

**GENDERED OBSTACLES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN SEEKING
POSITIONS OF PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT: THE CASE OF YULIA
TYMOSHENKO OF UKRAINE, 1999-2010**

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Abstract

This thesis is a case study of Yulia Tymoshenko, who was twice prime minister of Ukraine in 2005 and from 2007-2010 yet failed to achieve the position of president in 2010. Due to her political achievements and her inability to reach the highest position of power in Ukraine, Tymoshenko presents an interesting case study. I begin with Nirmal Puwar's (2004) discussion of women politicians as "space invaders" and analyze how societal understandings of gender intertwine with assumptions about spatial barriers. By analyzing Tymoshenko's biographical information, including her personal details and political background as well as media representations of Tymoshenko in the English-language press, I seek to understand the gendered aspects of Tymoshenko's political career and how gender has affected her access to the prime ministership and the presidency. The conclusions offer insight into strategies women leaders use to access positions of leadership, while also performing their gender normativity.

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Introduction

This thesis is a case study of Yulia Tymoshenko, who was twice prime minister of Ukraine (from January 2005 to September 2005 and December 2007 to March 2010) yet failed to achieve the position of president in 2010. As a high-profile politician in Eastern Europe, Tymoshenko presents an interesting case study because of her political achievements as well as her inability to reach the highest position of political leadership in Ukraine. For my thesis, I selected the specific experiences and professional political ascendancy of Yulia Tymoshenko of Ukraine as an interesting case study. By analyzing Tymoshenko's biographical information, including her personal details such as her ethnicity, religion, marital status, education and employment backgrounds as well as media representations of Tymoshenko in the English-language press, I seek to understand the gendered aspects of Tymoshenko's political career and how gender has affected her access to the prime ministership and the presidency.

Popular and scholarly understandings of contemporary Eastern European women's political leadership and authority lack more in-depth gender analysis. The purpose of this thesis is to analyze women's political prospects in post-communist Europe using a single case study of Ukrainian political leader, Yulia Tymoshenko. The study of her career allows me to better understand how women, more generally, are perceived (or questioned) as authority figures and, in particular, how one woman enabled or was limited in her pursuit of the positions of president and prime minister in post-communist Europe beginning in 1991.

I begin with a review of secondary literature mainly produced by feminist political scientists in the wake of globally relevant questions of how gender impacts

women's authority as political leaders. That scholarship, as Chapter one reviews, discovered that the number of the women political leaders worldwide is quite small. While there have been 32 women prime ministers and presidents in Europe or 41 percent of those worldwide, the highest number of any region worldwide, women political leaders have somewhat limited routes to power and hold positions with dispersed and restricted powers in comparison to their male counterparts as scholarship that quantifies women's presence shows.¹ Furthermore, the scholarship reviewed in Chapter One also determines that regional differences exist between Western and Eastern Europe. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, post-communist countries underwent great institutional, economic and cultural changes that generally affected women and men differently. The thesis uses Yulia Tymoshenko's career to understand how this context played out on her success and failure in the political domains conventionally dominated by men.

One important theorist used throughout the thesis to indicate where women fit, or misfit, the political landscape is political scientist Farida Jalalzai (2013, 2014). I am convinced by Jalalzai's assertions that women are more likely to occupy positions of leadership but only within positions that wield dispersed or restricted powers, such as prime minister and less powerful presidencies. Apparently, according to Jalalzai's research, those positions of political leadership such as prime minister and president with a higher concentration of political powers are more masculine. Resultingly, women are less likely to achieve that position of power. This situation was undoubtedly the case in

¹ "Farida Jalalzai, "Gender, Presidencies, and Prime Ministerships in Europe: Are Women Gaining Ground." *International Political Science Review* 35 (2014): 578.

my case study of Tymoshenko who attained the position of prime minister, a position with less centralized powers but failed to become president, a position with more centralized powers.

I chose the case of Yulia Tymoshenko compared to other women because of Tymoshenko's terms as prime minister and her subsequent run for president. Table 1.1 previews the number of female leaders in post-communist Europe since 1992, including their positions and terms. While it appears there are many women prime ministers and presidents in post-communist Europe, comparatively, Tymoshenko is the only prime minister who has maintained her position for the most prolonged period and therefore presents a compelling case. Additionally, most women leaders held positions of prime minister, while those who did manage to cede to a president possessed somewhat weak presidential powers. My case study confirms the claims of Jalalzai (2013) that when the powers associated with positions of the prime minister are more dispersed, it is generally more straightforward for a prime minister to be removed from power as compared to a president.

Table 1.1 provides a quick glimpse of her political career by indicating she held her position as prime minister longer than any other female prime ministers in other post-communist countries. Tymoshenko's case is also exceptional, and useful to make arguments about women's political successes or failures, as she went on to run for the position of president but failed to become president of Ukraine in 2010.

Table 1.1 Female Leaders in Post-Communist Europe Since 1992²			
Country	Name	Position	Dates in Office
Bulgaria	Reneta Indzhova	Prime Minister	10/16/1994-01/25/1995
Croatia	Jadranka Kosor	Prime Minister	07/06/2009-12/23/2011
Georgia	Nino Burdzhanade	President	11/23/2003-01/25/2004
Latvia	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga	President	06/17/1999-07/08/2007
Latvia	Laimdota Straujuma	Prime Minister	01/22/2014-02/11/2016
Lithuania	Irena Degutienė	Prime Minister	05/04/1999-05/18/1999
Lithuania	Dalia Grybauskaitė	President	07/12/2009-present
Macedonia	Radmila Šekerinska	Prime Minister	05/12/2004-06/12/2004
Moldova	Zinaida Greceanii	Prime Minister	03/31/2008-09/14/2009
Poland	Hanna Suchocka*	Prime Minister	07/08/1992-10/26/1993
Poland	Ewa Kopacz	Prime Minister	09/22/2014-11/16/2015
Poland	Beata Szydło	Prime Minister	11/16/2015-12/11/2017
Romania	Viorica Dancila	Prime Minister	01/29/2018-present
Serbia	Nataša Mičić	President	12/29/2002-02/04/2004
Slovakia	Iveta Radičová	Prime Minister	7/8/2010-04/04/2012
Slovenia	Alenka Bratušek	Prime Minister	03/20/2013-09/18/2014
Ukraine	Yulia Tymoshenko	Prime Minister	01/04/2005-09/08/2005 12/18/2007-03/04/2010

Significant to my study of an individual female leader in post-communist

Ukraine, is that most countries in post-communist Europe—including Ukraine--adopted political systems with strong presidencies. Table 1.1 illustrates this argument and Table 1.2 outlines the presidential powers in Ukraine over time. Again, Jalalzai's (2013) findings are useful in my discussions of the difficulty for women to attain positions with concentrated powers. She argued that the stronger the presidency, the harder it is for women to reach these positions. While Tymoshenko was prime minister for a surprisingly long period in comparison to other female prime ministers in post-communist Europe and manages to wage a campaign as a presidential candidate in 2010, the powers designated

² Farida Jalalzai, *Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 33-5. With updates

to the position of president

Table 1.2 List of Presidential Powers in Ukraine Over Time					
Powers	1992-1996	1996-2006	2006-2010	2010-2014	2014-present
Elected by Popular Vote	1	1	1	1	1
Appointment powers to cabinet and judiciary	1	1	1	1	1
Chairs cabinet meetings	1	1	0	1	0
Veto	1	1	1	1	1
Emergency and/or decree powers	0	1	0	1	0
Central Role in Foreign Policy	1	1	1	1	1
Central Role in Government Formation	1	1	0	1	0
Conditional Dissolution Powers	0	0	1	0	1
Total	6	7	5	7	5

Source: Alan Siaroff, Presidential Selection and Powers in Selected Post-Communist Countries Handout, Presented October 9, 2013 (updated to include 2014)

in Ukraine was, during the time of her candidacy, at its weakest point, although still strong. It is my supposition, therefore, that Jalalzai's argument about power attached to these positions are credible in considering Tymoshenko's failure to secure the presidency.

Ukraine is a fascinating nation to contextualize Tymoshenko's political career case study. At the time of her political journey, Ukraine was transitioning from the Soviet Union in the early 1990s and struggling with the introduction of a new political system; the nation oscillated from democracy to autocracy post-transition. Table 1.3 highlights the periods of oscillation and identifies who held the presidency during the period from Soviet era through the transition to post-communism. I compare Tables 1.2 and 1.3 to make it apparent that the powers of the presidency also increased during periods of autocratic oscillation. These periods are essential to understanding the political climate when Tymoshenko sought executive political leadership in Ukraine. The tables point to the instability of political development in the country and provide some insight into the political cleavages in Ukraine. As the thesis will show Tymoshenko aligned herself with

these political cleavages as a democratic leader. As the press coverage will show in Chapter Three, Tymoshenko was also represented and reinforced as a democratic leader due to her femininity.

Table 1.3 Periods of Democratic to Autocratic Oscillation			
Democratic/Autocratic	Period	President	Term
Democratic	1991-1994	Leonid Kravchuk	1991-1994
Democratic	1994-1999	Leonid Kuchma	1994-1999
Autocratic	1999-2004	Leonid Kuchma	1999-2005
Democratic	2005-2010	Viktor Yushchenko	2005-2010
Autocratic	2012-2014	Viktor Yanukovych	2010-2014
Democratic	2014-present	Petro Poroshenko	2014-present

As scholars reviewed in Chapter One make clear, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, women suffered disproportionately economically, politically and socially. They were generally left out of major formal decision-making processes in the creation of the newly independent state which worked to reject communism. During this period, traditional gender roles associated with Ukrainian independence before the imposed Soviet rule, and even reconfigured from some Soviet state values, were reinforced. This resurrection of traditional gender roles impacted the perceptions of women, like Tymoshenko, who ran for a role conventionally exclusive to men. She was among a small number of female politicians to achieve legislative success. Tymoshenko is exceptional in her political success, therefore. As scholars show, following the end of communism women were seldom found in positions of authority. Women were also economically disenfranchised as they made up 70 percent of those unemployed, two-thirds being women with high levels of education. Politically, in the post-communist era, women's representation in parliaments across Eastern Europe plummeted from 38.5 percent in

1985 to 4.3 percent in 1994.³ The question this thesis asks is what unique conditions gave rise to Tymoshenko's empowerment in Ukraine despite all these adverse circumstances for women more generally?

Perhaps the context of Ukraine provides some answers to my query. Ukraine borders eight other states, some that are democratic members of the European Union (EU) but the largest and arguably the most influential country is Russia, an authoritarian state that holds clear anti-EU policies and views. Since 1999 President Vladimir Putin has held executive and exclusive power in Russia, either as president or indirectly as prime minister. Putin is seen in general to have strengthened the powers of the president as an authoritarian. Furthermore, gender politics can be understood as part of his empowerment as they were during the era when Tymoshenko sought political power in Ukraine. Putin has consolidated his power through the hyper-masculinization of the position of president, firmly linking male-exclusive leadership to the preservation of the Russian state.⁴ This masculinization of the Russian state as embodied by Putin and his wielding of authority is crucial to understanding the gender dynamics of Ukraine's political history. Ukraine's political cleavages have been consistently factionalized between pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian stances, and therefore any political leadership must engage with these politics—women like Tymoshenko must compete in this landscape. Pro-Ukrainian voters may see a leader that is not only pro-Ukrainian, but also representationally appears equal or better than the hyper-masculinized authoritarianism of the Russian state and President

³ Sarah Birch, "Women and Political Representation in Contemporary Ukraine," in *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-communist Europe*, eds. Richard E. Matland and Kathleen Montgomery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 130-131.

⁴ Oleg Riabov and Tatiana Riabova, "The Remasculinization of Russia? Gender, Nationalism, and the Legitimation of Power Under Vladimir Putin," *Problems of Post-Communism* 61 (March-April 2014): 23.

Vladimir Putin. The thesis, therefore, considers this question acknowledging that gender is central to the politics of Ukraine: I ask how Tymoshenko, who lacks all the *strongman* typologies embodied by Putin or competitors in Ukrainian politics, has navigated the many cultural, political, institutional and representational barriers to become one of the longest lasting and successful politicians in Ukraine. Also, why, ultimately, she was unable to achieve the position of president.

This thesis, therefore, takes as a fundamental framework of analysis the relationship between gender and formal political leadership in post-communist Europe (PCE). I explore, using Tymoshenko as my case study, how gender, power, and leadership affect the perceptions of political leadership in Ukraine. I seek to understand not only the possibilities open to women in politics in post-communist Europe but also the limitations and constraints to their political participation.

Chapter One, reviewing the scholarship on women in politics, begins with Nirmal Puwar's (2004) inspirational discussion of the "space invader." Puwar uses this term to describe women and others from marginalized communities who occupy, or seek to occupy, positions traditionally created for and held by white, privileged men.⁵ I enlist Puwar's (2004) conceptualization "space invader" to theorize the gendering of political space and also space more generally. I also incorporate the scholarship that reviews historical understandings of societal roles for men and women.

Additionally, Chapter One is inspired by Farida Jalalzai's (2004, 2013, 2014) discussions of the influences of gender on political power and her emphasis on how

⁵ Nirmal Puwar, "Thinking About Making a Difference," *BJPIR* 6 (2004): 65.

powers associated with the positions of prime minister and president affect women's ability or inability to access these positions. Subsequent sections in Chapter One discuss the gendered division of public and private space under communism and during the transition to post-communist Europe to identify how gender was understood through social, political and economic policies. The scholarship shows that transition politics in Eastern Europe of the post-communist era were vital in all aspects of life. Gender roles return to more traditional understandings of gender that had been part of the communist state political and policy landscape. So, women did not earn new liberties or opportunities in the post-communist era or within the new age of capitalism. The final section of Chapter One reviews scholarship that reveals the factors inhibiting and promoting women's access to parliament worldwide and in post-communist Europe as well as the reasons associated with the lack of women political leaders. All of this scholarship and the gender framework it offers, allows me to understand the social and cultural context of Tymoshenko's successes and failures and how the media perceived her as a potential candidate for political leadership.

Chapter Two sketches Tymoshenko's biography. Comprehensively describing Tymoshenko's background (socio-economic status, education, career, class, religious affiliations) the Chapter also offers a detailed analysis of her political trajectory: her entrance into politics, her political party platform, cabinet positions she held, involvement in the Orange Revolution, her time as prime minister and her campaign for president. Furthermore, I focus on two inter-related themes of women and formal political space, and gender and nationalism to answer the question of what made Tymoshenko a viable candidate for prime minister but not the presidency. I collect data from a number of

secondary sources, such as encyclopedias, to shape Tymoshenko's biography, her entrance into politics, and her party platform.

Chapter Three focuses on three major English-language press sources to highlight critical points of Tymoshenko's political career from an international perspective. The analyzed periods of these news sources include dates Tymoshenko held or lost positions of power between 2004 and 2010; this period encompasses significant events such as Tymoshenko's rise to international popularity during the Orange Revolution in 2004, the periods in 2005, 2007 and 2010 leading up to and following her two terms as prime minister, and her (unsuccessful) presidential run in 2010. My purpose in analyzing these English-language media sources is to understand how women seeking positions of power are represented and, further, to consider how the media uses gendered perceptions of political leaders. The scholarship on the personalization of politics is particularly useful in understanding how the press saw Tymoshenko. Furthermore, analyzing English-language sources reveals how what feminist scholar Gayle Rubin calls the sex-gender system permeates across national borders and is unequivocally applied to any woman, like Tymoshenko, who dares to "invade" male-dominated public space irrespective of variations in national context. This statement implies that women who challenge the masculinization of politics must strategically battle on multiple fronts.

I conclude by sharing the insights I have gained with my examination of the strategies Tymoshenko adopted to achieve the position of prime minister. My conclusion also speculates why Tymoshenko failed at being elected President of Ukraine in 2010. My findings, based on a unique case study of a woman who found quick and popular success in the male-dominated public realm of politics, enhance the global conversation

about what circumstances need to change to ensure more significant numbers of women rise to political leadership. I hope the thesis clarifies the obstacles and opportunities available to women politically and what work remains to understand gender dynamics in politics.

Chapter I: Literature Review

My literature review primarily analyzes women's access to positions of leadership in Eastern Europe and more specifically, in Ukraine. Throughout the chapter, I am informed by the notion that women who infiltrate the political sphere are understood as "space invaders" as conceptualized by political scientist Nirmal Puwar (2004) who discusses gender and leadership as well as how women are perceived once they gain entry to positions of leadership. Puwar defines "space invaders" as historically marginalized bodies that hold a diminished level of power within political institutions. For example, women and visible minority members of parliament (MPs) in the United Kingdom are considered "space invaders" according to Puwar because the political spaces they now occupy have traditionally been occupied by privileged white, upper-class men.⁶ Puwar notes that women's presence as "space invaders" disrupts, and calls attention to, how political institutions have been created by and for a specific type of authority figure. To some extent, the spaces of these political institutions are perceived as being occupied by men alone.⁷ Therefore, the presence of women and visible minorities in traditionally white male-dominated institutions wield a socio-spatial impact upon the Westminster political system used by Britain, and beyond.⁸ Puwar critiques the idea that the presence of women and/or people of colour alone makes a difference in shifting political policy and perceptions of authority. She concludes that deeper ethnographic

⁶ Nirmal Puwar, "Thinking About Making a Difference," *BJPIR* 6 (2004): 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁸ *Ibid.*

research within political institutions will aid in understanding political authority is informally or formally regulated.⁹

In section one of the Chapter, I explore the divisions between public and private spaces and the way in which these spaces have been historically constructed and upheld, including within the organization of the nation-state. Puwar's category of the "space invader" is used to analyze these divisions as well as to review the prescribed gender roles associated with space. I adopt Puwar's theme of invasion, to describe how social meanings have been historically reinforced through the sexual division of public and private spheres. Section two of the Chapter focuses on the gendering of spaces under communist regimes in post-communist Europe and how nationalist movements reconfigured space in society to revert to traditional understandings of appropriate spaces for men and women.

Section three involves a discussion of the pre-existing secondary literature about women in politics and more specifically women's political leadership. This section includes a brief review of the broader theme of women in politics, women's access to seats in parliaments, and political leadership both worldwide and in post-communist Europe and Ukraine as well as the barriers women confront in seeking positions of political leadership. The discussion considers the invasion of political institutions by women using themes present in the literature to address social and cultural understandings tied to gender and political leadership.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

It is important to note that current literature on women prime ministers and presidents is quite limited as is the literature regarding their access to positions of political leadership in the geographical region of post-communist Europe. I suggest that the low number of women leaders that have historically held positions of political power since World War II correlates to the lack of literature about women's political leadership. As such, as the number of female political leaders increases, so do the studies. However, Sarah Elise Wiliarty suggests that although there is a growing influx of women political leaders the subject of women's leadership continues to be understudied because none of these women are leaders of geopolitically powerful countries except for Angela Merkel of Germany.¹⁰

Section I – The Invasion! Socially Constructed Meanings of Spaces and Gender Roles Influenced by the Nation-State

This section begins with the concept of the “space invader” as proposed by scholar Nirmal Puwar (2004) who suggests women and those from marginalized communities are so unusual in British parliament they are seen as “alien.” In this section, “invasion” is defined as follows:

Invasion /m'veɪʒ(ə)n/

1. *An instance of invading a country or region with an armed force*
2. *An incursion by a large number of people or things into a place or sphere of activity*
3. *An unwelcome intrusion into another's domain¹¹*

¹⁰ Sarah Elise Wiliarty, “Chancellor Angela Merkel – A Sign of Hope or Exception That Proves the Rule?” *Politics and Gender* 4 (Issue 3, 2008): 485.

¹¹ English Oxford Living Dictionaries, “Invasion,” (accessed July 12, 2017), <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/invasion>.

According to the Oxford Dictionary, there are three different uses for the definition of *invasion*. First, invasion addresses an unwelcome occupation of space by an individual or group(s), who do not traditionally occupy the space in question. An invasion might be coercive or peaceful. However, the act of invasion generally is unwelcomed by those whose space is invaded.

Similar to other feminist theorists in disciplines of history and political science, Puwar considers the construction of private and public space to be historically gendered. Puwar does not necessarily give specific definitions of the term “invasion” or “invader,” rather she begins her article with an excerpt from a monograph by feminist geographer Doreen Massey (1996). What Massey provides is her understanding of public rugby and football (soccer) pitches growing up in Manchester that was given up almost exclusively to boys.¹² Massey describes those pitches as a place she did not inhabit – as if they were another world or privatized space. Puwar (2004) applies Massey’s understanding of women’s disenfranchisement from certain types of male occupied space to her discussion of the Westminster political system as being created and upheld in a similar manner as the rugby and football pitches observed by Massey. Puwar states,

The sheer maleness of particular public spaces and women's experience of increasingly occupying them while still being conscious of being 'space invaders' even while they enjoy Doreen Massey vividly captures these places. Westminster has also been a space that has been given over to men, and has, over time, witnessed the increased entry of women and 'other' excluded groups, such as racialized minority groups. When minorities or hitherto excluded groups enter institutions that have for a long time been dominated by men (usually white and from a specific social class), people are generally inquisitive to know whether these 'newcomers' are making a difference.¹³

¹² Nirmal Puwar, “Thinking About Making a Difference,” 65 quoting Deborah Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 1996, 185.

¹³ Puwar, “Thinking About Making a Difference,” 65.

Using Massey's description, Puwar (2004) argues convincingly that political institutions have been created for racially privileged masculine bodies. Moreover, the entry and presence of women's bodies alter the way in which these institutions are understood, and that political authority is gendered due to the influence of these gender exclusive institutions. Grounding her arguments in feminist theories of the public/private gender divide, Puwar (2004) argues that the political actor in the public sphere is traditionally assumed to be a white male body. For example, women in the UK – or Canada for that matter – gained the right to vote in 1918 although political institutions in both countries were formed long before. Therefore, there is an extended history of normalizing political power as predominantly masculine. The public/private dichotomy fundamentally is understood as gendered: the public is dominated by men, while the private is dominated by women. However, essentializing these spaces does not allow for an in-depth understanding of designated social roles.

Puwar's concept of the "space invader" is also a useful analytic tool to discuss political power more generally. Puwar identifies the importance of gendered socio-cultural understandings of the public and private spheres and the place of political institutions within those understandings. These concepts illuminate how women access positions of political leadership because of social perceptions associated with both political institutions and social understandings of women's roles more generally. Women may be excluded from political leadership because they have not traditionally held positions of political leadership and therefore while there are exceptions, in many cases historically, women more infrequently do not formally wielded power over an entire people.

Puwar's discussion of the socialization of space leads to questions and discussions about the rooting of women's oppression more broadly. For example, in her often cited essay titled, "The Traffic in Women" feminist anthropologist Gayle Rubin (1975) has incorporated historical analysis to understand the root of women's oppression by conceptualizing the sex/gender system.¹⁴ Rubin defines the "sex/gender system" as "the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied."¹⁵ By using a historical approach, Rubin finds that gender oppression is embedded through the traffic of women between men through marriage, and notes how these arrangements are grounded in social systems that have been organized according to biological characteristics. For example, kinship systems are part of cultural traditions that persist over time and space. Rubin's history of kinship uncovers more meaningful terms associated with culture and the social organization of gender.

Additionally, Rubin discusses how social organization, based on biological characteristics, has led to the creation of the sex\gender system as a root of oppression. Rubin also includes a discussion of Marxist theory to analyze how capitalism relies on the contribution of free domestic labour. As she explains, the purpose of capitalism is to gain a surplus and that women's lower wages provide surplus value (the transformation of money or commodity into capital) for a capitalist employer.¹⁶ Rubin notes how feminist scholars find the root of women's oppression by identifying the relationship between housework and the reproduction of labour and showing how capitalism, and

¹⁴ Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex," in *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*, ed. Linda Nicholson, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 28.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

men, profit.¹⁷ She builds off Marx's premise that a worker is paid just enough for what it takes to meet their biological needs rather than being paid a fair portion of that worker's contribution to the surplus value.¹⁸ Rubin concludes that Marx essentially believes that women as wives provide domestic services to ensure the survival of men and children and the family, and women's provision of free labour, is among the necessary modes of satisfaction for workers because women have conventionally provided all domestic labour for the household.¹⁹

Whereas Rubin discusses the social organization of oppression and its relation to capitalism and the reproduction of an inequitable family dynamic between men and women, feminist Marxist theorist Heidi Hartmann (1979) discusses the utility of the term "patriarchy." She uses this term to identify the gender hierarchy and male dominance through social relations as central to the present system. Hartmann takes issue with how Marxist feminists have centralized women's oppression within Marx's critiques of capitalism by understanding women's oppression as another type of class oppression. In other words, the values and structures of Marxist theory have dominated feminist economic theory but failed to question why women are subordinate inside and outside the family.²⁰

Hartmann defines patriarchy as, "a set of hierarchal social relations between men, with a material base, which establishes or creates interdependence and solidarity among

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 31.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Heidi Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," in *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*, ed. Linda Nicholson, (New York: Routledge, 1997): 99.

men that enable them to dominate women.”²¹ Similar to Rubin, Hartmann explains that men’s interdependence on one another is upheld because of their need of each other and their collective desire to maintain power over women. In Hartmann’s arguments, biological traits are the basis for the sexual divisions of labour. Gender is a cultural system/a way of organizing a society which, in turn, creates “appropriate” spaces for men and women and promotes heterosexual relationships dependent on economic relations. Hartmann insists that although power structures between gender exist, patriarchy is flexible and adaptable, shaping itself to various economic systems making it nearly indistinguishable especially in the private sphere where intimacy is struck between men and women.²² The notion of gendered spaces is reinforced and categorized by patriarchal characterization of women as irrational and emotional whereas men are seen as rational and pragmatic.²³ Hartmann states that the hierarchy and interdependence of men and the subordination of women in our society is dependent on this systemic binary opposition.²⁴

Hartmann provides an example of how social relations between men and women affected capitalism and the plight of workers. She describes how during the Industrial Revolution in the United States that women and children were ushered into wage labour because of the demand for workers. This threatened men’s power and women and children’s dependence on them because women and children could provide for themselves through waged labour. Men protested through unions who responded by restricting women’s waged work and blocking women from attaining “male” positions.

²¹ Ibid., 101.

²² Ibid., 100.

²³ Ibid., 102.

²⁴ Ibid., 104.

Furthermore, men demanded family wages to provide enough for their families so their wives could remain at home. As a result, Hartmann states that, "in the absence of patriarchy a unified working class might have confronted capitalism, but patriarchal social relations divided the working class, allowing one part (men) to be bought off at the expense of the other (women)."²⁵ Hartmann states that the family wage cemented the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy and that they are intertwined. The marriage of capitalism and patriarchy subordinate groups in capitalist systems by maintaining wealth as well as power. This example also reinforces the perceptions of how women were "space invaders" within a new world order that challenged patriarchal notions of the family.

Hartmann describes how capitalism and patriarchy are interrelated. She notes that generally capitalists make up the dominant group. The result being that capitalism inherits the ascribed characteristics of the dominant groups. Hartmann notes that additionally that the sexual division of labour in the labour market is also explained by the manifestation of patriarchy which serves to perpetuate it.²⁶ Therefore, Hartmann has argued through historical analysis that there has been a marriage between capitalism and patriarchy that continue to shape and subordinate women as well as those who are outside the dominant, or ruling, race. In essence Hartmann describes the origins of the subordination of women across and within the public sphere.

While Hartmann (1979) reveals the role patriarchy and capitalism plays in creating gendered spaces, these categories of the public space as a male domain, and

²⁵ Ibid., 105.

²⁶ Ibid., 109.

private space as a female domain, are not understood merely as fixed gendered categories when scholars discuss the fluid nature of categories of masculine and feminine through time and over space. Historian Joan Scott (1988) claims the deficit in the histories of women's lives may be resolved by using gender as an analytic category. By using this tool, scholars may demonstrate how knowledge about women and gender fluctuates across cultures, social groups and over time.²⁷ Scott argues that existing social assumptions about gender roles in society as fixed are disrupted because gender is in constant flux, specific to the context, and changing over time. Therefore, this notion that definitions of femininity or masculinity are stable across all of time is exposed as false.²⁸ Scott cites the deconstruction of language about gender norms as fundamental in understanding who is excluded from certain spaces and how they are excluded.²⁹

Essentialist notions of women as confined or relegated to the domestic (private) sphere and men as occupying the public sphere, becomes a problem, according to British historian Amanda Vickery (1993), when the notion of public/private spheres is not questioned because to erase women's participation in public events or spaces negates women's influence on history and society.³⁰ For example, Vickery states that cultural or medical assumptions about women's frailty or delicacy either physically or mentally (or both) negate the narratives that wives were also strong-minded or frustrated with their husband's frail egos.³¹ Vickery tracked the historical origins of the division of private and public spheres to the industrial revolution when product manufacturing was taken out of

²⁷ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 2.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 3.

³⁰ Amanda Vickery, "Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2, (June 1993): 391.

³¹ Ibid.

the home and into the modern factory. By separating the home and the workplace gender roles were reconfigured. Vickery argues recognizing the public/private spatial dichotomy is essential to expose the marginalization of women. However, she further noted that public/private is a flawed way of understanding the marginalization of women in society because there is little agreement over the definitions of the boundaries of public and private spheres.³²

Puwar (2004) notes that gender stereotypes between men and women have also been associated with how (the public and private) spaces have been created and upheld. Essentially, bodies and spaces are interconnected in such a way that traditionally one has helped to define the other. The public political realm may be understood through oppositional categories of gender: public space is perceived as occupied by the male body and as a place of reason and logic whereas private or domestic space is occupied by the feminine body and is characterized as emotional and nurturing. However, as previously noted, this binary understanding of the public/private sphere is too simplistic.

To deepen the gender analysis of political space, there first needs to be a brief discussion about the social construction of the nation-state as well as how political leadership is tied to the nation-state. Current understandings of the social construction of the meanings of space are incomplete without an analysis of the nation. Notably, in post-communist European states where the underpinnings of nationalism have veered towards traditional gender roles to justify and reinforce their independence. Furthermore, those who have traditionally controlled power within political institutions have been men who

³² Ibid., 393.

hold gender privilege. Positions of political leadership are representative of the cultural politics and gender values of the nation-state which intertwine in its rhetoric as the type of preferred leadership. An understanding of the composition and history of the nation-state under examination is also valuable as political institutions and their state-specific arrangements are the bones of state politics. Further, the structures of political leadership within each state reproduce historical gender relations.

