

Michael Groneberg / Christian Funke
(eds.)

Combatting Homophobia

**Experiences and Analyses
Pertinent to Education**

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Preface

This volume intends to be a contribution to research, to education and to an international dialogue between persons working in education and in research (in a diversity of disciplines). Prepared by a conference at a university, it is nevertheless not conceived as a Conference Proceedings volume, but as a monograph of a plurality of voices. It combines reports of experiences in education projects in several countries with scientific analyses from diverse academic domains, all pertinent to questions of education.

The antecedent conference at Münster University in November 2009 was organized by the Gay Union and the Lesbian Union of the students' union's executive committee of the University of Muenster (*Autonomes Schwulenreferat und Autonomes Lesbenreferat des AStA der Universität Münster*). Christian Funke, then student of philosophy, took charge of the preparatory organizational and fund-raising work, in close cooperation with Michael Groneberg, then replacement professor at the philosophy department, who took charge of the scientific supervision and proposed to then graduated Christian Funke to co-direct this transdisciplinary volume.

We both know that homophobia is – against all appearances of the contrary – latently omnipresent in society and only slowly beginning to be analyzed by research, which rather centers on questions of (homo)sexuality. In contrast, we both share the conviction that we urgently need knowledge about homophobia, in particular concerning education, because it is primarily youths who are the victims, at school and in their families, as both research and experiences show.

For Michael Groneberg, this research began a couple of years ago in Switzerland where a loose, mostly French speaking research network already came into existence. His intention was to continue the analysis of homophobia by extending the network into further disciplines and by comparing the situation between countries. A first step was to connect the francophone network with German speaking researchers. Secondly, the international cooperation was driven a step further by relativizing the educational situation in France, Switzerland and Germany next to the very advanced practice in Canada and the desolate actual state of things in many parts of Eastern Europe. With Arnoldas Zdanevičius from Lithuania we have a representative of the situation in Eastern European post-Soviet states. His valuable contribution also signals the direction of future extensions of this network of theory and practice.

We want to thank all the researchers who followed our invitation to participate in this process of reflection and exchange of experience, and those who reacted to the call for papers. The conference was held over two days, on November 19 and 20 of 2009, at the University of Münster. It was intense and exceptionally inspiring due to the continuous

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presence of the researchers and their openness to discussion with each other, with the students and with the persons working in education. The success was particularly due to the admirable investment and participation of the numerous students, educators and others present.

Selected presentations at the conference are published in this volume and enriched by some additional texts. We are grateful to Caroline Dayer from Geneva and to Marie Houzeau and Bill Ryan from Montréal for preparing their complementary contributions, and we regret very much that they were not present at the conference.

We extend our gratitude to the institutions without whose fundings the conference, the interdisciplinary and intersectional exchange and the publication of this book would not have been possible. First of all, our thanks go to the *Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster* (University of Muenster) and to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation) for their substantial financing. We also thank the *Antidiskriminierungsstelle der Stadt Münster* (Anti-Discrimination Agency of the City of Muenster) and the *Völklinger Kreis e. V.* for their donations. A *grand merci* goes to the *Faculté des Lettres* de l'Université de Lausanne for financing the corrections of the English texts in this volume.

For the provision of manpower and other resources, we are grateful to the Gay Students Union and the Students' Union of the University of Muenster. Largely responsible for the conference's success and the well-being of the guests was Willi Wolf, whom we thank for his competent work "in the background" during the planning process and the living support at the conference. Many thanks go to the Lesbian Union and its helping members, especially to Anna Morbach, Anna-Christin Söhling and Janne Stahl. For her support we are grateful to Ulrike Kleemeier. For his help in translating French contributions into German in order to facilitate the communication at the conference, we thank Daniel Elfering.

The decision to publish in English was not taken easily, for some of the texts written in German or French would be precious material in the respective countries. Perhaps some texts will also be published in their original language – please contact the authors in order to find out. The publication in English required some translations, and corrections of the texts many authors wrote in English themselves. For their translations of one or the other text, which had to be done rapidly and nevertheless turned out to be very considerate and precise, we thank Kent Stuart, Torben Schumacher, Pedro Carol and Niklas Fischer. Their respective work is mentioned in the note to the texts' titles. Last but not least, we are very grateful to Vincent Laughery, philosophy student at the University of Lausanne, for the final correction of all the texts.

Christian Funke and Michael Groneberg

Münster and Lausanne,
January 2011

Introduction

Legal and social recognition of homosexuality as a distinctive way of life has been and is still growing noticeably in many countries in Europe, North and South America, India and many other parts of the planet. However, even in these countries, homophobia remains common. An increased sensitivity towards the latter renders apparent numerous ways of discriminating against homosexuals and of devaluing homosexuality. The term homophobia in the title of this book is supposed to address all these phenomena, covering overt prosecution by the law, physical and verbal violence by individuals, devaluing discourses of religious leaders, and negative attitudes and aversion, whether they are expressed or not.

1. What is homophobia?

It must be clear from the start: the “phobia” in the word *homophobia* must not be taken to mean fear or anxiety as in *arachnophobia* (fear of spiders) or *claustrophobia* (anxiety in closed rooms), but rather hatred, aversion, dislike, distrust, disgust, contempt, antipathy or hostility, as in *xenophobia* (hate of the unfamiliar). Although the Greek word *phobos* means fear (and hatred would better be expressed by using the Greek term *misos*, as in *misanthropy* or *misogyny*), the general understanding of the term “phobia” in *homophobia* as well as in *xenophobia* is “aversion”, expressing the opposite of “philia”.

Of course it might be assumed that the aversion is due to some fear, for instance of one’s own homosexual tendencies. But this is an empirical consideration (and controversial), not a semantic one. When Kenneth T. Smith and George Weinberg coined the term in 1971 and 1972, they did that indeed in a psychological perspective. Smith’s intention in his psychological article was to analyze the character of the homophobic person. The psychologist Weinberg defined homophobia in his book as “The dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals and in the case of homosexuals themselves, self loathing.”¹ Weinberg explained the aversion towards homosexuality with fear: the fear of men to be considered as homosexual or as insufficiently masculine. Our understanding of the term has moved away from this presupposition in order to also include homophobic attitudes in women and against lesbians and because the fear to be considered homosexual already presupposes the stigmatization of homosexuality, i. e. structural homophobia.² We there-

¹ Kenneth T. Smith (1971): Homophobia: A Tentative Personality Profile, in: *Psychological Reports* 29, 1091–1094; George Weinberg (1972): *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*, New York: Saint Martin’s Press.

² For further discussions of the concept, see Caroline Dayer (paragraph 2) and Arnoldas Zdanevičius (paragraph 5).

fore begin with the definition of homophobia as aversion. Whether the concrete aversion of a person is due to some fear in her is an empirical question, which remains open to be answered differently in each case.

The word's first part "homo", on the other hand, does not express sameness, as in *homosexual love*, which means love between persons of the same sex, but abbreviates in turn "homosexual". Hence, homophobia does not mean "fear of the same", as linguistic purists might insist, but denotes hostility against homosexuals or homosexuality.

Depending on the context, the term in its wide sense also covers transphobia, a larger hostile attitude that includes transgender persons or everything that appears to ignore or stray from the established gender norms: effeminate men, butch women, ladies in men's dress, androgynous appearances etc. Whereas the general meaning of homophobia in this wide sense is hostility against everyone who deviates from established norms of sexuality and gender – scientists will rather use the term heteronormativity here –, the main accent in this volume remains on homophobia in the narrower sense of hostility against homosexuality, in particular harassment and discrimination of lesbians and gays. To include transphobia specifically would have entailed additional specialized analyses. But even for an understanding of homophobia in this narrow sense, the connection between homophobic attitudes and the defence of a clear-cut two-gender system with a clear definition and distribution of male and female roles, usually including male domination, must be investigated. It should also be clear that not only lesbians, gays and bisexuals are affected by homophobia, but every person, every girl and boy in the schoolyard, because everyone is threatened of becoming victim of homophobic hate speech or diffamation.

2. *The amount and facets of homophobia*

This book contains no comparative quantitative studies as to the amount of homophobia. It moves rather on an explorative level, trying to see and understand, to identify problems and need for further research and to collect good practices to combat homophobia. A few quantitative data and literature are mentioned in the introduction to the Social Sciences section. Moreover, comparisons are rendered possible by the contributions' accents on certain regions, and an explicit international comparison is contained in Hans-Joachim Mengel's text.

Globally, we are confronted with a clash of two opposing blocks, representing opposing attitudes, which are in turn to be found almost everywhere. On the one extreme end are the countries that still punish homosexual acts, partially by death, and churches that condemn homosexual acts and declare homosexuality to be a perversion or illness. On the other end is the trend to protect homosexuals from discrimination with human rights, with state laws, with liberal theological positions and political attitudes demanding tolerance or respect of private auto-

nomy. This volume deals primarily with homophobia that still exists in countries that have officially accepted homosexuality as a lifestyle and have implemented non-discrimination laws. It deals with the questions of where and how homophobic elements are nevertheless present and still create suffering, although this is illegal and immoral. This volume is written in the perspective of persons who have observed the installation of legal equality for sexual minorities and of their right to be protected by the state against violence, and who depart from the idea that the sexual orientation of a person is morally, legally and medically not relevant, while by contrast homophobia is. For homophobia unjustly produces suffering. That is why, as behaviour, homophobia is immoral, it is a crime that has to be prosecuted by law, and it is a societal disease. As MICHAEL BRINKSCHRÖDER claims in his text, it is, in a religious perspective, a sin. Structural homophobia results in homophobic violence that kills and makes people unhappy and unfree. It might be omnipresent, in everyone, even in homosexual persons. Jacques Fortin states that it is "normal" to *be* homophobic, but not to *stay* homophobic. In other words: The presence of homophobia is an unfortunate fact nobody should be surprised about, and it is not to be ignored, for the task is to discover and overcome it.

The central object of this book is not to analyze the situation in places with official incrimination and prosecution of lesbians and gays, but in places where legal protection is assured and legal equality is (more or less) achieved. It seemed nevertheless important to include one text on the global situation of state homophobia. HANS-JOACHIM MENGEL highlights the importance of human rights and international rules and debates in protecting persons from homophobic violence.

The comparison of countries that introduced non-discrimination laws renders one thing obvious: the state of the Law still allows for a wide variety when it comes to the concrete living conditions. We retain the overall impression of being confronted with a process that goes in a certain direction, one of liberalization and more justice. The differences between countries or regions reflect different stages within this development. Benchmarks on its way are certainly the repeal of the death penalty for same-sex intercourse, then the complete decriminalization of homosexual acts, the depathologization of homosexuality, and now the goal that is reached for many societies: the introduction of equal rights to protection and to live one's life freely. After this, the *implementation* of these rights, the enforcement of their respect, is the logical next step. In this regard, the situation varies heavily.

Some countries, with Canada as the guiding light even to Western European countries, did not only introduce protection articles in laws and – more importantly – in its constitution(s), but also successfully implements these laws. Two contributions, referring to Southern France and to Québec, address the question of this implementation by showing

how it can be achieved, while another, referring to the situation in Lithuania, highlights the helplessness and persisting vulnerability of gays, lesbians and transgenders in a situation of flagrant discrepancy between right and reality.

In the countries where respect for lesbians and gays is implemented, or on its way to be, we rather find latent forms of homophobia that are manifest in moral reservations or stereotyped beliefs. They might even be hidden behind overtly liberal attitudes. Although in these countries homosexuality is tolerated in public opinion, bullying in school environments may still be frequent and subtle or hidden ways of devaluing homosexuals may persist in everyday life and may have to be fought off continuously. Some cases show that even institutions responsible for education do not realize the importance of anti-homophobic action, because they do not realize the suffering it creates. If a Swiss education department forbids classroom interventions by lesbians and gays, although this is proven to be one of the best means to reduce homophobic violence and suffering of gay and lesbian youths, it is all too easy to diagnose institutionalized homophobia. It is more important to convince the responsible persons that the interventions' goal is not the promotion of a homosexual lifestyle, but preventing the suffering of those among the youths who realize they are lesbian or gay and who, *in contrast to other discriminated groups*, cannot count on the support of their family or dare not reveal their homosexuality at home, because they do not want to disappoint their parents or because they fear their reactions. In that respect, most lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders and intersexes are in the same situation: they are alone, often without anyone to talk to, and with no backing from home. The fact that the law protects homosexuality may tempt us to assume that being "homo" is no longer problematic. This is a grave illusion: we still live in an environment where, for every child or adolescent, being gay or lesbian means confronting a sexuality that is first of all not the generally presupposed, approved and applauded one by adults, and which is moreover not desired by the child or adolescent, but on the contrary perceived to be a personal catastrophe, and as a weakness not to be revealed to others (as show the interview examples in CAROLINE DAYER's text). What is at stake in these countries is to raise awareness of these problems, to make people understand the suffering and to convince the responsible persons to take measures against it.

By contrast, in countries that only adopted non-discrimination laws in the process of becoming member of the European Union, without a broadly distributed understanding of the issue and the political will to implement these standards, prejudice against homosexuals becomes apparant in an openly outspoken manner. ATVIRI.lt, a Lithuanian internet portal monitoring homosexuality issues and homophobia on national and international levels, provides a striking illustration of such

a case: all the members of the Lithuanian Parliament were requested to comment the position of the Lithuanian Catholic Church that “homosexuality is a perversion”.³ 89 parliamentarians were in favour of this position and declared that homosexuality is deviant, a disease (defined as such by a medical doctor), a societal degeneration or a sign of mental illness. 25 MPs abstained from giving a commentary. Only 15 declared that the Church's position is not in accordance with human rights standards, the right to private autonomy or the societal principle of tolerance. A large majority of the Lithuanian parliament obviously believes that homosexuality is a perversion. End of 2010, it tried to pass a law that prohibits any positive description of homosexuality in schools. The “public promotion of homosexual relations” would be fined with up to some thousand euros. This measure, if introduced, is contrary to the needs of the youths concerned, will cause a lot of harm to them and will favour anti-homosexual violence. The positions of the MPs also demonstrate the weight and importance of religion, in this case, of the Catholic Church, in the propagation of homophobic attitudes and beliefs that nourish insults and violence, instead of spreading Christianity's message of love.

Next to state repression, religious homophobia is one of the most important issues, in particular when it comes to young people who grow up in a religious surrounding or who look for answers within a religion. In this respect, MICHAEL BRINKSCHRÖDER analyzes the still existing homophobia in Christian Churches and their origins, pointing out the alternative enlightened theological positions which demonstrate that homophobia is not a necessary ingredient of Christian belief.

Common acceptance of anti-homosexual politics, which prevents education towards tolerance and principles of non-discrimination, is widespread in Eastern and South-Eastern European countries. In such a climate where democratic decisions re-enact the stigmatization of homosexuality, the call for gay and lesbian school interventions, an accepted standard procedure in Canada or Germany, is useless. Examples like these confront us with the fact that homophobia is still a widespread form of open social violence. Even to perform scientific work and demand justice and equality under these conditions, as our author ARNOLDAS ZDANEVIČIUS has done, requires courage and the steadiness of a critical mind in times of heavy attack. Examples like his remind those who work in a relatively comfortable Canadian or Western European context of the necessary implementation of non-discrimination laws and standards and of the inevitability of civil action.

³ See “Lithuanian MPs about Homosexuality” on: http://www.atviri.lt/index.php/lithuanian_mps_about_homosexuality/1673 [9 Jan. 2011].

3. *The purpose of this volume*

The analysis of homophobia in academic research is only slowly proceeding. Moreover, awareness of homophobic violence in everyday life is often absent. In schoolyards, bullying on the grounds of sexual identity is widespread, though widely ignored, and social service work or campaigns that address such behaviour exist only occasionally. Taking up the sporadic attempts to make homophobia a subject of discussion, this volume, and the process that led to it, are guided by some central aims.

Interdisciplinarity

To understand homophobia, an interdisciplinary combination of perspectives is obviously necessary. The topic concerns laws and human rights, social structures and processes, psychology, gender issues, and human beliefs, values and attitudes studied by history and philosophy, not to forget the educational and theological aspects. The interdisciplinary approach of this volume intends to provide not a complete, but a nonetheless panoramic view of homophobia by combining diverse approaches.

Transdisciplinarity

The practical aim is to promote contact and exchange between theorists and practitioners in order to develop, hand in hand, theory and practice, research and feasible political and pedagogical concepts. This is why a transdisciplinary approach was chosen, which transcends the purely academic discourse by inviting non-academic persons, in this case concerned with education, to participate in the research process. To facilitate the dialogue between research, education and civil action, the research approaches are complemented with the concrete knowledge of persons working in education.

International networking

Internationality provides the basis for comparison and permits the exchange of ideas, approaches, experiences and strategies. To this end, contributions were invited from Canada, France, Switzerland, Germany and Lithuania.

Identification of needed research

An additional aim is to identify actual research needs. To this end, the authors were called upon to formulate need for research. It is indicated in their contributions and sometimes added at their end.

4. *The terminology*

The term *homophobia* was introduced in science by Kenneth Smith and George Weinberg at the beginning of the 1970's and its meaning has since changed.⁴ As already stated, it has moved away from its psychological definition to also include social and institutional dimensions. It has become a collective term for disapproving attitudes and actions, social stigmatization and structural discrimination against people who stray from the conventional norms of sexuality and gender. The term has been object of criticism⁵ and its use did not go without saying, so we have discussed alternatives. The main reason for retaining it was a) its general acceptance: it is widely known and understood, also outside academia, b) its wide applicability: it may be used to cover structural homophobia, and c) its practical application: it works. It is performative. The designation of an action or person as homophobic works as a shameful reproach (at least in some contexts). The reproach seems less to be irrational than to be unjust, to discriminate against minorities and cause harm to them, to want to impose the own life-style and sexual preference on others and to encourage violence. In addition, d) homophobia is a relatively short word and easy to pronounce.

The choice of the term *homophobia* is certainly not perfect, for several reasons: a) its meaning does not closely follow the original Greek meanings of its parts – but this is the case for other concepts as well; b) it has been argued that “phobia” seems to imply an individual defect, whereas homophobia is not an individual, but a social disease,⁶ according to the slogan: “It is not the homophobic person who is sick, but the society which creates him!” But the same can be said about xenophobia, which is nevertheless a viable concept. As has been said, in its widened sense homophobia encompasses the social and institutional dimensions. In addition, even if structural homophobia is an affair of institutions, official discourses and society as a whole, the individual homophobic insult is, as xenophobic violence, still a fault of its author, even if he is encouraged by homophobic statements of others or a complete normative system. A more serious reproach is Gregory Herek's that c) the term covers too much at once and that we need to differentiate between individual actions, attitudes and beliefs, social stigma and institutional and other forms of discrimination that are based on a heteronormative grid

⁴ Caroline Dayer in her contribution quotes a more recent definition by Daniel Borillo (2000): *L'homophobie*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

⁵ John Boswell in his *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* of 1980, which deals “with anti-gay prejudice”, did not want to use the term homophobia because “it is used to designate an irrational fear of gay people and their sexuality” (46, fn 11). Gregory Herek M. prefers the concepts of sexual prejudice and stigma (Beyond “Homophobia”: Thinking About Sexual Prejudice and Stigma in the Twenty-First Century, in: *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, April 2004, Vol.1, no. 2, 6–24).

⁶ See e. g. Melanie Steffens (2010): Diskriminierung von Homo- und Bisexuellen, in: APuZ 15–16, p. 14, Fn 2.

etc. These questions are discussed in the contributions of CAROLINE DAYER and ARNOLDAS ZDANEVIČIUS. In our view, we also need a concept large enough to cover all of this.

“Homophobia” may not be perfect, but it seemed, after repeated reflections, the best among only worse options. Alternative terms used in recent research and political action are “heteronormativity”, “homonegativity” or “discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity”, in short “discrimination based on SOGI” (in French of course OSIG) or even shorter DBSOGI. It is easy to see that the last expression is much too long for easy use and the abbreviation only understandable for absolute insiders, which also holds for “heteronormativity”. One of the goals being communication between research and everyday life, it is out of the question to use the academic tongue breaker “heteronormativity”, which might be understood by some colleagues in gender or queer studies, but that would be it. In addition, “heteronormativity” is an adequate concept in academic discourse, describing the matrix that underlies and nourishes individual homophobia, but on the other hand, the term “structural homophobia”, realized in institutions, laws and rules of conduct, can be used to denote a part of heteronormativity, to be set off against others.

The performative aspect was most important: accusing an action, attitude or speech act of being “homonegative” or “heteronormative” seems to take away exactly what the term “homophobic” has been established to express: it reflects the aggressive, if not violent, element that is able to hurt and turns it back on its author. The terms “negative” and “positive” are too neutral to achieve this, and the word “normative” is too descriptive and purely semantic. Terms do not only have semantic value. They also carry emotional value and may acquire performative strength. Why renounce a concept that works well as a reproach and rejection of something deeply immoral?

“Heteronormativity” and “homonegativity” are certainly adequate notions in specialized research, and “discrimination based on SOGI” is appropriate in political discussions with politicians who do their homework. In comparison with these terms, “homophobia” seemed to be the most adequate option to use in the title of this volume, the only one, to be exact, which is practically performative and can be used for theoretical purposes as well; which is approximately understood by researchers, by teachers, by children on the playground and by fans in the stadium.

The decision in favour of “homophobia” applies only to the framework of this volume. In the contributions, the authors use the terminology of their choice. This is also valid for the other major denotation problem: who are the victims of homophobia? Certainly homosexuals. Is that to say lesbians and gays? Or also people who commit same-sex acts, even if they do not identify as homo- or bisexual? So queer folk? Only if that includes transgenders... But do they conceive of themselves as

queer? So rather list them: LGB. Or LGBT. Or LGBTQ. And what about the intersexes? So LGBTQI. And the heterosexual victims of homophobia? LGBTIQH – or rather everyone? Everyone is concerned by homophobia, for nobody wants to be called “homo”, as an insult, whether they are or not. This has effects on behaviour, especially for men.⁷

Every author had to make their own choice in this respect too, depending on what exactly they analyzed. The last responsibility for the use of terms, including their semantic correctness, appropriate inclusivity and performative adequacy remains with the authors.

5. The structure of this book and the contributions

This book is divided into three sections that focus on I. EDUCATION, II. SOCIAL SCIENCES and III. HUMANITIES, starting with the concrete problems and solutions, progressing towards more abstract analyses. The contributions will briefly be presented now, along with some interpretations and follow-up questions, before we recapitulate some major results. At the end of the volume, a fourth section offers helpful information for the reader: a list of ABBREVIATIONS, a list of USEFUL ADDRESSES of organizations concerned with education, and some information – including contact addresses – on the AUTHORS IN THIS VOLUME. Detailed INDEXES can be found at the end of the book: the SUBJECT INDEX references names of persons, historical or fictional, who are cited in the texts, and the AUTHOR INDEX lists the names of authors who are quoted or referred to. The indexes allow to trace a certain topic or author throughout the different contributions.

I. Education

The first section is the most concrete one and contains most of the reports on experiences in educational work. It sets the focus of this volume on educational problems, collecting reports from French, Canadian, German and Swiss organizations, educators and researchers who are concerned with projects of sensitization-work in school education. A report from Lithuania was planned, but as it turned out, awareness work in Lithuanian schools is not possible, so this topic is addressed in the general analysis of the situation in post-Soviet states by ARNOLDAS ZDANEVIČIUS in the second section. For those who want foremost to get an impression of the problems of youths confronted with their homosexuality, we recommend starting with CAROLINE DAYER's contribution, which opens section II and presents, in paragraphs 5–6, some extracts of interviews that deal with the fears and concerns of youths.

Practical approaches vary when it comes to education. The final targets are pupils at schools and young people in general, the aim being to

⁷ See e. g. Steven Derendinger 2006 on linguistic strategies not to appear gay.

help them in time deal with their homosexuality on the one hand (many do not have to wait for puberty to realize it), and to prevent them from committing homophobic violence, on the other. The most direct approach is to address the youths directly in the classroom, which may operate via school interventions by lesbians and gays (Québec, parts of Germany, Swiss German speaking cantons) or by sexuality education (Swiss Romandie). The indirect approaches address the teachers, teaching material or curricula. Most importantly, teachers need to develop a certain awareness of questions of homosexuality and homophobia among their pupils. Many teachers just do not know what it means for a youth to be faced with her or his homosexuality. They do not realize that problems with their learning performance, sudden withdrawal or even suicidal tendencies may be due to it. The respective knowledge and awareness may be transmitted during their education at the university – and there is certainly a lot to do in teacher training in this respect. More importantly, it is necessary to reach active teachers, in particular by offering them continued formation. The first text, by JACQUES FORTIN from Southern France, describes and analyzes how this can work, while the two following texts by MARIE HOUZEAU & BILL RYAN from Québec and by RAPHAEL BAK & BENJAMIN KINKEL from Germany focus on the direct approach, namely school interventions. Finally, ROLAND GFELLER from Zürich presents a multi-dimensional approach. These reports on pedagogical needs and methods are also presentations of projects. They review strategies, provide information about organizational details, reflect on experiences, present best practices, problems and some results.

JACQUES FORTIN opens the “circle” of texts, which will be closed by a philosophical discussion of his approach at the end of the book, by initiating a major shift of perspective, based on his experience as a person who has been fighting for equality and the fair treatment of homosexuals for decades. The shift is one from organizational to professional work, from representative political activity (“militantisme” in French) with its political claims of decriminalization, equal rights and respect, to professional work, which offers the state institutions help to fulfil its duties. “Professional” is to be taken in its double sense here, signifying well trained and experienced, but also remunerated, not working on a volunteer basis. FORTIN is clear about the distribution of tasks: the state is responsible for its people’s safety and for their good education, so it is the state that has to take action against discrimination. At present however, state institutions do not yet perform this task everywhere, and they may not even know how to. In order to make progress in that direction, people from LGBT organizations who are familiar with the situation of young lesbians or gays may, with some additional formation in education, psychology or social work, lend a helping hand to state institutions, particularly by offering sensitization courses for homophobia, addressed to teachers and others who work

with youth, in order to make them understand the possibly desperate situations children and adolescents can encounter when they discover their homosexuality.

FORTIN further describes some central aspects of utmost importance for the awareness-raising sessions. The first is to insist on the fact that the topic is not homosexuality or the sexuality of gays and lesbians, but homophobia (if the topic were anti-semitism, one wouldn't dare discuss the pros and cons of Jewish habits like circumcision or not eating pork). A second important element is the "rappel à la loi", the recourse to the law, reminding everyone that discriminating actions and utterances are illegal. Most importantly however, he appeals to the sentiment of being citizens (*citoyens*), who, as such, respect the other citizens' privacy. It is a big question, and a task for future thinkers and activists to find out, whether such an appeal to a certain positive civil identity, one to be proud of, will also work outside of France. The readiness to identify as a *citoyen*, free, equal, solidary and committed to the universal validity of human rights, in contra-distinction to being a subordinate subject in a society of privileges, may still function in France, but will it do so in Germany or in Switzerland, or in Lithuania? CHRISTIAN FUNKE analyzes this political approach to claim respect as a citizen, instead of claiming understanding and sympathy as a homosexual, in the final contribution of this volume in section III. He discusses the concepts of citizenship and civil society in this respect and highlights their different meanings from a German and a French point of view. It seems that two major questions remain concerning FORTIN's approach: the first is whether the appeal to citizenship works well, even in France; the second consists in determining what kind of positive pride of one's identity could trigger the understanding of others as bearers of civil rights and human rights, and how, by which concepts, this could be addressed in other countries. In Germany, for example, the "Bürger" is certainly not the right choice, for this term rather connotes the well-established bourgeois, if not the *Klassenfeind* (the enemy of the proletarian class). On the background of the German political discourse of the last decades, *Verfassungspatriotismus* (constitution patriotism) would probably be more prone to have a similar effect. In Switzerland, this would not work either. This is certainly a point of future discussion in political theory.

Remaining within the francophone world, the next contribution of MARIE HOUZEAU and BILL RYAN from Montréal highlights the advanced Canadian law reality and describes the social actions designed to change attitudes towards homosexuals among adolescents through classroom interventions, given that knowledge of a gay or lesbian person is one of the most important factors in reducing homophobia. A decisive tool in the Canadian implementation of equality is the obligation of schools to transmit social values and to explicitly give a place and respect to gay and lesbian pupils, while religious views that deny this respect have to

stand back. The authors present a model for reducing homophobia in schools which is developed by the group GRIS (*Groupe de Recherche et d'Intervention Sociale de Montréal*). This group also does research and some of its results are presented, including statements of youths. Finally, the link between homophobia and certain concepts of masculinity, more specifically the decline of homophobia with increasing gender equality, is underlined.

The two following articles resume the approaches in the German *Land* North-Rhine Westfalia and in Switzerland, both centering on homosexuality, not homophobia. RAPHAEL BAK and BENJAMIN KINKEL summarize the concept and the structure of *SchLAu-NRW*, a network of eleven local associations which organize school-interventions performed by a young lesbian and a young gay volunteer. They present this youth peer education project in detail, including its legal and political context, arguments for its justification, goals, means, tools of diversity education, good practices and problems. Other projects to raise awareness of the problems of homosexuality at schools are also developed, such as the school label *Come in – we are open: gay*lesbian*bi*straight*.

ROLAND GFELLER reports the complex situation in Switzerland and informs about the specificities of classroom interventions in some germanophone cantons, which are partially prohibited in the French speaking part. He presents the *Sexual Orientation and School-Project of Pink Cross* and other umbrella organizations, including one of parents of lesbians and gays, in Zürich. Reminding the primary need to bring information about homosexuality into schools, he exposes the project's fourfold approach, addressing teacher formation, curricula that integrate homosexuality as a normal form of sexuality, teaching material and direct contact with teachers.

II. Social sciences

The section opens with a contribution by CAROLINE DAYER from Geneva, who presents the analytic tools used to understand homophobia in a variety of disciplines. She relates concepts such as prejudice, discrimination, stigma, insult, heterosexism, compulsory heterosexuality and heteronormativity. She also addresses methodological concerns about how to ask questions to homosexuals in interviews in order to make their voices heard. DAYER then presents results of her interviews in French-speaking Switzerland about how people managed the discovery of their homosexuality and how they coped with insults, stigma, shame and solitude. She concludes that in comparison with other stigmatized groups, homosexuals receive less protection and are confronted with a lack of resources.

ARNOLDAS ZDANEVIČIUS presents results (including self-criticism) from a recent sociological study on the situation of Lithuanian gays and

lesbians at their work place. He describes the dilemma of homosexuals in post-Soviet EU-member states who in order to claim their rights – in theory they are protected by EU non-discrimination laws – have to come out. However, they cannot come out without creating homophobic anger and state repression. He describes this state as one of *cultural paralysis* and detects actual knowledge production, in particular the tension between the *knowledge about queers* vs. *queer knowledge*, at the core of it. He further identifies sectors of society, in particular in the media, education and state authorities which, apart from repeating prejudice, all perpetuate the myth that sexuality is a private affair such that homosexuals have to be silent about their problems, instead of protesting and “making propaganda” for their lifestyle. ZDANEVIČIUS discusses measures to be taken to allow for change, in particular by civil society, but has to attest and explain a lack of civil engagement. It becomes obvious with this contribution that the measures proposed by FORTIN are far from being applicable in post-Soviet societies where the notion of a civil society, with its respective social values, and a positive identification as citizens who strive for a good common life are absent. It should be added that the situation of paralysis also applies to academic activity, including research. The author has been personally discredited, his research and teaching obstructed and his academic career stopped short by the academic authorities.

