

Syllabus

Title of the Course:	Rethinking War, the Military, and Gender Through the Russian War on Ukraine	Course Breakdown:	25.5 hours online lectures (17 classes)
Name of the Instructor:	Andrea Peto, Paula-Irene Villa, Oksana Potapova, Irina Zhrebkina, Tamara Zlobina, Olena Strelnyk, Yuliia Siedaia, Tetiana Isaieva. Marta Havryshko, Maryna Shevtsova, Anna Kvit, Gelinada Grinchenko	Weekly class time:	90 minutes/session, twice a week (Mondays, Thursdays, 17.30-19.00 CET)
Language:	English, Ukrainian, Russian		
Hosted by:	Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (LMU)	Certificate issued by:	Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (LMU), 6ECTS
min. number of participants:	5	max. number of participants:	300

Description of the course

The aim of the series is to give visibility and some space for threatened gender studies scholars who are working on the topic of war and violence. The starting point is to critically revisit the existing literature on war, violence, and gender based on the experience of the war of Russia against Ukraine.

Topics discussed include sexual violence during wartime, media images of women at war, women in the army and shifts in the everyday life, national/transnational feminism and the role of gender studies in fostering solidarity, the role of the museum and herstory of war in promoting and upholding women's rights, homonationalism and LGBTQ activism during the war.

Learning Aims

To provide a general understanding about:

- Feminism and feminist research in Ukraine
- State of the art in researching militarism, and war from a gender perspective
- Challenges of war and genocide studies

Upon the successful completion of the course students will be able to:

- will understand some of the major changes in the way war and genocides have been mediated, narrated, and studied in past decades, developing a critical grasp of how wars and genocides are also gendered experiences
- will demonstrate an understanding of how feminist critique contributes to war/genocide studies
- will understand, through selected instances, how racism, economic exploitation, cultural or religious prejudice, gender, and genocide have been enacted in colonial contexts
- will understand that implementing change depends upon engaging with histories of autocracy, racism, illiberalism, and attempts to undermine democracy

Course requirements:

The requirement for a certificate from LMU (equivalent to 6ECTS) is a research paper using at least ONE source listed in the syllabus and referring to at least ONE lecture given in the series. The paper is 40,000 characters using APA style.

Deadline for submission is February 28th, 2023. Please send your paper to Olga Zubkovskaya (zoubkovskaya@gmail.com).

Organization of the course

The majority of the invited speakers will give twice 40-50 mins of talk: the first on a theoretical-conceptual problem, and the second more empirically connected to the first one. The classes will take place online, on Mondays and Thursdays.

Outline of the Course Schedule

Week 1, 20-OCT-2022	Oksana Potapova <i>The UN Women, Peace and Security Agenda - between policy, discourse, and practice</i>
Week 1, 24-OCT-2022	Oksana Potapova <i>Exploring post-colonial feminist critique of the 1325 agenda and its potential for women's rights in conflict settings</i>
Week 2: 27-OCT-2022	Irina Zharebkina <i>Transnational feminist solidarity with Ukrainian feminists: thinking and acting together to oppose Putin's violence by teaching gender studies and beyond (in Russian with simultaneous interpretation)</i>
Week 2, 03-NOV-2022	Irina Zharebkina <i>The war in Ukraine as "ethical catastrophe" and "ethical anastrophe": feminist ethics against violence and militarism (in Russian with simultaneous interpretation)</i>
Week 3, 07-NOV-2022	Tamara Zlobina <i>Gender decay</i>
Week 3, 10-NOV-2022	Tamara Zlobina <i>How has Russian full-scale aggression influenced women's rights in Ukraine?</i>
Week 4, 14-NOV-2022	Yuliia Siedaia <i>Theoretical concepts of war everywhere through the prism of gender</i>

