Race, Gender, and Nationalism

Advanced Topics In Social Theory:
Sociology 729C
Fall 2006

Basic Information
Instructor: Patricia Hill Collins, Professor of Sociology
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Class: Wed. 3:30-6:10, Art-Sociology Bldg.
Office Hours: Tuesday and Wednesday, 2:15-3:00 pm and by appointment.

Course Overview
Nationalism is proving to be an enduring feature of global social organization. Neither the nineteenth-century European nation-states nor the new nation-states in Africa and Asia founded after World War II have disappeared. Within nation-states, racial, ethnic and/or religious groups use nationalist ideologies for a variety of political purposes. Whether wedded to nation-state power, or used to fuel resistance movements against state power, nationalist ideologies remain powerful in shaping contemporary global politics.

As a construct, the idea of nation (or people) has historically been tightly bundled with ideas of ethnicity and race. Because nation, race and ethnicity are mutually constructing categories, nationalism, racist and anti-racist projects, and ethnic conflict (and cooperation) also are linked both within and across specific national contexts. Nationalism also articulates with gender and sexuality. Concepts of masculinity and femininity remain central to nationalist ideologies, to the concept of nation on which nationalist ideologies are built, to reproducing gendered populations of nations on both sides of nation-state power, and to social movements that claim nationalist principles. Overall, nation, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, age and ability constitute mutually constructing, intersecting categories of analysis. Each gains meaning through and in conjunction with the others.

Our overarching goal for this course is to examine nationalism through the theoretical lens of intersectionality. We also strive to study how analyses of nationalism might advance theoretical understanding of paradigms of intersectionality. We use race and gender as a starting point or anchor for this much larger theoretical project, yet the course also addresses other systems of power. The course investigates the following core questions:

- How has nationalism been conceptualized within Western social theory? How might the study of nationalism advance contemporary social theory?
- What are the key contemporary debates in the study of nationalism?
- What might empirical research tell us about nationalism’s status under conditions of globalization and transnationalism?
- How might an intersectional analysis (race/class/gender/ethnicity/sexuality/ability/age) illuminate theoretical understandings of nationalism?
- Conversely, how might increased attention to nationalism advance theoretical understandings of intersectionality?
- What is the relationship between nationalism and social justice projects (e.g., state social policies and/or social movement politics)?

Part I of the course introduces theoretical and conceptual frameworks concerning the study of nationalism and its relationship to intersectional paradigms, primarily, ethnicity, race, gender, and sexuality.
Part II of the course examines the links between nationalist ideologies, nation-states policies and contemporary processes of transnationalism and globalization. It does so by focusing on four areas of social policy: (1) citizenship debates that accompany global labor migrations; (2) patterns of incorporating racial, ethnic, and/or religious groups within modern nation-states (e.g., theories and policies of multiculturalism and racial democracy); (3) economic policies whereby nation-states compete in the global marketplace (tourism and sex work); and (4) nation-state social policies of state-sanctioned violence.

Part III builds upon the interpretive frameworks explored in Parts I and II to investigate how citizenship and democracy are being negotiated within the contemporary United States. Rather than interpreting the American case as the “norm” against which other experiences are measured, we aim to situate domestic social policies of American nationalism and as well as resistance to them within a global, transnational framework. Intersections of race, gender and nationalism within American domestic politics comprise neither a normative nor an exceptional case, but rather constitute a particular social location for investigating the core questions that guide the course.

Course Requirements and Grading Criteria

Class Participation (50%):

The success of this seminar will depend on the quality of your preparation and participation. My expectation is that you approach course readings and interpret class discussions in light of how this course addresses the particular and multiple concerns that you bring to it. In class sessions, I expect you to raise questions and share information about your specific areas of expertise and interest. Just as I bring a particular set of questions to the course concerning my own research on nationalism and intersectionality, I hope that you will be able to identify your interests and to do likewise. I will use the following criteria to evaluate class participation:

Attendance: Attend class on time prepared to engage in informed dialogue about each week’s assigned readings. The course will be conducted as a seminar where we will all learn from and teach each other. Please come prepared to participate.

