

Carleton University  
Department of Political Science

Fall 2012

**PSCI 4501A/EURR 4205**  
**Gender, Identity and Politics in Post-Communist Societies**  
**Thursday 8:35-11:25**  
**Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

Professor Andrea Chandler

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**Office Hours:** Monday, 11:00-1:00; Thursday, 12:00-2:00 or by appointment

**Course Description:**

This course focuses on selected aspects of the politics of gender in the post-communist states of East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. This part of the world has experienced dramatic change in the last twenty-five years, and as a result this course offers insight into how civil society changes during times of upheaval and reform. Discussions of gender politics are closely bound to themes of ethnic identity, nationalism, privatization, and democratization. Topics for discussion include the complex influences of the Soviet and communist legacy, and the impact of the transition, on gender politics; the effects of changes in the international environment, including the enlargement of the European Union, on women and men; aspects of the politics of identity in civil society, for example LGBT movements; and the contested notions of gender roles that have accompanied the prominence of nationalism.

The readings assigned for the course reflect the experiences of different countries and the insights of authors from various disciplines. The readings suggest that the post-communist transition has had diverse effects on women and gender in different contexts and situations. On the other hand, the readings present us with some common themes that we can debate vigorously: have women been more adversely affected than men by the transition? Have the West and international organizations played a positive or a negative role in the transition? Have post-communist societies reclaimed traditional gender roles and diminished the presence of women in public life? While these questions have been often raised, upon close examination it is difficult to find simple answers to them.

The course follows a seminar format which assigns a central role to class discussion. The goals in this course are the following: 1) to compare and contrast the relationship between gender and post-communist transition in selected East Central European and post-communist countries; 2) to strive for precision and nuance in explaining how and why change has occurred with respect to post-communist gender politics, including exploring

some of the unexpected consequences of post-communist transition 3) to evaluate critically the assumptions, theories, arguments and methodologies used in the literature, in order to strengthen students' mastery of analytical and methodological research techniques, 4) to encourage students to develop their research abilities and interests through the preparation of an oral presentation and final research project on a topic chosen in consultation with the instructor.

**Readings:** The required readings for the course include journal articles and chapters from books, which can be found on reserve in McOdrum Library. All assigned readings are compulsory unless stated otherwise. The following book is recommended reading, which may be particularly useful for students who have not previously taken a course on gender: Raewyn Connell, *Gender*. Second edition. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2009.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- **20%** Class participation, including regular attendance and verbal contributions to regular weekly discussion of assigned readings. Students are expected to come to each class having prepared all of the assigned readings in advance. Students may be asked to work on discussion questions in groups during class time, and to present the results of their discussions, informally, to the class as a whole. Attendance and participation will be evaluated equally. Contributions to class discussions are expected to demonstrate thorough preparation of course readings, sustained engagement in debate for the duration of the class, and consideration of the comments of others. Quality of participation is more important than quantity, and careful listening is considered essential to successful participation. Attendance and participation marks will be awarded in three stages, as discussed below. The criteria for evaluation will apply to all stages.

<u>Stage 1:</u> Attendance and participation for each of weeks 2-5. The mark for this stage is expected to be available by <u>October 11</u> .	Students will receive a mark out of <b>8</b> (maximum 2 points per class)
<u>Stage 2:</u> Attendance and participation for each of weeks 6-9. The mark for this stage is expected to be available by <u>November 8</u> .	Students will receive a mark out of <b>8</b> (maximum 2 points per class)
<u>Stage 3:</u> Attendance and participation for week 13, plus an overall mark to assess demonstrated listening and constructive dialogue with members of the class throughout the term. The mark for this stage is expected to be available by <u>December 6</u> .	Students will receive a mark out of <b>2</b> (week 13) + <b>2</b> (listening and engagement throughout the term)
<b>Total marks</b>	<b>= 20</b>

- **20%** Short paper (proposal) on final term paper topic, 5 typed double-spaced pages, due **October 4**. Students are expected to choose their own topics, relevant to the subject matter of the course, in consultation with the instructor, who may offer suggestions. The proposal must include: 1) a brief statement of the research question and preliminary argument to be addressed; 2) a discussion of the literature relevant to the topic (for example, could the proposed research prove, disprove, or present alternatives to the arguments offered by experts?); 3) an organizational plan for the paper, including the country/countries to be examined, the specific focus, and the time period that the paper will cover; 4) a mention of the sources and methodology to be used, including a brief bibliography. The short paper is to be submitted online through cuLearn. (Login at [www.carleton.ca/cuLearn](http://www.carleton.ca/cuLearn). CuLearn is the university's online course management tool, which will replace WebCT). The professor's goal is to have the marks available, for assignments submitted on time, by October 11.
- **20%** Group work and short presentation on research in progress for the final paper, to take place **November 8, 15, and 22**. This component of the course mark will include the following, weighted equally: a) participation in group work, during class time, in which students working on related topics for their final papers discuss their ideas and give each other feedback. For full marks, students are expected to attend and participate in all three classes (November 8, 15, 22), including listening to the presentations of their fellow students. b) Each student will make **a very short (5 minute)** presentation to the class on the work in progress on his/her research paper. Presentations should include a brief description of the research question, a brief discussion of the relevant literature, a discussion of major trends found so far in the research, and a discussion of methodological issues and areas where the student could benefit from feedback from the class as a whole.
- **40%** Final research paper, due in person no later than the beginning of class on **November 29**. The paper should be 16-20 pages long (typed, double-spaced, 12-pt font, in hard copy) and should include a complete bibliography. See statement on written work, below. Papers should be organized so as to develop a clear argument systematically, and should be analytical rather than descriptive. The final research paper in particular should explore a comprehensive survey of literature and secondary sources: a minimum of twelve items should be consulted. Students are expected to examine at least one primary source in their research. *The deadline of November 29 is the deadline by which the professor must receive the paper. A paper which is date-stamped November 29, but which does not reach the professor until after November 29, will be considered a late paper.*