Week 4, 17-NOV-2022	Yuliia Siedaia <i>Results of the study: Women in the Army: Ukrainian Experience</i>
Week 5, 21-NOV-2022	Olena Strelnyk <i>"Berehynya", "Beauty", "Victim" and beyond: media images of women in the context of Russia's war in Ukraine".</i>
Week 5, 24-NOV-2022	Tetiana Isaieva <i>HerStory of war</i> (in Ukrainian with simultaneous interpretation)
Week 6, 28-NOV-2022	Tetiana Isaieva <i>HerStory of war</i> (continued; in Ukrainian with simultaneous interpretation)
Week 6, 01-DEC-2022	Marta Havryshko <i>Understanding Sexual Violence in War: Weapon, Strategy or Practice?</i>
Week 7, 05-DEC-2022	Marta Havryshko <i>Sexual Violence during Russia's War in Ukraine: Visibility, Discourses and Support for Survivors</i>
Week 7, 08-DEC-2022	Maryna Shevtsova <i>Queering the War and Armed Conflicts: Homonationalism, Patriarchal Confusion, and traveling concepts</i>
Week 8, 12-DEC-2022	Maryna Shevtsova <i>Queering the War in Ukraine: LGBTQ Activism and Sexual Citizenship in the Times of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine</i>
Week 8 15-DEC-2022	Anna Kvīt <i>Gender equality in the military sector in the times of war. Case of Ukraine</i>
Week 9 19-DEC-2022	Gelinada Grinchenko <i>Witnessed, Narrated, Researched: on Ethics, Responsibility, and Representation in Oral History of Ongoing War</i> (in Ukrainian with simultaneous interpretation)

Syllabus / Reading List

Week 1, 20-OCT-2022: Oksana Potapova *The UN Women, Peace and Security Agenda - between policy, discourse, and practice*

This lecture aims to provide an overview of the United Nations' "Women, Peace and Security" agenda, including its development in connection to practice, as well as discursive and policy implications for women's rights globally. Special focus will be given to the role of civil society vs the state and multilateral institutions in shaping and implementing the Agenda.

Reading materials:

Basu, S., Kirby, P., Shepherd, L.J. (2020) Women, Peace, and Security: A critical cartography, in Basu, S., Kirby, P., Shepherd, L.J. (eds) *New Directions in Women, Peace, and Security*, Bristol University Press, 1-25.

Anderlini, S.N. (2019) "Civil Society's Leadership in Adopting 1325 Resolution". In *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford University Press, pp. 38–52.

Week 1, 24-OCT-2022: Oksana Potapova *Exploring post-colonial feminist critique of the 1325 agenda and its potential for women's rights in conflict settings*

This lecture will draw attention to the post-colonial feminist critique of the WPS agenda, stemming from experiences, reflections, and analysis of primarily Global South scholars. We will also touch upon the issue of knowledge production by highlighting the connection between positionality, methodology, and politics of feminist peace and security, through two examples from Ukraine: a project working with internally displaced women between 2014 and 2020, and a collective statement made by feminist activists after Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022.

Reading materials:

Parashar, Swati, The WPS Agenda: A Postcolonial Critique, in Sara E. Davies, and Jacqui True *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*, Oxford Handbooks 2019;

Blok magazine "We talked to fellow feminists from Ukraine about military aid, here's what they told us.", April 2022. <http://blokmagazine.com/we-talked-to-fellow-feminists-from-ukraine-about-military-aid-heres-what-they-told-us/>

Recommended further reading:

Davies, S. E., True, J. (2019) *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace and Security*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Shepherd, L. (2020a) "Situating Women, Peace, and Security: theorizing from "the local".

International Feminist Journal of Politics, 22:4, pp.456-461.

Shepherd, L. (2020b) "Knowing Women, Peace, and Security: new issues and new modes of encounter". *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22:5, pp.625-628..

Week 2: 27-OCT-2022: Irina Zharebkina *Transnational feminist solidarity with Ukrainian feminists: thinking and acting together to oppose Putin's violence by teaching gender studies and beyond* (in Russian with simultaneous interpretation)

Today, in a situation of war in Ukraine, many Ukrainian feminists believe that Ukrainian nationalism, capable of mass anti-Putin mobilization of the Ukrainian nation, can become the main force of Ukrainian resistance to Putin's aggression. Therefore, in the conditions of the Russian war against Ukraine, it is necessary, according to Ukrainian nationalist feminists: 1) to renounce any collaboration and solidarity with all representatives of the aggressor countries - even if they are dissidents of their regimes, and 2) to provide a total canceling of all Russian culture as "imperialist" and "colonialist". In contrast to this point of view, many participants of the conference "Transnational Feminist Solidarity with Ukrainian Feminists", held at the initiative of Judith Butler, Sabine Hark, and Irina Zharebkina on May 9, 2022, confirmed the feminist thesis about betting on transnationalism, not nationalism, as a feminist strategy for resisting militarism by politicians and wars.

In this lecture, we will examine the arguments of both transnational feminists and nationalist feminists from different points of view to be able to decide which response to the challenges of war in Ukraine can be a more effective means of feminist resistance to the forces of war, militarism, and aggression.

Reading materials:

Sabine Hark, Raula-Irene Villa. *The Future of Difference: Beyond the Toxic Entanglement of Racism, Sexism and Feminism*. Translated by Sophie Lewis. London, New York: Verso, 2020, pp. vii-xxiv, 51-76.