I begin with the assumption that the nation is a socially constructed entity, rather than a naturalized one. Professor of International Studies, Benedict Anderson has provided an interesting discussion on how national identities are socially constructed and reinforced through history in *Imagined Communities* (1983). Anderson traces the spread of nationalist consciousness back to the decline of monarchies and with the rise of the industrial revolution. Political institutions, he states, have been created and legitimated through historical discourse voiced under a banner of nationalist, collective or imagined identity. This rhetoric of “imagined communities” unites citizens across a country, what Anderson calls a “horizontal comradeship,” regardless of inequality or exploitation.³³

The social construction of the nation, as Anderson describes, infers that power relations within the nation are also socially constructed to preserve the nation. Joan Scott (1986) steps further to discuss how gender power relations uphold and maintain the nation-state and reinforce gendered spaces. Structurally, nation-states were derived from the writings of political philosophers. For example, Scott’s (1986) discussion of gender and the nation-state describes how political philosophers such as Edmund Burke wrote about men wielding political power, while women were either absent entirely or

³³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (Brooklyn: Verso, 1983), 7.

represented only as secondary or supportive generally associated through kinship (marriage or family).³⁴ She points out that Burke's 1790 pamphlet, *Reflections on the French Revolution* contributed to the ideological foundations and development of national identities of the nation. In all cases of the ideological conceptualization of the nation, women, for example, were excluded from major powerful roles. According to Scott, the consequences of neglecting gender, race, or class as categories of analysis allow the state to be conceived as founded on a belief system that women were irrelevant to the social order. This privileging of upper-class, European and masculine dominance in politics allows for the marginalization of all those understood as different. Moreover, in the name of self-preservation, the male-dominated national formation organizes gender relations to suit their own needs embedding these gender biases within public policy and law. Scott argues that masculine power is solidified by limiting the power of others and women most specifically. Men in this way centralize their (classed) authority, strength, and domination over others.³⁵ In this case, masculine empowerment has a long structural history and is reconfigured as gendered oppression in the present. Although a state political formation may vary culturally and historically, similar forms of gender oppression continue.

In her critique of the formation of the democratic state, feminist scholar and political scientist Wendy Brown (1995) harmonizes her arguments with political scientists and activists Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly (1995) by further critiquing the dominance of western European liberal philosophy by suggesting how

³⁴ Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review*, 1986 91, 1072.

³⁵ Ibid.

liberal philosophers have historically avoided the power relations between gender, race or class.³⁶ Avoiding an intersectional discussion of how the social order is reproduced limits one's understanding of the nation, how it is built and how specific actors in the nation-state's existence is reliant on the dynamic of exclusion and inclusion. Brown describes the divisions of the social order: the state, the economy (or civil society) and the family. Brown notes that the distinctions between these realms have been understood, and reinforced, as separate rather than mutually constituted by legal, academic and other institutions.³⁷ From the 18th century onward, liberal philosophic thought, such as that expressed by Locke, Tocqueville, Bentham, Constant and Rawls have assumed the social order to be natural rather than constructed liberating men to circulate in civil society while women are entrapped in the family.³⁸

Similarly, Duerst-Lahti and Kelly (1995) link the writings of philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes to how a white elite class of men has historically controlled avenues of public power and authoritative organizations in the American polity.³⁹ The authors describe how politics has historically been intertwined with masculinity and the distribution of power and privilege.⁴⁰ Therefore, politics has historically been used to maintain the power of socially privileged groups of men.

In discussing the complexities of citizenship, Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) describes that the liberal tradition of citizenship is that citizens basically have equal status to one another and that differences of class, ethnicity and gender are not supposed to be relevant

³⁶ Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 142.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 142.

³⁹ Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly, *Gender Power, Leadership and Governance*, 19.

⁴⁰ Duerst-Lahti and Kelly, *Gender Power, Leadership and Governance*, 21.

to the status of citizenship.⁴¹ However, she points out how the social welfare state is founded on the premise that there is a difference between the social needs of citizens.⁴² Yuval-Davis argues that social welfare rights meant to improve the quality of life for the working class. She draws on concepts originally imagined by William Beveridge of the United Kingdom in 1942. He challenged the liberal notion that all citizens were equal because of the differences of class. However, Beveridge's report rested on the assumption of social solidarity, and is challenged by a variety of ethnic, racial, religious and sexual sub-collectivities which, as Yuval-Davis noted, exists "within the marginal matrix of society" and those with these identity markers experience formal and informal types of discrimination because of "their credited lower social worth."⁴³ Yuval-Davis discusses the importance of individual rights of the citizen within the state. She notes that although individuals may have citizenship rights, rights of the collective and collective freedoms are also inherently important to the state.⁴⁴ Therefore, the role of communities and individuals are important but the lived experience of the citizen may be contradictory, especially if one is a minority. Yuval-Davis states,

"These collectivities are attributed with collective needs, based on their different cultures as well as on their structural disadvantages. Resistance to these policies has been expressed by claims that constructing employment and welfare policies in terms of group rights can conflict with individual rights and are therefore discriminatory."⁴⁵

While the state is founded on the premise of the collective identity of the majority the minority poses challenge to these foundations.

⁴¹ Nira Yuval-Davis, "Women, Citizenship and Difference," *Feminist Review* 57, (Autumn, 1997), 8.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 10.

While discussing the complex power relations within the concept of citizenship, feminist scholar Yuval-Davis describes the boundary between the public and private spheres as problematic and as well as gender- and culture-specific.⁴⁶ Additionally, she notes how the idea of citizenship and the public and private intertwine with capitalism. Yuval-Davis states the meaning of the “private” is usually related to the “autonomous” individual, able to exercise agency in all social spheres or as part of the collective.⁴⁷ However, this definition of the “private” reinforces the idea that the state is completely separate from the political (public) sphere.⁴⁸ Yuval-Davis notes that one of the most important contributions of feminism to social theory is to uncover how power relations operate horizontally as well as vertically. She describes that these power relations operate within primary social relations as well as within more impersonal secondary social relations within the civil and political domain.⁴⁹ This recognition, according to Yuval-Davis, compounds the Foucauldian perspective that there is no need to theorize the state as a separate from the private or domestic sphere.⁵⁰ However, Yuval-Davis’ approach is more nuanced. She discusses how the state is not unitary in its practices, its intentions or its effects, and it is often perceived as a separate sphere: a body of institutions which are centrally organized around the intention of control.⁵¹ Yuval-Davis states that in the era of the modern welfare state, there is no social sphere that is protected from state intervention. Although there may not be state intervention into the private sphere, the

⁴⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 13.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

state actively or passively creates its own boundaries of non-intervention.⁵² Therefore, suggesting the private/public dichotomy is flawed, Yuval-Davis advocates for a more nuanced approach the spheres of the state, civil society and the domain of the family, kinship and other primary relationships as the state influences each of these domains.⁵³

Shifting the discussion towards how political space is social, culturally and historically specific to the nation-state, Professor of English and Rhetoric Rebecca Richards (2015) discusses how leadership is closely linked to the nation-state. For positions of leadership, the importance of the *doxa* of the nation-state reinforces who is perceived as a political leader. By *doxa* she denotes an opinion or belief that is shared by a group of people that “holds some truth about the world the group inhabits.”⁵⁴ Nationalist rhetorical traditions, described by Richards, as well as unspoken images of the nation-state ensure “a limitless, eternal, and inevitable nation-state.”⁵⁵ The implicit *doxa*, as Richards (2015) describes, depends on tradition and social order to maintain the nation-state and varies between each entity. Richards (2015) explains that women's roles within the social order of the nation-state may be oppressive yet are essential to the biological and ideological reproduction of the nation.⁵⁶ Therefore, while women's social roles may slightly vary between nation-state, women generally have the same purpose of supporting the nation-state through reproducing the nation-state.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Rebecca Richards, *Transnational Feminist Rhetorics and Gendered Leadership in Global Politics* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015): 12.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

In discussing this masculinization of the political sphere and political leadership, Richards (2015) analyzes the rhetorical creation of politics. Leadership, Richards affirms, has been assumed to refer to the male body because of specific socio-cultural characteristics associated with leadership: men are perceived as competitive and decisive symbolic of an effective leader.⁵⁷ Definitions of leadership merge with social and historical constructions of masculinity so much so that Richards argues there is little need to gender the term “leader” when the leader is always assumed to be male. When a leader of the nation is a “woman leader” they must be hyphenated as such to differentiate between genders because leadership has been long sketched by the false gender dichotomies of power relations that characterize women as inadequately emotional, sensitive, and dependent.⁵⁸

Richards’ discussion about the role of the nation-state at its reproduction of the social roles of gender compounds my earlier discussion of the historical construction of space as linked to sexed bodies. Gendered assumptions about women and men are important to understanding women’s lack of access to political leadership which will be explored in the subsequent section. The historical construction of space may hinder women from participating in formal politics. Or, conversely, women themselves may not feel comfortable in electoral politics due to their historical exclusion from political, economic and familial spaces or the perceptions of women as “space invaders.”

The above section has outlined how public and private spaces are interconnected and have been created, re-created, and reinforced over various historical periods and

⁵⁷ Richards, *Transnational Feminist Rhetorics*, 16.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

places. This section has also noted the complexity of characterizing space in a binary fashion of public and private. To characterize space in this oppositional and bounded way negates the ways in which subordination occurs across both public and private space and how subordination is interconnected. The significance and social understandings of acceptable gender roles within space have shifted over time. Their definitions and boundaries are constantly in flux. The ways in which women have been perceived as “space invaders” in the labour market during the Industrial Revolution, as described by Hartmann and Vickery, re-emerges in the political system. The emergence of the nation-state, based on western European philosophies that distinguished men from women to reinforce gender norms, has been a blueprint for the gendered organization of society and politics across many nations and historical periods.

Furthermore, the foundation of the nation-state through philosophical texts that distinguished the roles of men, privileged through class and race, also excluded women from political power. This gender construct preserved the political rule of the nation-state as exclusive to men of a particular class and race. Before the emergence of the modern nation-state, elite men inherited and then wielded political power through dynastic and monarchic rule or affiliations of marriage. For example, Rubin points out in the “Traffic of Women,” that women were used as currency within power relations between men, but less frequently held or embodied power.⁵⁹ Although in the contemporary era, laws in several countries around the world allow women to run for political office, many avoid

⁵⁹ Rubin, “Traffic of Women,” 55.

stepping into the political realm because of the historical legacy of political space as being primarily understood as a masculine domain.

Section II— State and Nationalism and Gender Relations in Post-Communist Europe

Gender relations in post-communist Europe and Ukraine have been influenced and shaped in part by regional communist legacies as well as by nationalist movements following the end of communism. The section is concerned with the overarching theme of how the state tried to control all aspects of life for Soviet citizens including women's place in economic, social, political, and familial space. Furthermore, this section reviews the transition from communism and the role of nationalist movements in re-defining these spaces as gendered in the adaptations to a market economy. Scholars of post-communist Europe have considered women's experiences with authoritarian governments, on the matter of equal access to work, the double and triple burden, family, motherhood and the flaws of the communist system.⁶⁰

As noted above, Joan Scott (1986) argues that the nation-state creates laws and promotes certain aspects of gender norms that benefit the state. This was no different within the Soviet Union and other communist countries. Over time these nations changed their policies and laws in response to internal and external problems such as economic change, war, and demographic change such as declining birth rates. Therefore, the

⁶⁰ Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever (2003) describe the double and triple burdens in communist Europe as a situation where women were expected to be full-time workers as well as be responsible for domestic duties related to mothering and the maintaining the household. The triple burden is understood as the double burden plus the expectation that women would also be equally engaged in the process of politics. The double and triple burdens resulted in high levels of physical and psychological exhaustion. "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5, (2003): 169.

communist period, from 1922 until early 1991, is not monolithic regarding laws or political structures. Instead, communist nation-states evolved into a space of oppression and authoritarianism where citizens experienced blurred boundaries lines between private and public aspects of life because of state interference and oppression. Domestic and public spaces were re-defined to benefit and accommodate the state. The social expectations of women under communism are crucial to understanding gendered spaces in the post-communist era. These themes of women's experience under communism persisted over the transitional period even once new structural and cultural attributes occur.

Political scientists Marilyn Rueschemeyer and Sharon L. Wolchik (2009) define the shared experiences of post-communist European countries enduring authoritarian communist legacies as important to understanding the present political situation in the region.⁶¹ In their edited collection, the authors discuss the contextual factors for women's low numbers in parliaments in post-communist parliaments by utilizing statistics and individual interviews with women parliamentarians. The authors note how although the countries included are currently EU members except Russia, their shared history continues to affect their government and economies.⁶² This history that the authors describe includes how the Communist Party exclusively controlled the government, and economy and resultantly, citizens were tools of ideological support. Rueschemeyer and Wolchik characterize the Party as designing and controlling education, the broadcast and print media, and the arts, and monitoring smaller political parties and mass organizations,

⁶¹ Marilyn Rueschemeyer and Sharon L. Wolchik, "Women in Power: The Issues," in *Women in Power in Post-Communist Parliaments*, 7.

⁶² Ibid. The countries include Russia, Poland, Slovenia, Czech Republic, East Germany, and Bulgaria.

the latter essentially controlling social life and censoring speech.⁶³ The Party also politicized all areas of life and by so doing, secured power and prevented independent challenges.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Communist parties attempted to discourage the population's association with religion and redirect allegiances to values approved by the Communist Party.⁶⁵ The authors describe that the Party used coercion such as purge trials and labour camps, which declined after the death of Stalin leading to de-Stalinization policies beginning in 1956, were used to intimidate citizens.⁶⁶

Although the implementation of economic, social and political equality of the sexes in the communist constitutions was common to communist nations in Europe, the authors argue that this equality was mostly superficial rather than structural and implemented in a way that would advance state rather than individual needs. Feminist political theorists including Larissa Lissytkina (1993), Nanette Funk (1993), Susan Gal and Gail Kligman (2000), and Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever (2003) have discussed the flaws of these seemingly progressive policies and social programs. They include claims that communism would advance women's equal access to the labour market, or quotas employed to guarantee women's parliamentary participation, state-run daycare, and legal access to abortion and birth control. This slate of gender-specific programs and policies would, theoretically, open political, economic and social spaces not usually occupied by women. Guarantees for the right to work and the right to be included in public policy, promised innovative social structures to relieve women of their

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 8.

traditional maternal duties and state-run childcare would potentially alleviate burdens women face in the home.

Post-communist countries also utilized Marxist theory to inform social policies that affected women's lives. Alfred G. Meyer (1985) describes Marxist theorists as promoting equal access to labour to emancipate women from their dependent positions in the home.⁶⁷ However, Meyer reveals the flaws of Marxist theory to appropriately address and categorize issues such as women's sexuality, reproduction, and the sexual division of labour. These shortcomings in addition to patriarchy contributed to the communism's failure to liberate women.⁶⁸ Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever (2003) likewise describe the number of women participating in the communist national labour sectors as far outnumbering women in waged work in most liberal democracies. Similarly, the number of women in communist parliaments outnumbered liberal democracies, averaging 30 percent.⁶⁹ While equal rights were, in theory, guaranteed under communist constitutions, in practice women did not experience equality relative to men. Public space was superficially open to women however public and political realms remained gendered restricted by authoritarianism to maintain the existing system.

Many scholars agree that the manner by which communist governments were authoritarian deprived male and female citizens of their independence. Political scientists Sharon L. Wolchik (1985); Alfred G. Meyer (1985), Larissa Lissytkina (1993), and Alexandra Hrycak (2005) argue that equal rights policies under communism were driven

⁶⁷ Alfred G. Meyer, "Feminism, Socialism, and Nationalism in Eastern Europe," in *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe*, eds. Sharon L. Wolchik and Alfred G. Meyer. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985): 19.

⁶⁸ Meyer, "Feminism, Socialism, and Nationalism in Eastern Europe," 19.

⁶⁹ Einhorn and Sever, "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," 168.

by economic demands to fill the need for many people to work for the state, rather than for the explicit purpose of women's liberation. The authors expose how communism's claims that gender equality policies concretely emancipated women were mostly propaganda rather than reality.

Wolchik (1985) describes communist governments as strictly in control of public life and viewing women as a useful employment reserve for industrialization. They promoted women's emancipation through paid labour. She notes that some policies such as access to education and access to the labour market were liberating by expanding educational opportunities and eliminating illiteracy. These policies limited the types of skills women developed in comparison to men, therefore, reinforcing the feminization of sectors of women's labour.⁷⁰

Meyer (1985) describes how communist governments attempt to reconcile women's maternal duties by providing state-run daycare and paid maternity leaves. However, the way in which the policies were enacted was ambiguous.⁷¹ As Meyer shows, women certainly entered the workforce like men however these policies likely did very little for women regarding true emancipation because cultural gender norms were static. Economically, the number of women in the workforce appeared high, but as Larissa Lissytukina (1993) illustrates, compulsory sectors of labour in the Soviet Union were used to control dissident movements and monitor those who expressed dissatisfaction. She claims work environments were generally discriminatory towards women and due to

⁷⁰ Sharon L. Wolchik, "The Precommunist Legacy, Economic Development, Social Transformation, and Women's Roles in Eastern Europe," in *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe*, eds. Sharon L. Wolchik and Alfred G. Meyer. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985): 39.

⁷¹ Meyer, "Feminism, Socialism, and Nationalism in Eastern Europe," 23.

strict state control, women had no recourse for grievance. Although women's access to education and paid work increased; their entry was under strict government control and only implemented half-heartedly. Therefore, as sociologist Alexandra Hrycak (2005) explains, a statistically high number of women visible in the labour market was a superficial picture of women's emancipation. She notes that women generally occupied low-level, dead-end menial jobs or were employed in traditionally feminized occupations.⁷²

Similarly, as for women's presence as active in the political sphere, the numbers of women cited as being involved in politics did not truly reflect the lack of actual political representation that women experienced. For example, in 1985 women occupied an average of 27 percent of seats in the Eastern European region, at that time the highest percentage reported globally.⁷³ This percentage varied over the region: countries of the Soviet Union such as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, and Ukraine reported all over 30 percent, whereas women's political representation was less than 25 percent in Hungary and Poland.⁷⁴ Einhorn and Sever (2003) describe how these percentages have widely been understood as quite nominal as women parliamentarians exercised minimal influence over policy formation outside of the Central Committees and Politburo who are attributed as the real decision holders.⁷⁵ Therefore, the high percentages reported of women's participation in the political sphere failed to support the supposed Soviet goal of

⁷² Alexandra Hrycak, "Coping With Chaos: Gender and Politics in a Fragmented State," *Problems of Post-Communism* 52, no. 5, (September/October 2005): 70.

⁷³ Pamela Paxton, Sheri Kunovich, and Melanie Hughes, "Gender in Politics," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33, (2007): 266.

⁷⁴ Kathleen A. Montgomery, "Introduction," in *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-communist Europe*, eds. Richard E. Matland and Kathleen A. Montgomery, (Oxford University Press: New York), 2.

⁷⁵ Einhorn and Sever, "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," 168.

women's emancipation concretely. Further, women's formal political representation declined sharply following the end of communism. This decline indicates that emancipation was not achieved. While government-funded programs allowed women to work while at the same time the opportunity to fulfill their socially prescribed duties as mothers, the programs granted the government permission to intervene in family life. In other words, structural top-down economic policies of communist parties in East and Central Europe failed to create true emancipation for women.

State control destabilized the fixed boundaries of public and private spaces in communist countries yet failed to address women's concerns within the private – the family home. As a result, the meaning of home was reconstructed. Domestic spaces became places of politicized resistance where families could vocally criticize the government, and in households that were not ethnically Russian, children were educated in their native language. During the Soviet period, the domestic sphere was recreated as a place of resistance consolidating new values for the home in excess of the personal. Gender and political theorist Nanette Funk (1993) describes the changing worth of the family explaining how the domestic realm became a substitute location for political activism.⁷⁶ Accordingly, women used their duties as caregivers to sidestep government-control over women's social participation. Lissyutkina (1993) reinforces the notion of private as the political, noting that during the communist era, the kitchen emerged as a dynamic hub of intellectual thought, where political and cultural debates took place and

⁷⁶ Nanette Funk, "Feminism East and West," *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections From Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union*, edited by Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller (New York: Routledge, 1993), 323. Furthermore, Funk states that the home was a place of political activities similar to how the public sphere is a location of political activities in the West.

where women could educate their children away from the controlling eyes of the state.⁷⁷ Therefore, women politicized the domestic sphere and a place where women were able to control their lives and exhibit individual ambitions. For some, the private sphere enabled individual and political expression away from state interference and a place for citizens to exert power over their own lives.

Yet government restrictions limited how citizens interacted with public space forcing citizens to express dissenting opinions solely within the private spaces of the home. Anthropologist Katherine Verdery (1996) claims the socialist state created a system of socialist paternalism to enhance familial dependency on the state.⁷⁸ Verdery describes how gender roles were constructed under a system of authoritative socialism as follows:

Subjects were morally tied to the state, where citizenship did not occur through political or active participation, rather citizens were treated as children. Socialist paternalism implicated gender by seeking to eradicate male/female differences to an unprecedented degree as both gender and nation are essential to the hegemonic projects of modern-state building.⁷⁹

The role assumed by the socialist state was paternal dictating how public space was defined and how citizens interacted with those spaces. This paternalism, in turn, affected gender roles. Verdery (1996) notes that state paternalism re-drew the masculine and feminine space as bounded or clear-cut while at the same time undercutting men's authority within the "feminized" household which reinstated gender differences.

⁷⁷ Larissa Lissytukina, "Soviet Women at the Crossroads of Perestroika," in *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections From Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union*, edited by Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, (New York: Routledge, 1993), 276.

⁷⁸ Katherine Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 63.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 64.

According to Verdery, domestic work was exclusively feminine, but with the implementation of early retirement state policies, pensioners were incorporated as domestic workers.⁸⁰ Verdery (1996) describes how women's bodies were treated as reproductive instruments wherein non-reproductive, or celibate and childless adults were penalized through state taxation. The result was a different gendered type of "public" and "domestic" where "biological reproduction permeated the public sphere" instead of being restricted to the domestic.⁸¹

Whereas Verdery (1996) discussed the broader theme of the gendered meanings of space, sociologists Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever (2003) examine how the private space of the home allowed for a discourse of political resistance to the state and in some ways replaced the function of civil society in liberal democracies.⁸² The authors suggest the private or domestic sphere became a site of unchallenged solidarity. However, this implied women's issues such as spousal or domestic violence remained invisible and unaddressed by the state.⁸³ Einhorn and Sever note that the state control of the public realm versus the private home altered "the concepts of citizenship and civil society which influenced (and constrained) the political possibilities and collective identities that could form in this context and in its wake."⁸⁴ Likewise, anthropologist Susan Gal and sociologist Gail Kligman (2000) assert that because women occupied the lower rungs of economic and political life, there was little opportunity for them to vocally challenge the contested, or violent, aspects of the home.⁸⁵ During the Stalin era, Gal and

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., 65.

⁸² Einhorn and Sever, "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," 166.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Gal and Kligman, *The Politics of Gender Before and After Socialism*, 47.

Kligman note that Stalin declared the "woman question" resolved. This declaration led to greater inequality because any contest with his conclusion was "unsayable."⁸⁶ In sum, the authoritarianism of the communist system created an environment where both men and women were unable to address gender inequality within the household and also within the public sphere. However, the home became an essential part of civil resistance.

The state also constrained women's roles in the communist system in ways that affected their emancipation. Policies strictly controlled citizens during the communist period, altering the way in which public and private spaces were utilized. Women, although present in public spaces through work, politics, and social organizations as dictated by the government, did not experience liberation within their homes. They bore the double or even triple burden. If in theory women were encouraged to transgress the gendered private-public divide, in practice this meant they were expected to participate in paid labour, community organizations while also do the majority of caregiving and nutritional activities in the home. Wolchik (1985) states that in some cases, and particularly in rural areas, the government's version of the liberation of women not only enforced the double or triple burden for women but state focus on modernization eliminated traditional ways of life which, in some cases, jeopardized women's influence in the domestic sphere.⁸⁷

Gal and Kligman's (2000) analyze how the attempt by communist states to reconstruct space relied on stereotypical perceptions of women upheld under capitalism:

The "gender regimes" of state socialism in East Central Europe were built out of these ideological critiques and failed utopias, as well as out of the pre-existing

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Wolchik, "The Precommunist Legacy," 39.

arrangements of capitalist gender relations that structures male dominance in households, politics, and workplaces. After the Second World War, the new communist states tried to erase the existing institutional forms of the public/private dichotomy. Many of the distinctive characteristics of state socialism derive from this ideological rejection. Once again, this suggests how ideas about gender – and its long-standing linkage to the public/private – shaped political and economic arrangements. Ironically, however, new and subtle configurations of public/private emerged in the course of four decades, as state socialism succeeded in producing another system that, though quite different in institutional organization from capitalist gender regimes nevertheless was equally effective in securing an altered form of male privilege.⁸⁸

Fundamentally, communist governments reconfigured public and private spaces in a way that sustained patriarchy existing under the former social system. While these spaces may have appeared different institutionally, they were similar in the promotion of male privilege. Therefore, policies that meant to emancipate women were ineffectual without a parallel agenda of re-educating society and the state about women's needs. A cultural revolution, like feminism, was needed to be taken seriously by the state.

Historian Maria Bucur (2008) reinforces Gal and Kligman's (2000) discussion of the reinforcement of gender roles under state communism but trace the origins of this mandate to the 1920's following the Bolshevik Revolution. Bucur suggests that the influence of more radical gender-role thinkers such as Aleksandra Kollontai was fundamental. Kollontai was head of the *Zhenskii Otdel or Zhenotdel*, the Women's Bureau, which was an organization attached to the Central Committee organized to introduce cultural and educational work for women from 1920 to 1922.⁸⁹ As a member of the Soviet government during the 1920s, Kollontai questioned gender divisions within family relations and the domestic sphere. However, by the 1930s the party had adopted a

⁸⁸ Gal and Kligman, *The Politics of Gender and After Socialism*, 47.

⁸⁹ Francisca de Haan, Krasimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi, *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, (New York: Central European University Press, 2006): 255.

more traditional masculinist view as proposed by Lenin and Stalin, squarely reinforcing that women's roles in the home were vital to the moral upbringing of the nation. Men were secondary partners.⁹⁰ Bucur suggests women were in a position of dependency on the communist state without any tools to question the apparent advantages they had received.⁹¹

The Communist State, Maternalism and the Family

As Scott (1986) describes, the nation-state uses the law to control its citizens. Communist states were no different. The state considered women not only as a type of economic source but also the preservers and reproducers of the population. State policies and laws permeated the domestic, politicizing the home and women's roles within it. Verdery (1996) suggests that the shift of governance and re-organization created a different gendered type of "public" and "domestic" wherein the concern for biological reproduction was integral to the public rather than confined to the domestic sphere.⁹² Verdery suggests that this type of re-organization at the state level resulted in re-organization of the definition of gender roles. The state attempted to solidify these gender roles through state paternalism that promised to take care of citizens through the implementation of state social programs. These programs were meant to transform gender roles by shifting women's labour from primarily the domestic sphere, to the public.⁹³

⁹⁰ Maria Bucur, "An Archipelago of Stories: Gender History in Eastern Europe," *American Historical Review* 113 (2008): 1379-80.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, 66.

⁹³ Ibid.

Gal and Kligman (2000) describe the effect of re-organization of labour on some women carrying the double and triple burden during the communist period. They note that in some cases, women saw themselves as courageously and unselfishly coping with difficult demands made by the state.⁹⁴ These demands, according to Gal and Kligman, resulted in exhaustion as well as a sense of gratification and moral superiority, but also lead to feelings of victimization and guilt. Feelings of gratification and moral superiority were tied to women's central role in the home whereas feelings of victimization and guilt came from a sense of lack of professional accomplishment, especially as mothers.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Gal and Kligman discuss how state media reinforced these gender roles through women's magazines and displays of women who could effortlessly be "engineer, pretty wife, mother, fashion plate, and political activist."⁹⁶ The guilt women felt was partially derived from the media occasionally blaming societal ills such as demographic decline to lapses in morality on women's inadequate mothering and supposedly excessive selfishness.⁹⁷

Government expectations pressured women to be mothers, first and foremost, especially during periods following World War II and the 1960s when birth rates declined for which women were blamed. Alexandra Hrycak (2001) states that policies in the Soviet Union during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s encouraged fertility, therefore reinforcing the importance of motherhood and the nuclear family, however, women were excluded from influence over public life.⁹⁸ Hrycak notes that the Soviets reinforced

⁹⁴ Gal and Kligman, *The Politics of Gender and After Socialism*, 53.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Alexandra Hrycak, "The Dilemmas of Civic Revival: Ukrainian Women Since Independence," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 26, no.1/2 (Summer 2001): 138.

women's roles as reproducers of the nation by rewarding women "Mother Heroine" awards if they bore ten or more children.⁹⁹

The meanings and symbolism of maternalism shifted over different eras of the communist period. Although the state promoted motherhood as Hrycak described, the state did not fully implement adequate support for mothers. Hrycak notes that although women were idolized in state rhetoric as child bearers, the Soviet state neglected to invest in primary healthcare including maternal health. Additionally, Hrycak (2001) reviews how the state refused to provide sufficient sex education and by so doing, promoted marriage at a young age.¹⁰⁰ As a result of these maternalist policies, historian Barbara Engel (2005) suggests that in the Soviet Union gender inequality intensified in the Stalin-era which was caused by the state encouragement of women to reproduce. Two policies were significant: the length of time for maternity leaves was increased, and women received benefits based on the number of children she bore.¹⁰¹ Engel (2005) describes pro-natalist legislation passed in 1936 that designated motherhood as a responsibility to society.¹⁰² In sum, women's bodies as reproductive instruments permeated into the public sphere, according to Verdery (1996) whereas celibacy and childlessness punitively resulted in higher taxation.¹⁰³ Engel, Hrycak, and Verdery demonstrate how the state may have valued women's maternalism and reproductive rights, but not other capabilities of women. Therefore, pro-natalism reinforced traditional gender roles of women, keeping them in the

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 139.

¹⁰¹ Barbara Engel, "Russia and the Soviet Union," in *Women's History in Global Perspective*, ed. Bonnie Smith Vol. 3 (Champaign: University of Illinois), 171.

¹⁰² Ibid., 169.

¹⁰³ Verdery, *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?*, 65.

home. They were conceived as tools of reproduction of benefit to the state who failed to adhere to constitutional obligations for women's equality.

Transitional Politics and the Reconfiguration of Space

Other scholars look to the transition from communism to capitalism from 1989 to 1992 to understand how gender relations were reconfigured in the post-communist period.¹⁰⁴ The transition and early years following national independence in the 1990s would set the stage – a kind of foundation – for gendered space and relations in the post-communist era.

The rise of nationalist movements that challenged the Soviet state reconceived the way in which public spaces were imagined. Public space was used by citizens to communicate their dissatisfaction with communism. Furthermore, the move for nationalist independence drove the call for changes in political, economic and social policy following the transition from communism. Feminist scholars such as Katherine Verdery (1996), Susan Gal (1997), Diane Duffy (2000), Susan Gal and Gail Kligman (2000), Alexandra Hrycak (2001 and 2005), Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever (2003), Kathleen Montgomery (2003), Sarah Birch (2003), Barbara Engel (2005), Maria Bucur (2008) and Maxime Forest (2011) point to nationalist and independence movements' use of cultural preconceptions about gender some of which recreated historical myths of the nation in order to gain the support of a populace discontented with communism.

