

Carleton University  
Department of Political Science  
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

Winter 2022

**PSCI 4501B/EURR 4205**  
**Politics of Identity in Europe and the Russian Area**  
**Wednesday 8:35-11:25**  
**Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

*For the duration of the period for which the university has suspended in-person classes due to COVID-19, the course will be offered online in a synchronous format. Please see Brightspace for details.*

**Professor:** Dr. Andrea Chandler  
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**Office Hours:** Wednesdays 11:45-1:45 or by appointment  
\*Office hours will be held online unless and until public health conditions allow in-person office hours

**Course Description:**

This course focuses on selected aspects of the politics of gender, identity and politics 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 thirty years, and offers insight into how relationships between state, society and identity change during times of upheaval. The post-communist reform transition has had gendered consequences. Scholars have analyzed the ways in which identity is closely bound to ethnicity, nationalism, privatization, and democratization.

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 various social groups. The readings present us with questions that we can debate vigorously: have women been more adversely affected than men by the transition? What roles have the West and international organizations played in shaping civil society? Have post-communist societies reclaimed traditional gender roles? How can one interpret the presence of homophobia and transphobia in the political arena? With the abolition of official atheism, what role does religious identity play? The answers to these questions are complex.

The goals of the course are the following: 1) to compare the relationships between gender, social diversity 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 politics of identity, 3) to evaluate critically the assumptions, theories, arguments and methodologies used in the

literature, 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 professor. The course follows a seminar format which assigns a central role to class discussion. Students are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the reading assigned for that day.

### **Readings:**

The following book has been ordered for purchase from the University Bookstore:

Kristen R. Ghodsee, *Why Women have Better Sex under Socialism, and other Arguments for Economic Independence*. New York: Nation Books, 2018. 978-1568588902

Other required readings for the course include journal articles and chapters from books, which can be found on reserve in McOdrum Library. It is expected that most assigned journal articles will be available online to registered students, on Brightspace (look for the ARES reserve system). All assigned readings are compulsory unless stated otherwise.

### **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 have equal weight in marking. 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 February 16.	Students will receive a mark out of <b>10</b> (maximum 2.5 points per class)
<u>Stage 2</u> : Attendance and participation for each of weeks 6-8 and week 12. The mark for this stage is expected to be available by April 8.	Students will receive a mark out of <b>10</b> (maximum 2.5 points per class)
<i>(Note: Attendance and participation for weeks 9-11 is expected for group work and oral presentation mark; see below.)</i>	
<b><u>Total marks</u></b>	<b>= 20</b>

- **20% Proposal**, on final term paper topic, 5 typed double-spaced pages, due **9**. 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 Brightspace, as either a pdf or MS Word file; students who prefer to submit a hard copy may do so, provided that it is handed in to the professor at the beginning of class on February 12. The professor's goal is to have the marks available, for assignments submitted on time, by February 19.
- **20% Class conference: March 16, March 2, and March 30 (part of April 6 may be used if necessary)**. This component of the course mark will include the following, weighted equally:

8/20	Short individual presentation of research in progress. The professor will assign the presentation date, so as to organize each class around a related theme.	Each student will make a very short (5-10 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.
4/20	A forum post on the presentation of at one other peer in the class, giving constructive feedback on the presentation and questions for further research	250-300 words. Posts will be visible to other students in the class, so keep them tactful and respectful, please.
8/20	Attendance and participation for the full duration of class on March 16, March 2 and March 30	Students are expected to offer feedback on the presentations of their peers.

