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**Masculinities as Battleground of German Identity Politics.
Colonial Transfers, Homophobia and Anti-Semitism around 1900**

Heroism and Post-Heroic Societies

The neo-orientalistic discourse in global politics has deeply affected gender roles and gender concepts. The definition of the symbolic gender order is a central topic of religious and cultural conflicts, especially within the discourse which has the power to shape the 'West' and the 'East', the 'Occident' and the 'Orient' as 'clashing cultures'. It is also the background of new strategies in national and global identity politics. Firstly, the discourse of the female body – its veiling as well as its unveiling – has become the pivotal point around which sameness and otherness, are constructed. Secondly, neo-orientalistic and occidentalistic discourses of 'war' can be read as battlegrounds of diverse masculinity concepts. Especially the figure of the 'hero' and 'martyr' within the new wars of our time often contain a 'hypermasculine' response of young men, the roots of which lie in modernization itself (cf. Brunotte 2006; Mazarr 2007). "Images of martyrdom and purifying self-immolation are central to the jihadist movement; once again, we are presented heroes who define their own moral universe [as] antimodernism's essentials." (Mazarr 2007:173) Comparative empirical studies on new wars and imagined masculinities such as those of Marc Juergensmeyer (Juergensmeyer 2000) and Jessica Stern (Stern 2003) come to the same conclusion as John Peteet: "The beatings (and detention) are framed as rites of passage that became central in the construction of an adult, gendered (male) self..." (Peteet 2000: 103) But the hero and the discourse of the patriotic martyr are not at all alien to European tradition. They were connected in Europe, too, firstly with the process of national identity politics itself: "Not only in Germany but also in France nationalists supported and were the principal transmitters of an aggressive masculinity. Death in war taught a lesson in virtue to the living. From this time onward, manliness and patriotism were closely associated..." (Mosse 1996: 53) Secondly, the discourse of the hero, the hero's courage and his sacrifice was one of the main (German) war ideologies of the First World War.

The question is now how the modern war narratives and struggles for hegemonic masculinity (cf. Connell 1995) have also developed methods and models for the sacralisation of masculinity in (these) secular societies. 'Hegemony' is here used in the sense of Raewyn Connell, Antonio Gramsci and Stuart Hall as a concept to understand the relations of domination and subdomination between different men and different models of masculinity:

"Hegemony thus describes the winning of consent in order to gain and maintain power. Consent, however, is not a fixed goal. It is a moment of power which is always contestible and that has to be constantly re-won."

(Davis 2004: 46)

Can we also characterize the current debate about whether the Western societies live in a post-heroic-era today and how they are challenged by a new, violent, islamic heroism as an articulation of sexual politics? In some ways this debate makes references to the 19th century war discourse on "Heroes and Merchants" ("*Händler und Helden*" 1915), as it was articulated by Werner Sombart. However, if one attempts to turn the post-heroic ethos of politics and security into the key concept for the description of Western societies including the US, like the political and military theorist Herfried Münkler, one needs a very differentiated definition of the heroic. Accordingly, Münkler defines the concept of the post-heroic as follows:

"In a general sense, it denotes the vanishing and diminished significance of the type of fighter who strives to gain a higher degree of societal respect through the increased willingness to make sacrifices." (Münkler 2006: 310)

Post-heroic means that our life is geared towards peace and security, feminine urban life, sophisticated pleasures and non-aggression, towards communication and exchange, towards consummation and finally towards the "quest for happiness". Military and war, i.e. the male virtues of battle, are worthless in such societies. It is not accidental, then, that the scientific reflection on the dangers of so-called post-heroic societies developed parallel to the suicide attacks in recent years, which also unsettled Europe. For with asymmetrical wars and the new terrorism, which can hit anyone anywhere, the security awareness of the post-heroic society has been radically challenged by "heroism heightened to the utmost" (Münkler 2006: 345).

Within this theory the suicide bomber became a symbol for the (mental) vulnerability of Western societies. He "represents the power of heroism in opposition to technology" (Münkler 2006: 345). As a remedy, Herfried Münkler advised the post-heroic Western societies to develop "heroic calmness" ("*heroische Gelassenheit*") (Münkler 2006: 354).