Jodi Dean. *Solidarity of Strangers: Feminism after Identity Politics*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 13 – 46.

Andrea Pető. “Anti-gender”; Mobilisational Discourse of Conservative and Far Right Parties as a Challenge to Progressive Politics. In E. Kováts, M. Põim (Eds.), *Gender as Symbolic Glue: The Position and Role of Conservative and Far Right Parties in the Anti-Gender Mobilisation* symbolic in Europe 2015, pp. 126-131.

Irina Zherebkina. *Grieving for Others, Not for Ourselves*. An interview with Irina Zherebkina, *e-flux Notes* 06.06.2022 <https://www.e-flux.com/notes/473291/grieving-for-others-not-for-ourselves-an-interview-with-irina-zherebkina>

Week 2, 03-NOV-2022: Irina Zherebkina *The war in Ukraine as “ethical catastrophe” and “ethical anastrophe”: feminist ethics against violence and militarism* (in Russian with simultaneous interpretation)

Today, we can observe with bitterness how the war in Ukraine is acquiring the character of not only a political, but also an ethical catastrophe, expressed, in particular, in mass support for Putin's aggression both in Russia and abroad. At the same time, we can observe how, feeding on the energy of war, the affect of hatred, or “hatreds”, in the words of the American feminist Zilla Eisenstein, grows and globalizes in the world, spreading its metastases everywhere and becoming the most powerful resource for mass political mobilization, including racist, nationalist, and sexist.

What can feminist theory and feminist ethics oppose to the ongoing ethical catastrophe or even ethical anastrophe (the antonym of the word “catastrophe”, meaning “turn to happiness, public euphoria”), manifested today in the legalization and celebration of the affect of hatred? In search of an answer to this question, we will consider some feminist theories of the ethics of non-violence and anti-militarism (Judith Butler, Bonnie Honig, Adriana Cavarero, etc.) and the possibilities of their application to the analysis of the war in Ukraine.

Reading materials:

Adriana Cavarero. *Scenes of Inclinations. Toward a Feminist Ethics of Nonviolence*. Adriana Cavarero, Judith Butler, Bonnie Honig, and Other Voices. Ed. by Timothy J. Huzar and Clare Woodford. New York: Fordham University Press, 2021. P. 33 – 45.

Judith Butler. *Leaning Out, Caught in the Fall*. *Toward a Feminist Ethics of Nonviolence*. Adriana Cavarero, Judith Butler, Bonnie Honig, and Other Voices. Ed. by Timothy J. Huzar and Clare Woodford. New York: Fordham University Press, 2021. P. 46 – 62.

Bonnie Honig. *How to Do Things with Inclination: Antigones*, with Cavarero. *Toward a*

Feminist Ethics of Nonviolence. Adriana Cavarero, Judith Butler, Bonnie Honig, and Other Voices. Ed. by Timothy J. Huzar and Clare Woodford. New York: Fordham University Press, 2021. P. 63 – 89.

Irina Zherebkina. "Ethical Anastrophe" and Antinomies of the Ethical in the War in Ukraine // e-flux. Notes. 13.09.2022 <https://www.e-flux.com/notes/490421/ethical-anastrophe-and-antinomies-of-the-ethical-in-the-war-in-ukraine>

Week 3, 07-NOV-2022: Tamara Zlobina *Gender decay*

In this lecture, we will explore the historical trajectory of gender emancipation in Ukraine starting from the 1980s. This analysis is based on the writings by Ukrainian historian Oksana Kis and sociologists Tamara Martsenyuk and Tatiana Zhurzhenko. In the first part of the lecture, we will see how communist, capitalist, and nationalist discourses shaped women's gender roles in the 1990s and early 2000s and marginalized feminism. The second part of the presentation will be dedicated to the mass participation of women in the volunteer movement in support of Euromaidan in 2013-2014 and the Ukrainian army during the war initiated by Russia in the East of Ukraine. We will see that women's agency accelerated the gender emancipation of Ukrainian society. Emancipated women started to challenge traditional gender roles that had been shaped by dominant discourses in previous decades. That caused some important structural changes and progressive reforms.

"Gender decay" is Tamara Zlobina's term to denote a state of society in which traditional gender roles decline and emancipated roles develop simultaneously, feminists and patriarchal discourses coexist and collide. That leads to "gender eclecticism". In this lecture, students will see bizarre examples of gender eclecticism from the last 8 years.

