

<b>Gender, Democracy and Citizenship in Central Eastern Europe</b>
<b>Course Code:</b> MK_15
<b>Language of Instruction:</b> English
<b>Course tutor(s)</b> <b>Dr Katarzyna Zielińska</b> works as an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Sociology. Her academic interests include gender studies with a special focus on Central and Eastern Europe, religion in contemporary Europe and queer studies. More information is available at: <a href="http://www.ces.uj.edu.pl/european/zielinska/zielinska.htm">http://www.ces.uj.edu.pl/european/zielinska/zielinska.htm</a>
<b>Description</b> This course covers a broad range of issues related to the concepts of gender, citizenship and democracy in the context of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Contemporary processes will be presented in the scope of historical development, with particular attention given to the construction of gender under socialist regimes, democratic transformation, Europeanization and globalization.
<b>Type of course</b> This is a specialisation course for students following Central Eastern European Studies or Europeanization and Government in Central and Eastern Europe specialisation. Elective course for students of EU specialization MA level.
<b>ECTS points</b> 4.5 ECTS
<b>Intended Learning Outcomes</b>  The student: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Will become familiar with various notions of political philosophy: ideological currents and political doctrines, as well as their dependencies on one another (K_W07+++),</li> <li>-Will gain deepened knowledge about the terminology used when speaking of democratic and non-democratic governments, as well as knowledge about the process of development of political systems in Europe and their contemporary models (K_W10++),</li> <li>-Will have the ability to search, gather and interpret data and information based on relevant sources; will have the ability to evaluate the importance of sources (K_U01+++),</li> <li>-Will have the ability to read with comprehension and critically analyze texts pertinent to European studies and have the ability to compare them to texts presenting different views on the subject, confront them and draw his or her own conclusions (K_U02+++),</li> <li>-Will have the ability to write independent and creative essays in Polish or in any foreign language (different from the language of study programme) based on a suitable selection of sources and methodological workshops; ability to write an MA thesis based on own research questions/hypotheses (K_U09+++)</li> <li>-Will be able to prepare presentations and communicate information, ideas, problems and solutions (in Polish or in language of study programme) individually or in a group (K_U10+++).</li> </ul>
<b>Course communication</b> via email – <a href="mailto:katarzyna.zielinska@uj.edu.pl">katarzyna.zielinska@uj.edu.pl</a> <b>Office hours:</b> TBC
<b>Notices and announcements</b> All changes and updates regarding seminars will be communicated via the CES office in the form of emails and posted on the 'CES to students' notice board.
<b>COURSE ORGANIZATION</b>

**Spring Semester**

The classes will take place on Wednesdays.

**Course type (seminar/lecture/workshop, etc)**

The course consists of seminars covering the scope of topics related to the theme of gender, citizenship and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. The course will have 30 contact hours. There will be 11 sessions of 120 minutes each, plus short first introductory session (30 minutes). During each seminar there will be a short introduction given by the lecturer, followed by a student presentation and class discussion.

**Contact hours:**

- 30 hours of seminars

**Breakdown of ECTS points:**

30 contact hours

25 hours of preparation for class (readings)

30 hours of student's individual research work to prepare for the presentation and to write a research paper based on the presentation

28 hours of student's individual work to prepare for the final exam

**=113h = 4.5 ECTS**

**Didactic methods used**

The course will consist of seminars which aim to introduce students to the key theoretical concepts and frameworks related to the gendered analysis of the processes of transformation, democratization and Europeanization in Central and Eastern Europe. The students will be encouraged to take active part in the discussion based on the required readings as well as prepare their own presentations based on more detailed case studies illustrating the discussed topics.

**Mode and criteria of assessment of learning outcomes**

Knowledge acquired in the course will be mostly assessed based on a written exam and on the papers prepared by each student ((K\_W07+++, K\_W10++),

Abilities and competences will be assessed based on the in-class discussions and presentations based on case studies (K\_U01+++, K\_U02+++, K\_U10+++, K\_K04++).

**Assessment of the course**

There will be a combination of various ways of assessing participation in the course. The final grade for the course will be calculated taking into account the following elements:

**1. Presentation**

Each student is expected to make a presentation (either individually or in cooperation with a fellow student, about 20-30 minutes long) related to a chosen topic from the programme of seminars. The topic needs to be discussed in advance with the coordinator of the course.

