

Course Syllabus  
Anthropology E 614  
Postsocialist Gender Formations  
Wednesdays 9:30-11:45am, SB 140

Dr. Sarah D. Phillips  
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Course Description

This graduate seminar focuses on questions of gender, sexuality, and power during and after socialism in the countries of the former Soviet Bloc. Readings and seminar discussions will begin by centering on the Soviet project(s) to emancipate women, and "feminizing" and "masculinizing" projects throughout the region. Most attention will be given to recent developments in gender formations as socialist projects have given way to capitalism and globalization. We will read theoretical works as well as case studies and ethnographies to understand the discourses and struggles motivating contemporary gender ideologies in the former Soviet Bloc countries.

Assignments

Students will take turns leading the weekly seminar, complete several short essays, and carry out an independent library research project on the topic of their choice.

Students' grades will be calculated as follows:

Attendance and Seminar participation: 30%

Seminar leadership: 20%

Short essays: 25%

Final research project: 25%

Format of the seminar

One or two students will be responsible for leading each seminar discussion. All students should have the readings completed by 7pm the night before the seminar, at which time they are to e-mail comments and questions to the seminar leader(s). The seminar leader(s) will compile these to be sent out to all seminar participants by 9pm. These will be the guiding questions and issues for that week's seminar.

Short Essays

At the end of each unit, students will turn in a short essay/reflection (3-5 pages). This gives students an opportunity to synthesize and reflect upon the material on their own.

Final Research Paper

The research paper will allow students to pursue their personal interests, to delve more deeply into a subject we have brought up only briefly, and/or to explore geographical regions outside the main focus of this course. Students should decide on their paper topic very early in the semester, and consult with me about it. I am looking for critical analysis of the subject matter, effective comparisons, and good use of sources. You may draw on themes we cover in this class for your research project, but I will expect at least 10 outside sources. Research papers should be 15-20 pages. If you have conducted your own field research, feel free to include that material in your research paper.

Note: The instructor reserves the right to make changes to this syllabus. Any changes will be announced in class.

### Course Readings

#### **Books:**

The following books are available at the IU and TIS Bookstores:

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

Kristen Ghodsee. 2005. *The Red Riviera: Gender, Tourism and Postsocialism on the Black Sea*. Durham: Duke University Press.

This manuscript will be in electronic form on Oncourse:

Sarah D. Phillips. N.D. *Before the Maidan: The Invention of Civil Society, Gender, and Class in the New Ukraine*.

Other articles will be available on E-Res (course password is "ukraine").

#### **Background Theory:**

Some students have asked for references to key theoretical works in the anthropology of gender. Unfortunately, we do not have time to include these works directly in this course. Many of these approaches, I am confident, will come out in many of the readings (and seminar discussions) during the semester. If, however, you would like to do some reading in anthropological gender/feminist theory over the winter break in preparation for the course, the following are works I would recommend (though none are required):

Mascia-Lees, Frances E. and Nancy Johnson Black. 2002. *Gender and Anthropology*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

*A review of the theoretical lenses anthropologists have used to scrutinize sex and gender, including evolutionary, psychological, structuralist, materialist, sociolinguistic, discursive, and reflexive orientations. A good place to start for an overview.*

Scott, Joan W. 1988. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." In *Gender and the Politics of History*, pp. 28-50. New York: Columbia University Press.  
*Fundamental theoretical text.*

Butler, Judith. 1990. "Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire." In *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, pp. 1-34. New York: Routledge.  
*Also a fundamental theoretical text.*

Di Leonardo, Micaela. 1991. "Introduction: Gender, Culture, and Political Economy: Feminist Anthropology in Historical Perspective." In *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, ed. Micaela Di Leonardo, pp. 1-48. Berkeley: University of California Press.  
*The Di Leonardo edited volume is a classic in the field, full of excellent case studies, though none on Eastern Europe.*

Mohanty, Chandra. 1991. "Under Western Eyes." In *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, pp. 51-80. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.  
*Important for challenges to a universal feminism, which we will discuss in relation to Eastern Europe after communism.*

Visweswaran, Kamala. 1997. "Histories of Feminist Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26:591-621.  
*Historical overview of 4 stages in anthropological study of gender in feminist ethnography.*

Gutman, Matthew C. 1997. "Trafficking in Men: The Anthropology of Masculinity." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26:385-409.