¹⁰⁴ Regional differences existed for when this transition occurred. The fall of the Berlin Wall came in 1989 marking the end of communism in satellite states of the Soviet Union such as Poland and Hungary, and the reunification of East and West Germany. Independence referendums in Soviet states began in 1991.

Traditional gender roles embedded in historical nationalist myth before communism was used to justify the existence of national identity.

Political scientist Duffy (2000) describes nationalist movements use of gender. She suggested that traditional gender roles after communism particularly those relating to women's identity were "closely associated with national, cultural, and family survival."¹⁰⁵ While Gorbachev's administration continued to implement the ineffective policies experienced under communism through *Glasnost and Perestroika*, in the post-communist era women sought alternatives to resolve their problems. In Ukraine, as Alexandra Hrycak (2001) notes the Rukh nationalist movement promised progressive solutions to grant equal parental responsibility for child-rearing. However, this promise found parallels in the conservative approach reinforcing the traditional family unit. Rukh Nationalists emphasized healthy and nationally conscious Ukrainian families however they went no further than that.¹⁰⁶ Einhorn and Sever (2003) suggest that Rukh's openness ultimately lead to a return to the ideal of the "mother/eternal feminine" as part of nationalist and traditional and religious platforms. This rhetoric, in turn, influenced the character of women's activism within nationalist movements.¹⁰⁷

Mainly, women's disillusionment with the communist system and the introduction of some new policies directed towards women in the 1980s as introduced by nationalists and independence movements attracted women to support nationalist movements. However, nationalists treated women's issues close or similar to how communist

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 221.

¹⁰⁶ Hrycak "Dilemmas of Civic Revival," 139.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

governments had treated these issues. While nationalists relied on women's popular support of the movement, they considered women's issues secondary.

Duffy (2000) further explained that with women's increased participation in national independence movements in Central and Eastern Europe their visibility in the political transition from communism to a market economy is evident. However, she also acknowledged women's minimal active presence in state reformation and formal decision-making.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, no significant leaders within nationalist movements were women, so the movement visibly appeared less committed to women. However, if the types of work women performed in nationalist movements were primarily supportive, they also contributed important yet less visible work such as running dissident newspapers and or managing underground cells of opposition.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, Einhorn and Sever (2003) also claim that women's mobilization rarely included issues we would understand as 'feminist.'¹¹⁰

Hrycak (2005) describes how women did eventually emerge as charismatic leaders within Rukh, especially at the local level in eastern Ukraine. However, the most influential leaders within the movement and the movement's allies such as with the Native Language Society or the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches were men.¹¹¹ Nationalist movements were supported by the re-emergence of religious organizations which had generally been persecuted during the communist period. For example, in Lithuania and Poland, Maxime Forest (2011) describes the expression of faith as

¹⁰⁸ Diane Duffy, "Social Identity and its Influence."

¹⁰⁹ Einhorn and Sever, "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," 169.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Hrycak, "Coping With Chaos," 71.

significant to advancing nationalism and opposing communism. Forest (2011) indicates that since 1989 the re-establishment of traditionalist and Christian democratic parties have questioned or even suppressed women's sexual, reproductive and social rights.¹¹² Therefore, as many scholars conclude, that the alliances struck between nationalist movements and religious organizations resulted in reconstitution of traditional, maternal roles for women in the post-communist state.

Nationalist movements further marginalized women because of the perception of gender roles carried over from communism and the supposed damage caused to men and masculine identity when women were relegated to the private sphere. As Verdery (1996) explains, the paternalism of the Soviet state removed power away from men and transferred it to the state.¹¹³ As Susan Gal (1997) describes, the private sphere was the site of individual conscience which allowed it to be used for significant political action.¹¹⁴ Since the private sphere was mainly understood as feminine and the public understood as masculine, many men viewed this spatial binary as an affront to their masculinity. This view encouraged a disregard of women's grievances that they had against the communist system. For example, Maria Bucur (2008) argues that the perceived benefits women experienced under socialism disadvantaged them during the transitional period because women could not speak about their experience of the double and triple burden.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Maxime Forest, Maxime Forest, Eastern Europe." In *Women in Executive Power: A Global Overview*. Editors Gretchen Bauer and Manon Tremblay. New York: Routledge, 2011, 78-9.

¹¹³ Verdery, *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?*, 65.

¹¹⁴ Susan Gal, "Feminism and Civil Society," in *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, edited by Joan Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, (New York: Routledge, 1997): 31.

¹¹⁵ Maria Bucur, "An Archipelago of Stories," 1379.

Therefore, grievances women expressed about the communist system were pushed aside if they did not adhere to the goals of the nationalist movements.

Nonetheless, women's issues were not entirely dropped by nationalist movements. Instead, the nationalist movements reinforced women's roles as mothers and the reproducers of the nation. As Einhorn and Sever (2003) describe, the maternalism inherent in these cultural values influenced the type and degree of political activism in which women partook.¹¹⁶ Women dominated environmental and peace groups, according to Einhorn and Sever (2003), mobilized for children's health or against state recruitment of sons and husbands in violent conflict.¹¹⁷ Reviewing women's social activism in Ukraine, Sarah D. Phillips (2008) also describes women's groups in Ukraine as exclusively organized around maternal or environmental issues. Phillips exemplifies, *Mama-86*, founded in 1990, by women whose newborns had suffered from Chernobyl-related illnesses caused by the Chernobyl reactor meltdown of 1986.¹¹⁸

Following independence, major decision makers of the transition including leaders from involved in nationalist movements created the governing bodies of countries who achieved independence. For example, Solidarity, formed by Poland's independence movement and trade union, became the major political party and leader Lech Walesa became president from 1990-1995. In Poland, and within Solidarity, women remained disproportionately disadvantaged politically and economically.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Einhorn and Sever, "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," 172.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Sarah D. Phillips, *Women's Social Activism in the New Ukraine: Development and the Politics of Differentiation*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 75.

¹¹⁹ Katherine Verdery (1996), Susan Gal (1997), Diane M. Duffy (2000), Susan Gal and Gail Kligman (2000), Alexandra Hrycak (2001, 2005), Kathleen Montgomery (2003), Sarah Birch (2003), Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever (2003), Barbara Engel (2005), Maria Bucur (2008), Sarah D. Phillips (2008) and Jane Hardy

While quantitative statistics map out the shifts, or divisions, in the public and private spaces women occupied, the number of women recorded as holding political and economic spaces under a communist regime was not representative. The authoritarian nature of the communism meant that the women's statistical representation was politically symbolic rather than accurate. Thus, many scholars describe the effects of the transition as disproportionately affecting or even eroding, women's participation in the labour market or politics. It is clear that women's participation in these public sectors was challenged by nationalism re-inscription of traditional misogynist narratives that ultimately expected women to remain in the private sphere.

The gendering of spaces during the various nation state's transition from communism to the market economy is also essential in understanding women's access to positions of political power in post-communist Europe. Scholarly literature addresses the effects of communist transition, how nationalist movements during the transition understood women's societal roles, women's disillusionment with feminism, women's engagement in civil society, and the effect of women's disillusionment with the political system.¹²⁰

et al. (2008) discuss the transition from communism to a market economy as well as the impact this major event had on women and the reconfiguration of space they occupied. All authors note that women generally suffered disproportionately to men.

¹²⁰ Furthermore, an underlying theme that has arisen is the difference in individual state's approaches in addressing women's inequality. Some explanations of these differences can be understood through the move by some countries to become EU members. EU membership is complicated and involves meeting specific requirements including the implementation of policies addressing women's inequality and establishing and upholding certain democratic principles. Although the quest of post-communist countries for EU membership constructs an important power dichotomy between West and East Europe, my main focus is on the case of Ukraine which is not a member of the EU. I will initially focus on the effects of the pre- and post-transition to market economies have had on women and then on the reconfiguration of gendered spaces. EU membership in some cases has influenced these factors but has not entirely transformed post-communist into societies devoid of gender inequality.

Einhorn and Sever (2003) believe the transition to democracy and capitalism has not been kind to women. Other scholars agree. Sarah Birch (2003) found in her study of women's parliamentary representation in Ukraine that women made up 70 percent of the unemployed, where two-thirds of those impacted possessed higher education.¹²¹ In her study of women's place historically during and after the Soviet Union, historian Barbara Engel (2005) states that the number of women in positions of authority declined everywhere. Engel emphasizes the socio-economic issues women faced following the end of communism. Women's unemployment was inflated disproportionately to men because women were not privileged to take advantage of privatizations of state-controlled businesses. Additionally, the high cost of education forced families to choose which children to educate, and boys were conventionally privileged. Employers' called for women applicants on the based on physical attractiveness rather than qualifications. Violence and pornography were noticed to be increasing.¹²²

In her introduction on women's parliamentary representation in post-communist Europe, political scientist Kathleen Montgomery (2003) describes a dramatic drop in women parliamentarians from 30 percent (during the last communist elections in the 1980s) to under 10 percent (in the first post-communist elections in the late 1980s to the early 1990s) in some countries. Her statistics imply women were practically absent from political party leadership, cabinet positions, key ministries, or other institutions of social bargaining.¹²³ Moreover, according to Birch (2003), the drop in the number of women

¹²¹ Sarah Birch, "Women and Political Representation in Contemporary Ukraine;" in *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-communist Europe*, eds. Richard E. Matland and Kathleen Montgomery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 130.

¹²² Engel, "Russia and the Soviet Union," 172.

¹²³ Kathleen Montgomery, "Introduction," in *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-communist Europe*, eds. Richard E. Matland and Kathleen Montgomery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2.

parliamentarians was related to the opening up of the political system in the wake of communism. For example, in 1985, 38.5 percent of deputies in the Ukrainian parliament were women, whereas, in Ukraine's first post-Soviet election of 1994, a mere 4.3 percent of women were elected to parliament.¹²⁴ These low percentages of women's participation in the political sphere, as Birch noted, were caused by the transition process from communism to capitalism.¹²⁵ If perhaps women's statistical participation was inflated as part of an authoritarian communist agenda; the comparison of percentages over the two periods insightfully shows how women may have been excluded or, in some cases, did not participate in the labour and electoral political sectors.

The decline in women's wage employment paired with the decline in women's participation in the electoral politics has drawn scholarly attention. Some have described the post-communist era as regressive whereby values of the transition masculinized public space and feminized private space. Using identity theory and by looking at women's access to the labour market and formal political institutions, Duffy (2000) suggested that during the transition there was a return to a more patriarchal ideology associated with the pre-Soviet period.¹²⁶ Duffy also identifies the prevalence of shared values, patriarchal structures, and gender-role stereotyping that exist after the end of Soviet communism to suggest that private space were popularly understood as protecting moral values for families.¹²⁷ Birch (2003) echoes Duffy's belief that traditional gender roles return during the transition, adding that women's place within political

¹²⁴ Birch, "Women and Political Representation in Contemporary Ukraine;" 131.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Diane M. Duffy, "Social Identity and its Influence on Women's Roles in East-Central Europe," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2, no.2 (2000): 225.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

democratization became once again focused on women as child-bearers and keepers of the private sphere.¹²⁸ Einhorn and Sever (2003) also point to women's increased inequality during the post-communist era as a result of a revival of traditionalist and nationalist ideologies. They also argue that women faced an increased risk of violence and discrimination in the labour market.¹²⁹

Hrycak (2001) presents a different approach to women's perceived gender roles after the communist transition. She suggests that the gender system re-established after the end of communism by nationalist movements is a continuation of earlier gender expectations. Hrycak states Soviet policies definitively increased the birth rate which encouraged all members of society to treat women's role to be primarily as mothers.¹³⁰ As Hrycak asserts, Soviet policies reinforced sexual divisions of labour that correspondingly strengthened traditional gender roles while also convincing women to take on additional responsibilities.¹³¹ As a result, gender equality policies in the labour force, as well as social programs such as state-funded childcare and maternity leaves that relieved some pressures experienced by mothers in the post-transition era, were removed. Hrycak notes that external concerns with abuses of women's rights within post-communist states as well as internal media and political promotion of maternalism pushed Eastern European women to frame their own economic and social welfare and their reproductive rights as real issues.¹³²

¹²⁸ Birch, "Women and Political Representation in Contemporary Ukraine," 130.

¹²⁹ Einhorn and Sever, "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe," 164.

¹³⁰ Hrycak, 137.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*, 157.

The re-establishment of a communist defined traditional gender order in the post-communist period appears to be related to the reconfiguration of state-controlled systems to privately owned businesses. Capitalism was new to these countries. Gal and Kligman (2000) describe the reconfigured system as erection a new order of social stratification and inequality, where new elites joined with the old, “who now appear in different ideological garb.”¹³³ The authors state that conservative social orders continued during the transition. However, there is a "change in the principles by which stratification is ordered and justified."¹³⁴ Gal and Kligman’s described old elites joined by new elites as a system that appears outwardly different but this slight reconfiguration continues to benefit those previously empowered during the communist era. Women continue to be subordinate.

Section III – The Old Boys Club: Theorizing the Gendering of Political Spaces and the Effects of Masculine Leadership Women’s Access to Executive Political Leadership

Political institutions have been historically characterized as masculine by feminist scholars as discussed in previous sections. Masculinity, as these scholars argue, has been naturalized as the basic requirement of political leadership within the nation-state. This section considers the masculinization of political leadership more specifically first by reviewing the scholarship on women’s access to positions in parliament.

Puwar’s concept of women as “space invader” exemplifies how certain constituencies, and women specifically, are historically excluded from specific domains

¹³³ Gal and Kligman, *The Politics of Gender Before and After Socialism*, 56.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

despite the fact women are involved in political space, formally and informally. Scholarly literature that addresses women in *formal* political spaces includes statistical analysis quantifying the number of women elected to hold positions in parliament, cabinets, and political leadership. Conversely, scholarly literature about women in *informal* politics considers women's activities outside of formal political system including the work by women in non-governmental organizations or as individuals.

Women's access to parliament has been extensively discussed. For the most part, worldwide and regional studies of women's access to parliament have prioritized socio-economic, political and cultural factors on women's access to parliament. Political scientist Richard Matland (1998), for example, finds socio-economic factors such as female presence in the labour force as well as women's higher levels of education are less significant in female levels of political representation. Cultural factors, he implies, are difficult to measure and need further study. Instead, Matland finds that in developed countries, the type of political system may limit (majoritarian) or promote (proportional representation) women's access contributing to the electoral opportunity structure.¹³⁵

In their cross-cultural study, Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart (2000) found that cultural factors matter in women's electoral success worldwide and are especially important in post-industrial nations. However, the authors also note that the modernization and evolution of cultural attitudes alone in some countries such as the

¹³⁵ Richard Matland, "Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23 (1998),120.

United States and Spain are not enough to overcome institutional barriers against women's political participation.¹³⁶

Sociologists Sheri Kunovich and Pamela Paxton (2005) analyzed the role of political party gatekeepers whom they define as those who hold power to decide who represents their political party. Gatekeepers, according to Kunovich and Paxton, play essential roles in preventing women's electoral success. However, they found that the presence of women as part of the political party elite had a positive effect on women's electoral success in plurality-majority systems.¹³⁷

Does the presence of women in political decision-making positions make a difference in the creation of women-friendly policies? Critical mass theory suggests that women must make up 30 percent of decision-making positions to affect substantial political change. Scholars who theorize the effect of critical mass question to what extent the greater statistical presence of women in parliaments will generate changes in social policy. In their study following the election of the 1997 British Labour Party in Great Britain, Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris (2003) find that although radical change in policies may not occur relative to a more significant number of women in electoral politics, their numerically higher presence will gradually re-shape attitudes and policy.¹³⁸ Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes (2014) state that the impact of critical mass can be better assessed by noting the nuances of power differences within legislatures. For

¹³⁶ Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, "Cultural Barriers to Women's Leadership: A Worldwide Comparison," (Conference presentation, International Political Science Association World Congress, Quebec City, 2000), 14.

¹³⁷ Sheri Kunovich and Pamela Paxton, "Pathways to Power: The Role of Political Parties in Women's National Political Representation," *American Journal of Sociology* 111, no. 2 (September 2005): 540.

¹³⁸ Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris, "Westminster Women: the Politics of Presence," *Political Studies* 51 (2003), 100.

example, women may be more likely to influence policy when they are part of political parties in power as the elected party generally control the overall political agenda and have greater opportunity of passing bills. Another example of increased influence is women who are elected as legislators who are committee members or cabinet members as they have increased access to major decision-making bodies.¹³⁹ The authors conclude that a critical mass of women elected will lead to increased women in leadership who, in turn, will influence policy.¹⁴⁰

As previously discussed, the end of communism caused a decline in women's parliamentary representation including in Ukraine. After the transition, in post-communist Europe, political barriers to women's parliamentary representation can be strongly correlated to the development of political institutions as well as to cultural factors. For example, Matland and Montgomery (2003) and Rueschemeyer and Wolchik (2009) note that the instability of the party systems and the fleeting nature of political parties in post-communist Europe resulted in the emergence of professional politicians who, to a documented extent, classified women's issues as secondary.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, Matland and Montgomery (2003) and Rueschemeyer and Wolchik's (2009) also discussed the impact of political party gatekeepers in addition to the presence of religion and gender binarism as influential on conservative cultural attitudes. They identify these limitations as major barriers to women's political representation.¹⁴² However,

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 221.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 9.

¹⁴² Richard Matland, "Women's Representation in Post-Communist Europe," in *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-communist Europe* eds. Richard E. Matland and Kathleen Montgomery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Marilyn Rueschemeyer, and Sharon L. Wolchik, *Women in Power in Post-Communist Parliaments*, Washington, DC: University of Indiana Press, 2009, 12.

Rueschemeyer and Wolchik (2009) emphasize the importance of a growing divide between those post-communist countries with western linkages, influenced by the European Union and those without links to Europe. According to the authors, the EU yields an immense amount of leverage in specific areas such as gender equality and has helped the development of certain countries by providing a framework for gender equity.

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Since the beginning of the 1990s women's parliamentary representation has experienced "modest improvements" as political scientist Frank C. Thames (2015) shows. However, this statistical representation has remained consistently below average compared to other democratic countries in Europe.¹⁴⁴ Thames discusses the impact of a traditional, patriarchal culture and the electoral system on women's political representation using cultural and institutional factors. He finds that the implementation of a closed-list PR system in Ukraine in the 2006 and 2007 parliamentary elections counteracted the negative cultural attitudes towards women politicians as the number of women elected to Ukrainian parliament (the Rada) increased.¹⁴⁵

In an evaluation of the effect of institutional structures on women's political representation in cabinet in industrial democracies, political scientist Alan Siaroff (2000) affirms that women's executive representation is related to women's parliamentary

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Frank C. Thames, "The Electoral System and Women's Legislative Underrepresentation in Post-Communist Ukraine," (paper presentation, Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, April 2-5, 2015): 25.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. A closed-list proportional representation system is an electoral system where candidates are elected based on the proportion of votes a political party receives in an election. Political parties submit ranked lists of candidates (in the case of closed-list PR, the ranking of these candidates is not visibly known to the public) and candidates near the top of the list will get a seat in parliament. Therefore, this system is based more on the population voting for the political party over individual candidates.

representation. Siaroff finds that institutional and cultural factors are the most significant in women's representation in cabinets. However, this link he establishes between parliamentary systems and the executive also depends on whether the recruitment process is specialist or generalist. Whereas a specialist system picks ministers based on their credentials and experience with a particular type of ministry, a generalist recruitment process chooses people in parliament. As Siaroff shows, the generalist recruitment process leads to the choice of experienced back-benchers who have been part of parliament for an extended period. He observed leftist governments as more likely to include more women as cabinet ministers.¹⁴⁶

Section IV: Scholarship on women's political leadership

Genovese (1993), Jalalzai (2004, 2008, 2013, 2014), Watson et al. (2005), and Jalalzai and Krook (2009) have found that gender and political institutions play a significant role in women's success or hindrance in winning positions as an elected official. These scholars discuss in detail the winning characteristics of women as political leaders and the contexts that lead to a successful rise to power.

In the early 1990s political scientist, Michael Genovese (1993) edited a collection of case studies of seven women presidents and prime ministers. These case studies illuminated the relationship between gender and leadership.¹⁴⁷ The individual case studies Genovese featured provide insight into women's biographies and the context in which

¹⁴⁶ Alan Siaroff, "Women's Representation in Legislatures and Cabinets in Industrial Democracies," *International Political Science Review* 21 2000: 206- 208.

¹⁴⁷ Corazon C. Aquino (the Philippines), Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan), Violeta Chamorro (Nicaragua), Indira Gandhi (India), Golda Meir (Israel), Isabel Person (Argentina), and Margaret Thatcher (the United Kingdom)

they have succeeded. As he observed, leadership is more than just occupying a political position, but instead includes the influence one has over others to convince them to act and believe in certain political platforms and policies.¹⁴⁸ Jalalzai (2013) found Genovese's (1993) study useful in understanding how women political leaders' biographical history and status as well as the contexts in which they have led their country matters. However, Jalalzai (2013) critiques Genovese's (1993) study as limited in that he does not allow for a broader comparison.

Subsequently, Jalalzai (2004, 2009, 2013) and Watson et al. (2005) pursued large-scale analyses of women executives worldwide, documenting their paths context, and powers. These scholars searched for common characteristics among those women who have succeeded as political leaders worldwide. This approach of conceptualizing the causes of women's success or absence in executive electoral power corresponded with the increasing election of women political leaders worldwide from 2000 onwards. These studies identified whether these women executives were prime minister or president. Moreover, the scholars detailed the powers associated with those positions as well as determining the personal characteristics of each individual and inclusive of identifying familial ties to former political leaders. The women's political profiles, including their ideological perspectives, level of education achieved at the election, their career paths, marital status, religious beliefs and length of the term were also enumerated and compared. This scholarship found that historically, there have been more women prime ministers than presidents.

¹⁴⁸ Michael Genovese ed., *Women as National Leaders* (Newbury: Sage Publications, 1993), 3.

For example, according to Jalalzai (2004), the number of total women executives accessing positions of prime ministers was 73 percent while the total number of women executives presidential positions was lower at 23 percent as of 2004.¹⁴⁹ A year later, Robert P. Watson et al.'s (2005) findings correspond with Jalalzai (2004) when they noted that more women have served as prime minister (27) than president (23).¹⁵⁰ Both Jalalzai (2004) and Watson et al. (2005) conclude that the difference in the women's accession to prime minister in higher numbers than as president may be related to the process by which leaders reach these positions as well as the powers that are attached to the respective position of leadership.

Familial ties to women political leaders, as Jalalzai (2004) noted, have aided some women in south and Southeast Asian countries, with more conservative values. These associations allow individual women to ascend positions of political power. Familial ties to well-known and high-level political figures played an essential role among 30 percent of women who had ties to former presidents or prime ministers, the majority of the women being wives or daughters. As Jalalzai argues, these familial ties provide some understanding of why women in cultures that are more oriented towards traditional gender roles can access positions of political leadership. However, her conclusions provoke consideration of identifying similar characteristics amongst women in political leadership elsewhere worldwide.

Jalalzai (2008, 2013, 2014) identifies the potential obstacles and opportunities for women seeking positions of leadership by using a multifaceted analysis of political

¹⁴⁹ Farida Jalalzai, "Women Political Leaders: Past and Present," *Women & Politics* 26, no. 3/4, (2004): 92.

¹⁵⁰ Robert Watson, Alicia Jencik and Judith A. Selzer, "Women World Leaders: A Comparative Analysis and Gender Experiences," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 7, no. 2 (2005): 69.

structures and cultural norms as well as showing the characteristics associated with current and former women political leaders worldwide.¹⁵¹ She (2013) found that women were more likely to occupy positions of leadership with dispersed powers and parliamentary collaboration. As well, Jalalzai attributes the obstacles women face in accessing leadership to perceptions of women's traditional roles as subordinate to men.¹⁵²

Jalalzai provided detailed characteristics of the women who cede to political leadership whereas Puwar (2004) interrogated how women invaded the political spaces dominated by men and changed seemingly cemented masculine definitions of leadership. Jalalzai (2004) correspondingly understood how women accessed positions of head of government or head of state in countries where gender roles are culturally conservative, and where the social and political rights of women are suppressed.¹⁵³

Puwar (2004) notes that politicians in Great Britain's parliamentary system are commonly privileged upper-class, and white, men. Her study of gender and leadership focuses on the masculinization of political power, and the effect of masculine dominated politics has on women's access to political leadership. However, as she has shown, statistically the women who become prime ministers or presidents are privileged and mostly Caucasian.

Analyzing the backgrounds of women prime ministers and presidents, Watson et al. (2005) noted that nearly all women successful in these categories of executive leadership possess higher levels of education compared to other women in their countries.

¹⁵¹ Farida Jalalzai, *Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 25.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Farida Jalalzai, "Women Political Leaders," 85.

In circumstances when women leaders did not come from affluent families, they eventually attained high levels of education.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, women who ceded to prime minister or president are privileged through familial ties in addition to higher education. Consequently, it may be determined that class is a significant value to ensure success as many are from wealthy families with ties to politics or have acquired the privileges that come with education. Finally, most women practiced the dominant religion of their country.¹⁵⁵ Watson et al.'s (2005) finding that women who achieved the position of prime minister or president practiced the dominant religion is vital in countries where religion, linguistic, or ethnic affiliation is culturally influential.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, while these women elected may be perceived as "space invaders" in the political systems of their countries-- in other words biologically distinct from traditional male political leaders—they consistently possessed recognizable values such as dominant religious, ethnic or linguistic affiliation. Therefore, these findings determine, to succeed politically a woman must align with a prevailing belief system in a country. The authors note that there is little variation in the experiences of women world leaders however they also note that this finding should be treated with caution not to create a generic worldview of women leaders.¹⁵⁷

Thus by identifying the types of positions women held (prime minister versus president), previous scholarship implies institutional structures play an essential role in women's ability to access political leadership because presidential and prime ministerial

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Watson et al., "Women World Leaders," 63.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

positions differ in two significant ways: how the respective executive positions are elected and how voters or gatekeepers perceive the positions of power.¹⁵⁸ Scholarship in general, as discussed above, shows that women are more likely to ascend to position of prime minister than president. Jalalzai (2013) affirms that the selection process, as well as institutional structures, have the most significant effect on women's political achievements because both are gendered.¹⁵⁹ She (2013) finds that women's location in the power hierarchy and her leadership responsibilities are critical to women's success as leaders.¹⁶⁰

In her regionally-based study of women leaders in Europe, Jalalzai (2014) confirms that the more powerful the positions of leadership, the harder it will be for women to get elected to such positions. In 2014, she considered European leadership and calculated 32 women to have ascended to executive power to date or approximately 41 percent of worldwide examples of women in political leadership.¹⁶¹ Although the numbers of women political leaders appear high in Europe, and the dual executive offers opportunities for women, women are often hindered from reaching more powerful positions within the dual executive where national leadership is divided and shared.¹⁶²

Jalalzai (2014) asserts the existence of geographical and historical differences between the paths of women political leaders in Western and Eastern Europe, affirming that women in Eastern Europe may travel slightly different paths to political power than do women in Western Europe. Jalalzai includes whether women come to power through

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁵⁹ Jalalzai, *Shattered, Cracked or Firmly Intact?*, 177.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁶¹ Jalalzai, "Gender, Presidencies, and Prime Ministerships in Europe," 577.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 591.

the popular vote, legislative appointment, presidential appointment, or constitutional succession.¹⁶³ Eastern European women, Jalalzai shows, gained political experience through activist movements. In her conclusion, Jalalzai also questions to what extent women make a difference in appointing other women and whether women who achieve political success as leaders implement women-friendly policy. She also states more research is needed to fully comprehend the gendered strategies women use to get elected to understand to what extent these strategies are successful.¹⁶⁴

If political institutional frameworks and gatekeepers work against women's access, what strategies are needed to erode the many barriers women face? Genovese (1993) reinforces the notion that the perception of women's biological identity as women affects the type of interactions women experience during their path to political leadership. Women are also impacted while they hold positions of leadership.¹⁶⁵ When discussing whether women prime ministers or presidents lead differently than men, Genovese (1993) states that gender will influence a leader's performance because allies and adversaries will adjust their behaviour when interacting with a woman leader. Therefore, at the political-level, gender—whether you are perceived as biologically female or male--impacts how women lead because they are viewed by men as different and therefore, treated differently by men who dominate the political realm. Genovese (1993) shows that successfully elected women political leaders will have developed specific strategies related to dealing with these types of challenges and often turn them into opportunities. These strategies, Genovese (1993) notes, are connected to how gender is perceived and

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 584.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 591.

¹⁶⁵ Genovese, *Women as National Leaders*, 7.

performed in individual societies. The gendered strategies political leaders adopt or challenge are, therefore, contextually and culturally dependent.

Scholarship providing insight into the gendered context of the barriers to women's political leadership in Eastern Europe remains minimal. Most studies, such as that by Forest (2011), consider women in parliament in post-communist Europe or global statistical accounting of women's access to positions of prime minister and president. For example, Forest linked the exclusion of women from parliamentary politics and leadership under nationalist movements to the masculinization of the political system as a reason for the rollback of policies specific to women.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, Forest discussed how EU gender policies influenced women's access to politics whereby member-states are required to implement specific gender policies to promote gender equality. Forest's analysis includes historical, institutional, religious, and socio-economic factors however unlike Jalalzai (2013), Forest, using a "just add and stir approach" does not deeply or theoretically study the gender dynamics of political leadership.

Conclusion

To conclude, three themes emerge in this literature review:

- in the political realm women are perceived and assumed to be “space invaders” as proposed by Puwar;
- political space is definitively gendered with a fissure between the formal (masculine) and informal (feminine);

¹⁶⁶ Forest, “Central and Eastern Europe,” 81.

- women's ability or inability to attain the highest rank or embodiment of electoral political power depends on context and culture of the individual nation in which she seeks power.

Greater understanding of how political space is gendered and distinguished from domestic or private space provides further insight into reasons why women may face specific barriers to political power that men do not. Furthermore, the historical construction of space in post-communist Europe is valuable in laying out the gender landscape in post-communist Europe especially in the case of why more women have not ceded to political leadership.

The biographical characteristics of Yulia Tymoshenko including her class status and social-cultural history (family, religion, education, linguistic affiliation, employment and business record in the gas industry, marital affiliation, educational and occupation history) suggest she would be well-qualified and positioned to aspire to Ukraine's Presidency. Once historical events intervened, her rise into the highest rank—the Presidency—didn't happen. Tymoshenko's strategic self-representation as the "mother protector" of Ukraine against Putin and Russia was ultimately not successful because Tymoshenko did not fit the mandate of paternal nationalism at this moment in the political history of geopolitical relations. Chapter two discusses this specific regional history and the impact of Tymoshenko's biography relative to her rise to political power.

