

Gender and Nationalism
GENS 5420, 4 credits
MA elective, Fall 2020

Professor: **Elissa Helms**
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Course Description

This course examines some of the major theoretical approaches to and empirically grounded analyses of the ways in which national/ist discourses and practices are gendered and sexualized. The course approaches the concept of nation and its close variants – ethnic and cultural identities, nation-states, citizenship and notions of belonging – as historically contingent and continuously reproduced through discourse and practice on a variety of levels of power. In keeping with anthropological approaches, we concentrate on both conceptual/discursive frameworks and material effects in the everyday lives of people belonging to various socially defined groups. We approach differently gendered subjectivities, men and women, masculinities and femininities, as well as sexualities as they intersect with national, ethno-national, and nation-state formations. Particular areas of focus include reproduction, ethnicity, wartime sexual(ized) violence, sexuality, feminist and LGBT activism, and recently proposed concepts like femonationalism and homonationalism and contemporary questions around populism and nativism. Geographically and historically the course takes a broad, comparative view, even as we pay particular attention to contexts most frequently addressed in the literature, including that of the former Yugoslavia, Sweden, Cyprus, and Europe in general where the professor and TA have particular expertise.

N.B. This course shares many core readings and our Teaching Assistant with the 2-credit online elective “Gender, Memory, and Nationalism” taught by Hannah Loney this term. Students can take part in joint online discussions between the two classes but they can be enrolled in only one of them. It is not possible to switch from one to the other after the end of the official drop/add period. This course is planned as an on-site class in Vienna. Should the measures to combat the Covid pandemic make it necessary, the class will be moved online with instructions to follow. Students who expect to arrive late to Vienna may enroll and follow on-site classes via video link or by completing extra assignments and attending online tutorials, as worked out with the instructor, but only if they can reasonably expect to arrive in Vienna by the end of Week 3, i.e. by October 18, otherwise they can only choose Prof. Loney’s course if they want to engage with this topic.

Learning Outcomes

Through lectures, assigned readings, small and large group discussions, student presentations,

written critiques, and the group media project, students should come out of this course able to:

- identify and discuss the main theoretical issues involved in studying nations and nationalisms as discursive, cultural, and material phenomena
- recognize and analyze the ways in which notions of gender, sex and sexuality are implicated in national/ist discourses and practices
- critically assess and compare class readings according to the theoretical arguments put forward and the methods used to construct those arguments
- identify and research a topic of theoretical relevance to the themes of the course through primary sources found on the internet or other available resources
- present critical written analysis that is backed up by arguments and evidence from class readings as well as additional published sources or primary research materials
- demonstrate the ability to analyze, assess and compare class materials through oral participation in class

Course Requirements and Grading

Your grade will be based on:

Class participation and attendance	20%
2 Reaction papers (20% each)	40%
Group media project	40%
Oral presentation	10%
Final essay	30%

Participation: This course depends on *active* participation from all students. This means you must come to class having read the assigned readings and that you share your critical evaluation of the readings in class and participate in small group and class discussions. If it becomes necessary, I may require in-class written assessments on the readings as part of your participation grade.

You must have a GOOD EXCUSE to miss class. You can take one “free miss” without explanation but beyond that each undocumented or unexcused absence will negatively affect your participation grade by 0.5% (and correspondingly also your class grade). Whether it is excused or not, you are responsible for the material you missed (check with a classmate first).

Critical evaluation is not only negative: we aim to first assess each text’s contributions and strengths in comparison with other scholarship before delving into any shortcomings. For each reading you should consider and take notes on:

- What is the main **argument**? Sub-arguments?
- **To whom** is the analysis speaking? (who is the author, how are they situated geographically, disciplinarily, in terms of seniority; where did the publication appear, in what debates is the text intervening whether implicitly or explicitly?)
- What **evidence** does the author present to back up the argument and how was it gathered? Does the research conform to ethical standards?
- **Is the argument convincing?** Why or why not?

- **How does this reading relate** to the rest of the literature we have covered in class (or other things you have read)? To your own knowledge and experiences? Does it further or complicate our understanding of nationalist processes?

Reaction papers (2): 3-5 pages (800-1500 words) each, due at the beginning of class on the day of the readings you are writing about. Each paper should cover the readings for one class period (in most cases, two articles), on any date in the designated time window. Follow the guidelines above for discussion preparation but concentrate mostly on *your own critique* and *relating these readings to the other literature from the course* (in other words, *do not just summarize!*). You must turn in two of these, one in the first half of the semester (**by November 5**) and the other by the end (**by November 26**). You can choose to write about the readings for any class starting in week 3. It is highly recommended to leave time for receiving feedback on the first paper before you turn in the second.