Brod, Harry, and Michael Kaufman, eds. 1994. *Theorizing Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.  
*A multidisciplinary edited volume, explores issues of power, diversity, ethnicity, feminism, and homophobia, as well as institutions of the military, sports, and the men's movement.*

Connell, R.W. 2005. *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press (2<sup>nd</sup> edition).

**Socialist Dreaming, the New Soviet Man, and the "Woman Question" in Revolution-Era Russia and Beyond**

**January 11**

*Pointers on leading seminar discussions*

Read the following selections from William Rosenberg's *Bolshevik Visions: First Phase of the Cultural Revolution in Soviet Russia* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1990). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press:

Kollontai, A. "The Family and the Communist State" (pp. 67-76).

Trotsky, L. "From the Old Family to the New" (pp. 77-83).

Kollontai, A. "Make Way for the Winged Eros" (pp. 84-94).

Vasilevsky, L.A. and L.M. "The Sex Life of Man" (pp. 95-98).

Wood, Elizabeth. 1997. "The Bolsheviks and the Genealogy of the Woman Question." In her *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia*, pp. 13-39. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

### January 18

Stites, Richard. 1978. "Bolshevik Liberation." In his *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930*, pp. 317-345. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 1992. "Sex and Revolution." In her *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia*, pp. 65-90. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Healey, Dan. 2002. "The Disappearance of the Russian Queen, or How the Soviet Closet Was Born." In *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*, ed. Barbara Evans Clements, Rebecca Friedman, and Dan Healey, pp. 152-171. Palgrave.

Selections from Lynne Attwood. 1990. *The New Soviet Man and Woman: Sex Role Socialization in the USSR*: pp. 63-66, 133-164, 183-202.

#### Further reading:

Stites, Richard. 1978. "The Birth of the Woman Question." In his *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860-1930*, pp. 29-63. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Clements, Barbara. 1985. "The Birth of the New Soviet Woman." In *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution*, ed. Abbott Gleason, Peter Kenez and Richard Stites, pp. 220-237. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wood, Elizabeth. 1997. "Identity and Organization: Creating the Women's Sections of the Communist Party." In her *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia*, pp. 68-98. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Edmonson, Linda. 1984. *Feminism in Russia 1900-1917*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chatterjee, Choi. 2002. *Celebrating Women: Gender, Festival Culture, and Bolshevik Ideology, 1910-1939*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press.

## January 25

### Men and Women and Actually Existing Socialism, Or, Backlash

Schrand, T.G. 2002. "Socialism in One Gender: Masculine Values in the Stalin Revolution." In *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*, ed. Barbara Evans Clements, Rebecca Friedman, and Dan Healey, pp. 194-209. Palgrave.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 1999. "Family Problems." In her *Everyday Stalinism, Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*, pp. 139-163. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Healey, Dan. 2002. "Homosexual Existence and Existing Socialism: New Light on the Repression of Male Homosexuality in Stalin's Russia." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8(3):349-378.

Gray, Francine du Plessix. 1991. "The Women's Century," and "Growing Up Powerful." In her *Soviet Women Walking the Tightrope*, pp. 28-39, 40-49. London: Virago Press.

Einhorn, Barbara. 1993. "New for Old? Ideology, the Family and the Nation." In her *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in East Central Europe*, pp. 39-73. London and New York: Verso.

#### Further reading:

Goldman, Wendy. 1991. "Working-Class Women and the 'Withering Away' of the Family: Popular Responses to Family Policy." In *Russia in the Era of NEP*, ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick, Alex Rabinowitch, and Richard Stites, pp. 125-143. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Baranskaya, Natalya. 1989 (1969). *A Week Like Any Other*. Seal Press.

Gray, Francine du Plessix. 2002. "Mayakovsky's Last Loves." *The New Yorker*, January 7.