ZDANEVIČIUS' contribution also touches upon the problem of the implementation of international anti-discrimination law (in his case, EU law) in a local context of high societal and state homophobia. HANS-JOACHIM MENGEL remains with this topic, but provides a global perspective, in particular on the battle around human rights and the question of their applicability to homosexuality. Contrarily to race or gender, sexuality is not explicitly mentioned in the 1948 *Declaration of Human Rights* as grounds for protection. It is included, however, according to the Yogyakarta principles on sexual orientation and gender identity of 2006. MENGEL describes the ongoing negotiations and initiatives, including the religiously inspired counter-initiative led by a Christian-Muslim coalition. The question whether homosexuality is innate plays a central role therein, for the enemies of the protection of homosexuality argue that it is rather the result of a choice. He underlines the need for principles such as the protection of the right to the pursuit of happiness, which includes a fulfilled sexual life. Examples are given both of the deplorable state of affairs and of hopeful advances in countries all over the planet.

The next two contributions address domains that are supposedly highly sensitive for homophobia: sports and migration. After the law, politics, education and media, the sports' sector is not to be ignored,

especially when it comes to the formation of public opinions on homosexuality. Moreover, next to the schoolyard, the sports field is one of the most important places where children and adolescents socialize, in particular in relation to their gender and sexuality. JOSEFINE PAUL focuses on homophobia in sports, particularly in football (soccer), which plays the most important role in leisure time activities and in public discourse in many countries. She analyzes the situations for players and in fan culture, and the reactions of officials, focusing on the situation in Germany, yet taking into account international research literature. PAUL demonstrates the need to distinguish between discrimination against gays and against lesbians. She also shows that both forms of discrimination and their differences are linked to a conventional concept of masculinity, with its inherent delimitation against femininity. Although some attempts are undertaken by associations' officials and the soccer unions to act against homophobia, the topic of homosexuality and gay players in particular is still avoided, unless it is used by fans to depreciate the opposing team or disliked referees. The emergence of gay and lesbian fan clubs may be a sign of change, but the contribution leaves us with the impression that much empirical research and theorizing is needed in order to better understand the ongoing changes, the relations between masculinity, homosociality and homophobia, and the relations between different discourses, especially the tension between the political discourse referring to the law and ideal values, the media reporting on sports events and popular speech acts among fans in and around the stadium.

RUFUS SONA and THOMAS VIOLA RIESKE address the common belief that homophobic attitudes are widespread among young migrants and especially Muslims, a belief that is virulent among German lesbians and gays and among educators. This belief seems to be validated by an empirical study by Bernd Simon, mandated by the German Lesbian and Gay Association LSVD. The study is of high political relevance since it deals with issues of general interest, e. g. stigmatization, integration and cultural relativity. The authors present the study and its results, examine its hidden preassumptions and its design critically, infer some results from the obtained data that were not included in the result's presentation and conclude that its validity is to be doubted. After a presentation of the public reception of the study by various media, they observe that the public image of "homophobic migrants", in particular Muslims, which the study underpins, demonstrates the existence of cultural exclusion mechanisms and of a strategy of cultural dominance among well established lesbians and gays. This homonationalism relies on a simplified view of the relations of gender and sexuality with culture. By creating the dichotomy of an advanced enlightened and secularized Europe vs. a homophobic, non-secular, religiously dominated Oriental world, it

overlooks the existence of lesbians and gays of colour on the one hand and the high homophobic potential of conventional European masculinity concepts on the other. The authors also underline that investigations into homonegative attitudes have to take into account the economic and social positions of the investigated persons. Homophobic attitudes might be hidden behind the political correctness of the better situated.

III. Humanities

Covering only the concrete situations concerning homophobia in the European past would be a project in its own and fill more books than one. Consequently, the perspectives of history, which would be highly instructive due to their comparative and relativizing value, are practically absent in this volume, a fact which is justified by the specific goals of the latter. The historical perspective is nevertheless present in the following two contributions, which reach far back into European history, one dealing with religious discourses, the other with reasons for homophobia in general.

As many sociological studies show, and as the statements of the Lithuanian members of Parliament illustrate, religiousness is currently a main factor for homophobia. More precisely, it is not being or feeling religious in itself, which disposes to homonegative attitudes, but rather practicing one's religion. Part of the practice of religion is reading the fundamental texts and / or spending time with the religious community, during which a certain interpretation of these texts is spread and insured, even for the non-readers. There is reason to believe, therefore, that it is the latter aspect, that is to say the indoctrination of certain readings of the "holy" texts, e. g. the Bible or the Kuran, within the religious community or within the family, which re-enacts homophobic attitudes. It is therefore important to know exactly what interpretations and arguments are responsible for the suffering, in a religious context, of an adolescent who is confronted with attraction to the same sex.

The Catholic theologian MICHAEL BRINKSCHRÖDER presents an analysis of homophobic discourses within the Christian churches, parting from the assumption that homophobia is a sin, even if committed by the church, and that it is therefore a theological task to cope with that structural sin. He identifies four homophobic discourses, distinct and only sometimes interwoven, and traces them back, in last instance, either to the Old Testament (*Genesis* and *Leviticus*) or, via the patriarchs and Paul, to Greek philosophy (to the Stoics and to certain interpretations of Plato and Aristotle). He then identifies the presence of these discourses in the diverse Christian churches, concluding with perspectives of development for the Catholic Church whose present leaders are, unlike many Catholic theologians, still inspired by Christian platonism. It is interesting to see that the liberal non-homophobic discourse, rather present in Protestant Churches and in diverse theologies, requires a certain

historical distancing from the ancient discourses, whereas all the homophobic discourses somehow rely on re-actualizations of one or the other of these discourses, a position which is difficult to uphold in a historical-critical perspective, i. e. if the Bible is not taken literally.

Discourses may be used to sustain or defend a certain position. It is of utmost importance to know the arguments and the myths that are used to justify the homophobic stance. We might still ask why people want to take this stance, why they look for arguments and foundations in their religion. The philosopher MICHAEL GRONEBERG takes a larger perspective by discussing possible reasons for homophobia. He sees three major *kinds* of explanation. The first kind corresponds to the widespread belief that the repression of same-sex love and intercourse is a matter of the past, present homophobia constituting a mere residue to be patiently fought off. A second type of explanation questions this belief and focuses on actual mechanisms of the production of homophobia. It turns out, however, that these new ways often presuppose the stigmatization of homosexuality, such that we might speak of new methods to instrumentalize already established prejudice. The question remains how the former legal repression of same-sex intercourse and the persisting prejudice have come about. GRONEBERG finds these elements in the ancient construction of domesticating masculinity, or more generally in dominating subjectivity, responsible both for the installment of the ancient legal repression and for the resurging new forms of homophobia. A series of concrete explanations for homophobia is proposed and discussed in order to give substance to the distinctions between the three types and to motivate the genealogical search for elements of our present constitution in residues of ancient concepts, discourses and practices.

The philosopher CHRISTIAN FUNKE looks in another direction, not to the past, but to the future. He does not search explanations for homophobic attitudes, but for an ethical justification of the right political attitude. His contribution also “closes the loop” of this volume by taking up FORTIN's initial reflections on sensitization work, in particular his appeal to citizenship and the recourse to the law, and analyzes this approach closely, trying to support it with an ethical foundation. It turns out that FORTIN's position is characterized by a certain tension: there is the appeal to something universal like civil rights, a valuable form of co-existence or private autonomy, of which one might be convinced, and on the other hand the recourse to the positive law of the state that one has to follow. It is these two dimensions, the horizontal dimension of the individual-community relation with its emphasis on dialogue, and the vertical dimension of the individual-state relation with its accent on obedience to the law. Both dimensions are present in the notion of citizenship. But the understanding of this notion varies heavily from one country to the other, due to historical developments and utilizations. FUNKE compares

the specific meaning of analogous terms like *Staatsbürgerschaft* in Germany, where the vertical sense seems to dominate, with the emotive appellation of *citoyen!*, which rather associates the horizontal, cooperative dimension in contradistinction to the subordinate subject (*Untertan*).

Thus, it seems that FORTIN, by appealing to the positive law of the state, adduces an element that is not completely strange, yet not necessary either, to the mindset of a proud citizen who strives for a good common life based on civil rights. FUNKE develops FORTIN's proposal in another, more decisively horizontal direction, which does not rely on state law and does not put the last responsibility for anti-discrimination work in the hands of the state. He favours reference to the horizontal dimension only, and gives it a liberal interpretation and foundation by adducing Rawls' theory of justice. It is the *citoyen*, the citizen in intersubjective and social relations from equal to equal, who is addressed, even through the recourse to the law, which in turn points to basic civil rights. So the finger raised to remind us citizens of the law does not point above to the authority of the state, as FORTIN's text suggests, but, in order to be successful, must point to the basic civil rights, accepted (theoretically) by all of us citizens. Only this allows to negotiate how to live together respectfully of each other's autonomy. This way, one would think, the strategy is even applicable in states where the law does violate the Human Rights and discriminates target groups. In states where the law protects in principle, yet society, including religion, media and politicians, is still homophobic and reluctant to adapt the local laws, FUNKE seems to recommend not pointing above (to EU law) but rather to the question of how to live together well, freely, in autonomy and with dignity. This position is in a certain tension with the description by ZDANEVIČIUS of the situation in Lithuania.

6. Results

6.1 The special situation of young homosexuals

In comparison to other groups that are subjected to prejudice, discrimination and insult (for being foreigners, of a certain religion, handicapped or of other race or colour), young lesbians and gays do not necessarily find help at home.⁸ If the domestic context is homophobic, the family is part of the problem and not a resource to its solution.

In addition, significant others are not present or cannot be detected. Others with the same ethnic background or the same colour are (excep-

⁸ This situation applies also to transgenders and intersexes. For intersexed persons, the situation is aggravated by the fact that they often do not even know about their own state, because they are not told. See Kathrin Zehnder on the problem of resources that are typically found with other intersexes in self-help groups, whereas family and doctors are more often a challenge rather than a resource (Intersexualität als soziales Phänomen, in: Groneberg / Zehnder (eds.) (2008): „Intersex“: *Geschlechtsanpassung zum Wohl des Kindes? Erfahrungen und Analysen*, Fribourg: Academic Press, 25–52).

tions apart) easily found and can help, or at least be there to share the problems. They will also find help at home if discriminated or excluded.

Young homosexuals often lack both resources. They are confronted with a double threat: becoming targets of insult by their peers, and disappointing their family. So they are left alone with none to help deal with the situation. The result is often withdrawal.

Furthermore, they have to deal with a third menace: the societal or religious norms surrounding them. In order to accept themselves they must, as CAROLINE DAYER has put it, deconstruct their whole education. They must re-create themselves, trying to find a liveable position in a hostile environment.

6.2 Societal strategies

To summarize the diverse approaches of the authors, improvement may be pursued by reinforcing:

- citizenship
- social values
- human rights

Whereas human rights may be the means to improve laws and jurisdiction within local legal systems, and concern rather the vertical dimension, i. e. the relation of individuals and the state, it seems that in educational matters it is more important to address the topics of social values and citizenship, which are in turn linked to one another. In as far as we understand ourselves as free citizens, and not as subordinate subjects, the laws and generally the rules by which we regulate our co-existence are not means to impose one kind of (sexual) morality. Their end is rather to insure a safe, peaceful and just living together, in respect of the private autonomy of everyone. This also means that everyone is confronted with the choice to be a subject or a citizen, to impose one's own religious and moral convictions on others or to have them imposed on oneself, or to respect the differences of others, and have one's own particularities respected too. Of course the freedom of the citizen has limits. These are defined by the respect of the freedom of the others, and concretely by the positively stated human rights, which the international community has agreed upon.

The value of the social values approach rests in its appeal to the responsibility of schools and teachers. It works on attitudes and transmits positively defined contents of a secular society of free and equal citizens. The citizenship approach seems to work on a psychological level, addressing the political identity of the dialogue partner, the pride to be a *citoyen* – not a French or Canadian *citoyen*, but a *citoyen tout court* (a *Weltbürger*), committed to civil rights or the constitution as translating universal principles of common welfare. In times of migration and acceptance of new members to a society, be they individuals or states, it is important to insure that the new members adhere to the principles that

have been established after decades and centuries of fights for a secular democracy, a state of rights (*Rechtsstaat*), freedom, equality and solidarity. These are principles that may define a positive identity, are capable of dominating local or national, ethnic or religious identities. They must be communicated, also at school. To which extent the state or civil society has to take charge of this is a question of secondary importance. We must advance in both directions and this requires not only to establish laws, but to distribute knowledge⁹ and raise awareness (thereby undoing prejudice).

6.3 *Factors that reduce homophobia*

Individual homophobia is reduced in the following circumstances:

- personal acquaintance with gays and lesbians
- a context of gender equality (female emancipation)
- non-conventional concepts of masculinity

The first point is of crucial importance to education. Inviting gays and lesbians in classrooms has been shown to reduce homophobia remarkably. Reduction of a homophobic atmosphere will in turn reduce the pressure to display conventional or brute masculinity, which is a major factor in maintaining homophobia.

6.4 *The role of religion*

It has been repeatedly mentioned that religion encourages homophobia. Recent research has shown that nowadays, practicing religion is a predictor of homophobic attitudes in most European countries. The worldwide opposition to the acceptance of homosexuality as grounds for protection by Human Rights is led by a Christian and Muslim coalition. The Supreme Court of Canada felt compelled to put limits to religious views that deny equal recognition and respect to members of minority groups.

The impression remains that religion is the largest obstacle to an acceptance of homosexuality as an equal way to live one's sexuality. On the other hand, religiousness does not necessarily imply homophobia, as MICHAEL BRINKSCHRÖDER points out. One might say, with JACQUES FORTIN: it is normal for them to be homophobic – just look at those anachronistic discourses. But it is a sin, for believers, to remain that way.

⁹ Knowledge taken in the “philosophical” sense, i. e. implying truth or “how it really is”. Using the sociological term, meaning what is held to be true, we could say, with Zdanevičius: distribute queer knowledge and acquaintance with queers to replace the current knowledge about queers spread by the media.

I

EDUCATION

JACQUES FORTIN

Combatting Homophobia in Southern France *

1. Introduction: The emergence of "LGBT Formation"

When the "Homosexuality Summer School" was relaunched in Marseille in 1999,¹ the significant contributions of young gays and lesbians revealed the existence of a number of structured support networks, especially for young people. These networks testified to the need for and the benefits of having specific places in which to meet, talk with like-minded people and feel welcome. They also highlighted the difficulties encountered by young people in their personal "coming out" and in their social assertion, and this to a much greater extent than we had suspected.

The testimony of these young people pinpointed the doubts they had experienced in coming to terms with their own homosexuality. They spoke of the low self-esteem which had been inculcated in them, and of their anxiety at the reactions of others. Their description of hostility from family or the immediate social environment, including school, chimed strongly with our own past. As early activists, we had experienced exactly the same things in the 1970s, only in less favourable circumstances. Our optimism as veterans of the cause had led us to underestimate the extent to which these phenomena had remained as constant and oppressive as ever. We had believed that thirty years of considerable change, often won at a significant cost, had removed many of these obstacles. Listening to the accounts, it became clear to us that coming out was still a path fraught with difficulties, perhaps not for all – some were certainly managing better than in the past – but certainly for far too many young people.

It was clear that while a great deal of significant change had taken place in terms of homosexuals' situations, despite the repeal of legal prohibition something was still awry. The matter was not closed by any means. Paradoxically, the rehabilitation of what "dared not speak its name", the granting of democratic rights and the official acceptance of

* This contribution was originally written in French and translated by Andrew Morris. The original translation was published online in November 2009 on: <http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article17923> (10 Nov. 2010). The present text is slightly revised by MG. Some information has been added by Bruno Pommier (note 5).

¹ This is a week-long annual encounter first held at Luminy, the university site of Marseille, in 1979, discontinued in 1987 and relaunched in 1999 as *Universités d'Été Euroméditerranéennes des Homosexualités* (UEEH); see <http://www.ueeh.net>.

homosexuality had brought to light new difficulties, so much so that in fact the emancipation process can be said to have revealed the extent of oppression. The cloak of fatalism and self-rejection has been cast off, only to expose the limits of the newly won equality, and more importantly, the sense of prohibition, inhibition and stigmatization still widespread and vigorous in everyday life. A study in Quebec revealed that one in four suicide attempts among youth under twenty-five is linked to sexual orientation. The findings were corroborated by similar studies in France.²

During the 2000 summer school, with financial support from the regional Health and Social Security Services of Provence Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Bruno Pommier and Gabriel Girard made the film *Être et se vivre homo*,³ featuring three young men and three young women prepared to speak freely on camera. Some striking testimony emerged during these hours of open discussion. The six adolescents described the torment they had experienced in acknowledging their own homosexuality, the often obtuse reactions of friends and families, and the silence of those who had suspected "something" but did not want or dare to pursue the issue. They outlined their feelings of helplessness in the face of irrational reactions from families or professionals apparently in the grip of a kind of panic when confronted with evidence, a revelation or an imminent revelation. They also spoke of the portrayals of homosexuality each of them had internalized and which had weighed heavily on them during their childhood and adolescent journeys towards selfhood. In short, being gay and living accordingly were certainly not unproblematically given matters of course for these young people. The film became the basis on which our programmes were designed.

In the same year, the organization *LGBT Formation*⁴ began to work on a collaborative programme, whose aim was to raise awareness of the potential difficulties faced by young people in their self-development and socialization because of homophobia. It was designed for those in positions of responsibility working with young people: teachers, social workers, carers, families etc. Our experience over the last ten years has provided much food for thought, parts of which will be exposed in the following.

A day of Homophobia Awareness-Raising was developed by our team of men and women, including social workers, teachers, psychologists, psychiatrists and mere activists. It was then given a live run-

² Xavier Pommereau: "*L'adolescent suicidaire*" ("*The Suicidal Adolescent*"), Dunod 2005; Prof. Pommereau is psychiatrist and director of the Aquitaine Adolescent Unit at the Abadie Centre, Bordeaux University Hospital.

³ "*Being gay, feeling gay*" by Bruno Pommier and Gabriel Girard. It can be ordered at BrunoPom@wanadoo.fr.

⁴ "LGBT Training" is a community organization based in Marseille, specializing in awareness and training days on homophobia, designed for professionals dealing with young people.

through with various public service professionals acting as trainees. Their feedback was unequivocally positive, and the organization was launched. Since then, more than 2'500 educators, teachers, facilitators, carers, social workers, volunteers in organizations, telephone counselors, whether in post or in training, have participated in our awareness-raising days.⁵

In the process, we observed a tremendous discrepancy between what contemporary society is thought to have assimilated, and the web of prejudices, assumptions and misunderstandings that beleague the mindsets of "educators", even the most enlightened, when faced with homophobia. We needed to untangle this web.

2. Awareness-raising

2.1 *The issue: seeing, understanding, reacting*

What we call homophobia is poorly identified. Hardly visible, rarely spoken of, the reactions to it are awkward, if they happen at all. We should specify at the outset that the issue here is a "phobia" concerning persons who are openly, or who are taken to be lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals and intersexuals, included under the umbrella acronym LGBTI. All these identities are tarred with the same brush by conformist attitudes, labelling them as shameful, pathological or perverse deviances, which in one way or another contravene what is "normal" in terms of sexual conduct and gender.

The notions of lesbian, gay and bisexual are familiar. "Transsexual" denotes those who identify with a sex that is different from their biological one, and aspire to changes in their legal or indeed biological status.

⁵ Note by Bruno Pommier: The awareness-raising days are based around the film *Être et se vivre homo*, which features the personal testimonies of three young women and three young men. After viewing the film, there follows a discussion on internalized homophobia, a cultural phenomenon creating an obstacle in the young LGBTI's mind when acknowledging his or her own sexuality. Then we focus on how homophobia operates in wider society. Each day is attended by a group of a dozen professionals and is conducted interactively. An evaluation was conducted by DRASS involving 200 participants, whose feedback on the day was very positive. Our programme has now been integrated into the continuing professional development plan for teachers in the region. We have delivered the training to all nurses, case workers and school doctors under the regional education authority, as well as to the staff of public sector health care and social welfare centres. We provide regular assistance to family planning centres in support of their counsellors. We have published a 60-page brochure, entitled *Combating Homophobia*, and regularly participate in meetings and conferences on the issue. As a result of our activities, school staff now invite us to offer support to their pupils, and these staff members frequently become members of our organization in the process. We do so willingly, on condition that the institution takes initial steps to address the issue with the pupils in question, so that our intervention contributes to, but does not replace, the work these institutions are duty-bound to carry out. The ultimate goal of our awareness-raising is that the various institutions dealing with young people integrate the question of homophobia to such an extent that our interventions will no longer be required.

“Intersexual” was once a cognate of “hermaphrodite” but now the term “sexually indeterminate at birth” is preferred. These issues, with which the public at large is unfamiliar, are met with ignorance and confusion, which then translates as incomprehension or rejection.

Homophobia is closely linked to discrimination. Simply put, homosexuals are people to whom being unpleasant without cause is acceptable. Most people, including those dealing with youngsters, therefore notice it only occasionally: less a refusal to see than a lack of awareness of what the term denotes. Consequently, they do not react to situations that arise, or do so inappropriately.

Running away, addiction or lack of interest in school can all result from homophobic harassment from friends, anxiety at being discovered or having to come out to parents, or merely from the pressure brought on by acknowledging one’s own sexuality, acceptance of which is not as automatic as is often thought.

For an act to be identified as homophobic, it must be blatant and crude, such as when the word “faggot” was uttered on camera in November 2009 by a Montpellier sporting official⁶ angry with one of his players. We cry “homophobia!” when it becomes this obvious. The perpetrators defend themselves, apologise, talk of “gaffes” or “slips” and then make a pathetic attempt to condemn homophobia. Identifying homophobia in critical situations, hearing it in insults, seeing it in harassment and developing reaction strategies – these are not givens. This is our first issue.

When reduced to mere distaste for lesbians and gays, and therefore to a reprehensible but unthreatening tendency, homophobia is understood as an opinion and an attitude. Thus, while certainly discreditable, it seems to have little impact on daily life, apart from unfortunate “exceptional cases” (the equivalent of gaffes again), such as the violent incidents occasionally covered by media reports, words spoken in the hurly-burly of schoolyard arguments, or in cases involving charges being pressed or involving a crime and dealt with by the courts.

However, homophobia experienced in secondary school is not a matter of mere slips, but something systemic – visible only to the trained eye. The homophobia of a neighbour is dismissed as the crazed antics of an oddball, and therefore not a cause of special concern for the neighbourhood. The scorn of a senior may well upset union workers but does not lead to protest, and so on. These real instances of violence are not exceptions – they are in fact unwittingly encouraged via insults and a variety of degrading behaviours: “symbolic” (but not insignificant) violence, threatening and vulgar conduct at every opportunity, a scornful

⁶ Louis Nicollin, President of the city’s football club. Compare the statement made by Olympic judo champion David Douillet in his autobiography, where he claims to be a misogynist like all men except queens (*L’âme d’un conquérant*, Robert Laffont 1999).

remark at the family dinner table, lewd comments at the office, pointed jokes during the lunch break, which seem to have the approval of all and to shock nobody. These endless smears (in some cases the perpetrators are unaware they are smears) are a sword of Damocles hanging over young people, already anxious about the self-discovery ahead of them, threatening a life of harassment and mockery. Rémi, in *Être et se vivre homo*, exclaims: "I was going to get called a queen all the time – I just didn't want that kind of life".

Underlying all this, there is something aggressive at work, something woven and knotted in the web of human relations, in our psychological and social make up as men and women – something that needs to be unpicked; to be unpacked. And which, in the meantime inhibits, hurts, strikes and even kills.

We only see what we are trained to see

2.2 Integration in professional problematics

After thirty years of gay and lesbian assertion, it is a matter of some surprise that those sectors dealing directly with young people are still virtually unaware of what it means to discover that one is lesbian or gay and then come to terms with this, or more broadly, what it means to experience gender trouble⁷. This ignorance, which became apparent in our awareness-raising sessions, inevitably combines with the phobias latent in everyone.

Such phobias are sometimes acute, especially in the sports education sector – despite the fact that sports education is designed to provide a model of living together –, in which exhortations on the sports field such as "Come on, we're not a bunch of queens!" (see above) mirror homophobic insults from the stands. Everyone may well claim as one that this is not really homophobic – "It doesn't mean that!" But faced with expressions such as "Poof, arse-bandit, queen", we need to ask: isn't that exactly what it means?

In reality, the homophobic hypothesis is not taken into account, simply because it does not feature explicitly in the frameworks of sports, education or health. In cases where incidents take place, complaints are made or action is noted, the incidents are either dismissed as "slips" – a sort of excuse which in reality only plays down the issue – or the cause is sought elsewhere, and "elsewhere" usually means within the victims themselves. We say of those youngsters who have difficulties in sport that they are not keen on sport. But turning the statement around, we may ask: what if in fact it is sport which isn't keen on them? What if a mindset which prizes virility, macho competition and unthinking homophobic humiliations obstructs and excludes them? Let us remember that it is not only LGBTI youngsters who suffer from exclusion.

⁷ Term coined by Judith Butler in her 1990 book of the same name.

In the teaching environment, the default response to “slips” is usually avoidance. Teachers misuse blame when attitudes are considered “too ostentatious”: they resort to excluding the disturber, for example in boarding schools, where the issue has certainly not been brought under control. Little do they realise that sudden failure in a school career, which has hitherto been successful, may be linked to a coming out. They are unaware that coming out requires a great deal of energy, which may impact temporarily on one’s studies, and that support and care would be much more helpful than admonition and punishment.

In the case of social and cultural organizations, there is an atmosphere of panic. A great deal of fear surrounds issues of sex, the evil shadow of suspicion of paedophilia lurking constantly in the background. Most of the time the subject is either avoided or turned into a laughing matter. When a problem arises, it is either dismissed (that’s a personal issue which doesn’t concern us) with the suggestion that the victim would have done better to have kept quiet, or it is (oh-so-sympathetically) explained away as the malaise of someone ill at ease with him- or herself. If need be, the hapless “suffering” youth is delivered by the family in the safe hands of a safe shrink, playing the modern exorcist of our malaise and powerlessness.

Hospital services have difficulty in integrating homophobia into their systems for recording suicide cases, even though a number of existing studies assert its importance. Likewise, *SOS Amitiés*⁸ telephone counsellors participating in our awareness-raising could recall no specific instances of calls linked to a crisis of sexual orientation.

It is a vicious circle. Due to the lack of evidence recorded within each profession and ignorance of the symptoms, the workings and the effects of homophobia persist. The net result is denial. It is as simple as that.

In order to answer questions, they must first be asked. Our aim is therefore to help integrate the issue of homophobia in professional problematics within institutions, fields and services which have an impact on young people. To plug this gap, we need to work in three major directions. We need to

1. highlight the impact of homophobia on the self-development of young people,
2. enhance the ability to detect signs of homophobia and
3. raise awareness on this issue so that “clear symptoms” are noticed and identified as such.

We only see what we are trained to see. Otherwise, seeing nothing, we convince ourselves that there is nothing, which allows us to dismiss any challenges from organizations as the excessive zeal of special interest groups. This is how latent phobia is perpetuated – fed by the scepticism

⁸ *SOS Friendship*: National telephone helpline in France for those in distress.

of certain (psychological) professions or organizations (e. g. suicide helplines) with regard to homophobia.

2.3 The proper use of LGBTI organizations

Fortunately there are professionals, neither in denial nor interested in resorting to psychiatrists, who occasionally turn to LGBTI organizations whose competence in dealing with young people is recognized by the authorities. The force of personal testimony they offer, for instance in classroom, can be very effective, provided members of the organization receive careful training. Still, professionals and institutions must not be encouraged to shift the burden onto single-issue organizations, even where this is temporarily justified.

Our approach is a different one. We believe that homophobia is an integral matter for institutions dealing with education and youth. In winning citizenship rights, LGBTI persons have also won the right of protection against violence and discrimination. This is why we have opted for a programme targeted at professionals. We offer them an integrated approach (the problem is linked to the question of gender) to the question of homophobia, enabling its incorporation into their professional problematics and thus into their objectives.

The topic must be dealt with professionally, just like other educational subjects, and not merely in passing. More importantly still, awareness-raising must lead to a sharing of experience and to the formulation of professional responses by the different professions themselves. In this way, a theoretical and practically applicable body of knowledge can emerge that takes into account the damaging effects of homophobia.

Such is the philosophy and the goal of our homophobia awareness-raising campaign. Responsibility for this should not, however, ultimately rest with those involved in the campaign. This would be damaging, for it leads to a general disintegration of the concept of "living together" and to the emergence of isolated special interest lobbies each queuing up to make their own public case.

3. Why young people?

It is by the way young people express themselves that we can measure the extent of what has been achieved. They are after all living out the consequences of the "moral liberation", of the way acceptance has increased, and of the way it is now anchored in the concept of "living together".

The results are mixed. There is the striking persistence of violence, both symbolic and physical, judging by the testimonies⁹ of young peo-

⁹ Annual reports of *Azur youth helpline* (an AIDS information service) and of *SOS Homophobic*.

ple, the accounts they post on websites¹⁰, the content of their posts, and indeed their comments on “coming out” itself, usually indicating that it is to “a few people”, rarely to “everybody”. During the group work sessions at the summer school, the number of references to aggression, whether verbal or physical, far exceeded our fears.

Many homosexuals claim to be doing fine, which is fair enough, though it should be borne in mind that in the current climate, there is a certain stigma attached to being a victim or a sufferer. However, their tone changes when asked about past or present problems with family, at work or in their neighbourhoods. Once the initial ordeals have been overcome, the resulting “resilience” enables them not only to forge ahead with the momentum such victories generate, but also to “forget” the suffering involved, and underestimate the toll it has taken.

The silence that covers these forms of violence is punctuated only by occasional media sallies by politicians in search of publicity, or by sudden outbursts of compassion following an incident such as the 2004 case of S. Nouchet, who was badly burned after he and his partner were bullied by a neighbour and his gang; or when a young man was attacked with an iron bar by youngsters from a middle-class area in Marseille.

The violence is not always this dramatic. It lurks in the background every time a young homosexual acknowledges his or her sexuality. It is perceived as a vague sense of threat: the possibility of physical aggression, harassment by a gang, or family rejection. It is part and parcel of acknowledging one’s homosexuality, against the backdrop of the full hormonal and emotional tumult of adolescence.

The threat can become so oppressive that it actually stifles acknowledgment of one’s sexuality, as described by Brahim Naït-Balk in his book *Un homo dans la cité*¹¹ (*Being gay in the city*) and by young Rémi in *Être et se vivre homo*. Both bury their heads in the sand when facing the moment of “revelation”. They live in distress, they feel excluded, they don’t know how to put their experience into words. Reluctantly, painfully, they postpone the inevitable, at a time which should be, conversely, devoted to developing the self. This tumultuous stage in life scarcely needs such a burden, such a stumbling block to self-development, although for some, this difficulty may become a positive challenge, a concept Boris Cyrulnik develops in his book *Un merveilleux malheur*¹² (*A marvellous misfortune*), drawing on the US-concept of “resilience”.

Indeed we are also witnessing the emergence of young gays and lesbians free of inhibitions, sure of themselves even in the face of homophobia, unashamed in front of their friends, forceful in asserting themselves and their bodies. They testify dramatically (in a way which is

¹⁰ See www.moncomingout.com.

¹¹ Brahim Naït-Balk 2009.

¹² Boris Cyrulnik 2009.

often criticised as “ostentatious”) to the gains made by the homosexual movement and to the changing times. They create visibility for everyone, including their peers. They challenge us both to accept others and to accept ourselves.

