

## Gendering Nationalism

“The impressive range of case studies included in this collection highlight the complex but intimate relationships that exist, in variable ways, in different nationalist political projects. The book points out how notions of masculinity and femininity, and sexuality and belonging, construct—in shifting and contested ways which vary temporarily and spatially—the boundaries of these nationalisms. An important contribution to the field of nationalism studies.”

—Professor Nira Yuval-Davis, *Director of the Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging (CMRB), University of East London*

“In the critical juncture of the Great Regression, nationalist types of identification have increased in spread and intensity. From Brexit to the Catalan crisis, renewed calls for separatism, national symbols and narratives have acquired relevance, challenging the expectations of a linear trend towards cosmopolitan visions. Focusing on the interaction between gender and nationalism, this very timely volume contributes to our understanding of the diversity and fluidity of various nationalist projects.”

—Professor Donatella della Porta, *Professor of Political Science, Dean of the Institute for Humanities and the Social Sciences and Director of the PD program in Political Science and Sociology at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence*

Jon Mulholland  
Nicola Montagna  
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Editors

# Gendering Nationalism

Intersections of Nation, Gender  
and Sexuality

palgrave  
macmillan

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ISBN 978-3-319-76698-0      ISBN 978-3-319-76699-7 (eBook)  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76699-7>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018944259

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Printed on acid-free paper

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The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

# Foreword

*Gendering Nationalism* makes an important intervention at a critical time in global politics in which nationalism is resurgent in a variety of places, from Russia to Europe, the USA and elsewhere. Its contribution builds on a first wave of studies of gender and nationalist projects that convincingly identified a gender subtext within the practices and ideologies of nationalist and national liberation movements, parties and political cultures. Such research demonstrated that gender inclusivity tends to be more pronounced in emerging nationalist movements than in settled nationalist states and that gender matters in nationalist projects on the political left as well as the political right. From these first-wave studies, we also learned how hegemonic notions of femininity and masculinity can become foundational elements in the construction of nations, national belonging, and citizenship.

*Gendering Nationalism* builds as well on a second wave of scholarship that focused on contextual differences. These studies added a more precise sense of the relationship between nationalism and gender over time, and across and within national borders. Second-wave research also showed the complex ways that ideologies of gender and nationalism are constructed differently depending on specific geo-political, social and historical factors. The chapters collected in this volume are exemplars of a third wave of scholarship that illuminates the entanglement of gender in nationalist projects. These studies move forward our understanding of

gender and nationalism by identifying patterns across contextually embedded cases that vary across national boundaries and historical periods. Put more simply, these chapters highlight general trends in gendered nationalism without losing sight of its specific manifestation in particular times and places. These third-wave works also productively locate sexuality in the nexus of gender and nationalism. They show that nationalist projects differ in how they highlight or ignore sexual issues such as interracial sexuality, and the extent to which they include or exclude lesbians, gay men, transgendered persons and other sexual minorities from social life, the economy or politics. As well, this research points to how movements and states vary in whether or not they treat sexuality as an aspect of gender, as, for instance, by defining women but not men by their sexual practices.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this new wave of research on gendered nationalism is its attention to the fluidity and contradictions of nationalist projects. These studies show how modern nationalism both centers national interests and draws on transnationally circulating ideologies and rhetoric. Indeed, nationalist states and movements, especially in recent years those on the far right, engage in transnationally coordinated efforts such as summits of nationalist politicians and alliances among nationalistic states. These chapters also reveal the fragility of political categories, with instances of both far-right and left-oriented nationalist projects that include women and support gender rights as well as instances in which nationalisms across the political spectrum exclude women and oppose gender equality. The same is true for LGBT and other sexuality minority rights. In contrast, the treatment of racial-ethnic minorities is less variable, with leftist nationalism generally supportive of equity and inclusion and rightist nationalism generally opposed; this pattern is particularly pronounced with respect to the treatment of Muslim residents in modern nationalist states. The chapters in this volume thus deepen our understanding of these complexities and open new questions about the conditions under which nationalist projects become intensely masculinist or heterosexual.

Kathleen Blee

# Acknowledgments

We would firstly like to thank the commissioning editor for the opportunity to publish this book with Palgrave Macmillan. The catalyst for this book came from the International Symposium, *Gender and Nationalism*, organized by the editorial team at Middlesex University in September 2014, and thanks in turn go to all the delegates at that event and in particular to the keynote speakers, Professors Floya Anthias, Nira Yuval-Davis and Kathleen Blee. The symposium was itself a platform for the dissemination of the findings of our British Academy/Leverhulme Trust-funded project (SG121452) exploring women supporters of the nationalist Right in the UK. Thank you to the research participants in this project, to Sylvia Moon for a diligent and engaged effort in transcribing the (not always easy) interviews, and to Agnieszka Kowalska for support in coding interview data. Thanks also must go to our respective institutions, Middlesex University, the University of the West of England and the University of Kent for supporting the production of this text. Of course, a thank you goes to all our contributors, without whom there would be no book. As with all things, it would not be possible to be productive without the support of significant others, and particular thanks goes to Agnieszka Kowalska for all her help.

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