Reading materials:

Oksana Kis. Modeli konstruiuvannia gendernoi identychnosti zhinky v suchasni Ukraini (Models of construction of women's gender identity in contemporary Ukraine), *I magazine*, 2002, <http://www.ji.lviv.ua/n27texts/kis.htm>

Tatiana Zhurzhenko. Free Market Ideology and New Women's Identities in Post-Socialist Ukraine. February 2001. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 8(1):29-49, <https://library.fes.de/libalt/journals/swetsfulltext/10055366.pdf>

Tamara Martsenyuk. Genderna sotsiologii Maidanu: Rol zhinok u protestah (Sociology of gender of the Maidan: The role of women in protests) (Kyiv: *Electronic Archive of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy*, 2014), <http://ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/handle/123456789/3511>

Olga Onuch and Tamara Martsenyuk. Mothers and Daughters of the Maidan: Gender, Repertoires of Violence, and the Division of Labour in Ukrainian Protests. *Social, Health, and Communication Studies Journal*, 1 (November 2014), 105–26, 113. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324363006_Mothers_and_Daughters_of_the_Maidan_Gender_Repertoires_Of_Violence_The_Division_Of_Labour_In_Ukrainian_Protests

Oksana Kis. Feminism in Ukraine: Steps Towards Our True Selves. Part 1. Academic Feminism, Gender in Detail, 2021, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/gender-after-euromaidan/academic-feminism-in-ukraine.html>

Oksana Kis. Feminism in Ukraine: Steps Towards Our True Selves. Part 2. The State and Women's Movements, Gender in Detail, 2021, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/gender-after-euromaidan/feminism-in-ukraine-part-2.html>

Oksana Kis. Feminism in Ukraine: Steps Towards Our True Selves. Part 3. Women's Activism, Gender in Detail, 2021, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/gender-after-euromaidan/feminism-in-ukraine-part-3.html>

Hanna Hrytsenko. Are we all sisters? Ukrainian feminism between the West and Russia, Gender in Detail, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/dosvidy-viyny/are-we-all-sisters-eng.html>

Hanna Hrytsenko. Five Years after Euromaidan: Feminist Outcomes from 2014–2019, Gender in Detail, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/gender-after-euromaidan/five-years-after-euromaidan-feminist-outcomes-from-2014-2019.html>

Hanna Hrytsenko. How Women Changed the Ukrainian Army, Gender in Detail, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/gender-after-euromaidan/how-women-changed-the-ukrainian-army.html>

Hanna Hrytsenko. Russian-Ukrainian War since 2014 and Feminism, Gender in Detail, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/feminism-in-detail/russian-ukrainian-war-since-2014-and-feminism.html>

Week 3, 10-NOV-2022: Tamara Zlobina *How has Russian full-scale aggression influenced women's rights in Ukraine?*

This lecture will continue with Tamara Zlobina's theory of gender decay and some recent cases of gender eclecticism from the time of the war. We will analyze the status of women's rights during the Russian war on Ukraine in 2022 at the discursive (public space, legislation, etc.) and physical levels (infrastructure, everyday life, etc.).

Ukrainian society entered the war back in 2014 quite emancipated, and significant progress has been achieved in gender equality over the past 8 years. That has prepared Ukrainian society for wartime challenges and made it less vulnerable to patriarchal discourses. After the start of Russia's full-scale aggression, women's rights were not affected at the discursive level - on the contrary, women's contribution to victory is actively covered by the media and celebrated by public figures; the Istanbul Convention was ratified, and women actively work at all levels of government. On the physical level, the situation is much worse. War destroys infrastructure and puts people's lives in immediate danger. As a result, women face many problems that are difficult to solve quickly. Having analyzed the status of women's rights we will also see some recommendations as to which crucial issues should be addressed immediately in order to avoid patriarchal revival in Ukraine.

Reading materials:

“The right to resist.” A feminist manifesto, *Commons*, 2022, <https://commons.com.ua/en/right-resist-feminist-manifesto/>

Darya Tsymbalyuk, Iryna Zamuruieva. Why we as feminists must lobby for air defence for Ukraine, *Open Democracy*, 2022, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/ukraine-russia-war-feminists-we-must-lobby-for-air-defence/>

Yana Radchenko. Sexual Violence During the War: What Do We Know About It and How Can We Counteract It?, *Gender in Detail*, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/dosvidy-viyny/sexual-violence-during-the-war.html>

Alyona Gruzina. How Ukrainian Feminist and LGBT+ Organizations Work during the War, *Gender in Detail*, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/dosvidy-viyny/how-ukrainian-feminist-and-lgbt-organizations-work-during-the-war.html>