Even so, it remains the case that no one should be forced into acknowledging anything, or into resigning oneself: such an imposition is in itself a form of aggression. Having to opt either to hide or to disclose; having to prepare for the worst, given the homophobia already witnessed in the school playground alone; having to imagine a life about which nothing is known, even if certain well-known personalities, novels or films have provided insights; having to throw oneself into coming out much as you would throw yourself into icy water, steeling yourself in preparation for unknown sensations. Everyday life is dominated by stigmatizing portrayals and prejudices: not everyone can be a tennis champion or mayor of Paris or Berlin.

Coming out is a lengthy process, riddled with questions fretted over a hundred times, littered with hindrances and obstacles, set against a background of pretence of normality. To come out is to expose oneself to a host of dangers. Some enter into it without too much apprehension, many play for time while others struggle but get nowhere. This compulsory initiation test may be beset with doubts: “What’s wrong with me?”, “Who am I?”, worries: “Am I like *them*?” “Are they really the way people describe them?”, and fear of others’ opinions, in particular of parents: “Will they accept me?”, “Will I be a disappointment to them?”

Adolescence is of course always a time of initiation, fraught with trials and traps, doubts and assertions. In this sense, homosexual adolescence is merely a part of the wider adolescent process, neither outside it nor divorced from it. But the impact of homophobia can inhibit, add to the existing confusion, and aggravate the difficulty of this precious, complex and banal experience.

The subject is homophobia, not homosexuality

4. *Why homophobia?*

The distinction of talk about homophobia and about homosexuality is not empty or banal. In the awareness sessions, and in discussions in general, the focus shifts all too easily from homophobia to homosexuality, to sexuality, to the “finer details” of erotic activity and so on. In mounting our counter-attacks against xenophobic hatred, do we resort equally to talking about anatomic or ethnic details? The issue of homosexuality per se ought to be taken as settled. Our subject is homophobia: a form of social violence afflicting citizens who theoretically have the same rights as anyone else in society.

Of course we can never fully escape discussions on homosexuality, and we do not avoid them either. In addition, all of us carry their own questions and doubts about themselves with them, and it remains

uncommon to discuss this topic in our societies. So everything may be discussed and may be useful, as long as in the end we get back to the subject that is and continues to be homophobia: a social disease which attacks, hurts, mutilates and on occasion leads to suicide or murder. That must remain our focus.

We first need to agree that the phenomenon of homophobia exists in a whole range of aggressions. The acceptance of its existence is not evident: it is often concealed and denied. That is the price we have paid for our initial success – the homosexuality question now appears settled: “They aren’t persecuted any more, are they?”, “They’ve won their battle”. Each of us has a homosexual friend, relative, colleague in our personal circles, who seems to be doing just fine: surely a positive sign that things are on the right track? Consequently, an optimistic mindset which holds that all is now going well for homosexuals, based on the fact that many things have changed, empties the concept of homophobia of all meaning. It is a thing of the past – no longer worth discussing. In the process the “last-ditch recriminations” of activists appear excessive: the preserve of special interest groups.

Furthermore, there are homosexuals who would support this point of view, claiming that they have never been victims of homophobia. They consider themselves beyond reach because they are comfortable with themselves. They may even give the impression that victims of homophobia are in some way responsible – their discomfort with themselves being the problem.

The widespread feeling in this new climate of good will (apart from the “slips” referred to earlier), now that the bad old laws have been repealed and some good laws adopted, is that LGBTI activists should exercise some patience while things sort themselves out. Therefore, we still need to demonstrate that “homophobia” is an aggressive entity, with its own coherence and symptoms.

5. Citizenship

In a country like France, “worked on” by thirty years of gay activism, which has acknowledged past injustices committed towards homosexuals, one point should be taken as settled. When we talk of homosexuality and homosexuals, we speak from a position as full citizens, not from the margins and even less so as social outsiders. Homosexuals have won the right to have their voices heard on all issues. In other words, institutionally the homosexualities are no longer a problem. Homosexuals no longer have to contest their legitimacy; they have nothing more to prove.

Thus officially rehabilitated, they are entitled to act as full citizens, even if this is not always evident in daily life. LGBTI may still consider themselves “second-class citizens” in certain areas concerning rights (marriage, homoparentality). Nevertheless, sexual orientation is no longer a matter of discussion in civic terms. We therefore take full citi-

zenship as the starting point. As recognised citizens, homosexuals now have access to rights once denied them, such as the right to dignity and to their relationships, although institutions and professionals still have work to do in fully implementing what has been achieved in recent decades: gains such as the right to exist, to live one's own life, openly, without hindrance or restriction. These benefits have legal standing. They form part of the "living together" of all citizens and are enshrined in the "social contract". They are (in most cases) part of our shared public life. We must ensure this is respected. The fact that Ms Lesbian and Mr Gay live in a certain way is not our concern, but the fact that they suffer because of this is. Generally speaking, the tip (but only the tip) of the homophobia iceberg is subject to legal and social reprobation. Exclusion and stigmatization are frowned upon by our co-citizens, discrimination and violence are punishable by law and their occurrence usually arouses indignation. Let us take that as settled. It is the underside of the iceberg that needs to be examined: how and why the phenomenon of homophobic rejection persists – and how to eliminate it.

6. *Recourse to law*¹³

Of course, the various forms of homosexuality may still be open to philosophical, theological or even moral debate. No one can be prevented from nurturing private or philosophical prejudices, or indeed from sharing them (for example via *urbi et orbi* addresses delivered from the Vatican balcony). But something has changed: citizenship for us means that, yes, debate is possible, but only with the active and lawful participation of all concerned. This is crucial. For centuries, homosexuality and homosexuals were the focus of debate, but they were never allowed to participate. It was the same for women, and likewise for "natives" in the colonies. These debates all took place in a context in which those most affected were voiceless or hidden, and always to their cost. Those days are gone. As a fully paid-up sector of society, the gay community now has a voice. This hard-won voice entitles these former outcasts to take part in public debate, they who only recently were barred from office. This has changed everything – for their self-esteem and also for their detractors, who have to face them, deal with their own prejudices, re-evaluate their own citizenship.

The homophobic consensus has been broken: homophobes can no longer conduct their debates with impunity; they have to remain within the limits of respect for citizens' rights, refrain from expressing contempt or from incitement to violence. Authorities and teachers alike are certainly duty-bound to permit debate, but they must insist that it happens within the boundaries of the law.

¹³ Orig. "Le rappel à la loi".

In terms of homophobia, this requires that each and every citizen fulfils their duty in the exercise of their professional, social, political, organizational and family life: even the French member of parliament given to spreading homophobia in the media or on his blog¹⁴ is not immune: his views are contested, condemned and even legally challenged, the judicial system monitors him, he may be denounced and is not beyond the law.

By all means debate, but within limits, and with the homosexuals!

7. *Truisms*

These comments may appear superfluous. However, our experience of homophobia awareness-raising suggests that it is useful to establish points of reference. One sector of the public has not buried its prejudices, or believes in good faith that it is free of prejudice. Another sector reaches the rather too easy conclusion that in their sensitivity, they have understood everything. And then there is of course the illusion that there is nothing left to understand, as the matter has been settled once and for all.

These reactions are often impassioned and passionate. Identifying the subject and its limits, i. e. "homophobia" and not "homosexuality", helps avoid the danger of overly emotive debates full of received wisdom, making measured debate impossible.

These truisms are useful in establishing an approach for those who, in their professional lives, have to react to homophobic incidents in the course of their teaching (in class, on the sports field etc.), or in their relations with colleagues, when tacit or ill-considered slips may occur.

Above all, these "truisms" provide a clear basis for facing future developments.

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¹⁴ Christian Vaneste, UMP Member of Parliament.

MARIE HOUZEAU / BILL RYAN

Translating legal equality to school reality in Canada*

Recent legal and social changes in Canada have led to full equality for gays, lesbians and bisexuals. However, this legal equality does not guarantee the non-existence of social homophobia. Particularly in the context of schools, homophobia is a persistent problem. This article describes the state of the situation in several Canadian provinces and their schools systems and in particular the experience of one Canadian community organization in Montreal, Québec, whose mission is to diminish homophobia in schools by sending volunteers into classrooms. The organization also conducts some research into the factors that correlate with homophobic attitudes and behaviour, and some results are presented. Finally, the gender issue, in particular concerning masculinity, is addressed that appears to be a major component of homophobia.

1. Introduction

In the last thirty years, since the decriminalization of homosexuality in 1969, Canada has become one of a few countries in the world to accord full legal equality to its gay, lesbian and bisexual citizens. However, this does not mean that homophobia has been eradicated, or that systemic discrimination does not exist, but that those who experience homophobia have legal recourse if their rights have been offended. Increasingly, pro-active policy and programming measures are being implemented to address social homophobia, stigma and ostracism.

Since 1992, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which is the foundational constitutional document of enumerated rights in Canada, prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation. Several important cases which have come before the Supreme Court of Canada¹, as well as provincial tribunals, have, in their decisions, reinforced the rights of gay and lesbian students and of same-sex couples to have their lives respected and reflected in school curricula as well as reinforcing the importance of providing school environments in which sexual minority youth find safety. In fact, in the Chamberlain decision – a decision specifically about sexual orientation being discussed in the classroom – the Supreme Court of Canada declared:

* This contribution was originally written in English by Marie Houzeau, executive director at GRIS Montréal and Bill Ryan, adjunct professor for Social Work and Gender Diversity at McGill University (Montréal).

¹ Chamberlain v. Surrey School District No. 36 (2002), Supreme Court of Canada.

“[...] although the Board is indeed free to address the religious concerns of parents, it must be sure to do so in a manner that gives equal recognition and respect to other members of the community.”

and that,

“Religious views that deny equal recognition and respect to the members of a minority group cannot be used to exclude the concerns of the minority group.”

and that,

“Learning about tolerance is therefore learning that other people’s entitlement to respect from us does not depend on whether their views accord with our own. Children cannot learn this unless they are exposed to views that differ from those they are taught at home.”

In many of the 10 provinces of Canada different forms of intervention, curriculum development and policy directives are beginning to make a difference in the lives of sexual minority students.

2. School policies in Canadian provinces

In the province of British Columbia a court decision² mandated the Ministry of Education to examine the entire curriculum from kindergarten to the end of secondary school (high school) to remove all content that could be deemed to be homophobic. The Ministry was also obliged to develop a new course on human rights, which included an adequate coverage of sexual orientation diversity in the high school curriculum.

In Alberta, the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta has developed an important training and outreach initiative to reduce homophobia in school environments.

In Ontario, the most populous province, new regulations required all schools to have developed an anti-bullying policy, with both prevention and punitive measures, which explicitly named homophobia as an unacceptable form of bullying by January 2010. Earlier, in a landmark case³, the Ontario Appeals Court obliged a Catholic Secondary School to allow a male student to attend the graduation dance with his same-sex partner, after both the school and the Catholic school board forbade their attendance.

In Québec, to 2010, the Ministry of Education has not yet developed policies that clearly address homophobia although the Ministry of Justice promulgated a policy paper called *The Québec Policy Against Homophobia*⁴ (*La politique québécoise de lutte à l’homophobie*), a world first, which committed the government to combat homophobia in all spheres of life

² The Corran Agreement, April 2006.

³ MacKinnon, Justice R. (2002, May 10). *Smitherman v. Powers and the Durham Catholic District School Board* (Court File No. 12 CV 227705CM3). Whitby, ON: Ontario Superior Court of Justice.

⁴ See: www.justice.gouv.qc.ca/english/publications/rapports/homophobie-a.htm; French: www.justice.gouv.qc.ca/francais/publications/rapports/homophobie.htm.

in Québec, including educational environments. An Action Plan is to be developed in the next year, which should include specific ministerial initiatives within schools that will address systemic homophobia. In the historical absence of addressing homophobia systemically in the school system in Québec, GRIS Montréal (and eventually other similar groups in different regions) developed a unique model for reducing homophobia in schools in the Montréal region. With hundreds of volunteers and thousands of interventions in schools, both primary and secondary, GRIS Montréal has had a major impact in educating and sensitizing youth and educators by providing the opportunity to gay, lesbian and bisexual men and women to speak of their lives and demystify homosexuality and bisexuality through sharing their experiences with youth in school settings. As much research has shown, the most important factor in reducing homophobia is contact with people who identify as gay, lesbian or bisexual. The fact that many thousands of Montréal area students are in contact with volunteers from GRIS cannot but be a factor in reducing homophobia in Québec.

As well, the *Institut national de santé publique du Québec* developed a training program in 1992, which is offered to health, social service and educational professionals to reduce homophobia and to develop culturally competent⁵ interventions within youth and adult service environments. Up to June 2010, over 20'000 of these professionals have followed at least the first day of the three days of anti-homophobia training offered by the Institute.

3. The GRIS: goals and development

The *Groupe de Recherche et d'Intervention Sociale de Montréal (GRIS-Montréal)* is a local community group that has been working to demystify homosexuality through research and education in Québec since 1994. GRIS has three main objectives:

- Demystifying homosexuality and bisexuality in society in general
- Carrying out research projects related to educational activities and
- Providing referrals to individuals who are interested in other resources in the gay and lesbian community.

As a community organization, GRIS is composed primarily of adult volunteers who complete an extensive training and mentorship program in order to visit schools and speak about their personal lives and experiences as gay men, lesbians, and bisexual men and women. The four main objectives guiding these interventions are:

- To promote self-esteem for youth questioning and exploring their identities by cultivating a positive attitude in their social networks.

⁵ Interventions that are adapted to the specific needs of sexual minority youth.

- To develop educational and facilitation skills so as to better impact the educational settings we visit.
- To help professionals (particularly school-based) develop a theoretical understanding of homosexuality and bisexuality to support the development of new approaches and interventions regarding gay men, lesbians, bisexuals and the general population.
- To disseminate the expertise at GRIS throughout public support networks.

In 1988, *Jeunesse Lambda*, a support group for young gays and lesbians, had determined that young people aged 13 to 16 who were questioning their sexual orientation had a significant need for information. To meet this need, the group then created the *Comité d'Intervention Sociale* CIS (social intervention committee) to set up a demystification project targeting young people in schools. The project quickly came to centre on personal accounts by gay and lesbian people presented in class. A formal presentation was given to a group of forty *Formation personnelle et sociale* (FPS) teachers and convinced them of the need for such an approach. As part of the workshops, a questionnaire was handed out to the pupils to collect data on young people's perceptions of homosexuality. Requests for the workshop multiplied and in 1994, the CIS became an independent body, GRIS-Montréal.

Today, GRIS-Montréal is Québec's largest organization working to demystify homosexuality and bisexuality in schools. The continual increase in the number of presentations given every year shows the success of the formula with young people and the importance of the work done by the group. GRIS-Montréal's work in the greater metropolitan area is complemented by the work of three similar organizations in the regions Québec City, Chaudière-Appalaches and Centre-du-Québec.

GRIS-Montréal chiefly works in high schools, pre-university colleges (CÉGEPs), universities, and youth centres. GRIS's services are also in demand among professional organizations. Two volunteers trained to answer young people's questions lead each workshop together, helping youth to put a human face on realities that may scare or intimidate them. In order to be as representative as possible, special attention is paid to the composition of the volunteer teams. We prefer to send a man and a woman when volunteer availability permits. Diversity of age, ethnic background, and life story are also important criteria in pairing volunteers.

After presenting some general information and a brief personal introduction, the presenters encourage the youth to ask any questions they have on homosexuality and bisexuality. The goal is to focus as much as possible on their concerns. Debates, statistics, and theories are avoided; presenters are committed to answering questions as openly as possible, speaking about their experiences and their current life as lesbian, gay, or bisexual people.

Until 1998-1999, GRIS-Montréal fulfilled an average of around thirty requests per year. Since the beginning of the 2000s, this figure has grown exponentially.

Growth of demand between 1997 and 2009 (fig. 1)

School year	Number of presentations	Number of students met
1997-1998	49	not available
1998-1999	30	±1000
1999-2000	70	±2000
2000-2001	115	±3000
2001-2002	296	±7500
2002-2003	504	±11 500
2003-2004	475	±10 000
2004-2005	632	±14 500
2005-2006	699	±16 000
2006-2007	911	±21 000
2007-2008	862	19 826
2008-2009	835	20 040
2009-2010	988	23 700

Since the founding of GRIS-Montréal, more than 130'000 young people have participated in the more than 5'500 presentations.

Growth of membership between 1997 and 2009 (fig.2)

School year	Number of members	Number of presenters	Hours of volunteer work carried out
1997-1998	not available	not available	not available
1998-1999	not available	not available	not available
1999-2000	34	25	2 000
2000-2001	30	21	2 500
2001-2002	79	50	5 150
2002-2003	116	80	6 800
2003-2004	160	98	6 750
2004-2005	201	117	8 500
2005-2006	215	130	9 100
2006-2007	223	131	10 500
2007-2008	222	131	10 250
2008-2009	250	135	9 119
2009-2010	251	131	13 782

4. GRIS' research mission

During each GRIS-Montréal presentation, youth are given a three-part questionnaire to complete.⁶

1. The first part, completed before the presenters arrive, serves to gauge young people's comfort level with homosexuality and identify their perceptions.⁷
2. At the end of the session, the second part of the questionnaire asks the same questions a second time in order to evaluate the immediate impact of the presentation.
3. The third part provides a profile of the respondent: age, gender, religion, practicing or non-practicing, presence of gay or lesbian people among their family and acquaintances.

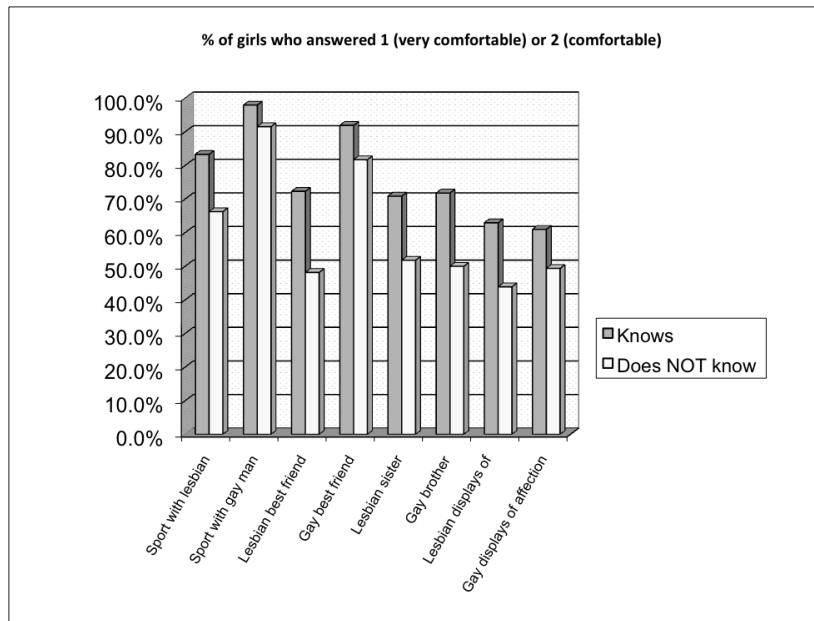
With the help of a team of volunteers, the answers to these questionnaires have been compiled into a large database comprising ten years of interventions. The findings presented here represent surveys collected between April 2004 and December 2009 (n = 11'236) during 476 workshops presented in 149 institutions. These institutions were mostly in the Montréal metropolitan area and indicate general trends in young people's attitudes towards same-sex behaviour and gay- and lesbian-identified individuals. These data have not been tested for significance and are intended to offer descriptive statistics and feedback on how youth respond to the information presented in the educational workshops.

The data from this research are a rich source of knowledge for the organization and its partners. Above all, they validate the intervention method of having youth get to know gay, lesbian, and bisexual people. Knowing a gay or lesbian person is the most influential factor on young people's comfort with the situations listed in the questionnaires.

⁶ A pdf-version is to be found on http://www.gris.ca/2009/gris_english.php, also in French: www.gris.ca/2009/gris_faisons.php [28 sept. 2010].

⁷ This first part constitutes a whole page and is itself threefold. It first asks "In your own words, how would you describe homosexuality?" and gives some room for answers. Then 10 questions ask how you feel, on a scale from 1 to 4 (very comfortable, comfortable, uncomfortable, very uncomfortable), in the following cases: "I work with a lesbian girl on school project", "I work with a gay guy on school project", "I take part in a sporting activity with a lesbian girl", same with "gay guy", "I find out that my best (female) friend is lesbian", same with best male gay friend, "I find out my sister is lesbian", "I find out my brother is gay", "I see two women showing public displays of affection (such as holding hands or kissing)", same for two men. The third section contains three yes-or-no questions, to be answered by "I agree", "I have no opinion" or "I disagree": "Homosexual couples have the same rights and obligations as heterosexual couples", "Lesbian couples have the right to adopt children" and "Gay men couples have the right to adopt children".

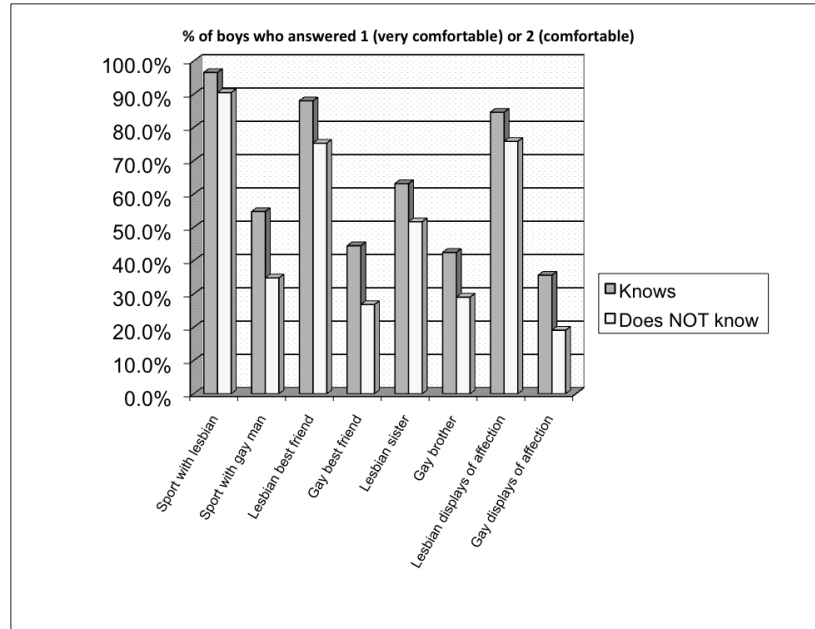
Level of comfort by whether the respondent knows a gay or lesbian person (fig. 3 and 4)⁸



The other checked factors are the respondents' age and sex, the religion in which they were brought up, whether they practise the religion or not, and their ability to identify their sexual orientation. In general,

- boys are found to be less at ease than girls and
- younger people are less at ease than older youths.

⁸ Statistics based on 1'076 questionnaires answered between January and June 2009.



Identifying these factors has influenced the training given to presenters, allowing them to be made more aware of the vulnerability of their various audiences. It also influences the recommendations that can be made to educators, for example when they ask at what age students benefit the most from GRIS workshops. However, while certain trends in the impact of these social factors can be identified, we should avoid jumping to conclusions. It would be dangerous to see a direct causal link between young people's comfort level with homosexuality and the presence or absence of one or more of these social factors. Every social milieu contains people who accept homosexuality and people who are closed to it. The presence of homophobia is not determined by it.⁹

5. Effect of GRIS-Montréal workshops on the comfort level of participants

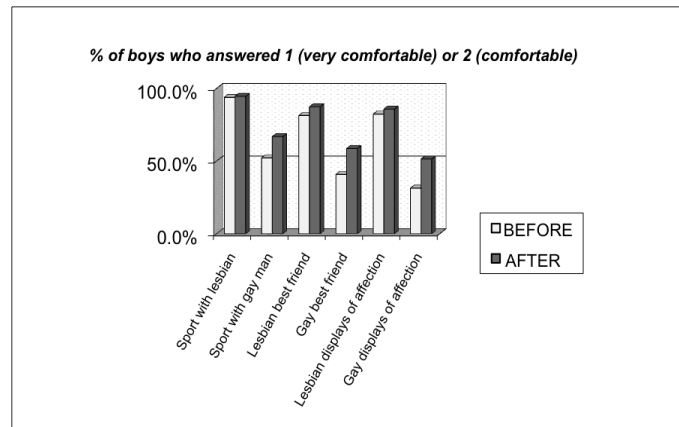
It is interesting to note that even young people who already know a gay or lesbian person benefit from the GRIS-Montréal workshop and tend to say they would be more comfortable in most of the situations listed in the questionnaire following the intervention. The opportunity to get to know a gay, lesbian, or bisexual person through GRIS's intervention model goes beyond simple proximity, which may remain superficial.

⁹ Gilbert Emond / Janik Bastien-Charlebois (2007): *L'homophobie: Pas dans ma cour*, Montréal: Groupe de Recherche et Intervention Sociale, 60; www.gris.ca/2009/pdf/imprime/GRIS_Rapport_de_recherche.pdf; [28 Sept. 2010].

Of the situations listed, young people are most uncomfortable with public displays of affection. Even though this situation is the one that least affects them directly, it is the one in which sexual orientation is the most visible and most out of step with what they are used to seeing. The question on sports is a bit more ambiguous: the wording of the question refers only to playing sports, and does not refer to the “shower and locker room” aspect that would involve closer proximity to a gay or lesbian person. It could be assumed that the comfort level would be lower if the question explicitly referred to that aspect.

It should also be noted that, while both boys and girls are more at ease with the situations that involve a homosexual person of the opposite gender, the difference in comfort level is much greater in boys than in girls.

Impact of the intervention (figs. 4 and 5)



6. *Stories*

Beyond the numbers, it is the young people's own comments that best express the difference that this kind of intervention can make in their lives and the lives of those around them. Here are a few of their comments (translated):

"It changed my perception of things, because I had become homophobic after a friend told me that he was in love with me. But now I'm not really scared anymore."

Boy, 16 years old, attracted to girls

"The session was interesting because seeing gays used to disgust me; not anymore."

Girl, 14 years old, attracted to boys

"Stay the way you are, because you'll open the eyes of many heterosexuals like me; now I understand your situation."

Boy, 14 years old, attracted to girls

"I'm bisexual; some of my friends know, but you've given me a little more courage to come out. Thanks very much."

Woman, 18 years old, attracted to men and women

"It showed me that I could have stopped one of my friends from committing suicide because he was gay and he thought that his friendship with other boys would change."

Boy, 17 years old, attracted to girls

Nor do youth hesitate to express their disagreement on the subject of homosexuality. Here are some of their answers to the question "In your own words, how would you describe homosexuality?":

"It's a mental illness (or malformation) that we should ban or try to fix. Nobody who is homosexual is worthy of life if he does not want to be cured."

Man, 20 years old, attracted to women

"Gays should be ashamed. They have too many rights. They're already allowed to be gay, and they even have their own neighbourhood and parades. Shame on you! Your place is in hell!"

Boy, 16 years old, attracted to girls

"The lady... I think it's unacceptable that she's raising children with her partner. Those children will grow up with the image that it's okay to be gay and they might grow up like that too."

Boy, 16 years old, attracted to girls

This shows that our work is far from over. Legal equality may be achieved, but gay, lesbian, bisexual, and questioning youth still cannot find in their schools the safety, comfort, and hope they need to fully develop. The question of funding for anti-homophobia organizations is also worrisome, because demystification activities frequently rely on private funds. Nevertheless, the dream of inclusive and accepting schools no longer seems as impossible as it did a few years ago. Recent

initiatives in various regions in Québec are encouraging.¹⁰ They show that the problem of homophobia in schools is starting to be considered and dealt with more systematically in Québec schools.

7. The gender challenge

Increasingly, those studying the issue of homophobia are identifying entrenched gender norms as the underlying ideology from which homophobia springs, and the author's experience in real-life situations confirms this repeatedly. In clinical settings, parents often are troubled by sons who do not exhibit "masculine" behaviour to a sufficient degree.¹¹ In this context, homophobia becomes one of the instruments used to define and protect the privileges of masculinity, and proscribe and limit the place of women and men who do not conform to masculine gender norms. As youth and school environments begin to challenge homophobia, the issue of gender looms in the background.

With this understanding, it is easy to see that the homophobic stereotypes surrounding gender conformity are means of reinforcing still powerful gender roles in society. If, as this stereotype presumes and condemns, one is free to choose one's social roles independently of gender, many guiding social divisions, both domestic and commercial, might be threatened. The gender-linked distinctions between breadwinner and homemaker, boss and secretary, doctor and nurse, protector and protected would blur. The accusations of "dyke" and "fag" exist in significant part to keep women in their place and to prevent men from losing theirs. Whatever is not male, preferably white, hierarchical and patriarchal, is considered other than and less than. Women preferring women, and men perceived as acting otherwise than within the prerogatives of their privileged gender, are disenfranchised.

Compared to other cultures, we in North America tend to exaggerate gender differences. We go far beyond reproductive function to notions of specific, mutually exclusive personality traits associated with each gender, and to roles appropriate to each. The dominant culture's presentation of male/female genital patterns becomes expanded to the whole range of human activities, interests, aptitudes, and character traits. Even though common sense tells us that people do not divide so neatly into two discrete groups and that parents, psychologists, educators and peers often have to work very hard to induce the appropriate

¹⁰ The creation of GRIS Centre-du-Québec, demystification work by the Coalition d'aide aux gais, lesbiennes, bisexuels de l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue, and local school anti-homophobia projects are just a few of these initiatives.

¹¹ The author (B.R.) is reminded of several incidents from a clinical perspective, not the least of which was when a mother called to make an appointment for psychotherapy for her son for whom she had concerns that he might become gay. When asked his age, she responded "five years old". When asked why she was concerned he might be gay, she responded "He was not aggressive enough for a boy!".

behaviour, both in children and adults, we still too often promote an oppressive and simplistic either/or system and fault the individual if he or she does not conform.

The same patriarchal assumptions operative in society against women also manifest themselves against gays and lesbians in a defined patriarchal, heterosexual fashion. Sedgwick makes the case¹² that the bonds between misogyny or sexism and homophobia are real and profound. She states that homophobia is not primarily an instrument for oppressing a sexual minority; it is, rather, a powerful tool for regulating the entire spectrum of male, and therefore, female relations. In demonstrating that male homophobia is directed at both gay and non-gay men, and by demonstrating that it adversely affects women as well, Sedgwick has effectively transformed the fear of homosexuality from an isolated political issue into a central concern of any critique of the dominant culture. This is particularly demonstrated by the way the government and the media have scapegoated the gay community, especially at the beginning, as part of their response to the HIV crisis, and the way the Roman Catholic Church is trying to transform its present pedophilia crisis into a problem with gay priests. These reactions were and are coded with important messages for all men and for all women, not just for those who are gay and lesbian.

Need for research:

The efficacy of *community based interventions* on reducing school based homophobia.

Comparative analysis of *curriculum based content* devised to confront and reduce homophobia.

Comparative analysis of *university teacher training programs* inclusive of anti-homophobia content.

¹² Sedgwick, Eve (1990): *Epistemology of the Closet*, University of California Press.

RAPHAEL BAK / BENJAMIN KINKEL

Giving a Face to the Unknown
The Lesbian & Gay School Awareness Project
in North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany)*

This contribution reports on projects in the German Bundesland North-Rhine Westphalia (NRW). In particular, it presents the project SchLAu NRW that intervenes in schools in order to reduce homophobia. The project proceeds on the assumption that *Information Can't Work Alone*. By personal encounters of youth with lesbian, gay and bisexual peers in classroom, the interventions provide a visible and tangible face of homo- or bisexual persons. After a justification and description of the classroom interventions, the complementary NRW campaign *School without homophobia – School of diversity* is presented, which addresses schools, teachers and the general public. Finally, we will make some concluding remarks concerning a number of challenges and visions to be considered.