Chapter II: Yulia Tymoshenko: Personal and Political History

“Men accept defeat from other men, but they hate to lose to women. So they fight women harder than men. I am the best example of that.”¹⁶⁷ -*Yulia Tymoshenko*

Yulia Tymoshenko has been a prominent politician in Ukraine since the country's independence on August 24, 1991, from the Soviet Union. She is most widely recognized for her part in the Orange Revolution in 2004, and her presidential run and subsequent arrest in 2010 because of her opposition to then-President Viktor Yanukovich. Her political career has flourished in an arena primarily dominated by men a fact she has pointed out in the quote stated above. Since 1996, she has held various political positions including as a Member of Parliament and leader of the All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland" political party; she was appointed Prime Minister twice, and she ran for President twice. She is considered a polarizing figure in Ukrainian politics because of her ability to personalize politics. She has been labelled by her detractors as the "Gas Princess" or the "oligarch in skirts" because of her professional occupation as the President of the Ukrainian gasoline company, *Ukrainskiy Benzin* (UESU) where she earned her millions. Critics have compared her to Stalin and Catherine the Great, and some have labelled her a common criminal.¹⁶⁸ Conversely, she has been characterized as the “Ukrainian Joan of Arc,” “warrior princess,” “Orange Princess,” and “Goddess of the Revolution” by those who view her positively as a defender of Ukrainian nationalist values as well as because

¹⁶⁷ Quote from Yulia Tymoshenko, found in Oksana Kis, “Beauty Will Save the World!": Feminine Strategies in Ukrainian Politics and the Case of Yulia Tymoshenko,” *Tradition, Cultural Boundaries, and Identity Formation in Central Europe and Beyond* 7, no. 2 (2007): 66.

¹⁶⁸ Alexandra Hrycak, “The Orange Princess Runs for President: Gender and the Outcomes of the 2010 Presidential Election,” *East European Politics and Societies* 25, no. 1 (February 2011): 74.

of her charismatic and fiery orations.¹⁶⁹ Her politics can be described as nationalist democratic with a populist anti-corruption focus. That said, her politics shifted from initially being a business opportunist to those of preserving the Ukrainian nation. She has supported policies in favour of government interventions in economic policies and maternalist policy issues related to improving the welfare of the family. Her politics have mostly been defined through her relationships with other politicians in Ukraine and abroad, and her popularity comes mainly from her personalization of politics.

This Chapter outlines Tymoshenko's life and political career spanning over two decades. I discuss the factors related to her political successes and ultimately her failure to achieve the highest position of power: the presidency. In the Chapter, I identify aspects of Tymoshenko's life and political career that scholars perceive as common to other women political leaders (Michael Genovese (1993), Watson et al. (2005), Farida Jalalzai and Mona Lena Krook (2009), Farida Jalalzai (2004, 2013, 2014), Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes (2014), and Rebecca Richards (2015)). Some factors are personal such as marital status, number of children, level of education, familial ties to other political leaders, ethnic, religious or racial identification whereas others are more contextual including, for example, the institutional circumstances such as power associated with the positions that women occupy or seek to occupy or the contextual issues the ruling government confronted at the time. Tymoshenko's biography shows the fluidity of her identity through time, as she altered and adapted her identity and appearance to create and take advantage of economic and political opportunities.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

Furthermore, my review of Tymoshenko includes how other political actors, including her enemies and allies, attempted to control her behaviour because she was perceived as a threat to the political status quo, not only because of her politics but because of her gender. These threats have continued to position Tymoshenko as a “space invader.”¹⁷⁰

Early years before Tymoshenko's political career

Yulia Volodymyrivna Tymoshenko (nee Telegina) was born November 27, 1960, in the eastern city and oblast of Dnipropetrovsk, Soviet Ukraine, in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Union. Although born in Ukraine, Tymoshenko is not ethnically Ukrainian but Armenian and Russian. Tymoshenko’s Armenian father abandoned her family when she was very young, and she took her Russian mother’s name. Eighteen-year-old Yulia Telegina married Oleksandr Tymoshenko, the son of a mid-level Communist Party official, in 1978 receiving her Ukrainian name of Tymoshenko. Yulia and Oleksandr Tymoshenko have one child, Evgenia born in 1980.

Many women in the Soviet period were well-educated, and Tymoshenko was no exception. She received her bachelor’s degree in Economics and Engineering from the Dnipropetrovsk State University in 1984. She defended her Ph.D. dissertation at Kyiv State University in Economics in 1999.¹⁷¹ Tymoshenko is a practicing Ukrainian

¹⁷⁰ Nirmal Puwar, “Thinking About Making a Difference,” *BJPIR* 6 (2004): 65.

¹⁷¹ “Yulia Tymoshenko,” Iowa State University Archives of Women’s Political Communication, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://www.womenspeecharchive.org/women/profile/index.cfm?ProfileID=129>.

Orthodox Christian, and she primarily speaks Ukrainian. However, her first language is Russian.¹⁷²

Like other Ukrainian politicians, most of Tymoshenko's professional career before politics was spent in business. Tymoshenko took advantage of institutional structures available to her as well as worked her way up through business ranks to achieve success in business. During the Perestroika period of the 1980s, Tymoshenko became a member of the *Komsomol*, a branch of the Communist Party for young people. The *Komsomol* was a communist political, mixed gender, youth organization designed to groom young people into 'ideal' communist citizens.¹⁷³ However, near the end of the Soviet Union, in 1989, the purpose of the *Komsomol* in Dnipropetrovsk began to support small business ventures. Taras Kuzio (2015) states that by 1991, there were 100 *Komsomol*-backed businesses in Dnipropetrovsk.¹⁷⁴ Kuzio (2015) describes Tymoshenko at the time as a "rising star" and in an unusual position as a woman in the *Komsomol* leadership. Her lack of Ukrainian roots made her somewhat suspect to Ukrainian nationalists. Nevertheless, she fit in well with the city's Russian-speaking *Komsomol* youth.¹⁷⁵

Following the completion of her bachelor's degree and small-business endeavour in 1984, Tymoshenko secured a position as a planning engineer for the Dnipropetrovsk

¹⁷² Although Tymoshenko is ethnically Russian, there is no discussion of whether she was practicing Russian Orthodoxy and changed to Ukrainian Orthodoxy. Sources generally describe her as a practicing Ukrainian Orthodox Christian, but not what brand of Ukrainian Orthodoxy. "Yulia Tymoshenko," *The International Who's Who 2007: The Europa Biographical Reference Book*, (Routledge, 2006), 2124.

¹⁷³ Taras Kuzio (2015) describes Tymoshenko as a woman somewhat of an anomaly in the *Komsomol* leadership.

¹⁷⁴ Taras Kuzio, *Ukraine: Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism*, (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2015): 388.

¹⁷⁵ Kuzio, *Ukraine: Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism*, 388.

machine-construction plant from 1984 to 1989. While a member of the *Komsomol*, Tymoshenko and her husband borrowed 5,000 rubles to open a video salon called *Terminal Loop*.¹⁷⁶ From 1989 to 1991, disguised as the Dnipropetrovsk Youth Centre, *Terminal Loop* rented and showed pirated videos from the west.¹⁷⁷ In 1991, the year of the fall of the Soviet Union, a period of significant turbulence, Tymoshenko's business career took off: until 1995 she was director general of *Ukrainskiy Benzin*, a family cooperative selling gasoline to farmers in Dnipropetrovsk. *Ukrainskiy Benzin* was re-organized in 1995 into United Energy Systems of Ukraine (UESU), an energy company importing gas from Russia to Ukraine, which Tymoshenko was the president. As president of UESU, Tymoshenko acquired patronage from politicians such as Pavlo Lazarenko, former Governor of Dnipropetrovsk. In 1996, by working closely with Lazarenko and taking advantage of government connections, UESU became the largest gas trader in Ukraine, turning over billions of dollars each year.¹⁷⁸ This wealth was significant in the early post-Soviet period because there were no other millionaires in Ukraine at this time. Subsequently, Tymoshenko's wealth transformed her into a Ukrainian oligarch, and she entered politics to preserve her economic status. Lazarenko was the leader of the centrist Hromada Party and was part of a powerful political clan in Dnipropetrovsk, the same clan as the president at the time, Leonid Kuchma.¹⁷⁹ Under

¹⁷⁶ Diane M. Francis, "Yulia Tymoshenko: Symbol of Ukraine's Abuse, Controversy and Resilience," *HuffPost*, October 11, 2016, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/yulia-tymoshenko-symbol-of-ukraines-abuse-controversy_us_57fce3cae4b0d786aa52bd2f.

¹⁷⁷ Barbara Evans Clement, *A History of Women in Russia: From Earliest Times to the Present*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012): 297.

¹⁷⁸ Denys Kazanskyi, "Clan Wars: Why the Dnipropetrovsk clan lost to the Donetsk clan and the chances of a comeback," *The Ukrainian Week, International Edition*, October 9, 2015, <http://ukrainianweek.com/Politics/148369>.

¹⁷⁹ Oleg Varfolomeyev, "Ukraine: Regional Clans Attempt the Transition to Party Politics," *Prism* 4, no. 5 (March 1998), <https://jamestown.org/program/ukraine-regional-clans-attempt-the-transition-to-party-politics/>.

Kuchma, Lazarenko was appointed to the position of deputy prime minister in charge of fuel and energy in 1995 and then was promoted to prime minister in May 1996.

Tymoshenko's position as UESU president was essential to Lazarenko and Kuchma in their contest with the competing clan of Donetsk in their desire for economic gains.

Although Tymoshenko benefited from her family and business connections, she also has been noted for her work ethic. Oksana Kis (2007) describes Tymoshenko as being “utterly efficient in every position she has occupied.”¹⁸⁰ Kis states that Tymoshenko’s colleagues confirm that she is unusually hardworking and her political opponents are unable to deny her expertise.¹⁸¹ Therefore, Tymoshenko capitalized on her familial, business and geographic positions. Tymoshenko’s strong work ethic, familial connections to the Communist Party and her managerial position in a high-profile resource-based business during the transition from communism provided her with an advantage over other Ukrainians, a story familiar to many other Ukrainian oligarchs. Furthermore, Tymoshenko's advantages were helpful in overcoming extremely high rates of unemployment among women in the transition from communism. Tymoshenko's economic advantage because of the business sector she was in as well as her geographical position and connections to male politicians offered her entry into a political career by 1996.

Most women political leaders worldwide like Tymoshenko have high levels of post-secondary education inclusive of professional designations (i.e., engineers, doctors, lawyers). As well, many successful women leaders come from lives of social and

¹⁸⁰ Kis, ““Beauty Will Save the World!”” 63.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

economic affluence and are part of the dominant racial, ethnic or religious group of their respective nations. Farida Jalalzai and Mona Lena Krook (2010) show that women political leaders may even lead in countries where women of the general population lag economically and educationally or confront many social and political constraints.¹⁸² However, it is important to remember that many women political leaders consistently emerge from privilege. On her part, Tymoshenko was raised by a single mother, which may be considered a disadvantage in some countries but less so in the Soviet Union during this period. The loss of life of men during the Second World War meant many families consisted of single mothers and their children and Soviet legislation reflected and legitimated this type of family composition with the Family Law of 1944.¹⁸³ Furthermore, structural policies such as Soviet policies on women's access to higher education, as well as Tymoshenko's personal circumstances marrying into a family with ties to the Communist Party, and her membership in the *Komsomol* provided social, economic and political capital that Tymoshenko utilized during the transition from communism. As noted by Jalalzai and Krook (2010) Tymoshenko's status as an ethnic Russian practicing Orthodox Christianity from an Eastern oblast (region) meant she was part of the dominant linguistic and religious groups in the area. Furthermore, it is important to note that Tymoshenko strategically capitalized on her mother's Russian identity and her husband's family's ties to the Communist Party during her time in the *Komsomol* as political currency. In other words, Tymoshenko adapted her ethnic

¹⁸² Farida Jalalzai and Mona Lena Krook, "Beyond Hillary and Benazir: Women's Political Leadership Worldwide," *International Political Science Review* 31 no. 1 (January 2010): 7.

¹⁸³ Mie Nakachi, "N. S. Khrushchev and the 1944 Soviet Family Law: Politics, Reproduction, and Language," *East European Politics and Societies* 20, no. 1 (2006), 40.

attachments or identity to prosper socially and economically. This characteristic of her political strategy to lever influence is a common narrative throughout this Chapter.

Moving through the political ranks, 1996-2002

Tymoshenko was elected at a time when parliament was split between the old left of the Communist Party, the Socialists, and the Peasant Party and their allies, and the fractured centre and right that were considered political opportunists instead of reformers.¹⁸⁴ In 1996, Tymoshenko ran in legislative succession elections in the single-member district of Kirovograd, Bobrinsky Congressional District (a neighbouring oblast west of Tymoshenko's birthplace, Dnipropetrovsk). It is unclear what type of platform Tymoshenko ran on at this time however she won her seat with 92.3 percent of the vote.¹⁸⁵ Once elected, Tymoshenko joined Lazarenko's Constitutional Centre faction Hromada that supported President Leonid Kuchma.¹⁸⁶

A woman winning a seat within the single-member district (SMD) electoral system is significant because Tymoshenko was among the few women elected to Parliament.¹⁸⁷ 17 women deputies were elected in 1994 making up 4.3 percent of women

¹⁸⁴Interparliamentary Union, "Ukraine: Parliamentary Chamber: Verkhovna Rada: Elections Held in 1994," http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2331_94.htm (Accessed May 27, 2017). The Economist, "A truly dreadful prospect," *The Economist*, March 26, 1998 <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/158894-truly-dreadful-prospect>

¹⁸⁵According to the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) Archive, successive elections were held following the 1994 parliamentary election to fill 112 seats that remained vacant because of low participation in several constituencies. Interparliamentary Union, "Ukraine: Parliamentary Chamber: Verkhovna Rada: Elections Held in 1994." Iowa State University Archives, "Yulia Tymoshenko."

¹⁸⁶ David R. Marples, "Yuliya Tymoshenko," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed May 28, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Yuliya-Tymoshenko>.

¹⁸⁷ SMD is a majoritarian electoral system, which political scientist Pippa Norris describes as a system that creates a manufactured majority, which means the number of seats is exaggerated compared to the vote share. The purpose is to ensure a functioning parliamentary majority party. The geographical area in question is divided into electoral districts according to population size. The legislator is elected in a "winner take all" system. Single-member district plurality is similar to elections in Canada, and the United

in Parliament. Scholars such as Pippa Norris (1997), Richard Matland (1998), Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes (2014) and Frank Thames (2015) have examined the effects of single-member districts on women's parliamentary representation and have found that a proportional representation system (PR) is more likely to yield a higher number of opportunities for women in parliament compared to SMD. The introduction of a PR system in Ukraine, therefore, translated to a higher number of women parliamentarians than the SMD system under which Tymoshenko was first elected. The SMD electoral system provided far fewer opportunities to nominate women candidates.¹⁸⁸ Further, the combination of Lazarenko's support and Tymoshenko's position as an oligarch won her legitimacy as a woman candidate elected to the Verkhovna Rada. Her example is significant especially instead of the unfavourable conditions for women in parliament and economically in Ukraine, especially in the early post-Soviet period.

As an influential member of parliament, Tymoshenko's political career flourished, and her politics began to evolve. The subsequent five years of Tymoshenko's political career would provide her with substantive political experience and strengthen her image as competent. She held several important parliamentary and governmental positions including head of the Budget Committee (1998-2001), leader of the Fatherland political party (1999-present), and the Deputy Prime Minister for fuel and energy (1999-2001). As the head of the Budget Committee (1998) Tymoshenko reformed taxation codes and pensions. Left of centre on the political spectrum, she created new projects such as

Kingdom. Pippa Norris, "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems," *International Political Science Review* 18, no. 3 1997: 299-301.

¹⁸⁸Frank C. Thames, "The Electoral System and Women's Legislative Underrepresentation in Post-Communist Ukraine," (paper presentation, Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, April 2-5, 2015): 26.

developing budget and taxation codes, created a new system for pension and medical security, and designed a mechanism for paying off pension and salary debt.¹⁸⁹

In 1999, Tymoshenko capitalized on a shift in larger political context by bringing together former members of the Hromada Party after its dissolution in 1997 when leader Pavlo Lazarenko fled to the United States to avoid embezzlement charges. Tymoshenko founded and was elected to lead the All-Ukrainian Union “Batkivshchyna” (“Fatherland”), a centre-left party its formation in 1999, although the party is now perceived as centre-right.¹⁹⁰ The party was established as part of a “protection pact” based on Tymoshenko’s personal “non-aggression agreement” with President Kuchma from 1999 to 2000.¹⁹¹ Represented by a symbol of a heart, the party led by Tymoshenko is considered pro-nationalist, pro-European and pro-democratic. Fatherland attracted populist and nationalist members of the Rada and was initially aligned with other pro-presidential parties in 1999 while the party would also support government spending and economic interventionism.¹⁹²

According to Taras Kuzio (2007), Lazarenko was perceived as a threat to President Leonid Kuchma because of his "virulent hostility, his wealth and political ambitions" resulting in charges of embezzlement.¹⁹³ The accusations and subsequent

¹⁸⁹ “Yulia Tymoshenko,” Iowa State University Archives.

¹⁹⁰ Centre-left in 1999. Taras Kuzio, “Populism in Ukraine a Comparative European Context,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 57, no. 6, November/December (2010), 16. Centre-right. Kis, ““Beauty Will Save the World!”” 36.

¹⁹¹ Taras Kuzio, “Oligarchs, Tapes and Oranges: ‘Kuchmagate’ to the Orange Revolution,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 23, no. 1 (March 2007): 33. And Serhiy Kudelia and Taras Kuzio, “Nothing personal: explaining the rise and decline of political machines in Ukraine,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31, no. 3 (2014), 270.

¹⁹² “Yulia Tymoshenko,” Iowa State University Archives, and Kuzio, “Oligarchs, Tapes and Oranges,” 33.

¹⁹³ Kuzio, “Oligarchs, Tapes and Oranges,” 32.

criminal charges Lazarenko experienced may be seen as a widespread practice in Ukraine as a means of countering political competition. This corruption would become all too familiar for Tymoshenko as a result of being a woman who voiced strong criticisms and in possession of political ambition. However, in 1999 by forming *Batkivshchyna*, Tymoshenko was able to capitalize on the instability of Ukraine's political party system for her political advancement and demonstrate her leadership skills.

Tymoshenko continued to advance politically in 1999 when Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko appointed her to the prestigious position of deputy prime minister for fuel and energy.¹⁹⁴ As deputy prime minister, Tymoshenko was responsible for cleaning up corruption within the energy industry and as a consequence, she developed the anti-corruption program "Clean Energy."¹⁹⁵ According to Tymoshenko, 5 million hryvnia was taken out of the shadow economy and directed toward energy producers to help pay off Ukraine's energy debts to Russia as a direct result of her government's actions.¹⁹⁶ Her anti-corruption reforms led to the arrest of her husband in August 2000 on charges of embezzlement because of his role as a board member of United Energy Systems, Tymoshenko's former business. Tymoshenko's husband's arrest was a direct consequence of her reforms to the energy sector because of the pressure it put on Kuchma's energy allies.¹⁹⁷ Tymoshenko believed her husband's arrest was meant to put pressure on her by local oligarchs profiting directly from the shadow economy.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, January 2000, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 43378.

¹⁹⁵ "Yulia Tymoshenko," Iowa State University Archives.

¹⁹⁶ Kyiv Post, "Tymoshenko's husband under arrest for theft of state property," *Kyiv Post*, August 22, 2000. <https://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/tymoshenko39s-husband-under-arrest-for-theft-of-9-4117.html>.

¹⁹⁷ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, August 2000, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 43713.

¹⁹⁸ Kyiv Post, "Tymoshenko's husband under arrest for theft of state property."

However, Tymoshenko herself was not immune to investigations on corruption into her former business dealings. By January 2001, six months following her husband's arrest, Tymoshenko was dismissed by presidential decree because of an investigation into her status as head of the UESU from 1996 to 1997. One month later Tymoshenko was arrested on charges of smuggling and fraud, spending a month in jail. Tymoshenko attributed her dismissal to her reforms and the unwillingness of President Kuchma and oligarchs to allow reforms to be applied to the energy sector.¹⁹⁹ Five years into her political career, Tymoshenko had positioned herself as a politician that disrupted the status quo through her policies on corruption and by advocating an increase in government regulations.

In February 2001, Tymoshenko formed a bloc alliance of political parties named the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (BYuT). The name BYuT reflects the personalization of Tymoshenko's politics and attracted political parties from different parts of the political spectrum. Serhiy Kudelia and Taras Kuzio (2014) describe BYuT as drawing leaders with eclectic personalities from incompatible ideological, political forces from the liberal Yabloko party to the nationalist-populist Conservative Republican Party.²⁰⁰ The authors describe BYuT as utilizing an "eclectic ideology" based on the personality of Tymoshenko and "the ideological amorphousness of post-Soviet Ukrainian and Eurasian politics."²⁰¹ Kuzio (2010) describes the politics of Tymoshenko/BYuT as "solidarism," third wayism, oriented between capitalism and socialism, resembling Poland's Solidarity

¹⁹⁹ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, January 2001, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 43967.

²⁰⁰ Kudelia and Kuzio, "Nothing personal," 270.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

movement.²⁰² Kuzio states that the language of BYuT's political platforms are reminiscent of Solidarity in seeking to combine the good sides of both capitalism and socialism, and individualism and collectivism. Kis describes Tymoshenko's rhetoric as advocating for liberal principles in the market economy and promoting democratization in Ukraine while she took a more socialist approach to the state economy for rooting out corruption.²⁰³ Furthermore, she advocates for restoring social justice to solve the most burning social issues.²⁰⁴ The positive aspects of capitalism and socialism would likely prove appealing to many voters who were interested in the individual elements of capitalism yet longed for the programs and state involvement of socialism.

Although criticized as a populist bloc and being criticized for being "chameleonic," Kuzio (2010) argues that Tymoshenko/BYuT did not incorporate principles common to populist parties such as euroskepticism, xenophobia, or economic nationalism.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, Kuzio states that most political parties in Ukraine are chameleonic, where once in government, political parties change direction from their own election platforms.²⁰⁶ Subsequently, political platforms during elections appear somewhat irrelevant.

As Tymoshenko differs because of her gender, there are generally questions whether she is a feminist. Kis discusses that the BYuT would vote in favour of legislation meant to preserve the family but not in support of legislation intended to reform political structures to get more women elected into parliament. For example, in 2003, the BYuT

²⁰² Taras Kuzio, "Populism in Ukraine," 8.

²⁰³ Kis, "Beauty Will Save the World!'", 36.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Taras Kuzio, "Populism in Ukraine," 8.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

voted against a bill for women's quota in Parliament, and in 2005 also voted against the first reading of a bill on gender equality.²⁰⁷ However, Tymoshenko has advocated for maternalist policy issues related to improving the welfare of families and children by increasing “mother’s pensions” after the birth of a child and by introducing improvements into the public healthcare system.²⁰⁸ In this way, Tymoshenko has not only adopted a third wayism of capitalist and socialist policies and notions in her rhetoric but has also done so within her apparent appeal as feminist.

Tymoshenko's political history provided her with much-needed experience and expertise in creating legislation, directing ministries, and leading a major political party. Farida Jalalzai (2004) observes that a woman’s political experience is critical to access executive positions. Jalalzai (2004) notes that 66 percent of women political executives have had high levels of political experience, conventionally working their way through national political institutions or moving through the political pipeline before attaining more prominent roles in executive or government leadership.²⁰⁹ Jalalzai (2014) observes that 62 percent of women prime ministers or presidents in Europe have both legislative and cabinet experience.²¹⁰ Therefore, like many women political leaders in Europe, Tymoshenko’s political experience strengthened her resume by demonstrating her leadership skills and political wherewithal.

²⁰⁷ Kis, “Beauty Will Save the World!”, 67.

²⁰⁸ Hrycak, “The Orange Princess Runs for President,” 74.

²⁰⁹ Farida Jalalzai, “Women Political Leaders: Past and Present,” *Women and Politics* 26, no.3/4 (2004), 100.

²¹⁰ Farida Jalalzai, “Gender, presidencies, and prime ministerships in Europe: Are women gaining ground?” *International Political Science Review* 35, no. 5 (2014): 586.

Jalalzai (2014) further notes that several women have gained political experience through their commitment to nationalist and activist movements.²¹¹ Tymoshenko did have activist experience during her time in the *Komsomol*, before her political leadership in government. She would subsequently organize protests against President Leonid Kuchma after her first arrest and played an essential part of the 2004 Orange Revolution, proving her ability to rally citizens and politicians to support her.

Opposing President Kuchma and the Orange Revolution, 1999-2004

Tymoshenko's dismissal from her position as deputy prime minister for fuel and energy as well as her arrest and subsequent release from prison led her to her strong opposition to President Kuchma. This period would define her as a charismatic yet polarizing politician, capable of rallying politically dissatisfied Ukrainians which facilitated her political popularity. Her politics during this period revolved around mobilizing others to oppose Kuchma.

Tymoshenko's political identity fluctuated during this period. As a member of Hromada and leader of Fatherland, Tymoshenko's politics oscillated back and forth from pro-presidential in 1998 to opposition from 1998-1999, back to pro-presidential from 1999-2000 (to unfreeze her assets), eventually remaining opposed to the president in 2000.²¹²

Tymoshenko's political oscillation during this period was related to the more significant Ukrainian political landscape and the political crisis. Taras Kuzio (2007)

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 585.

²¹² Kuzio, *Ukraine: Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism*, 389.

describes Ukrainian political parties as aligning as either in support of or in opposition to President Kuchma from 1998 to 2002. The political parties were aligned as follows:

- **Pro-presidential:** For a United Ukraine (ZYU) and Social-Democratic Party of Ukraine-United (SDPU-o)
- **Strongly anti-presidential:** Communist Party of Ukraine (KPU), the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (BYuT), and the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU)
- **Ambivalent:** Our Ukraine²¹³

This party alignment for or against President Kuchma was a result of the Ukrainian political crisis. The political crisis was primarily a result of several scandals surrounding President Kuchma including his proposed constitutional amendments that potentially could result in Kuchma's indefinite re-election in addition to Kuchma's apparent involvement in the murder of senior journalist and critic, Georgyi Gongadze.

These events, as well as Tymoshenko's arrest, consolidated Tymoshenko's opposition to the President by 2001. Moreover, Tymoshenko would capitalize on the political crisis to further her political profile as an opponent to Kuchma. Specialist in comparative politics of CIS countries Kimitaka Matsuzato describes President Kuchma as exploiting clan rivalries of Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk during this period.²¹⁴ For example, Kuchma had first appointed Lazarenko from the Dnipropetrovsk clan to the position of prime minister from 1996 to 1997 and had also appointed Viktor Yanukovych of the Donetsk clan to prime minister from 2002 to 2004 which agitated politicians from Dnipropetrovsk.

²¹³ Kuzio, "Oligarchs, Tapes and Oranges," 31.

²¹⁴ Kimitaka Matsuzato, "Semipresidential in Ukraine: Institutionalism in Rampant Clan Politics," *Demokratizatsiya*, 13, no. 1 (2005): 48.

As leader of BYuT, Tymoshenko demonstrated her ability to perform in elections. In her first parliamentary election as leader of BYuT, the Bloc received 22 seats, making it the fifth largest party in the Verkhovna Rada. Table 2.1 presents the results of the 2002 parliamentary election, held March 20 with a Mixed Member Majoritarian political system which is more favourable in yielding higher numbers of women to parliament as opposed to the system used in 1996.²¹⁵ Despite receiving a smaller percentage of the popular vote, the For a United Ukraine Party received the most seats in the Rada as they won 66 single member seats – the most of any party.

Table 2.1 2002 Parliamentary Election Results²¹⁶		
Party	Percentage of vote	Seats
For a United Ukraine	11.8	121
Our Ukraine	23.5	112
Community Party	20	65
SDPU(o)	6.2	28
Tymoshenko Bloc	7.2	22
Socialist Party	6.9	22

2002 Election used a Mixed Member Majoritarian system different from the system in 1996**

As leader of the fifth largest political bloc in the Rada, Tymoshenko was central to rallying and building coalitions between the parliamentary opposition parties. Although Fatherland was not leftist, Tymoshenko aligned with the Communists and Socialists to oppose Kuchma. These three political parties would use formal protests in the Rada by voting against legislation supported by Kuchma and attracted other members of parliament to their parties. Opposition party leaders, led by Tymoshenko, used less formal political means such as organizing protests outside the Rada and rallying citizens,

²¹⁵ A Mixed Member Majoritarian system is a combination of the single-member district system used in the first election Tymoshenko was elected to office and a party-list proportional representation system.

²¹⁶ IPU Archive, "Elections Held in 2006," accessed December 15, 2017, http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2331_06.htm.

including the support of mining, part of one of the most significant economic resources in Ukraine, to protest Kuchma, despite orders from the Supreme Court banning such protests. The three party leaders even occupied Ukrainian state television UT-1 on September 23, 2002, when they demanded airtime to promote the protests scheduled the following day. The demonstrations of September 24, marked the two-year anniversary of the disappearance of Gongadze, attracting five thousand protestors to the Supreme Council building in Kyiv.²¹⁷ Tymoshenko's defiance towards Kuchma at this time resulted in the Prosecutor General re-opening past investigations of her on charges of embezzlement related to her time as head of UESU.²¹⁸ The same day as her proceedings were re-opened, Tymoshenko was involved in a car crash in Kyiv. The cause of the crash was suspicious.

Tymoshenko's charisma united other political factions from parliament as well as members of the Rada to the BYuT. However, other members of parliament perceived Tymoshenko as divisive and saw her as unwilling to negotiate with pro-presidential party members. These members, including centrist parties and pro-presidential moderates, isolated the BYuT. For example, following the 2002 parliamentary elections, Tymoshenko was left out of Viktor Yushchenko's Our Ukraine party's attempt at forming a coalition. As Kuzio (2013) explains, although the BYuT and Our Ukraine competed for the same voter blocks from Western Ukraine and among Ukrainophones, the two parties were split between ideology (BYuT) and pragmatism (Our Ukraine). Ideology-driven parties such as BYuT cooperated with anti-oligarch populists who were

²¹⁷ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, August 2002, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 44953.

²¹⁸ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, August 2002, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 44580.

against ‘pro-Russian’ political forces while pragmatic parties consisted of businesspeople who did not want to risk opposing authorities because of close ties to their businesses.²¹⁹ An ideologically-driven populist and staunchly pro-Ukrainian, Tymoshenko was disinterested in collaborating with Kuchma, or pro-Kuchma parties, and instead, saw political opportunity in taking advantage of his political vulnerability (scandals and wavering popularity).

Criminal investigations into Tymoshenko's business and her associates were used by pro-presidential factions to discredit her. Although corruption charges levied against Tymoshenko were dropped by May 13, 2003, days later a court ruled that two of Tymoshenko's energy associates, including her father-in-law, be taken into custody. Subsequently, Tymoshenko and Yushchenko both announced their associates were under investigation therefore providing fuel for the pro-presidential factions to politically discredit them.²²⁰ However, opposition against Kuchma was successful to some degree when, a year later in July 2004, Kuchma announced he would not run for re-election.²²¹ Although he did not run pro-presidential and pro-Russian officials continued to push against national democratic alliances in favour of an authoritarian system in the 2004 presidential election.