Weekly Question: Each week, write one substantive discussion question that the week’s assigned reading(s) raised for you. Please make your question brief, no more than a sentence or two. Following your question, please include 1-2 paragraphs placing your question in some sort of interpretive context. Why this question? What about the readings generated this question? We will use your questions as the basis for class discussion. The better the questions, the better the discussions. Aim for substance, clarity and brevity. Please e-mail a copy of your question and paragraph(s) to the entire class no later than 24 hours before the start of class.

Presentations on Readings: In conjunction with one or more students, lead two discussions on the assigned readings. The goal of the presentations is to generate substantive class discussions on the assigned readings. At minimum, your presentations should:

(1) summarize the main ideas of the author(s)’ arguments.

(2) when appropriate, place the readings in some sort of interpretive context that might facilitate class discussion.

(3) lead off discussion by sharing your questions, your rationales for writing them and/or how your questions engage questions raised by your classmates.

Literature Review (30%):

Select a topic of your choice that is related to this course and to your own research. Survey recent literature on your topic within scholarly journals and/or chapters in edited books. Your goal is to write a literature review of your topic that you can use for your own empirical research.
Please keep in mind that this assignment is not asking you to write an essay on the topic itself, the focus of a standard research paper. Rather your task is to analyze patterns in the literature itself. For example, identify patterns of emphasis, omission, distortion, bias, promise, as well as explanations of which journals are more likely to publish articles on your topic and which are not. You want to go beyond describing patterns in the research. Try to explain them. The bibliography for your literature review should reflect a synthesis of (a) the scholarly articles and book chapters that you read specifically for this essay; (b) any of our assigned course readings that are relevant to your topic; and (c) any previous and/or additional research from other courses/projects that is germane to your topic.

Your literature review should be approximately 15 pages long, exclusive of references. It is due in my office no later than 3:30pm on Wednesday, December 13.

Annotated Bibliographies and Class Presentation (20%):

Your goal here is to share with the rest of the class some of the most significant articles (noteworthy or notorious) from your literature review. Your annotated bibliography should have two parts: (a) an abstract of your literature review (a condensed version of your longer paper); and (b) articles selected from your broader project that illustrate some of the main ideas of the abstract. Think of your annotated bibliography as a suggested readings list for your classmates on the topic that you research. For this assignment, you should do the following:

- Link your annotated bibliography to your literature review. Identify eight articles from scholarly journals and/or chapters from edited volumes. Longer annotated bibliographies are certainly welcome, but place your efforts on the quality of your annotations, not on quantity of articles. Possible. Annotations need not be long, but they should make clear reference to course themes and link your topic to the course.

- Prepare a one-page abstract of your literature review that provides a framework for the entries on your annotated bibliography. Draft an introduction to your specific annotated bibliography that describes the process you used in identifying articles, the data bases you consulted, and an analysis of your selection process.

- Make a 15-20 minute presentation of your annotated bibliography. Each individual should allot no more than 5 minutes to introduce his/her bibliography (your classmates can read the actual annotations at their leisure) and 10-15 minutes for Q&A. On the day of your presentation, distribute copies of your annotated bibliographies. Please duplicate enough copies of the bibliography for everyone in the class. You will be evaluated on not just on the quality of your presentation, but also on you ability to engage your classmates in some of the major patterns, issues, debates and/or controversies of literature on your chosen topic. Presentations will be scheduled for November 15, 22, 29 and December 6.

Other Things That You Should Know

This seminar requires a high level of student organization and preparedness. Over-scheduling on your part, work conflicts, childcare responsibilities, and/or other personal matters are typically not grounds for extensions. Generally, I do not give incompletes but assign grades based on work accomplished by the end of the semester. However, if you do have an unexpected major problem of some sort that compromises your performance, please do not hesitate to contact me. Please keep in mind that I grade work that has been submitted to fulfill incompletes when I can. It might be some time before you receive a grade.

This course will be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the University of Maryland Student Code of Academic Integrity. Please read it thoroughly, especially regarding academic misconduct and plagiarism. The policy is available on the University of Maryland web page at http://www.studenthonorcouncil.umd.edu/code.html.
Readings


Additional Readings to Skim: Available at Local Bookstores


Course Outline

Part I. Intersectional Paradigms and Nationalism

Historically, the study of nationalism has focused on European nation-states, with the implicit assumption that the civic nation-states of Western Europe constituted the vanguard of modernity. Within this framework, other forms of national expression, such as the use of nationalist ideologies by colonized groups has been viewed as “cultural” or “ethnic” politics, often not “authentic” nationalism. Postcolonial and feminist scholarship has challenged these views of nationalism and of modernity. Initially, such work advanced race-only or gender-only critiques, but more recently, intersectional analyses have become more prominent. Part I briefly surveys selected key works in this vast literature.

