



# Universiteit Leiden

**The Promise of (In)Equality:  
A critical feminist analysis of socialist and neoliberal doctrines in  
the Czech Republic**

**M.A. Thesis**

**European Politics and Society, Václav Havel Joint Master Degree  
Programme**

Author: Juliana Crema  
Supervisor: Dr. M.G. Palacio Ludeña

Leiden, 2019

Word Count: 20,140

## **Acknowledgements**

The work undertaken in this thesis would not have been possible without the support of many people. Thank you to my supervisor, Dr. Palacio Ludeña, for all of your time and guidance throughout this process. To my fellow EPS colleagues, and particularly Anežka, for all of your help with the archival research and translations. Finally to Keefer and my family, for always listening to my ideas and the endless cups of tea. I tried to push myself as much as possible in this process, and I hope you will find the results as interesting as I did.

Juliana Crema

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Chapter 1: Introduction to Topic & History.....	2
Chapter 2: Methodology.....	10
Chapter 3: Literature Review .....	13
Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework.....	24
4.1 Post-Socialism.....	24
4.2 Neoliberalism.....	28
4.3 Feminist Theoretical Critique.....	35
Chapter 5: Findings.....	39
5.1 Socialism and Ideas of Equality.....	39
5.2 The Transition (and Promises).....	49
5.3 Marketization.....	55
Chapter 6: Conclusions.....	63
Chapter 7: References.....	67

## **Abstract**

This thesis seeks to bridge the gap between theory and lived experiences of women and the state in terms of social relations and policies. In order to accomplish this, a qualitative approach was taken in order to apply a theoretical foundation to lived experiences of events that occurred in the Czech Republic. A critical feminist lens was applied to primary sources such as constitutional documents and World Bank reports in order to unearth the impact of state-dictated policy upon the lives and choices of women. As a hypothesis-producing thesis these primary and secondary documents were read in a way that let a narrative of parallels between the Socialist regime of the late twentieth century and the neoliberal government of the early twenty-first century arise. This main comparison reflects upon the state-centered power of both eras and its influence upon the tensions between women's roles as mothers, labourers, and citizens. With the guiding questions of how and why gender matters, a critical feminist approach was taken in the research process and has informed the results.

**Keywords:** Women, Gender, Socialism, Critical Theory, Neoliberalism

## **Chapter 1:**

### **Introduction to Topic & History**

As is natural in the research process, the focus for this thesis has shifted and evolved over time. These shifts are in part due to the uncertainty of sources that would be accessible, as well as the nature of using a hypothesis-producing approach. The author's ability to be flexible in the research process was tested, as one has to be willing to accept the new path or narrative revealed by the materials. With this in mind, the author's interest in the impact of neoliberal policies first began in a critical political economy course at the University of Ottawa, and have since intersected with the historicity of former Socialist states. Ever since studying and living in the Czech Republic and learning about the people's history there, it became apparent that it would be interesting to create a critical theoretical framework to apply to the state's decisions under socialism and see where the results might lead. It must be admitted that using a hypothesis-producing thesis led to research results that were far from original expectations.

Moreover, the main research question guiding this process was: how has the implementation of neoliberal policies impacted the role and position of women within a formerly Socialist state? With the underlying formative question of whether or not these policies can be considered neoliberal, a follow-up question was added: to what extent has neoliberal-oriented policy differed from that under socialism? As previously discussed the main argument of this thesis arose through the research process, and it became apparent that an interesting facet of this topic are the series of comparisons that can be made between the socialist and neoliberal eras. These two historically separated ideologies have produced parallels in terms of state-centered power and its relationship to women as workers, mothers, labourers, and citizens. By using an intersectional gendered approach, different voices and perspectives were able to push through the

noise of the mainstream, established analysis on the topic. The following discussion is rooted in the idea that an intersectional approach recognizes that a person can and usually does have, multiple layers to their identity and analyzes these through the structural layers of oppression in society. The intersectional approach helped to unearth the voices of women who were classified differently by the state based on their ability to contribute as workers and nurturers. This classification has a direct relation to age and class, as these are determining factors in a woman's ability to economically contribute to her country.

The choice to use a critical intersectional lens on these political structures helped to further reveal the gendered and sexualized hierarchies enshrined within the state institutions. Following this analysis some larger questions remain unanswered, such as the exact role of the state and how far-reaching this influence truly is. Additionally, if a state can ever be gender-neutral or if in fact this is more damaging for the advancement of women's rights. Analyzing the changes of the Czech Republic's state and its regimes has revealed tensions between rights and cultural norms such as between one's own identity as a mother and as a worker, but more generally even as a citizen and as an outsider. These tensions are informed by a woman's position in society, which as previously stated is understood by her economic and reproductive capacities. Physical labour was integral for the socialist state to function, whether this be through hard labour or child rearing. Similarly in neoliberalism, class is a defining feature in one's ability to compete in the market. In these ways, the intersectional quality of women's role in these societies is highlighted, as well as how they have managed despite oppression, marginalization, and complete restructuring of political, economic, and social systems.

## *History*

The purpose of this section is to give a general outline of the history leading up to the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. In order to try and capture more of the nuance of the country's history, it is important to first explain the lead-up to the Soviet occupation starting with the early 20th century. However, for a more comprehensive understanding further reading is recommended because the country has such a rich background that helps to explain the current social and political situation.<sup>1</sup> It is also important to mention that this thesis focuses on what is current-day Czech Republic, however, the official split of the Czech and Slovak Republics occurred in 1993. Therefore, though looking more generally at the Czechoslovakian history, the focus of this paper will be on the Czech perspective.

Like many countries, the history of Czechoslovakia is tied with that of others, as it was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the early twentieth century. However, with its fall, the "...Czechoslovak state emerged...with the values of republican democracy, liberal civic society, [and] widespread education and culture..." (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 8). This First Republic lasted from 1918 until 1938 (Skalnik, 2014, p. 4), and an interesting aspect of this Republic is to look at the type of nationalism that was fostered during this time. Specifically, this nationalism was known as 'Czechoslovakism' and some scholars argue that it was a deliberately ambiguous ethos (Skalnik, 2014, p. 5). This ethos can help to understand the political climate at the time, because the tension between Czech and Slovak nationals dictated the identity of the country. The Slovaks, being a minority group in Czechoslovakia and with about a third of the population as compared to the Czechs, meant that they had much less institutional political power. This often led to stalemates in decision-making because, "if a consensus was not reached between Czech

---

<sup>1</sup> For further reading, see *The Czech and Slovak Republics: Twenty Years of Independence, 1993-2013* by Mark Stolarik (2016).

<sup>2</sup> Examples of such accounts include: Williams, K. (1997). *The Prague Spring and its aftermath:*

and Slovak representatives, the state was paralyzed. The constitution did not offer any solution for a political deadlock” (Rychlik in Stolarik, 2016, p. 25). Due to the differing histories, languages, and cultures between the Czech and Slovak nations, it was very difficult to maintain a harmonized state.

Additionally, there were several different elements that contributed to rising tensions within the country. These tensions can be seen as the lead-up to the Communist Party’s rule, and often had to do with the dissatisfaction of people with their government’s ability to respond to major events and citizen’s demands. Some major world events such as “...the Great Depression, the Munich Agreement of 1938, and World War II [WWII] profoundly shook the existing order, including faith in an alliance with Western powers, liberal democracy, and free-market economy” and ultimately “during World War II, the goal of Czechoslovak resistance was the idea of ‘restoration’ of an independent Czech state...” (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 9). The instability caused by these events, particularly WWII, shed light on the individual struggle many people faced in order to survive. Regional and ethnic disparities were exacerbated, which meant that those suffering from problems such as unemployment became resentful. This resentment began to build up, and the seeds of intolerance towards minorities and the demand for retributions began to grow (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 9).

One interesting historical note is that post-WWII, Czechoslovakia was one of the few countries to hold free elections, and they resulted in a socialist victory in 1946 (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 9). However, though these were ‘free’ elections, Stalin intervened in 1947, and the idea of self-determination quickly ended as many considered this change in governance to be a dictatorship (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 9). The social tensions resulting from this political shift in power gave rise to building unrest, and in the interwar period the Czechoslovak people voted

for what they believed would be a ‘popular democracy’ and turned to “...the ‘brotherly,’ ‘Slavic’ Soviet Union” (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 9). Social relations, being closely linked with political output, led to a reliance upon the Soviet Union to forge ahead with more prosperous times for the former Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, this camaraderie was soon betrayed; with the election of the socialist left the opportunity was created for the Communist coup that followed.

The elected ruling party held their power until 1960, when “...Czechoslovakia declared itself a socialist state” (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 10). This period is well summarized by Vaněk and Mücke, who describe how the coup forced the monopolization of “power and resources...in favor of the Soviet Union. Except for food and basic supplies, the population’s needs and wants went unmet” (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 10). This was the beginning of more overt Soviet influence and control over Czechoslovakia, and this period, also known as normalization, was a step away from the reforms set to take place, and a push towards state control and a militarized public sphere (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 13). There were several shifts and changes within the state’s way of ruling over a relatively short period of time, and the changes did not end in 1960. Rather, turning to the historic events of August 1968 when the Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia, this was an effort to stop the peoples’ movement and momentum towards democratic reforms (Foltynova, 2018). This invasion of roughly 250,000 troops is known as the Prague Spring, and most people were caught by surprise by the events that followed (Foltynova, 2018). The Warsaw Pact forces used violent means, and “in the end, 137 Czechoslovaks died and more than 500 were seriously wounded...” during the invasion (Foltynova, 2018).

Despite the fear that quickly spread from these events, many people acted bravely in the face of this violence; some of these stories are from women who were prominent among those brave citizens in this time. In order to illustrate the gravity of these events, two different

perspectives have been chosen: one from a student, and one from a radio reporter. Women are often left out of historical accounts,<sup>2</sup> and so this is an opportunity to highlight their voices and recognize their efforts during the Prague Spring

Vera Roubalova was a student in 1968 at the time of the invasion, and once she heard the radio announcement about the invasion asking that people remain calm, she met up with other politically active friends and, “together they decided to make the orientation in Prague more difficult for the Soviet-led troops by taking down the street signs” (Foltynova, 2018). She said that this act of resistance “felt like an adventure” until she saw a tank fire at civilians, which made her realize the severity of the situation (Foltynova, 2018). Such an interaction would deter many people from continuing on. However, Roubalova and her friends continued making posters and tried to “...persuade the troops that the invasion was a mistake” (Foltynova, 2018). Roubalova remembers how this push of resistance helped to create a sense of unity amongst the Czechoslovak people, and though ultimately she was not punished for her involvement, “...she admits she has never stopped feeling tension towards the countries that occupied Czechoslovakia” (Foltynova, 2018).

However, not all were as lucky as Roubalova in terms of punitive actions. Vera Homolova was a journalist for the national Czechoslovak Radio, and since she and her colleagues were broadcasting live updates about what was happening around the city, the troops wanted to shut down the radio headquarters as soon as possible (Foltynova, 2018). Civilians had built barricades around the headquarters, but ultimately the troops were able to push past them

---

<sup>2</sup> Examples of such accounts include: Williams, K. (1997). *The Prague Spring and its aftermath: Czechoslovak politics, 1968-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Buchan, A. (1969). Czechoslovakia 1968. *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 11(1), 3-9; and Cashman, L. (2008). Remembering 1948 and 1968: Reflections on Two Pivotal Years in Czech and Slovak History. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(10), 1645-1658.

and Homolova had to flee to a nearby building where "...a provisional studio was established" in order to continue the live reporting of the brutality of the Soviets' actions (Foltynova, 2018). She continued to broadcast information, and "to avoid detection, the journalists lived and worked at the [provisional] studio until September 9, 1968, when broadcasting resumed from Czechoslovak Radio's headquarters" (Foltynova, 2018). Though she doesn't explicitly explain why, Homolova "...was later fired from Czechoslovak Radio and the only job she could get for several years was as a cleaning lady" (Foltynova, 2018).

These two stories help to illustrate the varying individual identities and reactions by Czechoslovak women at this time. They also demonstrate the agency of these women, which is all too often left out of history. Women were as much a part of the Prague Spring movement as men, and their roles are found in a variety of different forms of resistance. These are just two stories of women from that time, but they help to show the varying sacrifices that were made especially in terms of future careers for the sake of their country. These women provide insight into examples of individual agency, which will help to illustrate the impact of high-level policy making decisions upon women and their rights as citizens under the coming years of the Soviet rule. These stories capture the opposition of the Czech people towards the Soviet invasion, and help to contextualize the actions of resistance during the late 1960s.

As can be seen, there are several different elements that contributed to the state of affairs in Czechoslovakia under Communist rule. This section was aimed to provide a brief overview of the social and political tensions, in order to compliment the following historical analysis. There are many more complexities, especially in terms of the splitting of the country, which occurred in 1993. However, it must be noted that the analysis and detail involved in this event could be another study in itself. The idea is to keep women as central points of explanation throughout

this period, and in this way understand how socialist and neoliberal policy decisions impacted their lives directly.