Not only religions which take themselves politically and act socially as well as violently, have returned to the public stage, but the performative concept of the hero, transformed to that of the 'martyr', too. Now, it is striking that, not only in the discourse of Western political researchers on 'heroic' and 'post-heroic' societies, but also in the frame of the radical criticism of Western modernity (cf. Mazarr 2007) emanating from Islamic theorists like Sayyid Qutb, a rhetoric prevailed that emphasized religiously-charged gender codes. Within the discourse of the so called 'Occidentalism', (the word is an inversion of Said's "Orientalism") the 'West' is viewed as a decadent world of *Jahiliyya* – a pre-islamic concept of chaos and sin which is connected with the unveiled woman (cf. Mernissi 1985). One origin of this criticism, however, that is the thesis of Buruna and Margalit in their book *Occidentalism* (Margalit/Burumi 2004) which has been confirmed by Mazarr (2007), can be found in anti-modern nationalist Western movements from the early twenties, as, for example in the German 'conservative revolution'. These groups describe the pluralistic capitalist societies of the West in feminine rhetoric. One of the most convincing mouthpieces was Ernst Juenger. He portrayed the First World War as an excess revealing an utopian and anticipatory image of a new man, a 'masculine' man. An example for an early Arabian anti-modern activist is, besides Sayyid Qutb, Hassan al Banna. The Egyptian teacher who founded the Muslim Brotherhood in Cairo 1928 wrote about the destructive forces of capitalism: "Especially the young men are infected by a deadly weakness, a dishonouring cowardice and a western effeminacy." (Al Banna in Kapferer 1972: 115pp.) The struggle against this new Babylon is coded as a struggle for the restoration and restatement of an honourable community '*umma*' and heroic masculinity.

In the neoislamist discourse the hero is transformed into the martyr. With the martyr model, a figure who in Europe was assumed to have long since disappeared has returned to the political stage. But it is also a familiar figure with a long Christian tradition, too. According to Albrecht Koschorke

one can even understand the figure of Christ, “as an archetype of an ever-renewable model of messianic masculinity” (Koschorke 2003: 320). At the same time, the discourse on the courage, pain and death of heroes caused a hegemonic practice of the sacralisation of masculinity, because “...through redeemer figures hegemonic masculinity is narratively produced and becomes a part of the symbolic order as a Utopian icon” (Glawion/Hashemi/Husmann-Kastein 2007: 14). It is the mastering of a deadly crisis which, not only within European tradition, became an initiation pattern to transform masculinity into something holy.

The Modern Bourgeois Subject and its Image

In the following, some of the other central discourses and images are presented through which the modern bourgeois masculine stereotype was created. Methodologically, I will follow the “History of Fascination” (cf. Heinrich 1995), a theory of cultural memory, which follows Aby Warburg and Sigmund Freud and seeks out figures (*Pathosformeln*), metaphors and unsolved conflict scenes which have come down through the centuries as *longue durée* and have been preserved in various transformations. At its roots, the cultural formation of the occidental concept of hegemonic bourgeois masculinity as a normative stereotype is closely connected to the discursive transformation of the Cartesian subject of reason,¹ especially in the way this concept was changed through the transcendental subject of Immanuel Kant² as disembodied and embodied, as asexual and male. Furthermore, it is linked to the formation of the bourgeois national ideologies, and the functionally differentiated (Luhmann) society around 1800. The narrative of ‘heroic manliness’ – as explorer, colonizer, head of state, warrior, and thinker – belongs to the master narratives of modernity just as much as

¹ This philosophical notion of a subject distinct from an individual, embodied person was originally invented in the modern philosophical thought by René Descartes in his famous *Discourse on Method* (1637/1968: 54).

² From the very start of the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), Kant utilizes the concept of ‘subject’, initially in the logical form owed to Aristotle, as the bearer of predicates, and then in the Cartesian sense, as a *cogito*. But for him this subject is not ‘metaphysical’, the subject is not without sensual experiences, and, as we can see in his *Critique of Judgement*, not even without a ‘gender’. But there are certain conceptions which form the experience which are ‘transcendental’.

the hall of mirrors of his ‘monstrous doppelgangers’ (Girard). Sometimes as ‘good and noble’ but more often as ‘barbaric or brutish’, these savages, as representatives of ‘asocial’, ‘violent’, and ‘compulsively egotistical’ manliness, pervade both the colonialist power discourse and the philosophical concept of the ‘state of nature’ of humankind (cf. Kucklick 2008).³