Uiliana Skibitska. Zhinky na viini. Problemy biichyn ZSU pislia povnomasshtabnogo vtorgnennia. (Women in the war. Problems of women fighters from Ukrainian Armed Forces after the full scale Russian invasion), *Gender in Detail*, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/dosvidy-viyny/zhinky-na-viyni-problemy-biichyn-zsu.html>

Inna Iryskina. The Not-End of History: What’s Wrong with the Western View of the Ukrainian LGBT+ Community During the War, *Gender in Detail*, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/dosvidy-viyny/the-not-end-of-history-what-s-wrong-with-the-western-view-of-the-ukrainian-lgbt-community.html>

Gender in Detail team. Postcards to March 8 in times of the Russian-Ukrainian war, *Gender in Detail*, 2022, <https://genderindetail.org.ua/media/photo/postcards-to-march-8-in-times-of-the-russian-ukrainian-war-1341855.html>

Week 4, 14-NOV-2022: Yuliia Siedaia *Theoretical concepts of war everywhere through the prism of gender*

This lecture will cover the following subtopics:

- Sociology of war: main trends of change 2014-2022
- Agenda of gender equality in Ukrainian society 2014-2022: main issues and basis of achievement
- Women at war: constructing and deconstructing stereotypes, images of women in war
- Military crimes of Russia against Ukraine: the gender aspect

Week 4, 17-NOV-2022: Yuliia Siedaia *Results of the study: Women in the Army: Ukrainian Experience*

This lecture will cover the following subtopics:

- International experience of integration of women in the armed forces
- Representation of women in the Ukrainian Army
- Career and the possibility of career growth in the Ukrainian army for women
- Purpose and motivation of women's service in the Ukrainian Army
- Manifestations of sexism and discrimination against women
- Harassment: why don't women talk about it?
- Protection of the rights of women and men during service in the Ukrainian Army

Reading materials:

1. Oksana Kis “Ukrayins’ki zhinky u hornyli modernizatsiyi. Ukrainian women in the modernization chimney”. Українські жінки у горнилі модернізації
2. Oksana Kis and Lidia Wolansky “Survival as Victory: Ukrainian Women in the Gulag”
3. Shelley Saywell “Women in War”
4. Ruth Bader Ginsburg “My Own Words”
5. Golda Meir “My Life”

Week 5, 21-NOV-2022: Olena Strelnyk *"Berehynya", "Beauty", "Victim" and beyond: media images of women in the context of Russia's war in Ukraine".*

Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine irreversibly cemented Ukraine's European integration intentions, which creates a new positive context for the implementation of the gender equality policy of the state. However, in the long term, the war may deepen the split between de jure and de facto gender equality for a number of reasons. Firstly, due to cultural factors and the strengthening of traditional gender ideas about the roles of women and men. Secondly, due to the structural deterioration of the position of women because of the war.

In times of war, traditional representations of female and male roles can be reinforced, and gender ideas are constructed based on the essentialist ideas that men are «protectors» while women are «protected» by their “nature”. Media play a key role in constructing gender and gender expectations: gender studies researchers have shown that women are most often shown as helpless victims of war and suffering from its consequences.

Meanwhile, it seems that we deal with a much more complex picture of images of women in the context of the war in Ukraine. The focus of the lecture is on how ideas about women’s roles and «femininity» are (re)constructed in the times of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. We will see how the war both reinforces and challenges traditional gender roles and expectations. This contradictory and complex picture will be explored based on the most visible examples of different media and social media images of women, including stories of women's coping strategies, resistance, and agency during the war.

Reading materials:

Graff, A., & Korolczuk, E. (2022). The Culture War and the Actual War. *Democracy Seminar*. Retrieved from https://democracyseminar.newschoo.org/essays/the-culture-war-and-the-actual-war%E2%82%AC%82%BC/?fbclid=IwAR3GIHhdC9BqE4hUGWo_b0HA8SuRdAZQCUUA1umRE3l6NXsjBWInUzJh1uM

Grytsenko, A., Kvit, A., & Martsenyuk, T. (2016). “Invisible Battalion”: Women’s Participation in ATO Military Operations, Kyiv. Retrieved from http://ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/10735/Martsenyuk_The_Invisible_Battalion.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y

Hrytsenko, H. (2022) Five Years after Euromaidan: Feminist Outcomes from 2014–2019. *Hender v detaliakh*. Retrieved from <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/gender-after-euromaidan/five-years-after-euromaidan-feminist-outcomes-from-2014-2019.html>