## Chapter 2:

### Methodology

In order to conduct this research, a postpositivist approach was used, as is common with feminist studies. Postpositivism "...includes a variety of approaches such as critical theory, historical sociology and postmodernism, [and] challenge[s] the social scientific methodologies that had dominated the discipline" (Ackerly, Stern, & True, 2006, p. 19). As such, integral to this approach is the questioning of existing knowledge, and this questioning has formed the foundation of this research because so much of the existing knowledge surrounding post-socialist states has been done through a macro-level approach to the former Soviet states' economic transition.<sup>3</sup> A primary focus has been placed upon state formation, because with the fall of Communism several states were faced with the immense task of reforming their government structures. The author believes that because of the immensity of this task, and due to the overpowering nature of realist analysis in the field of IR, the existing analysis on this topic has been limited in this respect.

Moreover, Brooke Ackerly et al. in the introduction of *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* emphasize the importance of gender in all aspects of a state: "just as states, conflict, institutions, security, and globalization cannot be studied without analyzing gender, gender cannot be studied without analyzing these subjects and concepts" (2006, p. 4). This is the underlying principle in this work: gender as an integrated form of analysis, not an outlying variable. In order to implement this approach into practice, a feminist approach to international relations analysis has been harmonized with post-socialist and critical neoliberal

---

<sup>3</sup> See Nelson, J., Tilly, C., & Walker, L. (1997); Kornai, J. (1992); and Stubbs, R., & Underhill, G. R. D. (1994) for more on this topic.

theory. By integrating these theories together, a lens which seeks to analyze the layers of the context in a more granular way emerges, rather than relying upon a macro-level analysis.

Additionally, this is a hypothesis-producing thesis with the goal of contributing to theory rather than relying upon available ones. The focus of this thesis is depth over breadth, and so the Czech Republic has been chosen as an individual case study. Historical elements covering the years of 1989 until 1993 have been included because the events that occurred cannot be studied in isolation. As such, this provides a longitudinal study element to this research. In terms of research, a literature review of the existing work on the subject was conducted in order to identify the necessary gap that this thesis seeks to fill. The literature review provides an overview of current scholarly work and approaches to this topic. From there, a theoretical foundation for the thesis has been constructed, and a chapter has been dedicated to theory in order to synthesize existing theoretical discussions relating to the topic and produce a more dynamic approach to the topic. In this chapter the process of theory triangulations has been utilized. This involves “...applying different theoretical lenses to the data in order to uncover overlooked insights” which is essential in the effort to contribute to existing frameworks (Shefner & McKenney, 2018, p. 226).

Additionally, along with the theoretical basis an analysis of primary sources from the Czech National Archives and published interviews has been conducted. These interviews come from Radio Free Europe, as they were prominent in capturing the day-to-day events happening in Czechoslovakia during the Communist era and the transition period after. Vaněk and Mücke’s book *Velvet Revolutions: An Oral History of Czech Society*, which was published in 2016, has also been instrumental in contextualizing the documents from the archives. The use of multiple types of sources is an effort to strengthen the findings and conclusions. Specific documents from

the Czech National Archive include policy briefs and communiqués from the Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs, that was in power during the Communist regime. Documents from the Vaclav Klaus Institute have also been included, as they have documented interviews from his time as Minister for Finance of the Czechoslovak Republic (1989-1992) as well as more current interviews from 2010-2014. Finally resources from the World Bank have been included since they have published many reports in the early 1990s about the Structural Adjustment Program implemented in the Czech Republic after the fall of Communism. As can be seen, a variety of sources have been used to produce the following analysis, in an effort to contribute something new and unique to the field and this topic of study.

## Chapter 3:

### Literature Review

For the primary literature review, the main texts chosen can be broken down into different approaches: the historical relevance of a feminist approach to international relations as related to this study; more broadly speaking gender and the state which will tie back to analysis of state power and the impact of high-level policy decisions; women and state socialism which will form the foundation to further analyze the parallels between socialist and neoliberal approaches to policy; and then the Czech historical context will be used to situate these theories. In this way, the latter provides a broader, more theoretical approach, whereas the former is more specific in its case analysis and application.

#### *Feminist Approach to International Relations*

Historically, a feminist approach to international relations was not always accepted, and indeed still faces scrutiny from mainstream scholars. Essentially, feminist international relations (IR) scholars use a gendered, and often intersectional lens to guide their work. This tends to emphasize the “...inescapability of gender as an organizing principle” (Wekker, 2004, p. 488) whether it be in politics, economics, or any other discipline which analyzes how people live and function. Early feminist IR scholars such as J. Ann Tickner, Cynthia Enloe, Carole Pateman, V. Spike Peterson, and Carol Cohn fought tirelessly to have this approach not only be recognized but accepted into the field of mainstream IR. Now largely accepted as a legitimate theoretical approach, the struggle of application continues to persist. This study is an attempt to relate this theory to others, and then apply it to a case study.

Feminist IR is generally interdisciplinary by nature, and intersectional by necessity. This is important to keep in mind when moving through the analysis, as several different scholarly influences can be connected to a feminist approach with intersectionality as a key concept. First introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the 1980s, intersectionality acknowledges the multiple layers of oppression any one individual can be faced with.<sup>4</sup> It's a concept that arose from the United States where many women were identifying their struggle against systemic oppression as women but also as African Americans. Therefore, race and gender intersect to inform this experience. Intersectionality remains integral to feminist research to this day, and is an important way to deconstruct state-controlled concepts of identity and power structures in society.

Moreover, an important place to begin this discussion is with feminist genealogies because by using this as the foundation for feminist IR theory the connection between gendered analysis and the neoliberal global order will be more easily understood. Alexander and Mohanty (1997) unearth the "...gendered, sexualized, and racialized hierarchies" consistently present under capitalism, as well as the importance of distinguishing between "...its global, local, and territorial manifestations..." (p. xxii). These hierarchies are not acknowledged as problematic by neoliberalism but are rather used as a form of control, especially with economically disadvantaged demographics. This idea will be returned to with the discussion of Wacquant's work (2012). Using this gender-informed approach to analysis helps to reveal the reductive nature of neoliberalism. In this way a discussion between structurally enshrined oppression and inequality begins between feminist and neoliberal theory, and the contradictions between the two can be drawn out. The interdisciplinary approach used by Alexander and Mohanty contextualizes this theory-driven tension, and makes sense of the competing levels of hierarchy.

---

<sup>4</sup> See Crenshaw (1989) and Nash (2008) for more.

One of the most important take-aways from feminist IR theory is the underlying critical approach. There is a distinct focus upon questioning what is understood and considered to be natural or status quo, and subsequently deconstructing these assumptions in a way that looks at why this was an assumption in the first place. Following questions ask how this assumption has impacted life from a local and global perspective, and how will this assumption impact life in the future if it continues to be perpetuated in this way. For example, feminist genealogy questions what are guaranteed rights under capitalism (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997, p. xxxiii). One can think of rights such as "...economic access and choice, of individual freedom, of economic and social mobility..." among others (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997, p. xxxiii); but the question remains, does each individual in any given society have the same status of rights as each other? Feminist IR theory seeks to unearth these structural inequalities and by questioning the systematic nature of them, aims to provide solutions as to how to begin the deconstruction process of these inequalities.

### *Gender and the State*

Focusing upon literature that discusses gender and the state will provide a foundation for the detailed analysis to follow. To start, Parashar et al.'s *Revisiting gendered states* (2018) focuses on the centrality of the state and it uses a variety of feminist approaches in order to discuss the hegemonic masculinity ever-present in the state structure. It contributes to previous feminist challenges to the idea that the state is a gender-neutral entity, and rather asserts the centrality of gender in all aspects of the state's functioning. This discussion covers different areas relating to the state such as security and militarization, as well as ethnic and ideological conflict and the resulting violence from state interference. In Parashar's chapter, she discusses the state's use of 'gendered emotions' in order to manipulate conformity through citizenship;

those who are deemed loyal through their words and actions are rewarded with rights such as citizenship (Parashar et al., 2018, p. 13). This is one example of the lack of gender neutrality within the state, as the compliancy sought after from citizens is related to maternal, developmental emotions and the violence of resistance to the state is associated with masculine portrayals of emotion (Parashar et al., 2018, p. 13). When applied to concrete examples, it becomes more evident how the centrality of the state's power can become a tool and exercise in masculine and/or paternal dominance. The possibility of resistance is limited to those women who are able to step beyond gender norms in order to counter the falsely neutral facade the state upholds. Class relations are introduced as an intersecting layer of oppression, as they are directly linked with opportunity and ability to manipulate the state's role.

Further to this idea, Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989) take a more granular approach in their analysis of gender and the state and emphasize how issues relating to ethnicity and nationality have been ignored. They focus on the marginalization of black and ethnic minority women, and see this as a result of the delineation of the state and the nation. They view this separation through the role that women play in society: namely the ideological and biological reproductive role of women. In this way, women's role within the state is essentialized to her reproductive capacity that contributes to the imbalance of power between state and women. Additionally, this essentialized role becomes apparent under Socialist regimes, as the policies of equality introduced by the state focus upon women's role within the family and as mothers. In this way, women are legally differentiated from their male counterparts. However, Yuval-Davis and Anthias also discuss how women actively try to challenge their position in society, and this is directly linked to the level of agency they are empowered with (1989). The essentialized role of women as mothers in society relates to the structural inequalities that are present, and will be

further evidenced in the case of the Czech Republic. The tension between women as workers and as mothers is consistent under socialism, though the struggle for full emancipation from state control continues to evolve. The constraints and obstacles to this struggle for recognition can be linked back to the issue of structural and state-centered hegemonic masculinity, as emphasized by Parashar et al.

The agency of women has emerged as a key idea through most texts, and though women are not a homogenous group, it has been emphasized that in many cases the state has actively worked to exacerbate the differences between women, specifically in terms of class and race, in an effort to oppress their full potential for agency and unification. Though differences do exist and need to be recognized, women as a group have been further weakened through intentional fragmentation. As a result, it has been a challenge to try and improve the policymaking power and institutional recognition of women. Waylen (2007) discusses the transitions of Latin American and East European countries through women's mobilization efforts, and the resulting political changes. She discusses how there have been "...significant changes to citizenship, participation and policymaking, but also disillusionment as to how far-reaching these changes are" (Waylen, 2007, p. 199). She links this argument directly to the global economy, as the move to open market democracies enhanced the cleavage between civil and political rights (which generally have been augmented) and social and economic rights (which generally have suffered); though she notes that this is highly dependent on intersections of class, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation (Waylen, 2007, p. 199). The separation of rights is important to acknowledge, because it reflects the neoliberal assumption that with secured political rights, social and economic rights will follow as part of the state development process (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2017). This separation also points to the differences in equality, because the intersections of a person's

identity have a direct relation to their civil, political, social and economic rights. Historically disenfranchised groups, which have been assigned a status within society, especially suffer when their human rights are not protected by the state or by the judicial branch of government. Waylen highlights this through her discussion on how constitutional changes don't necessarily increase gender rights, but they are rather an important building block in the direction towards protected and legally enshrined rights (2007). This idea will be applied in the analysis of the Czech Constitutions of 1960 and 1993, where rights were legally codified but the reality of their embodiment was quite different.

### *Women and State Socialism*

Moving closer to the case analysis, the role and struggle of women living under state socialism is the next cluster of literature to be discussed. As a sociologist, Heitlinger (1979) is focused upon the social process of sex-role differentiation, which is the approach she takes in her book *Women and state socialism: sex inequality in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia*. Her argument is important because she quickly debunks the myth that the USSR and Czechoslovakia were egalitarian regimes under socialism, and that full income equality was never on the socialist agenda (Heitlinger, 1979, p. 191). Her ideas link quite closely with Waylen (2007), in that she articulates the discrepancy between women as activists and women in positions of political power. This gap has a direct correlation with the previous discussion of rights, and points to the fact that despite what is enshrined as 'universal rights,' the reality is that these rights have different meanings depending on one's identity and relation with the state. Also important to note, she concludes "...that the liberation of women... [is] a dual process: entry into the national economy and relative withdrawal from the domestic economy" (Heitlinger, 1979, p. 203).

The care economy enforced by the Socialist regime is an example of the structural inequality that the state preserved in order to maintain control over the population. This led to the double or even triple burden of women, as they were expected to be mothers, labourers, and women for the state's benefit. In this way, the care economy promoted under socialism in fact became a legacy of inequality, which continues to be perpetrated through 'traditional' societal values.