## STATEMENT ON WRITTEN WORK

*All course requirements must be completed in order to receive a passing grade. Papers should be organized so as to develop a clear argument systematically, and should be analytical rather than descriptive. The instructor does not consider encyclopedias or general Internet information sources (such as Wikipedia) to be acceptable research sources for university-level research papers. Papers that simply assemble or reiterate*

*information, or which do not demonstrate sufficiently rigorous research will not be considered satisfactory assignments. All papers must use footnotes, endnotes or parenthetical referencing as appropriate whenever referring to an author's idea, citing empirical facts or drawing on research from published sources. Students are expected to consult a style sheet for guidance on using full, accurate and complete citations. Any direct quotations from a source should be clearly indicated in quotation marks. As a general rule, however, direct quotations should be kept to a minimum and should not exceed fifty words from any one source. A complete bibliography of sources consulted should be included at the end of the paper. Marks will be deducted for lateness. Extensions will be granted only for illness (with a supporting medical document) or for a family emergency. University deadlines for the submission of term work apply.*

*Office hours and e-mail:* *Students with questions for the professor may reach her by coming to her office hours (no appointment needed), by arranging a meeting outside of office hours, by phone, or by e-mail. Following university policy, the instructor will use university "connect" e-mail addresses when replying to e-mail queries from students. Normally, the instructor expects to reply to e-mail or voicemail queries within 1-2 days Monday through Friday.*

## **SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS**

### **1) INTRODUCTION (September 6)**

### **2) HISTORY AND POLITICAL CULTURE (September 13)**

Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: the Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001. Chapter 7 and Conclusion.

Thomas G. Schrand, "Socialism in one Gender: Masculine Values in the Stalin Revolution," in Barbara Evans Clements, Rebecca Friedman and Dan Healey, eds. *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*. Houndsmills, UK: Palgrave, 2002, pp. 194-209.

Susan E. Reid, "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev," *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 2, summer 2003, pp. 211-52.

Gail Kligman, "The Politics of Reproduction in Ceasescu's Romania: a Case Study in Political Culture," *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 6, no. 3, fall 1992, pp. 364-418.

### **3) POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF TRANSITION AND REFORM (September 20)**

Georgina Waylen, "A Comparative Politics of Gender: Limits and Possibilities," *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2010, pp. 223-31.

Katalin Fábián. *Contemporary Women's Movements in Hungary: Globalization, Democracy and Gender Equality*. Washington, DC and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009, Chapters 2, 3.

Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, *The Politics of Gender after Socialism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000, chapter 4.

Julie Hemment, *Empowering Women in Russia*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007, pp. 1-18, 75-84.

#### **4) UNEXPECTED CONSEQUENCES OF POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION (September 27)**

Tatjana Thelen, "The New Power of Old Men: Privatization and Family Relations in Mesterszallas (Hungary)," *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, autumn 2003, pp. 1-7.

Irina Mukhina. "New Losses, New Opportunities: (Soviet) Women in the Shuttle Trade, 1987-1998." *Journal of Social History*, vol. 43, no. 2, winter 2009, pp. 341-59.

David Kideckel, "Miners and Wives in Romania's Jiu Valley: Perspectives on Postsocialist Class, Gender and Social Change," *Identities*, vol. 11, 1, 2004, pp. 39-63.

Cynthia Werner, "Women, Marriage and the Nation-State: the Rise of Nonconsensual Bride Kidnapping in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan," in Pauline Jones Luong, ed. *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004, pp. 59-89.

#### **5) STATE AND SOCIETY (October 4)**

Janine P. Holc, "The Purest Democrat: Fetal Citizenship and Subjectivity in the Construction of Democracy in Poland." *Signs*, vol. 29, no. 3, spring 2004, 755-82.

Anika Keinz, "European Desires and National Bedrooms? Negotiating Normalcy in Post-Socialist Poland." *Central European History*, vol. 44, 2011, pp. 92-117.

