

**Carleton University**  
**Department of Political Science**

**Winter 2006**

**PSCI 4501A**  
**Gender and Politics in Post-communist Societies**  
Seminar: Mondays 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m., D487 LA

Professor Andrea Chandler

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**Office Hours:** Monday, 10:00-11:30 and 2:30-3:30; Friday, 10:00-11:30

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. Topics for discussion include the complex influences of the Soviet and communist legacy on post-communist gender relations; the impact of transition on women and men, including the challenges of state reconstruction and democratization; and the contested notions of gender roles that have accompanied the renewed interest in nationalism, religion and ethnic identity.

The readings assigned for the course reflect the experiences of different countries and the insights of authors from various disciplines. They suggest that the post-communist transition does not show a uniform pattern; it 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, pat answers to them.

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 critically evaluate 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. There is no required textbook for the course.

### **Course Requirements:**

- Class participation, including regular attendance and contributions to regular weekly discussion of assigned readings: **20%**. Students may be asked to work on study questions in groups during class time.
- Short proposal of final research paper, 5 pages, *due February 13*, **20%**. 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 outline of the plan of organization 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.
- Group work and presentations, to take place between March 13 and April 3, **20%**. This component of the course mark will include the following: a) participation in group work, during class time, in which students working on related topics for their final papers discuss their ideas, b) Each student will make a very short (5 minute) presentation to the class on his/her research paper, c) Each student will fill out and submit a worksheet on the results of the group work, due April 3.
- Final research paper, **40%** due April 10. The paper should be approximately 16-20 pages long (typed, double-spaced, 12-pt font) and should include a complete bibliography.

*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. Students are expected to choose their own topics, in consultation with the instructor, who may offer suggestions. 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 encouraged to examine primary sources in their research. All papers must use footnotes or endnotes as appropriate whenever referring to an author's idea, citing empirical facts or drawing on research from published sources. Parenthetical referencing may be used if the student prefers, but citations and bibliography must be correct and complete. 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. Papers must be handed in personally to the instructor on or before the due date. Marks will be deducted for lateness. Extensions will be granted only for illness (with a doctor's certificate) or for a family emergency.*

## SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS

### 1) Introduction (January 9)

### 2) HISTORY AND POLITICAL CULTURE (January 16)

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 (January 23)

Georgina Waylen, "Women and Democratization: Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics," *World Politics*, vol. 46 (April 1994), pp. 327-54.

Eva Fodor, "Gender in Transition: Unemployment in Hungary, Poland and Slovakia," *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 11, no. 3, fall 1997, pp. 470-500.

Peggy Watson, "The Rise of Masculinism in Eastern Europe," *New Left Review*, no. 198, March/April 1993, pp. 71-82.

Stephen K. Wegren, David J. O'Brien and Valeri V. Patsiorkovski, "Russian Agrarian Reform: the Gender Dimension," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 49, no. 6, November/December 2002, pp. 48-57.

#### 4) UNEXPECTED CONSEQUENCES OF POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION (January 30)

Joanna Jastrzebska-Szklarska, "She has done me no Work: Language and Power Asymmetry in Impoverished Families in Poland," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 35 (2002), pp. 433-56.

Dinah Dodds, "East German Women in Transition," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2003, pp. 261-76.

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.

Seteney Shami, "Engendering Social Memory: Domestic Rituals, Resistance and Identity in the North Caucasus," in Feride Acar and Ayse Gunes-Ayata, eds. *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000, pp. 305-31.

#### 5) THE STATE (February 6)

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

David Abramson, "Engendering Citizenship in Postcommunist Uzbekistan," in Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias, eds. *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, pp. 65-84.

Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever, "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 5, no. 2, August 2003, pp. 163-90. (Available as electronic resource through Carleton University Library).

Joanna Goven, "New Parliament, Old Discourse? The Parental Leave Debate in Hungary," in Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, eds. *Reproducing Gender: Politics, Publics and Everyday Life after Socialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000, pp. 286-306.

#### 6) DEMOCRATIZATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (February 13)

Kristen Ghodsee, "Feminism-by-Design: Emerging Capitalisms, Cultural Feminism, and Women's Nongovernmental Organizations in Postsocialist Eastern Europe," *Signs*, vol. 29, no. 3, spring 2004, pp. 727-53.

Ann Graham and Joanna Regulska, "Expanding Political Space for Women in Poland: an Analysis of Three Communities," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1997, pp. 65-82.

Ludmila Popkova, "Women's Political Activism in Russia: the Case of Samara," in Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias, eds. *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, pp. 172-94.

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.

## READING WEEK FEBRUARY 20-24 NO CLASS

### 7) NATIONALISM (February 27)

Katherine Verdery, "From Parent-State to Family Patriarchs: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Eastern Europe." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 8, no. 2, spring 1994, pp.225-55.

Daina Stukuls, "Body of the Nation: Mothering, Prostitution and Women's Place in Postcommunist Latvia," *Slavic Review*, vol. 58, no. 3, fall 1999, pp. 537-58.

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.

Irene Dolling, Daphne Hahn and Sylka Scholz, "Birth Strike in the New Federal States: Is Sterilization an Act of Resistance?" in Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, eds. *Reproducing Gender: Politics, Publics and Everyday Life after Socialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000, pp.118-47.

### 8. ETHNIC IDENTITY AND ETHNIC RELATIONS (March 6)

Colette Harris, "The Changing Identity of Women in Tajikistan in the Post-Soviet Period," in Feride Acar and Ayse Gunes-Ayata, eds. *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000, pp. 205-29.

Alaina Lemon, *Between Two Fires: Gypsy Performance and Romani Memory from Pushkin to Postsocialism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000. Introduction and Chapter 2.

