

**Women's Political Identity in Making:  
European Union and Gender Discourses**

**January 2009**

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Since 1957, when Article 119 was accepted as a part of the Treaty of Rome, the European Union commitment to women of member-states resulted in design and implementation of numerous gender related legislation, projects, lobbying, networking, training and other gender sensitive activities. These efforts focused, for example, on professional training, reconciliation of family and work responsibilities, questions of equality and equal treatment or provided support and benefits to lone mothers. As a result many of the EU members had to rethink and redefine their approaches and policies towards gender roles. The eastern enlargement of the EU forced new members' states to accept many of the EU gender priorities, standards, and policies. Yet, despite EU concerns with gender equality as far as "old" member-states were concerned, the politics of gender was clearly marginalized and rather limited in the EU's economically and politically charged debates on enlargement. In fact, gender neither played the determining and defining role in the past two waves of "eastern" enlargements, nor has it been situated as an important lens for the previous waves of the EU expansions. The question, which obviously emerges now, is what impact these expansions have on women in the new "enlarged" Europe: how the EU commitment to gender equality translates in the local context of Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria or Lithuania. What are the new challenges confronting women and how women mobilize in order to address them? As the impacts of the EU enlargement are not limited only to the EU members, we will also explore how changes within the EU affect gender roles and gender policy-making in other countries (e.g. such as Georgia). This seminar will explore diverse set of concerns by looking at the ongoing debates on citizenship, migration, women's resistance and mobilization at the supranational level and their activism nationally, locally and transnationally.

**Requirements:**

Requirements for this course include both the class participation (10%) and the final written assignment (90%). By participation, I mean, that you will come to class well prepared (you have thoroughly and thoughtfully read the assigned material), you will be ready to participate in the class discussion and you will facilitate such discussions at least once (this will depend on the number of students in the class). During each class, two students will be asked to take a leading role in framing questions for class discussions. In addition, couple times you will be also asked to bring information about your own country on particular topic that will be discussed during our class session.

By facilitation I mean that you will prepare in advance questions and points of interest that the entire class may want to discuss and that during the class you will lead the

discussion, synthesize and respond to the reactions of others, and offer your own points of view. ***I will ask that you do not provide long summaries of the readings as all students are expected to do readings in advance for each class.*** In addition, after each class when you will be a lead discussant, you will be asked to prepare a short reaction paper (3 pages). These reaction papers will be distributed to the rest of the class (I will create class email list), so all of you can have a written summary of class discussions and of your own thoughts. During the first class, I will pass the sign-up sheet and each of you will be able to choose topics that are of greatest interest to you for both class discussion and reaction papers.

When preparing for the class (when preparing your reaction papers or preparing yourself to be a discussion leader or just reading class assignments) you may try to address some of the following questions:

- What is the theoretical framework of this work? On what body of theory does the author build his/her arguments, what basic ideas does she/he use to frame/interpret the work?
- Who is the audience implicit and/or assumed?
- Are authors sensitive to differences between countries and are they taking into the account local circumstances?
- What topics/themes are being omitted and possibly why this is the case?
- What are the problems that women face? Are these problems unique to this particular group or are they more universal? Does this lead to the creation of new categorization of unified notion of women?
- How is diversity conceptualized? What is included and what remains excluded? Does this conceptualization apply to some women (selected groups), if yes to which?
- How social, cultural, economic and political circumstances can simultaneously open new opportunities and eliminate or minimize them? What influences the degree to which women can access/hold/exercise their power?
- What role different political actors do play - those who aim to advance women's rights as well as those who remain neutral or do aim to weaken these rights?
- How new forms of governance (beyond nation-state) affects women's rights framework? How these implications become visible and under what conditions, where?