The masculinity discourse around 1800 thus develops paradoxically: on one hand the transcendental ‘thinking’ subject is set against the functional differentiation of society and its ‘savage’ origins as embodiment of the ‘general’ and whole, and on the other hand the bourgeois – neutral – subject as embodied in human beings takes on male and split form. Precisely this splitting between the normative ideal subject and the individual person within the hegemonic concept of bourgeois masculinity suggests that the concept itself is a product of modernization. The construction of ideal masculine subjectivity thus evolved both as symbol and symptom of a crisis of representation, which was connected to the increasing plurality of society and the uncertainty of shifts in knowledge and (gender) status. In this process, the image or model regimes (*Bildregime*) of life sciences and the political aesthetic of masculinity, which together constitute the public production of the new visibility of the “image of man” (Mosse), take on a bio-political relevance. Within the bio-political discourse the ‘beautiful’ and ‘healthy’ body merges with the fertile body. Around 1800, the aesthetic neo-classicist debates on the ‘beautiful’, ‘sublime’ and the ‘noble’ meet with those of the newly emerging field of physiology. Their *tertium comparationis* is concentrated in the performance of subject formation by the experience and mastery of pain, terror and shock through knowledge and selfmastery. In both of the different fields – medicine and aesthetics – this performance is centered on and reaffirms ‘male reason’ and ‘noble soul’ and produces – with the help of antique Greek examples – the new ‘contour’ (“*Kontur*”, cf. Winckelmann 1755) of the ideal ‘male body’. The early construction of this ideal body ‘contour’ can be read as a central example of “the regulatory practices and *rites de passages* that”, according to Butler, “render that body discrete by virtue of its stable boundaries” (Butler 1990: 181).

³ Most recently with a detailed list of examples and quotations of the “negative andrology of enlightenment”: Christoph Kucklick (2008: 35-135).

“The relation between the two sexes”, writes Simone de Beauvoir 1949, “is not as the relation of electricity, the two poles: man represents at the same time the positive and the neutral” (Beauvoir 1949: 14f). Throughout almost the entire history of Europe the order of the sexes has been shaped by the fact that the male gender was a representative of God or ‘mankind’, and, so had “a reference point beyond nature” (Klinger 2008: 25). In the enlightenment period the debates about women’s lack of reasoning ability referred to a decisive new difference. Here masculinity as representative of mankind’s ‘reason’ could move through processes of selfmastery into an elevated domain that transcended its limitations as a particular gender. At the same time the modern differentiation of society into a public and a private sphere was mirrored by the recently invented difference and reciprocity of gender characters, as Karin Hausen’s pioneer studies have demonstrated (cf. Hausen 1978). Friedrich Schiller made a unique tribute to this in his famous poem “The Song of the Bell” from 1809:

“Then man must abroad into hostile life
must work and produce
while in-doors governs
the modest housewife
the children’s mother
and reigns wisely
in the domestic circle” (Schiller 1837).

Parallel to the construction of the rational male subject of enlightenment, a “negative andrology” (Kucklick 2008) was developing. It focused on the raw nature of primeval man and on that of the colonial savages abroad. The negative andrology functioned also, however, as a warning against the mass of ‘wild’ masculinities at home in Europe. These are very well illustrated, for example, by the aristocratic villain of the gothic novel or the wild men of the uneducated classes, the criminals or the insane.

To understand the tensions and power struggles between different masculinities in the process of modernisation, Raewyn Connell developed the concept of hegemonic masculinity. With this concept, the founder of Masculinity Studies invented an epistemological tool to analyse the inter-relationship among men and the fluidity of power relations. However, her attempt has a feminist forrunner in the pioneer work of Eve Sedgwick and

her book *Between Men* from 1985. Both authors analyse masculinities in intersection with race and class differences. According to Connell, a patriarchal symbolic order is not only based on the dominance of men over women, but is also an interplay between, and a struggle of different masculinities. The hegemonic ideal, she stressed with reference to Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, is also accepted by marginalised groups:

“Hegemonic masculinity is a social ascendancy in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of brute power into the organization of private life and cultural processes.” (Connell/Messerschmidt 2005: 832)

We might add that the hegemonic ideal influences the normative discourse of society and produces and symbolizes cultural differences and demarcations. George Mosse, a second pioneer in Masculinity Studies, also places the origin of the modern masculine stereotype in Western culture within the tumultuous changes of the eighteenth century. For him, both the ideal masculine character, and its bodily representation, the ideal male physique – defined through Greek allusions – were combined with the process of modernization and the origin of bourgeois society (Mosse 1996). The sublime and beautiful body image of man as a model of self-mastery and self-government became the normative ideal. Mosse sees its concentration in the complex discourse of enlightenment which took the antique sculpture of *Laocoon* and Johann Joachim Winckelmanns famous interpretation as their starting points. This famous sculpture shows *Laocoon* and his sons in the midst of his deadly fight with the snakes. His supposed self-mastery has made *Laocoon* into an exemplary role model of self-conquest and the representative of the ‘noble soul’. Pain reveals beauty and “brings the body into view” (Richter 1992: 32). Thus the antique hero *Laocoon* could also become a role model for the noble soldierly death. Furthermore, the ideal muscular harmony of the body in his death struggle was seen to express a sublime soul and a model of perfection for every man. The sentiment is concentrated in the famous sentence of Johann Joachim Winckelmann: “*Edle Einfalt, stille Größe*” (“noble simplicity, quiet grandeur”).