Originality and critical analysis shown in approaching the topic will be taken into consideration in the assessment of the presentation. Various approaches are possible: e.g. a student can present a case study by applying the discussed theoretical perspective into actual social phenomena, or critically examine the weaknesses and strengths of the theoretical perspective(s) discussed, or use a comparative approach. Persons preparing the presentation will also serve as experts and will be responsible for running and chairing a discussion following the presentation. The grade received from the presentation will make up 20 % of the final grade.

PLEASE NOTE: the presentation is not about summarizing the required readings! In the presentation a student needs to present their expertise in the topic, therefore additional readings and materials need to be used (apart from the required readings). Exceeding the time allocated for the presentation will be penalized.

**2. Essay**

Students should write a research paper of 2500-3000 words based on the topic chosen for the presentation. The essay may have various forms e.g. of a case study, comparative study, or critical examination of theoretical approaches etc. In the assessment of the essay originality and an individual and critical approach will be particularly appreciated. The essay should meet the standards of a paper which can be published in an academic journal. The grade received from the paper will make up 30 % of the final grade.

### **3. Active participation in class**

Each student is expected to read the required literature prescribed for the classes and participate actively in discussions. The assessment will be based on the student's contribution to the class. Evaluation of active participation will make up 10% of the final grade.

### **4. Exam in form of short essays**

It will cover the problems discussed during the course. The grade received from the exam will make up 40% of the final grade.

Attendance is obligatory for each seminar class. Students are allowed to miss one meeting during the semester. Should more classes be missed students will be expected to do additional work given by the instructor. Missing more than 50% of seminars will result in failing the seminar. In such a case students will not be able to take the final exam and will need to repeat the whole course next academic year.

## **COURSE STRUCTURE**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Title of the session</b>	<b>Format (lecture, seminar, combination?)</b>
0	Introduction session (30 minutes)	
1	Feminism, democracy and citizenship: Historical perspectives	Seminar
2	Feminism, democracy and citizenship: contemporary perspectives	Seminar
3	Interests and representations and feminist policy-making	Seminar
4	Gender and socialist regimes	Seminar
5	Gendering CEE transformation – women's participation in resistance movements	Seminar
6	Gender and politics in post-socialist countries	Seminar
7	Gender and nation – the Balkan case	Seminar
8	Intimate citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe – reproductive rights	Seminar
9	Homophobia in Central and Eastern Europe	Seminar
10	EU and Gender mainstreaming in Central Eastern Europe	Seminar

## **DETAILED COURSE STRUCTURE**

<b>Session no. 1</b>	<b>Feminism, Democracy and Citizenship: Historical Perspectives</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	The session will aim to define and discuss concepts of democracy and citizenship. Additionally, the reinterpretations and criticisms offered by feminist theoreticians will be discussed.
<i>Key readings for the session</i>	A. Phillips, 1991. <i>Engendering democracy</i> , Cambridge: Polity Press, Chapter 2: The Classic Debates. S. M. Okin, <i>Women in Western Political Thought</i> , Chapters 5: Rousseau and the Modern Patriarchal Tradition pp. 99-105, Chapter 7: Equality and Freedom – for men 140-166, and Chapter 9: John Stuart Mill, Liberal Feminist 197-230.
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	How are women defined in Rousseau's and Mill's writings? What is the place for women in Rousseau's republic? What are the limits of the liberal individual? Types of democracy (liberal, participatory and civic republicanism) and their feminist reinterpretations.
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	J. S. Dryzek, B. Honing, A. Philips, <i>The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory</i> , Chapter 5: Feminist Theory and the Canon of Political Thought, Oxford University Press, p. 106-124. S. Monro, <i>Gender Politics. Citizenship, Activism and Sexual Diversity</i> . London: Pluto Press. Chapter 8: 169-193.

<b>Session no. 2</b>	<b>Feminism, Democracy and Citizenship: Contemporary Perspectives</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	We will focus on the contemporary discussions within the feminist theory on democracy and justice. At the centre of our attention will be the questions related to the public-private division and diversity within group.
<i>Key readings for the session</i>	W. Kymlicka, 2002, <i>Contemporary Political Philosophy</i> , Chapter 9: Feminism. p. 377-430. S. Walby. 1994. Is Citizenship Gendered? <i>Sociology</i> 28, nr 2: 379–395.
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	Feminist reinterpretation of the concept of citizenship. Feminist perspectives on justice.
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	R. Voet, 1998. Feminism and Citizenship. Part III: Evaluation. (Evaluating Feminist and Other Citizenship Concepts and Active and Sex-equal Citizenship. M. G. Dietz, Context is All: Feminism and Theories of Citizenship. In: A. Phillips, <i>Feminism and Politics</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 378-400. N. Fraser, From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age. In: A. Phillips, <i>Feminism and Politics</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 430-460.  I. M. Young, Polity and Group Difference: A Critique and the Idea of Universal Citizenship. In: A. Phillips, <i>Feminism and Politics</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 401-419.