- **40% Final research paper**, due in person by 4 p.m. on **April 12**. The paper should be 16-20 pages long (typed, double-spaced, 12-pt font) 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. The paper is expected to demonstrate familiarity with the material covered in assigned readings; papers that show errors of basic facts, a lack of attention to relevant detail, or incorrect spelling of major concepts/proper nouns will be marked accordingly. Students are expected to examine at least one primary source in their research. *In addition – see the statement directly below, which applies to all submitted assignment*

## **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 considered for exceptional circumstances. University deadlines for the submission of term work apply.*

*Office hours and e-mail: Students with questions for the professor are encouraged to speak directly to the professor during office hours (no appointment needed), or by appointment. Feel free to contact the professor by e-mail, especially for simple questions or to inform of an absence, but please note that I write very brief replies. 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 (January 12)**

### **2) HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND POLITICAL CULTURE (January 19)**

Ghodsee, *Why Women have Better Sex under Socialism*, Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2.

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

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

### **3) GENDERED POLITICS OF TRANSITION AND REFORM (January 26)**

Ghodsee, *Why Women have Better Sex under Socialism*, chapters 4 and 5.

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.

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.

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.

### **4) CONFLICT AND INSECURITY (February 2)**

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

Jill A. Irvine, "Electoral Breakthroughs in Croatia and Serbia: Women's Organizing and International Assistance." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 46, no. 2, June 2013, pp. 243-254.

Anna Di Lellio. "Seeking Justice for Wartime Sexual Violence in Kosovo: Voices and Silence of Women." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, vol. 30, no. 3, Aug. 2016, pp. 621-643.

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) ELECTIONS, REPRESENTATION AND INSTITUTIONS (February 9)**

Ghodsee, *Why Women have Better Sex under Socialism*, chapter 3.

Georgina Waylen, "Engendering the Crisis of Democracy: Institutions, Representation and Participation." *Government and Opposition*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2015, pp. 495-520.

Olga A. Avedeyeva Dekabrina M. Vinokurova & Alexandr A. Kugaevsky, "Gender and Local Executive Office in Regional Russia: The Party of Power as a Vehicle for Women's Empowerment?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 33, no. 6, January 2017, pp. 431-51.

Frank C. Thames, "The Electoral System and Women's Legislative Underrepresentation in Post-Communist Ukraine," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 50, no. 2, January 2018, pp. 252-73.

Cholpon Turdalieva and Medet Tiulegenov, "Women, the Parliament and Political Participation in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan," *Central Asian Affairs*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2018, pp. 134-59.

## **6) NATIONALISM, POPULISM, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY (February 16)**

Sylke Tempel, "Where Gender Meets Nationalism," *Berlin Policy Journal*, August 2019, <https://berlinpolicyjournal.com/where-gender-meets-nationalism/>

Josip Glaurdi and Vuk Vukovi, "Proxy Politics, Economic Protest, or Traditionalist Backlash: Croatia's Referendum on the Constitutional Definition of Marriage." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 68, no. 5, 2016. pp. 803-825.

Sperling, Valerie. "Putin's Macho Personality Cult." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 49, no. 1, March 2016, p. 13-23.

Elzbieta Korolczuk and Agnieszka Graff, "Gender as 'Ebola from Brussels': the Anticolonial Frame and the Rise of Illiberal Populism," *Signs*, vol. 43, no. 4, summer 2018, pp. 797-821.

Mara Lazda, "Negotiating Gendered Transnationalism and Nationalism in post-socialist Latvia," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2018, pp. 422-440.

## **7) INTERSECTIONALITY (March 2)**

Larisa Shapkovskaya, "Social Exclusion of Migrant Women in Russia. How Ethnicity, Gender and Class Work Together as Excluding Mechanisms?" *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, vol. 32, no. 2, Jan. 2014, pp. 43-59.

Richard C.M. Mole, "Identity, Belonging and Solidarity among Russian-Speaking Queer Migrants in Berlin," *Slavic Review*, vol. 77, no. 1, spring 2018, pp. 77-98.

Daniel M. Butler and Margit Tavits, "Does the Hijab increase Representatives' Perceptions of Social Distance?" *Journal of Politics*, vol. 79, no. 2, April 2017, pp. 727-31.