In this reading, *Laocoon*’s body becomes “the battlefield where forces of pain and the soul wage war against each other...” (Richter 1992: 20). Nevertheless, that ideal was a middle-class stereotype of self-possession and self-mastery: It was the glue that held modern society together, rec-

onciling a desire for both order and progress. White men could approach the normative stereotype through gymnastics, education and and through dying a patriotic death in national wars. The normative ideal was one key to the construction of the bipolar gender order and the so-called feminine gender character. Within the biopolitical discourse, and that is much more important, it was a dynamic social force to construct, in Mosse's words, antitypes – the ugly, “unmanly and infertile men”, Jews, homosexuals, the insane and last but not least the coloured men. During the 19th century the ideal whiteness of the antique marble in Neo-Classicist discourse and the whitened quality of the numerous plaster casts were transferred to the skin. So it could be used as a justification for asserting white supremacy.

Masculinity as Battleground around 1900

In 1890 a new, historically specific stage in the history of gender and sexuality began. An array of complex economical, social, and political changes helped shape both the reform ideas of the homosexual movement and the counter-reform impulse in Germany. The more explicit discussion of sexual behavior was a result of the emergence of sexology, which provided a vocabulary for discussing sexual activities and a set of norms for determining ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ behavior. The thesis is, with reference to John Fout (Fout 1992), that the debate over homosexuality was a medium of expression for a more general male gender crisis. It was a crisis of the traditional patriarchy, which included the upheavals of the family and the gender order, the youth movement, the first women's movement and the eroding gender boundaries in the middle class and the working class.

In Wilhelmine Germany, the rhetoric of the so-called Male Gender Crisis was combined with the Crisis of the State and the King. It circulated around the dispositive of ‘normal masculinity’ and spoke of ‘perversity’ and ‘effeminacy’. Ever since the Eulenburg-Moltke trial between 1906-1908, where a close friend of the emperor was accused of being homosexual, an explosive uncertainty remained: Was homosexuality a symptom of individual and/or social pathology and therefore an indication for the ‘decadence’ of the Imperial Court and degeneration of society? Or, was it rather a particularly creative dimension of ‘normative’ masculinity, which strived for social and libidinal manifestation? Germany was then a battlefield of gender questions. As Eve Sedgwick wrote:

“Virtually all of the competing, conflicting figures for understanding same-sex desires – archaic ones and modern ones, medicalised and politicised, – those emphasizing pederastic relations, or gender inversion – were coined and circulated in this period in the first place in Germany, and through German culture, medicine, and politics.” (Sedgwick 1993: 66)

The modern sexological, legal and public discourse of sexuality implied, according to Michel Foucault's central thesis, the biopolitical construction of a homosexual type as ‘opposite’, ‘perverse’, ‘mad’ or ‘criminal’. However, if we look at the historical German situation around 1900 we can see that the debate on homosexuality functioned also as a political ventriloquist for a more general crisis of the so-called ‘normal’ society. Here, the unsettling of hegemonic bourgeois masculinity becomes virulent, especially in anxieties about de-differentiation regarding the order of sexes and classes. Hence, it is not surprising that, in the heated culture-crises-debates, modernization fostered numerous conservative, nationalist and masculinist defensive and reactionary activities. One of the most important reactions was the political introduction of *Männerbünde* (male bands) as simultaneously antifeminist and antidemocratic, homogeneous unions of men.

Männerbund and ‘Master Race’:

The Mobilization of the Other in German Colonial Discourse⁴

The concept of the *Männerbund* was a ‘traveling theory’ and the product of knowledge gained through the belated German colonial adventure in Africa (cf. Brunotte 2004). As a product of the imagined ethnography, *Männerbund* was an invention of the German ethnographer Heinrich Schurtz in his book *Age Classes and Male Bands* from 1902. Schurtz worked at the *Bremer Übersee-Museum* and, like Leo Frobenius, he was obsessed with African culture. In contrast to England, the exoticism and the theatrical passion for the ‘Orient’ seemed to become an omnipresent and celebrated phenomenon in the Empire. Frequently deployed by the Kaiser in the form of pompous costumes and adventurous journeys to Constantinople, where Wilhelm II participated in the Turkish sultan's oriental display of splendor,

⁴ Large parts of this chapter are from: Brunotte, Ulrike (2009): “Religion and Colonialism”, esp. 359-362.