1. Introduction

The stories people tell each other on a daily basis are essential to marking the borders between *Us* and *Them*. In these stories, images, stereotypes and finally prejudice play a crucial role in organizing perceptions and ideas about *the unknown others* – like lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender people. A high school pupil once explained:

“Most guys wear loose-fitting clothing, just kind of baggy. They [fags] wear tighter clothes. More fashionable, I guess.”

Furthermore, these stories are often based on negative and distorted samples, reinforced through what we see on television or what we read in the newspapers. The reaction is similar when pictures are shown of gays or lesbians kissing each other. Pupils often start saying immediately that it is “disgusting”, that “they are all pedophiles”. It is not astonishing to hear such comments from pupils who have never been taught about lesbian and gay people or their issues in school – and particularly, if they have never knowingly seen any of them before. So LGB (lesbian, gay and bisexual) pupils are learning in an environment where homophobic comments and language are commonplace. Almost everyone has heard phrases like “That’s so gay!” or “You are so gay!” in school that may seem harmless but often hide a crueler reality:

“Other pupils call me gay everyday, sometimes some of them kick me or push me.” (Tim, 15)

* This contribution was written in English by the two peer educators who are both project coordinators in the umbrella organization *Schlau NRW* (revised by MG, corrected VL).

Pupils who experience homophobic bullying state that this has had a negative impact on their school work. It is regrettable that one of the biggest problems we are facing is that the majority of teachers never respond. Only few intervene when they witness homophobic language. But, as Timmermanns underlines,

“Negative judgments about homosexuality must be taken seriously and their root causes explored.”¹

Schools must acknowledge that homophobic bullying occurs on their premises and that homophobia is not just a gay issue. Homophobia affects all pupils and students – lesbian, gay, bisexual and straight.

Enlightened education may be the key element in response to homophobia at schools. Raising awareness of young people about such issues is a great way to challenge homophobia and to create a more LGB-friendly environment. The SchLAu classroom interventions are based on the assumption that authentic encounter is the key to making schools a better place to learn for everyone and to overcome social exclusion of LGB pupils in schools. The presentation of autobiographic elements gives the young participants the opportunity to reflect on their own sexuality and identity by sharing individual and authentic stories. It empowers LGB pupils and helps to create more tolerant, respectful and understanding attitudes and behaviours. It is probably for that reason that in North-Rhine Westfalia the interventions play an increasing role in the prevention of discrimination and in the protection of equality.

2. SchLAu NRW: organization and goals

SchLAu NRW is an acronym for *Schwul-Lesbische Aufklärung in Nordrhein-Westfalen*, meaning: *Gay and Lesbian Awareness Project in North Rhine-Westphalia*. Born in 2000, it is the umbrella organization (Dachverband) of currently eleven local groups in as many cities² that work against homophobia and discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity at the local schools, but also in other institutions. Between 2003 and 2009, the peer educators ran about 1500 training sessions, reaching over 42'000 young people in North Rhine-Westphalia.³

Definition

SchLAu is basically a *Youth Peer Education Project*: trained LGB peer educators go into local secondary schools, colleges, universities or youth centers where they conduct sexuality and gender identity awareness workshops with narrative-autobiographical elements. The target group is young people from the age of 13 or 14 onwards. It is of crucial import-

¹ Stefan Timmermanns 2007, 53.

² Aachen, Köln, Düsseldorf, Siegen, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Gelsenkirchen, Essen, Bochum, Dortmund, Münster, Bielefeld. Local groups partially existed before 2000.

³ SchLAu Evaluation 2009; http://www.schlau-nrw.de/site_infos_evaluation.php. The Bundesland has a population of 18 million.

ance that *peer* means equal. Of course the volunteers are older than the school audience, but we try to train young LGB volunteers such as students who are still as close as possible to the target group, for we have noticed in our workshops that younger people take more notice of each other than of teachers or adult educators. Most of our volunteers are between 19 and 27, and most of them are students because they often dispose of free time in the morning hours. The peer educators do not teach, but learn together with the pupils. In our sessions, all contributions are of equal worth. It is central to learn from each other through discussion groups, dialogue, exchange of information or creative methods such as role playing.

Demand for intervention

The local groups send their teams into classes upon invitation. Teachers, social workers, headmasters and sometimes even pupils get in touch with us to ask for awareness workshops for various reasons.

- Most commonly, teachers or social workers observe homophobic bullying and don't know how to deal with it.
- Or secretly gay or lesbian teachers feel the need for sensitization, but do not want to come out.
- It also happens that students initiate debates about homosexuality as a topic in a particular subject.
- Over the past few years, recommendations of our workshops among schools have been playing an increasing role.

The local groups

Some of the local groups have emerged independently and have their own structure and way of working. So there is no generally imposed concept of how to run the workshops. Despite the variety, all of the local projects share some common features and standards concerning didactics and methodology and are submitted to the same quality standards. The local groups differ in financial resources, number of volunteers and full-time employees. Small projects with less than five volunteers as in Münster or Aachen need more assistance from the umbrella organization than larger projects with full-time employees and a higher financial support. The three largest projects in Cologne, Düsseldorf and Bochum deliver two thirds of all trainings, each having a pool of 10 to 20 volunteers. In all, more than 80 active volunteers participate in the SchLAu NRW network. Most of them are intrinsically motivated students or workers. On average, the volunteers who work on an unpaid basis stay for two years.

The network

The network SchLAu NRW is financed by the *Ministry for Health, Emancipation, Care and Age* in North Rhine-Westphalia.⁴ It has central administrative and representative tasks. Two project coordinators and the voluntary representatives of the local projects work together in order to

- develop and implement the quality standards;
- organize and run basic and advanced workshops for the volunteers;
- maintain contacts with political actors;
- support and encourage exchange and communication between the local projects concerning, for example,
 - financial needs
 - public relations
 - skill development
 - acquisition of volunteers
 - conflict solution within local teams
 - local methods and other local characteristics.

Participating schools are enthusiastic about the classroom interventions and the workshops have become established as part of their curriculum. In 2003, SchLAu NRW was highly distinguished as a Best Practice Example of the Agenda 21 NRW by Peer Steinbrück, former prime minister of NRW.

Objectives

The objectives of the interventions are:

- raising awareness of same-sex lifestyles
- providing information on homosexuality
- combatting discrimination and promoting equality
- helping to understand sexual diversity and not preaching “one right way”
- questioning/overcoming stereotypes and prejudices
- prevention of physical and psychological violence
- promoting a positive environment for young LGB people
- encouraging sexual self-determination
- creating positive images of gay, lesbian and bisexual persons and encouraging other civil society members to recognize the value that those groups’ contributions bring to society in various respects.

⁴ Orig.: Ministerium des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen für Gesundheit, Emanzipation, Pflege und Alter.

The collaborators

Because most volunteers are not educated in pedagogy, it is important to choose them carefully and to provide them with formation. There is no screening test at the beginning of their engagement. Everyone who is interested is first obliged to hospitate with skilful volunteers at school. The selection is then based on the appreciation by other volunteers and especially by the team leaders of the local projects. In personal interviews, local leaders try to figure out the volunteer's attitudes. So far these interviews have unfortunately not been standardised.

Furthermore, the so-called *start-up* training is obligatory, which implies reflecting on one's coming out and learning facts about homosexuality, methods of the *SchLAue Kiste* (see below) and quality standards. Optional further training in issues like religion, migration or gender are organized twice a year by SchLAu NRW and performed by extern experts. These are basically the demands on our volunteers, most of them soft skills:

- clear and easy language
- empathy
- team spirit
- civility
- respect in contact with pupils and teachers
- self-confidence
- in peace with the own sexuality
- able to talk about the own coming out
- time to spend and flexibility in the morning when most of the awareness workshops take place.

In the future, and as a further step towards professionalization and transparency, it is a central challenge to develop a standardised way of choosing our volunteers.

3. The legitimation of the Awareness Project

The classroom interventions need official teaching time, so they require justification. In times when an openly gay person can become German Foreign Minister⁵, the need for a gay and lesbian awareness project has been newly questioned in public. It must be pointed out that having a gay foreign minister doesn't mean the end of homophobia in a country.

On the one hand, justification means political legitimation. This plays a key role for the social climate, because it establishes acceptance of the interventions among school staff and parents. Clear commitments to our

⁵ Guido Westerwelle, officially out about his homosexuality since 2001, is president of the German Liberal Democrat party (FDP) since 2001, and vice-chancellor and foreign minister of the German government coalition of Christian Democrats (CDU / CSU) and Liberal Democrats since October 2009.

work by governments and parties procure the necessary political and social legitimation for classroom interventions. The (politically negotiated) guidelines of 1999 for sex education in NRW ascertain:

“Sex education has the task to promote mutual acceptance among all people, regardless of their sexual orientation and gender identity and the related forms of relationships and lifestyles. It thus contributes to reducing homophobia and eliminating the discrimination towards homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender people.”⁶

Although these guidelines are only recommendations and do not formulate mandatory teaching contents or forms, they can be used to argue that gay and lesbian awareness projects are politically desirable. The guidelines are effective tools in conversations with school principals, teachers, parents and local authorities. They also help open-minded principals to defend the classroom interventions against homophobic parents.

What helps even more is that since a new government of the Bundesland has been elected in May 2010, SchLAu has been explicitly mentioned in the NRW coalition agreement, which is a strong commitment to our work.

But clearly, the importance and legitimacy of awareness workshops do not depend on the political support. The interventions are even more necessary where the political support is missing or when the current political trend is even hostile. Legal and political legitimation only helps the implementation of our work, which is independently justified, as many scientific studies demonstrate. This scientific backing is also needed to establish the political and legal recognition in processes of political negotiation.

Apart from the international evidence of increased suicide rates for lesbian, gay and bisexual pupils, some studies on homophobia in Germany recently also demonstrated an objective need for action.

- According to a study by the market and opinion researcher Iconkids & Youth
 - 71% of the boys and
 - 51% of the girls dislike or even completely dislike gays and lesbians.
 - On average, this represents a rejection of homosexuals by 61%.⁷
- The Berlin Maneo-Study indicated that
 - 61% of gay (male) pupils had been affected by verbal and physical violence due to their sexual orientation over a period of twelve months.⁸

⁶ Richtlinien zur Sexualerziehung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (1999), 13.

⁷ Iconkids & Youth 2002: see www.iconkids.com. For more information see the download results on www.schlau-nrw.de/site_infos_eigene-publikationen.php.

⁸ MANEO-Umfrage 2 (2007/2008): poll on experiences of violence by gay and bisexual male adolescents and men in Germany (N=17'476). Maneo is an anti-violence campaign for gays and bisexuals in Berlin.

The schools are largely left helpless when encountering homophobia:

- In only 28% of the cases, bullying and ridicule were prevented by the teachers.
- Only 47% of the respondents said that they were supported by their teachers.
- Only 46% could count on support from fellow pupils.
- 57% of the pupils advised against an outing at school.⁹
- A study by the federal anti-discrimination agency expresses the social climate like this:
 - 61% of the respondents declared that they want to come into contact with the issue of homosexuality as little as possible.
 - 46% felt provoked by a public kiss between two persons of the same sex.¹⁰

It is obvious that these attitudes might be fostered further by families and schools. The concept of a *hidden curriculum*¹¹ reflects the suspicion that unconscious attitudes and values are passed on to the next generation by adults (in particular by parents and teachers). It is thus not surprising that many young gays and lesbians, or those treated as such, are subject to evident discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

- The need for classroom interventions becomes especially clear with a study of the German BZgA (*Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung*: Federal Centre for Health Education) published in 2008, showing that only 34% of the girls and 40% of the boys dealt with homosexuality in their sex education at school. Two thirds of German pupils do not treat the issues of homosexuality and sexual orientation in classroom. At least 20% of the girls and 10% of the boys ask for more information on these topics.
- Finally, studies have shown that pupils displayed significantly higher levels of tolerance and acceptance after participation in SchLAU workshops. (Just to give an impression of the figures, general acceptance rose from 54% before the workshop to 68% after, among boys from 39% to 55%).¹²

“More than half of the teachers reported that after the pupils had completed the module on homosexuality, the atmosphere in class was much less sexist and homophobic.”¹³

As an effect of participation, many young people break away from former, mostly negative views and stereotypes and gain a more positive and

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes (2008). N= 2'610 persons.

¹¹ John Taylor Gatto (2002).

¹² Stefan Timmermanns 2003. In his doctoral dissertation Timmermanns mentored and evaluated some SchLAU projects. He published the results in “Keine Angst, die beißen nicht!” (Don't worry, they don't bite!), Norderstedt: Books on demand GmbH, 2003.

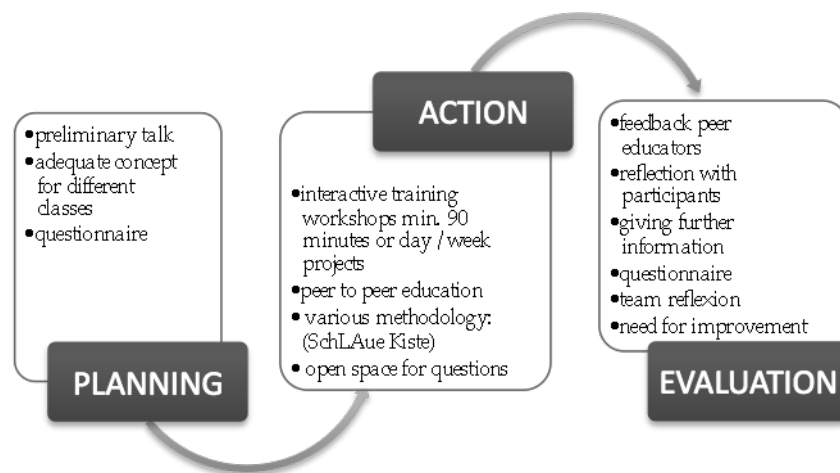
¹³ Stefan Timmermanns 2007, 50.

differentiated image of LGB people. As one of the project volunteers observed:

“Simple questions like: ‘Do you like to be gay?’ or ‘How do lesbians live?’ and authentic answers can change the way other people look at us”.

4. SchLAu’s intervention concept

There are common quality standards as a framework for all SchLAu groups. Every workshop session has three crucial key stages: planning, action and evaluation.



PLANNING means getting in touch with teachers and talking about the composition of the class, their specifics and attitudes towards homosexuality. It is clarified whether the workshop takes place at school or at the place of the local project. If requested, workshops can also be accompanied by a teacher or social worker.

In preparation of classroom interventions, we use two main methodological sources. The first is the so-called SchLAue Kiste (clever box).¹⁴ It includes sex education resource material used in schools and methodological guidelines developed by SchLAu, pertaining to the presentation of same sex relationships and lifestyles.¹⁵ It helps render the participants more aware of feelings of persons belonging to minorities. Every project possesses and uses this box.

Secondly, the manual “Different in More Ways Than One” (2004) is of major importance. This handbook includes background information and didactic guidelines for teachers and other educators. Its German version is provided by SchLAu NRW (for all German speaking count-

¹⁴ Developed and provided in 2000 by the *Ministry for Women, Youth, Family and Health* in NRW. Other social facilities also use the box for their work in different fields.

¹⁵ SchLAu NRW 2006.

ries).¹⁶ In addition, we often use the new methodological hardcover edition of the book *Sexual Diversity Education*¹⁷ that we recommend to other projects.

ACTION means peer education interventions in the form of workshops (mostly in classrooms) with narrative autobiographical elements introduced by peers who talk about their own life experience. Usually, two men and two women lead the class. Pupils sit in a circle. Important opening information for the pupils includes the phrase: "We are not here to make you gay or lesbian!" It is also important to state some clear rules of conduct, e. g. that nobody is going to insult others and that everyone has the right to talk without being interrupted. The whole undertaking is a difficult balancing act between authority and openness.

In general, a range of workshop activities is conducted, depending on the needs of the target group. The methods are adapted to the number of training days. The interventions last at least 90 minutes. The activities are interactive, experiential, and rooted in principles and practices of diversity learning for everyone. Usually two-thirds of the workshop time is spent on working with ice breakers to create a relaxed atmosphere, role-playing, painting, pictures gallery or knowledge quizzes, to name but a few.

Almost all of the methods deal with the deconstruction of stereotypes and normative social expectations. This implies a rethinking of heterosexual gender roles as well as of gay images. For most young people, this is the first time they get a conceptual framework that helps understand their own sexuality in a spectrum of sexual diversity.

The volunteers also give information about gay and lesbian history, equal rights and other theoretical issues linked to homosexuality. Knowledge is required to talk about tolerance. That's why we do our best to break down complicated theoretical notions by using diverse methods and open dialogue. However, information is neither sufficient to combat homophobic bullying and violence in schools, nor to create an open communication on LGB issues. *Information can't work alone*. The basic element in our approach is the authentic encounter (*authentische Begegnung*) of the youth with LGB people in order to provide them with some acquaintance of LGB reality in everyday life. We spend one-third (sometimes more than that) of the session time on this central method. In the workshops, many pupils are facing lesbian and gay people knowingly for the first time in their lives. This approach is the best starting

¹⁶ The manual "Different in More Ways Than One" provides guidance for teenagers on their way to identity, sexuality and respect. It was elaborated by a European project-team called "TRIANGLE" (*Transfer of Information to Combat Discrimination Against Gays and Lesbians in Europe*) and is available in Dutch, English, French, German and Italian. Germany was represented by SchLAU NRW; see <http://www.diversity-in-europe.org/>.

¹⁷ Stefan Timmermanns / Elisabeth Tuidier (2008): *Sexualpädagogik der Vielfalt*.

point in any learning process, because the dynamics of prejudice and stereotypes are based on inadequate representations of each other – and especially of *the unknown*. People often tend to prejudge others simply because they don't know them or have made no efforts to know them:

“One of them was very gay, was dressed like a gay. The other looked like a normal heterosexual.”¹⁸

Participants are encouraged to empathise with LGB peers by listening to the experiences of growing up as a lesbian or gay or bisexual person, which includes personal stories about coming out, relationships, experiences with discrimination, but also hobbies and other everyday issues. Finally, there is *open space* for asking questions (whatever they want) and for everybody to express themselves. Typical questions are “How was your coming out?”, “Does your grandfather know about you?”, “How do lesbians make sex?” or “Did you have any problems because of being lesbian or gay?” Using this method, participants share their own personal experiences and learn emotionally as well as intellectually.

EVALUATION finally means getting feedback from the participants and teachers as well as team-reflections after every workshop. Usually, we ask pupils for verbal or written comments. Giving and receiving feedback is an essential part of each awareness workshop and a vital part of team building. It helps to improve the way volunteers run the workshops, to develop their skills and behaviours and to motivate them.

5. *School without Homophobia – School of Diversity*

Creating and maintaining a diverse and inclusive environment in our society requires more than school interventions. Effectively combatting homophobia entails addressing prejudicial attitudes and discrimination in all areas of society. Politicians, local authorities, health services or companies can all positively influence the way LGB people are treated. But what can be done to achieve this?

One attempt to address this issue can be found in a campaign called *School without Homophobia – School of Diversity* (*Schule ohne Homophobie – Schule der Vielfalt*), initiated by the *regional coordination of anti-violence-programmes for lesbians and gays in NRW*¹⁹ in cooperation with *SchLAu NRW* and launched in 2008. *School without Homophobia* consists of public awareness campaigns addressing a large number of people and media *outside of schools* with messages challenging homophobia *in schools*. It is crucial that in order to create some effect on curricula and teaching, the campaign offered schools the possibility of displaying a public stand against homophobia by obtaining the label *Come in – we are open: gay*lesbian*bi*straight*²⁰. The schools need to apply on the website. In

¹⁸ Timmermanns 2007, 50.

¹⁹ Orig. *Landeskoordination Anti-Gewalt-Arbeit für Lesben und Schwule in NRW*.

²⁰ Orig. “Come in – wir sind offen: schwul*lesbisch*bi*hetero”.

order to get the label, it is necessary to come up with actions against homophobia like theatre plays, a day of diversity or awareness training. Meanwhile, eight schools in NRW show this label on their school doors. The schools are proud of being awarded with this label and celebrate it openly.

In addition to the label, the website *www.schule-der-vielfalt.de* ensures access to a database with material for teachers in a wide range of subjects²¹. *SchLAu* workshops have also been established as a central part of the campaign. In the future, the focus will be on motivating schools to run their own projects against homophobia.

The *SchLAu* classroom interventions and *Schule ohne Homophobie* are two sides of the same coin. The former provides youth with an authentic encounter with LGB people; the latter provides teachers with adequate material and creates public awareness and pressure.

6. Challenges

There are a number of challenges that need to be dealt with in order to continually improve our interventions.

1. Regarding *the biographical approach*, there is a complex tension between individual stories told by the volunteers and the generalizations these may lead to. Pupils potentially risk replacing their old clichés of LGB people with the new images they learnt from the volunteers: "I know a lesbian girl, now I know the way all lesbians are." Even if we do our best to convey a wide range of images of LGB persons and community, there seems to be no entirely satisfactory solution to this problem.
2. The *peer approach* implies a high fluctuation among the volunteers (students changing university or finishing their studies), which creates a need for more permanent employees, as a counterbalance, in order to ascertain continuity and coherence.
3. Awareness workshops trigger active thinking processes, which pupils are left alone with *after the workshops*. More common reflection and reworking are needed at that point which *SchLAu* cannot deliver. Schools should therefore take charge of it. But many teachers do not recognise this need or intentionally avoid discussions about homosexuality as a natural part of human sexualities. It is therefore essential that school staff and prospective teachers get the relevant training and be equipped with knowledge of diversity studies and anti-discrimination work. Explicit policies about homophobic bullying in schools are also needed.
4. The role of homophobic bullying at schools is an understudied and frequently overlooked theme in relation to sexual identities. We need to know what the *role and impact of homophobia* is and how schools can respond effectively to it. We also need empirical findings on the effectiveness of different versions of awareness workshops, especially in the long run.
5. The discourse on homosexuality is increasingly related to other issues such as *migration* (ethnic minorities), *religion* (being gay or lesbian and Christian or Muslim) or *racism*. Our educators often feel overwhelmed by difficult emotions or situations related to these issues.

²¹ Subjects like biology, German, foreign languages, social sciences or politics.

7. Outlook

Networking with other German awareness projects and with other European or international groups is an attractive prospect. Cooperation across the borders of the federal states in Germany is under construction.

- Since 2010, there is an offshoot of SchLAu NRW in the Bundesland Rheinland-Pfalz (Rhineland-Palatinate) which is called SchLAu RLP.
- Since 2009, SchLAu NRW and different awareness projects from Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony) cooperate and organize in-service training for their educators once a year.
- A Network-Meeting hopefully including all German awareness projects is planned for 2011. It is expected to engage best practices, solutions to problems and quality standards. As an effect, financial support by federal ministries is hoped for.

8. Conclusion

The central experience in our awareness interventions is that there is one central remedy against prejudice and clichés: encountering reality. This is manifest in the reactions of our participants. In response to the question "Have you imagined us the way we are?", the answer is quite clear in almost every case: "No. You were quite normal."

No other methodology can refute prejudice and stereotypes as effectively as the authentic encounter with lesbians, gays and bisexual people. In order to give a face to the unknown, the best way is to meet the unknown and to listen, observe and talk to them. Talking *with* each other and not *about* each other is the best way to make people aware of the ways other people live and love. The autobiographical approach significantly contributes to "normalizing" diversity within schools. Essentially, there is a deeply rooted fear about the potential "problem" of *the unknown*. Classroom interventions might be the first step in the right direction to change that.

Need for research:

Comparative analysis of the efficacy of methods in *different school forms* (Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium).

Evaluation of *long-term efficacy* (Nachhaltigkeit) of awareness programs.

Efficacy of *school responses* (policies) to homophobia.

The *role of homophobic bullying* for the formation of a gender identity and a sexual identity.

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ROLAND GFELLER

S.O.S. – Sexual Orientation & School

Approaches of Swiss Associations*

The educational system in Switzerland is affected by the multilingualism and the federalism, which delegates the political responsibility for education and further education to the 26 cantons. LGBT organizations have to face this challenge when they try to counteract homophobia and prejudices against LGBT people at schools. The multilingualism of the country has led to the establishment of two different groups that deal with homophobia in school in the two main language areas, the German and the French speaking parts. The actions taken in the different parts and by the different groups are shortly presented, before the author describes the plural approach of his own organization *Fachgruppe Bildung* that works on Sexual Orientation & School in Zurich. It consists of lobbying politicians and influencing the curricula as well as the formation and further education of the teachers. In addition, teachers are addressed directly in order to motivate them to discuss homo- and bisexuality and counter homophobia in class. Classroom interventions also exist, but play a minor role.

1. Organizations in Switzerland

In Switzerland, five organizations are engaged in the topic of Sexual Orientation & Gender Identities (SOGI) and school: *Fachgruppe Bildung*, GLL and the *ABQ Schulprojekt* in the German speaking part, PREOS and *La Boussole* in the Romandie (French speaking part).

The *Fachgruppe Bildung* (*Education expert group*)¹ and PREOS (*Prevent REjection on the basis of Sexual Orientation and gender identity*)² are borne by the Swiss Gay Organization *Pink Cross*, the Lesbian Organization Switzerland *LOS* and the association of friends and parents of Gays and Lesbians, *fels*³. The two groups mostly do political work, collaborate with key departments in the educational system and strive to raise teachers' awareness of issues related to homo- and bisexuality and transgenderism.

Classroom interventions are the object of the three other organizations. The *ABQ Schulprojekt* in canton Bern⁴ and teams of GLL (acronym for *Gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe Leben: Live Same-sex Love*)⁵ in the other parts

* Roland Gfeller is member of the *Fachgruppe Bildung* since 2007. He wrote this contribution in English, with a little help by Stéphane André and Romain Bionda for the parts concerning the Romandie (rev. by MG, corr. by VL).

¹ See <http://fg-bildung.ch>.

² Acronym of *Prévenir le REjet basé sur l'Orientation Sexuelle et l'identité de genre*.

³ Acronym of *Freunde und Eltern von Lesben und Schwulen*.

⁴ See www.abq.ch.

⁵ See www.gll.ch.

of German speaking Switzerland target 12 to 18 year-old pupils. The organization *La Boussole (The Compass)*⁶ in the Romandie is a group of professionals in education (mostly teachers) who offer (continued) formation concerning school interventions like interactive theatre play. The offer is addressed to all professionals who work with youth (at school, youth centers, hospitals etc.). The collaborators of *La Boussole* also intervene themselves in classroom, but only in higher classes.

This paper focuses on the activities of PREOS and in particular of *Fachgruppe Bildung*. Before that, the classroom interventions in the German speaking part are shortly presented and contrasted with the German experience (as described in the report of Kinkel and Bak).

1.1 School interventions

Group interventions in schools exist primarily in the German speaking part of Switzerland, because the educational system is different from the one in the Romandie, where sex education is always provided by external specialists and not by main teachers, but mainly because they are not welcome in the education departments.

The interventions prefer a biographical approach, as in Germany. Students can benefit from direct contact with homo- and bisexual people to question their prejudices and fears. The team always consists of three persons, one lesbian, one gay and, in addition, a father or a mother of a homosexual person. The parents tell the pupils how they deal with the homosexuality of their children and demonstrate how important the support of the parents is, especially for young people.

The impact of school projects is considerably limited in Switzerland, because they have to find ways of being financially feasible. Few governmental organizations support them (the authorities have now started to finance some projects in the French-speaking part of Switzerland). Although the people who work for GLL do it on an unpaid basis, the visits in classes can't be done for free because of the expenses for transport, formation etc. So schools have to pay a fee to cover the expenses, which may prevent some teachers from inviting the groups. However, in some regions there are collaborations with local organizations for sex education or with regional sections of the AIDS federation. They advertise the school projects and sometimes pay for the visits. A promotion of this kind of support in other regions is desirable.

Another problem is the lack of people who are willing and able to work in the school visiting projects. Most of the visits take place during regular working hours. The visiting volunteers therefore need to arrange this with their employers. Thus they need to come out within their company, which is not easy for everybody. A particular challenge is to find parents of gay youths and enrol them in GLL. For these reasons, a further extension of the visits to schools is limited.

⁶ See <http://www.laboussole.ch>.

1.2 PREOS

PREOS was initiated by the national organizations Pink Cross and LOS in 2007. It brought together several organizations, associations and people working in the realm of human rights, LGBT rights, health, research and education. It differs from the *Fachgruppe Bildung* in that from the beginning, it strived to include people outside the LGBT organizations. Rejection based on SOGI is often perceived as a concern of LGBT people and organizations only. From the onset, PREOS intended to change this focus and to avoid the perspective of fighting against homophobia because, so the argument runs, this lessens the experiences of bisexual, transsexual and transgender people. PREOS also stresses the importance of not being in a reaction-oriented dynamic, but rather in a prevention-oriented one. This shift of perspective has given more room for collaboration, precisely because the view is more inclusive, focussing on the underlying structures that support the various forms of rejection.

PREOS is active on several levels ranging from contacts with partners such as teachers' unions, parents' associations (which, unfortunately, has not been very successful yet), people working in the fields of sexual and mental health as well as scientists and students. The main goals of this group are to isolate the problems raised by the rejection based on SOGI, to address them from the various perspectives mentioned above, to provide suggestions to solve them and to produce didactic material that can be used both in and outside schools, as well as bringing the authorities to support this work. PREOS has worked with politicians who have been relaying the aims and information within their own parties and to the authorities and also because they felt concerned, as citizens and as elected representatives, with the topic of rejection based on sexual orientation and gender identities.

The collaboration of representatives of LGBT organizations with people from outside this "community" has proven very ambitious and rich and may lead to important results. For example, the cantons of Vaud (with its capital Lausanne) and of Geneva have created the post of an attaché for questions of homophobia and diversity (*attachée aux questions d'homophobie et de diversité*) in November 2010. It is occupied by a teacher who is responsible for sensitizing to homophobia in schools and to organize corresponding events and discussions.⁷

Generally, the topic of rejection on the basis of SOGI has been established as politically, socially, culturally and humanly important for everybody and not only as a concern of LGBT organizations.

1.3 *Fachgruppe Bildung*

The group is situated in Zurich and exists since 2006. Its objective is to integrate the topic of homosexuality in school in order to improve the

⁷ See www.mosaic-info.ch. This website, maintained financially by the two cantons, is to become the reference site for schools.

situation for lesbian and gay youths. Its members, currently eight to ten people of different sexual orientations and gender identities, all work on an unpaid volunteer basis. Some are teachers or graduated in educational studies, but most of them work in other areas. The group benefits mostly from the members' personal backgrounds and experiences as LGBT persons. New members are "learning by doing" and by reading the basic documents and publications. They often learnt about the *Fachgruppe Bildung* and got in touch with it through the national organizations Pink Cross, LOS and fels, or via conferences, mailings or press releases.

2. S.O.S. – Reasons, objectives and approaches

2.1 The need for action in schools

The umbrella organizations (Pink Cross, LOS and fels) are convinced of the need that the issues raised by SOGI be addressed in schools on all levels and in various subjects. Pupils should be taught that homo- and bisexuality are normal, equal and really existing forms of sexuality. This request is justified by various reasons.

First of all, teachers must presuppose that sexuality is a significant and relevant topic for their pupils. Youths talk about homo- and bisexuality and look for some information about it. We often hear from teachers and school visiting groups that pupils usually know little about homosexuality and are glad to be informed about it and to get to know gay people. Today's youths are the adults of tomorrow, so helping today's pupils realize that homo- and bisexuality are normal and equal to heterosexuality counteracts homophobia in the long run.