Group media project: this is a two-part project that aims at testing and pushing forward the arguments and theoretical approaches found in our class readings. In groups of 2-4 (depending on the size of the class), choose a public spectacle, state initiative, citizen group, media debate, piece of art/music, or other phenomenon that illustrates the intersection of gender and/or sexuality with national or state discourses or practices. Your example must be accessible visually: an illustrated newspaper or magazine article, website, YouTube video, film clip, Facebook group, blog, etc. or through your own documentation (“field” notes, pictures, video, flyers) if you are able to attend an event or activity. Your example can be from any country or setting but it must be recent – not more than 3 years old unless I give you special permission – and something that has NOT been analyzed in the scholarly literature (as far as you can reasonably ascertain). I must approve your topic before you proceed: **a one-paragraph topic proposal with group names is by the start of class on November 12.**

You will present your analysis in two stages, as a group and individually:

1. Group presentation: in-class presentations of media projects (see schedule below). Your group will have 15-20 minutes to present the topic and a critical analysis of it using our class readings. Show your visual materials on the classroom screen, keep any video clips short. Text presented should also be brief and focus on key conclusions and arguments or basic identifying information. Your analysis should illustrate points from and comparisons with class readings, preferably showing how your example may challenge and/or expand on any of the texts’ main arguments. In the remaining time, your classmates will have a chance to offer feedback and ask questions. Time allotment and schedule will be adjusted according to the number of students in the class.

2. Final essay: 8-10 pages (up to 3,000 words), **due December 22**. This is a concise write-up of your group’s visual presentation. Each member of the group must turn in their own paper in their own words based on the work of the group (but you can use a common introduction/description of the topic if you choose to). The paper should *briefly* describe your example and the materials upon which you base your analysis. Then, analyze it against the themes and theoretical and methodological approaches of our class readings. **You must *meaningfully discuss and engage with a minimum of five class readings*** (just mentioning them is not enough), comparing your example to those in the readings, although the more class readings you can tie into your analysis,

the better. Top marks will only go to papers that *critically engage* with our class readings. Consider, for example, whether your material supports or negates some of the theories we have studied or suggests some ways in which we might modify those theories. Which approaches do you find useful for making sense of your material? Which arguments are persuasive?

Writing guidelines

All assignments must be uploaded as a Word file to the e-learning site. Use 12-point font (Times New Roman, Arial, or other standard font) and double- or 1½-space with page numbers at the bottom. Electronic documents (uploaded or emailed) must **include your name in the file name**. And remember to **back up your files** so you don't have to repeat your work! **Provide full references for all literature cited**, including those on our syllabus, and **avoid plagiarism**. If you are unsure about rules for citations and avoiding plagiarism, please see me or the Center for Academic Writing and consult CEU's policy on academic dishonesty listed in the program Handbooks. Plagiarism and academic misconduct will be taken very seriously and could result in failure of assignments or even the whole course.

Classroom policies

Please have your readings and notes for discussion in front of you at every class. You are encouraged to read from printed texts and take notes by hand if at all possible, as these have been shown to best facilitate learning and retention. If you must use a screen in class, please keep fiddling and typing to a minimum (do not open other programs during class unless asked to look something up). Phone use is not allowed; they must be put away and in silent mode during class.

This class works best if everyone participates. Reflections on geographical and historical contexts not directly addressed in our readings are highly encouraged. The goal is for all of us to learn from each other's different backgrounds and strengths; please help to create and maintain an atmosphere where everyone feels comfortable speaking up.

Schedule of Topics, Assignments and Readings

NB: All required as well as recommended readings are posted in pdf format on the class e-learning site (moodle) where students enrolled in the class automatically have access. Others may request guest access from the professor.

Week 1 1. Introduction and introductions

Sept. 29 Course overview and introduction to each other, and to the terms, concepts, and approach of the course

Oct. 1 2. Nations, nation-states, and nationalism

Reading:

- Benedict Anderson, Chapters 1-3, *Imagined Communities*. (London: Verso, 1983): 1-46.
- Partha Chatterjee, "Chapter 1: Whose Imagined Community," in *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Week 2 3. Banal nationalism and the "west"

Oct. 6

Reading:

- Billig Michael, "Introduction," *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995): 1-12.
- Michael Skey, "The national in everyday life: A critical engagement with Michael Billig's thesis of Banal Nationalism," *The Sociological Review* 57(2), 2009: 331-46.
- Michael Billig, "Reflecting on a Critical Engagement with Banal Nationalism: reply to Skey," *The Sociological Review* 57(2), 2009: 347-52

Oct. 8 4. Feminist critiques: women and nationalism

Reading:

- Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Introduction." In Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (eds.), *Woman-Nation-State*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989): 6-11.
- Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family," *Feminist Review* 44, Summer 1993: 61-80.