the Kaiser's journeys were above all in pursuit of international standing and expansion of the German empire.⁵

Therefore, far more important than its academic reception was the immense cultural-political impact which the 'indigenous' organizational model of the *Männerbund*, as analyzed by Schurtz, went on to have on German cultural debates and on politics. The *Männerbund* advanced not only to the matrix of the 'conservative revolution' but, far more, it became the key concept of the political culture in Germany (cf. Sombart 1988). *Männerbund* was the term Schurtz used to describe the coming together of boys of the same age during their *rites de passage*. As Schurtz explains, in many indigenous societies strong secret communities and warrior bands developed from these originally temporary institutions of male-only associations. In his defense of the male band, Schurtz took up the contemporary gender-political debates on women's emancipation. Viewed from a history of science perspective, his work can be seen as an attack on Johann Jacob Bachofen, who in his *Das Mutterrecht* (The Mother Right), published in 1861, presents the concept of an early, pre-patriarchal phase of cultural development. For Bachofen the "first development from lower to higher form of the human race is bound to women" (Bachofen 1975: 40f). Only against this cultural political background does Schurtz' thesis receive its cultural and political relevance: It is neither the mother's 'horde', nor the family with the father at its head, but rather the free association of male bands who constitute the progressive and culture-forming foundations of society and are "the support of almost all higher cultural developments" (Schurtz 1902: 61). However, also around 1900 an "imaginary ethnography" of modern manliness was developing in the border area of a delayed colonial "contact zone" (Pratt) in the Second German Empire. The imaginary ethnography of modern manliness drew on the allegedly comradely band of 'savage' warriors. This provided role models for the 'retreat' – for the *Wandervogel*-movement an emigration (*Auswanderung*) in the metaphorical and literal meaning – from the Wilhelmian Fatherland and away from the modern battle of the sexes (cf. Fout 1992). What began in Wilhelm II's *Hunnenrede*, his speech on July 27, 1900 with the departure of the puni-

⁵ Cf. *Der Traum vom Orient. Kaiser Wilhelm II. im Osmanischen Reich*, Ausstellungskatalog, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, Potsdam 2005.

tive expeditions to defeat the boxer rebellion in China with the words: "As a thousand years ago the Huns did under their king Etzel (...) if you face your enemy, you will defeat him! No one will be pardoned" (Wilhelm II in Scherpe 2004: 453), was completed in and after World War I in the political male bond discourse: The self-identification of 'Germanness' with the vitality of a 'primitive', but creative barbarism. In both cases: "The barbarian is the absolute exponent of cultural power." (Scherpe 2004: 453) None other than Thomas Mann had already set the formerly distant 'primitive' and colonial 'exotic' as the symbol of the fight for German 'culture' against the Western 'civilization' in his *Gedanken im Kriege* (Thoughts in War) 1914, when he wrote,

"culture can encompass oracle, magic, pederasty, vitzliputli, human sacrifice, orgiastic cults, inquisition, autodafés, Dance of Death, witch trials, poisonous plants and the most colorful horrors. Civilization on the other hand is (...) appeasement, civilization, skepticism, resolution." (Mann 1914/2002: 213f)⁶

The male band discourse in Germany underwent a very similar process of mimicry of the wild and appropriation of colonial exoticism. In the centre of the modernization process, which shook up the patriarchal institution of marriage and brought the generational conflict to a head, the 'indigenous' colonial model of pure boy and man societies, which is based on staging and ritual, becomes interesting in the context of the youth movement. Of course, what started as a network of new, voluntaristic forms of companionship moved from being a subculture outside of the state to the (elite) centre of politics and political theologies in the Second German Empire.

Only when the male band discourse took a more aggressive turn, brought about by the Berlin author and psychologist Hans Blüher, did the male band move closer to the cultural and religious-sociological (*religionssoziologisch*) quest movements and the debates on social cohesion (Weber, Plessner, Tönnies) of the time (cf. Brunotte 2004). Early on, Schurtz' eth-

⁶ "Kultur kann Orakel, Magie, Päderastie, Vitzliputli, Menschenopfer, orgiastische Kultformen, Inquisition, Autodafés, Veitstanz, Hexenprozesse, Blüte des Giftmordes und die buntesten Greuel umfassen. Zivilisation aber ist (...) Sänftigung, Sittigung, Skeptisierung, Auflösung." (Thomas Mann 1914: 213f)

nographic data was complemented by Karsch-Haacks' studies on *The Same Sex Love Lives of Primitive Tribes* (1911) and by Blüher's own analysis of the German *Wandervogel*-movement.