Marilyn Rueschemeyer and Sharon L. Wolchik, eds. *Women in Power in Post-Communist Parliaments*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009, chs. 1, 2, 14.

Michele Rivkin-Fish, "Pronatalism, Gender Politics and the Renewal of Family Support in Russia: Toward a Feminist Anthropology of 'Maternity Capital,'" *Slavic Review* 69, 3, fall 2010, 701-24

## **6) NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY (October 11)**

Maya Eichler, "A Gendered Analysis of the Chechen Wars," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 8, no. 4, December 2006, 486-511

Carol S. Lilly and Jill A. Irvine, "Negotiating Interests: Women and Nationalism in Serbia and Croatia, 1990-97," *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 109-44.

Conor O'Dwyer and Katrina Z.S. Schwarz, "Minority Rights after EU Enlargement: a Comparison of Antigay Politics in Poland and Latvia." *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2010, pp. 220-43.

Alexandra Hrycak, "The Orange Princess Runs for President: Gender and the Outcomes of the 2010 Election," *EEPS*, vol. 25, no. 1, February 2011, pp. 68-87.

## **7. INTERSECTIONALITY (October 18)**

Ziemer, Ulrike. "Tackling Tensions and Ambivalences: Armenian Girls' Diasporic Identities in Russia." *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 38, no. 5, pp. 689-703.

Elissa Helms, "East and West Kiss: Gender, Orientalism and Balkanism in Muslim-Majority Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Slavic Review*, 67, 1, spring 2008, 88-119

Colette Harris, *Control and Subversion: Gender Relations in Tajikistan*. London: Pluto Press, 2004. Chapters 1 (pp. 12-41) and 3 (67-91).

Kristen Ghodsee, *Muslim Lives in Eastern Europe: Gender, Ethnicity and the Transformation of Islam in Postsocialist Bulgaria*. Chapter 1, 5. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.

## **8) GLOBALIZATION, THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND GENDER (October 25)**

Janet Elise Johnson, *Gender Violence in Russia: the Politics of Feminist Intervention*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009. Chapters 1, 3 and 6.

Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, "Foreign Assistance, International Norms, and NGO Development: Lessons from the Russian Campaign," *International Organization*, vol. 59, spring 2005, pp. 419-49.

Ruth Lister, Fiona Williams, et al. *Gendering Citizenship in Western Europe: New Challenges for Citizenship Research in a Cross-National Context*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2007, pp. 137-65.

Olga Avdeyeva, "States' Compliance with International Requirements: Gender Equality in EU Enlargement Countries," *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 1, 2010, pp. 203-17.

## **9) PROTEST AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (November 1)**

Jessica Zychowicz, "Two bad words: FEMEN and Feminism in Independent Ukraine." *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, vol. 29, no. 2, fall 2011, pp. 215-27.

Marek Mikus, "State Pride: Politics of LGBT Rights and Democratization in 'European Serbia,'" *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 25, no. 4, November 2011, pp. 834-51.

Valerie Sperling, "Nashi Devushki: Gender and Youth Political Activism in Medvedev's and Putin's Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 28, no. 2, April-June 2012, pp. 232-61.

Alisa Stack, "Zombies versus Black Widows: Women as Propaganda in the Chechen Conflict" in Laura Sjoberg and Caron E. Gentry, eds. *Women, Gender and Terrorism* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011, pp. 83-95.

## **10) Commence group work (November 8)**

## **11) Continue group work; COMMENCE ORAL PRESENTATIONS (November 15)**

## **12) CONCLUDE ORAL PRESENTATIONS (November 22)**

## **13) CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER ROLES (November 29)**

Abby Drwecki, "A Lot Depends on us: Discourses of Individual and Collective Responsibility in Polish Women's Self-Defense Courses," *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 27, 2, fall 2009, 176-92.

Jennifer Patino, "Kinship and Crisis: The Embedding of Economic Pressures and Gender Ideals in Postsocialist International Matchmaking." *Slavic Review*, vol. 69, no. 1, spring 2010, pp. 16-40.

Włodzimierz Oniszczenko, Ursula Teresa Jakubowska, and Ewa Stanisławiak. "Gender Differences in Socio-Political Attitudes in a Polish Sample." *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 34, no. 5, September 2011, pp. 371-7.

Tania Rands Lyon, "Housewife Fantasies, Family Realities in the New Russia," pp. 25-39 in Janet Elise Johnson and Jean C. Robinson, eds. *Living Gender after Communism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.

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## ACADEMIC ACCOMODATIONS:

**For students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **(November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2012 for December examinations and March 8<sup>th</sup>, 2013 for April examinations)**.

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The University Senate defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with



the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Grading:** Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

**Grades:** Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Connect Email Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

**Carleton Political Science Society:** The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email [carletonpss@gmail.com](mailto:carletonpss@gmail.com), visit our website at [poliscisociety.com](http://poliscisociety.com), or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.