But it is not only gay people who benefit from this work. In a globalized world, contacts with minorities also represent a core competence in business and leisure. It's much easier for people without prejudices to work with people of other cultures, religions or sexual orientations.

The main reason that justifies the request for dealing with SOGI at school is, however, that many homo- or bisexual pupils suffer from rejection by their peers at school. This rejection, be it sheer discrimination or verbal or physical violence, has a negative impact on the mental and physical health: the rate of suffering from depression and even the risk of committing suicide are increased, as academic studies prove. One of the reasons for this is that young LGBT – unlike other minorities – can't always count on the support of their families. On the contrary, the situation at home often leads to or aggravates the psychological turmoil, because these youths tend to hide their sexual orientation, or otherwise face negative comments and experiences. On the other hand, studies have shown that well integrated lesbians and gays have just the same disposition for mental diseases and suicide rates as their peers. Homo- or bisexuality is not unhealthy as such, as some maintain, but discrimination on the grounds of sexuality is.

According to our experience, the impact of peer rejection is reduced if the teachers contemplate homo- and bisexuality as just another way of loving and focus on its partaking in the variety of human relationships. This helps the heterosexual peers to work on their fear of what escapes their norms, and it helps the young lesbians and gays to accept their sexuality and to relate to their social environment.

Fachgruppe Bildung issued a report that summarizes the results of different health-studies concerning young gays and lesbians with the intention to sensitize authorities, politicians and teachers. This so-called "suicide report" highlights the effects of discrimination and the efficiency of work against it.⁸

2.2 *Implicit and explicit handling*

Homo- and bisexuality can be addressed in two ways: implicitly or explicitly. When teachers talk about sexuality and heterosexual lifestyles, talking about gay and lesbian issues is an explicit treatment of the topic. This can happen in sex education classes, especially in relation with the subject of preventing sexually transmitted diseases. Youths often do not learn the basic safer sex rules at school.⁹

In lower school levels, telling the pupils that there are women who love women and men who love men is important when it comes to discussing different forms of families. Children should learn that there are not only families with a mum and a dad, but also with two mums or two dads.

The implicit way is equally important in order to create a view of the world that includes same-sex relationships as omnipresent and normal. At lower school levels, reading a fairytale or a story with a gay or a lesbian couple may help. In history classes, people might talk about the persecution of gays and lesbians in the Third Reich. It would also be useful to mention that a writer was lesbian or gay or had homoerotic tendencies, if the students read one of their works. The implicit way helps students perceive homosexuality as normal. Besides, it is far from being demanding, unlike some conservative politicians tend to say.

2.3 *Four approaches*

In order to help teachers talk about homo- and bisexuality in schools, *Fachgruppe Bildung* takes four approaches, concerning teaching material, curriculum, further education, and motivation of teachers. We work on these different levels because staying within just one proved to be ineffi-

⁸ *Suizidbericht* 2008, available in German on <http://www.fg-bildung.ch/node/111>, [7 Dec. 2010].

⁹ Depending on the place. In Geneva, e. g., pupils receive sex education three or four times, roughly at the age of 9, 11, 13 and 15. The external experts also inform them about AIDS, other venereal diseases and prevention measures like condoms (in higher classes).

cient in the past. We hope that with this variety of approaches we can reach as many teachers as possible.

2.3.1 Teaching material

Fachgruppe Bildung prepared and published an analysis of school books that offers an overview of the contents concerning homo- and bisexuality, containing detailed information about the handling of SOGI in each teaching aid.¹⁰ It is positive news that most of the books dealing with aspects of social life, families and relationships contain information about the variety of sexual orientations and depict homo- or bisexuality as a normal and equal way of loving and living one's sexuality. Unfortunately, some books treat homosexuality as a separate subject, on the same level as sodomy, prostitution or AIDS. We informed the publishers that this is unacceptable and advocated an undiscriminating way of tackling the topic.

Currently, *Fachgruppe Bildung* evaluates the demand for specific teaching material about homo- and bisexuality. At the moment, there is none in Switzerland. It also intends to create a website for teachers to help them find background information and teaching aids, including self-made material that teachers may use in class.

2.3.2 The curriculum

Because of the federal education system with 26 cantons, there are 26 cantonal education departments and respectively 26 different curricula (Rahmenlehrpläne, plans d'études). The last years have seen efforts of harmonization, which are advanced in the French, but not in the German speaking part of Switzerland.¹¹ The results of these efforts will be produced in the near future.

In spring 2009, *Fachgruppe Bildung* submitted a project for the first draft of this new curriculum, drawing the attention to the rights of homo- and bisexual pupils to be respected in class and to the importance of diversity-competence and of teaching material on LGBT issues. Contacts with the education college in Luzern that is in charge of sex education contents have been helpful in this process. So chances are that at least in sex education there will be talk about homo- and bisexuality in times to come.

Already a few years ago, the *Fachgruppe Bildung* created a *guideline for a curriculum*¹² with different possibilities to talk about diverse sexual orientations in school. This document shall be presented on our website to provide teachers with some inputs and examples.

¹⁰ *Lehrmittelanalyse* 2008, available on <http://www.fg-bildung.ch/node/110>, in German [7 Dec. 2010].

¹¹ A common curriculum of the francophone cantons has been established in 2010; see the *Plan d'Etudes Romand* (PER) sur www.plandetudes.ch [7 Dec. 2010].

¹² *Musterlehrplan* 2008, available on <http://www.fg-bildung.ch/node/109>, in German [7 dec. 2010].

2.3.3 Formation of teachers

An important future topic is the formation and further education of teachers. If teachers have opportunities to address homo- and bisexuality in their own formation, it is easier for them to deal with it later in class and it reduces their refusal to tackle these issues.

Our main goal is for each student at college to learn something about homo- and bisexuality, their discrimination and ways to deal with the latter, in a mandatory course. This way, future teachers become aware of the needs and problems of young gays and lesbians and get the motivation and the means to act against homophobia in its various forms.

Currently, *Fachgruppe Bildung* is trying to get an overview of the mandatory and optional courses in Swiss educational colleges that address SOGI. To this end, questionnaires were sent to students and professors. Based on a thorough analysis, we will suggest inputs for courses or modules and get in touch with professors and teachers concerning their implementation. Initial feedback from students shows that SOGI-topics are either almost inexistent in the lectures or not perceived by the students. It also is not part of the content about diversity issues, which is mandatory in almost all programs.

2.3.4 Motivation of teachers

Apart from these three approaches that address curricula, teaching material and teacher formation, it is of high importance to directly talk to the teachers, inform them about the importance of addressing homo- and bisexuality in class and provide them with material that they can directly use. For, on the one hand, it is well known that many teachers do not always work with the official teaching material or comply to the curriculum, but that they do their own program. On the other hand, we also have to reach teachers who work with older teaching aids and/or graduated a long time ago. One of the goals is to provide them with information and material that can be used in class. To that end, the following measures are taken:

1. We organize *conferences* that help sensitize teachers. On 16th of May 2009, the first big conference took place at the University of Zurich. About one hundred people participated in workshops and listened to the lectures. On 30th of October 2010, the second conference for teachers and professors of educational colleges concentrated on practical approaches in workshops (how to act against homophobic bullying, rights and duties of the teachers, etc.) and saw an increased number of non-LGBT teachers (according to the feed-back forms).
2. The *website fg-bildung.ch* offers information and the opportunity to send messages with questions or comments on the content. This platform may be referred to and promoted in educational colleges and teachers' unions.
3. A *cooperation with teachers' unions* is under construction, because they can support our requests on the political level and enable us to get in touch with the teachers.

4. *School visiting groups* are especially important if a teacher doesn't want to talk about homo- or bisexuality him- or herself. Many teachers think that they do not know enough about the various sexual orientations. In these cases, a visiting group or an external expert can help.

3. *Outlook*

There is a plurality of projects for the future. Our experience has shown that most of these projects can only become reality with good connections and collaboration with people in charge of education in politics, educational departments and educational colleges. To reach the goals described, it is important to maintain or establish these contacts.

II Social Sciences

The following contributions are already presented in our introduction. In addition, we want to draw attention to a continuing series of social studies on group-focused enmities that include homophobia and sexism.

Wilhelm Heitmeyer, professor of educational sciences, initiated this research at University of Bielefeld (Germany), which has led, since 2002, to the yearly publication of a barometer of group-focused enmity (GFE), entitled “German conditions” (“Deutsche Zustände”).¹

In extension to this research, Andreas Zick and Beate Küpper have conducted studies on GFE across Europe with an international team including members from France, the UK, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Hungary and Poland. A report called “European Conditions” (“Europäische Zustände”) was presented at the end of 2009.²

These surveys identify the amount of prejudice towards social groups used to legitimize social inequality. Their central statement is that social cohesion and societal consensus are threatened by disintegration, due to economic insecurity. Heitmeyer even predicts an authoritarian century. A central claim is the existence of a (social, not necessarily individual) *Syndrome of Group focused enmity*, present in all European countries studied. The GFE-syndrome consists in a strong interrelation of several elements: anti-immigrant, anti-semitic and anti-Muslim attitudes, racism, sexism and “prejudice towards homosexual persons”. The syndrome, it is said, is triggered by an ideology of inequality. Identified causes, as by Heitmeyer, comprise the “endorsement of authoritarianism”, the “rejection of diversity”, “social dominance orientation”, “political alienation” (feeling of helplessness), right-wing political orientation, perceived threats related to immigrants, religiousness and some others.³ GFE is positively correlated with higher age and lower education.

¹ Wilhelm Heitmeyer (2002–2010) (ed.): *Deutsche Zustände*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. For some details, see the text of Groneberg in this volume (paragr. 3.2.6).

² See “European Conditions. Findings of a Study on Group-focused Enmity in Europe” (2009); this text can be downloaded in English and in German from <http://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/aktuelles/europaeische-zustaende> [15 Jan. 2011]; see Wilhelm Heitmeyer / Beate Küpper / Andreas Zick (2010): Prejudices and group-focused enmity – a socio-functional perspective, in: Anton Pelinka / Karin Bischof / Karin Stögner (eds.), *Handbook Prejudice*, London: Cambria Press.

³ There are variations between countries, however: for instance, religiousness is no significant predictor of the general syndrome GFE in Germany and Hungary. In all other countries, it is only a medium or weak predictor, even in Poland, and never a strong one like authoritarianism, anti-diversity beliefs, perceived threats by immigrants and social dominance orientation.

Variations across Europe are high, though, and dramatic concerning prejudice against homosexuals,⁴ with variations between 17% rejection in the Netherlands and around 80% in Poland. Negative attitudes are also high in Western European countries with a strong influence of Catholicism, as in Italy or Portugal. The authors conclude that religiousness has a particularly strong negative impact on tolerance towards homosexuality.⁵ However, it would be unjustified to conclude that a homophobic attitude is inherent to religiousness in general, even in Catholicism. In view of the distinctions to be made among the Christian churches and between hierarchy, the believers and theology, as worked out by MICHAEL BRINKSCHRÖDER in this volume, it is important to distinguish which kind of religiousness is concerned, or more precisely: which discourses are dominant within religious groups that favour homophobia and which kind of discourse does respect and accept homosexuality and even works actively against homophobia.

⁴ Measured by disagreement with two statements: (1) "It is a good thing to allow marriages between two men or two women.", (2) "There is nothing immoral about homosexuality." Disagreement with (1) on average 53 % : 17 in NE; c. 40 in GE/GB; 53 in FR; c. 63 in PT and IT; 70 in HU; 88 in PO; with (2) on average 42 %: 17 in NE; c. 37 in GE/GB/FR; c. 43 in PT and IT; 68 in HU; 75 in PO.

⁵ Andreas Zick / Beate Küpper 2009 ("Findings", see above), 12. For several reports on the topic of religion and democracy, including a detailed report of Küpper and Zick: *Religion and Prejudice in Europe: New Empirical Findings* (London: Alliance Publishing Trust, 2010), see <http://www.nefic.org/content/6/challenging-european-democratic-gap> [24 Jan. 2011].

CAROLINE DAYER

Suffering from Homophobia*

A general analysis and a study on francophone Switzerland

This article develops the assertion that it is not homosexuality but homophobia that constitutes a source of suffering. First, the notions of homophobia and heterosexism are clarified, before proposing an interdisciplinary view of the mechanisms of stigmatization. The epistemological and methodological considerations then developed make way for the analysis of excerpts of semi-structured interviews, concerning the way people who identify themselves as homosexual experience their alterity and diverse forms of homophobia, including insult[†]. The contribution concludes with the perspective offered by reflecting on the process of socialization.

1. Introduction

It is not homosexuality but homophobia that constitutes a source of suffering.

In order to develop the subject I will begin by defining the notion of homophobia in comparison with that of heterosexism. Viewed from an interdisciplinary angle, heterosexism will be understood within the general paradigm of stigmatization, for a better comprehension of the mechanisms underlying homophobia. I will then investigate how gay and lesbian individuals become aware of their alterity, which is continually conveyed in society, including the experience of being targets of violence, especially in the form of homophobic insult. Finally, the conclusion will focus on the socialization process at stake.

I will also analyze suffering in its individual and collective dimensions, from the rupture of social ties it causes to the energy it can create, while highlighting the social construction of feelings.¹

* The present text is for the most part the translation of the author's *Souffrance et homophobie. Logique de stigmatisation et processus de socialisation* ("Suffering and homophobia: the mechanism of stigmatization and socialization processes"), published 2010 in: Susann Heenen-Wolff (ed.): *Homosexualités et stigmatisation*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Collection Souffrance et théorie), 93–115. Certain modifications and the paragraph on epistemology and methodology have been added. The text has been translated by Pedro Carol (rev. by VL), including all the authors' quotes apart from the one of Erving Goffman.

[†] Translator's note: The French word "injurer" will be translated throughout as "insult" because of its reference to the performative speech act. To retain the article's meaning, however, the reader should bear in mind the denotation of "injury" carried by the original French word, and which determines its use (instead of the French word "insulte").

¹ See Maryvonne Charmillot / Caroline Dayer / Francis Farrugia / Marie-Noëlle Schurmans 2008.

2. Homophobia and heterosexism

The term *homophobia* is problematic, as its etymology evokes fear (phobia) of the similar (homo). Consequently, the concept needs to be clarified and put into perspective with other notions.

“[Homophobia] can be defined as the general hostility, social and psychological, towards those who are thought to desire and/or engage in sexual activities with members of their own sex. Homophobia, a specific form of sexism, also rejects all those who do not conform to the pre-determined role of their biological gender. As an ideological construction consisting of the constant promotion of one form of sexuality (hetero) to the detriment of another (homo), homophobia organizes a hierarchy of sexualities and derives political consequences from it.”²

This definition is judicious in that it includes the psychological and the social dimensions, exposing both individual homophobia (rejection) and social homophobia (heterosexism³). In order to differentiate the psychological and ideological viewpoints, Eric Fassin specifies the nuance between homophobia, which targets homosexual individuals, and heterosexism, which refers to the inequality between the sexualities, showing the same parallel between misogyny and sexism. For him, this specification highlights a political issue:

“While psychology refers us to the singularity of the homosexual issue, and the rejection homosexuality provokes, ideology allows us to articulate different inequalities together. [...] Treated as heterosexism, the issue of homophobia induces reflexion, not only on the sexual order (of genders and sexualities), but also on the wider issue of minorities, paving the way for anti-discrimination politics and laws.”⁴

In the same sense, Daniel Welzer-Lang deconstructs the double naturalist paradigm, which articulates

“the *pseudo* superior nature of men, referring to masculine domination, sexism and the rigid, impassable boundaries between the genders,” and

“the *heterosexist* view of the world, where what is considered as *normal* or *natural* sexuality is restricted to sexual intercourse between men and women. The other sexualities, homosexualities, bisexualities, transsexualities... being, at best, defined or admitted as *different*.”⁵

The framework of exclusion that heterosexism creates is, therefore, not limited to homosexuality; whether it be affirmed or presumed, a question of desire or of acts. Every form of sexuality that differs from heterosexuality, every person who crosses the borders of gender, all are devalued. On one hand, homophobia goes beyond gays and lesbians (general homophobia), while on the other it comes in different, particular forms (specific homophobia), such as

² Daniel Borrillo 2000, 26–27.

³ This term, like homophobia, can be ambivalent. What it pertains to and its relevance will therefore be specified.

⁴ Eric Fassin 1999, 37–38.

⁵ Daniel Welzer-Lang 1998, 109.

- lesbophobia (targeting lesbians, doubly discriminated: as women and as homosexuals)
- gayphobia (targeting male homosexuals)
- biphobia (targeting bisexual individuals)
- transphobia (targeting transsexual or transgender individuals, as well as cross dressers, *drag queens* and *drag kings*).

Related concepts

Heterosexism is criticized by Adrienne Rich (1980) who shows the omnipresence of *compulsory heterosexuality*, by Christine Delphy (1998), who deconstructs the political economy of the *patriarchy* and by Monique Wittig (1992), who analyzes the way in which *heteronormativity* functions like a political system. These critiques challenge the production of dichotomies such as heterosexuality / homosexuality, man / woman, masculine / feminine, stressing the constructed nature of these categories and the underlying relations of domination.⁶ This kind of categorization determines all forms of stigmatization.

3. *Interdisciplinary perspective*

The process of stigmatization is analyzed here through four disciplinary approaches.⁷

3.1 *Binary Classifications (socio-anthropology)*

The socio-anthropological approach shows that classificatory thinking allows one to organize and treat the information perceived in the environment, and does not rely, *a priori*, on a normative basis. However, the production of categories is intertwined with power relations, thus generating inequality. The two terms of a dichotomy are not equally valorized, and the binarisms precede from a divisive organization which reinforces them. The thought and action patterns are upheld by a system of differences that appears natural, but the founding principles of which are arbitrary.

3.2 *The processes (social psychology)*

The social psychology approach clarifies the processes. The distinction between a “normal” and a “different” individual is established upon the basis of a norm that is not the result of the natural organism’s functioning. Instead, this distinction is socially acquired and amounts to a value judgment based on social prerequisites. The concepts of ingroup and outgroup facilitate the understanding of how rejection of the “other” operates.

⁶ This naturalization of categories is also questioned by the *queer* perspective (notably Judith Butler 1990; Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick 1990, 1998), which develops the notion of performativity (see Caroline Dayer 2010a).

⁷ See also Caroline Dayer 2005, 2010a.

“[The ingroup] consists of the people one has categorized as belonging to one’s own group membership, and with whom one tends to identify with.”⁸

The outgroup consists of those one has categorized as belonging to a different group than one’s own. This categorization is founded upon stereotypes, i. e. on “implicit theories about the personality that the members of another group – or one’s own – share.”⁹ Also to be noted is that

“[when these characteristics] are projected onto all the individuals of the concerned minority in a generalized fashion, despite the existence of individual differences, such value judgments become, as stereotypes, erroneous and detrimental.”¹⁰

The concept of stereotype is part of a triad, along with that of prejudice:

An attitude of adversity and/or a predisposition towards negative behaviour towards a group or its members, based on erroneous and rigid generalizations;¹¹

and that of discrimination:

“any negative behaviour directed against a member of an outgroup as a result of prejudice towards that group.”¹²

While the concepts of stereotype (belief), prejudice (attitude) and discrimination (action) help clarify the process of stigmatization, those of ingroup and outgroup are seen to be unsatisfactory, due to their rigid, univocal and immovable nature. They do not allow one to apprehend the way in which individuals identify with different groups, the fluidity and multiplicity of identities as well as the critical work elaborated around the boundaries.

3.3 *Stigma (sociology)*

The sociological approach calls upon Erving Goffman’s concept of stigma (1963), and the distinction he proposes between a discredited and a discreditable person, allowing for the analysis of the social customs and strategies elaborated by individuals during social interaction. Indeed, the concept of stigma allows us to understand and take into account the elements that place certain individuals in a particular category, as well as the interactions between “abnormal” individuals and other members of society. Goffman lists three major kinds of stigma:

- Physical deformity
- Character flaws
- Ethnic or national origins

⁸ Richard Bourhis / André Gagnon 1994, 715.

⁹ Jacques-Philippe Leyens 1983, 67.

¹⁰ Richard Bourhis / André Gagnon 1994, 722.

¹¹ See Gordon Willard Allport 1954.

¹² Richard Bourhis / André Gagnon, 1994, 771.

These three types of stigma accumulate the same sociological traits, in the sense that

“an individual who might have been received easily in ordinary social intercourse possesses a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of us whom he meets away from him, breaking the claim that his other attributes have on us. He possesses a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated. We and those who do not depart negatively from the particular expectations at issue I shall call the *normals*.”¹³

The stigma of a discredited individual is known to others and that person will consequently be confronted with all sorts of reprobation. As for the discreditable individual, their stigma is yet unknown and they will constantly adapt the information that concerns them. When the difference is not immediately detectable, nor yet known, every situation carries the question of hiding or revealing it. The context is equally important: a person may be discredited in one situation, discreditable in another. Consequently, discreditable individuals will implement strategies to avoid being the object of stigmatization and a target of abuse of which insult is the most common.

3.4 *Insult (linguistics)*

The communication and language sciences approach focuses on the notion of insult. Didier Eribon (1999) uses the notion of performative utterance (John Austin, 1962) – to be distinguished from constative utterances which describe and thus can be true or false – in order to highlight the effects of insult. The insult has the power to assign its recipient to a state of inferiority and call attention to their deviating difference; above all, it has the power to injure. Eribon stresses that insults such as “fucking faggot”, “fucking dyke”, “fucking nigger” or “fucking Jew” not only announce to a person who they “are”, but belong to a repeated series of speech acts which constitute the tip of a normative ideological system. Moreover, the insult is both individual and collective: it can target one individual – tying them to a particular group – and it can address a group, all the while affecting each of its members. Eribon notes that the stigmatized individuals understand their difference under the impact of insult, because they discover that they are someone about whom a certain *demeaning* discourse can be emitted.

“One of the consequences of insult is to shape one’s relation to others and the world. And thus shape the personality, the subjectivity, the very being of an individual.”¹⁴

¹³ Erving Goffman 1975, 5.

¹⁴ Didier Eribon 1999, 30. For more on the power of words, including that of inflicting harm, see Judith Butler (1997), who develops the notions of *hate speech* and *linguistic agency*. She refers to John Austin, among others, and revisits the concept of interpellation proposed by Louis Althusser, while underlining its social and normative character. She places at the center of her perspective the idea of subversive resignification.

The issue, then, is the way in which individuals – in this case, homosexuals – experience this discovery, on one hand, and the spectre of insult on the other.

4. *Epistemological and methodological considerations*

In order to treat this double issue concerning homophobic stigmatization I will found my observations on semi-structured interviews with men and women (aged 19 through 71) living in French-speaking Switzerland, and who identify themselves as homosexual¹⁵. The analysis involves the experiences of homosexual individuals, from the singular confrontation with insult to the elaboration of collective actions, as well as the passage from an assigned identity to the processes of becoming an actor¹⁶.

Conducting research on the experiences of homosexual individuals implies questions of an epistemological and methodological nature. Firstly, who is homosexual? The person who has romantic feelings for someone of the same sex? The one who fantasizes about that individual, or is either sexually or platonically attracted to him/her? Is it the one who “does it”, and if so, what kind of “it”? Is it the person who has had, has or will have a durable relationship? Or is it the person who only has relationships with members of the same sex?

The multiplicity of life stories and their evolution in time, the diverse manifestations and lifestyles, all serve to underline the permeability of boundaries and the fragility of categories. One cannot reduce these existences to predefined conceptualizations, nor to a tick in a box on a questionnaire, offering only a rigid binarism with which not everyone can identify, i. e. that of heterosexual/homosexual.

It is therefore not only a question of asking ourselves who can be defined as homosexual, but also of who decides thereupon. Do the methods implemented in the research reflect the conceptions and viewpoints of the researchers, or of the actors? There is a high risk of *a priori* definitions of the subject at hand, considering the vehement categorization concerning non-heteronormative individuals, their inferiorized status and the discourse about them which does not correspond to what they think, feel and live. Focusing on the latter is a means of making their voices heard, of promoting access to and highlighting their own significance.

In order to avoid processes of pre-categorization and standardization, I choose to rely on an approach based on questioning categorical thinking, with the resolve to transform these boundaries into tensions through negotiation and transactional processes that cannot silence the dimensions of language and history. Consequently, my approach is that

¹⁵ See also Caroline Dayer 2005, 2010a.

¹⁶ See the definition of “actorialité” in the next note.

of socio-historical interactionism, based on the epistemological paradigm of understanding, in that it considers

“the human individual not exclusively from an angle of *agentité*¹⁷, i. e. subject to external and constraining forces, but also from the angle of his/her *actorialité*, i. e. as reacting to the constraining events, participating in the construction of his/her history and – partially – in what it will become. [...] The action is contemplated and developed through interaction with others.”¹⁸

This paradigm proves pertinent in dealing with the elaboration of life experiences and the meaning produced by these individuals when they confront the systems of classification constructed throughout history, as well as in treating their current interactions and the way in which they work on them. It is through spoken interactions that the experience’s significance can be communicated.

For this reason, the semi-directive interview constitutes the most appropriate methodological tool with which to approach these aspects, allowing us to expose processes of negotiation and the meanings produced by the individuals, using their viewpoints and experiences as starting points:

“The interview-based research is the most adequate tool for exploring facts of which language is the primary vector. These facts involve representational systems (constructed ideas), and social practices (experienced elements).”¹⁹

For Didier Demazière and Claude Dubar,

“the interviews never render ‘facts’, but ‘words’. These words express what the interviewee experiences, or has experienced; their view of the world, which is their world, defined in their own way. [...] Language is not transparent, but constitutes a complex dialogical construction.”²⁰

In the same order of ideas, and in order to avoid predefinition of the subject through *a priori* categorization, Kauffman specifies that

“[the comprehensive interview] inverses the phases of subject construction: the fieldwork is no longer an instance of verifying a pre-established issue, but the starting point of its problematization.”²¹

This conception of the research interview as an instrument of demarcation deserves particular attention, because it is not an obvious one. Indeed, one commonly learns of studies based on the hypothetico-

¹⁷ Translator’s note: The recently developed notions of “agentité” and “actorialité” seem not to have correlating terms in English. Marie-Noëlle Schurmans describes “agentité” as “typifying situations in which one represents oneself as being ‘acted upon’ by exterior constraints, whether they be other people or random circumstances.” This concept is presented in opposition to “actorialité”, defined as “when one represents oneself as the author of the action one develops in collective activity.” (Schurmans 2001; see also 2003b).

¹⁸ Marie-Noëlle Schurmans 2003, 56.

¹⁹ Alain Blanchet / Anne Gotman 1992, 25.

²⁰ Didier Demazière / Claude Dubar 2004, 7.

²¹ Jean-Claude Kaufmann 1996, 20.

deductive model (characterized by the *a priori* definition of categorical principles), in which the data had been produced by interview.²² In an analysis of the evolution of discourses and debates concerning research interviews, Jean Poupart (1993) shows that even though these begin to be considered, since the seventies, from a more constructivist perspective, in which the discourse is seen as a co-construction between interviewers and interviewees, their current conception is still very much linked to a positivistic view. In other words, many researchers use the interview without adhering to its founding epistemological principles, i. e. without taking into account the “discursive context of the speaker.”²³

The position I adopt refers therefore to a conception of the interview, not as “collecting data”, but as an interactive device constituting an occasion for co-constructing the information required for the research. Marie-Noëlle Schurmans indicates that life stories, beyond their irreducible specificities, outline both exceptional and familiar situations. She adds that it is

“by basing our observation on the significant categories identified in the interviewee’s discourse – and not on objective conditions of existence – that we will be able to identify the wireframe – the principles of differentiation – which unite certain accounts and distinguishes them from others.”²⁴

The focus is placed upon the individual’s interpretations and not those imposed by the researcher. During the interview, terms such as *homosexual*, *gay*, *lesbian*, or *coming out* are not used if the interviewee does not use them, in order to avoid inducing certain notions and to focus on the vocabulary and definitions particular to the interviewee. For the above-mentioned reasons, these terms refer to individuals who identify themselves as homosexual²⁵, all the while questioning the way in which they define themselves. Their discourse exposes different experiences of homophobia and the mechanisms of heterosexism.

5. *Realization and feelings: the predominance of suffering*

The sensation of not conforming to the norm, of being deformed, defamed and deviant, generates feelings of suffering. We will also see how becoming aware of one’s “invisible” alterity provokes withdrawal and social isolation.

²² See Maryvonne Charmillot / Caroline Dayer 2007.

²³ Alain Blanchet 1985, 14.

²⁴ Marie-Noëlle Schurmans 2003, 66.

²⁵ The corpus’ diversity is seen in the variety of local origins; of present places of residence; of urban or rural zones; of nationalities; of religious beliefs; of the socio-professional class of the interviewee as well as that of their parents; of one’s social status (single, in a couple, with children); of one’s living situation (with one’s partner or not); of one’s participation (or not) in homosexual associations.

While some had trouble identifying their experience and putting it into words, others rapidly understood that the homophobic insult and stigma was addressed to them. The realization, be it experienced as a trigger or as progress, comes with an impression of inadequacy vis-à-vis the dominant models:

“I felt bizarre when I understood I liked men, it differentiated me from the others and I wondered why I wasn’t normal.” (Guillaume)

It is not easy to express the experienced impressions. A feeling of abnormality regarding social conventions translates as the impression of being filthy or doing something wrong, leading to the interrogation over the possibility of living the life of a “deviant”:

“I wouldn’t let myself live because I thought it was something not normal, that it was foul; I didn’t know where it came from and had no other cases around me, there was no possible identification to something, to the possibility of living as a homo in this society.” (Anaïs)

The individuals are sometimes led to self-censoring, and heterosexism deprives them of identification resources. The predominant feeling is that of shame:

“I was ashamed of myself, and when someone would say ‘make a wish’ I would think ‘I wish I wasn’t gay’. It was the worst that could happen to me, I was unhappy, it was a disaster; it was like having a cleft lip from birth, except I couldn’t operate nor talk about it.” (Pascal)

The comparison with the cleft lip reminds us of the category of stigmas related to deformity.²⁶ As for the stigma of homosexuality – even though it is not immediately perceptible, allowing the individual to regulate the boundary between the status of discredited and discreditable – it cannot be “rectified” and consequently plunges the “abnormal” individual into silence and withdrawal:

“I felt pain due above all to the problem of accepting myself, of not being the person I had intended to be, because I hadn’t imagined my future this way. You don’t talk about it because you don’t accept it, and you suffer.” (Véronique)

The feeling of shame, associated with that of guilt, is experienced vis-à-vis oneself and others:

“I like being with a man, but it’s extremely difficult on the level of society, others and especially family and myself. Guilt was part of the process, and when I would try to put it aside it would come back in my face even stronger.” (Guillaume)

Nadine feels guilty towards her parents and family, for being different from the models they transmitted. A demarcation forms between the identity for oneself and the identity for others:

“I had a history of heterosexuality and then I became homosexual. When I realized it, I told myself I was crazy, it wasn’t disgust but shame, be-

²⁶ Erving Goffman 1963.

cause no one had ever explained it to me; according to the education I had, I couldn't be like this." (Nadine)

The realization of alterity and the shame felt go hand in hand with another feeling, that of fear:

"It was painful to feel unlike everyone else, to be different; it was horrible to be in a group and see all your girlfriends talking to you about guys. I was ashamed and afraid of being rejected." (Anne)

"For a long time I didn't say it, out of fear of rejection, of people being ashamed of me." (Nora)

Sooner or later, homosexual individuals realize that the homophobic stereotypes are about them. They feel isolated and do not dare speak to members of the outgroup; the fear of hurting and disappointing one's family, friends or co-workers blocks the desire to communicate:

"I don't dare tell my father, as he is from a rich family; it's as if I would ruin the family's hopes." (Mike)

"As far as my mother's concerned, I've never expressed that I was homosexual; I'm blocked by fear, I'm afraid she will renounce me and above all I'm afraid I'll hurt and sadden her." (Florence)

The realization of distance from the dominant norm also causes the fear of suffering in a hostile world:

"It was the fear of exclusion, of being rejected, judged, of not being able to move freely in a universe without being stuck with this label. This harshness with myself came from the fear of suffering, of living in a hostile world, one that is not made for me." (Pauline)

The realization of the stigma and the feelings of shame and fear that ensue plunge the individuals into solitude:

"When I became aware, it was really difficult, I felt very alone for two years and really wanted to tell my girlfriends but I didn't dare." (Anne)

"Lack of information kept me from accepting myself, I thought I was sick; not sick, but alone, I thought I was the only lesbian." (Véronique)

The lack of references and the solitude bring with them the issue of acceptance, by others and oneself:

"At first I was in a state of solitude and was doing really badly, I couldn't see any way out; I didn't know how I'd be able to live, being gay." (Guillaume)

"I wondered whether I'd be accepted or whether I'd remain miserable and isolated all my life." (Anaïs)

"It was a very difficult period of my life, a period of solitude based on my inability to accept myself. I was always sick, not really living anymore, and hardly ever going out. I had shut myself out from the world." (Nadine)

This withdrawal comes with self-denial, taking their toll on both body and mind:

"It was a period of emptiness, withdrawal, self-denial, during which no emotions could be expressed. I had no one with which to identify; it's a

wall of silence that leaves physical and psychological scars. I think society gravely harms individuals that are different, because affective relationships constitute a primordial part of their lives.” (Roxane)

Lack of information, of any frame of reference or recognition, and the impossibility to identify: the construction of identity is generally a negative process, with either absent, derogative or inaccessible representations. The socialization of homosexual individuals is particular, not only in regard to heterosexism, but also because the realization of their stigma is a solitary process. Contrary to other stigmatized groups, the homosexual individual does not receive the immediate benefit of contact and reference people. Black and Jewish individuals “share the stigma” with their families and with people of their communities; they have a common cultural and historical patrimony. Instead, the homosexual individual must search for “significant others” in order to construct his/her identity, others that are not necessarily identifiable, or immediately available. Moreover, the question of mentioning or not one’s own homosexuality is constantly reactivated.