In 2004, a million Ukrainians took to the streets of Kyiv to protest the blatant rigging of the second round of the presidential election. Ultimately this popular uprising known as the Orange Revolution challenged authoritarianism. The Orange Revolution

²¹⁹ Taras Kuzio, “Yushchenko Versus Tymoshenko: Why Ukraine’s National Democrats Are Divided,” *Demokratyzatsiya* 21, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 216-7.

²²⁰ *Keesing’s Record of World Events*, May 2003, ed., s.v. “Ukraine,” Longman, 45428.

²²¹ Despite the Supreme Court ruling in late December 2003 that allowed Kuchma to run for re-election in 2004. *Ibid.*, 45749.

was also significant to Yulia Tymoshenko's political success as she gained political leverage with her opposition to President Kuchma. However, the Orange Revolution provided more popular widespread support for Tymoshenko and attracted invaluable amounts of international attention during the 2004 election.

Kuchma would not stand for a third presidential term but instead supported his handpicked, pro-Russian candidate, former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.²²² Additionally, two national democratic parties, Our Ukraine and BYuT formed a pact agreeing that Tymoshenko would support traditionalist Yushchenko in the presidential election but only on the condition that if successful, Yushchenko would appoint Tymoshenko as prime minister.

Yanukovich and Yushchenko were the top two candidates heading into the first round of the presidential election set for October 31st, 2004. The success of Yushchenko's party, in the 2002 parliamentary elections made him a popular alternative to Yanukovich. Kuchma's allies were worried that a Yushchenko win would result in their persecution due to their implications in serious criminal activities during Kuchma's presidency and a shift in foreign policy away from aligning with Russia towards Europe.²²³ Therefore, Kuchma's allies were willing to rig the presidential election to avoid any consequences.

Prior to the first round of voting, Yanukovich's team employed several election-rigging tactics to tarnish Yushchenko's image by using state-administrative resources and

²²² Kuchma was granted permission from the Supreme Court to seek a third term but decided to forgo the opportunity because of his waning popularity.

²²³ Taras Kuzio, "Ukraine: Muddling Along," in *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy*, ed. Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane L. Curry (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2008), 351.

state-controlled media. Despite Kuchma's allies' actions, Yushchenko's popularity was unwavering. As a result, Yushchenko was poisoned which left him off the campaign trail for a month. Corruption followed with the slow release of the first round of the election results. Yanukovych's team hacked into the Central Election Commission and changed the results.²²⁴ Alternatively, the slow release of the election results also allowed the Orange Revolution protesters to unite and rally citizens to oppose the fraudulent election results.

At the center of this opposition was Yulia Tymoshenko, who had been campaigning and rallying citizens to support Yushchenko during the presidential campaign. Tymoshenko used the colour orange, the colour of Yushchenko's political party, to rally Ukrainians and demonstrate the popular choice for president by wearing the colour orange or taking pieces of cloth and tying them to public spaces. Tymoshenko had mixed motives for supporting Yushchenko. For Tymoshenko, it was necessary for Yushchenko to win the presidency, not only so she could become prime minister but to validate her Kuchma protests and to avoid jail time associated with her previous corruption charges. Accordingly, Yushchenko came out ahead of Yanukovych after the first round of voting despite Yanukovych's election rigging tactics.

Yanukovych won the run-off election held November 21 through increased vote tampering by ballot stuffing, abusing absentee ballots, and voting from home. In some cases, turnout increased by 20 percent in pro-Yanukovych regions.²²⁵ However, the Yanukovych campaign team had greatly underestimated any response from civil society

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 352.

as well as the negative response from the international community. Ukrainian civil society mobilized into massive protests likely surprising Yanukovich and his team as civil society protests were non-existent during the Soviet period. Additionally, the Yanukovich team underestimated the refusal from the international community to recognize the tarnished presidential election results. Once Yanukovich was declared the winner, Yushchenko and Tymoshenko led hundreds of thousands of Orange Revolution protestors through the streets of Kyiv. These peaceful protests lasted until December 3, 2004, when the Supreme Court, and the Rada, declared the second round election results invalid. Once the third round of voting took place December 26 and Yushchenko was again declared the winner, negotiations led by European countries resulted in revising electoral laws to avoid the repetition of fraud.

Additionally, constitutional reforms came into effect after the March 2006 parliamentary elections, reducing the powers of the presidency. The combination of the unity among national democrats as well as Tymoshenko's experience with organizing protests contributed directly to overturning the first set of election results so Yushchenko could rightfully become president. Tymoshenko's popularity and charisma helped to lift Yushchenko to power in unity over a common autocratic enemy.

During the Orange Revolution, Tymoshenko had successfully deployed her charismatic leadership skills to rally huge groups of supporters for her fellow nationalist, Viktor Yushchenko. With active opposition to President Kuchma, Tymoshenko began to establish herself politically as a courageous and strong leader, prepared to defend Ukraine from Kuchma and his apparent Russian allies. Tymoshenko was viewed as a courageous political leader, who, although facing criminal charges and jailed for some time in 2001,

continued to defy Kuchma's threats of punitive action. No doubt Tymoshenko's courage was also related to her enormous wealth that allowed her to pay for legal costs to help her fight and evade legal troubles.

During this period of Tymoshenko's political transformation with anti-presidential protests and establishing pro-western political alliances (and ultimately the rejection of pro-Russian influences) there occurred a symbolic transformation in Tymoshenko's physical appearance from a dark-haired, Russian-speaking woman to a blond, Ukrainian-speaking, *berehynia*. Tymoshenko donned a peasant braid on her head and dressed elegantly in feminine, white clothes. The image of a heart symbolized Tymoshenko's political party, Fatherland and BYuT, and she often spoke about love when discussing political policies. Kis describes Tymoshenko as fulfilling two feminine ideals of women in the post-Soviet era in Ukraine: the *berehynia* and the *Barbie*. The *berehynia* is a historical and nationalist symbol of Ukrainian motherhood with its roots in pagan beliefs, matriarchal myths, and some Christian ideas. By donning a traditional braid, and adopting a loving persona, Tymoshenko's appearance strategically advanced her Ukrainian nationalist agenda. Her use of the image of a *Barbie*, according to Kis, is closely associated with the market economy and consumer culture. Tymoshenko's physical beauty and the way she dressed fulfilled a culturally acceptable idea of Ukrainian femininity. Tymoshenko furthered her image as a *berehynia* by embracing maternalist policies such as increasing mother's pensions given after the birth of a child and introducing improvements to the public health system.²²⁶

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

Alexandra Hrycak (2011) credits Tymoshenko's physical transformation to be the result of commentary by political competitors describing her as "too sexy" to be successful in masculine positions. This femininity supposedly defaulted her from being a "good" Ukrainian woman.²²⁷ According to Hrycak, Tymoshenko consciously transformed herself into a *berehynia* by three means: learning to speak Ukrainian; donning her head-wrap around peasant braid; and allying herself with Viktor Yushchenko.²²⁸ Therefore, although Tymoshenko achieved many political feats such as winning her parliamentary seat by a record number of votes during her first election; holding a cabinet position; building extensive legislative experience; holding a position of political party leadership, and; being an active campaigner, she still was compelled to purposefully alter her physical appearance in order to conform to, and exploit, an expected image of gendered nationalism in order to gain greater political credibility.

Tymoshenko's representation in the English-speaking print journalism is more comprehensively discussed in my subsequent chapter on media representations. However, my mention of this transformation is significant to the central themes of this chapter as it highlights Tymoshenko's consciousness of gendered strategies needed to navigate her rise to a political platform. Tymoshenko altered her identity to become politically successful, this time in a more physical manner.

After the Orange Revolution: Prime Minister Tymoshenko, 2005-2005, 2007-2010

²²⁷ Hrycak, "The Orange Princess Runs for President," 73.

²²⁸ Ibid.

Ultimately, Tymoshenko's political experience; her campaigning, and purposeful physical transformation would only take her so far politically. She faced significant barriers during her two terms as prime minister due to her relationship with Viktor Yushchenko and her policies in favour of economic intervention. As per their agreement that Tymoshenko would support Yushchenko during the 2004 presidential election in exchange for her appointment as prime minister. Tymoshenko became prime minister first on February 6, 2005, until September 8, 2005, and subsequently on December 18, 2007, until March 4, 2010. During Tymoshenko's first term, embezzlement charges that had initially been opened against her in May 2004, were dropped because of this alliance with Yushchenko. The accord made in 2004 between Tymoshenko and Yushchenko quickly soured however with Tymoshenko's first prime ministership lasting a mere seven months. In fact, Viktor Yushchenko's terms as president and both of Tymoshenko's terms as prime minister are characterized by scholars as divisive as well as unproductive. Both of Tymoshenko's terms as prime minister were marked by disputes with coalition governments and by power struggles between her and Yushchenko. Furthermore, her promised reforms related to the Orange Revolution protests that were meant to root out corruption to help Ukraine flourish failed.

Although Yushchenko and Tymoshenko were both national democrats sharing similar political goals including less dependence on Russia and creating stronger ties to the rest of Europe, they failed to agree on how to achieve policy goals. Yushchenko and Tymoshenko disagreed on domestic economic policies. Yushchenko was for a more

liberal market whereas Tymoshenko advocated for increased government intervention. Furthermore, Tymoshenko attempted to re-privatize industrial assets.²²⁹

Issues arising during Tymoshenko's first term as prime minister include struggles over Tymoshenko's review of economic policies associated with Kuchma rule. Yushchenko believed these concerns should be left alone on the basis of a free market economy supporting a 30 percent increase in the price of natural gas from Russia in May 2005. Tymoshenko on her part opposed Yushchenko by capping gas prices to the consumer and citing the increase as Russia's pointed attempt to sabotage the Ukrainian Government. President Yushchenko countered by reversing Tymoshenko's caps claiming they were neither liberal nor free-market oriented.²³⁰ Yushchenko subsequently dismissed Tymoshenko and her cabinet in September 2005. Opposition to Tymoshenko in the Rada also resulted in the cancellation of charges against Tymoshenko that were lodged by the Russian government. Charges against Tymoshenko were understood as a means to discredit her and her government as well as punish her for aligning with Yushchenko and his pro-western camp.

In November 2005 Yushchenko and Tymoshenko attempted to reconcile their disagreements in preparation for the upcoming parliamentary elections in the following March. Because Our Ukraine and BYuT were deemed less popular than Viktor Yanukovich's Party of Regions, the two leaders worried Yanukovich could become prime minister. In March 2006, parliamentary elections marked the beginning of

²²⁹ These industrial assets were allegedly purchased much cheaper than their value by two Ukrainian billionaires in 2004 – both men were allied in some way with former President Kuchma – were met with national and international criticism. *Forbes*, "The 100 Most Powerful Women: 2005," *Forbes Magazine*, accessed January 10, 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/lists/2005/11/PGEZ.html>.

²³⁰ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, May 2005, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 46647.

constitutional reforms agreed upon during the 2004 presidential re-run negotiations that transferred presidential powers to the Verkhovna Rada. However, these constitutional amendments were confusing resulting in sharpening the power struggles between Yushchenko and Tymoshenko.²³¹ Furthermore, although Tymoshenko was no longer heading the government as prime minister her replacement, Yuriy Yekhanurov, was unable to stimulate economic growth and GDP numbers situation which challenged Yushchenko's presidency.²³² Confusion over the division of political powers as well as economic troubles weighed heavily on the two Orange leaders. Their relations grew increasingly strained their relationship. However, they united once again against their common enemy, Viktor Yanukovich, and were able to momentarily overcome their differences ahead of the March 2006 elections.

Tymoshenko and Yushchenko's worries were confirmed on March 31 when the Party of Regions, led by the villain of the Orange Revolution, Viktor Yanukovich, won the most seats in the Rada. Table 2.2 below presents the results of the 2006 parliamentary election. While the Party of Regions won the most seats, the BYuT came in second in 2006, making gains from the 2002 elections. The agreement made between members of the Orange coalition was that the coalition member party with the greatest number of seats – Tymoshenko – would be appointed prime minister. However, Yushchenko held negotiations with both Tymoshenko and Yanukovich.²³³ Yushchenko delayed appointing a prime minister for four months, as he mulled over coalition options. On August 4, 2006,

²³¹ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, November 2005, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 46954.

²³² Taras Kuzio, "Ukraine: Muddling Along," in *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy*, ed. Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane L. Curry (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2008), 358.

²³³ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, March 2006, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 47163.

Yushchenko appointed Yanukovich prime minister, rather than Tymoshenko as originally agreed. However, although Yushchenko and Yanukovich generally sought to maintain the oligarchic status quo as compared to Tymoshenko, Yanukovich's appointment would not last.

Table 2.2 2006 Parliamentary Election		
Party	Percentage (%)	Seats
Party of Regions	32.12	186
Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc	22.27	129
Our Ukraine	13.94	81
Socialist Party of Ukraine	5.67	33
Communist Party of Ukraine	3.66	21

The contentious issues affecting Tymoshenko and Yushchenko's relationship while jointly governing continued during Tymoshenko's time during which she waged active opposition to Prime Minister Yanukovich. Difficulties between Yushchenko and Yanukovich were mostly due to power struggles over cabinet appointments and foreign policy issues such as NATO. While Yushchenko and Yanukovich engaged in power squabbles following the 2006 parliamentary election, Yushchenko and Our Ukraine repaired to some extent their relationship with the Tymoshenko Bloc.

Tensions continued to build and deteriorate Yushchenko and Yanukovich's relationship in the new year. Government economic stagnation led to a political crisis in March 2007. Yushchenko's struggle to pass legislative amendments as well as his failure to work cooperatively with Yanukovich led to another dissolution of parliament. Parliamentary elections were held in September 2007. Table 2.3 represents the 2007 election results where Yanukovich's Party of Regions won the most votes. However,

once again Yulia Tymoshenko's BYuT won the highest number of seats of the Orange Coalition parties, while Yushchenko's Our Ukraine party experienced a decline. As Tymoshenko's party held the second highest number of seats,

Party	Percentage of vote	Seats
Party of Regions	34.4	175
Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc	30.7	156
Our Ukraine	14.2	72
Communist Party	5.4	21
Volodymyr Lytvyn Bloc	2.5	20

she was re-appointed prime minister in December 2007 with a small majority coalition. Her appointment as prime minister was tied to an agreement her and Yushchenko would both support NATO and EU membership and promised neighbourly relations with Russia.

Tymoshenko's second term as prime minister lasted from December 2007 until March 2010. During this term, Tymoshenko faced parliamentary blockades from not only the Party of Regions but also antagonism from the President and his staff.²³⁵

Tymoshenko's dysfunctional relationship with Yushchenko and Russian manipulation created significant problems economically and politically for Ukraine. With the power of the president diminished, Yushchenko seemed to be grasping for power, making 880 demands of Tymoshenko within her first 100 days of government.²³⁶ From 2008 to 2009

²³⁴ IPU Archive, "Ukraine: Elections Held in 2006," http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2331_06.htm (Accessed, May 27, 2017).

²³⁵ Taras Kuzio, "The Tymoshenko Government's Domestic and Foreign Policies: The First 100 Days," (presentation, George Washington University, April 17, 2008): 1.

²³⁶ Comparatively, Yushchenko made 260 demands of Yanukovych within his first 100 days of his prime ministership. *Ibid.*, 3.

Yushchenko, and chief of staff Viktor Baloha, did everything in their power to sabotage Tymoshenko's government to replace it with a grand coalition.²³⁷ Furthermore, the president and prime minister consistently disagreed over government privatization. Tymoshenko opposed privatizations of intermediary natural gas companies transporting and selling gas from Russia to Ukraine. Domestically, Tymoshenko and Yushchenko quarreled over the type of privatizations that Ukraine should adopt as part of funding the country had received from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF). The tensions between Tymoshenko and Yushchenko were related to accessing IMF funding which meant a possible rise in utility prices and cuts to social spending which Tymoshenko had blocked in March 2009.²³⁸ Accordingly, Yushchenko vetoed over one hundred pieces of legislation during his single term.²³⁹ Yushchenko and Tymoshenko also disagreed over Russian foreign policy. Internationally, Ukraine's discussions with NATO and the EU about membership in both organizations deepened tensions with Russia. Russia initiated a dispute over its naval base in Sevastopol, Crimea. Furthermore, the Russian company Gazprom threatened to cut off Ukraine's supply of natural gas in the winter of 2008-2009 if Ukraine did not pay its debts. Essentially the divisions between Tymoshenko and Yushchenko were based on the prime minister advocating for transparent privatizations, reducing corruption in the energy sector, and for democratic reforms and the repayment of Soviet-era savings lost in Oschadbank.²⁴⁰ Conversely, the president's stance was to uphold the status quo at all costs.

²³⁷ Kuzio "Yushchenko versus Tymoshenko," 229.

²³⁸ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, March 2009, ed., s.v. "Ukraine," Longman, 49114.

²³⁹ In other words, Yushchenko vetoed five times the number that Kuchma vetoed during his ten years as president. Kuzio "Yushchenko versus Tymoshenko," 229.

²⁴⁰ Kuzio, "The Tymoshenko Government's Domestic and Foreign Policies," 2.

Tymoshenko's second term as prime minister solidified her as an anti-establishment politician. She was, as Kuzio (2013) describes, an anti-oligarch populist politician, viewed as dangerous to the established political order or as Kuzio notes, the "partial reform equilibrium," from which Yushchenko and Yanukovych had benefited.²⁴¹ If she were to win the 2010 presidential election, she would be seen to disrupt that "partial reform equilibrium."²⁴² A criminal investigation into Tymoshenko began in the summer of 2008 when the Yushchenko administration alleged her guilty of treason based on Tymoshenko's agreement to buy Russian gas at higher prices in January 2009.²⁴³ An investigation of the contract that was signed under Tymoshenko by Russia initially led by Yushchenko shows how he used the latter part of his presidency to politically discredit Tymoshenko. Yushchenko was so unpopular by the beginning of the 2010 presidential campaign he employed his campaign to negatively tarnish Tymoshenko in order to elevate Yanukovych as a viable competitor for president.

During 2005 when Tymoshenko held the post of prime minister, her political fate rested in the hands of President Yushchenko. But he would eventually dismiss her. With the powers of the president altered by March 2006, Yushchenko no longer possessed the capacity to dismiss Tymoshenko without parliamentary approval, although he attempted to do so on two occasions. Nonetheless, Tymoshenko was able to hold onto power

²⁴¹ Kuzio describes the "partial reform equilibrium" as an understanding where leaders understand they cannot hold power forever, and therefore release power to another leader. However, once the next leader takes power, the current system remains mostly intact, in this case solidifying corruption. *Ibid.*, 233.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 230-3.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

between 2007 and 2010 because the presidency became less powerful and more vaguely defined.

The 2010 Presidential Election

The campaign for the 2010 presidential election began October 19, 2009, with five main candidates vying for the position. The top two candidates were Tymoshenko and Yanukovich. The enthusiasm and civic engagement that was witnessed during the 2004 presidential election had by 2009 turned into disillusionment among voters due to constant political in-fighting and the decline in the quality of living for the general population. The electoral agenda, as described by Nathaniel Copsey and Natalie Shapovalova (2010), was dominated by populist politics with concerns expressed on billboards.²⁴⁴

Tymoshenko ran her campaign on her reputation as a hardworking prime minister responsible for the state treasury and capable of dealing with an economic crisis. She had proposed necessary reforms to preserve Ukraine's economy during the economic crisis while other politicians wasted time.²⁴⁵ The campaign highlighted Tymoshenko's political work in allocating necessary funds to the mining industry, agriculture, and the public healthcare system. She held a tough position on anti-corruption.²⁴⁶ In support of the latter, she exposed her primary opponent, Viktor Yanukovich, as illegally obtaining his state residency. She sought to demonstrate how she had improved Ukraine's investment

²⁴⁴ Nathaniel Copsey and Natalia Shapovalova, "The Ukrainian Presidential Election of 2010," *Representation* 46, no. 2 (July 2010): 217.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 218.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

climate. Tymoshenko's billboard slogans concurred by announcing, "She is working," or "They Block – She Works," distinguishing her from her opponents.²⁴⁷

Her opponent Viktor Yanukovych was seen as the pro-Russian candidate and yet in this campaign he shied away from a robust pro-Russian position. Instead, he used more inclusive slogans such as "Ukraine for the People."²⁴⁸ Incumbent Viktor Yushchenko ran on a platform as a defender of democracy, although his dwindling popularity meant he was not seen as a viable challenger for the presidency. Yushchenko and Yanukovych both targeted Tymoshenko in their election campaigns. Yushchenko blamed Tymoshenko for the government stalemate during his presidency whereas Yanukovych described Tymoshenko as a liability to the stability of the government.

The first round of voting took place on January 17, 2010 with the two top candidates, Viktor Yanukovych, and Yulia Tymoshenko respectively receiving 35.32 percent and 25.05 percent of the vote. As no one candidate won 50 percent of the vote in the first round, a second round of voting was scheduled for February 7, 2010. Before the run-off, Yanukovych strategically boycotted a televised debate to avoid a public debate with Tymoshenko. Yanukovych's advisors believed that his debate with Tymoshenko, a strong and charismatic public speaker, would threaten Yanukovych's credibility. Eventually, Yanukovych would win with 48.95 percent of the vote. Tymoshenko came in a close second with 45.47 percent. Tymoshenko refused to accept the results of the election until February 20, accusing Yanukovych of rigging the election. Unfortunately, there was little proof of widespread vote-rigging, and no mass protests rallied in support

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

of Tymoshenko. These circumstances forced her to concede defeat. Ultimately, Yushchenko's opposition to Tymoshenko combined with voter disillusionment resulted in her loss of the 2010 presidential election.

Tymoshenko's results were explained by scholars Copsey and Shapovalova and Hrycak (2011) in the following four ways: low voter turnout; Yanukovich carrying support in central Ukraine; the number of the "against all" vote; and the gendered split between men and women in voting results.

Copsey and Shapovalova discuss the low voter turnout experienced by both Tymoshenko and Yanukovich in the 2010 presidential election.²⁴⁹ Although both candidates received less votes, key Orange voters in western and central Ukraine stayed home in the second round of voting. The authors describe how Yanukovich lost some votes in comparison to 2004 in the region of Luhansk and Donetsk and Tymoshenko picked up some support in the Eastern region of Ukraine compared to Yushchenko in 2004. However, Tymoshenko was unable to rally support from Orange voters, shedding significant numbers in the south and Crimea (260,000); central Ukraine (1.7 million) and in western Ukraine (1.2 million) in comparison to Yushchenko in 2004.²⁵⁰ As a result, Yanukovich benefited from this lack of voter turnout, especially in the second round of voting where turnout decreased to 69 percent in 2010 from 77 percent in 2004, and especially in the western and central regions where Tymoshenko relied on most of the Orange support.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Copsey and Shapovalova, 220.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 221.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

The second factor discussed by Copsey and Shapovalova was the increase in Yanukovich's support from the central regions of Ukraine, where every election since independence has been decided. Copsey and Shapovalova describe how Yanukovich's vote share increased by 10 to 16 percentage points in 2010 from 2004 in three oblasts in central Ukraine (Kirovhrad, Sumska and Vinnytska).²⁵²

A third factor for Tymoshenko's loss was the strength of the "against all" vote which reached 1 million votes for the first time. Tymoshenko as the incumbent prime minister bore the brunt of the "against all" vote most notably in the capital city Kyiv (8 percent) and in Tymoshenko's home city of Dnipropetrovsk (7 percent).²⁵³

The final factor related to Tymoshenko's loss is the gendered split of the vote between men and women. This is evident within the previous three factors. Hrycak (2010) notes that nationwide Tymoshenko did slightly worse among men than women. Hrycak notes that although these differences may not appear to be substantial, comparatively in 2004 Yushchenko held a 6-percentage point lead among men, while Yanukovich received 6-percentage points among women than men.²⁵⁴ The gender gap was most notable in the western and central regions: in the west where there was a 4 percent gender difference (81 percent for women and 77 percent for men) who voted for Tymoshenko. In the centre, a region that Yanukovich won, there was an 8 point spread (67 percent for women and 59 percent for men).²⁵⁵ As Hrycak indicates, the results are interesting because in 2004 there was no gender gap, as men and women exhibited

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Hrycak, "The Orange Princess Runs for President," 76.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

similar levels of support for Yushchenko.²⁵⁶ Hrycak notes that Orange voters in the western and central regions withheld 3 million votes, two-thirds of those were withheld by male voters (1.8 million) which Hrycak concludes lost Tymoshenko the election.²⁵⁷ Therefore, despite Tymoshenko's physical transformation as a *berehynia*, her gender likely played a role in her loss of the election as male voters were less likely to cast their ballots for Tymoshenko. In addition, Tymoshenko's association with the Orange Revolution presented her as the incumbent candidate, unable to push through democratic reforms.

Things further fell apart in March 2010, when parliament voted Tymoshenko out as prime minister. She stayed on as leader of her party however the prosecutor's office, with encouragement from Yanukovych's allies, illegally re-opened her criminal case from 2004 (that had been closed by the Supreme Court in 2005). In December 2010 Tymoshenko was officially charged with abuse of power, then a year later charged with embezzlement and tax evasion. Tymoshenko was imprisoned shortly thereafter in Kharkiv, Eastern Ukraine. Former President Yushchenko further sought to destroy Tymoshenko's political career by testifying at her trial.²⁵⁸

Tymoshenko's imprisonment was condemned by the international community who perceived the attacks against her as Yanukovych getting rid of his enemies. Her incarceration lasted until February 22, 2014, coinciding with Yanukovych being run out of the country by protesters for political corruption. Parliament voted quickly to curb

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁵⁸ Kuzio, "Tymoshenko Versus Yushchenko," 230.

once again the powers of the president that had been changed under Yanukovich and to alter the legal code to release Tymoshenko from prison.²⁵⁹

Following Tymoshenko's release, as well as Yanukovich's escape and resignation, a presidential election was held May 25, 2014. Tymoshenko once again ran for president in 2014 however her showing was quite poor with the election not even reaching the second round of voting. Petro Poroshenko won the most votes, receiving 54.7 percent of the vote, while Tymoshenko won only 12.81 percent of the vote. With these results, it appears Tymoshenko's opponents had succeeded at discrediting her as a political leader.

Despite, the many attempts to discredit her, Tymoshenko remained leader of the Fatherland Party, and, to date, continues to hold a seat in parliament. Corruption allegations towards the current president, Petro Poroshenko diminished his popular support. This climate could provide yet another opportunity for Tymoshenko in the 2019 presidential election. As of August 2017, polls indicated that Tymoshenko's popularity exceeded Petro Poroshenko's at 9.5 percent and 7.3 percent respectively.²⁶⁰ Although 9.5 percent of the vote does not represent a strong endorsement, depending on events in Ukraine in the next few years, Tymoshenko may become Ukraine's next president. However, Russia's annexation of Crimea and the conflict in the South-East part of the country means events evolve very quickly and are quite unpredictable.

²⁵⁹ The Guardian, "Ukraine: Yulia Tymoshenko released as country lurches towards split," February 22, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/22/yulia-tymoshenko-released-ukraine-lurches-split>.

²⁶⁰ "Poll: Tymoshenko has highest presidential rating in Ukraine," Interfax-Ukraine Kyiv Post (Updated August 15, 17) <https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/poll-tymoshenko-highest-presidential-rating-ukraine.html>.

Conclusions

Tymoshenko rose to strong leadership by 2009 but ultimately lost to a more politically well-placed, corrupt, Yanukovich in 2010. As reported in domestic and international media, she exhibited the charisma and decisiveness understood to characterize a political leader. Her career began with credible business affiliation as the head of a Ukrainian gas company in 1996. Her status as an affluent oligarch positioned her well among other politicians.²⁶¹ Her wealth also provided Tymoshenko with a measure of stability when battling court cases, although that was not necessarily the case in 2011.

In 2005, at the height of her political success, Tymoshenko would purposefully transform her appearance to reinvent herself as a charismatic nationalist persona as a Ukrainian *berehynia* even though she was born to an ethnically Russian mother and an Armenian father. This transformation represented her cultural and political awareness required to signify her as a proper Ukrainian woman. Nonetheless, her position as a woman leader in parliament and subsequent nicknames referring to her gender continued to signify her as an outsider or "space invader." Her decision to transform her outward appearance politically positioned her as an *acceptable* space invader. In other words, Tymoshenko knowingly used gender mythologies, specific nationalist and feminine traits to strategically advance herself politically and to appeal to voters. These nationalist myths

²⁶¹ Although Tymoshenko was likely one of the first millionaires in Ukraine in the post-Soviet era, she is not listed as one of Ukraine's top 100 wealthiest people in 2016. *Forbes Ukraine*, "Forbes Rating: 100 richest – 2016," *Forbes Magazine*, (accessed January 15, 2018) <http://forbes.net.ua/ratings/4>.

reinforce her policies on state-funded support of motherhood allowances and her commitment to public healthcare spending.

Throughout Tymoshenko's political career she was threatened with investigations, criminal charges and imprisonment precisely when circumstances show her as a threat to the political status quo of threat to political opponents. For example, Tymoshenko's first arrest in 2001 was a direct result of her reforms of the energy industry that threatened the wealth of President Kuchma and his allies. Additionally, international meddling on the part of Russia during her first term as prime minister in 2005 left her unable to visit Russia because she would have been arrested. In 2005, when she moved into opposition and no longer held the prime ministership, Russia dropped those charges as she was no longer allied with Yushchenko. The most serious criminal charges came after her loss in the 2010 presidential election, resulting in her incarceration for several years because of her opposition to Yanukovich. Criminal charges and jail time leveled by her male political opponent were symptomatic of the attempts to punitively control and silence Tymoshenko. Although other politicians, including her former political ally Pavlo Lazarenko, similarly faced charges, former President Kuchma who was implicated in murders and electioneering conversely faced no criminal charges for his behaviour. Alternatively, her greatest opponent Viktor Yanukovich, once he became president, cost Ukraine an estimated 100 billion dollars for building an incredibly luxurious house outside of Kyiv with taxpayer dollars, yet he was essentially granted permission to flee the country. There certainly appears to be a record of gendered double standard for those in Ukraine's leadership during the last two decades.

Furthermore, Tymoshenko and Yushchenko's fragile alliance following the Orange Revolution proved problematic for Tymoshenko – there are reasons why Tymoshenko and Yushchenko as national democrats did not join forces before late 2004. They disagreed on the amount of government intervention should be exercised especially concerning IMF requirements for funding, a dispute which exacerbated the power struggle between them. Nonetheless, Yushchenko needed the increasingly popular Tymoshenko for him to hold power in the Rada and consequently, Yushchenko would appoint Tymoshenko as prime minister once again. Part of Tymoshenko's popularity may have been related to upholding and promoting government programs. Additionally, her support for social welfare programs reinforced Tymoshenko's persona as a maternal figure of the *berehynia*.

During her second term, however, Yushchenko would also consistently try to remove her from her position caused the Orange camp to dissolve. Additionally, to further discredit Tymoshenko, Yushchenko appeared to agree with Yanukovich, a man whose 2004 presidential campaign entourage had attempted to kill Yushchenko. Yushchenko's disdain for Tymoshenko showed through his actions. Thus, Tymoshenko's power as prime minister was weakened but Yushchenko also sabotaged his own career by trying to control and discredit Tymoshenko.

