, from prisons to health issues, are waiting to be explored by future researchers. The Russian archival holdings are extremely rich and should provide the foundation for many excellent dissertations in the years to come.

I believe that the United States should continue to encourage and assist Russia with the preservation and maintenance of its archival collections. These are a valuable resource for both Russian and Western scholars and with the political and economic insecurity of Russia they could easily fall by the wayside. In addition, US policy should continue to respect Russia's traditions and unique historical path in its efforts to assist with the development and normalization of post-Soviet society and economy. Only with the continued study of Russian and Soviet history can we better understand the nature of Russian society and thus be in a better position to assist in its development.