The discovery of one’s own homosexuality triggers the emergence of a multitude of feelings, which can also cause one to be emotionally overwhelmed. Anaïs recalls the initial lies, followed by a progressive change of her relation to herself, her loved ones and the world in general; she speaks of a rebirth:

“Before my conscious awakening I wasn’t sincere with people because I had to lie, I was not at all myself; I did nothing with my feelings, but acted the way I had been told to. I felt miserable with myself, my life felt meaningless. In my circle of friends it was all ‘You study, you marry, you have kids’, there were no other possible schemas. My discovery sparked a wave of feelings, it was overwhelming, this period when you discover yourself, you start doing what you want to do, you become yourself; everything changed in my life, even my relation to people, my family, everybody.” (Anaïs)

Being able to articulate what one feels and “who one is” is experienced as liberating, a source of joy. Self-discovery and secrecy are not exclusively tainted by suffering; they can also have positive effects:

“It was a mixed bag of feelings, excitement, pleasure, euphoria and pain.” (Guillaume)

“It’s great to find your own identity, to shape yourself; it was like a birth, a painful blooming, a feeling of well-being and immeasurable joy and, at the same time, of immense fear, a terrible withdrawal into oneself.” (Roxane)

“It was terrible and at the same time wonderful, because I had to live a hidden life, which spiced things up; but it was also very difficult, not really existing.” (Florence)

While the feelings of suffering are predominant, they are not the only ones that accompany the processes of discovery and learning of difference. The feeling of incongruity is also a source of reflection, upon one-

self and the world. Shame provokes self-assertion. Didier Eribon speaks of the mute energy that feeds on shame, formed by and within it, and which acts as a transformational force; the wounds feed the creative energies that “produce that capacity and will to transform oneself, and the necessary energy to do so.”²⁷ These wounds are notably the result of the performative component of insult, which has the power to damage those who are assigned a status of inferiority.

6. *The spectre of insult*

Insult is not isolated: it is determined by a system that allows for it to be expressed and renewed. From stereotype to discrimination, symbolic to physical violence, rejection to extermination, insult lies within a *continuum* of homophobic expression. The spectre of insult looms; both discredited and discreditable individuals adjust their behaviour, trying to evade it. Insult brands the individual’s socialization and construction of identity:

“At school, all my classmates would call me faggot, pansy; it was the worst time of my life.” (Pascal)

Homophobic insults fuse in the school context, and are not always uttered by students:

“I got beat up in high school; the principal told me: ‘I’ll take your locker keys, you’re not to set foot here again.’ It was direct homophobia, just like my German teacher who said to one of my friends, in front of the whole class as we came in, that she shouldn’t spend time with me if she didn’t want to become like people of my kind.” (Héloïse)

Here is a case of explicit homophobia from figures of authority such as the principal or a teacher in front of a public of students. But insult is not only in the schoolyards. The interviewees emphasize the presence of homophobic jokes – and sexist ones as lesbians point out – in their workplace, and the difficulty they have to feel free to talk about homosexuality. The extra-academic and extra-professional spheres do not escape the spectre of homophobic insult, present in the street, sport clubs, etc. Anaïs felt hurt and insulted when the bouncers of a nightclub excluded her from a party, calling her a “fucking lesbian.” From letters-to-the-editor in newspapers to internet forums, from specialized discourses to popular opinion, homophobic insult and stereotypes proliferate everywhere²⁸.

Insult is particularly painful to experience when it is uttered by one’s family members. Contrary to other stigmatized groups, the homosexual individual does not necessarily find in their family circle people who might understand and support them. Because of the hostility of the environment, gays and lesbians have all the more need for points of

²⁷ Didier Eribon 1999, 51.

²⁸ For detailed examples, see Caroline Dayer 2007 and Dayer in press.

reference in their close circle of relations. Contempt and rejection are not uncommon and can also concern friendships:

“My best friend, whom I lost because of her lack of understanding, had a completely homophobic reaction, and it hurt all the more because she was a friend with whom I had built something solid, who was close to me and whom I trusted.” (Florence)

The insult is effective without even being uttered:

“I have never been called a ‘fucking faggot’ to my face, but the fact that it might happen worries me, so I’m careful.” (Guillaume)

Amongst the silent kinds of homophobia, invisibilization and hypocrisy creep latently, implicitly:

“The most perverse homophobia is latent; it’s when someone tells you that homosexuality doesn’t bother them at all, but deep down that’s not at all what they think.” (Sébastien)

As for physical abuse, it constitutes a more patent form of homophobia. These experiences are heavily influential and do not only concern homosexual men, as the discourse of the lesbian interviewees illustrates. The fear of homophobia is exacerbated in certain situations:

“I have close friends who were victims of verbal and physical abuse. I always think it can’t happen to me, that I’m not worried about it, but my behaviour betrays me and proves the contrary: I’m scared it might happen to me, since I don’t dare hold my girlfriend’s hand in public. It’s above all in situations in a hostile environment, like the train station, where I would never dare be affectionate with my girlfriend. I say I’m not scared but, deep down, I’m scared of homophobia; indeed, all my behaviour until now shows just that.” (Roxane)

Every interaction is analyzed by the homosexual individual to evaluate the amount of risk at stake. A topographical depiction – with ever shifting landmarks – is sketched out, determining areas where some forms of behaviour may occur, or not:

“I try not to think of homophobia but it actually does scare me, it disgusts and angers me. My behaviour depends on where I am: if we’re in such-and-such a neighbourhood, I’ll be careful.” (Nora)

“The only times I’m referred to as a lesbian is jokingly, on behalf of other homosexuals.” (Anne)

It is interesting to note the reversal of the stigma when members of the ingroup appropriate the insult, turning it into a sign of complicity and affection. However, the interviewed individuals also note a process of re-stigmatization within the ingroup, between gays and lesbians, and amid gays as well as amid lesbians. This form of discrimination, between peers, is all the more harsh considering that many individuals build a second family amidst the ingroup, within which they do not expect to experience homophobia.

The most difficult form of homophobia to cast off is interiorized homophobia, because its origin is unexpected: oneself. Interiorized homophobia refers to the interiorization of heterocentric norms and

shame, resulting notably from insult. Didier Eribon notes that homosexual individuals evolve in a world of insult:

“The world insults them, speaks of them. Everyday language, as well as the discourse of psychiatry, politics and law: all assign each one of them – and all of them collectively – to an inferior status in the social order. But this language precedes them: the world of insult is there before them, seizing them before they can even know who they are.”²⁹

The homophobic stigmatization makes its mark on the socialization of gays and lesbians.

7. Conclusion: in terms of socialization

Both the primary and secondary socialization of gays and lesbians is determined by homophobia and the spectre of insult. According to Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1986), socialization is a part of the interiorization phase, which partakes in the dialectical process constituting the social construction of reality. These authors explain how primary socialization, taking place during childhood, allows the individual to become a member of society, primarily through one’s family, whereas secondary socialization refers to the processes allowing one to approach new sectors.

The research and analysis above exposes the socialization of gays and lesbians as conditioned by heterosexist restraints, causing physical and psychological harm. Discovering and learning to cope with the stigma comes mainly – albeit not exclusively – with feelings of suffering and, in particular, of shame; shame of one’s self, one’s body and the unwanted difference; shame towards oneself and towards others.

The feelings of shame and the spectre of insult modify one’s relation to the world. Fear of discrimination, of rejection, and the feeling of incongruity provoke withdrawal and the rupture of social ties. This solitude is reinforced by the fact that significant others are not available from the start, while referential frameworks and positive images and references with which to identify are absent.

The individuals must first deconstruct the schemas of their education in order to accept themselves: they find themselves in divergence, not only with their family and friends, but also with the societal norms that they have assimilated. This inculcation of compulsory heterosexuality occurs everywhere: from educational to professional spheres, from everyday language to specialized discourses, whether they be of a political, religious, judicial or scientific nature.

Placing homophobia in perspective with heterosexism, while inscribing it within the general paradigm of stigmatization, allows us to observe parallels with other forms of discrimination. It also highlights the fact that those who depart from heteronormativity do not benefit

²⁹ Didier Eribon 1999, 108.

from sufficient resources and references, nor do they receive the same amount of protection as do members of other stigmatized groups.

Need for research:

Qualitative research on national and international levels on the ways homosexual persons experience different forms of homophobia, and on their strategies to deal with homophobia on different levels, individually and collectively.

Explore and compare different experiences of personal coming out. Identify the (social) resources that are used and invented in the process.

Mechanisms of the intergenerational circulation: Studies on the intergenerational transmission of history, experience and common resources among homosexual persons, especially comparing the transmission among gays and that among lesbians.

Analysis of the role of education in general and as a transmitter of homophobic tendencies in particular.

Qualitative research on the experiences of the links between homophobia and sexism.

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ARNOLDAS ZDANEVIČIUS

Challenging Invisibility of Gays and Lesbians in Lithuania

The Case Study *Open and Safe at Work**

The main interest of this article is to reflect on the research during the project *Open and Safe at Work* (ATVIRI) and to examine why homosexuality in post-soviet societies such as Lithuania still remains invisible and how homophobia and the underlying heteronormativity may be challenged. To achieve this, the distinction of *queer knowledge* and *knowledge about queers* is used in the description of how the invisibility of LGBT is embedded in the Lithuanian institutions and what the problems are for sexual minorities in the process of building identity and/or coming out in a situation that is to be characterized as *cultural paralysis*. Finally, a model of public opinion change is briefly examined, drawing on the analysis of queer theory.

1. Introduction: preliminaries and the concept of knowledge about queers

Concepts such as *queer*, *sexual minorities*, *homosexuals* and *LGBT* all have their advantages and shortcomings depending on context and discourse. In the following text, I choose the term *queer* because of its generality. It includes not only LGBT but also others that might have homosexual experiences and yet do not identify as lesbians, gays, bisexual or transgender persons.

The contribution presents the results of my reflections and self-reflections on the possibilities of challenging heteronormativity in a homophobic society like Lithuania. Since these reflections are part of a research project, some background information will be provided on the EQUAL project *Open and Safe at Work* (ATVIRI) that we conducted at the Sociology Department of Vytautas Magnus University in 2005–2007.¹

The main argument of this article rests on the idea that hegemonic heterosexuality, heteronormativity and homophobia are most success-

* The author who participated in the ATVIRI project has written this contribution in English (corrected by MG and VL). The concepts of truth and knowledge used in this contribution are essentially social terms: neither does truth imply correspondence with reality, nor does knowledge mean true beliefs. The terms rather denote what is, in a society or by sections of it, held as truth and what is taken to be knowledge.

¹ The project was funded by the European Union (EQUAL programme) and the Lithuanian Government. The major outcomes of this project and research can be found in the following publications: Jolanta Reingardienė (later Reingardė) / Arnoldas Zdanevičius 2006, Arnoldas Zdanevičius 2007 a and b. We have conducted 38 interviews with LGBT people from Lithuania and a representative survey of Lithuanian inhabitants (N=1005). See more about the project at www.atviri.lt.

fully challenged by both *queer knowledge* and *knowledge about queers*. *Knowledge about queers* refers not only to “scientific” myths about homo- and transsexuality, but also to public sets of beliefs, attitudes and opinions. It depends on values and stereotypes which are constructed by media, politics and civic groups, but also on the *coming out* of sexual minorities and on LGBT persons going public. Furthermore, knowledge about queers is affected by research on queers that might break the *heteronormative grid*.² Knowledge of homosexuality and exposure of homosexuality in public become a danger for heterosexual norms. As it is argued by the Polish anthropologist Grazina Kubica (2006),

“the [heteronormative] grid is constantly threatened with disintegration and therefore generates homophobic acts of performative heterosexuality.”

It is valuable to analyze how knowledge about queers affects heteronormativity and queers themselves. Thus, the question is to know what sort of knowledge about queers is the most unwelcome in post-soviet homophobic society and what the obstacles for the formation of *queer knowledge* and a corresponding *knowledge about queers* consist of.

2. Queering knowledge and values in a homophobic context

We may take for granted, especially since Karl Mannheim and Karl Marx, that human knowledge is ideological and connected to certain values. Using this concept of knowledge serves to stress the normative implications of knowledge and the values and valuations in the construction of meaning which are, in Piotr Sztompka’s words,

“no longer treated as bias, nor as ideology, but as the immanent part of meaning that informs human individual and collective action.”³

Bent Flyvberg in his famous *Making Social Science Matter* claims that the whole point of social research is to establish dialogue with society and individuals and to help them reflect on their values: “The aim is to make moral debate a part of public life.”⁴ Therefore, asking how to queer homophobic knowledge, meanings and values implies three questions relating knowledge, values and norms:

- Does this knowledge challenge homophobia or does it contribute to it?
- Is this desirable?
- What should be done?

² Drawing on Judith Butler’s (1993) formulations of the technologies of sexual subjectification, Matii Bunzl (1997, 146) explains the *heteronormative grid* as “the social technology that constitutes, preserves, and (falsely) naturalizes heterosexuality as the privileged (and unmarked) site of sociosexual identity formation through the constitutive abjection and structured devaluation of a homosexual Other. In this sense, the term references the hetero/homo binary while emphasizing the heterosexist valence underlying its continuous reproduction and self-evident naturalization”.

³ Piotr Sztompka 2009, 49.

⁴ Bent Flyvberg 2001, 63.

The distinction of *queer knowledge* and *knowledge about queers* underlines that we are confronted with two distinct phenomena which are nevertheless related.

Queer knowledge could be described as a sort of self-knowledge. It is knowledge of the "homosexual role", based on the knowledge of queers about themselves and about other queers. *Queer knowledge* englobes queer awareness and queer practices. Using Michel Maffesoli's concept of "tribes",⁵ it is some sort of tribal knowledge that is socially construed in the process of identity building, taking place first of all in relation to similar and "significant other" queers. *Knowledge about queers*, on the other hand, is primarily a cultural product of heteronormativity, at least in contemporary post-soviet societies. It is affected by stereotypes and prejudices against homosexuality and transgenderism, which are perpetuated by heteronormative institutions such as the churches, education, science, media, politics, etc. At the same time, the heteronormative grid and heterosexualized knowledge surrounds queers themselves, enforcing internalized homophobia and obstructing queer self-consciousness, identity building and politics.

My theoretical point of departure is the idea that *knowledge about queers* is a "field of cultural production", using Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) concept, where different agents of knowledge such as experts, lay people, media, scientists and queers themselves are competing in order to construct "truth" about homosexuals and transgenders. Knowledge is thus conceptualized not as true beliefs that fit reality and not only as awareness of certain cultural symbols and of their meanings, but also as encompassing values, valuations and certain traditions of thinking, implying a specific understanding of those "truths".

One of such "truths" was and still is the normative stance that (homo)sexuality is a private matter. Recent studies on homosexuality in post-soviet societies demonstrate that homosexuality is mostly closeted and that visibility of queers is considered as a breakdown of the normative order and thus unwelcome.⁶ The Latvian anthropologist Aivita Putnina in Latvia has emphasized the difference in the traditions of thinking about (homo)sexuality between the "old" and the "new" Europe in her analysis of homophobia. According to her, during Soviet times discourse on sexuality in general was silenced, such that the development of a critical discourse on sexuality was prevented: "Silenced expression of sexuality is preferred over its discussion aloud".⁷ It might also be argued that the hegemonic heteronormative discourse in post-soviet society is strengthened by the very idea of the post-communist ideology that there is only one "truth" about life, society, family,

⁵ See Michel Maffesoli 1996, orig. 1988.

⁶ See Marta Abramowicz 2007, Roman Kuhar 2006, Alenka Svab / Roman Kuhar 2005, Jolanta Reingardė 2007, Arnoldas Zdanevičius 2007 a, b.

⁷ Aivita Putnina 2006, 11.

sex, etc. It is perhaps no accident that one of the Lithuanian lesbians from our research team compared herself and all LGBT community in post-soviet Lithuania to *political dissidents* who fought against the communist regime for Lithuania's independence.⁸ To be queer in a post-soviet society means to be hidden, silenced and under constant oppression or domination by the hegemonic heteronormativity, to be under control of this power and to be under constant threat of being exposed to its detrimental effects. It is perhaps because of this enacted discursive practice "to keep (homo)sexuality in privacy" that, in contrast to everyday performances of heterosexuality, queer visibility increasingly spawns homophobic reactions such as banning public queer events or silencing homosexuality in all institutions, primarily in education.

The task is to find out what sort of *knowledge about queers* leads to homophobic reactions and why. The fact that this is a burning issue is indicated by the persisting message received from the informants in our interviews: "Is coming out a rational choice?"⁹ It therefore seems worthwhile to explore how knowledge about queers and thus queers themselves become vulnerable in societies where a one-truth system is valued more than a plurality of "truths".

Gay and lesbian history is full of examples of public coming outs of LGBT people and of organized forms of queer events – such as public kissing, anti-homophobia campaigns, gay pride marches, etc. – that caused reactions of public discontent and disgust, sometimes involving violence.¹⁰ Despite the fact that Vilnius Gay Pride (*Baltic Pride Vilnius*) took place without accidents for the first time in 2009, there is a widespread homophobic political agenda, even homophobic hysteria in the Lithuanian conservative government. After several failures, the parliament is again considering banning all public information on homosexuality. Similar developments were observed in other post-soviet countries a few years earlier when public queer campaigns in Latvia and Poland met unprecedented anti-gay violence. Stones, human excrements and trash were thrown onto queer people and their friends at the Riga Pride in 2006. This raises the central question of how the public coming out of queers is possible in post-soviet societies.¹¹ Is there any hope that future Queer Revolutions in the "new" Europe will not demand more victims as did the Singing Revolutions – the fight for state independence?¹²

⁸ See Jolanta Reingardienė / Arnoldas Zdanevičius 2006.

⁹ See also Lee Badgett 1996.

¹⁰ See Barry Adam et al. 1999.

¹¹ See also Aivita Putnina 2006, Grazyna Kubica 2006.

¹² "Singing Revolutions" is the name given to the political upheavals and the peaceful fight for independence against the Soviet regime in the three Baltic States Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in early 1988–1991. In fact, people were singing national songs in front of parliaments in all three countries. Despite several victims, the revolution achieved its goals without using guns.

Getting back to Pierre Bourdieu's idea of homosexuality as a field of cultural production, I take it that the main resource of negative attitudes towards LGBT is the lack of *queer knowledge* within the *knowledge about queers*. Homophobia is related to cultural discourses and knowledge, and these are carried by institutions such as the state, media, education, but also by the civil society. I will now discuss developments in these sections of society in Lithuania. Most of our informants considered state, media and education as the most problematic and most in need of social change. They contribute to a process I will call *cultural paralysis*.

3. Queering the institutions

As many other groups like women, the elderly, ex-prisoners, immigrants, asylum seekers, or HIV/AIDS patients, homosexual people as a group only emerged in public discourse and in realms of public policies after the singing revolution and the breakdown of the communist regime. In one way or another, these groups have claimed social, economic and political rights and their recognition as full citizens. The EU enlargement and Lithuania's integration into the European political and economic institutions in 2004 has increased the visibility of these groups. However, social inclusion of queers has not even started yet, despite legal protection and an official equality policy in the field of work. Lithuanian government policies could be called homophobic and anti-gay. Up to this day, Lithuanian gays and lesbians, not to mention transgenders and transsexuals, could be considered as non-citizens because of their lack of visibility and because of their discrimination.¹³ Sexuality in general and sexual orientation in particular, as well as their related discourses, are new phenomena. Thus "sexual citizens" are not considered citizens. It should also be noted that the laws criminalizing homosexuality ("sodomy") in Lithuania were abolished only in 1993, after the declaration of Lithuania's Independence in 1991. A few examples will shed some light on the state's perspective towards homosexuals in Lithuania.

3.1 The State

The first problem exacerbating the situation of queer visibility and coming out is the gap between policy and practice. Lithuania adopted a lot of EU regulations and signed international conventions. Yet, on the level of actual practice, progress is insignificant. As a result of the integration in the European Union and the adoption of EU regulations on the equal treatment of persons,¹⁴ the Lithuanian government was forced

¹³ See Jolanta Reingardienė / Arnoldas Zdanevičius 2006, Zdanevičius 2007 a and b.

¹⁴ Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implements the principle of equal treatment between persons, irrespective of racial or ethnic origin (Official Journal of the European Communities, 2000, L 180/22); Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27

in 2003 to change its law on the equality between women and men into the *Law of Equal Opportunities* that banned the discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.¹⁵ The adoption of this law constitutes a tremendous change in the legal system, because it is the first legal document at the national level mentioning sexual orientation in the context of rights protection. Thus, queers received the legal status of a minority. No other sexual minorities enjoy such a status. With this law, the State (or rather the EU) officially recognized that the discrimination of queers is a problem and required legal mechanisms in order to prohibit discrimination. The Ombudsman's *Office for Equal Opportunities* has become the official institution to defend the rights of homosexuals if they are discriminated in the labour market or at the work place. On the other hand, it seems that Lithuania's accession to the EU has stopped further actions of the government as to the recognition of the problem of homophobia. And since most Lithuanian queers are living in the closet, the law seems pointless, because in order to sue an employer for discrimination, you have to be open about your sexual orientation, which means coming out of the closet. Thus, there is still an urgent need to initiate further actions that tackle homophobia both on the national and on local levels (e. g. working environments).

It cannot be the aim here to analyze the public policy of social security or any other policy in Lithuania that could be important for queer issues, for such a policy simply does not exist. There are no programmes at the state level that would be directed at improving the situation of homosexuals in Lithuania. The key word *homosexuality* rarely appears in the official state documents, although many Parliament and Government papers have slogans such as tolerance, democracy, human rights or social inclusion in their titles. I managed to find only one official document, produced by the Lithuanian Parliament in 2002, carrying the title *Report on the Condition of Human Rights in Lithuania*¹⁶ that specifically addresses the issue of sexual minorities.¹⁷ The authors of the report devoted 15 pages to an in-depth analysis of the legal situation of sexual minorities in Lithuania and recommended to amend the laws, which at the time were not in line with European regulations. The main conclusion of the report was the suggestion to prepare a national action plan against homophobia and xenophobia. Unfortunately, such a plan has

November 2000 establishes a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation (Official Journal of the European Communities, 2000, L 303/16).

¹⁵ The *Law on Equal Opportunities between Women and Men* was enacted in 1998 and changed into the *Law of Equal Opportunities* in 2003, which came into force in 2005.

¹⁶ Orig. *Pranešimas apie žmogaus teisių padėtį Lietuvoje*.

¹⁷ See Human Rights Committee Reports on: www.lrs.lt, [4 Dec. 2006].

not been initiated yet and it does not seem that the current government is planning to do so.¹⁸

No state institution, including the Lithuanian President or the Minister of Justice, has ever pronounced an official position concerning the situation of LGBT people. Worse, the former minister of Social Security and Labour, Vilija Blinkevičiūtė, belonging to the only “gay friendly” Lithuanian party, the Social Democrats, being the main state official responsible for equality, did not hide her negative prejudice against homosexuals and signed homophobic projects of legal acts. The former candidate to the Lithuanian Presidency, together with other MPs, has recently initiated a law project aimed at the protection of children “from the harmful effect of mass media” including the ban of “propaganda of homosexuality”.¹⁹ The law was passed despite the President’s veto. The *Lithuanian Gay League* (LGL), which is one of the very few queer organizations, did not succeed in including sexual minorities in the chapter on social inclusion of the *National Programme on the Human Resource Development for the year 2007–2013*. A closer look at the website of the *Ministry of Social Security and Labour* reveals nothing related to queer issues or discrimination of LGBT. The annual reports produced by the ministry have never included sexual minorities in the discussion of social inclusion. In sum, we may state that in Lithuania, a State anti-homophobia policy does not exist, in spite of the fact that homosexual people – citizens of the EU – are the only minority that has to hide their identity.

3.2 *The media*

Perhaps the most dangerous institution spreading homophobic *knowledge about queers* in Lithuania is the media. The public spaces of the Internet, printed media and television are full of homophobic discourses where gay issues are stigmatized and made scandalous. The media is currently an instrument of homophobic political and cultural leaders for spreading gay antipathy. National art prize winner and poet Sigitas Geda is famous not only for his poems but also for his public hate speeches and metaphoric expressions like “these perverts are another nail into the coffin of our nation” or “they cause me a natural allergy”.²⁰ Another political key figure, former Mayor of Vilnius, MP Artūras Zuokas, representing the Liberal party and very popular among young politicians, writes in the article “Majority Rights”, placed in his personal webpage:

¹⁸ Currently, the power in parliament and government are in the hands of a coalition dominated by the Lithuanian Conservative and Christian Democratic Party. See the action plan of the government under www.lrv.lt.

¹⁹ For more see www.lifesitenews.com/news/archive/ldn/2009/jun/09061805; [8 Dec. 2010].

²⁰ Algimantas Dabašinskas: Kam dar viena vinis tautai į karštą, in: *Lietuvos aidas*, 1995 June 24.

"I am a tolerant person and in my view, sexual orientation is a personal right of choice. [...] But my tolerance is over when it is demanded to organize public events of propaganda such as gay prides, because in this way it is stated that this [lifestyle] is a norm of life."²¹

One MP was even more explicit:

"If you [homosexuals] are in your bars and clubs, you are neither friends nor enemies for us, but if you get out [of the closet] you will become our enemies."²²

Sometimes politicians use the tribunes of the parliament and the media not only to express their sexual prejudice against sexual minorities, but also to openly instigate discrimination and violence. MP Valerijus Medvedevas was quoted in one of the main homophobic tabloids:

"Infection [and spreading] of perverts [meaning homosexuals] is not only a moral but also a demographic problem. Maybe in China this could be tolerated, but for Lithuania it [tolerance] would be devastating."²³

The voice of another MP, Marija A. Pavilionienė, the only politician in the Parliament who is constantly and openly addressing LGBT issues in the parliament, is not heard and disappears under the homophobic media.

There are many other instances of politicians and journalists abusing their rights and officially announcing intolerance and instigating violence against LGBT people. It is worth mentioning that the *Lithuanian Punitive Code* (Art.169–170) prohibits instigation and hatred speech and that the *General Prosecution Office* has started to fine homophobic people, who mostly write homophobic commentaries in the internet. But the newspapers and the owners who profit from homophobic texts are not punished. The old scandal of a national daily *Respublika* that published a series of anti-semitic and homophobic articles is a good example of the gap between law and practice and of the impotency of both state institutions, including the police, and media control agencies to fight against homophobia in the media. Another example of state ignorance is related to the initiative of the *Tolerant Youth Association* (TJA) that in 2006 attempted to do something about the constant homophobic instigations including the use of the derogatory word *faggot* (orig. *Vištgaidis*) in the popular tabloid *Vakaro žinios*²⁴. The association wrote a letter to the *Media Monitoring Committee* and submitted an official complaint including a clarification of the word's offensive meaning by the *State Language Committee*. Nevertheless, the *Media Monitoring Committee* and its chairwoman (a director of the *Human Rights Center*), who is elected to this committee to represent organizations of civil society, dismissed the claim and did not take any further action. The *Prosecution Office* in

²¹ See www.zuokas.lt.

²² From researcher's notes.

²³ *Vakaro žinios*, October 2006.

²⁴ *Vištgaidis* is a pejorative word used to call homosexuals. It denotes a creature which is half cock and half hen.

Kaunas has recently cancelled my personal report accusing a vice-mayor for culture in Kaunas who publicly commented on local graffiti depicting two kissing men as propaganda of pedophilia and schizophrenia²⁵. The graffiti was cleaned away.

In brief, as far as gay and lesbian rights are concerned, Lithuanian politics may be termed ostrich politics, which is not to have any policy at all. None of the political parties has ever dared to announce its support for homosexuals. The political stances of politicians are very much in accordance with heteronorms or they are afraid to lose their popularity if they are openly pro-gay. But the worst thing is that state institutions refrain as well. Thus the only remedy against the ignorance and reluctance of the state institutions seems to be civil society, which includes queer people organizing themselves. Yet this leads back to the problem mentioned before, namely, the lack of non-heteronormative *knowledge about queers*. The majority of the population still refers to LGBT people in deviant terms and in the most stereotypical ways. Homosexuality is understood as an illness and a threat to the traditional family and even to the nation as a whole. So queer activism is perceived as a threat, provoking even more homophobia and anti-gay violence.

3.3 Education and Research

In the Lithuanian educational system, queer issues are non-existent. There are no academic courses or study programmes in higher education which would deal with sexuality issues, not to mention queer studies. Several courses taught in the *Gender Studies* programme at Vilnius University and in the *Sociology Department* at *Vytautas Magnus University* in Kaunas include gay, masculinity and lesbian issues. But queer issues are mostly overlooked or ignored in the lectures and teaching materials on gender or sexuality. Since homophobia is prevalent in higher education, queer issues are still silenced in academic discourse and education. The ignorance of diversity education and queer research contributes to the heteronormative thinking prevalent in theory and practice.