Natalya Kosmarskaya, "Russian Women in Kyrgyzstan: Coping with New Realities," *Women's Studies International Forum*. vol. 19, nos. 1/2, 1996, pp. 125-32.

Inna Naroditskaya, "Azerbaijani Female Musicians: Women's Voices Defying and Defining the Culture," *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 44, no. 2, spring/summer 2000, pp. 234-256.

### 9) CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER ROLES; Commence Group work (March 13)

Susan A. Crate, "The Gendered Nature of Vilui Sakha Post-Soviet Adaptation," in Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias, eds. *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, pp.127-45.

Michele Rivkin-Fish, "Sexuality in Russia: Defining Pleasure and Danger for a Fledgling Democratic Society," *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 49, no. 6 (September 1999), pp. 801-814.

Anne White, "Gender Roles in Contemporary Russia: Attitudes and Expectations among Women Students," *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 57, no. 3, May 2005, pp. 429-55.

Rachel Alsop and Jenny Hockey, "Women's Reproductive Lives as a Symbolic Resource in Central and Eastern Europe," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 454-71,

### 10, 11) ORAL PRESENTATIONS (March 20, March 27)

### 12) RELIGION; ORAL PRESENTATIONS (April 3)

Shoshana Keller, "Trapped between State and Society: Women's Liberation and Islam in Soviet Uzbekistan, 1926-1941." *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1998, pp. 20-44.

Sally N. Wall, et al. "Gender Role and Religion as Predictors of Attitude toward Abortion in Croatia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and the United States," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 30, no. 4, July 1999, pp. 443-65.

Nayereh Tohidi, "The Intersection of Gender, Ethnicity and Islam in Soviet and Post-Soviet Azerbaijan," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1997, 147-167.

Ayse Saktanbar and Asli Ozatas-Baykal, "Homeland within Homeland: Women and the Formation of Uzbek National Identity," in Feride Acar and Ayse Gunes-Ayata, eds. *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000, pp. 229-48.

## **SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS**

Susan Gal, "Gender in the Post-Socialist Transition: the Abortion Debate in Hungary," *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 8, no. 2, spring 1994, pp. 256-86.

Valerie Sperling, Myra Marx Ferree and Barbara Risman. "Constructing Global Feminism: Transnational Advocacy Networks and Russian Women's Activism." *Signs*, vol. 26, no. 4, 2001, 1155-1186.

Hilary Pilkington, ed. *Gender, Generation and Identity in Contemporary Russia*. London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 95-120.

Sarah E. Mendelson and John K. Glenn, eds. *The Power and Limits of NGOs: a Critical Look at Building Democracy in Eastern Europe and Eurasia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. 29-53.

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

Tatyana Mamanova, ed. *Women and Russia: Feminist Writings from the Soviet Union*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Linda Edmondson, ed., *Women and Society in Russia and the Soviet Union*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Anastasia Posadskaya, ed. *Women in Russia: a New Era in Russian Feminism*. London: Verso, 1994.

Nayereh Tohidi, "The Intersection of Gender, Ethnicity and Islam in Soviet and Post-Soviet Azerbaijan," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1997, pp. 147-67.

Elena V. Kochkina, "Women in Russian Government Bodies," *Russian Politics and Law*, vol. 38, no. 3, May-June 2000, pp. 69-84.

Linda Racioppi and Katherine O'Sullivan See, "Organizing Women before and after the Fall: Women's Politics in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Russia," *Signs*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 818-50.

Susan E. Reid, "All Stalin's Women: Gender and Power in Soviet Art of the 1930s," *Slavic Review*, vol. 57, no. 1, spring 1998, pp. 133-73.

Lynne Haney, *Inventing the Needy: Gender and the Politics of Welfare in Hungary*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Stefania Szlek Miller, "Religion and Politics in Poland: the Abortion Issue," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 39, no. 1-2, March-June 1997, pp. 63-86.

Rebecca Kay, "Working with Single Fathers in Western Siberia: a New Departure in Russian Social Provision," *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 56, no. 7, November 2004, pp. 941-61.

Katalin Fabian, "Interpretations of Feminism and its Consequences for Political Action among Hungarian Women's Groups," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2002, pp. 269-90.

Joanna Mizielinska, "The Rest is Silence... Polish Nationalism and the Question of Lesbian Existence," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, 281-97.

Fodor, Eva, Christy Glass, Janette Kawachi and Livia Popescu, "Family Policies and Gender in Hungary, Poland and Romania," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 35, no. 4, December 2002, pp. 475-90.

### SPECIALIZED JOURNALS

*East European Politics and Societies*

*Ethnic and Racial Studies*

*Europe-Asia Studies*

*European Journal of Women's Studies*

*International Feminist Journal of Politics*

*Nationalities Papers*

*New Left Review*

*Post-Soviet Affairs*

*Problems of Post-Communism*

*Signs*

*Slavic Review*

### SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR WEBSITES AND/OR DATABASES

ABSEES (American Bibliography of Slavonic and East European Studies, available on-line through Carleton University Library)

Open Society Institute, [www.soros.org](http://www.soros.org)

Human Rights Watch, [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)

Open Women Line Russia (OWL) <http://www.owl.ru/english/content>

Network of East-West Women <http://www.neww.org>

Moscow Gender Studies Institute [www.gender.ru/english](http://www.gender.ru/english)

World News Connection, available on-line through Carleton University Library (go to "Online Resources")

UNIFEM, [www.un.org/unifem](http://www.un.org/unifem)

Center for Reproductive Rights, [www.reproductiverights.org](http://www.reproductiverights.org)

Transition on-Line, [www.tol.cz](http://www.tol.cz)

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### **Academic Accommodations**

**For Students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. 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 in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.



**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 Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: [www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf](http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf)

**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.

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, *subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean*.

**Course Requirements:** Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure – No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.