Additionally, the concept of structural inequality based on rights is echoed in Crompton's (1997) work where she conducted a cross-national study comparing women in the banking and medical sectors in both the UK and the Czech Republic. Interestingly, she concluded that despite the differences in history and experiences with equality, the results of women's position in the labour force and role at home between the two countries was actually quite similar. This reinforces the discrepancy of the 'equality' promoted under state socialism, and proves that the language used to promote women's role in society was a form of state paternalism (Crompton, 1997, p. 138). Following Waylen's analysis of citizenship, Einhorn's (1993) *Cinderella goes to Market* discusses citizenship through the idea of the potential for women's labour emancipation, which was promised under an open-market system. However, she cites the reality of this situation as something very different. She summarizes by saying that, "neither state socialism nor the newly democratic societies seem able to provide the environment in which women could develop their full potential as equal citizens" (Einhorn, 1993, p. 257). This statement reflects the intersecting layers of oppression and obstacles women have faced to achieve equality, such as has been the case in the Czech Republic. It also reflects the necessity of an intersectional approach to analysis, in order to understand these obstacles and therefore have a better chance to overcome them. Ultimately, Einhorn and Waylen are in accordance in that they both argue that

with the supposed increase in economic freedoms brought on by capitalism, women's civil rights greatly suffered and so the fight for equal status of citizenship continued (1993, p. 258; 2007, p. 199). This idea will be later reflected upon in terms of the role of civil society in the transition points of Czech history.

Molyneux discusses the process of constructing social relations as directly related to the process of emancipation that Funk et al. relate from post-socialist examples. Through interviews with women from the former Yugoslavia and the GDR, these authors identify 'forced emancipation' as a common policy used by socialist governments in order to further centralize their power (Funk, Müller, Ostow, Bodeman, & Weiss, 1990, p. 119). These authors define 'forced emancipation' as the mandate under socialist governments that women be pushed into the labour force, and this way guaranteed employment (Funk et al., 1990, p. 114). However, it was evident that this sort of policy took away the choice and agency a woman had in how to spend her time or what to do with her life (Funk et al., 1990, p. 115). In this way, the state was able to strengthen and centralize its power, though through this process women began to turn to the promises of a liberal democracy (Funk et al., 1990, p. 115).

The tension created between the lived experience of socialism and the promises of liberal reform links back to the discussion on rights and equality, as women in Central and Eastern Europe struggled to re-appropriate issues as feminist (Funk et al., 1990, p. 119). Issues relating to reproductive rights and family policies were monopolized by the government in order to advance the socialist agenda and to secure the future workforce, and in this way the struggle for choice and de facto equality was further oppressed by the state. This issue will be further discussed in the findings section, as it helps to illustrate the tension between the position of women as labourers and women as agents of change within the Socialist state system.

*The Czech Context*

To further contextualize these ideas about state power and equality, I turn to the work by Horáková and Rudwick (2014). They conducted a comparative analysis between the Czech Republic and South Africa in order to examine the large-scale socio-economic and political changes that took place during the transition to democracy of each country. This analysis contributes to both postcolonial and postsocialist studies through its analysis of the relationship and transformation process as related to globalization. Perhaps most importantly, Horáková and Rudwick (2014) outline the issue of ‘double transition’ in that the interconnectedness of the economy and politics, which is inherent in the transition to neoliberalism, is hugely problematic in the impact it has on the population (p. 17). One aspect of this transition is democratization, which brings several social freedoms, and protections relating to human rights. However, this freedom is contradicted by the negative economic consequences of neoliberal reforms, such as extensive job losses (Horáková & Rudwick, 2014, p. 17).

This work reflects the discussion by Waylen on the separation of rights, and the assumption that these rights are universally applied, which in reality is not the case and actually leads to further societal fractures based on structural inequalities. The tension between liberal democracy and economic reforms was especially evident in the case of the Czech Republic, as job loss and drastic cuts to social services were top priorities of the newly elected government in the early 1990s. Moreover, Hana Havelková’s chapter in *Gender Politics and Post-Communism* contributes to the discussion by bringing the analysis to the individual level. She discusses how the state’s rhetoric of equality between men and women became a part of national consciousness (Havelková, 1993, p. 67-8), and in this way proves the power of state-controlled language and the manipulation of meaning as proposed by Crompton. Havelková (1993) goes as far to say that

the forced equality among genders led to the dissolution of individual identity, which is an issue that links back to the contorted concept of citizenship held under state socialism. Differing forms of oppression were still active even under a regime of ‘enforced equality.’

Additionally, a book that has been primary and highly influential in this research is by Jacqui True. Her work, *Gender, globalization, and post socialism: The Czech Republic after Communism* (2003) is important in the revolutionary approach to gender studies, especially in the post-socialist context. Her focus was primarily to fill the gap in research by analyzing how people lived the transition, and looks at how local people on the individual level negotiated the transition to democracy and participation in the global economy. By looking at how gender relations are being shaped by market forces, she turns to the dialectical relationship between social relations and international relations. They influence each other, though realist scholars who previously studied the transition era neglected this dynamic. She concludes by emphasizing that feminist scholars need to show how and where gender matters, in order to improve gender relations in the future. This is an underlying question woven throughout this thesis.

The literature discussed above has provided a foundation that further questions can be advanced from. The literature has been divided into sections in order to further organize the ideas written on the subject. These sections include: the feminist approach to international relations, gender and the state, women and state socialism, and the Czech context. It must be acknowledged that there is a vast body of literature available, but these works have been selected for their variance and their relevance to this research. As can be evidenced, much has been written on the broader themes relating to women’s rights and struggles under socialism and more generally oppressive regimes, but fewer works focus on the individual level of impact these policies have had. It is this area, and more specifically a focus on the centrality of state power,

that this thesis hopes to contribute to in order to highlight the similarities of social inequalities under the different ideological governments of the Czech Republic. Key themes have emerged such as the absence of choice and the use of rhetoric by the state; these themes will be further discussed in relation to discrepancies of equality in lived reality, and the state's relationship to women as mothers, labourers, and citizens.

## **Chapter 4:**

### **Theoretical Framework**

In this section the research will be placed into the existing theoretical work on women's lived experiences under Socialist regimes, and then discussed in relation to the future development of gendered policy analysis in post-transition countries. Moreover, this section will focus on the theoretical foundation, which is important to truly understand the evolution of power possible within the high-level state context. Due to the intricacies of the subject matter an interdisciplinary approach has been taken for the research and analysis. Therefore, post-socialist and neoliberal theories have been utilized in this analysis in order to create a discussion of their comparisons, while weaving the underlying feminist IR approach throughout. Each theory will be presented and analyzed, and then followed with a discussion as to how they interact with each other and will be merged into an analytical framework for the following chapter. The goal of the subsequent chapter will be to show how and where women fit into this framework.

#### **4.1 Post-Socialism**

The basis of socialist state structuring focuses upon the centrality of the state's power in all political, social, and economic aspects of life and society. Verdery (1991) discusses this and the all-encompassing role of the bureaucracy under socialism as having the purpose of "rational redistribution" of resources and goods (p. 420). She goes on to state how one reason for this purposeful redistribution was to keep control over the resources, and perhaps even more importantly to manage production levels in a way that would keep resources out of consumption (Verdery, 1991, p. 421). Resources can be read as both raw production as well as human labour, as the control over both was central to the Soviet state's functioning. With enforced universal

employment, family policies were implemented which ensured the production of the future. Moreover, based on this understanding of socialist theory she articulates that one of the main weaknesses of these states was their accumulation of power as being based on “a relationship of dependency...” (Verdery, 1991, p. 426). She cites Emerson (1952) with the idea that, “...if a social actor depends heavily upon another for a crucial resource or performance, it is not powerful, no matter how many means of coercion lie at its disposal” (Verdery, 1991, p. 426). This power complex is interesting to analyze through the state’s relationship with women, because there was a huge dependency upon the reproductive capabilities of women. However, the terms of this dependency were manipulated in a way that took away the option for a woman to choose her future, and in this way she was relegated to her status as a woman and as a labourer for the state.

This is a key part in thinking about socialism more critically, and perhaps in understanding more complexly the evolution of formerly Socialist states. Socialism relied upon the ideals of an (almost) universally employed labour force, which also fed back into the maintained ideal of ‘equality’ amongst the people. A sense of communality was preserved, because the majority of the citizens were controlled by the bureaucracy to stay at the level of development that had been achieved up until that point. Verdery (1996) reinvestigates this idea of control, and discusses it as the homogenization of society based on a sense of morality (p. 93). By using rhetoric to appeal to the basic sense of humanity in people, socialist states created a sense of unity and ultimately a universal dependence upon the redistribution process. Linguistic manipulation was commonly deployed to this effect, and this control was achieved through “...the centralization of meanings” and the “...politicization of language in socialism...” (Verdery, 1991, p. 431). This politicization is relevant to the policing of the population, and in

particular women as they were conditioned in a specific way to accept that their role as mothers and workers was a natural part of their 'equal' status in society. One example of this that will be discussed in the findings is the use of language in the 1960 Constitution of Czechoslovakia.

Additionally, this idea also relates back to the common assumption of the state's assumed neutrality, and leads one to question whether this is ever really the case, or in fact at all possible. Moreover, Verdery talks about the use of language by the state as a 'retooling' for the purpose "...of ideological production" (1991, p. 430). All of these examples of how language was used to repurpose meanings and project a specific message to the population was an integral part of how the Socialist states functioned; control was essential in all aspects, as was normalizing policies which may have otherwise been questioned or opposed by the population. The formerly Socialist states create a context to analyze the foundations of structural inequalities within a society, because many of the issues seen today were actually codified under socialism. This will be returned to in the findings section as well.

Through this understanding and for the purpose of this research, post-socialism is a lens in which to understand the historical legacy of states. Socialism lasted close to forty years in the Czech Republic, and so understanding the country as a post-socialist state assists in the deconstruction of issues and systemic problems the nation faces to this day. Moreover, post-socialism can be studied from an economic perspective such as the work by former Polish Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz (1998) has done, or it can take a more interdisciplinary approach such as the work by scholar Pieter Vanhuysee (2006). Balcerowicz discusses the demise of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) as being the event which triggered trade recessions throughout the region, then turns to other scholars in the edited volume to discuss price liberalization in relation to subsidy reduction in Czechoslovakia and the process

of resource reorientation as being a universal challenge for the Central and Eastern European nations (Balcerowicz, p. 4; Rostowski & Nikolic, p. 62; Grosfeld, p. 277 in Balcerowicz et al., 1998). Alternatively, Vanhuysee analyzes the new shock of unemployment and shifts in wage levels and compensation through its political, social, and economic costs.

Unemployment was not a concern for labourers under socialism, however, in the transition period when intense privatization occurred and many factories were shut down, many of the older workers were forced into early retirement in order to ensure jobs were occupied by a younger workforce (see Vanhuysee Chapter 5 for a more in-depth analysis). This post-socialist context relates back to Verdery's discussion about dependency as socialism instilled an acute reliance upon the social systems, which included guaranteed employment and child-care. In a way this dependency became a part of the Soviet bloc's culture and despite the change in regime it remained an expectation by the citizens. As a result, to a certain extent this dependency had to be managed even post-socialism in order to control the potential backlash from the people, especially as the state shifted towards neoliberal economic practices. This 'controlled' rollback should not be understated, because in reality it did have drastic negative consequences.

Moreover, Vanhuysee summarizes the transition era as being, "...socially costly yet politically peaceful transition years" (2006, p. 133). This idea is useful to summarize the shift towards democracy, because through his research and that of many other scholars Vanhuysee found the initial transition to be mostly physically violent-free as the people initiated it, and therefore ensured the start of a bottom-up change. The prominent civilian leaders at the time were politically focused, and so other rights were seen as secondary and not of immediate importance. These leaders dismissed the inherent link between social and political rights, and as such opportunity for further advancement of civil rights was lost. Another factor to consider is

how in the immediate aftermath of socialism people were faced with the reality of a rapidly changing political climate. However, using a post-socialist theoretical lens it can be seen that in reality there was little room for opposing views about what was happening.

## 4.2 Neoliberalism

By creating a direct comparison between post-socialist and neoliberal theories, the juxtaposition of how they have been implemented in the Czech Republic becomes apparent. As such, for the purposes of this thesis, it is not necessary to go back to the origins of liberal thought.<sup>5</sup> Rather, this approach begins with the 1989 Washington Consensus as the inceptive moment where neoliberal ideals were concretely articulated in ten distinct policy mechanisms. As such, this document has been employed as the launching point to understand neoliberalism. Not only has it become a buzzword of sorts and is now closely associated with globalization, but Peck (2010) rightly points out that one's political and geographical location also impacts how neoliberalism is understood and conceptualized (p. xvii). In practice, neoliberalism functions "...as an open-ended and contradictory process of regulatory restructuring" (Peck, 2010, p. 7). It is through this process that Fine and Saad-Filho (2017) look at the ways in which the "...relationship between the economy, the state, society and individuals" has been redefined and reworked to follow and embody neoliberal ideals (p. 697). Moreover, by analyzing the changes in the relationship between these entities through a neoliberal analytical framework, the restructuring which Peck refers to becomes much more evident.