The project ATVIRI was one of the very few public action and research campaigns against homophobia, challenging heteronormative and homophobic culture. It was new in three respects. First of all, it was the first Lithuanian project on LGBT rights and on homophobia with the official involvement of an academic institution such as Vytautas Magnus University. The researchers became official partners in the project, with the rector Vytautas Kaminskas' signature on the contract. The research project was the first one in Lithuania devoted specifically and only to queer issues, provoking a lot of anger and disgust. Secondly, it was the

²⁵ See Nerijus Povilaitis: Kauno vicemero S. Buškevičiaus rūpestis: besibučiuojantys vyrai (The Concern of Kaunas' Vice-Mayor: Two Kissing Men), in: *Lietuvos rytas*, 2009-06-26; see the former graffiti on <http://www.lrytas.lt/-12460222961243994866-kauno-vicemero-s-bu%C5%A1kevi%C4%8Diaus-r%C5%ABpestis-besibu%C4%8Diuojantys-vyrai-video.htm>.

first queer issues project on a larger scale that attracted a relatively large amount of money from the state and the EU, thus getting media attention²⁶. Thirdly, it was a joint collaboration of civil society organizations (such as LGL or the *Equal Opportunities Development Center*) and state bodies (the *Lithuanian Ombudsman for Equal Opportunities*) and thus aimed not only at establishing academic *knowledge about queers*, but also at disseminating this knowledge, using media and public campaigns. In addition, the international partnership of the project (TRACE) and European funding added further value. In sum, this project could be considered a breakthrough in regard to the “heteronormative grid” and a first attempt to tackle homophobia and heteronormativity at the national level. However, the success of the project and its major outcome, i. e. more visibility of LGBT issues in the academic community (including my personal coming out as gay) and academic publications on homophobia, had its price. In 2007, the university’s rector Zigmantas Lydeka banned the team’s newsletter and the university’s queer student organization that was organized with queer-friendly students.²⁷ Then, the university authorities refused my involvement in another queer research project (to be funded by the EU 7 Framework Programme). Finally, the rector excluded me from schedules and prevented me from teaching sociology. This case is submitted to court for discrimination on the basis of my sexual orientation, but there is very little hope that it will be successful, because it will be the first case dealing with such discrimination at work.

Legal practice in discrimination issues has yet to be formed in the Lithuanian legal system. Respective education of future lawyers as well as life long training in diversity issues and anti-discrimination policy still needs to become a priority in many employers’ organizations, labour unions, NGOs and especially for judges, lawyers and educators.

Academic discourse on homosexuality in Lithuania is very scarce. If we look at academic literature in 2008, it was limited to only eleven articles and publications that appeared after the turn of the millennium. There are very few researchers who occasionally write on queer issues. The same sexual stigma attached to queer issues is attached to the researchers. The scarcity of queer research is partly due to the problem mentioned above, that is to say the forced invisibility of queers in Lithuanian academia.²⁸ Pioneers in the research on queers are scholars in

²⁶ All EQUAL projects received approximately 500’000 € for a two year period (EU funding comprized 70% of this amount).

²⁷ Despite the fact that the right to organize and to assemble is protected by the Lithuanian Constitution and the University Statutes, the Equal Ombudsman’s Office has concluded that the ban of the organization was legal because the university is an educational institution.

²⁸ This problem is also connected to the fact that in Lithuania there are very few gender studies at institutions of higher education such as universities. Even though the Women’s movement and research on gender has been growing significantly during

sociology, cultural / media studies²⁹, gender studies³⁰, literature³¹ and anthropology³². This literature is valuable, above all because it presents the experiences of discrimination and exclusion of LGBT persons. Much of this knowledge has no emancipating effect for the queer community yet, but it can be a valuable tool for queer activists to pressure state and governmental officials into taking action. To put it in Deborah Britzman's words:

"At the very least, what is required is an ethical project that begins to engage difference as the grounds of politicality and community."³³

There is also counter-research or a development that could be called anti-gay research. In medicine, there are attempts to construct homosexuality as a deviance resulting in illness and related social problems such as AIDS.³⁴ Education is a burning issue. There is actually a struggle similar to the feminist one to include gender issues in our educational system. Queer issues would come next. The Lithuanian philosopher and anthropologist Gintautas Mažeikis even suggests:

"We should eradicate homophobia starting primarily with our pedagogy and teacher training."³⁵

But Emile Durkheim reminded us a century ago that education is the most conservative institution in our societies. Following this dictum, the idea of diversity education now seems like a utopia in Lithuania. However, it is essential to start asking how social change is possible and how to transfer queer knowledge and citizenship education into schools and the higher education system.³⁶ There is a need for queer pedagogy in Lithuania at all levels starting from schools, ending with higher education of future lawyers, and sensitization or in-service training for teachers, politicians, journalists, state officials, and also for police who have to deal with incitement and hate crimes against LGBT. Hopefully future projects in social science and humanities will focus on gender and sexuality topics in teacher training. This kind of research is much needed.

3.4 Civil Society

It seems important to me to end the discussion of institutions with a short description of the developments in civil society. After all it is the civil society that is supposed to empower the silenced queers of Lithua-

the last decade, queer research is still non-existent, invisible and a marginalized research area.

²⁹ See Artūras Tereškinas 2001–2007.

³⁰ See Jolanta Reingardė 2007, Aušrinė-Marija Pavilionienė / Esmeralda Kuliešytė 2009.

³¹ See Aušrinė-Marija Pavilionienė 2003, 2009.

³² See Skirmantė Česienė 2006.

³³ Deborah Britzman 1995, 152.

³⁴ See Irma Čaplinskienė et al. 2004, Saulius Čaplinskas 2006.

³⁵ Gintautas Mažeikis, public lecture given at Vytautas Magnus University in 2008.

³⁶ See Lutz van Dijk / Barry van Driel 2007, Eva Reimers 2007, Marie-Louise Sanden / Arnoldas Zdanevičius 2007.

nia. Civil society is considered to be a panacea to solve all the problems that the state and the market cannot deal with. However, the general picture is not very encouraging. There are two major problems.

The first problem is the social capital of Lithuanians in general. Civic participation, i. e. involvement of citizens in civic (including queer) politics, is not increasing. This may have to do with the economic situation of the citizens. Lithuania is one of the poorest countries in the European Union. People have not yet gained the economic security to get involved in such a thing as identity politics.³⁷

Secondly, queer people are not organized yet. There are only two organizations in Lithuania dealing with gay issues, the *Lithuanian Gay League* (LGL) and the *Tolerant Youth Association* (TJA). They are growing, but lack institutional support and human resources. There are still many questions as to why these organizations attract so few members. In interviews with LGBT people from Vilnius, Kaunas, Šiauliai and Druskininkai we have noticed great distrust and anger towards the LGL. Our interviewees claimed that their “interests are not represented”, “LGL is making money out of gay rights”, “I don’t want to have anything in common with these people”, etc. Many of these people were angry because LGL makes queer issues publicly visible and thus causes danger for them.

LGBT people also feel that they are not well informed and that they lack community-building initiatives. Many interviews express the following opinion:

“Our interests are not known. Our interests are not represented. No one has ever asked us what we want and what we think about all of this. Only to your closest friends, family or personal psychotherapists can you tell your story.”

Lina, a 30 year-old lesbian academic, raised the issue of solidarity amongst lesbians: “Why is there no solidarity between lesbians or between gays?” Her question was by no means rhetorical. There is perhaps no simple answer to this question and further studies on mutual trust and queer community building should be developed in the future. In any case: to build communities in the context of fear, distrust and lack of security is not an easy task for queer activists. Current initiatives of LGL and TJA to organize queer grass roots – and not only in the capital Vilnius – using culture, arts and sports, give hope that things will start to change. Politics cannot change until the culture changes.

As this description illustrates, heteronormativity is implemented through the silencing of sexuality and the ignorance of queer existence

³⁷ These arguments are in line with Marc Howard’s theory on Civil Society in Eastern and Central Europe and Ronald Inglehart’s theory of modernization and post-modernization (see Marc Howard 2003, Ronald Inglehart / Christian Welzel 2005). While there are different emphases on what civil society is and what role it ought to play, all of these discourses share an understanding of civil society associations and organizations as both the repository and generator of “social capital”.

by the major institutions that construct knowledge. The result is distrust among queers. Knowledge about queer issues is scarce and there are a lot of myths still in need to be deconstructed in Lithuanian society. There are very few civil rights activists, academics and politicians who are interested in queer issues so that it seems it will take quite some time until the fight against sexual stigma in the form of breaking stereotypes and building queer knowledge will start. Taking into account the relationship between queer individuals and heteronormative culture, it is possible to describe the current situation as *cultural paralysis*. Using this concept of Georg Simmel's and his ideas on cultural models, it can be argued that the Lithuanian culture has become a rigid, heterosexual "life form" that prevents the individual from creating a new and queer culture³⁸. The queer culture is unwelcome because there is no knowledge about it. The more queer individuals react to subvert the heteronorms, the more this causes deviant reactions and homophobia. But on the opposite, if the queer individual is not reacting, is not coming out, the new elements such as tolerance, democracy and equality cannot be introduced into the life form. Perhaps the situation is not as tragic as Simmel thought about culture, but in any case the cultural paralysis is preventing the emancipating effects of queer knowledge from being set free. Thus, in order to introduce changes, a different kind of politics of knowledge is required from both human rights activists and academics.

4. Homophobia and the Politics of Knowledge

We still need to answer the question of how to move forward. After thorough analysis it seems to me that queer thinking about heteronormativity and homophobia must be refined. To this end, I will briefly discuss the concept of homophobia and then proceed to the analysis of a politics of knowledge, proposing an idea for public opinion change. The concept *politics of knowledge* is taken from the queer theorist and political scientist Mark Blasius who claimed that

"[...] politics of knowledge is about the status of truth in relation to how power is exercised".³⁹

Homophobia is a widely used concept in queer discourse and gained wide acceptance in post-soviet academic discourse where gay issues are being discussed. Homophobia has become a sort of label that is easily attached to institutions and individuals with negative attitudes towards homosexuality. It connotes, like xenophobia, some fear that is supposed to underlie the dominant groups' hostility toward minority groups. Following Gregory Herek, we rather intend the term *homophobia* to

³⁸ In fact, Simmel wrote about "paralyzation" and "tragedy of culture" while discussing the incommensurability of subjective and objective culture (see Birgitta Nedelmann 1991).

³⁹ Mark Blasius 2001, 15.

denote sexual stigma, heterosexist sexual prejudice and anger. He argued that *homophobia* is used to denote a diversity of phenomena, ranging from private thoughts and behaviour to policies and actions of governments, corporations and organized religion. He claims that we need a more refined terminology to understand the psychological, social and cultural processes that underlie the oppression of sexual minorities. Researchers and theorists should therefore move beyond the concept of homophobia and distinguish three general arenas in which hostility based on sexual orientation can be studied: sexual stigma, heterosexism and sexual prejudice. First of all,

“[sexual stigma] exists in the form of shared knowledge that is embodied in cultural ideologies that define sexuality, demarcate social groupings based on it, and assign value to those groups and their members.”⁴⁰

Secondly, heterosexism is comprized of these ideologies that are expressed through society’s structure, institutions and power relations. Thirdly, individuals internalize these ideologies as sexual prejudice and, through their attitudes and actions, express, reinforce or challenge them. The value of Herek’s reasoning resides in his strong argument that heterosexism perpetuates sexual stigma by denying and denigrating any non-heterosexual form of behaviour, identity, relationship or community:

“Heterosexism is inherent in cultural institutions, such as language and the law, through which it expresses and perpetuates a set of hierarchical relations. In that hierarchy of power and status, everything homosexual is devalued and considered inferior to what is heterosexual. Homosexual and bisexual people, same-sex relationships and communities of sexual minorities are kept invisible and, when acknowledged, are denigrated as sick, immoral, criminal or at best, suboptimal.”⁴¹

Furthermore, Gregory Herek rightly claims that the dichotomy of heterosexuality and homosexuality, which lies at the heart of heterosexism, shows that heterosexuality is a *social norm* that has to be subverted. In this respect, the term heteronormativity becomes important, because it

“[the term heteronormativity] encapsulates queer theory’s critique of the cultural dichotomy that structures social relations entirely in terms of heterosexuality-homosexuality.”⁴²

Heteronormativity must therefore be the central concept in queer analysis and challenging heteronormativity must be at the roots of queer politics.⁴³

Anger is growing, especially now that public news about homosexuality is accumulating and starting to question the norms of hegemonic heterosexuality (e. g. questions of single parenthood, homosexual families, adoption of children). Anger is perpetuated by the myths that are

⁴⁰ Gregory Herek 2004, 14.

⁴¹ Gregory Herek 2004, 16.

⁴² Gregory Herek 2004, 16.

⁴³ Michael Warner 1993.

constructed by the politicians, the media and the Catholic Church in Lithuania that present homosexuality as deviance and disease.

George Weinberg, who coined the concept of homophobia in the 1970s, related it to gender issues. We may agree with this: homophobia may be related to the fear of heterosexual men to be called homosexual⁴⁴ and to men's fear in general to be exposed as insufficiently masculine⁴⁵. But as we observe with Lithuanian politics of the state institutions and recent developments in media, women as well as men explicitly demonstrate homophobia. So homophobia seems rather to be a consequence of heteronormativity that is deeply rooted in institutions in post-soviet society. The important question is therefore how to change or subvert such norms and the answer is: by the visibility of LGBT people and active educational campaigns. The problem of public visibility has already been mentioned, so the important question is how to educate teachers and how to organize teacher training in order to raise generations that value diversity, equality and human rights.

5. Final Remarks

I would like to end with an example from the quantitative data of our research on the attitudes of Lithuanians towards homosexuality. It shows that even queer researchers with the best intentions sometimes use heteronormative tools. This is why the question of self-reflectivity mentioned in the beginning becomes salient. Our questionnaire contained statements (to be commented on by the respondents) that express sexual prejudice towards gays and lesbians. As I understand them now, a lot of the statements were in themselves heteronormative. There were 13 theses of the kind

“Homosexual relationships between men are repulsive”,

“I would be afraid if a teacher of my child was homosexual”,

“I would not like to belong to an organization that contains gays and lesbians”,

and so on. These statements are heteronormative, because they place LGBT people into the position of *the other* and thus affect our findings. They do not challenge but reproduce the heteronormative grid.

Nevertheless, the dispersive analysis of the homophobia index created on the basis of these statements (Cronbach Alpha = 0,836) showed a significant correlation with one variable, namely “I personally know a homosexual person” (M=50, 63; SD=15,255). This means that respondents who knew homosexual people were on average less homophobic than those who did not. This gives a clear message as to what kind of knowledge is valuable in changing prejudice against homosexual people. In other words, being queer and being open to your family, friends,

⁴⁴ George Weinberg 1972.

⁴⁵ Michael Kimmel 1997.

colleagues at work, etc. may have a very big impact in changing people's values and attitudes towards homosexuality. Even though the coming-out of queers may temporarily cause social problems, it is the rational choice in the long run.

I personally do not agree with the idea that "outing" others by force is the best tool in combating homophobia and social exclusion of LGBT.⁴⁶ Be that as it may, widespread public coming out is the best instrument to challenge the invisibility of LGBT and to fight against homophobia and for equal rights in the contexts where change is needed. As a part of that, a generalized closer acquaintance of people with homosexuals and transgenders would give a significant impulse to slowly move the Lithuanian *collective consciousness* away from the cultural paralysis described above. Public coming out and acquaintance with queers are the indispensable sources of social change and the main instrument of politics of queer knowledge. It should therefore be encouraged in all possible ways. Waiting for another Harvey Milk to be born in Lithuania might take too long.

Need for research:

Analysis of political strategies to initiate social change and to transfer queer knowledge and citizenship education into schools and the higher education system.

Analysis of the normative aspect of the social construction of truth (what is held to be true) and of the conditions and the social embedding of this phenomenon. Specific elucidation of the socially based connection between this phenomenon and the silencing and ignorance of queer existence.

Interdisciplinary analysis of the conceptualization of anti-homophobia work for psychologists and community workers and others.

Analysis of how the 'semiotic competence' of both teachers and adolescents can be enhanced, i.e. the ability to detect signs of homophobia, and to raise awareness on this issue so that 'clear symptoms' are identified as such.

Analysis of the effects of oppressing social constructions, mass media and lack of security on solidarity between queer people.

⁴⁶ See Matti Bunzl 1997.

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HANS-JOACHIM MENGEL

Homosexuality and International Human Rights Protection*

The contribution discusses the global situation concerning State homophobia, i. e. the persecution and discrimination of homosexuals and their lifestyle by the criminal law. In 2010, homosexuality is still considered a criminal offence in 76 countries. It is argued that the freedom to live one's sexuality is part of the pursuit of happiness of every individual and therefore subject to human rights protection. The author sketches the development of human rights since their declaration in 1948 as a means to protect individuals against the State, focusing on the question of how they cover homosexuality, although it is not explicitly mentioned in the declaration. A central argument within the human rights discussion is the congenitality of sexual orientation. At present, two blocks dispute this question fervently, with a religiously inspired Christian-Islamic front maintaining that homosexual acts are morally bad. International public opinion becomes a factor of ever higher importance in creating and interpreting the norms of international public law and, therefore, of the applicability of human rights.

1. Living one's sexuality: part of the right to the pursuit of happiness

The right to "the pursuit of happiness" is one of the most basic rights of every person on earth. And it is indisputable that a fulfilled sexuality is part of a person's happiness. On the one hand, it is acknowledged that by choosing sexual abstinence, out of religious conviction for instance, one can find happiness as well. But to compel people to deny or reject the sexual identity nature has gifted them with is not acceptable. For the vast majority of the world's population, living their sexuality in a fulfilling way is part of a happy life.

Until today, however, the international human rights discussion has respected this basic fact only to a small degree. The rights more carefully formulated in international conventions delineate in the clearest possible terms what that intended happiness consists of. But no matter how concrete the definition of human rights, not a single mention is made of the right to sexual fulfillment, which presupposes the freedom and the protection of the sexual identity of every human being.

On the contrary, in 76 nations around the world a specific sexual identity not consistent with that of the majority, namely homosexuality,

* The present contribution first appeared in German as "Homosexualität und internationaler Menschenrechtsschutz" in APuZ (*Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte. Beilage zur Wochenzeitung Das Parlament*) 15-16 / 2010 (special issue on homosexuality), 33-40. It was translated by Kent Stuart (rev. by VL) and slightly revised (the internet sources are actualized).

is currently subject to sanctions under criminal law. Though well founded scholarly studies have shown that this is not an identity one may simply choose, in seven nations homosexual acts are even punishable by death, even by stoning or hanging. It is astounding how little attention has been paid worldwide over the years to the brute fact of such discrimination and persecution by members of the political, but also the scientific world, in the international community. Until today, leading actors of the global community attempt to prevent every form of debate on this issue. Rather than adhere to the maxim of the English philosopher of law Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), which states that politicians should do “the greatest good for the greatest number of people”, innumerable people are reduced to misery because of laws which criminalize homosexuality.

It is high time to change this unfortunate situation. Hundreds of millions of people are only able to pursue their happiness under the veil of concealment, the threat of blackmail and persecution being a constant threat to life and limb. Innumerable are those who have simply accepted the fact that in view of severe legal consequences, they may not live out their sexuality. Innumerable are those who are not able to withstand the pressure and, confronted with the denial of their right to sexual fulfillment, commit suicide. Humanity has succeeded in abolishing slavery and in promoting the position of women and their equal rights. The percentage of homosexuals constituting, according to scholarly research, between 5 and 10 percent of the population, the number of all homosexuals on earth is roughly calculated to be between 350 to 700 million humans worldwide. It must be made possible to free these people from the misery of fear and persecution. To ignore their fate and deny them the right to the pursuit of a happy life including a fulfilling sexuality, is disgraceful.

2. Human rights: a protection of the individual against the State

The goal of all efforts for universal human rights protection was and is to preserve the individual from arbitrary interventions of the State. This is done by compelling the States to accept the restrictions of universally recognized human rights as minimum standards, which may not be violated under any circumstances, especially not on the pretext of preserving cultural diversity. A world in which women are denigrated merely on the basis of their gender, for example by genital circumcision, under the pretext of cultural or religious identity and diversity, can be as little tolerated as a world in which people are discriminated against, persecuted or murdered only because of their homosexual orientation.

What is really terrifying about the current situation is the fact that persecution, discrimination and ostracism are not practiced secretly, but openly with varying degrees of aggression by religious groups, governments and individuals. Those going as far as to exert physical violence

against homosexuals have come to rely on a form of silent legitimation offered by those who ostracize homosexual behaviour while openly preaching sympathy and forgiveness towards homosexual persons. As long as this background of authorization exists, it will be particularly difficult to ease the situation of discriminated and persecuted homosexuals worldwide. Improvement is nevertheless possible as is shown by developments in the predominantly Catholic countries of Latin America, where the condition of homosexuals has fundamentally improved in the face of resistance from the Church. Some of these countries rank foremost in the movement within the United Nations (UN) to outlaw and ostracize the worldwide discrimination and persecution of homosexuals.

3. The situation of persecution and some signs of hope

The space allotted to me is just sufficient to simply draw attention to the extremely difficult situation of homosexuals with regard to their human rights in numerous countries around the world. Examples of intensified persecution are becoming ever more frequent.

Uganda, for example, is planning to drastically increase penalties for homosexual acts, including life imprisonment and even the death penalty. It is noteworthy that the planned regulations require every citizen to report known lesbians, homosexuals, bisexuals or transsexuals to authorities within 24 hours. Similarly, all citizens will be required to report to the authorities those who represent the rights of these persons as well. Whoever fails to fulfill their duty in this regard will be subject to imprisonment for up to three years.¹

Cameroon was at the center of attention of the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) at its meeting in June 2009. Owing to the severity of Regulation 347 in its criminal code, the Council issued the urgent recommendation to repeal the criminal status of homosexual acts between consenting parties for its inconsistency with international standards for human rights. This was rejected by the government on the ground of being contrary to

“what Cameroonian society still considers to be proper moral conduct. [...] In the present context of African culture, homosexuality is not deemed acceptable by Cameroonian society, being generally viewed as a manifestation of moral decadence to be resisted.”²

¹ See the press release of 16 Dec. 2010 of the European Parliament on the so-called “Bahati Bill” of Ugandan MP David Bahati that foresees these measures; online: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/en/pressroom/content/20101216IPR10868/html/Human-rights-Eritrean-refugees-anti-gay-law-in-Uganda-and-caning-in-Malaysia> [27 Dec. 2010].

² UNHRC: document A/HRC/11/21/Add.1 of 9 June 2009, page 6, rec. 78; online: http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/11/21/Add.1.

The response of the Human Rights Council to Cameroon's declared intention to balance the wishes of the international community with this cultural sensitivity, could not have been clearer: Cameroon appears not to be seeking balance, but violates human rights through the criminal persecution of homosexuals.³

In addition to this, there are restrictions to the right of the freedom of speech as well as to the artistic freedom of expression that reveal the fears, ignorance and helplessness of the concerned states in their attempts to cope with the issue of homosexuality. Citizens who seek to create a forum for discussing the issue of persecution in their homeland are often persecuted themselves; artists addressing the topic of homosexuality in their works are censored. Do the Chinese authorities really believe that the Oscar-winning movie "Brokeback Mountain", a touching story depicting two cowboys whose love for one another remains unfulfilled because of societal repression, represents a threat to the millenia-old Chinese culture?

The legal persecution of homosexuals, sustained or legitimated through the silent acquiescence or, often enough, active support of religious groups, has the effects that individuals may feel confirmed in their possible hate for homosexuals and that especially those without access to education feel justified in turning that hate into violent actions. Because acts of violence against homosexuals are of such a routine nature, only the most drastic cases arouse public sentiment. A case in point would be that of 22 year-old student Matthew Shepard in Wyoming, USA. After he was brutally beaten, his attackers tied him to a fence, where in agony he died of thirst.⁴ In Burton upon Trent in England, Darren, age 15, was teased, kicked and beaten because of his sexual preference. He hanged himself. The official investigation concluded that he had no longer been able to bear the physical and mental abuse.⁵ These examples from two of the most enlightened societies in the world permits a presentiment as to what the situation in other societies is like.

But even in Germany, there is no basis for a sense of contentment, in spite of all the progress. The picture is not merely darkened by the deplorable continuity of the severe, legalized persecution propagated by the National Socialists deep into the history of the Federal Republic. Rather it is the fact that in Germany violence, bullying, open contempt and ostracism against homosexuals remain a daily occurrence. While in France the government feels called upon to initiate a major campaign against homophobia at universities, in Germany the suffering of homo-

³ See www.un.org/webcast/unhrc/archive.asp?go=090610 [16 March 2010].

⁴ Matthew Shepard Foundation homepage: www.matthewshepard.org [27 Dec. 2010].

⁵ "Bullying torment was too much to bear for choirboy", in: *The Birmingham Post*, 5 Nov. 1998, see <http://findarticles.com> [27 Dec. 2010].

sexual students, and the atmosphere of latent homophobia at schools and universities is apparently considered to be essentially unchangeable. Symptomatic of this attitude is, for example, the case of a TV report on a boy who, having been mistreated, changed schools because he could no longer stand the pressure. His school director explained to him it was a mistake to have let his sexual identity become known. In the same way, it is not helpful that the current "entertainment culture" of the broadcasting system, including the state-supported public one, shamelessly employs stereotypical prejudices against homosexuals, particularly on prominent occasions, for the purpose of general amusement.

In view of this sad situation, it is vital that developments within the framework of the UN, as well as among the various nations, attempt to effect a change. Concepts of human dignity play a decisive role here, as well as the recognition that one's sexuality is a part of one's personality and dignity as well. India, for instance, received worldwide attention for having repealed paragraph 377 concerning "unnatural love" that originated in its colonial history (1861), from its Legal Code. The punishment of consensual homosexual acts between adults was considered to be inconsistent with India's tradition and its constitution.⁶ Besides the jurisdiction of individual countries, international organizations such as the UN and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play an important role in the struggle to eradicate persecution.

4. *Reasons for persecution*

4.1 *Religious reasons*

The continuing persecution of homosexuals around the world is legitimized both spiritually and intellectually by the attitudes of Christian churches and Islam. The severest penalties for male and female homosexuals are to be found in Islamic law. When proofs according to the Sharia law have been brought forth,

"they must capture him (or her), they must assure that he stand still and they must take a sword and cut him in two, they must separate his head from his body. Or they must dig a pit and ignite a fire in it and throw him alive into the fire."⁷

For centuries, the penalties for homosexuals in Christian Churches were as cruel as anything found in Islam. The "crime" of homosexuality was regarded by Christian jurisdiction to be the most hideous, more repre-

⁶ "Delhi High Court strikes down Section 377 of IPC", in: *The Hindu*, 3 July 2009; www.thehindu.com/2009/07/03/stories/2009070358010100.htm [27 Dec. 2010].

⁷ According to Grand Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili, University of Teheran (transl. from the original German article), www.ardebili.com [16 March 2010]; for an Islamic position on homosexuality see: <http://www.islamic.org.uk/homosex.html>: "The truth is – you are what you choose to be"; or www.sgipt.org/sonstig/metaph/sexrel/islam/homosex.htm (German) [27 Dec. 2010].

hensible than even murder. For this reason the death penalty alone did not suffice, but was preceded and accompanied by unspeakable tortures.

“If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination; they shall be put to death. Their blood is upon them.”⁸

While the prescribed penalties are still being applied in parts of the Islamic world today, most Christian Churches struggle with homosexuality no longer by penalties, but by exclusion. The hostile judgement of homosexuals, at times openly, at others discreetly, comes in the guise of the defense of the married state, as in the Catholic Church:

“Marriage is holy, while homosexual acts go against the natural moral law.”⁹

Or it takes the form of the protection of young boarding school pupils from homosexual pederasts. Homosexuality, it is said, must therefore not enjoy the protection of Human Rights Conventions. At the same time, the impression persists that, especially in the Catholic Church, the image of homosexuals is largely determined by the behaviour of some priests towards their young parishioners. The argument for the protection of the married state cannot be exceeded in its hypocrisy: no heterosexual will opt for a homosexual partnership because it provides him with State protection like that of marriage. The Catholic Church officially rejects homosexual intercourse as being “contrary to nature”. Like sinners and the sick, homosexuals should no longer be persecuted by religious or legal means, they should rather be offered pity and, in case of adequate repentance and abstinence, may be offered forgiveness by the Church. With this in mind, special institutions have been created by Christian organizations, notably in the USA, to attempt to “heal” willing homosexual men.

Despite all differences of opinion between Christianity and Islam, the two religions are essentially of a single mind with regard to homosexual issues. In the discussion of human rights on the international stage, this has led to the formation of a conspiratorial action group. Although the point of view among countries with a predominantly Islamic culture varies highly, it is noteworthy that the majority of the countries in which homosexual acts are absolutely forbidden, and those in which they are threatened with the death penalty, are in fact decidedly Islamic. As in the Christian religion, such a rigid rejection of homosexual acts is not stated clearly in the scriptures. In Islam, as in the teachings of Christianity, interpretations vary considerably. But even if the scriptures clearly

⁸ Lev 20.13 (New Revised Standard Version). Editor's note: about the discourses of Christian Churches on homosexuality and interpretations of this passage see Michael Brinkschröder in this volume.

⁹ Joseph Ratzinger / Angelo Amato: *Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith, Considerations regarding proposals to give legal recognition to unions between homosexual persons*, 3 Jun 2003, I. 4: www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20030731_homosexual-unions_en.html [27 Dec. 2010].

and unmistakably condemned homosexuality, the pertinent question would be whether the persecution and discrimination of persons based on religious conviction does not violate the basic standards of human rights protection. In other words, religious convictions must remain subordinate to the requirements of universal human rights protection. Otherwise the development of international human rights protection in recent decades, which has consciously served to limit the sovereignty of individual states in dealing with their citizens, would be endangered.

4.2 *Historical and political reasons*

It is ironic that the current persecution situation in former colonies of Western states may be traced back to the colonial powers having first made homosexual acts a criminal offence, Great Britain being chief among them. Today these countries regard such penal codes as an authentic element of their national culture and value system, rather than a relic of their colonial past that needs to be done away with. Every discussion of the repeal of these regulations is interpreted as an attempt by decadent Western powers to impose their values on other states. As the Ethics Minister of Uganda said,

“We have found that other countries want us to force concessions on the issue of homosexuality. [...] It is the duty of Ugandans to watch, as agents of immorality are on the road and try to use tricks to harm our society.”¹⁰

Homosexuality is accused to be a sinful lifestyle rather than congenital. It is easily recognizable that such arguments are based on an ancient Western and Christian judgement of homosexuality, as in the following example:

“Such aberrations have no right or ability to exist in a civil society; they pose an extreme danger to the general populace, and remain so for the length of their lives, for medical treatments have proven useless against such defects. They must remain under lock and key for life, but they are not to be labeled as criminals; rather as unfortunates who deserve our pity.”¹¹

Before colonialism and the spread of Christianity and Western values, homosexuality had often been accepted or at least tolerated, but certainly not made a criminal offence. Today, the conviction that the repeal of sanctions as demanded by the decadent West should be rejected, is financially and intellectually supported by religious groups, especially from the USA, seeking to gain the ground here which they have lost in their home countries.

¹⁰ James Nsabo Buturo in April 2009, quoted from www.queer.de [6 April 2009]: Politik: International: “Uganda: UN will Ländern Homosexualität aufzwingen“ (Engl. version: “Uganda: UN wants countries to impose homosexuality”); see www.queer.de/detail.php?article_id=10227 [27 Dec. 2010].

¹¹ Richard von Krafft-Ebing 1892 (orig. 1875), 298f. (own translation).