Buckley, Mary. 1989. *Women and Ideology in the Soviet Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

## February 1

### Essay Due (Socialist Dreaming and Backlash)

## The Collapse of 'Communism' and the Re-Politicization of Gender

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

### February 8

Funk, Nanette. 1993. "Introduction: Women and Post-Communism" and "Feminism East and West." In *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, ed. Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, pp. 1-14, 318-330.

*Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*—class members will divide up the selections and summarize carefully for the rest of the group.

Einhorn, Barbara. 1993. "An Allergy to Feminism." In her *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in East Central Europe*, pp. 182-215. London: Verso.

#### Further reading:

Frances Pine. 2002. "Retreat to the Household? Gendered Domains in Postsocialist Poland." In *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*, ed. C.M. Hann, pp. 95-113. London and New York: Routledge.

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

Roudakova, Natalia, and Deborah S. Ballard-Reisch. 1999. "Femininity and the Double Burden: Dialogues on the Socialization of Russian Daughters into Womanhood." *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 17(1).

### February 15

Essay due (Repoliticization of Gender after Socialist Collapse)

#### Gender and Nation, Reproduction and/as Politics

Selections from Gal and Kligman's *Reproducing Gender: Politics, Publics, and Everyday Life after Socialism* (2000)

Marian J Rubchak. 1996. "Christian Virgin or Pagan Goddess: Feminism versus the Eternally Feminine in Ukraine." In *Women in Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Rosalind Marsh, pp. 315-330. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rivkin-Fish, Michele. 2004. "'Change Yourself and the Whole World Will Become Kinder': Russian Activists for Reproductive Health and the Limits of Claims Making for Women." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 18(3):281-304.

Further reading:

Hubbs, Joanna. 1988. *Mother Russia: The Feminine Myth in Russian Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Einhorn, Barbara. 1993. "Self-determination Under Threat: the State and Reproductive Rights." In her *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in East Central Europe*, pp. 74-107. London: Verso.

Berry, Ellen E., ed. 1995. *Post-communism and the Body Politic*. New York: New York University Press.

## February 22

### Women and Men in the New Political Spheres (cont.)

Einhorn, Barbara. 1993. "Where Have All the Women Gone? Politics and Participation." In her *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in East Central Europe*, pp. 148-181. London: Verso.

Watson, Peggy. 1993. "The Rise of Masculinism in Eastern Europe." *New Left Review* 198:71-82.

Watson, Peggy. 1997. "Civil Society and the Politics of Difference in Eastern Europe." In *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, ed. Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, pp. 20-29. New York and London: Routledge.

Susan Gal. 1997. "Feminism and Civil Society." In *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, ed. Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, pp. 30-45. New York and London: Routledge.

Gapova, Elena. 2004. "Conceptualizing Gender, Nation, and Class in Post-Soviet Belarus." In *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition: Nation Building, Economic Survival, and Civic Activism*, ed. Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Further Reading:

Wejnert, Barbara and Metta Spencer, with Slobodan Drakulic, eds. 1996. *Women in Post-Communism: Research on Russia and Eastern Europe* (Part I: Post-Communist Politics and Women's Identity). Greenwich, Connecticut, and London: JAI Press, Inc.

**March 1**

Essay Due (Gender and Nation)

Phillips, Sarah D. N.D. *Before the Maidan: The Invention of Civil Society, Gender, and Class in the New Ukraine*.

**Gender and Markets**

**March 9**

Oushakine, Serguei Alex. 2000. "The Quantity of Style: Imaginary Consumption in the New Russia." *Theory, Culture & Society* 17(5):97-120.

Oushakine, Serguei Alex. 2001. "The Fatal Splitting: Symbolizing Anxiety in Post-Soviet Russia." *Ethnos* 66(3):291-319.

Meshcherkina, E. 2000. "New Russian Men: Masculinity Regained?" In *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, ed. Sara Ashwin, pp. 105-117. London and New York: Routledge.

Kiblitskaya, Marina. 2000. "'Once We Were Kings': Male Experiences of Loss of Status at Work in Post-Communist Russia." In *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, ed. Sara Ashwin, pp. 90-104. London and New York: Routledge.