The idea of male bonding is also presented by Hermann Schmalenbach, an avid follower of Stefan George and his *Kreis* in 1922. What is evoked here as theatrical mimicry of indigenous cultural events, and becomes constitutive for the male bond, is "the overwhelmedness of the individual in the collective through emotional experiences" (Schmalenbach 1922: 59). In view of the colonial mimicry in the constitutional phase of the German male band, it comes as no surprise that, in his later racist and openly anti-Semitic construction of an 'Aryan male band' and an ultra virile elite, Hans Blüher draws directly on the exclusively white male societies of the German colonizers. Accordingly, Carl Peters, a particularly expansive and violent leader of the Germany colony in East Africa, serves as a prototype for his male heroes. However, Blüher and Peters share the same ideas:

"In his *Founding of German East Africa* Peters describes the colonial community of males bound to one another without the presence of women. Blüher in turn describes Peters as an inexhaustible conqueror, organizer, man of action, a politico who will have nothing to do with women." (Geller 2003: 196pp.)

Even before 1918 the heroic German colonist was seen as a vanguard of the *Herrenvolk* (master race).

Of course, the mimicry of the indigenous warriors and even that of the white colonial leaders within the German male band discourse change after the end of the war and the loss of the colonies. This is the beginning of the racist 'Germanization' of the male band, in the reinvention of old Germanic traditions and in performing them:

"With the loss of those colonies after World War I, German ethnographic analysis of tribal societies turned to another idealized vanguard: the ecstatic warrior male cultic bands that led the ancient Germanic tribes." (Geller 2003: 107)

One of the main factors in legitimizing the process of 'Germanization' was the knowledge creation of Religious and German Studies. Most important

is the research of Lily Weiser and her book *Ancient Germanic Youth Initiation Rites and Male Bands* from 1927 and Otto Höfler's 1934 *Secret Cultic Groups of the Germans*. Both emphasize not only the ecstatic element of the group rituals but, Höfler more than Weiser, their state-forming power (cf. Brunotte 2004: 130-137). It should not be forgotten that the cult of the dead and the self-sacralizing identification of the 'German Volk' and its elite 'new Germanic' male bands with these 'old Germanic' warrior heroes were an important foundation for the political regeneration of the *völkisch* state. Edward Said's thesis of the necessary parallelism of powerful colonial conquests and discourse can be refuted by reference to the devastating social dynamic which the colonial, racist power discourse within Germany created. With reference to Germany's few colonies Said had omitted to analyse the discourse shaping contribution of this country to European 'Orientalism' in his otherwise comprehensive study. Contrary to his thesis it is a central point of interest here how anti-Semitic and colonial tropes merge in this modern German racism.

Hans Blüher, the Masculinist Reaction and Anti-Semitism⁷

The bestselling author Hans Blüher took Schurtz's work and sexualized it. Blüher lived from 1888 to 1950 in Berlin. From 1912 to 1920 he was one of the most influential campaigners for the decriminalisation of homosexuality. Furthermore, he was the most important representative of the *Männerbund* discourse and was a member of the so-called 'Masculinists' in Germany. Andrew Hewitt chose the concept 'Masculinist' to characterize a group within the homosexual emancipation movement in Wilhelmine Germany who proclaimed the 'manliness' of the true homosexual: "The latter group is represented by Hans Blüher and Benedict Friedlaender [...] but also figures such as Adolf Brand." (Hewitt 1996: 80) The so-called 'Masculinists' were the right wing, anti-bourgeois part of the early gay rights movement in Germany, which were "involved in early fascism" (Sedgwick 1993: 50). They were middle-class men, scholars and artists who proclaimed themselves the elite of manly men and who formed the so-called 'Community of the Specials' (*Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*).

⁷ Fundamental for this part of the text is my book: Ulrike Brunotte: *Zwischen Eros und Krieg. Männerbund und Ritual in der Moderne*. Berlin, Wagenbach Verlag 2004.

As Claudia Bruns works out, the 'Masculinists' used Nietzsche's concept of the "Übermensch" to build up the 'free', 'superviril' new man and – on the other hand – they emphasized the fundamental masculine social qualities and socializing functions (cf. Bruns 2008: 103-158).

To sexualise the colonial discourse on male bonding, Blüher embraced Schurtz's data and put as driving force of the male bands not the 'social instinct' but the male-male attraction. In his main work, *Role of the Erotic within the male society*, from 1919 to 1921, Blüher wrote:

"Beyond the socializing principle of the family that feeds off the Eros of male and female, a second principle is at work in mankind and 'masculine society', which owes its existence to male-male Eros, and finds its expression in male bonding." (Blüher 1919: 7)

After 1914, the lost war and the fall of monarchy, it was Hans Blüher who synthesized the then anti-Semitic as well as racist tendencies of the public discourse of homosexualities, as Jay Geller writes: "He radicalized the construction of the opposition between the healthy inversion characteristic of manly Germanic men and the decadent homosexuality of effeminate Jews." (Geller 2003: 98) Even as early as 1913 Blüher was launching his fight against the social democratic, Jewish sexual reformer Magnus Hirschfeld.