---

<sup>5</sup> Liberal economic theory has been extensively covered to date, with the key authors being Adam Smith, John Locke, and John Stuart Mill. Neoliberal theory evolved from these sources beginning around the early 20th century, which reflects how much it has intercepted the every day life. The meaning of neoliberal theory and neoliberalism is dependent upon the reader, though I take up a specific definition in my research. To read more about the foundational approaches to neoliberal political economy, I suggest: Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, and more generally the Chicago School tradition.

*Background to the Neoliberal Approach*

There are different approaches to discussion about the Washington Consensus as some scholars are appreciative of what the doctrine advocates for, whereas others are more critical of the consequences linked with its implementation. Primarily agreed upon as a, "...response to the 1982 debt crisis..." (Kiely, 2018, p. 137), its purpose was to set in place a number of reforms with the goal of contributing to macroeconomic stability specifically in transition countries who were benefitting from loans from Western nations (Marangos, 2009, p. 198). This goal is a key point to remember, because it marked a new way of approaching international development.<sup>6</sup> These policies were applied in the form of 'shock therapy' to "...newly industrialized economies..." or transition economies, such as those of the post-colonies and post-Soviet bloc (Marangos, 2009, p. 204). Essentially, transition economies were viewed as blank slates where drastic economic structural reforms could be applied. Generally advised by foreign bodies, which were ill informed of cultural practices in the transition countries, the sole focus upon increasing GDP was the main objective of neoliberal reforms (Marangos, 2009, p. 200). This focus comes with an inherent lack of concern for social indicators such as living standards and sustainable and equitable development (Marangos, 2009, p. 200), and comes into contradiction with the equitable values advocated for by socialism. These fundamental ideas represent the root of contention between socialism where women are a protected class within an otherwise class-less society, and neoliberalism where citizens are only recognized as consumers.

Analyzing rights through a neoliberal theoretical framework reveals the separation between the social and political realms from the economic, which has been directly critiqued by

---

<sup>6</sup> The IMF and World Bank were the key players in establishing the structural adjustment policies included under the Washington Consensus. In his recent book *The Neoliberal Paradox*, Kiely discusses the irony of these two institutions becoming the epitome of neoliberal ideals. For more I suggest Chapter 5.

feminist scholars (True, 2003). However, that is the approach taken by the international financial institutions (IFIs) and foreign governments who negotiate the policies under neoliberal ideology. Stiglitz, a prominent American economist who has been vocal about his opposition to the laissez-faire market approach, has also unsurprisingly been a strong opponent to the Washington Consensus and neoliberalism critiquing it to be a "...‘one-size-fits all’ approach" (2002, p. 34). He, along with feminist scholars such as True and Waylen, are critical of the idea that a neoliberal approach to the economy will ameliorate social inequalities, and is also wary of the efficiency of the system itself. Being inherently ‘gender-blind,’ neoliberalism seeks to reform the entire economic system of a country, but at the same time refuses to acknowledge the significant contribution that the care economy makes to the overall economic capacity of a state (Waylen, 2007, p. 31). It is in this way that the individual is essentialized to the role of consumer under a neoliberal state. This idealized uniformity contributes to neoliberalism’s ‘gender-blind’ approach, which fails to recognize the intersecting layers of identity and responsibility present in society, especially in the case of women and their role. This is an idea that will be returned to when specifically discussing the Structural Adjustment Programme implemented in the Czech Republic as a high-level policy decision and its impact upon the position of women in society.

### *Critiques of Neoliberalism*

Moving beyond the explanation of neoliberal theory and practice, I turn now to some of the critiques of how it has been implemented. For example, out of the ten policies instituted by the Washington Consensus,<sup>7</sup> scholars Fine and Saad-Filho take issue with financialization the

---

<sup>7</sup> The 10 policies of the Washington Consensus can be found in Marangos (2009), following the work by "...Willisamson (1990a, 1993, 1994, 2004-5)" and are as follows:

most. According to their definition, financialization is “...the intensive and extensive accumulation of interest-bearing capital...” which has a direct correlation with the “...increasing role of globalized finance...” (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2017, p. 687). When directly compared to the centrally planned economy integral to socialist theory, the drastic difference between approaches can be seen. The move away from an industrial and agricultural-focused economy and towards one that emphasizes the growth of financial institutions has a direct impact upon the labour force and the welfare state. This is also the shift that moves from recognizing women as needing social services in order to be more economically productive labourers, to seeing women as consumers.

Analyzing this shift through the role of the state directly reveals the influence financialization has had upon the core of the state’s power structure and ultimately “...the organization of economic and social reproduction” (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2017, p. 687). They critique the neoliberal approach of re-structuring the economic organization of the state in order to “...manage the internationalization of production and finance...” (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2017, p. 687). Through this process social aspects are relegated to their ability to contribute to this internationalization, and are based on economic value not their qualitative benefits to citizens.

- 
1. *Fiscal discipline*: budget deficits should be small enough to be financed without recourse to the inflation tax.
  2. *Public expenditure priorities*: public expenditure should be redirected from politically sensitive areas that receive more resources than their economic return can justify toward neglected fields with high economic returns and the potential to improve income distribution, such as primary education and health, and infrastructure.
  3. *Tax reform*: to broaden the tax base and cut marginal tax rates.
  4. *Financial liberalization*: an ultimate objective of market- determined interest rates.
  5. *Exchange rate policy*: a unified exchange rate at a level sufficiently competitive to induce a rapid growth in non-traditional exports. A competitive exchange rate is a rate that is either not misaligned or undervalued; nevertheless overvaluation is worse than undervaluation (Williamson, 2004–5, p. 200).
  6. *Trade liberalization*: quantitative trade restrictions to be rapidly replaced by tariffs, which would be progressively reduced up to a uniform low rate in the range of 10–20% was achieved.
  7. *Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)*: abolition of barriers impeding the entry of FDI.
  8. *Privatization*: privatization of state enterprises.
  9. *Deregulation*: abolition of regulations that impede the entry of new firms or restrict competition.
  10. *Property rights*: the provision of secure property rights, especially to the informal sector, p. 198-199.

This argument reflects Stiglitz's concerns because both ideologically and in practice neoliberalism has been built upon a singular approach to economics with the idea that societal development will follow as a result. However, it does not take into account the possible variations within a single community or society, or the structural inequalities this approach compounds. The failure to recognize the necessity of social services limits the ability of marginalized groups, particularly women, to compete in this structure. In this way, the 'gender-blind' approach of neoliberal theory means that women start at a disadvantage in this process.

Moreover, neoliberalism's focus upon international competition is directly related to the citizens' ability to consume. This consumption cycle is linked with modernization theory's<sup>8</sup> belief that with complete economic liberalization and deregulation, individuals will be encouraged to consolidate personal wealth, which will then turn into purchasing power, therefore jumpstarting the economy towards the path of development. Related to this idea Kiely (2018) discusses how, "neoliberal advocates suggested that 'rolling back the state' would promote growth and poverty reduction, while critics questioned the assumption that merely integrating more closely into the work economy would lead to development" (p. 4). This argument reflects the disassociation between existing structures of gendered inequality relating to wealth and consumption, and an individual's ability to reach this point without comprehensive social services. These are concerns that will recur in the analytical section of this thesis.

The phases of neoliberalism as discussed by Fine and Saad-Filho (2017) create an interesting framework that can be used in order to create a comparison. They cite, "the first phase of neoliberalism...as the transition or shock phase..." where the promotion and consolidation of private wealth is encouraged "...without regard to the consequences" (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2017,

---

<sup>8</sup> As discussed by Rostow (1971) and Martinelli (2005). For more sources on this theory please see Inglehart & Welzel (2005) and Klinger (2017).

p. 695). A core process, which is generally included under this initial shock phase, is the “...deregulation, privatisation, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of provision”, which Wacquant discusses as the ‘penalisation of poverty’ (2012, p. 67, 69). He argues this is a key strategy of the neoliberal project (Wacquant, 2012, p. 67). Essentially, the inequities that were present in society prior to the inception of neoliberal policies were exacerbated after. For example, this occurred after the fall of the Soviet Union where they, “...succeeded in creating at breakneck speed a wage-labour market and a relatively advanced and well-integrated industrial base” along with “...the re-emergence of a class of capitalists and private ownership of most of the means of production” (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2016, p. 171). As will be discussed later, economic liberalization was one of the first priorities after the fall of the socialist regimes, and so the former Soviet bloc provides an excellent illustration of this first phase of neoliberalism.

This is a point where neoliberal theory interacts with socialist theory, as some comparisons begin to emerge. Though the state was actively involved in the market under socialism, under neoliberalism the strength of the state was shown through trust in the market to reward those who have earned it. Reward and loyalty are common expectations under both systems, which speaks to the centrality of citizens under both regimes as well. Without the active participation of the citizens neither system could fundamentally carry out its objectives, and so it is worth highlighting their essential role in each ideology. A large part of this role and participation can be attributed to the women, as they have been tasked with managing both the family units themselves, as well as the family’s relationship to the state through the bearing and raising of children, and contributing to the economic production of the state.

Furthermore, neoliberalism advocates for economic development as a key priority, with little regard for the cost it would have upon society. It is only in the second phase of neoliberal

implementation where "...social welfare provision" becomes a priority, along with a focus "...on the stabilization of the social relations [previously] imposed..." (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2017, p. 695). Through the state power mechanism neoliberalism enforces a monolithic view of society and progress upon the citizens, and in this process weakens the possibility of citizen organization. In this way neoliberalism can be seen as an obstacle to individual agency, despite the individual freedom it advocates for. This contradiction between endorsed freedom and actual practice is used to maintain control over the population, because while advocating for improved social relations at the same time the state limits the actual scope and practice of said relations. This control can be reflected through women's relationship with her family and with the state, as the burden of social responsibility generally falls to women when the state fails to provide for all.

Applying this idea to the Czech context will reveal how the agency of Czech people was limited to the advancement of democracy, and social rights beyond this were hindered. This sort of social control advanced by neoliberal policies is a form of oppression, as it heavily influences and revises what is seen as necessary and essential for citizens. Since everyone (allegedly) has the same economic opportunity, everyone has the same chance at being financially stable and even successful (as based on neoliberal standards). However, the reality is a different story as there are structural inequalities present that this type of 'economic freedom' does not take into account such as health, age, and gender. Under socialism a key part of the state's role was to use the population to maximize production efforts; in a similar way, neoliberalism also exerts control through the idea of freedom as being the ultimate goal. Compared to neoliberalism, socialism appears much more overtly controlling from the outset. However, neoliberalism has similar controlling measures in place in order to feed and encourage market competition such as through deregulation and then re-regulation of the market, and market ethos. These decisions, such as

deregulation, are made in order to stimulate the market regardless of their social impact and because the economic cannot be separated from the social, the whole population is impacted either negatively or positively by these decisions. Socialism may have been reliant upon the people as a collective labour force, but neoliberalism is just as reliant upon the role of citizens and corporations as consumers. In this way, neoliberalism also works to essentialize the role of citizens, similar to how socialism did as well.

### **4.3 Feminist Theoretical Critique**

With the theoretical foundations of socialism and neoliberalism laid out, it is now time to turn to the feminist critique of these theories' practices. A critical point of comparison is the welfare state model of each regime, because this model has been integral to the protection of women's rights and their ability to either contribute or compete to the socialist or neoliberal market model. The recognition of welfare and social needs by the state is a crucial point of reflection for women's role in society, as social provisions generally benefit women in order to alleviate her traditional role in the household. Social provisions work to neutralize inequalities, though it is still important to analyze them critically in order to understand the shifting role that the state is taking in individual's lives.

#### *Critical Approach to Social Policy and the Welfare State*

This analysis will begin with the services offered under socialism such as childcare and maternal leave, and understanding how these services reflect the gendered nature of the welfare state model at the time. Women were valued as mothers, and the welfare model reveals how the state tried to entice women to become mothers. However, women were also valued as workers

and seen as essential contributors to the state's economy. Using the feminist genealogical approach to unpack this understanding, readers can begin to question *why* women had a protected status under socialism, and connect this back to the state's power formation at the time. Without women nurturing the future workers for the state, the centrally planned economy would lose its ability to function. Alternatively, the welfare model adopted by neoliberalism focuses upon women as consumers which in itself is gendered in the types of items targeted at women for consumption, but also as an individual who needs to work in order to survive under the neoliberal model. The idea of freedom is another 'gender-blind' value under neoliberalism, but in reality this 'freedom' entrenches traditional family roles and works to preserve the nuclear family unit.

Moreover, one of the key texts regarding the welfare state is Gøsta Esping-Andersen's *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990). Esping-Andersen discusses the three main types of regimes that have evolved out of welfare capitalism: liberal, conservative, and social democratic regimes, and maintains the idea that "...the contemporary welfare state is not merely a passive by-product of industrial development. With its institutionalization, it becomes a powerful societal mechanism which decisively shapes the future" (1990, p. 221). Though Esping-Andersen discusses social stratification, he does so in a removed and distinctly macro-level perspective. He uncritically discusses these three types of regimes, and disregards the locality of issues that are important when discussing problems such as social stratification.