Peggy Watson. 1995. "Explaining Rising Mortality among Men in Eastern Europe." *Social Science & Medicine* 41(7):923-934.

Further reading:

Bridger, Sue, Rebecca Kay, and Kathryn Pinnick. 1996. *No More Heroines? Russia, Women and the Market*. London: Routledge.

Tatiana Zhurzhenko. 1999. "Gender and Identity Formation in Post-Socialist Ukraine: The Case of Women in the Shuttle Business." In *Feminist Fields: Ethnographic Insights*, ed. Rae Bridgman, Sally Cole, and Heather Howard-Bobiwash, pp. 243-263. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press.

Donna M. Hughes and Tatyana A. Denisova. 2004. "The Transnational Political Criminal Nexus of Trafficking in Women from Ukraine." *The Prediction and Control of Organized Crime: The Experience of Post-Soviet Ukraine*, ed. James O. Finckenauer and Jennifer L. Schrock, pp. 61-90. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

### **March 15**

**No Class—Spring Break**

### **March 22**

Ghodsee, Kristen. 2005. *The Red Riviera: Gender, Tourism and Postsocialism on the Black Sea*. Durham: Duke University Press.

### **March 29**

*Students are encouraged to attend the Roundtable in Post-Communism, March 30-31 (Theme: Public Spaces)—featured speakers will include Alaina Lemon, Deborah Davis, and Judit Bodnar*

Miroiu, Mihaela. 2004. "State Men, Market Women: The Effects of Left Conservatism on Gender Politics in Romanian Transition." Paper presented at Indiana University, Bloomington, January 23, 2004.

Ishkanian, Armine. 2002. "Between Tragedy and Reality: Armenian Women's Labor Migration in the Post-Soviet Period." *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 20(2).

Dickinson, Jennifer. 2005. "Gender, Work, and Economic Restructuring in a Transcarpatia Village (Ukraine)." *Nationalities Papers* 33(3):387-401.

Hughes, Donna M. 2000. "The 'Natasha' Trade: The Transnational Shadow Market of Trafficking in Women." *Journal of International Affairs* 53(2):625-651.

Hughes, Donna M. 2005. "Supplying Women for the Sex Industry: Trafficking from the Russian Federation." In *Sexuality and Gender in Postcommunist Eastern Europe and Russia*, ed. Aleksandar Štulhofer and Theo Sandfort, pp. 209-230. New York: Haworth Press.

### **April 5**

Essay Due (Gender and Markets)

**Gender and Sexuality in/and the Media, Folklore, and Popular Culture**

Kay, Rebecca. 1997. "Images of an Ideal Woman: Perceptions of Russian Womanhood through the Media, Education and Women's Own Eyes." In *Post-Soviet Women: From the Baltic to Central Asia*, ed. Mary Buckley, pp. 77-98. Cambridge University Press.

Sperling, Valerie. 2000. "The 'New Sexism': Images of Russian Women during the Transition." *Russia's Torn Safety Nets: Health and Social Welfare during the Transition*, eds. Mark G. Field and Judyth L. Twigg, pp. 173-186. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Attwood, Lynne. 1996. "The Post-Soviet Woman in the Move to the Market: A Return to Domesticity and Dependence?" In *Women in Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Rosalind Marsh, pp. 255-266. Cambridge University Press.

Bilaniuk, Laada. Paper on Verka Serdiuchka

Further reading:

Tempest, Snezana. 2001. "Acquiring an Identity: Gender Distinctions in Russian Childlore and Rituals." In *Gender and Sexuality in Russian Civilisation*, ed. Peter I. Barta, pp. 89-104. London: Routledge. (Focuses on pre-revolutionary peasant communities.)

Tartakovskaya, Irina. 2000. "The Changing Representation of Gender Roles in the Soviet and post-Soviet Press." In *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, ed. Sara Ashwin, pp. 118-136. London and New York: Routledge.

**April 12**

**Tracking Sexualities after Socialism**

Riordan, James. 1995. "Sexual Minorities: The Status of Gays and Lesbians in Russian-Soviet-Russian Society." In *Women in Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Rosalind Marsh, pp. 156-172. Cambridge University Press.