<b>Session no. 3</b>	<b>Interests and Representations and Feminist Policy-Making</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	To discuss the issues related to the representation in liberal democracies with a special focus on the representation of women. Women's participation in politics. We will discuss and evaluate various equality strategies.

<i>Key readings for the session</i>	<p>J. Squire, 2007, <i>New Politics of Gender Equality</i>. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan Chapter 1: Equality strategies: Quotas, Policy Agencies and Mainstreaming pp. 21-51.</p> <p>V. Sapiro, When are Interests Interesting? The Problem of Political Representation of Women. In: A. Phillips, <i>Feminism and Politics</i>, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 161-192.</p> <p>A. Phillips, Democracy and Representation: Or, Why Should It Matter Who our Representatives Are? In: A. Phillips, <i>Feminism and Politics</i>, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 224-241.</p>
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	What are the strengths and weaknesses of the discussed equality strategies? Does political representation of women matter and why?
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	Y. Galligan, S. Clavero, M. Calloni, <i>Gender Politics and Democracy in post-socialist Europe</i> . Chapter 2: Theorizing Political Representation pp. 35-52.

<b>Session no. 4</b>	<b>Gender and Socialist Regimes</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	The emancipation of women was a central element of socialist regimes, at least at a declarative level. We will critically re-examine ideologies and realities of women's emancipation under socialist regimes.
<i>Key readings for the session</i>	<p>E. Fodor, 2002. Smiling Women and Fighting Men: The Gender of the Communist Subject in State Socialist Hungary, <i>Gender and Society</i>, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Apr., 2002), pp. 240-263 ,</p> <p>M. Fidelis, 2004. Equality through Protection: The Politics of Women's Employment in Postwar Poland, 1945- 1956. <i>Slavic Review</i>, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Summer, 2004), pp. 301-324.</p> <p>I. Marcus. 2009. Wife Beating: Ideology and Practice under State Socialism in Hungary, Poland, and Romania. In: S. Penn, J. Massino (eds). <i>Gender Politics and Everyday Life in State Socialist Eastern and Central Europe</i>. Palgrave.</p>
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	What was the socialist ideology regarding gender relations? How were gender relations structured under socialist regimes? Citizenship and women's representation in socialist states.
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	<p>E. Fodor, 2004. The State Socialist Emancipation Project: Gender Inequality in Workplace Authority in Hungary and Austria, <i>Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society</i>, vol. 29, no. 3.</p> <p>J. M. Bystydziensk, 1989. Women and Socialism: A Comparative Study of Women in Poland and the USSR. <i>Signs</i>, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Spring, 1989), pp. 668-684,</p> <p>J. M. Echols. 1981. Does Socialism Mean Greater Equality? A Comparison of East and West Along Several Major Dimensions <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Feb., 1981),</p> <p>G.Massey, K. Hahn, D. Sekulic. 1995. Women, Men, and the "Second Shift" in Socialist Yugoslavia. <i>Gender and Society</i>, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Jun., 1995), pp. 359-379</p>

<b>Session no. 5</b>	<b>Gendering Transition – Women's Participation in Resistance Movements</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	Women's participation in anti-socialist opposition had long been overlooked. We will look at the case of the Solidarity movement in Poland and women's participation in it.

<i>Key readings for the session</i>	<p>S. Penn, 1994, National Secret. <i>Journal of women's history</i>, vol. 5, no. 3 (winter)</p> <p>P. Watson 1993. Eastern European Silent Revolution. <i>Sociology</i>, 27 (3), pp. 471-487.</p> <p>V. Moghadam 1995. Gender and Revolutionary Transformation. Iran 1979 and East Central Europe 1989. <i>Gender&amp;Society</i>, 9(3), pp. 328-358.</p>
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	Why was women's participation in resistance movements silenced? How did this influence the construction of the post-socialist transformations?
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	<p>G. Waylen, 1994. Women and Democratization: Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics, <i>World Politics</i>, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Apr., 1994), pp. 327-354</p> <p>P. Kenney, 1999. The Gender of Resistance in Communist Poland. <i>The American Historical Review</i>, Vol. 104, No. 2 (Apr), pp. 399-425</p>