Week 3 5. Feminist critiques: sexuality and masculinity

Oct. 13

Reading:

- Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2), March 1998: 242-269.
- Tamar Mayer. "From Zero to Hero: Masculinity in Jewish Nationalism," in Tamar Mayer (ed.), *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (New York: Routledge, 2000): 283-307.

Recommended/background:

- George Mosse, 1985. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Oct. 15 **6. Reproducing the nation, reproducing the state**

Reading:

- Geraldine Heng and Janadas Devan, "State Fatherhood: The Politics of Nationalism, Sexuality, and Race in Singapore." In Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer and Patricia Yaeger (eds.), *Nationalisms and Sexualities*. (New York: Routledge, 1992): 343-364.
- Leslie K. Dwyer, "Spectacular Sexuality: Nationalism, Development and the Politics of Family Planning in Indonesia," in *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, ed. Tamar Mayer (London: Routledge, 2000), 25–64.

Recommended (to be referenced in lecture):

- Nira Yuval-Davis, "Women and the Biological Reproduction of the Nation," *Women's Studies International Forum* 19 (1-2), 1996: 17-24.

Week 4 **7. The (colonial) state as pimp: Regulating reproduction**

Oct. 20

Reading:

- John Lie, "The State As Pimp: Prostitution and the Patriarchal State in Japan in the 1940s," *The Sociological Quarterly* 38(2), 1997: 251-263.
- Ann Laura Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable," *American Ethnologist* 16(4), November 1989: 634-660.

Oct. 22 **8. Kinship and reproduction in the symbolism of nationalism**

Reading:

- Natividad Gutierrez Chong, 2008. "Symbolic violence and sexualities in the myth making of Mexican national identity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(3): 524-542.
- Rebecca Bryant, 2002. "The Purity of Spirit and the Power of Blood: A Comparative Perspective on Nation, Gender, and Kinship in Cyprus," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8: 509-530.

Week 5 **9. Gendered citizens in a military nation**

Oct. 27

Reading:

- Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Chapters 2 & 3 (pp.33-58 and 61-86).

Oct. 29 **10. Gender and class in national militaries**

Reading:

- Sune Haugbolle, "The (Little) Militia Man: Memory and Militarized Masculinity in Lebanon," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 8(1) (2012): 115-139.

- Laura E. Masson, "Women in the Military in Argentina: Nationalism, Gender, and Ethnicity," *Gender Panic, Gender Policy: Advances in Gender Research* 24 (2017): 23-43.

Week 6
Nov. 3

11. Wartime sexual(ized) violence and the nation

Reading:

- Veena Das, "National Honor and Practical Kinship: Unwanted Women and Children." In Faye Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp (eds.), *Conceiving the New World Order*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): 212-233.
- Nayanika Mookherjee, "Remembering to Forget: Public Secrecy and Memory of Sexual Violence in the Bangladesh War of 1971," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 12: 433-450.

Nov. 5

12. Queering the nation

In-class short film: *Pusztá Cowboy*

Reading:

- Anikó Imre, "Lesbian Nationalism," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 33(2), 2008: 255-282.
- Jason Ritchie, "How do You Say 'Come out of the Closet' in Arabic? Queer Activism and the Politics of Visibility in Israel/Palestine," *GLQ* 16(4), 2010: 557-575.

Deadline for first Reaction Paper

Week 7
Nov. 10

13. Homonationalism, terrorism, imperialism

Reading:

- Jasbir Puar, "The Sexuality of Terrorism" (Chapter 1) in *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007): 37-78.
- Melanie Richter-Montpetit, "Empire, Desire and Violence: A Queer Transnational Feminist Reading of the Prisoner 'Abuse' in Abu Ghraib and the Question of 'Gender Equality'," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 9(1), 2007: 38-59.

Nov. 12

14. Masculinity, sexuality, and nationalism: pushing theory further

Reading:

- Koen Sloopmaeckers, 2019. "Nationalism as Competing Masculinities: Homophobia as a Technology of Othering for Hetero- and Homonationalism," *Theory and Society* 48: 239-265.

Due: Topic proposals (one paragraph, before the beginning of class)

Week 8
Nov. 17

15. Nationalism and feminism

Reading:

- Ranjoo Seodu Herr, 2003. "The Possibility of Nationalist Feminism" *Hypatia* 18(3):135-160.
- Elisabeth Olivius and Jenny Hedstrom, 2019. "Militarized Nationalism as a Platform for Feminist Mobilization? The Case of the Exiled Burmese Women's Movement," *Women's Studies International Forum* 76: 1-10.

Nov. 19

16. Femonationalism (led by Tegiye)

Reading:

- Sarah R. Farris, Introduction, *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017): 1-18.
- Maja Sager and Diana Mulinari, "Safety for whom? Exploring femonationalism and care-racism in Sweden," *Women's Studies International Forum* 68 (2018): 149-156

Recommended:

- Rogers Brubaker, "Between nationalism and civilizationism: the European populist moment in comparative perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(8), 2017: 1191-1226.