Hrytsenko, H. (2022). How Women Changed the Ukrainian Army. *Hender v detaliakh*. Retrieved from <https://genderindetail.org.ua/season-topic/gender-after-euromaidan/how-women-changed-the-ukrainian-army.html>

Kis, O. (2005). Choosing without Choice: Predominant Models of Femininity in Contemporary Ukraine. *Gender Transitions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, ed. by Madeleine Hurd, Helen Carlbäck and Sara Rastbäck. Stockholm: Gondolin Publishers, pp. 105-136

UN Women & Care International. (2022). *Rapid gender analysis of Ukraine*, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2022/05/rapid-gender-analysis-of-ukraine>

Week 5, 24-NOV-2022: Tetiana Isaieva *HerStory of war* (in Ukrainian with simultaneous interpretation)

This lecture will cover the following topics:

- Women’s History and Gender History Museum: a space for dialogue on gender equality as a human right (we will have a brief introduction to the Museum: how it came about, its goals and objective, key messages)
- The topic of war in the activity of the Women’s History and Gender History Museum (we will explore online and offline war-related projects of the museum and gain an understanding of why the topic of war is always discussed during various activities and excursions)
- *HerStory of War* online anthology at www.gendermuseum.com: the idea of the project, its history methodology for collecting women’s stories.
- Q & A

Week 6, 28-NOV-2022: Tetiana Isaieva *HerStory of war (continued; in Ukrainian with simultaneous interpretation)*

This lecture will cover the following topics:

- International campaign «16 Days against violence», October 25 – November 10: a short presentation of the International campaign, its history, goals and objectives.
- HerStory of War: project geography and agents (in this part of the class we will learn more about different regions of Ukraine and stories of different women)
- HerStory of War in museums worldwide (we will talk about exhibitions *My Voice Means Something* in the House of Austrian History, the online exhibition of the Women's Museum of Costa Rica, and the Museum of Contemporary History in Celje (Slovenia))
- Q&A

Reading materials:

1. Svetlana Aleksievich *U voiny ne zhenskoe lico: sbornik zhenskogo opyta v usloviakh Vtoroi mirovoi voiny (War's Unwomanly Face)*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988)
2. Kis O.R. Zhinocha istoria kak napr'amok istorichnyh doslidhzen': stanovlennia feminists'koi metodologii (Women's history as a historical research area: history of feminist methodology) in Ukrainian in / Kis O.R. *Ukrianskii istoichnii zhurnal*. - 2012. - no 2. - pp. 159-172. –
: http://resource.history.org.ua/publ/journal_2012_2_159
3. Minor Detail (ثانوي تفصيل), Fitzcarraldo Editions / New Directions, 2020
4. International Association of Women's Museums, <https://iawm.international/>
5. Women's stories from project “HerStory of the War”: online exhibition
<https://gendermuseum.com/en/herstory-of-the-war/>

Week 6, 01-DEC-2022: Marta Havryshko *Understanding Sexual Violence in War: Weapon, Strategy or Practice?*

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda fostered the reconceptualization of sexual violence in conflicts from a “by-product of war” to a war crime, a crime against humanity, and a crime of genocide. The concept of “rape as a weapon of war” became widespread in political, media, and academic discourses. Nonetheless, the modern wars, including the Russian war in Ukraine, show different patterns and functions of sexual violence that could be planned, orchestrated, encouraged, or tolerated by military leadership. The lecture addresses the following questions: What is sexual/political about conflict-related sexual violence? What is the link between sexual violence, military culture, and masculinity? What signs of intended sexual violence in armed conflicts? What are the constraints of the rape as a weapon of war concept?

Reading materials:

Buss DE (2009), “Rethinking ‘rape as a weapon of war’.” *Fem Legal Stud* 17(2):145–163. doi:10.1007/s10691-009-9118-5

Card, C (1996), “Rape as a Weapon of War.”, *Hypatia*, vol. 11 (4): 5-18.

Morris, M. (1996), “By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture,” *45 Duke Law Journal*, 651-781.

Muehlhaeuser R. (2017), “Reframing Sexual Violence as a Weapon and Strategy of War: The Case of the German Wehrmacht During the War and Genocide in the Soviet Union, 1941–1944.” *Journal of the history of sexuality* 26(3): 366–401.