<b>Session no. 6</b>	<b>Gender and Politics in Post-Socialist Countries</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	Women are still underrepresented in politics. This session will focus on examinations of women's participation in politics in post-socialist countries. Furthermore it will focus on the creation of new political spaces and agency of women – women's movement in CEE.
<i>Key readings for the session</i>	<p>Callaghan, S. Clavero, M. Calloni, <i>Gender Politics and Democracy in post-socialist Europe</i>. Chapter 4: Women's mobilization, pp. 71-87. S. Gal, G. Kligman. <i>The Politics of Gender after Socialism: A Comparative-Historical Essay</i>. Princeton University Press. Chapter 5: Arenas of Political Action, pp. 91-108.</p> <p>Druciarek, M., Niżyńska, A., 2014. (No) Women in Politics. Is a Common Strategy for East-Central Europe Possible? Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa. Available at: <a href="http://rownoscplci.pl/uploads/pdf/1515814267.pdf">http://rownoscplci.pl/uploads/pdf/1515814267.pdf</a></p>
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	Why did the women's movement emerge in post-socialist CEE? What was the reception of feminism in post-socialist countries? Women's political activism – forms, aims, actors? What is the relationship between the women's movement in CEE and the West? What are the obstacles for the participation of women in politics in CEE? Are there similarities and differences between Western and post-socialist Europe?
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	<p>J. T. Ishiyama, 2003. Women's Parties in Post-Communist Politics, <i>East European Politics and Societies</i>, 17.</p> <p>J. Szalai, 1998. Women and Democratization. Some Notes on Recent Changes in Hungary. In: J. S. Jaquette, S. L. Wolchik, <i>Women and Democracy. Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe</i>. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press.</p> <p>R. Siemioska, 1994. Women in the Period of Systemic Changes in Poland, <i>Journal of Women's History</i>, vol. 5(3) (winter).</p> <p>C. Chiva. 2005. Women in Post-Communist Politics: Explaining Under-Representation in the Hungarian and Romanian Parliaments <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>, Vol. 57, No. 7 (Nov., 2005), pp. 969-994</p>

<b>Session no. 7</b>	<b>Gender and Nation – the Balkan Case</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	In nationalistic discourses women are given a special position as the biological reproductions of a nation. Such definitions have practical consequences for the definitions of women's rights and duties. The

	relationship between gender and nation will be examined by looking into the Balkan case.
<i>Key readings for the session</i>	Yuval-Davis Nira, 2000. <i>Gender and Nation</i> , London: Sage Publications 2000, Chapters 1: Theorizing Gender and Nation and Chapter 2: Women and Biological Reproduction of the Nation. L. Hansen, 2001. Gender , Nation, Rape. Bosnia and the Construction of security, <i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i> , Volume 3, Number 1. Drezgić, R., 2010. Religion, Politics and Gender in the Context of Nation-State Formation: the case of Serbia. <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 31, 955–970.
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	How is the position of women envisaged by nationalistic discourses? What were the consequences of such discourses during the war in the Balkans in the 90s?
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	J. Stojšavljević. 1995. Women, conflict, and culture in former Yugoslavia, <i>Gender and Development</i> , Vol 3, No. 1 D. Stokuls, 1999. Body of the Nation: Mothering, Prostitution, and Women's Place in Postcommunist Latvia. <i>Slavic Review</i> , Vol. 58, No. 3 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 537-558

<b>Session no. 8</b>	<b>Intimate Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe – Reproductive rights</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	To discuss reproduction politics in the socialist and post-socialist context.
<i>Key readings for the session</i>	Kligman G., 1992. The Politics of Reproduction in Ceaușescu's Romania: a Case Study in Political Culture <i>East European Politics &amp; Societies</i> , 6: 364-418, Holc J. 2004. The Purest Democrat: Fetal Citizenship and Subjectivity in the Construction of Democracy in Poland. <i>Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society</i> , vol. 29, no. 3.
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	What is intimate citizenship? Reproductive rights in socialist and post-socialist context?
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	Kulczycki A. 1995. Abortion Policy in Postcommunist Europe: The Conflict in Poland. <i>Population and Development Review</i> , 21, No. 3 (Sep., 1995): 471-505. Kligman G., When abortion is banned. The Politics of Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania, and After. Available at: <a href="http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/1992-805-14-Kligman.pdf">http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/1992-805-14-Kligman.pdf</a> Anton L. 2009. On Memory Work in Post-communist Europe A Case Study on Romania's Ways of Remembering its Pronatalist Past. <i>Anthropological Journal of European Cultures</i> , 18(2), 2009: 106–122. Fodor E., Glass C., Kawachi J., Popescu L., Family policies and gender in Hungary, Poland, and Romania. <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i> 35 (2002) 475–490.

