



exclusive

inclusive

As Women, as a Country. Gendered Participation in Nationalist Movements

Johannes Heß, M.A. j.hess@fu-berlin.de FU Berlin/SCRIPTS

How do understandings of gender and gender relations explain the

Three questions for the nationalist movement

participation of feminists in nationalist movements?

Feminist Nationalism?

Nationalism? Feminism? The two seem incompatible. Feminism, which champions women's liberation, cannot be reconciled with nationalism, which privileges men and masculinity. Nevertheless, feminists participate in nationalist movements.

Gender in Inclusive and Exclusive Nationalisms

Who is one of us?

Someone who...

- ... was born to Catalan parents
- ... was born in Catalonia
- ... speaks Catalan
- ... lives and works in Catalonia
- ... is registered in Catalonia
- ... defends Catalonia

who are we?

Typical Catalan Attributes



Exclusive Nationalisms

- Strict border
- Nation = family
- Gendered images

Inclusive Nationalisms

Mobilise broadly

- Fewer/open membership criteria
- Gender as an ordering principle

 \rightarrow Where women and the nation experience the same oppression, they can be liberated by the same means.

Data and Methods

- (Historical) documents
- Online survey

- \rightarrow Aggressiveness
- \rightarrow Hard-heartedness
- \rightarrow Egotism

Loving children \leftarrow Soft-heartedness ← Understanding ← Compassion ← Sensitivity← Warmth ← Affection \leftarrow

what are we fighting?

Catalonia experiences cultural imperialism from Spain. Women experience cultural imperialism through the patriarchy.

Independence can achieve a transformation of society that breaks both cultural oppressions.

Semi-structured face to face interviews

References

Anderson, B. (1989). Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Verso. McClintock, A. (1995). Imperial Leather. Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest. Routledge. Mosse, G. L. (1998). The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity. Oxford University Press. Nagel, J. (1998). Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations. Ethnic and Racial *Studies, 21*(2), 242–269.

Peterson, V. S. (2013). The Intended and Unintended Queering of States/Nations. Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, 13(1), 57–68.

Rodó-Zárate, M. (2020). Gender, Nation, and Situated Intersectionality: The Case of Catalan Pro-independence Feminism. *Politics & Gender*, 16(2), 608–636.

Yuval-Davis, N., & Anthias, F. (1989). Woman-Nation-State. Macmillan.

"The problem is this. Being aware that you're in a country [...] that does not work, and so, as a feminist, you believe that these are the solutions, and as *independentista* you believe that we would be much better off if we could carry them out." -Catalan pro-independence feminist