Session One. Rethinking Nationalism: Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Ethnicity (Aug. 30)

This session introduces some of the core constructs in the study of nationalism. We also will finalize the syllabus.

Note: There is no class session on Wed. September 6.

For this week, please use your time to:

- Skim Encountering Nationalism. You may find that some chapters will be basic for you whereas others will be new material. We will not discuss Puri’s volume in class, but will use it as a framework to establish some common vocabulary. You may with to reread specific chapters as we encounter and reencounter the themes raised by Puri.
- Identify a topic for your literature review, locate some promising articles, and begin surveying material.

We will make up this class on Wed. Oct. 18. On that day, please attend the colloquium “Rebuilding with Tools of Social Justice” colloquium held from 12:00-5:00. We will meet directly after the colloquium to discuss its ideas as well as how our readings for that week work with the conference’s themes.

Required Reading:

Suggested Readings:

Session Two. Modernist Paradigms of Nationalism (Sept. 13)

Four general paradigms have been used to study nationalism, namely, modernism, perennialism, primordialism, and ethnosymbolism. Of these four, modernist approaches that link the emergence of nationalism and European nation-states and modernity now hold sway. Here we read Anderson’s Imagined Communities, a modern classic for the study of nationalism within this modernist tradition.

Required Readings:
Suggested Readings:
Renan, “What Is a Nation?”

Session Three. Colonialism, Postcolonialism and Nationalism (Sept. 20)

Writing from the vantage point of postcolonial studies, Chatterjee criticizes modernist paradigms of nationalism as represented by Anderson’s imagined nationalism. Chatterjee suggests that placing the colonial experience generally and ethnicity specifically as central to social analysis yields a different understanding of nationalism and its accompanying perspective on modernity. Like Mosse, Chatterjee advances an intersectional analysis that incorporates issues of gender (the treatment of women) and class &/or caste relations (his discussion of elites, outcasts, etc.)

Required Reading:

Suggested Readings:
Bhabha, Homi K. *Nation and Narration*.

Session Four. Gender, Sexuality and Nationalism (Sept. 27)

Mosse completes our brief survey of modern “classics” in the study of nationalism. This particular volume by Mosse is typically overlooked within the nationalism literature. Yet Mosse’s discussion of sexuality and gender, as well as his attention to race in modern European nation-state development foreshadowed contemporary intersectional analyses.

Required Reading
Mosse, George L. 1985. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*. 

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Part II. Nation-States, Social Policies and Globalization

Part I examined how the study of nationalism has expanded to include greater attention to race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. But what about social class? In Part II, we turn to social class broadly defined, namely, the realities of the contemporary global political economy. Globalization and transnationalism are typically presented as unraced, seemingly colorblind processes. They also appear to follow rules that exempt them from analyses that view gender and/or sexuality as core features of these macroprocesses. Here we examine how globalization (class) intersects with race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. This focus enables us to investigate why nationalism has proven to be such a tenacious factor in contemporary global relations.


Citizenship debates lie at the heart of the meaning of national identity for contemporary nation states. Who belongs to the nation-state and who does not? What are the categories of first and second-class citizenship within the nation-state? Social policies vary widely regarding the national identity of a specific nation-state as well as how its policies regarding work, family and service to the nation reflect its notions of citizenship. This week’s readings sample a growing body of literature on how citizenship shapes the different work and family experiences of people from varying gender, racial, and ethnic groups.

Required Reading:

Suggested Readings:
Jyoti Puri. Encountering Nationalism, conclusion.

**Session Six. Religion, State Policies, and Citizenship: Muslim Communities in Europe** (Oct. 11)

Many similarities characterize nationalism and religion. In particular, forms of political mobilization (ethnic, religious and/or racial) of immigrant groups can reflect varying uses of the symbols and practices of both religion and nationalism. Here we examine how social policies concerning multiculturalism within different European nation-states interact with the growth of Muslim identities among diverse racial/ethnic groups in selected European nation-states. We focus on the multicultural policies of the Netherlands, Britain and France as three very different national responses to new Muslim migrations of the postcolonial era. Each of these nation-states has also had a major event that signals the types of controversies it faces. Our focus will be on gender generally, and on the status of Muslim women in these controversies.