Alternatively, Orloff provides a gendered critique of Esping-Andersen's work and emphasizes that, "central to the understanding of how welfare states affect class relations are the concepts of social rights and the 'decommodification of labor,' defined as the degree to which the individual's typical life situation is freed from dependence on the labor market" (1996, p.

65). She also identifies the difference of gender relations between regimes, for example "...the fact that conservative regimes promote subsidiarity (thereby strengthening women's dependence on the family), while social-democratic regimes have promoted an individual model of entitlement and provide services allowing those responsible for care work... to enter the paid labor force" (Orloff, 1996, p. 65). These quotes exemplify the ways these regimes target specific social groups within society, but at the same time ignore the discrepancies within each group. This is where an intersectional feminist approach contributes a more in-depth analysis to an area like social stratification, because as an approach it acknowledges the differences within social classes and the intersection of gender and race, and seeks to explain why these discrepancies exist. It is not representative to lump groups together as Esping-Andersen does, because there are deeper fractures within the welfare system as a whole.

#### *Moving Beyond Theoretical Boundaries: A Synthetic Analysis*

The purpose of this section is to outline a framework that references the previously discussed ideas in order to form some connections between the three theoretical approaches. A feminist approach to IR questions the neoliberal system, and therefore critically discusses the state system as it is currently structured. By using a feminist analysis to critique existing theories, the inherently gendered nature of the state can be seen as a root of inequality, which is still experienced today. Moving to the current structures of the welfare state, Esping-Andersen (1990) makes an important distinction between different types of welfare state regimes and yet he fails to investigate the differences within these regimes and the reasons why those inequalities exist. Again, by bringing in a feminist IR approach these gendered differences are made apparent through the analysis feminist studies employ, and helps to understand the impact on both the

community and international levels (Parashar et al., 2018, p. 6). One of the major downfalls of mainstream discussions on this topic is that they ignore the individual-level impact that these state-led decisions have. In this way, a critical approach helps to shift the focus and analysis to areas such as identity and power dynamics between citizens and state in order to enhance the understanding of policy impact.

Furthermore, the direct comparison of post-socialist theory and neoliberalism works to reveal the differences in how citizens, and particularly women, were seen and categorized by the state, and the impact of these categorizations as related to the policies employed. Though reliant upon citizens as labourers versus consumers, both theories reflect an inherent dependency upon the compliance of citizens to respond to the state's demands. This assumed compliancy is questioned by the feminist IR approach, as it works to analyze the impact of state-centered power and bring marginalized and historically silenced voices to the forefront. In this way, an interdisciplinary analysis informed by critical feminism and the understanding of state-society relations has been adopted. A critical approach to neoliberalism is important in understanding how it has impacted the individual life, and in this way this thesis follows the grassroots approach common to feminist IR theory. A gendered, critical approach to post-socialism is an attempt to understand the ways in which the interception of neoliberal ideals impacted women and families, specifically in the Czech Republic. By merging these layers of theory, the hope is to contribute something new to the field while providing a framework with possible use in future studies.

## **Chapter 5:**

### **Findings**

#### **5.1 Socialism and Ideas of Equality**

The purpose of this section is to work through and analyze archival documents with a critical lens. The idea is that by grouping these documents thematically, they will tell a story about the role of the state and the position of gender relations at each point in history. In order to distinguish the similarities of experienced inequality under both socialism and neoliberalism, it will be argued that despite the explicitly stated equality between genders under socialism, inequality was in fact rampant throughout the Czech Republic (then Czechoslovakia). As will be seen, this inequality was strongly related to the reproductive capacities of women, and their essentialized role in the family structure. These findings are based off of the 1960 Constitution and Ministry documents from the 1960s-1980s.

#### *The Czechoslovak Constitution 1960*

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the 1960 Czechoslovakian Constitution, and to emphasize the importance of this document. This Constitution represents the official shift in state role and capacity to that of a Socialist one, and includes discussion of the role of women in society. The gendered language is a first clue as to how women were perceived, and given that the rights of citizens constituted a whole chapter speaks to the centrality of the people to the functioning of the state. It is clear that women were perceived as equal but different specifically because of their reproductive capacities, and this difference though protected, heavily impacted their position in society.

Important to keep in mind is the fact that socialism was a time of promise, much like neoliberalism was in the following years. As such, this is the first characteristic that can be paralleled with the open market reforms, which were to follow decades later. Coming out of WWII Czechoslovakia had suffered heavily in terms of its population and its industry, and just as people were trying to recover from their losses, the Soviets came and ‘liberated’ the country (Cashman, 2008). They promised major reforms and a better future for the Czechs and Slovaks, however, the reality of what was to come quickly revealed itself when the Soviets suppressed any sort of opposition to their newly instated regime.

The 1960 Constitution was the first step towards a fully Communist state, and this shift in state functioning is evident in the document. The “...leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia” is declared within the first paragraph of the constitution, and closely following is the exclamation that, “Socialism has triumphed in our country!” (Czechoslovak Const. pmbl I). Also interesting to note is the overall jovial tone of the document; it can be seen that the idea for this Constitution was to include everyone, and to create a sense of community amongst the people. Despite the long history of tension between the Czech and Slovak peoples, this Constitution declared that, “the two nations, Czechs and Slovaks, which created the Czechoslovak Republic, live in fraternal harmony” (Czechoslovak Const. pmbl II). From a gendered perspective and referring back to Crompton’s work, which was previously discussed, it’s interesting that the word fraternal is used and can be seen as reflective of the paternalist nature of the Soviet rule at the time. The Constitution could have been left to say that the two nations live in harmony, but by using the word fraternal a familial, masculine relation between the Czechs and Slovaks is inferred. This choice can be seen as creating a stronger bond between

the two as well as uniting Czechoslovakia with Soviet ideals, but at the same time codifying a gendered tone to the document and overall approach to ruling the country.

Moreover, not unusual for a Communist Constitution is the idea that the working person is liberated, and actually protected by the economic ideology of socialism. Article 7. (1) of the Czechoslovakian Constitution states that, “the economic foundation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic shall be the socialist economic system, which excludes every form of exploitation of man by man” (Czechoslovak Const. art. 7, § 1, p. 228). This section reflects the interconnected approach to economics and human rights held by Socialist beliefs. The approach towards the economy was a communal effort and the belief that if everyone contributed in their highest capacity, then all would be provided for. Cooperation was identified as necessary for the socialist economic system, and through this cooperation an inferred respect and assumed equality could develop. The idea was to prevent the exploitation of people, though again, the gendered language of this constitution reflects the priority of the state. Though men and women were seen as equal, in practice men’s labour was held by the state in a higher esteem *because* of women’s reproductive capabilities and their duties to be carers in the private sphere. Article 7 is the first hint that there is a tension between a woman’s biological differences and her role as a worker, and how the state values women for their reproductive capabilities over their ability to physically work for the state.

This tension within the identity of women under the Communist Constitution is further intensified under, “Chapter Two Rights and Duties of Citizens” (Czechoslovak Const.). The statement about abolishing “...exploitation of man by man...” is repeated in the first line of this chapter, and then moves on to explain the importance of developing the socialist society (Czechoslovak Const. art. 19, § 1). There are a few points of interest in this section, with the first

one being that each individual needs to actively participate and take on "...an appropriate share of social work" in order to contribute to "...the development of society as a whole..." (Czechoslovak Const. art. 19, § 2). The concept of social work is not further defined within the Constitution. However, there is the notion that this includes activities outside of the home. Despite the communality advocated for by the Socialist state, there was still a separation between family and public life. The family meant more directly the raising of children and the duty of the mother to condition them so that they would be strong and active workers for the state, but the activities outside of the family home were distinctly less feminized already. This relates back to the feminist theoretical distinction between the public and private sphere, where the private sphere is feminized by the state and therefore further essentializes a woman's role within her family, while maintaining control over the population.

Additionally, Articles 20, 26, and 27 explicitly discuss the rights of men and women. Beginning with Article 20. (1), it states that, "all citizens shall have equal rights and equal duties" (Czechoslovak Const. art. 20, § 1). This Article would seemingly be enough by way of protection of human rights. However, sub-article 20. (3) goes further to say that, "men and women shall have equal status in the family, at work and in public activity" and 20. (4) states that, "the society of the working people shall ensure the equality of all citizens by creating equal possibilities and equal opportunities in all fields of public life" (Czechoslovak Const. art. 20, § 3 & 4). Notice the progression from equality in the family to equality of opportunities publicly, and yet in reality little of this enshrined 'equality' came to fruition (Verdery, 1996, p. 64-65). The reality of these equal opportunities was limited to what forced emancipation could offer women, because though all were encouraged to work their options were still limited to the gendered connotations associated with jobs. For example, education was segregated into male

and female streams, which influenced the types of jobs that could be obtained after. Women were often relegated to roles such as secretarial work, which was highly feminized, as opposed to hard labour such as welding or plumbing, which was highly masculinized. The intersection of age was a defining factor in this, as previously stated women in their childbearing years were expected to have a family.

Class-status also played a role in this division in labour, as those proven loyal to the regime subverted the falsely class-neutral status under socialism. Much like the concepts of citizenship discussed through Parashar et al.'s work, loyalty to the regime was held above all else and in this way statuses emerged within society, intersecting with the already gendered preferences of the state. Moving further along the document, Article 26. (1) states that, note not fatherhood but only, "motherhood, marriage and the family shall be protected by the State" and Article 27 states that,

The equal status of women in the family, at work and in public life shall be secured by special adjustment of working conditions and special health care during pregnancy and maternity, as well as by the development of facilities and services which will enable women fully to participate in the life of society (Czechoslovak Const. art. 27).

These articles have been put side by side to show that despite being separate articles, the distinct role that women were forced to play in a Socialist society is reinforced multiple times. The progression of the document reflects the slow evolution of what being equal under the Socialist regime actually entails to the point where motherhood is considered to be a unique status and should therefore be protected in society and in the family. These articles in the Constitution reflect the centrality of the state's power, and the ability of the state to control the messaging of people's roles within society.

Furthermore, with Article 27 women are still identified as equal but in need of special measures to make sure they can function to their full capacity. Reading between the lines, being

able to fully “...participate in the life of society” really means that they can contribute a worthwhile amount despite the ‘condition’ of being a mother as well (Czechoslovak Const. art. 27). This section of the constitution goes back to Verdery’s discussion on the manipulation of language under socialism in order to condition the citizens in a certain way. Additionally, the centrality of the state’s power in people’s lives is quite evident here as well; these articles reach far into the private life of individuals in order to try and ensure women are able to both reproduce and labour for the state. Going back to the post-socialist theory, the purpose of the redistribution process under socialism worked together with the centrality of the state’s power. For example, the redistribution of wealth in order to ensure women could access childcare was a way the state could guarantee their ability to re-enter the labour force. These social services acted as a way to remove obstacles so that the state could maintain employment levels. However, they are the same services that were drastically reduced during the transition to a liberal democracy. The citizens’ rights to use these services were not considered during the redistribution that occurred during the transition, and so the impact of these policy changes was severely felt by those who relied upon them.

#### *The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 1960s-1980s*

The following documents are from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, and range from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s.<sup>9</sup> They will be analyzed collectively because despite the two-decade span, the messages in the documents are quite consistent. They speak about measures to support women particularly as mothers, but also as workers. In this way we return to

---

<sup>9</sup> Please note that these documents have been translated with the assistance of Anežka Fuchsová. Without her help, this research would not have been possible. I’m so grateful for all of her time, effort, and patience throughout this process.

the tension previously mentioned between a woman's identity as a worker, as a mother, or as a woman. Though this tension was prevalent in society, the state only saw a dichotomy: women as workers and as mothers, and they struggled to reconcile the crossover between the two. In this way, tension arises on both the state level and on the personal level, where individual identity is at risk.

The policy documents have been selected in order to illustrate these themes. Reflective of the previously discussed tensions, there is a distinct separation between the economic capabilities and reproductive capabilities of women. For example, a document from 1986 on the topic of "Measures to Improve Working and Living Conditions of Economically Active Women" discusses the provisions taken to ease women's everyday life in order to increase her overall productivity and efficiency (Baumruková, 1987). Important to note was at this time the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs was a woman. This leads one to think about her day-to-day activities, and whether she tried to push back against the limitations of the Soviet bureaucracy or if she was forced to prescribe to the Socialist ideals. There is not much written on Minister Nast'a Baumruková, though she was one of the few female ministers during the Socialist era. Moving back to the document, a section discusses the incorporation of services such as laundries, cleaners, and tailors in order to save a woman time at home (Baumruková, 1987). However, this policy begs the question of who the state considers to be a woman, as well as who is actually working in these types of service jobs. Considered to be highly feminized work, it was not uncommon that older women beyond their childbearing years would take up work as a launder or tailor as a way to contribute to society. An intersectional approach is appropriate to emphasize here, because it is important to recognize how this domestic service work was considered to be feminine, but also in the Socialist context the role of age comes into play as well. If a woman is

no longer seen as useful to the state in what she was working as before, then oftentimes women would go back to what they knew from being mothers. The complexity of the tension between gender, age, and political context help to deconstruct the role of women in society in this particular case.