Finally, the themes evident in this case study of women in political leadership appears to coincide with Jalalzai's (2013 and 2014) theorizes that women achieve prime ministers more often than as presidents. As she (2013) has noted, the powers associated with positions of power may affect women's access to leadership positions. She states that the nature of prime ministerships are less stable and less powerful than presidencies

and therefore fewer women achieve positions of president.²⁶² Furthermore, Jalalzai (2013) notes that women as presidents have disproportionately entered their positions during times of significant instability.²⁶³ This fact may be relevant for Tymoshenko in 2019 if she decides to run for president.

This chapter has shown that Tymoshenko presented herself strategically to the public, and easily adapted to the expectations of her political environment. Ultimately, the biography shows how Tymoshenko's political career has outlasted the career of both Yushchenko and Yanukovich despite their respective attempts at discrediting her. Although her detractors are critical of her actions and implicated in the scandals that have surrounded her, Tymoshenko has shown herself to be a brilliant as well as incredibly resilient politician with a career spanning over twenty years. Using gender as an analytic tool, the subsequent Chapter will address how media narratives affect how the public perceived Tymoshenko during significant moments in her political career.

²⁶² Jalalzai, *Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact?*, 179.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

Chapter III: International Media Representations of Yulia Tymoshenko,

2004-2010

The sense of excitement - already high in the wake of a parliamentary vote that called for the firing of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and his government - boiled over as a diminutive blond woman in a black fur coat and high-heeled winter boots was lifted on top of the bus. "Yulia! Yulia!" they chanted at the sight of their heroine.²⁶⁴

This quote by Mark MacKinnon and Carolynne Wheeler from the *Globe and Mail*, a Canadian newspaper, is one of the numerous passages discussing Yulia Tymoshenko's physical appearance. While pre-occupied with her femininity and diminutive status the statement also demonstrates her popularity and ability to rally Ukrainians. In this case, she is perceived simultaneously as a "proper" woman as shown by her feminine appearance and as a forceful political leader. This type of binary description framed much of Tymoshenko's press coverage especially during the Orange Revolution in 2004 when she supported Viktor Yushchenko, her ally at the time and presidential candidate.²⁶⁵ The Orange Revolution in Ukraine was one of a series of colour revolutions, occurring after the Rose Revolution in Georgia in 2003 and before the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan in 2005. These revolutions represent peaceful mass uprisings of civil society protesting against corrupt, authoritarian governments and demanding democratic reforms in post-communist countries. This quote echoes other discussions of

²⁶⁴ Mark MacKinnon with a report from Carolynne Wheeler, "The princess, power, and the people; Once reviled as a self-serving billionaire, Ukraine's political crisis has made Yulia Tymoshenko a heroine of the Orange Revolution," *The Globe and Mail*, December 11, 2004.

²⁶⁵ As discussed in the previous chapter, in 2004 Tymoshenko's career her political achievements included becoming the leader of her own political party and briefly held the position of Minister of Energy.

contemporary women political leaders at this time by focusing on their physical appearance as well as political credibility.²⁶⁶

This consistent focus on Tymoshenko's appearance as exemplified in the *Globe and Mail* and other English-speaking media begs the question: with limited space to present news stories, why are details about Tymoshenko's femininity made central? Furthermore, how do these representations situate or reinforce Tymoshenko's status as a "space invader" rather than a credible political leader?²⁶⁷ Also, more specifically, what is the implication of these biases in the representations of female politicians in the international context of trends among women political leaders?

Using a gendered analytic framework, this chapter uses content from three major English-language newspapers, with an international readership and from three primarily English-speaking countries, the *Globe and Mail* (Canada), the *New York Times* (the United States), and the *Guardian* (the United Kingdom). I analyze specific gendered themes to ascertain how portrayals of Yulia Tymoshenko persist or vary during significant points of her political career. Especially notable is how her femininity is reinforced and emphasized in particular ways during those moments when she rose to and held the greatest power. Also significant is the representational landscape during those moments when she lost power. I retrieved gendered references of Tymoshenko, a highly visible Ukrainian woman, in international news coverage that either reinforced or challenged feminine stereotypes. I monitored how international journalistic coverage of Tymoshenko changed over time and whether she was singled out based on the

²⁶⁶ Dianne G. Bystrom, Terry Robertson, Mary Christine Banwart, *Gender and Candidate Communication* (Routledge, 2005), <http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=5919> (accessed April 19, 2018).

²⁶⁷ Puwar, "Thinking About Making a Difference," 65.

convergence of her political ambition and gender within these newsprint articles. What is evident in the reportage is that women's access to political leadership is helped or hindered according to popular perceptions of political leadership as repeated by the press.

My analysis reports on four time periods from November 2004 to March 2010.

1. November 22, 2004, until January 24, 2005, marks the beginning of the protests of the Orange Revolution to the first period that Tymoshenko became prime minister. This period marks Tymoshenko's rise to international fame, until the second presidential election in 2005 when Tymoshenko's ally Viktor Yushchenko was elected president.
2. August 8, 2005, to September 10, 2005:²⁶⁸ This second period covers the lead up to, and a few days after, Tymoshenko's firing as prime minister and the reporting on her broadcasted official response to her loss as documented in the English press.
3. November 18, 2007, to December 20, 2007: covers the month before Tymoshenko's re-appointment to the position of prime minister and includes a few days after.
4. January 4, 2010, to March 4, 2010: includes of the first and second rounds of the Ukrainian presidential election held January 17, 2010, and February 7, 2010, respectively. This third period includes when Tymoshenko lost the

²⁶⁸ I extended this date to the end of October 2005 for articles in *the Guardian* because they did not cover Tymoshenko's firing exclusively but did not include them in the number of articles analyzed.

position of prime minister by a no-confidence vote held in the Ukrainian parliament on March 4, 2010.

These specific periods of time are analyzed because the English-language press generalize ideas of women political leaders from a western democratic perspective. Using this international perspective allows me to discuss national issues to talk more generally about gender and leadership.

Media representations offer insight into political issues, concerns of citizens, and represent cultural events. Trimble et al. (2013) note, “media texts are powerful, cultural forms, discursively revealing and reinforcing the sex stereotypes and cultural norms that construct gender identities.”²⁶⁹ Jalalzai and Krook (2010) explain how cultural factors and norms are rooted in parts of public and private divides which socializes women and men into distinct gender roles. These factors can negatively impact the popular perception of women as political leaders by reinforcing traditional notions of women’s economic and social status as subordinate to men as well as elites’ view of potential candidates through a gendered lens that women do not occupy the political realm.²⁷⁰ These perceptions are further compounded by the media who draw on gendered stereotypes that may negatively impact potential women leaders in some cases but can positively impact women in other cases.²⁷¹ Therefore, the media's effect in discussing women candidates is generally negative but also appears to have mixed results in some cases. Furthermore, there are similar yet diverse paths that women leaders have taken to access political

²⁶⁹ Linda Trimble, Angelia Wagner, Shannon Sampert, Daisy Raphael, and Bailey Gerrits, “Is It Personal? Gendered Mediation in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Contests, 1975-2012,” *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18, no. 4 (2013): 463.

²⁷⁰ Jalalzai and Krook, “Beyond Hillary and Benazir,” 11.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

leadership in their countries that depend on cultural assumptions of gender at the local or national levels. These assumptions differ across nations. While there are country-specific gender norms and assumptions associated with historical perceptions of gender that are reinforced through ideal citizens of the nation, the way in which women are withheld from positions of leadership may be similar internationally. Therefore, women's strategies for accessing these positions are similar and why it is important to use the international press.

The media, arguably, is a powerful tool in shaping national attitudes and international perceptions of current political affairs, including election campaigns. As Trimble et al. (2013) note, “media texts are powerful, cultural forms, discursively revealing and reinforcing the sex stereotypes and cultural norms that construct gender identities.”²⁷² Analyzing perceptions of Tymoshenko by the international English-language media further adds to scholarship on gender and leadership. The media demonstrates how Tymoshenko's career successes and failures—the rollercoaster rise to, and loss of, power--were perceived internationally. Her rise to and fall from power are essential to understanding what context gender is an advantage to candidates and when it is a drawback. Most significant to my analysis, media directs popular understandings of current events, narrating important aspects and critical details of a female leader within a particular national political landscape in post-communist Europe. These representations shape popular and perhaps more specifically international perceptions of Tymoshenko as a political leader.

²⁷² Trimble et al., “Is It Personal?,” 463.

In this chapter I will first briefly explain what I looked for in the media texts. Second, I outline some of the most relevant existing literature about media representations of women in politics. The scholarship identifies persistent trends when it comes to portrayals of women in politics and exposes the different narratives employed by the print media to describe women's visible participation as in important political contests. Third, and in conclusion, I discuss my findings to reveal how in international English-speaking coverage Tymoshenko embodies a feminine style of political leadership that ultimately was successful in her becoming prime minister but not the more prestigious position of president. Within these representations she is characterized as a strong leader while also embodying the Ukrainian nationalist myth of femininity, the *berehynia*. The *berehynia* is a representational form specific to women in Ukraine that, in this case, is used to offset masculine traits associated with leadership such as aggressiveness and assertiveness with feminine traits such as being demure and polite, while also intertwined with Ukrainian nationalist identity. Whether this gendered representational landscape weakens or strengthens Tymoshenko's position as a political leader, in the eyes of the journalism of the international press, demands a multi-faceted answer.

Methodology

A gender analytic framework assists me to understand how portrayals of Yulia Tymoshenko varied during the three distinguishing periods over the course of her political career from 2004 to 2010. The English-language press coverage consistently distinguished Tymoshenko as a female politician. My practice was to identify the main topic of the news article initially, and then determine whether Tymoshenko was the main

subject, or if she was only secondary to the main interests of the coverage. I wanted to examine whether Tymoshenko was discussed differently based on whether she was the primary or secondary preoccupation of the reportage. When Tymoshenko was the secondary topic, she was briefly described with a catchy word such as “fiery” or “firebrand” or that she was “ambitious” or “charismatic.” In some instances of these articles she was described as “radical” or a “populist.” Most of these instances occur before the 2010 presidential election when she is referred to more often as the prime minister or a representative of the Orange Revolution.

In those articles where Tymoshenko was the primary focus, I isolated keywords used to describe her. I examine the types of policies and politics that were discussed in these articles relative to her leadership and how she was presented as a woman in addressing these policies. I consider whether the press is convinced she is able, or unable to implement specific policies and whether policy matters are themselves gendered. Furthermore, I isolated narratives that addressed Tymoshenko’s public visibility in the Orange Revolution to determine whether the English-language press reproduces any kind of an east-west rhetorical political division using Tymoshenko as symbolic of that division. I correlated these narratives relative to Ukrainian election issues.

I observe that references made to the Orange Revolution, the West, pro-European and pro-democracy were, on the one hand, referred to by the English-language press, while references to the East, pro-Russian and pro-authoritarian were often synonymously referenced and commonly used in opposition to references made to the Orange Revolution. Much of Ukrainian politics during this period were separated by issues of East versus West or pro-European versus pro-Russian, and candidates generally aligned

themselves along these lines. However, the international media mostly focuses on Tymoshenko's position as pro-European to reinforce the rhetoric that she is a democratic leader, although several instances suggest otherwise. In other words, despite Tymoshenko's physical re-making as a Ukrainian nationalist, she was perceived as a Western-style politician. However, these major English-language news sources' perceptions of Tymoshenko as a Western-style politician, promoting Western-style democratic values may differ from the reality as an oligarchic politician in a post-communist country. References to her gender as discussed by the international press allows in most cases for her to be unquestioningly associated with democratic values of the west, and more importantly, moving away from the autocratic characteristics of the Russian state.

The number of newspaper articles I reviewed is listed by title of newspaper and year, with the total number of articles reviewed at the bottom in Table 3.1 below. Each newspaper published at least one article profiling Tymoshenko's leadership specifically: The *Globe and Mail* and the *Guardian* both published profile articles during the time of the Orange Revolution because she eventually becomes such a public figure in the campaign whereas the *New York Times* published a Tymoshenko profile following the first round of voting for the 2010 presidential election. This observation is potentially significant because while Tymoshenko's achievements and actions were acknowledged by the *Globe and Mail* and the *Guardian* in 2004 during the Orange Revolution, the *New York Times* paid far less attention to Tymoshenko at this time. Instead, the *New York Times* profiled Tymoshenko in 2010 during the presidential election when she was one of the frontrunners in the Ukrainian presidency among her male counterparts and valuing

her position when she was closest to the power of the Ukrainian presidency. Likely the increase in the number of articles from the *New York Times* in 2010 is related to whether the United States would have an ally in Ukraine, a strategic country because of its proximity to Russia. In 2009, Russia had been – and still is – an “aggressive outlier” towards NATO, the Russian occupation of parts of Georgia, intimidation of Russian opposition members and protests and using its gas supplies as a weapon towards Ukraine (at the time a NATO aspirant).²⁷³

Year	Newspapers			All papers
	Globe and Mail	Guardian	New York Times	
2004	10*	9**	3	22
2005	4	0	6	10
2007	2	1	2	5
2010	6	15	21*	42
Total	22	25	32	79

One * includes one special article profiling Tymoshenko, and ** includes two special articles.

The second section of my chapter discusses secondary literature by Jalalzai and Krook (2010), Campus (2013) and others to show how women in political leadership cannot escape notice. These scholars focus on various repeating themes visible in media reportage: the charismatic rising of a political figure; woman as a maternal figure, and; woman as the protector of democratic values and agents of change. I have combined the themes of protector of democratic values and agent of change because in 2004 Tymoshenko represented both these concepts. She was one of the leaders of the Orange

²⁷³ Steven Erlanger (*The New York Times*), “Identity crisis dogs NATO over Russia,” *The International Herald Tribune*, April 10, 2009, 3.

Revolution, advocating for the right of the Ukrainian people to democratically elect their president while also protesting a period of authoritarianism which subsequently ushered in a period of democracy in Ukraine (for reference, see Table 1.3 for periods of oscillation between democracy and authoritarianism in Ukraine). Tymoshenko also acted as an agent of change at the same time because Kuchma's presidency ushered in an autocratic period in Ukraine. Therefore, during 2004, Ukraine moving to a democratic system from an authoritarian system, and Tymoshenko's position as a leader during the mass protests demanding democracy, means there is overlap in these themes. These themes guide my analysis of the representations of Tymoshenko in the English-language press.

I use additional themes as established by rhetorician and composition specialist Rebecca Richards (2015) who examines women world leaders' use of narratives of the nation-state. Richards notes that the presence of women leaders can change the masculine narratives around the nation-state. However, in most cases, women leaders end up aligning themselves with traditional values of the nation-state and its masculine narratives, and in turn do not challenge the status quo of political (masculine) leadership. Richards observes that English-language media outlets discuss whether gender is or is not an issue for a person's candidacy and why the press focuses so predominantly on reinforcement of gender norms through descriptions of/emphasis on dress and personality characteristics.²⁷⁴ Richards' scholarship helps me to argue that women political leaders may strategically utilize narratives of national traditions and myths to reinforce their credibility as political leaders. However, while women political leaders may be

²⁷⁴ Richards, *Transnational Feminist Rhetorics*, xx.

positioned in press coverage of political races as “space invaders,” these women do not necessarily challenge and demasculinize positions of political leadership because of their use of language and the way they present themselves.²⁷⁵ The results of such rhetoric about women's political ambitions invoke doubt among the readership of the candidate's abilities. I use Richards's thematic frame because of the persistent presence of these types of gendered rhetoric encourages the widespread perception that women are "out of place" or an exceptional intrusion as political leaders.

Part II: Scholarship on Gender Stereotypes and the Personalization of Politics

Scholarship analyzing women's representation in print journalism is extensive and is based on qualitative feminist analytics. The scholarship is comparatively focused on the way women seeking political office are treated relative to their male counterparts. This scholarship is also quantitative including calculating the amount of media coverage women candidates receive and how women are representationally feminized. For example, scholar Dianne Bystrom et al. (2004) states that during American elections before 1998 women seeking political office were subject to substantially fewer media coverage and also more negatively reviewed than their male political counterparts.²⁷⁶ After 2000, however, women candidates began to receive the same amount of coverage as their male counterparts.²⁷⁷ Although Bystrom et al. have found that the quantity of news coverage focusing on men and women candidates' campaigns is equal in amount,

²⁷⁵ Puwar, “Thinking About Making a Difference.”

²⁷⁶ Dianne G. Bystrom, et al. *Gender and Candidate Communication*, (New York: Routledge 2004), 178.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

the manner in which the candidates are represented differs according to gender and is highlighted through discussions of their appearance and marital status.²⁷⁸

Media scholars such as Maria Braden (1996), Bystrom et al. (2004), Miller et al. (2010), Jalalzai (2013), Trimble et al. (2013), Campus (2013), Paxton and Hughes (2014) and Gerrits et al. (2017) discusses the ways in which narratives in print or broadcast press present women and men differently to argue gender norms are reinforced. For example, Maria Braden (1996), Bystrom et al. (2004), and Miller et al. (2010) have all focused on how media fixates on women's appearance, including irrelevant details about their hair and wardrobe. Press accounts also describe a woman candidates' family lives more frequently than a man's. In these instances, the intimate lives of female politicians are publicly exposed and, as Trimble et al. (2013) describe, these personal characteristics supposedly illuminate the type of leader these politicians will become once elected.²⁷⁹ These repeating genres of representation about women's political candidacy are essential because they frame women and men in specific conventional gendered terms and they highlight women's feminine traits and maternal roles while focusing on men's normalized position as a political leader and perceptions of men's roles as detached from the family. Masculinity is the default whereas femininity is the exception and therefore the gendered environment women navigate demands elaboration.

The extent of the media's influence in shaping political barriers or opportunities for women is discussed by Farida Jalalzai (2013) who reveals the effect of gender stereotypes on women as political leaders. Stereotypes are specific traits that are

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Linda Trimble et al. "Is It Personal? Gendered Mediation in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Contests, 1975-2012," *The International Journal of Press Politics*. 18 (2013): 464.

naturalized according to assumptions about fixed and biological gender binaries.²⁸⁰

Considering the reproduction of cultural understandings of gender and how the media plays a part in reinforcing these cultural understandings of gender stereotypes, Jalalzai (2013) notes how positions of political leadership are commonly associated with masculine traits. For example, the press consistently aligns women with “feminine” issues including family and social welfare, domestic rather than international concerns regardless of whether those issues are part of a candidate’s political platform or not.²⁸¹ Moreover, as Jalalzai continues, popular attitudes towards women’s political candidacy affect women’s capacity to achieve political status.²⁸² Personal characteristics of candidates are projected on the candidate to reinforce gendered assumptions about that candidate's political views, such as stances on traditionally feminine issues such as healthcare or education. According to Jalalzai (2013), cultural power structures are arranged and saturated by gender stereotypes. Building off scholarship by Inglehart and Norris (2003), Jalalzai suggests that in addition to institutional factors, more women in parliament are more frequently elected in countries where cultural attitudes towards women's traditional gender roles influence the number of women parliamentarians in national parliaments, with some exceptions.²⁸³

This explicit link between gender and electoral success is also established by Trimble et al.’s (2013) qualitative study of personalization of a candidate within political campaigns. They describe print journalism as, “reinforcing the sex stereotypes and

²⁸⁰ Jalalzai, *Shattered, Cracked or Fully Intact?*, 17.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 18.

cultural norms that construct gendered identities[...]” to claim how cultural representations of gender, reproduced through media narratives are especially pertinent because of media’s fixation on the personalization of politics.²⁸⁴ As these scholars collectively show, gender stereotypes in the media are of increasing importance especially with the personalization of political campaigns, where substantive political issues are pushed aside in favour of personal lives and the charisma or celebrity renown of the candidates. Therefore, media’s fascination with candidate’s personal characteristics rather than substantive policy proposals combined with cultural, gendered assumptions of political leadership as primarily masculine puts women at a disadvantage when seeking political leadership because they do not fit a masculine mold.

Clearly, assumptions about candidates based on the gendered narratives help or hinder candidates during an election campaign undermining their ability to be taken seriously in cases where they are hindered. Jalalzai and Krook (2010) note how women’s access to political leadership is closely influenced by the following two factors: (i) familial ties to male politicians, especially in instances when male relatives have died or were assassinated; and (ii) a country’s lack of institutional development to the degree the government is unable to enforce laws or operate without corruption. With the first factor, for example, women may tend towards election success during instances of political crisis especially in the case of a male predecessor’s assassination or death, especially if that male predecessor is a relative. The second factor also allows personal charisma to

²⁸⁴ Trimble et al. “Is It Personal?,” 463 & 476.

predominate in a nation's weak institutional political system which may work for male or female candidates.

Tymoshenko fits the second contextual factor as Ukraine's political institutions have a history of corruption and fractured political party development. Tymoshenko may be seen to be a charismatic leader that "talks" her way to the top, which is not necessarily gendered and has used her position as a "space invader" to present herself as ethical. The "space invader" as an ethical politician is associated with the gendered trope that women are immune to corruption. Furthermore, prevailing institutional features of the political system (i.e., parliamentary, presidential, or a hybrid of both as in Ukraine) and the type of electoral system any individual nation employs (i.e., direct election based on popular support or voted in by parliament) are influential factors to women's access to political power. For example, globally there have been more women prime ministers than presidents based on the types of power allotted to the positions of prime minister or president and the manner in which women are appointed or elected to those positions.²⁸⁵

In the case of post-communist Europe, Gal and Kligman (2000) note that many women's activist organizations find legitimacy in the region based on maternal issues. Maternalist organizations have historically stressed the unique value of women's caring capacity in the private sphere, or propose that women should inject ethics into society, sometimes identified as maternal feminism.²⁸⁶ These organizations resemble maternalist organizations emergent during the period of women's suffrage when women advocated for political rights based on presenting women as "social housekeepers" of higher morals

²⁸⁵ Jalalzai and Krook, "Beyond Hillary and Benazir," 8.

²⁸⁶ Gal and Kligman, *The Politics of Gender After Socialism*, 46.

than men, and that women were meant to be fixers of social and civic impurities.

Nationalism and maternalism in this view converge because maternalism is meant to keep nationalism virtuous and good. In these situations, gender stereotypes reinforce the popular myth of women as caregivers or social housekeepers for the nation who, unlike men, are best equipped to fix a "broken" situation. Therefore, in some cases, women may take advantage of their prescribed gender roles as nurturers by providing moral guidance to facilitate access to political leadership.

Donatella Campus (2013) reinforces Jalalzai and Krook's (2010) arguments that gendered stereotypes are significant in women's ascendancy to political leadership. Building off Gal and Kligman (2000) and Jalalzai and Krook (2010) attend to the trope of women as caregivers. Campus (2013) similarly suggests women may be portrayed as more nurturing, more democratic, and more likely to protect social safety net, welfare systems or education than male counterparts.²⁸⁷ Subsequently, in some elections, women have been ushered in the following periods of time with leaders with authoritarian tendencies because women are perceived as nurturing and more inclusive than their male predecessors.²⁸⁸ Further Campus notes that the visibility and hyper-sexualization of women's bodies impact the public's acceptance or rejection of women politicians. The press inevitably caters to and feeds this appetite. Campus explains that female candidates may mobilize a "tactical outsider" strategy to present themselves as inherently distinct from other candidates as their physical bodies are so visibly different from the male norm.²⁸⁹ Moreover, the persona of woman as "tactical outsider" reinforces the belief that

²⁸⁷ Donatella Campus, *Women Political Leaders and the Media* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 44.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

women are agents of change.²⁹⁰ When conceived as “tactical outsiders,” women’s success may be ensured during a period of political corruption, or when political, economic or social change is needed or desired as women may be stereotyped as immune from corruption.²⁹¹ The popular fixation further enhances the woman as "tactical outsider" trope on the physical appearance of women politicians.

Puwar's (2003) discussion of women as "space invaders" in the political sphere complements Campus's conceptualization of woman as succeeding due to their perceived status as a "tactical outsider." As Puwar determines, the political sphere has traditionally been occupied by white, upper-class male bodies.²⁹² For this reason, women may be seen as political “space invaders” and therefore subject to public mistrust unless they prove otherwise by working harder to measure up against men.²⁹³ However, as Jalalzai (2013) notes gender sometimes works to women’s advantage which depends on the specific time and place.²⁹⁴ Campus (2013) suggests that in some cases it has been observed that the "outsider" frame may work to a candidate's advantage who is unable to shake the characterization.²⁹⁵ She states that those candidates presented as "outsiders" because of their sex have the possibility of exploiting "the advantages inherent to the typical style of leadership of outsiders."²⁹⁶ The “tactical outsider” chooses to play the role of the outsider, which allows them to ignore conventions to accomplish goals. Therefore, in some cases, women may also take advantage politically of their place as the "space invader" in times

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Campus, *Women Political Leaders and the Media*, 44.

²⁹² Puwar (2003) references the white, upper-class male bodies in parliament of Great Britain. White males, in this case, is in reference to privileged men in the British context.

²⁹³ Puwar, “Thinking About Making a Difference,” 65.

²⁹⁴ Jalalzai, *Shattered, Cracked, or Firmly Intact?*, 18.

²⁹⁵ Campus, *Women Political Leaders and the Media*, 46.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

of political upheaval or demands for change from citizens by positioning themselves as a "tactical outsider."

Campus (2013) similarly theorizes Puwar's point about the normalization of the non-racialized (white) male bodies in political space. Campus shows that the historical exclusion of women from public spaces also reinforces certain behaviours deemed masculine that are expected from political leaders. For example, Campus states that "historically, the power of men has been public and visible, whereas when women had power, it was mostly covert and informal."²⁹⁷ Campus explains that until the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, women's influence in government and politics was exerted through personal relationships with men in power as wives or mistresses.²⁹⁸

The relationship between men, power, and authority closely overlap because power is conventionally masculine.²⁹⁹ This male empowerment, Campus observes, is conceptualized as an ability to wield strength, force, and authority over others including other men—a capacity supposedly women lack.³⁰⁰ Positions of political leadership, therefore, rely on these widespread gender norms and social perceptions of men as embodying power, and women as unable to fully embody power or the authority to inform citizens. Conversely, women's perceived capacities as nurturers do not equate as an ability to control or maintain a nation and therefore these feminine characteristics cannot hold or wield political authority like men except in specific contexts. For example, Rebecca Richards (2015) defines the general constructs of masculinity as hierarchical and

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

autocratic behaviours whereas femininity is supposedly more collaborative. Men, in this logic, are decisive, assertive, and independent.³⁰¹ Richards explains that women are oppositionally characterized as emotional, sensitive, dependent, or lacking ambition.³⁰² Furthermore, she observes that when discussing leadership, there is a particular need by the press to qualify, or hyphenate, women leaders as “women.” Rarely, if ever, is the word “man” used to qualify the term, leader.³⁰³ In some historical and social perceptions of leadership inform readership that men are ‘natural’ or ‘normalized’ leaders whereas women in positions of leadership disrupt this norm; invading the spatial prerogatives of men. Therefore, the language used by the popular press to describe the campaign platforms; the issues covered, as well as how media describe or identify women seeking political leadership fundamentally contour popular perceptions of women's competency.

Feminine stereotypes and the sexualization of women's physical bodies are further emphasized through the media's practice of personalizing politics by focusing on a candidate's personality rather than policy. Although personalization of politics affects all candidates, Trimble et al. (2013) describe how the personalization of politics fixates on women's bodies and the expectation that they engage in stereotypical domestic routines.³⁰⁴ This presumption results in political campaigns that aspire to sell an appealing or charismatic image but by doing this may stereotype women candidates at a deeper level. Personalization of politics may benefit or impede women when framed through gender stereotypes because women may or may not fit either favourable or

³⁰¹ Richards, *Transnational Feminist Rhetorics and Gendered Leadership in Global Politics*, 16.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Trimble et al. “Is It Personal?,” 463.

unfavourable feminine stereotypes related to political leadership depending on the prevailing concerns of the election platform. As a result of the media's focus on personal traits during a campaign, policies or ideology are usually abandoned. The campaign may then be framed as a horse race between two candidates and their relative personal attractions.³⁰⁵ Framing elections as a horse race permits the use of aggressive narratives about strength or stamina which, in turn, increases women's vulnerability for failure. According to Campus, when the context is framed in aggressive terms, women risk appearing weak if they do not react to an issue. Alternatively, they violate feminine norms if they respond with comparable aggression. Campus goes on to state that when women act in a manner seen as unfeminine it is perceived as negative and this reaction is counterproductive to their electoral success because they are "seen as deviant from [feminized] standards of kindness and understanding."³⁰⁶

Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes (2014) note that politicians are consistently subject to gender-biased reporting styles of the media. When the political candidate is a woman, a gender media bias may focus on the other candidate's personal characteristics rather than the candidate's political message while at the same time exacerbating gender stereotypes. Research by Kim Fridkin Kahn (1996) and Catherine Whitney (2000) show the indirect and explicit ways in which the misrepresentation of women's political United States Senate and gubernatorial campaigns in prominent US news media undermined the effectiveness of these women's campaigns.³⁰⁷ Instead of focusing on campaign issues, Kahn (1996) found the media focused exclusively on women's negative chances in the

³⁰⁵ Campus, *Women Political Leaders and the Media*, 23.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁰⁷ Paxton and Hughes, *Women, Politics, and Power*, 120.

Senate or gubernatorial races to show how the candidates were criticized as absent of appropriate or "winning" personality characteristics.³⁰⁸ Similarly, Whitney (2000) analyzed the 1990 California governor race when now democratic Senate leader Dianne Feinstein was deemed by one news source as an equal to opponent Pete Wilson. In comparison, the *Los Angeles Times* referenced Feinstein's looks to propose her a less viable candidate.³⁰⁹ Likewise, Kittilson and Fridkin's (2008) transnational comparative qualitative study of 2004 and 2006 election campaigns in Australia, Canada, and the United States showed how women candidates were quizzed on more stereotypical maternal issues by the press such as education and healthcare whereas men were questioned about issues such as foreign policy and the economy.³¹⁰

Scholars focus on how literary tropes used by the media have "othered" women from positions of political leaders. For example, in their research on the impact of combative political battlefield narratives and metaphors on women's political leader representations, as compared to men, Gerrits et al. (2017) confirm that print media situated women differently than men.³¹¹ Four types of power communicated by aggressive metaphors were used to understand how men and women are differently described concerning battlefield metaphors.³¹² The metaphors fall into four different categories: *power over*, *power to*, *power with*, and *power as*.³¹³ *Power over* metaphors

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 120-1.

³¹¹ Bailey Gerrits, Linda Trimble, Angelia Wagner, Daisy Raphael, and Shannon Sampert, "Political Battlefield: Aggressive Metaphors, Gender, and Power in News Coverage of Canadian Party Leadership Contests," *Feminist Media Studies* 17, no. 6 (2017). The authors analyzed print media texts during Conservative Party leadership races in Canada over a thirty-year period.