Hirschfeld was a pioneering German sexologist and homosexual rights activist. He was always optimistic about modern science's ability to bring about a just society and tried to educate the people about the 'true' nature of inversion. Hirschfeld founded the first homosexual civil rights movement, created the *Wissenschaftlich humanitäre Komitee* (Scientific humanitarian committee) and developed the theory of the 'Third Sex' and the sexual intermediate types. He and his followers were the enemy Hans Blüher and the 'Masculinists' were fighting against. Blüher's attacks against Hirschfeld's homosexuality and his theory of homosexuality were of a fundamental, anti-Semitic character. He describes: "Hirschfeld's decadent inversion" and his followers as "truly deformed men... whose racial degeneracy is marked by an excessive endowment of female substance" (Blüher 1914: 13). Later these characteristics of sexual life would come to be openly qualified as Jewish: "the 'decadent portion' of the Jewish race" (Blüher 1965: 32). Blüher first constructed his ultra-virile male band against the female society and family. Later he racialized his charismatic male society,

which was based on the "love for the Hero of Men" or "the love for the image of the hero" ("*Männerheld*") (Blüher 1918: 35). Within the struggle for hegemonic masculinity Blüher's position was radical: "For him the state is sustained by a male-masculine eroticism ("*mannmännlicher Erotik*"); and politics is essentially and exclusively the matter of homoerotic men!" (Sombart 1988: 169).

Blüher's theory of the male society was therefore initially also a political weapon against a specific form of modernisation and a more general gender crisis. During the Weimar Republic it acquired features of a salvation model: Blüher's Germanic male band was theorized as the

"counter to the woman- and Jewish coded family and the democratic modernization of society. Emancipated Women and Jews were held responsible for both the bureaucratic anonymity of modern public life and the so called 'Feminization' of social life" (Geller 2003: 94).

As Claudia Bruns also emphasized (Bruns 2008: 103-158), at the centre of the debate on homosexuality and gender crisis also lay a struggle for dominance and power. To participate in the normative model of hegemonic masculinity the 'Masculinists' constructed a contradiction between the Germanic, healthy men-loving invert as a political and virile agent of society and the decadent, feminine, Jewish homosexual, who can not control himself, as the destructive social force. Here, the intersection of gender, race and politics was clearly at stake. Blüher's ultra-virile invert was meant to be an even better representative of the modern bourgeois hegemonic ideal of self-government than the heterosexual man and father, because, for Blüher, the manly invert is not the result of biology but the result of successful selfmastery.

In his later work the author established his anti-Semitism on the irreconcilable differences of the 'state' as the product of the 'male society' and the 'family' as a feminine institution. Therein one can immediately recognise the intractable link of sexual, racial and socio-political distortions. The first quotation is a footnote from Blüher's two volume major work from 1919-1921, *Role of the Erotic in the male Society*:

"With the Jews it is as follows: they suffer at one and the same time from a weakness in male bonding (*Männerbundschwäche*) and a hypertrophy

of the family. They are submerged in the family and familial relations... Loyalty, unity and bonding are no concern of the Jew. Consequently, where other peoples profit from a fruitful interaction of the two forms of socialisation (i.e. the family and the *Männerbund*), with the Jews there is a sterile division. Nature has visited this fate upon them and thus they wander through history, cursed never to be a people (*Volk*), always to remain a mere race. They have lost their state. Consequently the Jews maintain themselves as race through overemphasis of the family." (Blüher 1921: 170)

The puzzle of how the Jews have survived without a state was solved by Blüher by way of 'effeminizing' them. According to Blüher, the Jews subjugated themselves exclusively to the female sphere of the family and to reproductive instincts associated with femininity.

In Blüher's work *Aristie des Jesus von Nazareth*, one can read:

"Nature has given man the guarantee that he does not feel overwhelmed by his female sexual characteristics one day; but the primary race does not have the guarantee to escape secondary race events (*sekundären Rasseereignissen*)." (Blüher 1921: 40)

At first, it stands out that this quotation employs a parallelism between biological bisexuality in its first part and the cultural *mélange* of the German and Jewish 'race' in society in its second. According to Blüher, man is safeguarded by nature against "being overwhelmed by female sexual characteristics". The Germanic primary race is, in contrast, not protected against the Jewish secondary race. Consider that this work was published in 1921. With his appeal to exclude Jews – the *Secessio Judaica* – Blüher positions himself ideologically in the run-up to the Shoa. According to him, the Germanic race builds on heroic virility, male societies and masculine Eros: "*Preußentum* and heroism is one and the same" (Blüher 1922: 49), he writes in *Secessio Judaica*.

