
“Us” and “Them”: Negotiating Progressivity in Multicultural Societies (HS 2020)

Seminar, autumn term 2020

Wed. 14.15 – 16.00/18.00, HRZ Mittelstrasse 43 (room 120)

Lecturers: Dr. Tina Büchler & Dr. Veronika Siegl

Course Description

Following the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ in Europe in 2015, certain discourses have gained popularity and severity: Discourses that invoke women’s and LGBTIQ+¹ rights in order to advance anti-immigrant discourses and policies. These debates juxtapose an allegedly ‘progressive’ women- and LGBTIQ-friendly European culture against allegedly ‘backward’, sexist and homophobic immigrant cultures. Particularly, immigrant men become stigmatized as sexist and homophobic aggressors, while both Western and immigrant women emerge as victims in need of saving.

In this course students engage with the question how such discourses (re)produce gendered, sexualized and racialized nationalisms by constructing, selecting, educating and disciplining migrant subjects. Furthermore, they investigate how the opposition constructed between European and non-European cultures shapes citizenship in general and processes of in- and exclusion in/from European nation states in particular. Through text discussions as well as media and image analysis, the course seeks to trace (post-)colonial continuities concerning the mentioned debates and sheds light on how those who are perceived as migrant subjects negotiate these discourses in their everyday lives.

The course carefully introduces basic concepts from the interdisciplinary fields of postcolonial, gender and queer studies and is hence also suitable for students with no previous knowledge in these areas.

Learning Outcome

- You understand and can explain and critically reflect concepts relating to gendered and racialised supremacist discourses, such as femonationalism, homonationalism, cultural racism or sexual exceptionalism.
- You can detect such discourses, you can explain where they come from and how they work.
- You have reflected your own positionality in relation to these discourses and have formulated your further questions about them.
- You have learnt to learn and work in an interdisciplinary and international setting. Particularly, you have practised to explain concepts and your standpoint to other people, and to give constructive and respectful feedback.

¹ Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex, queer/questioning, and more

16.9.20 1 – Introduction to the course

23.9.20 2 – Foundations and basic concepts

Main reading: (choose one of the two for close reading):

- FARRIS, Sara. 2017. *In the Name of Women's Rights. The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. [introduction, pp. 1–21]
- PUAR, Jasbir K. 2006. Mapping US Homonormativities. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 13(1), 67–88.

Femonationalism and homonationalism in a nutshell (required reading/watching):

Homonationalism:

- Homonationalism in a nutshell: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9l3shYm6Jao>
- LAZAR, Michelle M. 2019. Semiotics of Homonationalism. In: *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Sexuality* (Online edition 2019): pp. 1–5

Femonationalism:

- FARRIS, Sara. 2019. Book 'Trailer', https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0_Ow2lfxODM
- SETH-SMITH, Niki. 2017. "What is 'femonationalism'?" Interview with Sara Farris, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/what-is-femonationalism/>

Basic concepts (required reading/watching):

- Please read ALL the handbook entries collected in the filenames starting with "Keywords..." on ILIAS). Keywords (marked in yellow): Discourse, Feminism and Postcolonialism, Orientalism, Postcolonialism, Sexuality, and Gender.

Further reading:

- ABU-LUGHOD, Lila. 1991. Writing Against Culture. In: Richard G. Fox (ed.): *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 466–479.
- FABIAN, Johannes. 2014. *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia UP.
- DIETZE, Gabriele. 2009. Okzidentalismuskritik: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Forschungsperspektivierung. In: Gabriele Dietze, Claudia Brunner and Edith Wenzel (eds.) *Kritik des Okzidentalismus: Transdisziplinäre Beiträge zu (Neo-)Orientalismus und Geschlecht*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 42–44.
- FARRIS, Sara. 2019. "Femonationalism" - Lecture at the International Feminist Meeting 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sdd8F3cEWP0>
- PUAR, Jasbir K. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, London: Duke University Press.
- GOLDBERG, David Theo. 1993. *Racist Culture. Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Oxford: WileyBlackwell.