³¹² Ibid., 1099.

³¹³ Ibid., 1091.

describe candidates as having dominance over others that can include manipulation, exploitation, and coercion.³¹⁴ *Power to* metaphors describe a candidate as having the capacity to bring about that candidate's intended consequences.³¹⁵ *Power as* metaphors are used to describe candidates who embody political power or who possess "inner strength."³¹⁶ While these three metaphors are applied to individuals seeking power, *power with* metaphors are used to describe power encompassed by people working together to achieve a common purpose.³¹⁷ The amount and type of violent language used to discuss leadership contenders varied based on a candidate's proximity to power, their likelihood of success, and the features of their respective campaigns.³¹⁸ Moreover, the authors found that the *Globe and Mail* referred to women leadership candidates as "powerful players in pugilistic politics," who could use their strength and influence to challenge opponents, using *power over* metaphors to achieve their goals being described as *power to* metaphors.³¹⁹ In other words, the *Globe* did not shy away from describing women leadership candidates as enacting forms of power traditionally associated with men and masculinity.³²⁰ However, Gerrits et al. (2017) confirm they did find many instances when aggressive metaphors delegitimized women candidates' performance of power. For example, Kim Campbell, Canada's Progressive Conservative federal leadership candidate in 1994 emerged as the front-runner candidate, but the *Globe's* coverage of Campbell's position was treated with discomfort. Descriptions of her lack of *power over* metaphors

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 1099.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid.

describe her as a frontrunning candidate.³²¹ A nuanced understanding of how language positions the success or failure of political candidates. However, Gerrits et al. conclude by asking whether voters punish women candidates for the perception of their actions as overly aggressive and therefore need to explore the electoral impacts of narratives of power in the media.³²² Although linguistic nuances may be necessary in understanding how women candidates are positioned, I focus more so on a broader analysis of power in my methodology. Furthermore, I believe that in the case of Tymoshenko, it is also essential to understand how Tymoshenko wields and is represented as using soft power.

Before the 2000s, the scholarly literature on media representations of women in politics focused on quantitative data on women politicians. Scholars determined women were covered less than men. However, as media trends changed to include women candidates more frequently, the focus shifted onto how media language and rhetoric reproduced gender biases beyond the narratives of inclusion. Literature after 2000 revolves around how women politicians are represented, including the obsession on femininity, physical appearance, and concepts of woman as a signifier of family and domesticity. More recently, after 2000, scholars focused on how women candidates are comparatively positioned to men. Clearly, this latter gender approach dismantles the idea that the gender-sex system is fixed and biological rather than fluid and constructed by rhetoric and ideologies of difference. Reiterating the ideas of Joan Scott (1986) from Chapter 1, gender is used as a tool of analysis to understand power relations between women and men as the characteristics of these categories of identity are understood as

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 1110.

³²² *Ibid.*

oppositional. Instead, Scott describes these categories as non-essentialist due to differing and ongoing processes of gender socialization across time and space.³²³ Gender identities of “woman” and “man,” and other facets of identity are relational. In other words, traits stemming from these identities that are deemed “feminine,” or “masculine” are influenced by cultural perceptions of identity traits such as class, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. According to Scott, understanding women requires an understanding of men due to the nature of their characteristics as oppositional. A gender system outlines what behaviours are expected or acceptable based on social perceptions of gender over time and space.

Section III – Findings: The fiery princess, protector of democracy and *berehynia* (mother) of the nation

My assessment of the English international press representations of Tymoshenko borrows conceptual thematics offered by feminist literature. The three print news media that I analyzed consistently described Tymoshenko in gendered terms. The press representations of Tymoshenko including her roles as "mother of the nation," as the protector of democratic values, as the tactical outsider, or as an agent of change thematically provide my analysis with insight into how the international press feminized Tymoshenko according to their gender standards. However, these representations also offer insight into how she strategically presented herself to advance her own political success.

The personalization of politics and female candidates

³²³ Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” 1054.

As previously mentioned, elections are commonly framed around personal characteristics of the candidates rather than distinguished by the respective policies or ideologies held, or advocated, by each. This rhetoric, implying a first to the finish scenario, overemphasizes conflict and correspondingly candidates are compelled to create and highlight a specific appealing, or charismatic, persona for voters.³²⁴ Media narratives focus on specific attributes of the individual life of the candidate: physical appearance, family and business life, and speaking abilities. Such personalization of Tymoshenko characterizes the narratives of the media sources I analyzed. Tymoshenko's physical presence was referenced a total of twenty times by all three newspapers in a sampling of articles over a six-year period. Seventeen of these instances occurred in biographical profiles featured by each newspaper about Tymoshenko. These articles often referenced her blond plaited peasant braid. The *Globe*'s Mark MacKinnon and Carolynne Wheeler and *The Guardian*'s James Meek both published articles in 2004 during the height of Orange Revolution. The majority of these references to Tymoshenko's physique occur in this period. The references to Tymoshenko's appearance in 2004 are likely a result of the international attention the Orange Revolution received. The Revolution catapulted Tymoshenko onto the international stage. As one of the principal leaders, along with Yushchenko of the Orange Revolution, Tymoshenko was physically distinguished from the predominantly male political leaders in the region. Consequently, she received quite a bit of press but primarily she was mentioned for her activism and her support of presidential candidate Yushchenko, with whom she was aligned as part of her opposition to the former president Kuchma and his ally, Yanukovych.

³²⁴ Campus, *Women Political Leaders and the Media*, 23.

As noted in the prefatory citation, in 2004, the *Globe's* MacKinnon and Wheeler described Tymoshenko as “a diminutive blond woman in a black fur coat and high-heeled winter boots,” in possession of a “glamorous look and penchant for stirring rhetoric,” with her hair “usually intricately braided in Ukrainian peasant style.”³²⁵ This chain of physical reference to Tymoshenko—her attractiveness and glamor evokes appropriate femininity but also diminishes her as a politician. In contrast, the press almost never commented on Yushchenko’s appearance except for commenting on his “lesion-riddled face” an effect from being poisoned during the 2004 presidential campaign, demonstrating his sacrifice to defeat Yanukovich.³²⁶ Furthermore, the press isolated Tymoshenko’s appearance while at least alluding to Yushchenko’s politics as a free-market reformer. Yushchenko was portrayed as a pro-western politician as well as a free-market politician in MacKinnon and Wheeler’s 2004 *Globe* article about Tymoshenko.³²⁷ The majority of references to Tymoshenko’s politics focused on her personal relationships with the other politicians such as her feud with Kuchma.³²⁸

Journalists from the *Guardian* discussed Tymoshenko’s physical appearance in similar terms. A 2004 article by Meek begins by noting that Tymoshenko’s looks could be compared to “an international tennis star, a Hollywood actress or a supermodel.”³²⁹ This fascination with Tymoshenko’s apparent celebrity attractiveness implies that she

³²⁵ MacKinnon and Wheeler, “The Princess, power, and the people,” A1.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ This feud consists of Tymoshenko opposing Kuchma’s presidency by criticizing his presidency as well as organizing protests against him. Kuchma responded by alleging Tymoshenko and her husband were involved in embezzlement of Ukrainian funds. This feud is further discussed in Chapter 2.

³²⁹ James Meek, additional reporting by Nick Paton Walsh, “The millionaire revolutionary: She has been a powerful voice during this week’s protests in Kiev. But who is Yulia Tymoshenko?” *The Guardian*, November 26, 2004, 6.

could have had a different career related to her looks and also that the author is surprised Tymoshenko is a politician instead. Drawing attention to Tymoshenko's glamour predictably undermines her actual skills and longstanding political accomplishments on Ukraine's national stage as well as implies that politicians, in general, are never physically attractive. By emphasizing Tymoshenko's appearance and comparing her looks to that of a celebrity, the media questions her abilities as a politician expressing surprise of the political power she wields as they call into question her succession to power. Noting her physical appearance draws attention to her physical irregularity as a woman in a position of leadership from the normalized political landscape dominated by men. Furthermore, for Tymoshenko as a politician, focusing on her beauty may also lend suspicion because her beauty and glamour may indicate she did not earn her position, but rather that she honed her power to get where she is because of her beauty. Perhaps this is one of the reasons Tymoshenko was such an easy target when it came to the charges levied against her for corruption as the charges legitimized people's suspicions.

During the era of her campaign of the 2010 presidential election references to Tymoshenko's physical appearance in the *New York Times* occur three times in their biographical profile article and twice in two other individual pieces. Journalist Clifford J. Levy who authored the biographical article followed her campaign in 2010 and documented Tymoshenko's physical transformation from a "Russian speaker from the east with long dark hair" to a "champion of the Ukrainian language."³³⁰ Levy also suggests that long before the 2010 presidential campaign Tymoshenko transformed

³³⁰ Clifford J. Levy, "Ukraine's Prime Minister Stumps for Her Turn at the Top," *New York Times*, February 6, 2010, 5.

herself into a proper Ukrainian woman by exclusively speaking Ukrainian and by so doing physically and linguistically created a persona appealing to a broader range of voters.

Each print media outlet features Tymoshenko's braid plait hairstyle at least once. Like the *Guardian* article, Levy refers to Tymoshenko's blond "peasant braid" on two occasions in his coverage of the Ukrainian election.³³¹ Both times Levy identifies Tymoshenko as renowned for her passionate speeches but always with a mention of her peasant braid. As prime minister, Tymoshenko was "an Orange leader known for her impassioned speeches and peasant braid."³³² This union of political passion and the braid is noteworthy because it balances characteristics of a competent and strong leader with femininity and feminizing the leadership of the Ukrainian nation-state. Significantly, in Levy's article, "Toppled In Ukraine But Nearing A Comeback" covering Viktor Yanukovich's comeback from losing the 2004 presidential election in the wake of the Orange Revolution before the first presidential vote, Levy, describes Tymoshenko as Yanukovich's main opponent. Levy's subsequent article published three days later, discusses the presidential election as heading to a runoff. In this article, Tymoshenko is described as offering "provocative speeches" and wearing a "peasant braid" but also significantly described as a "polarizing figure."³³³

Consistent in both instances of Levy's description is Tymoshenko's sporting of her peasant braid reminding the reader that while she demonstrates strong leadership

³³¹ Clifford J. Levy, "Toppled In Ukraine But Nearing A Comeback," *New York Times*, January 15, 2010, 4. And Clifford J. Levy, "Presidential Election in Ukraine Advances to a Runoff," *New York Times*, January 18, 2010, 6.

³³² Levy, "Toppled In Ukraine," 4.

³³³ Levy, "Presidential Election in Ukraine," 6.

characteristics, she also exhibits feminine characteristics. Levy's tone in the first article before the first round of voting changes in the second article published after the first vote. Levy presents Tymoshenko as a strong leader because of her position as a front-running candidate against Yanukovich. However, the tone to describe her in the second article is much less appealing when he describes her as giving “provocative speeches” and a “polarizing figure.” Although both characterizations are accurate, they were not used by Levy in his article before the first round of voting. Likely, Levy used a more somber tone in the second article when Tymoshenko enters the second round of the vote far behind Yanukovich. However, Levy references Tymoshenko's "peasant braid" in both articles which reinforces her status as a Ukrainian woman. His combination of "provocative speeches" with the emphasis on her "peasant braid" may also reinforce her position as an acceptable leader by exhibiting strong leadership characteristics and proper femininity. This combination implies that Tymoshenko's ability to lead comes from her physical appearance which does not challenge ideas of femininity and leadership, but instead upholds masculine forms of leadership as valuable. In other words, Tymoshenko as a woman is an unconventional leader in Ukraine especially considering all her main opponents are men. However, by highlighting her feminine traits tied to the Ukrainian nation, she continues to uphold the norms of leadership in Ukraine.

Tymoshenko's braid helps visualize her as a national symbol of femininity and is mentioned in news articles from 2004 to 2010. Ethnographer Oksana Kis (2007) and sociologist Alexandra Hrycak (2011) discuss how media concentrates on Tymoshenko's physical appearance became an essential part of her political career as these referrals legitimize her as a proper, compliant Ukrainian woman not entirely adopting a masculine

persona of leadership. Kis claims Tymoshenko intentionally models her appearance on two popular feminine symbols in Ukraine: *Berehynia* and *Barbie*.³³⁴ Kis states Tymoshenko's appearance merges these two predominant models of femininity where the *berehynia* is the traditional Ukrainian myth of an embodiment of femininity native to the region, and *Barbie* represents post-communist capitalist consumer culture.³³⁵ Tymoshenko's braid, for example, harmonizes with the peasantry of the *berehynia* as a traditional mature Ukrainian mother, while her fancy clothes might be classified as part of her mimicry of the westernized and affluent attributes of glamour doll, *Barbie*. Therefore, references to Tymoshenko's duality—Ukrainian traditionalism and peasantry versus western, post-soviet affluence—construct her procured image of the proper Ukrainian woman. Kis' reference to Tymoshenko as embodying the cultural essence of *Barbie* can be related to the surprise of her as a politician. *Barbie* is not known as an intelligent figure but rather by her aspiring quality of beauty. Therefore, Tymoshenko as resembling a *Barbie* also questions her intelligence and objectifies her.

The braid helps reinforce Tymoshenko's position as a *berehynia* and discussion of the braid emphasizes Tymoshenko's performance to costume herself more definitively as a mother of the nation rather than an affluent businesswoman or an authoritarian-leaning politician which will be discussed a bit later. Furthermore, this descriptive language creates and reinforces an image of nationalism that Tymoshenko is trying to sell.³³⁶ The 2010 Levy article in the *New York Times* even explicitly identifies Tymoshenko's braid

³³⁴ Oksana Kis, "Beauty Will Save the World!": Feminine Strategies in Ukrainian Politics and the Case of Yulia Tymoshenko," *Tradition, Cultural Boundaries, and Identity Formation in Central Europe and Beyond* 7, no. 2 (2007):34-39.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ Clifford J. Levy, "Aura fades for nationalist hero; Orange Revolution leader trails as a weary Ukraine nears presidential vote," *New York Times*, February 6, 2010, 2.

as symbolizing nationalism. The images of Tymoshenko and Yushchenko as a couple discussed in a subsequent section compound the use of soft power imagery as do the discussions of her braid to portray Tymoshenko as a mother of the nation.

In as much, frequent references to Tymoshenko's physical feminine appearance distinguish her from Ukrainian male competitors whose bodies have been normalized in the political sphere. These references to her appearance could be a double-edged sword. The consistent media impulse/tendency to feminize or nationalize Tymoshenko makes her stand out in a supposedly beneficial way for her pro-democratic stances, connecting her non-stereotypical feminine appearance to her efforts of presenting herself as a different kind of politician. Tymoshenko's non-stereotypical, feminine appearance as a politician also suggests she is a new kind of politician that is pure (not corrupt) and truthful. These types of references may appeal to those readers who value democracy or Ukrainian national identity.

On the other hand, this type of feminization could also potentially be detrimental because an ultra-feminine appearance is not generally associated with stereotypical politicians and could draw suspicion to Tymoshenko's political motives as an out of the ordinary politician. Whereas the representational emphasis on Tymoshenko's appearance merges the traditionalism of Ukrainian women with western post-Soviet modernism; the latter tendency reinforces and normalizes the English-language international media's fascination with women politician's physical appearance. As will be apparent in other parts of this analysis, emphasis on Tymoshenko's feminine appearance reinforces the types of policies she is associated with and is believed to uphold. Lastly, it is important to note that Tymoshenko crafted her *berehynia/Barbie* image, as Kis describes, as a means

to stand out and position herself as distinct among other politicians.³³⁷ Tymoshenko, therefore, has likely used media's personalization of politics as a way to craft her own image.

The charismatic/fiery leader

In each newspaper over the four distinct periods under analysis, Tymoshenko is consistently portrayed as a charismatic leader who gained power in a time of political upheaval during the Orange Revolution. Characterizations of Tymoshenko as “charismatic” or “ambitious” are important because as Jalalzai and Krook (2010) describe, the lack of institutional political development in Ukraine at this time leaves more room for the personalization of politics and therefore the possibility of the rise of charisma as essential to successful leadership.³³⁸ Furthermore, as Jalalzai (2013) contends, many women political leaders have reached positions of leadership during periods of social or political shifts or unrest. In this case, the media profile of Tymoshenko's ambition and charisma were significant in her eventual achievement of the position of prime minister following an era of a major popular uprising and social transformation.

As Table 3.2 illustrates, Tymoshenko was identified in some manner as either as “charismatic” or “ambitious” a total of 16 times in the three papers. The instances of these characterizations of her as a “charismatic” politician increased over time used most frequently in 2010 during the Ukrainian presidential election campaign and less frequently in the first period from 2004 to 2005 during the Orange Revolution. Being

³³⁷ Kis, “Beauty Will Save the World,” 36-37.

³³⁸ Jalalzai and Krook, “Beyond Hillary and Benazir,” 8.

described as "charismatic" is part of why Tymoshenko met success and this attribute seems especially helpful in launching her popularity in 2004 during a time of political crisis in Ukraine, which is also beneficial for the success of women's politicians.

Period	Globe and Mail	The Guardian	New York Times	Total #
2004-2005	1	1	0	2
2005	2	0	2	4
2007	1	1	1	3
2010	3	2	2	7
Total	7	4	5	16

*the total number of articles can be found in Table 3.1

However, although charismatic traits are essential to contemporary political leadership as defined by Paxton and Hughes (2014) and Richards (2015), charisma – except for Tymoshenko as explained above – is most commonly reserved as a masculine trait of leadership. Paxton and Hughes (2014) claim specific characteristics are expected of leaders just as there are distinct gendered social expectations for men and women.³³⁹ However, the authors believe that the most common characteristics of masculine leadership are aggression, competitiveness, and decisiveness.³⁴⁰ Social behaviours expected of women, on the other hand, are nurturance, compliance, likeability, gentleness, and politeness. Richards's (2015) discussion of social behaviours attributed to men and women, states that although women may exhibit characteristics of charisma and ambition, such qualities may be perceived, or subtly framed, as unbecoming of women.³⁴¹ Therefore, although charisma and ambition are necessary aspects of political leadership,

³³⁹ Paxton and Hughes, *Women, Politics, and Power*, 89.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ Richards, *Transnational Feminist Rhetorics*, 17.

references to Tymoshenko as charismatic could have risked hindering her chances to attain presidential leadership. Charisma, however, worked for Tymoshenko in her rise in the political ranks from a member of the parliament to cabinet minister to party leader to the prime minister – but not sufficiently for her to achieve the presidency.

Instances of rhetoric portraying Tymoshenko as an excellent public speaker, capable of leading and moving people’s emotions are documented in Table 3.3.

Tymoshenko was regularly referred to as a “firebrand” politician or delivering “fiery” speeches. Table 3.3 also demonstrates how these references dissipated over time. In 2004, Tymoshenko was referred to as a “firebrand” or “fiery” politician ten times, the most of any period. Comparatively, these references occurred only four times in 2010 during her run for president.

Table 3.3 References to Tymoshenko as "impassioned," "fiery" or "firebrand"				
	Globe and Mail	The Guardian	New York Times	Total # of articles
Period				
2004-2005	8	2	0	10
2005	2	0	3	5
2007	1	0	1	2
2010	0	0	4	4
Total	11	2	8	21

In 2004, the *Globe* referred to Tymoshenko as “fiery” eight times, including, for example, pairing Tymoshenko as “Yushchenko’s fiery ally,”³⁴² or “Mr. Yushchenko’s

³⁴² Carolynne Wheeler, “Ukraine dilutes leader’s power: Bittersweet victory: Inconstant pain after probable poisoning, Yushchenko gets new election rules in very costly compromise,” *Globe and Mail*, December 9, 2004, A1.

ambitious firebrand ally.”³⁴³ In 2005, *Globe* columnist Graeme Smith cited Tymoshenko as firing back in a "fiery TV speech," accusing those close to the president of corruption and presenting herself as providing the country with moral guidance by stepping away from the president and calling out the corruption of his followers.³⁴⁴ The *Guardian* used the term “fire” to describe Tymoshenko however, the *Guardian*’s journalist James Meek uses the term to describe how she could rally people, rather than using the term as a personal trait as in the *Globe*. Meek and co-journalist Paton Walsh describe Tymoshenko as wielding power over people stating, “It was Tymoshenko whose oratory put fire in the bellies of a column of demonstrators, sending them marching up the steep slope from Kreshchatik towards the government district” while then putting carnations in their police shields.³⁴⁵ As Gerrits et al. describe *power over* metaphors indicate the politician in question is legitimated as competent. Meek’s and Paton Walsh’s representation of Tymoshenko’s leadership abilities implies she rallies people to march achieving results absent of violence. As riot police had installed themselves opposite to the protestors, Tymoshenko’s insertion of flowers, a symbol associated with peace, into police shields contrasts the hard power of the police and further demonstrates how Tymoshenko reinforces gender roles through her femininity, not merely physical charisma.

While Tymoshenko acted in a manner that exhibited peaceful actions and a soft power approach such as inserting carnations into police shields as well as identifying as a pacifist, there are some examples of her implying that her actions may escalate to

³⁴³ Mark MacKinnon, “Kuchma’s offer a political trap to retain power,” *Globe and Mail*, December 2, 2004, A22.

³⁴⁴ Graeme Smith, “Former Ukrainian PM fires back; In fiery TV speech, Tymoshenko accuses President’s entourage of graft,” September 9, 2005, 3.

³⁴⁵ James Meek, additional reporting by Paton Walsh, “The millionaire revolutionary,” 6.

aggressive, militant actions. In the context of the Orange Revolution, while addressing a million people in the streets of Kyiv, Tymoshenko is quoted by Meek of the *Guardian* as stating, “We are launching a siege of the authorities.”³⁴⁶ MacKinnon of the *Globe and Mail* quoted Tymoshenko as stating, “Either they will give up their power, or we will take it.”³⁴⁷ Kis affirms that Tymoshenko, in fact, does not shy away from this image as a militant. She notes that in 2004 Tymoshenko matched her revolutionary mood by wearing a black leather jacket in the style of the Bolsheviks in 1917 and an orange sweater with the inscription "revolution" on it.³⁴⁸ Furthermore, she states Tymoshenko’s 2006 parliamentary electoral poster presented her as a part of the “Army of the Light” (from the movie *Night Watch*) dressed in a black leather coat holding a sword.³⁴⁹ Therefore, Tymoshenko takes on both personas.

Scholar Marian J. Rubchak (2009) describes that the strong Ukrainian woman as protector of the nation also reinforces myths of the empowered Ukrainian woman and Ukrainian matriarchy which is also part of the image of the *berehynia*.³⁵⁰ The *berehynia* exemplifies an Amazon-like statue of a woman with men around her feet symbolizing the military, scholarship, politics, and labour that appear subordinate to the Amazonian.³⁵¹ Rubchak points to several Ukrainian sculptors of these statues, including Kyiv-based sculptor Anatoly Kusch, who created sculptures of strong women based on these myths

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Mark MacKinnon, “The Threat of Violence Grows as Ukraine's Elections Protest Widens,” *Globe and Mail*, November 24, 2004, A1.

³⁴⁸ Kis, “Beauty Will Save The World!,” 44.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Marian J. Rubchak, “Ukraine’s Ancient Matriarch as a Topos in Constructing a Feminine Identity,” *Feminist Review* no. 92 (2009): 135.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 136

of empowered women and the Ukrainian matriarchy.³⁵² Tymoshenko's appearance may have been considered conventionally less feminine however she continued to uphold the ideal of the *berehynia*.

Tymoshenko adopted charismatic leadership traits associated with male styles of leadership alongside strategic feminine actions or actions of soft power and peacemaker to reinforce her position of "mother of the nation" as well as display her abilities to wield power as a female politician. Tymoshenko is presented in the media as a strong leader, capable of rallying protestors while simultaneously trying to keep the peace. Narratives of Tymoshenko as peacemaker generate another feminine characteristic but also a figure interested in doing the right thing without violence. The emphasis on Tymoshenko's peaceful protests represents another component of her deployment of soft power. For example, James Meek cites a situation when Tymoshenko stood among protestors rallying them to "Be on the side of Ukraine!" while at the same time asking the police, "to support the people and the president elected by the people!" and putting carnations through the riot polices' shields to invoke images of soft, feminine forms of power.³⁵³ Tymoshenko used flowers, braided into her hair, as a personal means to symbolize soft power and to contrast the hard and, potentially, authoritarian state power of the police. Her calls to both police and protestors suggest her ability to unify those constituents formally posed as antagonists. Moreover, this setting demonstrates Tymoshenko's well thought out strategy to perform femininity to obtain more power. Additionally, in 2004 Mark MacKinnon from the *Globe* reinforced her narratives of soft power able to subdue

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Meek, "The millionaire revolutionary," 6.

police authoritarianism by describing Tymoshenko as striding past police to enter a negotiations with Yushchenko's and Yanukovich's teams. MacKinnon initially described Tymoshenko as "a diminutive blond woman in a black fur coat and high-heeled winter boots," then continues to state Tymoshenko was "[captured] on camera staring down a line of helmeted policemen."³⁵⁴ Her courage to challenge an armoured force exemplifies how the representations of Tymoshenko contrasted between feminized or soft power versus masculinized hard power. The image of Tymoshenko as "diminutive" represents the differentiation of soft power to the police's possession of hard or authoritarian power.

Each newspaper published articles in 2004 that referred to at least once to Tymoshenko's address to protesters to focus on her ability to hold their attention with fiery oratory skills, signalling her as a capable leader. In 2004 even the *New York Times* who seldom mentioned Tymoshenko in articles about the Orange Revolution covered her calls to Ukrainians for mass civil disobedience. They state that demonstrators "should under no circumstances give it up," portraying her as a strong leader but not as a primary character in the Orange Revolution.³⁵⁵

The characterization of Tymoshenko as rallying the popular masses, as a strong protestor and demonstrator recurs across all time periods reviewed. The *Globe* described Tymoshenko as the brains behind the protests urging Yushchenko, a moderate free-market liberal, to do things he usually would not do.³⁵⁶ In this instance, Tymoshenko is presented as truly in charge of the revolution, while the presidential candidate,

³⁵⁴ MacKinnon, "The princess, power, and the people," A1.

³⁵⁵ C.J. Chivers, "Ukraine Premier is Named Winner: U.S. Assails Move," *New York Times*, November 25, 2004, A1.

³⁵⁶ MacKinnon, "The Threat of Violence Grows as Ukraine's Elections Protest Widens," A1.

Yushchenko listens and obeys seemingly a subordinate. Tymoshenko exhibits masculine leadership norms through her ability to rally Ukrainians and persuade male politicians, such as Yushchenko, to obey. Yushchenko understood Tymoshenko's power both during and after the Orange Revolution; he used Tymoshenko's charisma to advance his own needs at this time, while also recognizing her power as a threat following the Orange Revolution and during his term as president. The latter revelation led him to campaign against her in the 2010 presidential election.

Discussions of this rhetoric expressed in popular journalism also hindered Tymoshenko's capacity to be seen as a strong leader because a strong, forceful protester may not fit the prescribed feminine gender norms. As discussed earlier, women who negatively attack other candidates are viewed as deviating from feminine norms. Negative attacks, a regular occurrence in politics, is a double-edged sword for women. According to Campus not responding to, or engaging in, these types of political rhetoric may typify a woman candidate as weak whereas engaging in rhetorical attacks on her opposition may imply the woman candidate diverges from feminine norms of kindness and politeness. Eventual discussions of Tymoshenko as an oligarch and a motivated businesswoman lead to widespread suspicion of her character as self-serving. This view was evident in the English-speaking journalism especially in 2004 during mass protests of the Orange Revolution amidst Tymoshenko's rise to popularity. Tymoshenko became suspect precisely in an international context because of her drive as both a high-ranking politician and a successful businesswoman. On the other hand, skills and expertise could alternatively be perceived as valuable work experience as a professional, giving Tymoshenko experience valued in the political sphere.

Family Life and the Reinforcement of Heterosexuality

The references to Tymoshenko's family life are far fewer than those that characterize her physical appearance, personal strengths, or charisma. Familial references appear most frequently in the three biographical profiles published by the *Globe* in 2004. The *Globe* mentions her husband Oleksandr who was jailed and in hiding. Likewise, the *Guardian* in 2004 mentions Tymoshenko's husband as well as her daughter Yevgeniya who studied politics at the London School of Economics. Evocations of the family are relevant to women's ambitions as politicians because, in many ways, the media uses the family as a means to exile women as political outsiders by situating them in the feminized "private sphere" and by discussing their private lives. The media often proposes that women's dual commitment to their career and family life as conflicting interests. According to sociologist Liesbet van Zoonen (2005), Dutch gossip magazines present women politicians as living conflicting lives, arguing that families suffer directly as a result of a woman's career choice.³⁵⁷ Two references to Tymoshenko's family life in the *Globe* and *Guardian* in 2004 are brief. This lack of family discussion may be because Tymoshenko's daughter Yevgeniya was an adult by the time of the Orange Revolution and Tymoshenko's husband had been jailed and accused of crimes related to their jointly-held gas business. Neither daughter nor husband seems to play a visible role in her career at this crucial point. Therefore, it appears mention of her family made little difference in positioning her as an outsider. In comparison, references to her femininity were weighted more heavily as factors in Tymoshenko's rise to success.

³⁵⁷ Liesbet van Zoonen, "Feminization? Female politicians, family, and celebrity," *Entertaining the Citizen: When Politics and Popular Culture Converge*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2005), 91.

Also, more relevant are the print press discussions of Tymoshenko that directly reference the Orange Revolution and the so-called “fairy tale” relationship that was imagined to exist between Yushchenko and Tymoshenko. The press uses the metaphor of a close, romantic relationship as a euphemism for democracy, which also implies Tymoshenko and Yushchenko are like husband and wife, symbolizing the intimacy of their political relationship. For example, in the 2004biographical profile featured in the *Guardian*, James Meek describes Tymoshenko as having “appeared at the right-hand side of the opposition leader, Viktor Yushchenko. Arm in arm, they make a noble couple,”³⁵⁸ suggesting more of a marital than professional union. The reference to Tymoshenko and Yushchenko as a “noble couple” also implies they form a cohesive pro-democratic family unit, protective of their children. In this case, children metaphorically represents the protestors and Ukrainian populous who must be shielded from the threat of authoritarianism from the political competition posed by pro-Russian politicians Yanukovych and Kuchma.³⁵⁹ This reference extends the intimacy of the political couple into a metaphor of parenthood because Tymoshenko and Yushchenko are coupled as protectors of the Ukrainian nation. Furthermore, the press’ emphasis on Tymoshenko’s physical appearance combined with the “fairy tale” relationship between her and Yushchenko may play a part in the portrayal of Tymoshenko as suspect with her physical beauty allowing her to influence powerful men.