**Required Readings:**

**Suggested Readings:**

**Session Seven. Gender, Race and Urban Economies: Tourism and Sex Work** (Oct. 18)

Issues of globalization, citizenship and transnationality remain intertwined with questions of urbanization, tourism and the sex industry. This week we explore how the reconfiguration of sexuality and sex work as one important outcome of globalization works with racial reconfigurations of post-colonial nation-states. Nation-states have varying patterns of participation in the sex industry, from incorporating sex tourism as part of a national GNP (Thailand) or local economies...
(pre-Katrina New Orleans), to condoning migration to other nation states of its female and young citizens as sex workers (Eastern Europe and Africa to Western Europe), to the growth of the global film industry (pornography in Los Angeles). Moreover, because sexuality is typically racialized, these processes reflect and shape urban and national racial orders. Here we examine Cuba, the Dominican Republic, the Netherlands, Germany and the United States as distinctive sites where these global processes intersect.

The city of New Orleans constitutes a U.S. location where the politics of race, gender, sexuality and nation can be seen converging on one local urban area. New Orleans also participates in the global relations of sexuality and tourism that form the focus of this week’s readings. I have planned this session to build on the conversations and workshops associated with the colloquium “Rebuilding with Tools of Social Justice: Hurricane Katrina One Year Later,” which will be held on campus from 12-5 on Oct. 18. Please attend the luncheon conversation as well as the afternoon session. We will convene as a class after the afternoon’s activities.

**Required Readings:**


**Suggested Readings**


The nation-state constitutes one social location that exercises legitimate authority over mechanisms of violence. Whether through domestic policies that differentially affect people within its own borders (patterns of incarceration, implementing the death penalty, responding to sexual violence and hate crimes, etc.), racial, ethnic and/or religious nationalist movements within nation-states, or foreign policies that condone warfare, nation-states strive to retain control over all legitimated violence. A nation-state’s social policies strive to protect the integrity of its borders and are crafted in defense of what are deemed to be national interests.

We might ask, what image of the nation-state is being defended and how are national interests determined? In what specific ways might the mechanisms of the state typically defend the interests of some citizens over others? How might race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality affect patterns of state-sanctioned violence? Who is called upon to defend national interests and who is seen as a threat to those interests? Our readings this week provide an intersectional reading of themes that can be loosely gathered under this large umbrella of defending national interests. We pay special attention to the military and issues of militarization.

**Required Readings:**


Sunindyo, Saraswati. 1998. “When the Earth is Female and the Nation is Mother: Gender, the Armed Forces and...

Suggested Readings:

Part III. National Identity, Citizenship and the U.S. Nation-State

In the Part III of the course, we examine how an intersectional analysis of nationalism that takes race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and/or class into account articulates with American national identity and social policies. Our goal is to contextualize the study of American nationalism within both the theoretical literature introduced in Part I of the course as well as the political and economic context of postcolonialism and globalization explored in Part II. We aim to rewrite the nation’s story, in other words, to craft a new national story that begins to resolve the paradox of American national identity.

Session Nine. Rewriting the Nation’s Story: Work, Family and the U.S. Nation-State (Nov. 1)

Required Readings:

Suggested Readings

Session Ten. Race, Masculinity, and American National Identity (Nov. 8)

Required Reading

Suggested Readings
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Session Eleven. Health, Fitness and the Nation-State: The Logic of Eugenics (Nov. 15)

Annotated Bibliographies – group #1

**Required Reading**


**Suggested Readings**


Session Twelve. “Nations” within the Nation-State: African Americans and Indigenous Peoples (Nov. 22)

Annotated Bibliographies – group #2

**Required Readings**


**Suggested Readings**


Session Thirteen. “Nationalisms” within the Nation-State: Latinos and the Politics of Citizenship (Nov. 29)

Annotated Bibliographies – group #3

**Required Reading**

Suggested Readings:

**Session Fourteen. Wrap Up (Dec. 6)**

Annotated Bibliographies – group #4

| Literature Review Due in My Office on Wednesday, December 13 at 3:30 pm |