7.10.20 3 – Femo- and gendernationalism

Required reading:

- FARRIS, Sara. 2017. *In the Name of Women's Rights. The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. [ch. 1, pp. 22–56]

Group 1 (The Cologne “event”)

- CLEMM, Christina and Sabine HARK. 2016. *Sind wir über Nacht zu einer feministischen Nation geworden?* Zeit online, 18 January 2016. <https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2016-01/feminismus-uebergreifekoeln-clemmhark-10-nach-8>
- HARK, Sabine and Paula-Irene VILLA. 2017. *Unterscheiden und herrschen. Ein Essay zu den ambivalenten Verflechtungen von Rassismus, Sexismus und Feminismus in der Gegenwart*. Bielefeld: transcript. [ch. 2+3, pp. 35– 69]

Group 2 (The “headscarf debates”)

- ABU-LUGHOD, Lila. 2013. *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. [ch.1, pp. 27–53]

Further reading:

- DAHINDEN, Janine, Carolin FISCHER, Joanna MENET and Anne KRISTOL. 2018. *Gendernationalism as a New Expression of Political Nationalism?* Online: <https://www.gendercampus.ch/de/blog/post/gendernationalism-as-a-new-expression-of-politicalnationalism/>.
- DELPHY, Christine. 2015. *Separate and Dominate. Feminism and Racism After the War on Terror*. London/ New York: Verso Books.
- DIETZE, Gabriele. 2019. *Sexueller Exzeptionalismus. Überlegenheitsnarrative in Migrationsabwehr und Rechtspopulismus*. Bielefeld: transcript.
- EL-TAYEB, Fatima. 2011. *Secular Submissions: Muslim Europeans, Female Bodies and Performative Politics, in “European Others”*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MOHANTY, Chandra Talpade. 1984. Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. *Boundary 2*. 12(3)–13(1). 333–358.
- OKIN, Susan Moller. 1999. *Is multiculturalism bad for women?* Princeton: Princeton UP.
- SCOTT, Joan. 2007. *The Politics of the Veil*. Princeton/ Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- SPIVAK, Gayatri. 1985. Can the Subaltern Speak? In: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (eds.): *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 28–36.

21.10.20 4 – “Eastern” homophobia and “Western” LGBT+ politics (online)

Guest: Katharina Wiedlack (Senior Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the Department of English and American Studies, University of Vienna)

Required reading:

- WIEDLACK, Katharina. 2018. “Quantum Leap” 2.0 or the Western gaze on Russian homophobia. *adeptus* 11, 1–20.
- MASSAD, Joseph. 2009. The West and the Orientalism of Sexuality. *ResetDoc web magazine*, December 19, 2009. <https://www.resetdoc.org/story/the-west-and-the-orientalism-of-sexuality/>
- MAKAREM, Ghassan. 2009. “We Are Not Agents of the West.” *ResetDoc web magazine*, December 14, 2009. <http://www.resetdoc.org/EN/Helem-replies-Massad.php>.

Group 3 (Western discourses on homophobic violence in Russia)

- WIEDLACK, Katharina. 2019. Gays vs. Russia: media representations, vulnerable bodies and the construction of a (post)modern West. *European Journal of English Studies* 21(3), 241–257.

Group 4 (Western discourses on homophobia in Eastern Europe)

- KULPA, Robert. 2014. Western leveraged pedagogy of Central and Eastern Europe: discourses of homophobia, tolerance, and nationhood. *Gender, Place and Culture* 21(4), 431–448.

Further reading:

- BAER, Brian James. 2002. Russian Gays/ Western Gaze: Mapping (Homo)Sexual Desire in Post-Soviet Russia. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8(4), 499–521.
- ESSIG, Laurie and Alexander KONDAKOV. 2019. A Cold War for the Twenty-First Century. Homosexuality vs. Heterosexuality. In: Richard Mole (ed.): *Soviet and Post-Soviet Sexualities*, 79–102. London: Routledge.
- LEKSIKOV, Roman and Dafna RACHOK. 2020. Beyond Western Theories: On the Use and Abuse of 'Homonalism' in Eastern Europe. In: Radzhana Buyantueva and Maryna Shevtsova (eds.): *LGBTQ+ Activism in Central and Eastern Europe*. Springer International, 25–49.
- NEUFELD, Mascha and Katharina WIEDLACK. 2016. Lynchpin for Value Negotiation: Lesbians, Gays and Transgender between Russia and 'the West'. In: Bee Scherer (ed.): *Queering Paradigms VI. Interventions, Ethics and Glocalities*. New York: Peter Lang, 173–194.
- O'DWYER, Conor and Katrina ZS SCHWARTZ. 2010. Minority rights after EU enlargement: A comparison of antigay politics in Poland and Latvia. *Comparative European Politics*, 8(2), 220–243.
- RIVKIN-FISH, Michele and Cassandra HARTBLAY. 2014. When Global LGBTQ Advocacy Became Entangled with New Cold War Sentiment: A Call for Examining Russian Queer Experience. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 21(1), 95–111.
- STELLA, Francesca (2013). Queer Space, Pride, and Shame in Moscow. *Slavic Review*, 72(3), 458–480.
- WIEDLACK, Katharina M. 2016. Seeing 'Red' (Orange Is the New Black) - Russian Women, US Homonalism and New Cold War Cultures. *Gender a Výzkum/ Gender and Research* 17 (1), 29–40.