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Kon, Igor. 2005. "Sexual Culture and Politics in Contemporary Russia." In *Sexuality and Gender in Postcommunist Eastern Europe and Russia*, ed. Aleksandar Štulhofer and Theo Sandfort, pp. 111-123. New York: Haworth Press.

Bunzl, Matti. 2000. "The Prague Experience: Gay Male Sex Tourism and the Neocolonial Invention of an Embodied Border." In *Altering States: Ethnographies of Transition in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, ed. Daphne Berdahl, Matti Bunzl, and Martha Lampland, pp. 70-95. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Rivkin-Fish, Michele. 1999. "Sexuality Education in Russia: Defining Pleasure and Danger for a Fledgling Democratic Society." *Social Science and Medicine* 49:801-814.

Omel'chenko, Elena. 2000. "'My Body, My Friend?' Provincial Youth Between the Sexual and the Gender Revolutions." In *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, ed. Sara Ashwin, pp. 137-167. London and New York: Routledge.

***Further reading:***

Rotkirch, Anna. 2004. "'What Kind of Sex Can You Talk About?' Acquiring Sexual Knowledge in Three Soviet Generations." In *On Living Through Soviet Russia*, ed. Daniel Bertaux, Paul Thompson, and Anna Rotkirch, pp. 93-119. London: Routledge.

Beumers, Birgit. 2001. "The 'Blue' Stage: Homosexuality in Russian Theatre and Drama of the 1990s." In *Gender and Sexuality in Russian Civilisation*, ed. Peter I. Barta, pp. 295-309. London: Routledge.

**April 19**

Essay Due (Gender and Sexuality in Media, etc.)

**International Interventions**

Phillips, Sarah D. 2005. "Will the Market Set Them Free? Women, NGOs, and Social Enterprise in Ukraine." *Human Organization* 64(3):251-264.

Rivkin-Fish, Michele. 2000. "Health Development Meets the End of State Socialism: Visions of Democratization, Women's Health, and Social Well-Being for Contemporary Russia." *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 24(1):77-100.

Hemment, Julie. 2004. "Global Civil Society and the Local Costs of Belonging: Defining Violence against Women in Russia." *Signs* 29(3):815-840.

***Further reading:***

Elissa Helms. 2003. "Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women's NGOs and International Intervention in Post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Women's Studies International Forum* 26(1):15-33.

Rivkin Fish, Michele. 2004. "Gender and Democracy: Strategies for Engagement and Dialogue on Women's Issues after Socialism in St. Petersburg." In *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition: Nation Building, Economic Survival, and Civic Activism*, ed. Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias, pp. 288-312. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Other selections from: Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias, eds. 2004. *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition: Nation Building, Economic Survival, and Civic Activism*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

**April 26**

*20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster*

Essay due (Int'l Interventions)

**Last day of the seminar—students will give a brief presentation to the class about their research papers.**

**Wednesday, May 3**

Final papers are due by 5pm.

**List of Videos relevant to this course owned by REEI:**

*MOTHER (MOTH)*, 1926, 87 min.

*BED AND SOFA (BED)*, 1927, 73 min.

*MOSCOW DOES NOT BELIEVE IN TEARS (MOS)* 1981, 150 min.

*ADAM'S RIB (ADA)*, 1992, 77 min.

*LITTLE VERA (LIT1)*, 1988, 110 min.

*CZECH WOMEN: NOW WE ARE FREE (CZE)*, 1993, 60 min.

*DIAMONDS IN THE DARK (DIA)*, 1999, 60 min. Directed by Olivia Carrescia (stories of 10 Romanian women)

*A.R.M. AROUND MOSCOW (ARM)*, 1994

*BOUGHT & SOLD: AN INVESTIGATIVE DOCUMENTARY ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN WOMEN (BOU)*, 1998, 42 min.

*OF FREAKS AND MEN (FRK)*, 1998, 89 min

*IN THE NAME OF LOVE: MODERN DAY MAIL ORDER BRIDES (NMAI)*  
2002, 58 min. By Shannon O'Rourke.

*SEX IN THE SOVIET UNION (SEX)*, 1990, 60 min.