In terms of the final written assignment, you will have certain degree of flexibility in choosing the topic. You may want to investigate one aspect of the EU gender-centered policy or you may want to look more specifically at the implications for women of the enlarged European Union, you may also want to address your chosen topic within the context of one specific country. Your paper can be theoretical in nature (e.g. explore the ongoing shift from nation-state to supranational level and its implications for role of state in advancing women's rights or gender sensitive policies) and/or you can attempt to show how feminist practices have challenged theoretical debates and how, in turn, theory has molded the EU practices.

The three page outline of the final paper (2 pages) with selected bibliography (1 page) will be due by **January 30**. The final paper will be due at **the end of the next semester**.

**Final grade will be based on:**

Class participation	10%
Final written paper	90%

**Contact Information:**

You can contact me via email at [regulska@rci.rutgers.edu](mailto:regulska@rci.rutgers.edu) .

**Class Schedule and Readings**

**January 6, 2009**

**1. Introduction**

Europe, belonging and European identity: Who are we? Where do we belong? What shapes our identit(ies)?

Bahovec, Ewa D. and Clare Hemmings. 2004. "Teaching Traveling Concepts". *Feminist Theory* 5(3): pp. 333-342.

**January 9, 2009**

**2. Women's Citizenship Struggles in Europe**

Regulska, J. Lukic, J. and D. Zavirsek, (2006). "Introduction", in J. Lukic, J. Regulska, and D. Zavirsek (eds). *Women and Citizenship in Central and East Europe*, Ashgate Publisher, pp. 1-20.

Elman, R. A. 2004. "Testing the Limits of European Citizenship: Ethnic Hatred and Male Violence", in *Feminist Politics, Activism and Vision*, L. Ricciutelli, A. Miles, M. H. McFadden (eds). Zed Books. Pp. 329-347.

Einhorn, B. "Citizenship in an Enlarging Europe: Contested strategies", *Sociologicky ustav AVCR*, vol41, No.6. 1023-1039.

**Other Suggested Readings:**

Zavirsek, D. 2006. "Disabled Women's Everyday Citizenship Rights in East Europe: Examples from Slovenia", in J. Lukic, J. Regulska, and D. Zavirsek (eds). *Women and Citizenship in Central and East Europe*, Ashgate Publisher, pp. 185-204.

Magyari-Vincze, E. (2006). "Romanian Gender Regimes and Women's Citizenship", in J. Lukic, J. Regulska, and D. Zavirsek (eds). *Women and Citizenship in Central and East Europe*, Ashgate Publisher, pp. 21-38.

Hobson, B. 2000. "Introduction" and "Economic Citizenship: Reflections through the European policy mirror", in *Gender and Citizenship in Transition*. Basingstoke, Macmillian.

Lister, R. 2001. "Citizenship and Gender", in K. Nash and a. Scott (eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 323-32

**January 10, 2009**

### **3. Struggle for Women's Rights Globally**

Bunch, Ch. 2004. "Feminism, Peace, Human Rights and Human Security", in *Feminist Politics, Activism and Vision*, L. Ricciutelli, A. Miles, M. H. McFadden (eds). Zed Books. Pp. 76-86.

Bunch, Ch., with Peggy Antrobus, Samantha Frost and Niamh Reilly. "International Networking for Women's Human Rights", in Edwards, M. and J. Gaventa, *Global Citizen Action*. Chapter 16, Pp. 217-229.

Coomaraswamy, Radhika. 2002. "Are Women's Rights Universal? Re-engaging the Local", *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism*, vol. 3(1):1-18.

Yuval-Davis, N. 2006. 'Human/Women's Rights and Feminist Transversal Politics'. In Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp (eds). *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism*, Chapter 11, pp. 275-295.

#### **Other Suggested Readings:**

Deech, B. 2003. "Reproductive Tourism in Europe: Infertility and Human Rights", *Global Governance* 9(4), pp: 425-433.