It's interesting to compare this document with a much earlier one from the late 1960s. The "New Family Strategy of the State" discusses the ways in which the workforce can be strengthened through the family unit. One example of this is the implementation of regulations to ensure that women can have more time with her family, as a way to test economic results ("Ministerstvo práce a sociálních," thesis). In this way, women's social rights were directly tied with her economic capability, and the centrality of the state's power manifests again. Despite this policy approach occurring under socialism, a comparison can be made with the same dependency under neoliberalism, where every action has an equivalent monetized value. This economic experiment also reflects the state's power at the time, and how this power was used to directly interfere with people's rights. There was a gendered value placed upon people, and this value was tied to age, reproductive capabilities, and ability to contribute to the public and private spheres of economy.

Additionally, this document enforces the idea that with the codified equality between men and women in the Constitution, men and women would also be equally employed in all professions. Contradictorily, however, this same document on Family Strategy states how women are less proficient than men because of their domestic work and maternity obligations ("Ministerstvo práce a sociálních," thesis). This reinforces the connection between improved women's rights as a result of wanting better economic performance for the state, rather than approaching this issue as an opportunity to move away from traditional family structures and the

gendered division of labour. Essentially, the Socialist government chose to only keep the economic efficiency of the people in mind. Despite all of this, the former Czechoslovakia had “...a high employment of women” which usually meant “...both partners working full-time” (“Ministerstvo práce a sociálních,” thesis).

However, this relates to another tension of wanting women to work to their full capacity and contribute as labourers, but at the same time the future of the state had to be kept in mind. The idea that parents were not always around to raise their children was seen as a risk by the Socialist regime. This was a risk to the stability of the state since perhaps the children were not receiving all of the lessons that they needed in order to be active workers in the future. This came in contradiction with working rights, because women had to be allowed and in fact encouraged to work, so the solution was to shorten working hours for “...parents with small kids” so that more time could be spent at home (“Ministerstvo práce a sociálních,” thesis).

Also in this document is the difference in hours spent on housework between men and women. On average women would spend nine hours a day on private sphere work such as shopping, home maintenance, taking care of children, etcetera and on average men would spend four hours a day on these things (“Ministerstvo práce a sociálních,” thesis). Based on this document, it is clear that the state did not care about *who* was doing the work, but rather focused upon how this labour on top of working full time impacted the development of the children and the economic output of the workforce. On paper women’s rights may have benefitted from these policies, however, structurally the same inequalities continued to perpetuate which reflects the top-down approach to ‘solutions.’ If a grassroots, bottom-up policy reform approach was taken, as advocated for by feminist theorists, then perhaps some of the structural issues would have been addressed as well. Alternatively, a top-down approach that was aware of these differences

may have also led to different results. Regardless, by using a top-down approach the structural inequalities are glossed over and therefore left unaddressed by public policy.

Two additional papers from the archive include an opinion piece based “...on the article of work and life conditions...” and the differences in salaries between men and women. There is no identifiable author; though it was published in 1987 a day after the “Measures to Improve Working and Living Conditions of Economically Active Women” document was published. This opinion piece states that women earn around 24 percent less than men, mostly due to the fact that men worked higher paid jobs that women cannot do because of the working conditions.<sup>10</sup> For example, it states that women cannot work as miners, scrapers, or anything where a furnace is involved (“Ministerstvo práce a sociálních,” 1987). This paper is illustrative of the gendered segregation between industries, because it also goes on to state how women mostly work in the health and service sectors, where the salary is for the most part lower (“Ministerstvo práce a sociálních,” 1987).

The “Proposal for Better Working Conditions for Women,” discusses the tension between having higher educated and higher rates of employed women, and the effect it has on the desire or ability to have children (“Ministerstvo práce a sociálních,” proposal). Interestingly, it notes the particular shift in women wanting to have a second or third child (“Ministerstvo práce a sociálních,” proposal): after having one child, perhaps they felt as though they’d done their duty and contributed to the workforce, or perhaps they have endured the struggle of working and raising a family, and do not want to further add to this stress. The reasoning would have been different for each woman, and though the state encouraged women to have multiple children in

---

<sup>10</sup> Please note that this is an estimate from the primary source, and I’m not sure where their data is from. The purpose of this statistic is to provide an insight into what sorts of things were being published at the time and it’s more just for an example of the reasons given for pay inequality under the Socialist regime.

Czechoslovakia it seems that the choice to have more than one child was generally left up to the family. In fact, the document also discusses the need to have, "...a greater understanding of the social problems of women and also a better social policy... and social facilities" ("Ministerstvo práce a sociálních," proposal). The intention of this should not be assumed as automatically benevolent. However, it is also interesting to see the shift in focus towards women and families. Despite having social services in place, it seems that accessibility might have been an obstacle not taken into consideration on the policy level. This reflects the disconnect between the state's power and the actual citizens' needs, as well as the shortcomings of the redistribution process.

With these documents, the aim was to provide a gendered perspective of the 1960 Czechoslovak Constitution and other policy documents from the Ministry of Social and Labour Affairs through the 1980s, because these documents provide the foundational ideological structure of the Socialist regime. They reinforce the idea of women and men as equal, and yet outline women with the dominant identity of motherhood. These tensions in identity stem from the shift in character of the state, and are translated into policies dealing with women as economic contributors but also as the primary caregivers of the private sphere.

## **5.2 The Transition (and Promises)**

For this section, the intention is to show the new rules and promises made as a direct contrast to the regime's approach under socialism. The transition period of the early 1990s was a time of hope and renewed faith of the Czech people, but perhaps not many knew the reality of what life would be like during this period. The totality of change within the country at this point in time cannot be understated, because with the shift to an open market system the material, social, and economic rights of people, and specifically women, shifted along with it and not

always in a positive way. This tension can be seen through the interviews that will be discussed and compared to Vaclav Klaus and the ODS party's response to the transition process. The role of politicians as an extension of the state is important in this process because they are the ones meant to lead the country and protect the citizens' rights. In this way the pivotal role of Vaclav Klaus will be further discussed in this section.

The transition period was led by dissidents such as the Charter 77 group and many young people who projected a clear message: the Czech people were demanding their freedom. The democratic transition visibly and publicly began with, "...the election of Václav Havel as President of the Czechoslovak Republic" which marked the movement towards freedom and democracy, and a market economy (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 8). Essentially, this period of transition can best be described as a time of contradictions; a clear distinction was made between the past and the future, between oppression and freedom, and between the centrally planned economy and market economy (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 8). These dichotomies helped to form a clear distinction in terms of people's expectations, as well as informed the conversation of the role women would play in this newly shaped society.

### *Vaclav Klaus*

One politician who was highly influential in this period was Vaclav Klaus. Generally, "politicians distanced themselves from the previous regime and its values," (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 13) and this could not be more true for Klaus. At the time and even to this day, Klaus positions himself as a staunch neoliberal who stands by the decisions he made during the transition era. Interesting to this discussion was his relationship with Vaclav Havel; when compared to each other they are reflective of a different sort of dichotomy taking place in

Czechoslovakia at the time. Essentially, “for much of the 1990s [Klaus] was instrumental in developing an enduring Czech right-wing ideology combining Thatcherite enthusiasm for free markets with rejection of communism and a stress on Czechs as a nation of economic go-getters” (The Economist, 2013). This catapulted him into direct opposition with Havel, who advocated “...the need for a strong civil society and an effective rule of law” (The Economist, 2013). This quote points to the deregulatory practices instated by Klaus, which helped to stimulate the accumulation of wealth of individuals to form a new state structure. Applying neoliberal theory to Klaus’ practices helps to show the process of financialization, and the ways economic policy was separated from social policy during the transition era. The separation of policies not only reflects the separation of rights, but also the hierarchy of rights under neoliberalism. Women no longer had the recognition by the state that they had under socialism, and though their reproductive ability was no longer a defining factor for the state they also were no longer able to access the same health and social services that helped them to enter the workforce. This tension between state recognition and disregard had direct consequences upon a woman’s ability to participate in the economy and impacted her ability to be independent as a result. As such, this can be seen as the compounding of structural inequalities through neoliberal practices. When this structure is instated on top of the pre-existing inequalities under socialism, the problematic approach of siphoning policies becomes much more evident.

Additionally, in Klaus’ words, “we considered radical reform the only way to avoid chaos, instability, and political turmoil and to obtain at least the basic support of our fellow citizens” (Klaus, 2014). As a standalone sentence this can be considered understandable considering the political volatility of the time, however, the reality of the situation for most people was very different. By choosing a radical, neoliberal approach to state reform, Klaus and

the ODS party focused primarily on the drastic economic restructuring of the Czech Republic as a means to move the country swiftly away from its socialist history. By following an accumulation of wealth model, social policy was ideologically less important, meaning that class and gender differences were exacerbated as a result. This idea will be expanded upon in the following section in order to contextualize this process.

### *Accumulation of Wealth*

One aspect integral to Klaus' neoliberal doctrine was the accumulation of wealth model, which points to a renewed manifestation of structural inequality following the fall of the Socialist regime. Despite Klaus' best efforts to rapidly introduce liberalized economic policies,

...there were also people who did not play by the rules and accumulated property with no regard for legal regulations...A society, that had up until then functioned on egalitarian principles, suddenly had not just millionaires but even billionaires who had accrued their wealth under obscure circumstances (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 41).

This rapid shift from an egalitarian-organized society to one based on individualized principles reveals the class and gender differences that manifested under socialism. The rapid accumulation of wealth of some individuals proves that Czechoslovakia was not actually a class-less society, and that this rhetoric was in fact a fabrication by the state. Moreover, a characteristic of this period and a consequence of the rise in wealth of some meant that the potential 'middle class' shrunk and the discrepancy between rich and poor increased (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 41) which was especially dangerous given the cutback of social services that people heavily depended upon. As such, the combination of the shift to individualism and the absence of social services meant that the gap between the rich and poor was exacerbated even more.

The state exerted its power to rapidly liberalize the economy, but failed to maintain a relationship with the majority of its citizens. In order to represent this point, a quote worth noting is from Jaroslav Sedláček, a businessman born in 1937. He stated that,

Those who got rich so quickly have frustrated the hopes of the 1989 generation. They're guilty of a second normalization, and they've degraded work to begging... *Human rights without social freedoms are worthless*. If you don't have a job, if you don't have anything to eat or anywhere to live, you couldn't care less that you can fly to the Canary Islands, vote for one bastard after another in the elections... (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 41; emphasis added).

From this quote, the frustration is clear about the policies being implemented and about the personal experience in this period. Paying particular focus to the sentence emphasized in the paragraph, "human rights without social freedoms are worthless" (Vaněk & Mücke, 2016, p. 41), Mr. Sedláček returns back to the ideas and questions posed in feminist IR theory regarding the systematic inequalities enforced by political regimes. When human rights and social freedoms are separated, then the marginalized in society continue to miss the supposed 'equal opportunity of economic success' that neoliberalism advocates for. This highlights the inseparable nature of social and economic rights, and the need to consider both when making high-level policy decisions, despite the failure of neoliberalism to do so. Agency and individual identity are integral to this discussion, and through these quotes it appears that individual agency was lacking in the former Czechoslovak Republic at this time. Turning now to Klaus' policies, the potential role he played in this discordance becomes evident.

Despite the years that have passed since his time in the government, Klaus continues to stand by his decisions during the transition period and believes that they were the right choices to make despite the systemic inequalities those decisions enshrined. He believes that his party was the 'radical change' that the citizens were demanding, and that the opposition was "...not unified and lacked a strong common idea" which led to their ultimate downfall (Klaus, 2014). What's

more, Klaus rejects the accusations “...of being Chicago boys or Hayekians... of being economically ‘narrow minded’...” and he stated that, “we did not believe that gradualism was a realizable reform strategy...and we disagreed with the term *shock therapy* as either a useful reform concept or a description of the reality in our country or elsewhere (see Klaus 2013b)” (Klaus, 2014). This represents the disconnect between the policies that Klaus instated, and the reality they would have upon the citizens. His radical approach rooted in deregulation measures reflects the disassociation between social and economic policies implemented by Klaus’ government, as they were completely focused on economic liberalization as the means to development and democracy. Part of this can be linked to the heavy influence of the World Bank and the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes, used to push the Czech Republic towards a liberal democracy. Perhaps unsurprisingly these policies continued to focus upon accumulation of wealth and the potential to compete in the new market economy.