<b>Session no. 9</b>	<b>Homophobia in Central and Eastern Europe</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	To discuss the emergence of the LGBTQ movement in CEE, sexuality and identity construction as well as homophobia.

<i>Key readings for the session</i>	<p>Nagel J., 1998. Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations, <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i>, 21(2), pp. 242-269.</p> <p>Peterson V. S., 1999. Political Identities/Nationalism as Heterosexism. <i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i>, 1(1), pp. 34 — 65</p> <p>Richard Mole, 2012. Homophobia in Central and Eastern Europe: the Failure of Europeanisation in the Latvian Context. In: Góra, Magdalena, Mach, Zdzisław, Zielińska, Katarzyna (eds.) <i>Collective Identity and Democracy in the Enlarging Europe</i>, Peter Lang.</p>
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	What are the links between sexuality and identity? What is the situation of people of non-normative sexual identities in CEE?
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	<p>Sanja Sagasta, 2001. State of the Art: Lesbian Movements in Former Yugoslavia I. Lesbians in Croatia, <i>European Journal of Women's Studies August</i>, vol. 8 no. 3 357-372</p> <p>Joanna Mizielińska, 2001. The Rest is Silence... Polish Nationalism and the Question of Lesbian Existence, <i>European Journal of Women's Studies August 2001</i> vol. 8 no. 3 281-297</p> <p>Beata Czajkowska (ed.), Extending the Boundaries of Civic Membership. Polish NGOs as Change Agents, <i>RECON Report No 16, ARENA Report 9/11</i>, Oslo, December 2011, available at: <a href="http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECONreport1611.pdf?fileitem=4472845">http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECONreport1611.pdf?fileitem=4472845</a></p> <p>Roseneil, Sasha and Stoilova, M. 2011. Heteronormativity, intimate citizenship and the regulation of same-sex sexualities in Bulgaria. In: Kulpa, R. and Mizielińska, J. (eds.) <i>De-Centring Western Sexualities: Central and Eastern European Perspectives</i>. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, pp. 167-190. Available at: <a href="http://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/4444/1/4444.pdf">http://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/4444/1/4444.pdf</a></p>

<b>Session no. 10</b>	<b>EU and Gender Mainstreaming in Central and Eastern Europe</b>
<i>Aim of the session, main issues discussed</i>	EU integration has had a significant impact on the countries of CEE. Its meaning for the introduction of equality policies and redefinition of the position of women will be discussed.
<i>Key readings for the session</i>	<p>Chiva, C., 2009. The Limits of Europeanisation: EU Accession and Gender Equality in Bulgaria and Romania. <i>Perspectives on European Politics and Society</i> 10, 195–209. doi:10.1080/15705850902899230</p> <p>Krizsan, A., Popa, R., 2010. Europeanization in Making Policies against Domestic Violence in Central and Eastern Europe. <i>Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State &amp; Society</i> 17, 379 –406. doi:10.1093/sp/jxq010</p> <p>Sedelmeier, U., 2009. Post-accession compliance with EU gender equality legislation in post-communist new member states. <i>European Integration online Papers (EIoP)</i> 13.</p>
<i>Questions for discussions (based on readings)</i>	Has the EU had a positive impact on women's rights and their position in the countries in question? In the context of CEE countries, how could the gender mainstreaming strategy be evaluated?
<i>Additional/further readings</i>	<p>A.L. Seppanen, 2006. European Union Gender Regulations in the East: The Czech and Polish Accession Process. <i>East European Politics and Societies</i> 20 (1), pp. 101-125.</p> <p>N. Kakucs, A. Pető, The Impact of EU on gender Equality in Hungary. In: S. Roth, <i>Gender Politics in the expanding European Union. Mobilization, Inclusion, Exclusion</i>. Oxford: Berghahn Books.</p> <p>Gender Mainstreaming. How Can We Successfully Use Its Political</p>



	Potential? Heinrich Böll Foundation Regional Office Warsaw, <a href="http://www.boell.pl/alt/download_en/Gender_Mainstreaming.pdf">http://www.boell.pl/alt/download_en/Gender_Mainstreaming.pdf</a>
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