Week 7, 05-DEC-2022: Marta Havryshko *Sexual Violence during Russia's War in Ukraine: Visibility, Discourses and Support for Survivors*

Since the beginning of the unjustified and unprovoked Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, both international and Ukrainian human rights organizations have documented cases of laws-of-war violations against civilians in Russia-controlled areas, including repeated rapes, gang rapes, mutilation of genitals, and sexual slavery. The lecture addresses the following questions: How widespread are rape and other forms of sexual violence in the Russian aggression against Ukraine? Where are the spaces for survivors to have their voices heard? How sexual violence in Russia's war in Ukraine is (mis)represented and instrumentalized in political, media and public discourses? What challenges face survivors in terms of medical, psychological, social, financial, and legal support? What tools and resources are needed to support survivors through their healing process?

Reading materials:

Havryshko M. Vergewaltigung als Kriegswaffe? Einige Überlegungen zu sexueller Gewalt im Krieg gegen die Ukraine, Interview with Regina Mühlhäuser in *Geschichte der Gegenwart*, 24.03.2022.

Mannell J. (2022), Sexual Violence in Ukraine. *British Medical Journal* (Online) 377 (2022): o1016–o1016. Web.

McKernan B., “Rape as a weapon: huge scale of sexual violence inflicted in Ukraine emerges”, *Guardian* 2022 Apr 4 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/03/all-wars-are-like-this-used-as-a-weapon-of-war-in-ukraine>

Week 7, 08-DEC-2022: Maryna Shevtsova *Queering the War and Armed Conflicts: Homonationalism, Patriarchal Confusion, and traveling concepts*

During the last decades, feminist scholars have put significant efforts in bringing fundamental change in the ways in which “war stories” have been conceptualized and narrated, challenging and questioning them (Altınay & Pető 2016). At the same time, historians have observed not once how times of war resulted beneficial for some groups that could gain full citizenship due to their participation in war affairs while others were marginalized or excluded due to their inability to join the service or because their efforts were left unseen. Even though more and more women are joining the military forces globally, military culture is still dominated by the image of a stereotypically male warrior. And while a growing number of countries are lifting the ban for LGBT soldiers to serve openly in the military and the relations between heteronormative masculinity and military identity

become more complicated and confusing, sexuality and gender identity remain a rather sensitive issue in the army.

The war in Ukraine, especially after the full-scale invasion in 2022, has often been portrayed as not just a war between two states but also a war of values. As Russia has for a long time been positioning itself as a main defender of the so-called “traditional family values” with its notorious “anti-gay propaganda law,” persecution of LGBT rights activists and anti-gay purges in Chechnya, backed up by the West, Ukraine became a symbol of a country aspiring to embrace “European” values, inclusion toward LGBT people being one of those. The presented dichotomy has already provoked some criticism of feminist scholars accusing Ukrainian government in homonationalism and pink washing. Aimed at addressing this criticism, the present lecture, first, draws on the works by Cynthia Enloe (2007) and Sarah Bulmer (2013) on feminist debates surrounding the growing number of servicewomen and LGBT personnel found in contemporary state militaries. It further addresses existing criticism in the current Western feminist scholarship regarding the militarization of Ukraine and questions the applicability of Western concepts to the ongoing war in the country.

Reading materials:

Bulmer, S. (2013) Patriarchal Confusion? *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 15:2, 137-156, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2012.746565

Enloe, C. (2015) The recruiter and the sceptic: a critical feminist approach to military studies, *Critical Military Studies*, 1:1, 3-10, DOI: 10.1080/23337486.2014.961746

Sasson-Levy, O. (2003), Feminism and Military Gender Practices: Israeli Women Soldiers in “Masculine” Roles. *Sociological Inquiry*, 73: 440-465. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-682X.00064>

Shevtsova, M. (2022). Choosing to stay? Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and queer people and the war in Ukraine, *European Journal of Politics and Gender* (published online ahead of print 2022). Retrieved Sep 12, 2022, from <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/ejpg/aop/article-10.1332-251510821X16539490008307/article-10.1332-251510821X16539490008307.xml>

Shevtsova, M. (2020) Fighting “Gayropa”: Europeanization and Instrumentalization of LGBTI Rights in Ukrainian Public Debate, *Problems of Post-Communism*, 67:6, 500-510, DOI: 10.1080/10758216.2020.1716807

Week 8, 12-DEC-2022: Maryna Shevtsova *Queering the War in Ukraine: LGBTQ Activism and Sexual Citizenship in the Times of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine*

The Euromaidan revolution of 2013/2014 and following democratic transformations in Ukraine supported by its Western partners against the background of the Russian annexation of Crimea and hybrid war in eastern Ukraine resulted in emancipation and growing visibility of vulnerable and marginalized groups, including LGBTQ people. The last decade (2012-2022) has seen the rise of professionalized LGBTQ rights activism in various forms, including the movement of LGBTQ

soldiers and veterans. The movement emerged partially as a response to a popular accusation by right-wing radical groups who claimed that it was inappropriate to organize marches for gay rights in times of war and that all gay men had to be sent to fight at the front line. In 2018, a photo exhibition “We [too] were here” showed Ukrainians that LGBTQ people had from the very beginning been there, risking their lives to protect their land.