Week 9
Nov. 24

17. Populism, resentment, and economic inequalities

Reading:

- Claudine M. Pied, 2019. "Ethnography and the Making of 'The People': Uncovering Conservative Populist Politics in the United States," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 78(3): 761-786.
- Priya Chacko, 2020. "Gender and Authoritarian Populism: Empowerment, Protection, and the Politics of Resentful Aspiration in India," *Critical Asian Studies* 52(2): 204-225.

Nov. 26

18. Gender and nation branding (led by Tegiye)

Reading:

- Katarzyna Jezierska and Ann Towns, 2018. "Taming Feminism? The Place of Gender Equality in the 'Progressive Sweden' Brand," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 14: 55-63.
- Pauline Rankin, 2012. "Gender and Nation Branding in 'The True North Strong and Free'," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 8: 257-267.

Deadline for second Reaction Paper

Week 10
Dec. 1

19. Group project visual presentations (or space for further readings – stay tuned)

Dec. 3 20. **presentations continued**

Week 11

Dec. 8 21. **No class: Austrian holiday** – Day of the Immaculate Conception!

Dec. 10 22. **presentations continued**

Week 12

Dec. 15

23. **presentations continued**

Dec. 17 24. **Conclusions of the course Final Essays due: Tuesday, December 22 by 5pm**

Extensions will be granted only with Elissa's approval at least two days before the deadline and only up to the final deadline set by the department. Unexcused late papers will be graded down one grade (i.e. from an A- to a B+) for each 24 hours they are late.

* * * Happy holidays and winter break!! * * *

Come to class ready to discuss and compare the major approaches covered in this class. We will consider how attention to gender and sexuality contributes to our understanding of national and state processes, what aspects might be missing or inadequately addressed by the literature, and what contemporary events might present new ways in which sex and gender figure in constructions and practices of nations and states.

Don't forget to fill out a course evaluation online for both the professor and the TA. Your feedback is very important!

Final Essays due: Tuesday, December 22 by 5pm

Extensions will be granted only with Elissa's approval at least two days before the deadline and only up to the final deadline set by the department. Unexcused late papers will be graded down one grade (i.e. from an A- to a B+) for each 24 hours they are late.

* * * Happy holidays and winter break!! * * *

Background and further reading:

This is a *short* list of some book-length studies we may mention in our class discussions – see also the edited and single-author books from which some of our readings come and other works by the authors listed. A selection of articles for further reading is also available on the e-learning site.

- Anthias, Floya and Nira Yuval-Davis. *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
- Aretxaga, Begoña. *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland* (Princeton UP, 1997)
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism Reframed* (Cambridge UP, 1996)
- Calhoun, Craig. *Nationalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997)
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* (U of California Press, 1990)
- Enloe, Cynthia, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the end of the Cold War* (U of California Press, 1993)
- Gellner, Ernst. *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford UP, 1983)
- Helms, Elissa. *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation, and Women's Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (U of Wisconsin Press, 2013)
- Kanaaneh, Rhoda Ann. *Birthing the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel* (U of California Press, 2002)
- Kligman, Gail. *The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania* (U of Cal. Press, 1998)
- Massad, Joseph. *Islam in Liberalism* (U of Chicago Press, 2015)
- Massad, Joseph. *Desiring Arabs* (U of Chicago Press, 2007)
- Mayer, Tamar ed. *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (New York: Routledge, 2000)
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (Routledge, 1995)
- Mookherjee, Nayanika. *The Spectral Wound: Sexual Violence, Public Memories, and the Bangladesh War of 1971* (Duke UP, 2015)
- Mosse, George. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (U of Wisconsin Press, 1985)
- Nagel, Joane, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (Oxford UP, 2003)
- Navaro-Yashin, Yael. *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (Princeton UP, 2002)
- Parker, Andrew et. al. (eds.), *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (Routledge, 1992)
- Puar, Jasbir. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Duke UP, 2007)
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism* (Vintage Books, 1979)
- Schäuble, Michaela. 2014. *Narrating Victimhood: Gender, Religion and the Making of Place in Post-War Croatia*. (Oxford: Berghahn Books).
- Soh, C. Sarah. 2008. *The comfort women: Sexual violence and postcolonial memory in Korea and Japan*. University of Chicago Press.
- Stoler, Ann Laura, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Rule: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (U of California Press, 2002)
- Taylor, Diana. *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina's "Dirty War"* (Duke UP, 1997)
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. *Gender and Nation* (Routledge, 1997)
- Žarkov, Dubravka. *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-up of Yugoslavia* (Duke UP, 2007)