Piro Rexhepi, "From Orientalism to Homophobia: Queer Politics, Islamophobia and Europeanization in Kosovo," *Southeastern Europe*, vol. 40, no. 1, January 2016, pp. 32-53.

## **8) PROTEST AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (March 9)**

Olena Nikolayenko and Maria DeCasper, "Why Women Protest: Insights from Ukraine's EuroMaidan," *Slavic Review*, vol. 77, no. 3, fall 2018, pp. 726-51.

Grigore Pop-Eleches & Graeme B. Robertson. "Identity and political preferences in Ukraine – before and after the Euromaidan," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 34:2-3, 2018, pp. 107-118

Andrea Peto, "Report from the Trenches: The Debate around Teaching Gender Studies In Hungary," 10 April 2017. Heinrich Böll Stiftung – Green Political Foundation, <https://www.boell.de/en/2017/04/10/report-trenches-debate-around-teaching-gender-studies-hungary>

Gapova, Elena. "Class, Agency, and Citizenship in Belarusian Protest." *Slavic Review*, vol. 80, no. 1, 2021, pp. 45–51., doi:10.1017/slr.2021.21.

## **Weeks 9, 10, 11: Commence oral presentations (March 16, March 23, March 30)**

## **12) CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER ROLES (April 6)**

Ghodsee, *Why Women have Better Sex under Socialism*, chapter 6.

Michele Rivkin-Fish, "Fight Abortion, Not Women": The Moral Economy Underlying Russian Feminist Advocacy." *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2018, pp. 22-44.

Kimberly S. Julian-Varnon, "A Voice from the Slavic Studies Edge: On Being a Black Woman in the Field." *ASEES Newsnet*, vol. 60, no. 4, August 2020, pp. 1-4.

Mohira Suyarkulova, "Fashioning the Nation: Gender and Politics of Dress in Contemporary Kyrgyzstan." *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 44, no. 2, Mar. 2016, pp. 247–265.

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## Appendix

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### **Covid-19 Information**

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow COVID-19 prevention measures and all mandatory public health requirements (e.g. wearing a mask, physical distancing, hand hygiene, respiratory and cough etiquette). When accessing campus you must fill in the [COVID-19 Screening Self-Assessment in cuScreen](#) each day before coming to campus. You must also check-in to your final destination (where you plan on being longer than 15 minutes) within a building using the [QR location code](#).

If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately, self-isolate, and complete the mandatory [symptom reporting tool](#). For purposes of contact tracing, attendance will be recorded in all classes and labs. Participants can check in using posted QR codes through the cuScreen platform where provided. Students who do not have a smartphone will be required to complete a paper process as indicated on the [COVID-19 website](#).

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow guidelines regarding safe movement and seating on campus (e.g. directional arrows, designated entrances and exits, designated seats that maintain physical distancing). In order to avoid congestion, allow all previous occupants to fully vacate a classroom before entering. No food or drinks are permitted in any classrooms or labs.

For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and required measures, please see the [University's COVID-19 webpage](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact [covidinfo@carleton.ca](mailto:covidinfo@carleton.ca)

Please note that failure to comply with University policies and mandatory public health requirements, and endangering the safety of others are considered misconduct under the [Student Rights and Responsibilities Policy](#). Failure to comply with Carleton's COVID-19 procedures may lead to supplementary action involving Campus Safety and/or Student Affairs.

### **Requests for Academic Accommodation**

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

***Pregnancy accommodation:*** Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details,



visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf).

**Religious accommodation:** Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf).

**Accommodations for students with disabilities:** If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more information, please visit [carleton.ca/pmc](https://carleton.ca/pmc).

**Accommodation for student activities:** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

### **Sexual Violence Policy**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support).

### **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

includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

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 may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

### **Intellectual property**

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

### **Submission and Return of Term Work**

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

## **Grading**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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

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.

## **Carleton E-mail Accounts**

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

## **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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

## **Official Course Outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.