As can be seen from this section, the transition era in the former Czechoslovak Republic was complicated as several different aspects of political and public life began to intersect in a new way from what people were used to. There was some advocacy, however, this advocacy was primarily limited to human rights and separated from social and political rights. Overall, the emphasis on individual agency and identity were lacking, as effort was put into liberalizing the economy in order to intercept the global market. The shift towards individualism that neoliberalism brought with it meant that many women were forced to compete in the market economy while being re-burdened with the responsibilities of the private sphere. Class differences also became more apparent during the transition years, as the rapid accumulation of wealth revealed existing inequalities leftover from socialism. Some people may have thought of the Socialist regime as the main obstacle to their personal and therefore social freedom, and yet

the fight for rights continues to this day and in this way continues to reflect the legacy of broken promises left by neoliberal state policies.

### 5.3 Marketization

In order to more easily compare sections, this discussion will begin with the Czech Constitution of 1993 and then move through documents from the World Bank outlining the Structural Adjustment programme for the Czech Republic. These documents come after the transition period of 1989, where the promises of societal reform and new economic rules were outlined. This section will evaluate whether or not the marketization of the Czech Republic actually lived up to these promises, and the impact the state structure had upon women's individual rights and identity.

To begin, the most direct comparison can be made between the 1960 and the 1993 Constitutions. As discussed in the 1960 Czechoslovak Constitution, the entire second chapter spanning three pages was dedicated to the rights of citizens and broke down the rights and identity of women as workers and as mothers. By comparison, the Czech Constitution of 1993 has three Articles relating to citizens' rights, and are quite basic and broad. They are as follows:

Article 3: The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Basic Freedoms forms a part of the constitutional order of the Czech Republic.

Article 4: The fundamental rights and basic freedoms shall enjoy the protection of judicial bodies.

Article 5: The political system is founded on the free and voluntary formation of and free competition among those political parties which respect the fundamental democratic principles and which renounce force as a means of promoting their interests (Czech Constit. art. 3-5).

Article 5 was included in the comparison because in 1960 where the role of the individual was as a collective worker, the more recent Constitution outlines political rights and discusses 'fundamental democratic principles.' This is a stark difference from the Socialist Constitution

from 1960, and begins to reveal the shift in understanding citizens as labourers versus as consumers. These articles appear gender-neutral upon first glance; however, an analysis of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms* is necessary in order to supplement the Constitution.<sup>11</sup> The Charter, which was passed in 1992 by the Czech National Council, has the main purpose of “recognizing the inviolability of the natural rights of man, of citizens, and the sovereignty of the law...” (Czech Republic: Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, 1992, pmb.). A first thought upon reading this opening line of the document, is where does the category of women fall? Should women be considered one with man, or more generally as citizens? Admittedly, positionality is important to recognize as these questions arise from reading this document in 2019, and in the comfort of Western Europe. However, the fundamentality of rights is emphasized, as well as the hierarchy of the state. Another important article to note is,

Everyone is guaranteed the enjoyment of her fundamental rights and basic freedoms without regard to gender, race, colour of skin, language, faith and religion, political or other conviction, national or social origin, membership in a national or ethnic minority, property, birth, or other status (“Charter of Fundamental Rights,” 1992, art. 3, §1).

This article is interesting because it recognizes the intersections possible in one’s identity. However, having discussed the Czech Republic’s history and the legacy of forced equality from socialism it leaves one to question how this protection of rights actually plays out in reality. Indeed an intersectional approach in the Charter is an important step towards the common goal of recognition and protection of status, though it’s quite another to see how these rights are practiced and respected on the judicial level, but also on the societal level through everyday interactions.

---

<sup>11</sup> Please note that this document was read and cited from the official English translation, as published by the Chamber of Deputies, Parliament of the Czech Republic.

Moreover, a chapter of this Charter has been devoted to “the rights of national and ethnic minorities” (“Charter of Fundamental Rights,” 1992, chapter 3). However, accessibility to resources and ability to exercise these rights has historically been an obstacle for citizens, particularly marginalized groups. The intersection of race and gender emerges in this context as well, because when minority rights are not institutionally protected and fostered, such as through the public education system, it generally falls upon the women in households be it mothers, grandmothers, aunts, or others to pass on the history and language of that family.<sup>12</sup> This gender dynamic has the possibility to shift with the implementation of state or community-run organizations, which help to foster these same skills in the next generation. Though again, access to resources remains an obstacle.

Furthermore, there are two articles that deal specifically with women’s rights, and it’s unsurprising that they both discuss a woman’s health and reproductive capacity. The first is Article 29(1) which states that “women, adolescents, and persons with health problems have the right to increased protection of their health at work and to special work conditions” and Article 32(2) which states that “pregnant women are guaranteed special care, protection in labor relations, and suitable labor conditions” (“Charter of Fundamental Rights,” 1992, art. 29, §1 & art. 32, §2). These articles provide a first glimpse into how even in an open-market society, there is still a strong connection between women as workers and essentializing their role back to their reproductive capacity, much like what was done under socialism. Again, a critique of the top-down approach can be made with this Charter since it fails to address the structural inequalities related to women’s involvement in their family’s health and well-being, and their expected responsibilities in the private sphere.

---

<sup>12</sup> See Alexander, M. J., & Mohanty, C. T. (1997). *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge for more on this topic.

*Structural Adjustment Programs*

There are two key documents integral to the discussion of the Czech Republic's development plan that followed the fall of the Socialist regime. Both of these documents are from the World Bank, and they outline the structural adjustment program for the Czech Republic. What's interesting about these documents is how at parts further analysis is needed in order to recognize the subtle ways in which the neoliberal belief that the market is the driving force of development is threaded throughout them. They exemplify the way state power can shift, though it remains evident that the centrality of state power as it was maintained under socialism actually perpetuated through the transition era and into the capitalist, open market system. These documents help to describe how exactly the state has/should change in its actions towards citizens, specifically through its policy practices.

The first document is a Performance Audit Report on the Czech Republic for the Structural Adjustment Loans (SAL) approved in 1991, and to the amount of \$450 million USD (World Bank, 1997, p. 5). The plan outlined by the SAL, and indeed the conditions attached to it, directly reflect the policies of the Washington Consensus as previously outlined. The SAL for the Czech Republic had the purpose of,

- (i) macroeconomic stabilization; (ii) fiscal reform; (iii) price and trade liberalization; (iv) financial sector reforms; (v) privatization and commercialization of state owned enterprises (SOE); (vi) private sector development; (vii) improving the social safety net; (viii) development of a flexible labor market; (ix) energy price reform; and (x) environmental protection (World Bank, 1997, p. 7-8).

These policies form the basis of an open market economy, though much like the Washington Consensus, they disregard the potential exacerbation of inequality within the population. In the case of the Czech Republic, being a post-Socialist state, perhaps there was the idea that since there was 'institutionalized' equality under socialism that was something that could be preserved

moving forward. Alternatively, it is also very possible that the thought of equality and dispossession was not a concern at all. This is evident by SAL policies such as point number 16, which discusses the “protection of vulnerable groups through preservation of existing social safety nets: The loan program was successful in ensuring that those most severely hurt by the transition process would continue to have access to social services of reasonable quality” (World Bank, 1997, p. 10). However, this has proven to be untrue through Klaus’ rollback of social services and complete disregard for those most vulnerable in the transition process, namely women and their specific needs. This policy reflects the tension between the social safety net provided under socialism, and how in some ways it did benefit citizens’ needs though perhaps not to the full capacity it needed to. During the transition era these programs were slashed to only benefit a small group deemed worthy enough of receiving aid from a foreign source. In these situations it’s not only the citizens who are vulnerable, but the state itself is also vulnerable to the demands of foreign aid providers. This is one way the World Bank is able to assert power over states in order to take advantage of this period of volatility; this reflects the ideas of Fine and Saad-Filho, which were previously discussed. The SAL program for the Czech Republic illustrates the ‘shock phase’ of the transition to neoliberalism, which was a period of the drastic change in rules to play the game of production (Fine & Saad-Filho, 2017, p. 694).

One consistent theme running through this document important to point out, was how many times the West was referred to, and particularly Western Europe. This leads one to believe that the World Bank took this reform process as an opportunity to align the Czech Republic with Western standards regardless of the on-the-ground facts of everyday life. In fact, early in the document it states “the project could have also benefited from greater coordination in setting policy reform goals with other external participants, particularly the European Commission”

(World Bank, 1997, p. 12). This could be seen through the lens of trade and logistics, to make sure that the economy would have willing trade partners, but also as a push to make the Czech Republic an ally despite the past misgivings. This comment can also be interpreted as a pro-American attempt to prevent the spread of Communism in the future; this country was ‘saved’ once from the evil of the Soviets, so everything in the World Bank’s power needs to be done to prevent the Red Scare from occurring again.

Again worth noting, is that by 1997 “about 70 percent of legislation in the Czech Republic has already been harmonized with the European Union” (World Bank, 1997, p. 20). This statistic illustrates exactly how rapid the shift to neoliberal policies was in the Czech Republic in an effort to conform the post-socialist state to Western ideals. A mere eight years after the fall of the regime and the government had already worked to align themselves with some of the most powerful Western states. What’s also interesting is to bring a gendered perspective into this analysis. The inclusion of Western-style legislation also impacted women’s lives and their identities, because this was also a time seen as opportunity for Western feminists’ to come in and try to ‘educate’ Central and Eastern women, without regard for their specific experiences. Harmonizing legislation provided enough of a grounding and foundation to prove that these countries are similar enough to each other, and therefore the citizens must have the same needs. This also reflects the danger of SAL programs because they are created as one-size-fits-all reform programs, and are applied irrelevant of a country’s history. Being ahistorical by design, the World Bank purposefully decontextualizes a state and dictates what they need.

Following this line of thought, the *World Bank Country Study on Czechoslovakia: Transition to a Market Economy* focuses upon “policy and institutional reforms necessary to make the desired transition to a market economy relatively rapidly and with minimum social and

economic cost” (World Bank, 1991, p. xii). This efficiently summarizes the priorities, and the ahistorical approach taken by the World Bank that was previously discussed. The ‘minimum social cost’ is not in an effort to protect the citizens, but rather it’s to achieve maximum economic functioning in the shortest period of time possible, and then social benefits will slowly follow. The discussion surrounding unemployment is particularly interesting in this document, because the social safety net is only discussed in relation to employment and labour. In fact, no other aspects of social protection, such as labour regulations, are seen as necessary. As always concerned about cost, the World Bank talks about a balance between adequate coverage and keeping costs down in terms of unemployment benefits (World Bank, 1991, p. xxii).

Additionally, the World Bank talks about the need for interventions, but also “...to design these interventions on behalf of equity and security in such a way that they do not seriously undercut the objectives of economic efficiency” (World Bank, 1991, p. 42). This emphasizes that the bottom line for the World Bank is economic efficiency and stability, and with this stability the development of citizens’ lives will follow. This type of discussion takes away the individual agency, because inequality is seen simply as a (necessary) byproduct of these changes. This approach also adds to the ‘shock’ of the time period because the social services previously used were no longer accessible. Unsurprisingly, this had a dramatic impact upon the wellbeing of many people.

To add to the discussion about the changing role of the state, this was explicitly stated by the World Bank, and seen as an integral part of the shift towards a market economy. Essentially, the World Bank states that,

Thus, the issue is not: one of simply abolishing the role of the state in the economy. The state must play a positive role in building the institutions and implementing the policies that must accompany using the market as a basic tool of economic management (World Bank, 1991, p. 44).

This shows that the role of the state was still seen as essential, though essential only in terms of economic development. This reflects the new role of the state, and thus a new form of influence over the population. With the state as the centralized decision-making body for economic means, its relationship with women as mothers, citizens, and labourers shifted again. In this role the structures of inequality have been further institutionalized, and there is no recognition of structural barriers to equality because it is up to the individual to find and use the 'tools' of the state in order to advance their private wealth. This is an example of how institutions, such as the state, can in fact shift in how they act and treat the citizens.

## **Chapter 6:**

### **Conclusions**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the ideas discussed, and to offer a path for future research. The goal of this thesis was to analyze a variety of documents including social policy, interviews, and personal reflections as a means to highlight the ways in which the state displays itself as a power-centric force, and the impact of this force upon the population. A main tension was identified between state power as evidenced under the Socialist regime and then compared to the neoliberal policies introduced in the transition and the following years. Interestingly, a series of similarities emerged through the research process and were identified in how the state behaved in its role under a Socialist regime and the following neoliberal one.

Under socialism, the centrality of state power was key in controlling people's ability to choose, and this manifested through the use of rhetoric in the Constitution as well as within social policies adopted by the government. This was done in an effort to control women's reproductive capacities and to challenge their role as workers. These examples point to the fact that there is an inherent lack of neutrality in the state, which also confirms the importance of a critical, intersectional approach to analysis. These social policies impacted women, but categories such as age and class were also important in determining a woman's role within her own family and within society as a whole. The overall lack of choice in a woman's life became evident, as the State influenced access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities.