11.11.20 5 – Saving queer refugees (online)

Guest: Sabine Strasser (Professor at the Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Bern)

Required reading:

- STRASSER, Sabine (forthcoming 2021): Ambivalences of Un/Deservingness: Tracing Vulnerability in the EU Border Regime. In: Jelena Tošić and Andreas Streinzer (eds.): *Deservingness – Reassessing the Moral Dimensions of Inequality*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn.

Group 5 (LGBTIQ+ in asylum procedure)

- LEWIS, Rachel. 2014. Gay? Prove it: The Politics of Queer Anti-Deportation Activism. *Sexualities* 17 (8), 958–975.
- MILLER, Alice. 2005. Gay enough: Some Tensions in Seeking the Grant of Asylum and Protecting Global Sexual Diversity: In: Brad Epps, Keya Valens, and Bill Johnson (eds.): *Passing Lines: Sexuality and Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 137–187. [pp. 137–154 and pp. 160–170]

Further reading:

- KOÇAK, Mert. 2020. Who Is 'Queerer' and Deserves Resettlement?: Queer Asylum Seekers and Their Deservingness of Refugee Status in Turkey. *Middle East Critique* 29 (1), 29–46.
- LLEWELLYN, Cheryl. 2017. Homonalism and Sexual Orientation-Based Asylum Cases in the United States. *Sexualities* 20 (5–6), 682–98.
- Murray, David A. B. 2015. *Real Queer?: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Refugees in the Canadian Refugee Apparatus*. Rowman & Littlefield.

- MURRAY, David A. B. 2017. The Homonational Archive: Sexual Orientation and Gendered Identity Refugee Documentation in Canada and the USA. *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 82 (3), 520–44.
- RABOIN, Thibaut. 2016. *Discourses on LGBT Asylum in the UK: Constructing a Queer Haven*. Discourses on LGBT Asylum in the UK. Manchester University Press.
- RABOIN, Thibaut. 2017. Exhortations of Happiness: Liberalism and Nationalism in the Discourses on LGBTI Asylum Rights in the UK. *Sexualities* 20 (5–6), 663–81.

25.11.20 6 – Homonationalism in multicultural societies (online)

Required reading:

- HARITAWORN, Jin. 2015. *Queer Lovers and Hateful Others. Regenerating Violent Times and Places*. London: Pluto Press. [Introduction: pp. 1-35]
- MESQUITA, Sushila, and Patricia PURTSCHERT. 2016. La gouvernance gay: défis pour la construction de coalitions contre l'homophobie dans la Suisse postcoloniale/ Gay Governance: Challenges to Coalition Building against Homophobia in Postcolonial Switzerland. In: Delphine Gardey and Cynthia Kraus (eds.): *Politiques de la coalition: Penser et se mobiliser avec Judith Butler/ Politics of Coalition: Thinking Collective Action with Judith Butler*. Zürich: Seismo, 140–167.

Further reading:

- EL-TAYEB, Fatima. 2011. *European Others*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- HARITAWORN, Jin. 2015. *Queer Lovers and Hateful Others. Regenerating Violent Times and Places*. London: Pluto Press.
- HARITAWORN, Jin and Jennifer PETZEN. 2014. Integration as a Sexual Problem: An Excavation of the German "Muslim Homophobia" Panic. In: Koray Yilmaz-Günay (ed.): *Karriere eines konstruierten Gegensatzes: zehn Jahre 'Muslime versus Schwule'*. Münster: edition assemblage, 115–134.

2.12.20 7 – Final session & wrap-up

Any readings for this session will be communicated later.