"Women's rights are human rights", EWL's contribution to the public hearing Human Rights in the EU, 24 April 2003 (<http://www.womenlobby.org/Document.asp?DocID=585&tod=172755>)

Anna Rotkirch , 1997. "Women's agency and the sexual revolution in Russia". Paper presented at the research seminar on Women's Active Citizenship University of Joensuu, Dept of Social Policy and Philosophy, University of Helsinki (anna.rotkirch@helsinki.fi )  
<http://www.valt.helsinki.fi/staff/rotkirch/agency.html>

NEWW Polska . "Women and European Union: Women from the 10 Candidate Countries about the EU – an overview of attitudes and opinions".

### **4. Constructing movements: grassroots mobilization and beyond**

*Each student is asked to search and then bring to the class information on women's migration and trafficking in person relevant to their country.*

Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp (eds.), 2006. *Global feminism: transnational women's activism, organizing, and human rights*. NYU Press. Chapter 4, 6, 12.

Chapter 4. Yakin Ertuk: "Turkey's Modern Paradoxes: Identity Politics, Women's agency, and Universal Rights."

Chapter 6: Aida Bagic: "Women's Organizing in Post-Yugoslav Countries: Talking About "Donors".

Chapter 12. Aili Mari Tripp: "Challenges in Transnational Feminist Mobilization".

**January 13, 2008**

## **5. Visit to Polish Women's NGO in Warsaw**

Visit some of the following websites of women's NGOs engaged in European women's movement:

[www.neww.org](http://www.neww.org)  
[www.womenlobby.org](http://www.womenlobby.org)  
<http://www.eurosur.org/wide/>

and find out at least one website of women's NGOs in your country that are also engaged in the European women's movement.

### **Other Suggested Readings:**

Pudrovska, Tetyana and Myra Marx Ferree, 2004. "Global activism in 'Virtual Space': the European Women's Lobby in the Network of Transnational Women's NGOs on the Web", *Social Politics* 11(1):117-143.

Zippel, K. 2004. "Transnational Advocacy Networks and Policy Cycles in the European Union: The case of Sexual Harassment", *Social Politics*, 11(1):57-85

Haskova, H. 2005. "Czech Women's Civic Organizing under the State Socialist Regime, Socio-economic Transformation and the EU Accession Period", *Czech Sociological Review*, vol.41, No. 6., pp.1077-1110.

Geyer, R. 2001. "Can European Union (EU) Social NGOs Co-operate to Promote EU Social Policy", *Jnl Social Policy* 30, 3, 477-493.

Cullen, P.P. "Conflict and Cooperation within the Platform of European Social NGOs", Chapter 4, pp 71-94

**January 16, 2009**

## **6. Resistance: War and Violence**

Pitanguy, J. 1995 "Using power to transform", in Friedlander, E. (ed). *Look at the World Through Women's Eyes*. Plenary Speeches from the NGO Forum on Women, Beijing '95. Distributed by Women. Ink, 1996. pp: 111-112.

Hamilton, C. 2007. "Political violence and Body Language in Life Stories of Women ETA Activities", *Signs*, 32(4):911-932.

"A Heavy Burden. Internally Displaced in Georgia: Stories of People from Abkhazia and South Ossetia", IDMC and NRC Georgia. Read stories of Mzia (pp. 49-51), Inga (pp. 63-71), Tamar (pp.97-103), and Ekaterina (pp.105-107).  
[http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/IDMC\\_Georgia\\_heavyburdenIDP.pdf](http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/IDMC_Georgia_heavyburdenIDP.pdf)

### **Other suggested readings:**

Sharoni, S. 2006. "Compassionate Resistance: A Personal/Political Journey to Israel/Palestine", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8(2):288-299.

Weynand Tobin, Th. 2007. "On their Own Ground: Strategies of Resistance for Sunni Muslim Women", *Hypatia*, 22(3):152-174.

Miraftab, F. 2006. "Feminist Praxis, Citizenship and Informal Politics: Reflections on South Africa's Anti-Eviction Campaign", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8(2):194-218.