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022 put those with non-heteronormative sexualities and gender identities in even more challenging conditions. In the situation of martial law and growing nationalism of the society united against the common enemy, the question of who can be seen as a good citizen, a “real” Ukraine became as acute as it has never been. For those unable to fit into long-established binaries during relatively peaceful times, the war would result in even larger exclusion unless such people would manage to justify their “right to belong” to the Ukrainian nation.

This lecture explores the case of LGBTQ soldiers, veterans, and civil society activists in Ukraine in the times preceding and during the war. It argues that while women’s emancipation in post-Euromaidan Ukraine made the connection between masculinity and defending one’s country less automatic, the definition of a good citizen is still closely tied to conventional images of masculinity and femininity, contributing to the everyday re-enactment of patriarchy and heterosexism.

Reading materials:

Bulmer, S. (2013) Patriarchal Confusion? *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 15:2, 137-156, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2012.746565

Enloe, C. (2015) The recruiter and the sceptic: a critical feminist approach to military studies, *Critical Military Studies*, 1:1, 3-10, DOI: 10.1080/23337486.2014.961746

Sasson-Levy, O. (2003), Feminism and Military Gender Practices: Israeli Women Soldiers in “Masculine” Roles. *Sociological Inquiry*, 73: 440-465. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-682X.00064>

Shevtsova, M. (2022). Choosing to stay? Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and queer people and the war in Ukraine, *European Journal of Politics and Gender* (published online ahead of print 2022). Retrieved Sep 12, 2022, from <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/ejpg/aop/article-10.1332-251510821X16539490008307/article-10.1332-251510821X16539490008307.xml>

Shevtsova, M. (2020) Fighting “Gayropa”: Europeanization and Instrumentalization of LGBTI Rights in Ukrainian Public Debate, *Problems of Post-Communism*, 67:6, 500-510, DOI: 10.1080/10758216.2020.1716807

Week 8 15-DEC-2022: Anna Kvit *Gender Equality in the Military Sector in the Times of War. Case of Ukraine*

The lecture covers issues of women’s rights in the military sector in wartimes, factors impacting it and the debate on women in the military based on the case of Ukraine.

Reading materials:

Martsenyuk, T., Grytsenko, G., Kvit, A. (2016). The “Invisible Battalion”: Women in ATO Military Operations in Ukraine. *Kyiv-Mohyla Law and Politics Journal*. 2. 171-187.

Segal, M. W. (1995). Women’s Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future. *Gender and Society* 9(6): 757–75.

Enloe, C. (2000). *Maneuvers: The international politics of militarizing Women’s lives*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Week 9 19-DEC-2022: Gelinada Grinchenko *Witnessed, Narrated, Researched: on Ethics, Responsibility, and Representation in Oral History of Ongoing War*

With this lecture, I would like to bring to attention the role and place of Oral History in the emerging epistemological paradigm shift in historical studies caused by the Russo-Ukrainian war. The first part of the lecture will focus on contemporary discussions around ‘classical’ theoretical issues of oral history, with particular attention to fieldwork theory in times of conflicts and continually unfolding trauma. The second part will bring concrete examples and practical recommendations for conducting research ethically in conflict settings and discuss new responsibilities for oral historians in these settings.

Reading materials:

N. Khanenko-Friesen and G. Grinchenko, eds. *Reclaiming the Personal: Oral History in Post-Socialist Europe*. University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2015.

Jennifer A. Cramer (2020) “First, Do No Harm”: Tread Carefully Where Oral History, Trauma, and Current Crises Intersect, *The Oral History Review*, 47:2, 203-213, DOI: 10.1080/00940798.2020.1793679

Malin Thor Tureby & Kristin Wagrell (2022) Crisis Documentation and Oral History: Problematizing Collecting and Preserving Practices in a Digital World, *The Oral History Review*, DOI: 10.1080/00940798.2022.2101933

Edward M. Coffman. Talking about War: Reflections on Doing Oral History and Military History, *Journal of American History*, Volume 87, Issue 2, September 2000, Pages 582–592, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2568765>