In parallel, Blüher's late work exhibits an increasing tendency to sacralize the healthy 'male band' as a Germano-Christian institution and the ideal German Nation. Here we come back to the outset of my essay, which raised the connection of masculinity, religion and politics. In this vein, Blüher portrays Christ and his disciples as the greatest male band. The sacred element within the male society, according to Blüher, "always ties

in with an exuberance of the humane. It is an ecstatic and solemn event. In male society something builds up, which occurs nowhere else: in the hours of the highest charge the *Männerbund* emerges" (Blüher 1921: 217). The figure of the "male hero" ("*Männerheld*") as Nietzschean leader and charismatic center of male bands is a term also created by Blüher. The male band with its "fanatic desire for the hero" and "the love for the image of the hero" (Blüher 1918: 35) is the main antidote to the feminine-Jewish democratic modernization. He tries to reintroduce heroes by recourse to Greek antiquity and the Greek State, as, according to Blüher, "Heracles, Theseus, Siegfried (...), these sons of the gods, are men's favorites put into heaven" (Blüher 1921: 246). For Blüher, as well as for the male bands which marched through German cities from 1929 on, the fascination for these and other more Germanic heroes' sovereignty and deeds stems from the splendor of "the great decisive criminal acts" (Blüher 1922: 49).

Hans Blüher was not only an early fascist but also a philosopher of inversion, bisexuality, and masculinist eroticism. Before his anti-Semitic radicalization and his, in a paradox way, homophobic construction of the hypermasculine hero ("*Männerheld*") as the centre of a new charismatic Aryan society he even discussed issues of homosexuality and culture with Sigmund Freud. On the whole, German sexological debates and colonial masquerades around 1900, constructions of male-societies, homosexualities and the *Third Sex-Theories*, as well as the theory of sexual intermediate types, are still of interest and relevant not only for current Gender and Masculinity Studies but also for the discussion on the intersection of homophobia, misogyny and anti-Semitism.

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Rita Schäfer

Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt, historische Kontexte und aktuelle Ansätze von Gender-Organisationen in Südafrika

Gegensätze

Zahlreiche Gegensätze und konfliktreiche Dynamiken kennzeichnen die südafrikanische Gesellschaft, das betrifft vor allem die Geschlechterverhältnisse. So verfügt Südafrika seit 1996 über eine geschlechtergerechte Verfassung, zudem hatte die Regierung unter Nelson Mandela (1994-1999) auf Druck von Frauenrechtsorganisationen eine Vielzahl neuer Gesetze verabschiedet und vorbildliche Reformen zur Verwirklichung von Frauenrechten begonnen. Auch unter Mandelas Nachfolger Thabo Mbeki (1999-2008) gingen die Initiativen für Rechtsreformen und deren Implementierung von unabhängigen Frauenrechtsexpertinnen und -aktivistinnen aus. Zudem verfügt kaum ein anderes Land über so umfangreiche staatliche Vorgaben und Leitlinien zum *Gender Mainstreaming*, zu *Gender-Budgets* und zu Quotenregelungen auf allen Ebenen. Gleichzeitig ist Südafrika jedoch auch Spitzenreiter in den international vergleichenden Statistiken zu häuslicher Gewalt, Femiziden und Vergewaltigungen. Häufig werden Frauen und Mädchen bei Vergewaltigungen mit dem HI-Virus infiziert und erkranken wegen der mangelhaften Gesundheitsversorgung an AIDS, so wird ihnen der in der Verfassung verankerte Gewaltschutz und das Recht auf Gesundheit verwehrt (Schäfer 2008: 127ff). Frauen- und *Gender-Organisationen*, die auf die Umsetzung der Rechtsgrundlagen pochen und die grassierende geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt verurteilen, sind mit vielfältigen gesellschaftlichen Hindernissen konfrontiert.

Historische Kontexte

Zum Verständnis dieser Probleme sind historische Rückblicke notwendig; sie können die umfassende Gewaltprägung und die komplexen Interdependenzen zwischen *gender*, *race* und *class* in dieser früheren Siedlerkolonie aufzeigen. Ein zeitlicher Längsschnitt ermöglicht es, die gewaltsame und rassistische Aufladung von Männlichkeits- und Weiblichkeitskonzepten

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