Moser, A. 2003. "Acts of resistance: The Performance of Women's Grassroots Protest in Peru", *Social Movement Studies*, 2(2):177-190.

**January 17, 2009**

## **7. Women's Movement within the EU and across Europe**

Finoletti, Claudia. 2008. "Migration policy between restrictive purposes and structural demand: the case of the domestic sector in Germany and in Italy", in S. Metz-Gockel, M. Morokvasic, and A. Sanganata Munst (eds), *Migration and Mobility in an enlarged Europe*. Pp.52-79.

Kalwa, Dobrochna. 2008. "Commuting between private lives", in S. Metz-Gockel, M. Morokvasic, and A. Sanganata Munst (eds), *Migration and Mobility in an enlarged Europe*. Pp. 121-140.

Pijpers, Roos. 2008. "Circumventing restrictions on free movement of labour: evidence from a Dutch-German border region", in S. Metz-Gockel, M. Morokvasic, and A. Sanganata Munst (eds), *Migration and Mobility in an enlarged Europe*. Pp. 225-249.

## **8. Trafficking in Persons**

*Each student is asked to search and then bring to the class information on women's migration and trafficking in person relevant to their country.*

Waugh, Louisa. 2006. *Selling Olga: Stories of Human Trafficking*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London, pp 1-25.

"Trafficking in Women from Central and Eastern Europe: A Review of Statistical Data", 2002. Frank Laczko, Amanda Klekowski von Koppenfels and Jana Barthel, IOM, Geneva.

"Responses to Trafficking in Persons in Georgia: An Assessment", Women's Informational Center, Tbilisi 2007.

### **Other suggested readings:**

Trafficking in Persons, 2007, US State Department Report. Country Narratives (<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2007/82805.htm>)

"Women's Movement: Citizenship, Migration and Processes of European Integration", Val Balding, Catherine Euler, Jalna Hanmer, Debbie Wigglesworth, in *Women in the European Union*, Pilar Ballarin, University of Granada (Spain), Catherine Euler, Leeds Metropolitan University (Great Britain) Nicky Le Feuvre, University of Toulouse-Le Mirail (France), Eeva Raevaara, University of Helsinki (Finland) <http://www.helsinki.fi/science/xantippa/wee/wee24.html>

Lehti, Martti. 2003. "Trafficking in Women and Children in Europe." HEUNI Papers. The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations.

Menjivar, C. 2005. "Migration and Refugees" in Philomena Essed, David Theo Goldberg, and Audrey Kobayashi (eds), *A Companion to Gender Studies*. Blackwell Publishing, Pp. 307-318.

**January 20, 2009**

**9. Positionality, reflexivity and agency in feminist research and practice**

Cahill, Caitlin. 2007. "The Personal is Political: Developing new subjectivities through participatory action research". *Gender, Place and Culture*, vol1493), pp.267-292.

Avis, H. 2002. "Whose Voice is That? Making Space for Subjectivities in Interviews", in L. Bondi (et al), *Subjectivities, Knowledges and Feminist Geographies: The Subject and Ethics of Social Research*, Chapter 12, pp. 191-207. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Bondi, L. 2005. "The Place of Emotions in Research: From Partitioning Emotion and Reason to the Emotional Dynamic of research Relationship", in J. Davidson, L. Bondi, M. Smith, *Emotional Geographies*, (eds). Chapter 17, 231-246.

**Other suggested readings:**

Arnstein, M. 2001. "Consciousness Razing: Self-Defining Feminism and the problem of Postmodern Politics". In Currie, Gail and Cella Rothenberg, *Feminist (Re)visions of the Subject: Landscapes, Ethnoscapes and Theoriscapes*, Chp. 8: 159-180.

Nagar, R. and Farah Ali and Sangatin women's collective. 2003. "Collaborations Across Borders: Moving Beyond Positionality". *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 24(3): 356-372.