Bringing these conceptions of the state to the global context, the tension between the Czech Republic's status as a post-socialist state and the push towards a globalized economy emerged during the transition years. The intense push towards an open market economy occurred in parallel to civil society's call for democratization, though this research shows that

democratization does not equate to comprehensive and fully adopted civil political rights for all. Neoliberalism emphasizes freedom through civil political rights, but it does not work to alleviate the institutionalized oppression as related to intersecting experiences of race, age, gender, and class. In this way, women's rights are obscured under this blanket of 'protection' and ultimately dismissed as irrelevant as they are not acknowledged as having an impact upon the functioning of the economy. Moreover, a gendered policy analysis was utilized when reading through the archival documents, which helped in unpacking the strategic use of language and meanings in an effort to influence the population.

Three main points of comparison were identified throughout this thesis, and they were each compared to the state's role under socialist and neoliberal ideologies. The first point of comparison was the state-centered power evident under both regimes. Under socialism communality and enforced employment were tools to control the population, and these strategies worked with language manipulation and rhetoric in order to strengthen the centrally planned economy and the future workforce. Under neoliberalism, perhaps a more subtle approach was taken in that citizens were given their individuality, though access to resources became an obstacle as social services, which many people depended upon, were taken away.

The second point of comparison was the relationship the state had with women and their identity as mothers, labourers, and citizens. The Socialist regime created a distinct hierarchy in these layered identities, placing women's reproductive capabilities above all else. The ability to produce and nurture the future workforce of the state was integral to the Socialist economy, and so a woman's identity as a mother and therefore a nurturer was placed above her contribution as a worker in the public sphere. In this way, the dichotomy between public and private dimensions of the economy became apparent. Under neoliberalism, a woman had none of the 'privileges' she

had under socialism, but in this way was also at a disadvantage because social services relating to health care and child care were taken away thus inhibiting her ability to participate in the economy. The repealing of social policies and services reflects the inherently individualistic mentality of neoliberalism; everyone is seen as an individual and therefore equally capable of competing in the market. This relationship is simply one between citizen and state, as any other identity is disregarded and viewed as irrelevant.

The final point of comparison focuses upon the various intersections of class, gender, and age between the two regimes. These intersections were subtler under socialism because of the rhetoric of equality produced by the state; though gender remained an important aspect as a woman's reproductive capabilities was seen as valuable by the state. Age intersected gender with respect to feminized labour often left for retired women to take up, as it included housework and activities for the family such as laundry and tailoring. Though socialism was touted as a classless society, this was quickly disproven during the transition era when the accumulation of wealth model was introduced. Some people were able to quickly rise in status, which revealed the hierarchical structures that existed under socialism.

Through these main points various literature was discussed and theoretical frameworks established in order to contextualize them in the larger discussion. As a hypothesis-producing thesis, the literature was critically read against the main research question of how has the implementation of neoliberal policies impacted the role and position of women within a formerly Socialist state? Through the research process, parallels emerged between the treatment of women under socialism and neoliberalism that points to the relationship of power the state has over women. It has been argued that under both regimes as well as during the transition era, women were in fact consistently placed into compartments defined by the state, regardless of their actual

needs at the time. With this in mind, the implementation of neoliberal policies impacted the role and position of women in the Czech Republic in that their codified status was taken away in an effort to gender-neutralize the state's approach towards the citizens. This conclusion raises a follow up question for future research, which would analyze whether or not having a baseline level of equality throughout society is more helpful or harmful than specific groups receiving special status. This is a question the author continues to struggle with, because with the recognition of women's reproductive capacities under socialism they were able to access social resources that contributed to their ability to contribute to the economy. Alternatively, this status was taken away with the implementation of neoliberalism and the assumed baseline equality meant that women were at a disadvantage to enter the workforce, therefore reinforcing her dependence upon other people.

This study reflects the continuously shifting relationship between the state and citizens, as well as the role of gender relations in this dialectic. The choice to analyze a critical point in history was an effort to contextualize the theoretical framework employed and to reveal the value of an interdisciplinary approach to the topic. The impact and ramifications of the interception of neoliberal ideals can still be felt to this day, and so the author wanted to go back to the root of this change to better understand the current context of institutionalized sexual hierarchies.

## Chapter 7:

### References

#### Books:

- Ackerly, B., Stern, M., & True, J. (2006). *Feminist methodologies for international relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexander, M. J., & Mohanty, C. T. (1997). *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York: Routledge.
- Balcerowicz, L., Gray, C. W., Hoshi, I. (Eds.). (1998). *Enterprise exit processes in transition economies: Downsizing, workouts, and liquidation*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Einhorn, B., & American Council of Learned Societies. (1993). *Cinderella goes to market citizenship, gender, and women's movements in East Central Europe*. (ACLS Humanities E-Book). New York: Verso.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fine, B., & Saad-Filho, A. (2016). *Marx's "Capital."* (Vol. 6th edition). London: Pluto Press.  
Retrieved from:  
<https://login.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/login?URL=http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1292291&site=ehost-live>.
- Heitlinger, A. (1979). *Women and state socialism: Sex inequality in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Horáková, H., & Rudwick, S. (Eds.). (2014). *Global challenges and local reactions: Czech Republic and South Africa*. Berlin: Lit Verlag.
- Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jusová, I. & Šiklová, J. (2016). *Czech Feminisms: Perspectives on Gender in East Central*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Kiely, R. (2018). *The Neoliberal Paradox*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Kornai, J. (1992). *The socialist system: The political economy of communism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Martinelli, A. (2005). *Global Modernization: Rethinking the Project of Modernity*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Molyneux, M. (1981). *Women's emancipation under socialism: A model for the Third World?* (Discussion paper / IDS, 157). Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Nelson, J., Tilly, C., & Walker, L. (1997). *Transforming Post-Communist Political Economies*. Washington: National Academy Press.
- Parashar, S., Tickner, J. A. & True, J. (Eds.). (2018). *Revisiting gendered states: Feminist imaginings of the state in international relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Peck, J. (2010). *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rostow, W. (1971). *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shefner, J. & McKenney, Z. (2018). Confronting political dilemmas in ethnographic fieldwork: consent, personal safety and triangulation. In Iphofen, R., & Tolich, M (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research ethics* (pp. 219-230). London: SAGE Publications Ltd. DOI: 10.4135/9781526435446
- Skalnik, P. (1999). *Transition to democracy: Czech Republic and South Africa compared*. Prague: Set Out.
- Skalnik, C. L. (2014). *National Conflict in Czechoslovakia: The Making and Remaking of a State, 1918-1987*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stiglitz, J. (2002). *Globalization and its discontents*. New York: Norton & Company Inc.
- Stubbs, R. & Underhill, G. R. D. (Eds.). (1994). *Political economy and the changing global order*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc.
- Stolarik, M. (Ed.). (2016). *The Czech and Slovak Republics: Twenty Years of Independence, 1993-2013*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- True, J. (2003). *Gender, Globalization, and Postsocialism: The Czech Republic after Communism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Vaněk, M. & Mücke, P. (2016). *Velvet Revolutions: An Oral History of Czech Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vanhuyse, P. (2006). *Divide and pacify strategic social policies and political protests in post-communist democracies*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

- Verdery, K. (1996). *What was socialism, and what comes next?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wacquant, L. (2009). *Punishing the poor: The neoliberal government of social insecurity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Waylen, G. (2007). *Engendering transitions: Women's mobilization, institutions and gender outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, K. (1997). *The Prague Spring and its aftermath: Czechoslovak politics, 1968-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yuval-Davis, N. & Anthias, F. (Eds.). (1989). *Woman-nation-state*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Židek, L. (2017). *From Central Planning to the Market: The Transformation of the Czech Economy 1989-2004*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Articles:
- Buchan, A. (1969). Czechoslovakia 1968. *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 11(1), 3-9.  
<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/docview/1307697832?accountid=12045>.
- Cashman, L. (2008). Remembering 1948 and 1968: Reflections on Two Pivotal Years in Czech and Slovak History. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(10), 1645-1658.  
DOI:10.1080/09668130802434281.
- Cox, R. (1999). Civil society at the turn of the millenium: Prospects for an alternative world order. *Review of International Studies*, 25(1), 3-28.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1(8), 139-167. Available at:  
<http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>.
- Crompton, R. (1997). Women, Employment and Feminism in the Czech Republic. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 4(3), 137-148.  
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/10.1111/1468-0432.00030>.
- The Economist Group. (2013, January 15). Vaclav Klaus leaves divisive legacy. *The Economist Intelligence Unit*. Retrieved from  
[http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=330040817&Country=Czech%20Republic&topic=Politics&s\\_12](http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=330040817&Country=Czech%20Republic&topic=Politics&s_12)
- Fine, B. and Saad-Filho, A. (2017). Thirteen Things You Need to Know About Neoliberalism. *Critical Sociology*, 43(5), 685–706. DOI: 10.1177/0896920516655387.

- Foltynova, K. (2018). The Invasion of Czechoslovakia Through Women's Eyes. Retrieved from <https://www.rferl.org/a/invasion-of-czechoslovakia-through-womens-eyes/29442053.html>
- Funk, N., Müller, M., Ostow, R., Bodeman, M., & Weiss, M. (1990). Dossier on Women in Eastern Europe. *Social Text*, 27, 88-122. DOI: 10.2307/466309.
- Klinger, J. (2017). A Sympathetic Appraisal of Cold War Modernization Theory. *The International History Review*, 39(4): 691-712. DOI: 10.1080/07075332.2016.1236742.
- Marangos, J. (2009). What happened to the Washington Consensus? The evolution of international development policy. *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 38(1), 197-208.
- Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-thinking intersectionality. *Feminist Review*, 89, 1-15. DOI:10.1057/fr.2008.4.
- Orloff, A. (1996). Gender in the welfare state. *Annual Review Of Sociology*, 22, 51-78. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2083424>
- Verdery, K. (1991). Theorizing Socialism - A Prologue to the Transition. *American Ethnologist*, 18(3), 419-439. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/10.1525/ae.1991.18.3.02a00010>
- Wacquant, L. (2012). Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism. *Social Anthropology*, 20(1), 66–79. DOI: 10.1111/j.1469-8676.2011.00189.x.
- Wekker, G. (2004). Still Crazy After All Those Years... *Feminism for the New Millennium*, 11(4), 487–500. DOI: 10.1177/1350506804046822.

#### Primary Sources:

##### National Archives of the Czech Republic

- Baumruková, N. (1987, March 16). [Document based on a resolution of the Presidium of the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic]. Informal o výsledcích plnění opatření ke zlepšení pracovních a životních podmínek ekonomicky činných žen. [*Information on results of implementation measures to improve working and living condition of economically active women*]. National Archives of the Czech Republic (Box 78, Folder 6520), Prague, Czech Republic.
- Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí České socialistické republiky. (1987, March 17). [Opinion Article]. Stanovisko k článku pracovní a životní podmínky žen, zveřejněném v časopise Národní výbory č. 10 - rozdíl v odměňování mužů a žen (pro s. ministryni). [*An opinion on an article on working and living conditions of women, published in the Národní výbory (National Committees) number 10 - difference between wages of men and women*

(for Mrs. Minister)]. National Archives of the Czech Republic (Box 78, Folder 6520), Prague, Czech Republic.

Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí České socialistické republiky. [Proposal]. Návrhy na opatření, která by měla vést ke zlepšení pracovních a životních podmínek žen. [*Proposals for measures that should lead to better working and living conditions of women*]. National Archives of the Czech Republic (Box 78, Folder 6520), Prague, Czech Republic.

Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí České socialistické republiky. [Thesis]. Pro koncepci státní rodinné politiky. [*Thesis for a new family strategy for the state*]. National Archives of the Czech Republic (Box 102, Folder 8600), Prague, Czech Republic.

### Constitutional Sources

The Constitution of the Czech Republic (1993). Retrieved from <http://www.psp.cz/en/docs/laws/constitution.html>

Constitution of Czechoslovakia (1960). Retrieved from <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Czechoslovakia-Const1960.pdf>.

*Czech Republic: Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms*. (1992). Retrieved from [https://www.usoud.cz/fileadmin/user\\_upload/ustavni\\_soud\\_www/Pravni\\_uprava/AJ/Listina\\_English\\_version.pdf](https://www.usoud.cz/fileadmin/user_upload/ustavni_soud_www/Pravni_uprava/AJ/Listina_English_version.pdf).

### World Bank Sources

Operations Evaluation Department, World Bank. (1997). *Performance Audit Report Czech Republic and Slovak Republic, Structural Adjustment Loan (Loan 3374-CS) and Slovak Republic Economic Recovery Loan (Loan 3666-SK)*. Report No. 16804. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/211731510069098593/pdf/multi0page.pdf>.

World Bank. (1991). *Country Study, Czechoslovakia: Transition to a Market Economy*. Report No. 9675. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/197971468746734285/pdf/multi-page.pdf>.

### Others

Klaus, V. (2014, November 23). Václav Klaus: Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic, The Spirit and Main Contours of the Postcommunist Transformation. *Institut Václava Klause*. Retrieved from <http://institutvk.cz/clanky/vaclav-klaus-czechoslovakia-and-the-czech-republic.html>