Once Tymoshenko and Yushchenko spar politically, the marriage and intimacy metaphor is taken further by the press. In 2005, following the firing of Tymoshenko as

³⁵⁸ Meek, “The millionaire revolutionary,” 6.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

prime minister by Yushchenko, Graeme Smith from the *Globe* stated that “The political marriage at the heart of the Orange Revolution suffered an ugly breakup yesterday.”³⁶⁰ This statement further reinforces the image of Tymoshenko and Yushchenko as in a romantic, intimate and potentially volatile personal relationship during the Orange Revolution. Metaphors such as these of Tymoshenko and Yushchenko as a couple position Tymoshenko as a mother and wife figure, and in this case, the mother of the nation. However, the metaphors of a marriage ending between Yushchenko and Tymoshenko evokes disappointment of the couple to protect the nation.

Moreover, references to Tymoshenko in a marital relationship with Yushchenko implies she is his subordinate. Political theorist Wendy Brown cites the way in which the family is considered a naturalized unit by liberalism’s sexual contract: women are mutually subordinate in the family and the economy.³⁶¹ Therefore, when Tymoshenko challenges Yushchenko’s power, she also challenged his position as having power over her as “husband” compounding a perception of his masculine superiority.

The “fairy tale” narrative of this marriage between the two leaders during the Orange Revolution were reinforced in 2010 by the *Guardian* when, on five occasions, they positioned Yanukovych as the “villain” of the 2004 presidential election. The *Guardian* portrayed Tymoshenko and Yanukovych as bitter rivals,³⁶² setting the prior fairy tale but anticipating an unfortunate divorce. Tymoshenko was the lone political survivor of the Orange Revolution, who eventually was confrontationally estranged, or

³⁶⁰ Graeme Smith, “Yushchenko axes government as Orange coalition unravels; Seven months after taking power in Ukraine, President fires PM, partners in uprising,” *Globe and Mail*, September 9, 2005, A1.

³⁶¹ Brown, *States of Injury*, 139.

³⁶² Luke Harding, “Viktor Yanukovich wins first round of Ukraine election,” *The Guardian*, January 18, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/18/viktor-yanukovich-wins-election-round>.

divorced, from her former husband/ally and by then, President Yushchenko. In an apparent plot twist, Yushchenko joined forces with Yanukovych, who is cast in the role of the villain seeking a possible comeback and is used by Yushchenko to get back at Tymoshenko in their messy divorce. The *Guardian*, however, was the only paper to depict Yanukovych's villainy.

Casting Tymoshenko and Yushchenko in a romantic and marital intimacy, fighting the evil Yanukovych, narratively romanticized Ukraine's Orange Revolution. This imagined romance between the leadership of the Orange Revolution also reinforces a romantic heteronormativity which otherwise would not have been present had Tymoshenko been a man. Moreover, this narrative of heteronormativity intersects with the narratives about democracy briefly discussed here and in the next section. The Orange Revolution was framed as a protest against state authoritarianism headed by a single man, with the advocacy for democracy proposed by a couple supported by many children. Tymoshenko and Yushchenko emerge as the couple who champion the Orange Revolution. As a result, they both were associated with the promise of democracy.

Romanticizing their relationship also sensationalized the political landscape unrelated to politics. These romantic narratives distracted or masked the fact that Yushchenko and Tymoshenko's true alliance was based on their unified opposition to President Kuchma and his handpicked predecessor Yanukovych rather than based on a shared desire to uphold democratic values through a popular revolution of the people. In reality, Yushchenko, a pro-establishment pragmatic national democratic politician with self-interest in maintaining his power and business investments, reacted to being pushed

out of the system by Kuchma in 2001 when he was demoted from the position of prime minister.³⁶³

Tymoshenko may be understood as a savvy political strategist. While publicly appearing to be anti-establishment in other aspects of political leadership, she was accused of authoritarian tendencies during her time as prime minister. For example, accusations of Tymoshenko's authoritarian actions come from her support for increasing transformation of the gas-trading industry to suit her. Suspicions circulated she increased government intervention to reconfigure the gas-trading industry to a cash system, supposedly diverting cash to members of Russia's natural gas trading company Gazprom.³⁶⁴ Additionally, Tymoshenko allegedly barred some journalists from participating in a talk show with her. These accusations have in some cases deemed her to potentially be the next Vladimir Putin and predicted that if she were to gain the power to the presidency, she might threaten to sell out to Russia.

The protector of democratic values and the "tactical outsider"

The themes of women as the protector of democratic values or as "tactical outsider" frequently overlap because of the discussions of democracy evident in all of the newspaper articles about Tymoshenko. While Campus (2013) distinguishes these two themes, I find it useful in this case to consider them as linked because Tymoshenko was consistently associated with democratic values of the Orange Revolution during this

³⁶³ Kuzio, "Yushchenko versus Tymoshenko," 219.

³⁶⁴ Julia Ioffe, "Kiev Chameleon," *The New Republic*, January 4, 2010, <https://newrepublic.com/article/72252/kyiv-chameleon>.

period of authoritarian threats from Yanukovych and Kuchma. Furthermore, news articles often intertwine these themes.

First, Tymoshenko's association with Yushchenko during the Orange Revolution meant both were coupled as a euphemism for democracy. For example, in 2004 *Globe* journalist MacKinnon explicitly pointed to Tymoshenko as democratic when he described her as adopting "the garb of a defender of democracy" during the protests of the Orange Revolution.³⁶⁵ In the same passage MacKinnon counters that Tymoshenko was also "reviled as a self-serving billionaire," drawing suspicion on Tymoshenko for her reasons to enter politics.³⁶⁶ However, the majority of the coverage reinforces her position as a democratic politician. These cases generally overshadowed accusations the suspicion that her personal wealth and affluence brought suspicion.

Although Tymoshenko's wealth and business success are deemed suspicious to some, I would argue that her wealth and affluence also reinforced her image as princess in a position of authority. For example, the *Globe* profile of Tymoshenko is titled, "The princess, power, and the people: Once reviled as self-serving billionaire, Ukraine's political crisis has made Yulia Tymoshenko a heroine of the Orange Revolution," exhibit gendered language in its use of "princess" and "heroine." These two nouns are consistent in representing Tymoshenko as a triumphant protector of the Ukrainian people. On the other hand, "princess" may imply that Tymoshenko was an aspiring member of the leadership, not *the* primary leader. Therefore, the term has mixed implications.

³⁶⁵ MacKinnon, "The princess, power, and the people," A1.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

As Hrycak discusses, the use of “gas princess” to describe Tymoshenko by her detractors possibly implied that she was too “sexy” to be involved in the supposedly masculine domain of energy trading.³⁶⁷ The *Globe* was the only newspaper to qualify Tymoshenko as “gas princess,” with the term used twice in 2004 and three times in 2010. By referring to Tymoshenko as a “princess” asserts that she is a monarchist, rather than a democrat. More importantly, references to Tymoshenko as a princess suggests that she would not earn the position of president on her own merit, it would be given to her based on a one-dimensional reason such as her associations with men. Furthermore, her association with natural gas also draws suspicion to her political motives because of links to Russian natural gas, especially the company Gazprom, with ties to the Russian government. Additionally, there is a class-related theme associated with calling Tymoshenko a “gas princess” as the reference brings attention to her wealth, and to some extent tarnishes her past business accomplishments.

The media, therefore, described Tymoshenko in somewhat contradictory terms ranging from the “gas princess” to a “heroine.” As the “heroine” of the Orange Revolution ultimately positions Tymoshenko as a pro-democratic politician because she seemingly opposed the authoritarianism of the pro-government officials. As such Tymoshenko's opposition to pro-government officials also presents her as an agent of change, seeking to oust a corrupt, authoritarian, government closely associated with the former imperial power of Russia. By identifying Tymoshenko's gender through the words/rhetoric of “princess” and “heroine,” journalists representationally differentiate her from other Ukrainian politicians, the majority of men. Therefore, her gender transforms

³⁶⁷ Hrycak, “The Orange Princess” Runs for President,” 73.

her into a game-changing candidate as she appears physically distinct from other politicians in a competitive arena.

Interestingly, the *Globe* referred to Tymoshenko as “princess” six times (three times in 2004 and three times in 2010) and was the only paper to do so. The *Globe* calls Tymoshenko a “heroine” three times in 2004,³⁶⁸ and the *New York Times* refers to her once as a “heroine” in 2010.³⁶⁹

Tymoshenko’s persona as a heroine is reinforced by Mark MacKinnon of the *Globe* when he writes that Tymoshenko “transformed into a heroine and dubbed a "Slavic Joan of Arc" by supporters.”³⁷⁰ This Joan of Arc persona was strategically embraced by Tymoshenko allowing her to take advantage of situations of persecution, making her appear to be some kind of martyr. This occurred when she was thrown in jail in 2001 to 2002 and broadcasts show her looking tired and unkempt.³⁷¹ Although there were no instances of journalists describing Tymoshenko as tired or dishevelled in 2005 and 2010 after she lost the prime ministership, certainly Tymoshenko continued to use the heroine narrative for her own purpose.

Tymoshenko positioned both as a defender of democracy and a game changer in Ukrainian politics.³⁷² Kis argues the media contrasts Tymoshenko’s slender and delicate feminine appearance with her enormous energy and political ambition. The latter was associated with masculine traits to allow comparisons to the French heroine, Joan of

³⁶⁸ MacKinnon, “The princess, power, and the people,” A1.

³⁶⁹ Levy, “Ukraine’s Prime Minister Stumps for Her Turn at the Top,” 5.

³⁷⁰ Campus, *Women Political Leaders and the Media*, 63.

³⁷¹ Kis, “Beauty Will Save the World,”

³⁷² This passage also reinforces Tymoshenko as mother of the nation, in addition to a defender of democracy and a game changer.

Arc.³⁷³ Kis describes this image of Tymoshenko as a “pure personification of patriotism” which is strategically beneficial to both her and her enemies.³⁷⁴ Kis describes that Tymoshenko's rivals commonly critique her based on gender. For example, "one such joker," asked, "if Tymoshenko is the Ukrainian Joan of Arc, when is she to be burned at the stake?"³⁷⁵ This rhetoric positions Tymoshenko as a pro-Ukrainian patriot, against Russian authoritarian interests.

Portrayed in the media simultaneously as a defender of democracy and a game changer, Tymoshenko utilizes these representations to benefit her progress. The English-speaking press continually associated Tymoshenko not only with the Orange Revolution to position her as a pro-democratic and pro-European Union but as pro-Ukrainian and anti-Russian. While Tymoshenko is perceived as an agent of change because the platform of the Orange Revolution rejected for authoritarianism she makes use of these portrayals. In a feature comment piece published in the *Globe* Tymoshenko discusses the plight of Ukrainians during the Orange Revolution in her appeal for international support. In the 587-word editorial, she references democracy eight times.

We defy those who seek to corrupt our democracy, but we stand with the hand of friendship extended to all of our neighbours, including Russia. It has no reason to intervene. A vibrant Ukrainian democracy will need the comradeship of Russia and of Europe to build the kind of society that our people desire. Our boldness is tinged by realism. By securing our democracy, we help secure Russia's own.³⁷⁶

Tymoshenko uses this international opportunity to reinforce the media's representations of her as a defender of democracy as evident in her attempt to build democratic ties to the

³⁷³ Kis, “Beauty Will Save the World,” 42.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ Yulia Tymoshenko, “The battle for Ukraine: Tell us we don’t stand alone,” *Globe and Mail*, November 26, 2004, A17.

west as well as Russia. In 2004 especially the media upheld the image Tymoshenko wished to portray of herself as a defender of democracy, even though she may have been otherwise.

By 2010, Tymoshenko and Yanukovych were respectively framed in the media as the pro-western and pro-Russian candidates. Although Tymoshenko was described as having authoritarian tendencies by the *Guardian*, she was more consistently associated with the Orange Revolution, and therefore she was privileged as the democratic, and even an incumbent candidate during the 2010 presidential election. Journalist Luke Harding of the *Guardian* notes that “others suggest Yanukovych would be a less autocratic and more consensual leader than Tymoshenko, whose authoritarian instincts have spooked many educated voters.”³⁷⁷ After the Orange Revolution, each newspaper refers at some time to Tymoshenko as a “populist.” No instances of Tymoshenko being called a populist exist in any of these print media sources during 2004. However, by 2005 when Tymoshenko was fired from her position as prime minister, Graeme Smith of the *Globe* describes Tymoshenko as a “fiery populist, whose rhetoric and iconic status helped the Orange Revolution topple a regime that was widely accused of corruption[...].”³⁷⁸ Clifford J. Levy from the *New York Times* similarly reinforced Tymoshenko as staging a “populist campaign.”³⁷⁹ Referring to Tymoshenko as a “populist” retrospectively may question her true commitment to democracy and to challenge her public persona as a defender of democracy. Over time her democratic character leadership and populism was called into

³⁷⁷ Luke Harding, “Ukraine voters turn backs on Orange Revolution: Strong lead for man whose fraud led to popular revolt: Yanukovych likely to face Tymoshenko in run-off,” *The Guardian*, January 16, 2010, 29.

³⁷⁸ Smith, “Former Ukrainian PM fires back;” 3.

³⁷⁹ Levy, “Toppled In Ukraine But Nearing A Comeback,” 4.

question. References to Tymoshenko's populism caused suspicion regarding her motives as a politician. However, as political scientist Kuzio notes, Tymoshenko is, and most politicians in Ukraine can be described as, chameleonic rather than populist because of their shifting ideologies.³⁸⁰ Arguably the media's contradictory impressions of Tymoshenko are both as a chameleonic politician, and a populist.

Tymoshenko as Mother of the Nation

As Campus (2013) contends, the "mother of the nation" is a culturally approved model of female leadership that evokes traditional values related to feminine nurturing and caring.³⁸¹ Female candidates may use this rhetoric to represent themselves strategically and usefully deploy physical characteristics as well as "soft power" to convince the voter of their efficacy despite their status as women.³⁸² Furthermore, the "mother of the nation" would also be dedicated to upholding a culturally accepted form of leadership that would not disrupt the status quo of gender and heteronormative relations. The "mother of the nation" persona is also reinforced through the heteronormative romanticized relationship between Yushchenko and Tymoshenko as discussed earlier. This apparent romanticized relationship emphasized Tymoshenko's power during the Orange Revolution yet delegitimizes her power while prime minister at a time when she was no longer part of the strong marital unit. Moreover, this romantic patriarchal/heteronormative metaphor and "mother of the nation" trope is strengthened through traditional power relations of marriage exhibited between Tymoshenko (the mother) being subordinate to Yushchenko (the father) during and following the Orange

³⁸⁰ Kuzio, "Populism in Ukraine," 8.

³⁸¹ Campus, *Women Political Leaders and the Media*, 63.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

Revolution. Therefore, although Tymoshenko physically differs from that of traditional male leaders, her position as a culturally accepted "mother of the nation" figure maintains traditional gender relations. Several subtle examples of Tymoshenko being described as a "mother of the nation" using soft power to promote her political messages and capability are evident in the English press coverage.

As discussed earlier, Tymoshenko's physical appearance is an integral part of her persona as a Ukrainian politician. The narrative of soft power is emphasized through Tymoshenko's embodiment of the femininity of the nationalist symbol of Ukrainian motherhood, the *berehynia*. Mothers and motherhood are generally associated with comfort, kindness and fairness: all characteristics associated with soft power. In addition to the strategic actions that Tymoshenko uses, as documented by journalists, she also physically styles her hair and clothing to represent the *berehynia*.

While there are few instances of Tymoshenko speaking described by news articles, Kis describes how Tymoshenko utilizes language to reinforce her person as "mother of the nation" and to soften the rhetoric of charisma. Kis describes how Tymoshenko uses maternal rhetoric associated with "warmth" during national, Christian or professional holiday greetings.³⁸³ Tymoshenko's messages to the people of Ukraine and as Kis describes, reinforces her image as maternal include, "may autumn warm your heart," "accept my warm greetings," and "may Easter ...warm our souls with blessed warmth."³⁸⁴

³⁸³ Kis, "Beauty Will Save The World!," 37.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

During the Orange Revolution Tymoshenko demonstrated her willingness to perform the role of "mother of the nation" using her physical appearance and performing gender roles associated with Ukrainian nationalism. Contrasting soft power with masculinized hard power and her performance strategy as a *berehynia*, Tymoshenko transformed herself into the "mother of the nation." Further, Tymoshenko demonstrated her ability to protect Ukrainian nationalism from threats from Russian sympathizers. The strategy likely worked for her during this period of the Orange Revolution however into her second term as prime minister from 2007 to 2010, her performance faltered. Tymoshenko made deals with Russian President Vladimir Putin during her term, and some Ukrainian nationalists perceived her actions as betraying of her identity as a "mother of the nation." This situation may also have attracted suspicion on Tymoshenko's political motives since she was such a staunch nationalist and she had countered this staunch nationalism by embodying a traditional form of feminine Ukrainian nationalism.

Sum of Findings

Feminist scholars document the way in which women politicians' gender has been central to but at other times hinder their political careers. This occurs most commonly by framing women who enter the political sphere as "space invaders" as defined by Puwar. Yulia Tymoshenko's political career during a six-year period from 2004 to 2010 is indicative of how international print journalism conceive a woman as a space invader when competing for political power. Furthermore, gender normativity was a focus in the four profile articles published by all three news organizations: Canada's national paper the *Globe & Mail*, Britain's *Guardian* and the United States, the *New York Times*.

These biographical profiles were distinct from news articles where the main topics were events in which Tymoshenko's involvement was significant but secondary to the event. Since the primary focus of the three biographical profiles was Tymoshenko's political suitability for political power more detail is provided about her past, present and potential future than in news articles describing events in which she played less than a central part. Obsession on her appearance necessitates an increase in the use of gender-specific language to distinguish Tymoshenko from male competitors. Within these profiles, personal characteristics such as charisma, family, hairstyle, and allusions to her sexuality attract significant concentration. Tymoshenko in these characterizations is charismatic, yet delicate for instance as a leader of the Orange Revolution. The latter female quality effectively undermines her political charisma especially by those who find women in leadership suspicious.

The fixation on women's physical appearance, fashion and maternal nature, over and above the candidate's substance or platform, is convincingly argued by feminist political scholars.³⁸⁵ As such, the characterization of Tymoshenko as a maternal figure especially relative to her close relationship with Yushchenko in 2004 is sustained into later years, dissipating somewhat during the 2010 election campaign. Discussions of Tymoshenko's physical appearance, as examples from the three English speaking papers show, consistently drew attention to her gender and associate her as a mother of the nation charged with the protection of Ukrainians synonymous with the nation's population. Furthermore, as feminist scholars Kis (2007) and Hrycak (2011) note, the discussion of Tymoshenko's traditional braided hairstyle decisively emphasizes the

³⁸⁵ Dianne G. Bystrom, et al. *Gender and Candidate Communication*.

outward construction of her image as the mother of the nation embodying the traditional image of a *berehynia* with the use of this simple visual device. The *berehynia* was an identity that Tymoshenko clearly and strategically exploited for political self-promotion.

Finally, Tymoshenko is more generally portrayed as a democratic politician, distinct from other more corrupt or authoritarian politicians such as President Kuchma, or President Vladimir Putin of Russia. This representational trend occurs primarily during the 2004 period of the Orange Revolution. These references explicitly associate Tymoshenko with democratic values because of her visibility in leading the Orange Revolution. Tymoshenko appears as pure and politically ethical compared to the more corrupt, authoritarian male allies or enemies in the political realm of the time despite public recognition of her tremendous personal wealth. However, some articles do report to Tymoshenko's authoritarian tendencies. Additionally, by identifying Tymoshenko as a populist, journalists in all three papers imply she was potentially self-serving and opportunist, therefore, casting aspersions on her political motives. To be self-serving rather than appropriately self-effacing de-feminized Tymoshenko thus detrimentally working against her success in the political sphere.

In response to the question I posed at the beginning of the chapter as to why the media focused on the personal details of Tymoshenko during these crucial moments in her political campaign and rise to popularity, I suggest that Tymoshenko has strategically established and intertwined her physical appearance closely with her political ambition, especially relative to the need to represent herself as a populist. Essentially, while Tymoshenko was politically visible during this era, she met specific cultural requirements that allowed her as a woman, to succeed as a political leader in Ukraine. However,

Tymoshenko also produces ambivalence among the electorate because her atypical femininity combined with her political ambition was not uniformly approved. While Tymoshenko's strategies of feminine-specific beauty and her association with Ukrainian nationalism provided her with power and political legitimacy, these characteristics simultaneously worked against her especially following her time as prime minister. Therefore, her femininity allowed her a certain degree of power while also broadcasting some suspicion on her motives for becoming a politician which were exacerbated following her failure to become president.

Tymoshenko intentionally positions herself as a moral "tactical outsider" by professing to be a game-changing politician seeking to uproot corruption and shift the establishment by intertwining her feminine physicality with her populist politics. Kis states that this image of Tymoshenko as a game changer works exceptionally well for her.³⁸⁶ The journalists in the English-speaking press of three nations – Canada, Britain and the US – emphasize these qualities as expressed by their preoccupation of female-appropriate appearance.

Like other international women political leaders, Tymoshenko adopted political strategies to her national context. Kis explains Tymoshenko is different every time you see her: “she looks different, speaks differently, and she behaves differently depending upon the political context, the particular situation and the audience being addressed.”³⁸⁷ The international press focused on attributes Tymoshenko was seeking, such as her female property, as a “mother of the nation” or as a defender of democratic rights.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

³⁸⁷ Kis, “Beauty Will Save the World!,” 36-7.

However, after 2005, the focus on physical appearance attracted suspicion to remind the reader that as a woman Tymoshenko is a “space invader.” This chapter has presented the strategies women leaders take in countries dealing with threats from authoritarian neighbours as well as to combat authoritarianism from within their own countries. Likely, other leaders might adopt some of the strategies Tymoshenko adopted. However, although Tymoshenko was capable of becoming prime minister, the focus on her feminine appearance by the media drew suspicion upon her in the years leading up to her run for president. Furthermore, it appears her strategies drew her support from other parliamentarians to become prime minister twice but failed to get more fulsome support from the general populous in Ukraine.

Chapter IV: Conclusion: Obstacles and Opportunities to Tymoshenko's Political Leadership

In this thesis, I have used a feminist lens to theorize the concepts of space, and more specifically political space, to understand how gender is an essential element of political leadership in the case of Yulia Tymoshenko. I place Tymoshenko in conversation with feminist scholars working in political science, gender, and history who discuss women politicians as space invaders due to the historical and nationalist expectations that are reinforced over an extended period. This case study has described and analyzed the personal background and political career of the former prime minister and presidential candidate of Ukraine, Yulia Tymoshenko. This thesis has also examined media representations of Tymoshenko in the English-language press to understand why she could attain the position of prime minister in 2005 and 2007 to 2010 but lost the position of the presidency in 2010.

Analyses of the relationship between gender and political space inform my study of how Tymoshenko is a space invader. The concept of theorizing political space was inspired by scholar Nirmal Puwar (2004) whose study focused on women parliamentarians as "space invaders" as a result of the historical and social masculinization of political space. This study also utilizes scholar Farida Jalalzai's (2013, 2014) studies of political leadership that describe women political leaders as less likely to attain positions with high concentrations of power such as strong presidencies due to the prevalence of stereotypical perceptions of gender. The literature review discussed of how gender stereotypes are associated with the types of spaces men and women occupy, as well as their connection to the role of social organization by the nation-state. In post-

communist Europe, a discussion of the nation-state is essential in understanding how gender roles and the meaning of space were reconfigured and reimagined during the transition period from authoritarian communism to a free market economy in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the region. Lastly, the review included discussions the barriers women experience in politics worldwide and in post-communist states.

Subsequent chapters dealt with Tymoshenko's biographical information and English-speaking media representations. The methodology of this case study is based on previous studies of women leaders such as the analysis of their backgrounds and political careers as well as the numerous studies of the media representation of women in politics. While the biographical chapter traces Tymoshenko's personal and political career to identify her qualifications, politics, struggles, and talents associated with attaining political leadership, the chapter about media representations provides insight into the way Tymoshenko's political and leadership skills were recorded by journalists and represented to the public. Both methods present exciting findings in that Tymoshenko's gender plays a vital role in her political persona, whether she was in control of those representations or not. But media representations also positioned her as a "space invader" in Ukrainian politics.

While Tymoshenko overcame certain political factors to become a successful politician, she also came from a relatively privileged and affluent background. For instance, she was elected in a single member district electoral system at a time when there were few women politicians. However, as an ethnic Russian politician in Dnipropetrovsk (a region with a high percentage of predominantly Russian speakers) Tymoshenko won favour during the Soviet era and took advantage of opportunities with the Communist

Party's *Komsomol* or young communists. Moreover, she benefited from secure socio-economic status, attaining a high level of education and possessing a great deal of wealth. She married into a family with connections to the Communist Party which benefited her and her husband when they created the United Energy Systems (UES) gas trading company following the end of the Soviet Union and from which they became billionaires.

While Tymoshenko was a “space invader” she benefitted from her wealth gained through UES. Therefore, even though women politicians made up 4.3 percent of parliament (after dropping drastically after the end of the Soviet Union), for the most part, wealthy oligarchs dominate the Ukrainian political scene. Thus, Tymoshenko's wealth helped her fit in with other politicians and provided her with funds to run for elections, and eventually overcome several court cases. Ultimately, Tymoshenko's wealth and connections to the Dnipropetrovsk region and Hromada party leader Pavlo Lazarenko helped her win a seat in parliament in 1996. This type of partner patronage is one key to increasing opportunity for women politicians to win parliamentary seats and thus why Tymoshenko won her parliamentary seat at a time when women in politics in Ukraine was exceptional rather than a norm.

Beyond the analysis of how wealth and party affiliation enabled Tymoshenko, her work after she won the election highlights her credentials and demonstrates her political abilities which Jalalzai (2013, 2015) notes is key to women achieving positions of power worldwide and specific to Europe. Tymoshenko's political experience include being a cabinet minister, a political party leader and subsequently, prime minister for two terms. Furthermore, Tymoshenko lead the only female-led political party to make it into parliament, the Fatherland Party. She remains the only female prime minister in Ukraine

since independence. She was understood as crucial for organizing and leading the Orange Revolution, and before that she organized protests against then-President Leonid Kuchma for his authoritarian actions. This opposition to Kuchma positioned her as a democratic leader. Tymoshenko has demonstrated her leadership skills and is arguably one of the most successful, internationally visible, and longstanding politicians in Ukraine – regardless of sex.

Throughout her political career, Tymoshenko has altered her appearance to align with her politics, utilizing specific gendered stereotypes to strategically reinforce her political viability. Like Tymoshenko, many other Ukrainian politicians are chameleonic in that they alter their political stances to suit particular political motives. However, she altered not only her politics but also her appearance according to the political context. It is necessary to keep in mind that there is a lack of institutional and political party development in Ukraine and that Ukrainian politicians are less occupied with political policies than in longstanding democracies. In Tymoshenko's case when in the late 1990's her politics shifted towards an anti-presidential stance and towards nationalist rhetoric, she made decisive changes to her physical appearance. As a result, in 2005 her physical appearance conformed to the trope as a "mother of the nation" to match maternalist policies such as improving mother's pensions and improvements to public healthcare. This maternalist persona allowed Tymoshenko to strategically align herself with traditionalist values while navigating a system where she was sometimes unwelcomed as a woman. Therefore, Tymoshenko used the myth of the *berehynia* to perform certain aspects of traditional femininity, while operating in a space that is predominantly occupied by men.

Tymoshenko walked the fine line between appearing overly feminine and overly masculine. While Tymoshenko performed femininity in the way she dressed and styled her hair, she countered with appropriation of other strong leadership attributes such as her charismatic and fiery speeches as well strong debate skills that are associated with masculine of leadership. In other words, Tymoshenko sought to appear as a strong leader that would not be pushed around while also playing a motherly, caring figure who wished to protect the Ukrainian people from authoritarianism.

Tymoshenko's ability to simultaneously embody masculine and feminine political features, and her enactment of blonde mother of the national uniform, did not go unnoticed by the English-language press. The English-language press articles represented Tymoshenko as a strong, charismatic leader, defender of democracy, and mother of the nation while highlighting her physical appearance. These articles certainly reinforced Tymoshenko's reinvention of herself as the mother of the nation but also positioned her as a "space invader." The articles focused on Tymoshenko's role in the Orange Revolution and her pro-Ukrainian and democratic stances. However, for the most part, the articles seldom discussed her politics to instead focus on her personal characteristics and feminine appearance. During the 2010 Ukrainian presidential election, the tone of the news articles was less enthusiastic in comparison to the articles from 2004 to 2007. These articles mostly discussed Tymoshenko's role in the Orange Revolution, her time as prime minister and her broken, seemingly marital, relationship with President Viktor Yushchenko. However, Tymoshenko's leadership during the Orange Revolution made her appear to be the incumbent candidate. Her broken alliance with Yushchenko who

campaigned against her in the 2010 presidential election, was her undoing and the media supported this downfall.

Furthermore, a likely source of friction is related to Ukrainian voting cleavages. Tymoshenko's perceived ability to stand up to the authoritarianism of President Putin and the Russian state was incredibly influential in Ukraine as the primary election issues in Ukraine involve Russian influence. Additionally, Putin's self and media representations as a hypermasculine figure were juxtapose to Tymoshenko's appearance as a weaker candidate because of her femininity. Tymoshenko's friendly political interactions with the Putin, during her second term as prime minister antagonized some nationalist voters and drew suspicion on her motives for wanting political power. This suspicion came as part of Tymoshenko's rhetoric during the Orange Revolution, causing the Orange protests to move to Russia.

Tymoshenko had a better chance of becoming the prime minister than the president in that her becoming prime minister because at both times this situation was negotiated by a small number of politicians rather than a massive test of the population through a direct vote. When Tymoshenko ran for president, she could not negotiate the same way with the Ukrainian population that she could with the president and members of parliament. Furthermore, while Tymoshenko achieved the prime ministership, she was removed by a vote of no confidence if or when she became a problem for the male politicians in power. Therefore, Tymoshenko's actions were held to account by male competitors.

This study contributes to the pre-existing scholarship on women's access to positions of political power in the following ways. First, this study concretely applies

Puwar's notion of the "space invader," and to Jalalzai's (2013, 2014) assertion that the powers designated to positions of political leadership are a jumping off point to theorize women's complex relationship to positions of leadership. The case study demonstrates how these theories, that centre gender as a category of analysis, as described by Joan Scott (1988) have worked in practice in the case of Ukraine. Furthermore, the study adds to the scholarly assertions about women prime ministers and presidents in post-communist Europe and also identifies transnational trends of women politicians that Tymoshenko experienced in her case.

Some questions require further investigation. This study is similar to other studies such as Genovese (1993) about how individual women seeking political leadership have navigated gender to positions of political leadership. This thesis looks at this gender navigation in post-communist Europe. How have other women political leaders in post-communist Europe navigated through political systems to become political leaders? What are the similarities and differences between these other women and Tymoshenko? Concerning media coverage of women led political campaigns, how did Tymoshenko herself understand the kind of gendered coverage to which she was subject? To what extent has she manufactured her image to conform to the depictions fabricated in the English-language press? In other words, what degree of agency did Tymoshenko possess in constructing her own political image? Furthermore, would press coverage of Tymoshenko have been different had female journalists been covering these news stories?

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