5. *Effects of persecution and discrimination*

In answer to a parliamentary question concerning the effects of criminal norms on the lives of individuals, the German Federal Government responded:

“The prohibition of consensual homosexual acts between adults, mostly connected with considerable social tabuization and scorn, always leads to the discrimination of members of sexual minority groups in the concerned countries. The Federal Government has no detailed knowledge of the effects this has on the lives of members of sexual minority groups.”¹²

For researchers in the field of human rights and human rights protection, there is hardly any experience more painful than to become involved in the realities of the suppression and persecution of homosexuality. This is as true of the historical past as it is of the present. How can one, for example, explain to students that even in the young Federal Republic of Germany, persons liberated from concentration camps, stigmatized by having had to wear the Pink Triangle of homosexuality, not only had their applications for reparations turned down, unlike other groups of victims, but were then informed they were required to report to the penitentiary in Moabit to serve the rest of their prison terms? Those laws which made homosexuality a punishable offense according to the Nazi legal system in the Third Reich, were still in effect in the Federal Republic of Germany, with the blessing of the Federal Constitutional Court.

How can one bear to hear that the Taliban buried two young men alive, but also that at the same time the German Federal Republic supports an Afghanistan that applies the Sharia law in some regions of the country with drastic penalties for homosexual acts? A study of the effects on personal lives in the Middle East in situations where persecution and discrimination prevail has revealed how, in Egypt, the sons in the upper social classes are being “healed” by medical treatment, while in the lower classes sons are compelled to make a choice: either marry in spite of their sexuality or, without further discussion, be shunned by the family.¹³ Especially in countries where homosexual acts are sanctioned as criminal offences, grave effects are to be noted also among those homosexual citizens who have not been sentenced, but have to live with the imminent threat of this possibility. At the same time they experience rejection by their families and society.

¹² Deutscher Bundestag, 16. Wahlperiode, Drucksache 16/3597 vom 28. Nov. 2006, 4; online: <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/16/035/1603597.pdf> [27 Dec. 2010]. The detailed effects are described in studies and reports which, as ever, are available in far too few numbers, for far too few countries. Current studies were done by the *Center for the Study of Discrimination based on Sexual Orientation* (CSDSO) at the Free University of Berlin (FU Berlin). See also: Wolfgang Dinkelberg et al. 1999.

¹³ See Brian Whitaker 2006.

But also in those countries where punitive sanctions have been officially repealed, for example in the new Eastern member states of the European Union, the situation is quite far from being able to secure a free and fulfilling life for those concerned.¹⁴ Even in countries such as Germany, one has to realize that in spite of the possibility of achieving public office, homosexual persons are often judged according to special standards.

6. *Public International Law*

Within the historical development of international law, the protection of human rights is a rather recent development. After the experience of two world wars and the barbarity of the Third Reich, the international community created the *General Declaration of Human Rights* on December 10, 1948. This document writes down for the first time, defines and demands universally applicable rights for all humans on this earth. They were termed *desirable goals*, to be implemented in the future course by a series of treaties and interpretations. The central thought is their applicability to everyone:

“Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”¹⁵

Since homosexuality was at that time still perceived as a sickness, and the issue was still taboo, it did not occur to anyone in 1948 to include this characteristic as basis of discrimination. For this reason, due to the omission of its explicit mention, it is important to establish beyond doubt that all human rights validated by international law are equally valid for homosexuals. National and international justice has since developed this view by increasingly recognizing sexuality as an inseparable part of human dignity and privacy. In the case of “*Toonen vs. Australia*”, the UN Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) judged in 1992 that laws which make consensual homosexual acts a punishable offense are incompatible with a person's right to the protection of privacy.¹⁶ If we follow this line of reasoning, a human right specifically guaranteeing the freedom of sexual orientation is not necessary. Rather, the existing human rights as recognized under international law must be made valid for homosexuals and their life style. The *Yogyakarta Principles*, developed by prominent researchers at the Indonesian University City of Yogya-

¹⁴ See Arnoldas Zdanevičius' contribution in this book on the situation in post-Soviet countries like Lithuania.

¹⁵ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 2: www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=eng [27 Dec. 2010].

¹⁶ *Toonen vs. Australia*, Communication No. 488 / 1992, U.N. Document CCPR/C/50/D/488/1992 (1994).

karta in 2006, are an attempt to make this approach concrete.¹⁷ The Yogyakarta Principles have since attained considerable influence in the international discussion.

Since 2003, a bitter struggle in the international human rights discussion has been openly waged at the level of the UN concerning the abolition of the discrimination of homosexuality and the repeal of penal codes in numerous member countries. The corresponding initiative did not originate in the progressive EU, but in predominantly Catholic Brazil, which presented the resolution on "Human Rights and Sexual Orientation" to the UN Commission for Human Rights in 2003. Three points are quoted here that were especially to be underscored by the Human Rights Commission:

- "1) Expresses deep concern at the occurrence of violations of human rights in the world against persons on the grounds of their sexual orientation;
- 2) Stresses that human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birth-right of all human beings, that the universal nature of these rights and freedoms should not be hindered in any way on the grounds of sexual orientation;
- 3) Calls upon all States to promote and protect the human rights of all persons regardless of their sexual orientation."¹⁸

The Vatican, in cooperation with the *Conference of Islamic States* and powerful lobbying by fundamentalist religious groups of the USA, rallied against the resolution such that discussion about it was postponed to 2004, then to 2005. A note from the Vatican's ambassador to the UN reads:

"The sexual orientation of a person is not a right. Moreover, a person may well be hindered in the pursuit of his rights, without it being discrimination. A withdrawal (of the resolution) would not only save a great deal of time but would also prevent a further deepening of the disputes between Western states and those states which belong to a different cultural heritage and which have different religious and legal traditions."¹⁹

A message from the Pakistani representative of the *Organization of Islamic States* is similarly based on religious considerations:

"According to our understanding, sexual orientation is not a human rights issue. We maintain that accepting such a resolution would be a massive insult to the religious values of 1.2 billion Muslims and the adherents of other world religions."²⁰

¹⁷ *The Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity*; www.yogyakartaprinciples.org [27 Dec. 2010].

¹⁸ *The resolution on Human rights and sexual orientation*, E/CN.4/2003/L.92*, 17 April 2003; online: <http://ilga.org/ilga/en/article/406> [29 Dec. 2010].

¹⁹ Own translation of Klaus Jetz (LSVD): "Vatikan und Homophobie", 20 Aug. 2005, "Genf 2004"; online: <http://www.lsvd.de/704.98.html> [29 Dec. 2010].

²⁰ Own translation of Klaus Jetz (LSVD): "Vatikan und Homophobie", 20 Aug. 2005, "Genf 2004"; online: <http://www.lsvd.de/704.98.html> [29 Dec. 2010].

Meanwhile, support for Brazil's initiative has grown in spite of enormous pressure from the Vatican and the *Conference of Islamic States*. In 2004, merely 27 states supported the effort; in 2005, they were already 48, among them the then conservative government of Mexico. Not one nation from the continent of Africa was willing to support the initiative. Even South Africa, with its exemplary constitutional protection of homosexuals, withheld its support.

Since then, the issue of human rights and homosexuality has remained on the agenda of the UN. It has once again become clear that the human rights are not finalized and static, but that their further development is a highly dynamic process. This is not strange if we realize that human rights are neither unchangeable natural rights nor the result of divine providence. Rather, they are created by man, deeply rooted in cultural and historical traditions and in the ongoing discourse about values, and thus subject to change. The absence of this understanding leads to problems, especially in the area of essential human rights protection, when religious agendas leave little or no latitude to introduce new social or medical findings, as in the case of homosexuality. Since it has been established that homosexuality is neither a sickness nor a matter of free choice of a specific life-style, but determined by nature, it is hardly possible to lend legal credence to traditional religious viewpoints which see homosexual acts as being "contrary to nature", or that those concerned who freely choose a "sinful" life-style have to be ostracized.

A large number of nations were unimpressed by the stringent attitude taken by the Catholic Church and the *Conference of Islamic States*. Under the leadership of France, supported by the EU, the issue was brought as a proposal to the General Assembly on December 19, 2008. The key statement of this "UN Declaration on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity", supported by 67 of the 192 UN member states, reads:

"(3) We reaffirm the principle of non-discrimination which requires that human rights apply equally to every human being regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity.

(4) We are deeply concerned by violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms based on sexual orientation or gender identity.

(5) We are also disturbed that violence, harassment, discrimination, exclusion, stigmatization and prejudice are directed against persons in all countries in the world because of sexual orientation or gender identity, and that these practices undermine the integrity and dignity of those subjected to these abuses."²¹

All in all, the proposal reads like a plea against a massive worldwide violation of human rights. Again it was the Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the UN, Archbishop Celestino Migliore, who led the resis-

²¹ Online: <http://gayswithoutborders.wordpress.com/statement-on-human-rights-sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity> [27 Dec. 2010].

tance to the resolution.²² Besides the Vatican, the nations of the Islamic Conference, supported by the Arab League, again rejected the proposal. They formulated a counter-proposal, which Syria read before the General Assembly and which has been supported by 57 states. The essential message of this proposal is that sexual orientation is *not* genetically determined – with the tacit conclusion being that people choose freely between heterosexuality and homosexuality. Further, the inclusion of sexual orientation within the protection of international human rights would undermine the entire framework of human rights protection. Also, the resolution as initiated by France would interfere in issues that were entirely domestic concerns of the various nations. The text, it is argued, would also lead to acceptance and possibly legitimization of deplorable patterns of behaviour, even including pedophilia. Finally, the resolution would impinge upon the freedom of religions to condemn homosexuality. Both statements have since then been open for signature by other nations.²³ The Bush administration was not ready at that time to lend support to UN initiatives to ban the persecution of homosexuals. In March 2009 however, President Barack Obama declared the support of the USA.²⁴

7. *Human Rights politics of Germany and the EU*

In spite of the considerable resistance, the nations which have supported the resolution thus far should not lose sight of the goal, which is to regard this paper as the foundation of an international legal interpretation of existing human rights treaties. This goal is not as utopian as it sounds, especially when we consider the changes in attitude towards the congenital personality trait of homosexuality that have been possible in the course of centuries in many countries in the world, and even in whole cultural domains. If the currently committed states succeed in convincing others, then the front of those in resistance will break. This will have to be done in cooperation with NGOs and may even require the help of globally active strong business and financial institutions. Fears and concerns about the threat of pedophilia can be allayed through the usual sanctions, valid also for heterosexuals, and by enforcing respect for the age of consent. But what is more important is to convince these states that they are not supposed to protect the free

²² See <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE4B13QA20081202> [29 Dec. 2010].

²³ See the respective lists of supporting states on http://wapedia.mobi/en/UN_declaration_on_sexual_orientation_and_gender_identity.

²⁴ "Obama Admin to Endorse UN Gay Rights Declaration that Bush Refused to Sign", 17 March 2009, online: www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/03/17/obama-admin-to-endorse-un_n_176115.html [27 Dec. 2010].

choice of a life style, but that homosexuality, as established by research, is a variation of sexual behaviour and love, constituting a matter of fate and a natural form of behaviour for those concerned, and therefore to be recognized as a category of personality.

Moreover, the reduction of homosexuality to sexuality must be overcome in order to give view to the fact that homosexual love can be as pure and honest, or dishonest, as heterosexual love. Love between persons is at the core of the universal human rights protection, which encompasses the dignity of man as well as the right to the pursuit of happiness. It is not a matter for a state's legislative branch to regulate.

The necessary process of convincing others will no doubt require a great deal of time. Yet the fact that an important European nation is being represented by a homosexual foreign minister is of considerable symbolic importance here. The German public would do good to regard this as an important contribution to the global human rights discussion, which they ought to be proud to support. Germany's developmental policy, as well as that of the European Union, should take a clearer position. Support by European taxpayers can't be given where discrimination and persecution occur, based upon a single trait over which the persecuted and ostracized have no influence. Nations have the obligation according to international law to prevent human rights violations in their territory.

It is important, in all that, that the international public opinion, which has become an increasingly vital factor in the creation and interpretation of international legal standards, be continuously made aware of the issue of discrimination and persecution of homosexuals. Only pressure from the international public opinion will make it possible to permit millions of people to enjoy sufficient protection of their dignity and privacy in order to pursue their happiness free of repression, discrimination and contempt.

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JOSEFINE PAUL

Can gays kick a ball? On homophobia in soccer*

While homosexuality seems to be widely accepted or at least tolerated in present-day Germany and many people of public interest such as show stars or politicians live their homosexuality openly, this is not true for sports in general and for football in particular. Homophobia is a widespread phenomenon in (men's) soccer and even though the sport has become of great interest to various scientists, its heteronormativity does not seem to be one of the main concerns to researchers. The present analysis is concerned with the social context that allowed homophobia to preserve its impact on football culture. It therefore takes a closer look at the history of football in Germany and describes the actual situation of gay players in soccer and – the quite different one – of lesbian players in women's soccer. It then presents the role of homophobic language and behaviour for the fans in the stands in comparison to other (racist, sexist, xenophobic) types of insults. Finally the changing treatment of the topics of homosexuality and homophobia by the sport's officials as well as the new phenomenon of LGBT fan clubs are roughly sketched. We may retain as the main results that homophobia in football is nourished by an omnipresent narrow concept of (heterosexual) masculinity that denigrates anything outside itself as feminine and weak, and that it is the assumption of the complete absence of homosexuality that creates room for a higher degree of same-sex tenderness.

1. Introduction

Sports play a role of considerable importance in Europe. On the one hand, sports have become increasingly important both as a recreational activity and as an economic factor. On the other hand, its associations, clubs and institutions have assumed an important social role. This is especially true of soccer. In Germany, every weekend, huge crowds stream to the stadiums to follow the games of the men's Federal League, the Bundesliga. Interest beyond the confines of the soccer stadiums is massive as well. With nearly six million members, the *German Football Federation* (DFB) is the largest organization of its kind worldwide. Meanwhile, soccer is no longer an exclusively male privilege. Of the six million members one million are female. The number of women in the stadiums and on the fields has been growing continuously in recent years. Germany's hosting the Women's World Cup in 2011 will no doubt be an enormous event, which will certainly increase recognition of women's soccer.

* This contribution was written in German and translated into English by Kent Stuart (rev. by MG and VL). The terms *soccer* and *football* are treated as synonymous.

These opening remarks should not, however, encourage one to believe that soccer is any less a male domain nowadays than before. Matthias Marschik noted in his study of Austrian soccer, that the military and sports appear to be “restricted to an apparently unbridled masculinity”.¹ This observation is equally applicable to German soccer.

The topic of “homosexuality in sports” has as of yet remained of minor interest in research. While male and female researchers are increasingly concerned with the influence of gender on sport, homosexuality is still perceived as a somewhat exotic subject. Few have addressed this subject from a scientific point of view, with the notable exception of Tatjana Eggeling. It is also readily apparent that the topic of male homosexuality enjoys a much wider interest in research papers than the situation of lesbian women in sports. It cannot be denied that there have been a growing number of publications concerned with the issue of “women in sports”, but feminine homosexuality has at most been relegated to the status of mere marginal observations in those works which, in one way or another, are concerned with addressing general gender related issues in sports. There is but one study available in German which is devoted exclusively to this theme. Birgit Palzkill wrestled with it as early as 1990. Other studies are content with mentioning it in passing in order to make it clear how the insinuation of homosexuality – and therefore the focus on sexual aspects – is used to marginalize women's sports with suggestions of its being “unfeminine” and “abnormal”.

The discrimination against homosexuality and its related taboos is closely tied to extravagant perceptions of masculinity and the resulting belittling of everything “feminine”. In order to get to the source of homophobia in soccer it is first of all necessary to take into consideration the origin of certain perceptions of masculinity.

This paper will attempt to mark a link between the origins of soccer as a “man's sport” to homophobia on the playing field and in the stands of the stadiums. Current developments in men's as well as women's soccer organizations will be considered.

2. The ball has a gender

Soccer in Germany was initially developed in the upper school levels. Dons at English prep schools had originally taken the game from its uncouth popular origins and developed it as a means to encourage good breeding among their pupils. It was there that the game gradually acquired its current form as a modern sport.² It was later used by German educators for the same purpose.

In the first few years after the founding of the DFB (in 1900) there were clear efforts to model soccer along the lines of the military that

¹ “Reservate scheinbar ungebremster Maskulinität”: Matthias Marschik 2003, 8.

² Compare: Eric Dunning / Kenneth Sheard 1979, 47ff.

enjoyed considerable societal respect. DFB officials were well aware of how the military impressed itself on society and they attempted to use this to their own ends.³ The recognition and reception of soccer into military training assisted it in its breakthrough to widespread social acceptance. Soccer is among those very few sports which in some sense profited from the experience of the First World War. Since 85% of the 200'000 members of the DFB were drafted into the war effort and soccer was played in the camps and at the Front, the game spread.⁴

The stress placed upon certain functional aspects of gymnastics and sports with regard to the military was quite naturally not without consequences for the role these sports acquired in society. Girls and women were as a result excluded and the perception of gymnastics and sports as being manly activities was reinforced.⁵ This had inevitable effects upon women's participation in sports and laid the groundwork for a widely accepted perception of masculinity, one which at the same time excluded variant perceptions of masculinity. Despite the fact that soccer developed into a sport for the masses and increasingly distanced itself from its origins in young men's education as well as from its military connotations it has remained a "man's game".⁶ The DFB even explicitly suppressed women's soccer from 1955 to 1970: all of its tributaries were prohibited to found or accept female sections, to allow women to use the fields or to permit their referees to officiate at female matches.⁷

3. *It all happens out on the field*

At least in Western Europe, homosexuality has achieved acceptance or is at very least tolerated in many areas of society, and rights for homosexuals have improved considerably. Nevertheless, homosexuality in (men's) soccer has remained taboo until this very day.

"I'd never shower with queers."

DeWolf, player from Feyenoord Rotterdam

"[...] besides, I shower with my ass turned to the wall."

Frank Rost, German keeper (2002)

"Homosexuality is abnormal. I'll never draft homosexuals into my team."

Otto Baric, manager of the Croatian national team (2004)

"I wouldn't advise any pro to out himself. The social pressure would be impossible to endure."

Corny Littmann, President of FC St. Pauli (2004)⁸

³ Nils Havemann 2005, 45.

⁴ Marion Müller 2009, 81.

⁵ Ilse Hartmann-Tews / Gertrud Pfister 2003, 4f.

⁶ Fabian Brändle / Christian Koller 2002, 209.

⁷ Niederschrift über den ordentlichen Bundestag des DFB am Samstag, den 30. Juli 1955 in Berlin.

⁸ The quotes are from an essay by Tanja Walther (2006) on homophobia in soccer.

Similar utterances about gay politicians are nearly impossible to find today. The above quotations demonstrate how (men's) soccer quite obviously maintains and even encourages a certain homophobia in its very structure. In soccer, one may expect to encounter this particular perception of masculinity as found in Connell's concept of "hegemonial masculinity":

"In its modern usage the term [masculinity] assumes that one's behaviour results from the type of person one is. That is to say, an unmasculine person would behave differently: peaceable rather than violent, conciliatory rather than dominating, hardly able to kick a football, uninterested in sexual conquest, and so forth."⁹

It is therefore no coincidence at all that we speak of "soccer" and "women's soccer". A ranking is being implied here, in which women on any playing field are perceived as being "abnormal",¹⁰ while men lay claim to a certain "home field advantage". Soccer, as a men's society, still has its importance in determining behaviour in gender specific roles.¹¹ Soccer therefore plays a part in male socialization. Heterosexuality is central to this conception of "masculinity". The structure of masculinity functions in part through the exclusion of women and gays. On German playing fields, "homo" is the ultimate label for deficient masculinity.¹² As an effect, homosexual men in these specific social spheres are compelled to hide their homosexuality or, disguised behind a concept of masculinity and heterosexuality, are unable to live their lives fully, openly.¹³

Meanwhile, the topic "gays and soccer" has achieved a certain resonance in the media. As early as 2006, the soccer magazine *RUND*, as well as *Spiegel online*, devoted a series to the issue of gay soccer players. Both reported on players in the first and second German leagues who have kept their homosexuality secret from teammates, coaches and some even from their wives.¹⁴ In order to maintain the image of conforming to a model of hetero-normalcy, gay soccer players have begun to assume a "cover identity", complete with wife and kids. In the heteronormative world of professional soccer, homosexuality could lead to the loss of one's livelihood. This fear often leads to one exaggerating one's own masculinity: obvious displays of heterosexuality, aggressive play on the field, laughing at homo jokes in the locker room.¹⁵

⁹ Raewyn Connell 1999, 87.

¹⁰ Compare: Fabian Brändle / Christian Koller 2002, 207f.

¹¹ Fabian Brändle / Christian Koller 2002, 209.

¹² Ulf Heidel 2005, 108.

¹³ Michael Messner 1999, 108.

¹⁴ *Spiegel online*, 12.12.2006. *Spiegel online's* article is based largely on the article which appeared in *RUND*. This article is unfortunately no longer available online. For this reason, the authoress is compelled to refer entirely to the article in *Spiegel online*.

¹⁵ Tatjana Eggeling 2010, 23.

The very structure of soccer has promoted the discrimination of gays in that, until now, the presence of homosexuality has simply been denied. This has led for one thing to gay players being forced into a double identity. A further result has been that players who have been unable or unwilling to disguise their identity have in consequence abandoned the heteronormative soccer system. One example of this is former GDR (German Democratic Republic) Junior-National player, later member of Rot-Weiss Erfurt, Marcus Urban. Together with journalist Ronny Blaschke, he wrote the book *Versteckspieler*¹⁶ that deals with the personal struggles of a young homosexual man in the heteronormative world of soccer:

“He continuously monitored his own body language and stilled any hint of an emotional outburst; that was part of him.”¹⁷

At barely twenty, it seemed impossible to Urban to pursue a career in soccer all the while being compelled to play a game of hide and seek.¹⁸ He decided not to continue his soccer career.

All the same, soccer is full of homoeroticism. Hugging, kissing and embracing are common, both on the playing field and in the stands. Within the context of soccer, various patterns of behaviour are entirely permissible without any hint of their being classified as unmasculine. On the background of denial of non-heterosexuality, it is possible for men to display emotions that they would never dare show openly outside the safe confines of the stadium. This behaviour is acceptable among men only as long as no player or fan seeks physical contact with men privately.¹⁹

The situation of homosexual female players in women's soccer is entirely different. It is an open secret that many female players, also in the upper leagues as well as in the national soccer team, are lesbian.

This fact is often used to, of all things, discredit women's soccer quite independently of their athletic achievement. The media's perception of the dominance of lesbian players has been used to regard women's soccer from a wholly sexualized point of view, thereby serving to marginalize the sport.²⁰ At the same time, the prejudice has arisen that lesbian players would effectively “colonize” the sport²¹ and discriminate against heterosexual female players or, even worse, seduce women and girls into adopting a lesbian lifestyle.

That such deep-seated fears of those who are different may lead to absolutely abstruse fantasies is demonstrated in Beate Fechtig's book *Frauen und Fußball* (Women and soccer, 1995). The FC Wettswill-

¹⁶ Meaning *The Hide And Seek Player*; Ronny Blaschke 2008.

¹⁷ Ronny Blaschke 2008, 54.

¹⁸ Ronny Blaschke 2008, 62.

¹⁹ Tanja Walther 2006, 6.

²⁰ Jennifer Hargreaves 2000, 138.

²¹ Jennifer Hargreaves 2000, 138.

Bonsteten women's team in Switzerland was disbanded by the club's board of directors in 1994 owing to their "openly pursuing an abnormal tendency (lesbian)"²². This act was accompanied by a huge debate in the media, which generally served to reveal more about the fantasies of some journalists than it did to seriously address the situation of the women of FC Wettswill-Bonstetten.

Cultural researcher Tatjana Eggeling reported in one interview that in the 1990s, the DFB threatened the women of the German national team with expulsion if they chose to take part in the gay-lesbian Euro-games.²³ Such measures were based on the grounds of the damage to the sport that would ensue through their participation.

The origins of the insinuation of female homosexuality and ensuing "immoral consequences" are not only to be found in the rejection of homosexuality. As already discussed, the concept of roles and the separation of the genders in sports are very strictly defined. There is hardly a sport in which the competitions are not divided according to the sexes. Moreover, there are certain kinds of sports where a sense of physicality, or the way in which the body is employed, is associated with a given gender. Whereas "competitiveness and movements associated with pursuit" are ascribed to men,²⁴ it is those sports which highlight their "natural characteristics" that are most suitable for women, such as gymnastics, synchronized swimming or dancing. These sports are not characterized by hard physical contest, but tend rather to place aesthetics in the foreground.

Women who attempt to break this mould, who take an interest in a "manly" sport, e. g. soccer, actively attack the notion of gender specific attributes. Soccer is regarded as being hard and beset with pain, and therefore incompatible with the accepted sense of femininity. Women who played soccer (and this remains to a certain extent true today) were confronted with being tagged as "amazons" or "fighting lesbians". Sexism here is directly related to homophobia. Both serve to denigrate femininity in general and women in soccer in particular in order to preserve the predominance of the hegemonial masculinity.

In contrast to male homosexuality, lesbian women have been able to find a niche in soccer where it is possible to live freely with their own identities. Tanja Walther even believes that soccer offers a place to be oneself, where women don't have to be the way society often requires them to be.²⁵ It also offers a limited space in which they may live freely with those personal characteristics which are commonly referred to as being "manly".²⁶ Nevertheless, women's soccer is not really leading the

²² "Ausleben abnormer Veranlagungen (lesbisch)", quoted by Beate Fechtig 1995, 68.

²³ Nicole Selmer 2005, 103.

²⁴ "Suchende Beweglichkeit und der Wettkampf", Ilse Hartmann-Tews 2004, 5.

²⁵ Ronny Blaschke 2008, 82.

²⁶ Tatjana Eggeling 2010, 21.

way in an open approach towards homosexuality in sports. Few women athletes in soccer have been willing to publicly acknowledge their homosexuality.

In men's soccer, the existence of gay players – long seen as being impossible – and homosexuality, owing to its supposed non-existence, have been absolutely rejected as an issue for quite a long time now. The same issue in the area of women's soccer is much more complex. Under the one condition that they not display their homosexuality publicly, it is possible for lesbian players to live freely with a lesbian identity within the club itself.²⁷ However, out of fear of losing sponsors, many clubs and associations, as well as the players themselves, take great care to prevent public knowledge of their players' lesbianism. The possibility of going "semi-public", Eggeling believes, exists in those niches which women's soccer has made possible for these women. However, these exist primarily on the playing field. Beyond the field, women in soccer feel compelled to prove their femininity and heterosexuality in a variety of ways.

4. Saturdays in the German stands

The blocks of fans make life very difficult for minorities. Racist comments are common in particular segments of the spectators. Popular insults include imitations of monkey cries to malign black players from the opponents team or the so-called "subway song" (*U-Bahn Lied*) about the fictional train being built from the opponents' city to Auschwitz. Clubs, associations and the fans themselves have meanwhile reacted with undisguised disgust to such discriminatory tactics and access to stadiums has been forbidden for some groups, with penalties being levied for offending clubs or fan groups.

Authors such as Victoria Schwenzer believe that this is in part a result of the change in German professional soccer from a proletarian show to a family-friendly event.²⁸ Nowadays, soccer is a spectator sport which takes place in comfortable arenas where the solid middle class can watch a game at ease, sheltered from the elements. More recently, largely owing to the business orientation of modern soccer, the effort has been to market visits to the stadium as an "all-round, care-free afternoon". For this reason an openly racist atmosphere of nascent violence is unwanted. There are ordinances in most stadiums' regulations against racism, anti-semitism and xenophobic behaviour.

Besides the various forms of discrimination just mentioned, which both clubs and sport associations have acted against, sexism and homophobia are widespread in the stands. Those in charge at the club or association level however, are not nearly as conscious of these forms of dis-

²⁷ Tatjana Eggeling 2010, 25.

²⁸ Victoria Schwenzer 2005, 57.

crimination as they are of racism, anti-semitism or the dislike of foreigners.

Racism and hate of foreigners are evident forms of discrimination. Even though it is generally maintained that this is an integral part of the "soccer culture", and is primarily directed by fans at the opponent on the field and in the stands, there are nevertheless active efforts to counteract it. Homophobia is part of the same self-performance containing verbal abuse and ostracism as regularly practiced among blocks of fans. The humiliation of opponents by means of emasculation occurs through homophobic utterances.²⁹ Homophobic humiliation is a very common kind of amusement in the form of mutual taunts between opposing groups of fans and is much more frequent than racial abuse. The expletive "Homo!" has remained as a standard insult in the fans' repertoire for abusing referees, opposing fans and their players. Second guessing here is not generally expected. Within the logic of the "manly sport of soccer", homophobia functions according to a very simple principle: those who are labeled as homos are not real men in the eyes of the fans and therefore do not belong to the man's world of soccer.

Homophobia among fans is on the one hand a means to disparage opponents or referees and on the other hand an equally important element in maintaining a protected realm in which men may show emotions and indulge in physical play.

5. Outlook

In recent years, homosexuality in soccer has increasingly emerged from the shadows of taboos. A decisive factor in this has been the efforts of the gay and lesbian fanclubs, which, in an increasing number of cities have shown publicly that the soccer ball, while indeed round, is not only straight, but also gay and lesbian.

This beginning was achieved by a few gay fans in Berlin's Olympic Stadium in 2001. They formed the first gay-lesbian fan club, Hertha-Junxx, in Germany. Numerous clubs were then formed in the wake of its founding. Since then, fan clubs from Germany, Spain and Switzerland have united into the organization Queer Football Fanclub (QFF) to make a clear statement against discrimination and for tolerance in soccer. The QFF does not see itself as simply being a union of gay and lesbian fan clubs, but explicitly seeks to promote public relations and educational work in and around stadiums.³⁰

Moreover, organizations such as the *European Gay and Lesbian Sport Federation* (EGLSF), the *Bündnis aktiver Fußballfans* (BAFF), the network *Football Against Racism in Europe* (FARE) or the network *F_in* (Women in

²⁹ Victoria Schwenzer 2005, 64.

³⁰ See <http://queerfootballfanclubs.com/qff/content/view/17/34/lang,german/>.

soccer, "Frauen im Fussball") have been very actively involved in the struggle against homophobia and sexism in soccer.

Their work has contributed to clubs and associations having at last recognized the importance of the struggle against every form of discrimination. The DFB set a special example during the last qualifications round for the national men's team for the 2010 World Cup in a game against Finland on October 14, 2009 in Hamburg. The games were played under DFB's motto: "Many colours – one game! Against the discrimination of homosexuals in soccer". In a flyer produced especially for the game, DFB president Dr. Theo Zwanziger admitted that homophobia is an issue in soccer to which "the association has paid insufficient attention."³¹

The club SV Werder Bremen has purposely entered the headings "Gender" and "Sexual Identity" into its statutes. The club has accepted its commitment to making sport function as a link between

"[...] nationalities, cultures, religions and social classes. It offers an athletic homebase for children, youth and adults, independent of gender, heritage, skin colour, ethnic origin, belief, social position or sexual identity."³²

Internationally, first steps in this direction may be observed as well. The English soccer Association (FA) published a brochure against homophobia as early as 2002 and supports the Justin Campaign³³ against homophobia in soccer. The UEFA also dealt with the issue of homophobia in its third *Conference Against Discrimination in Soccer* in 2009.³⁴

In active sports, innumerable gay-lesbian sports clubs demonstrate that gays also enjoy soccer, and that two women may also dance closely together. Nevertheless, in spite of all efforts against discrimination in soccer, considerable reserve remains. As lately as 2010, the French club FC Chozeau expelled a long-standing club member because he admitted to his homosexuality. The club's official reason for this move was that the club wanted to protect the player from problems with his teammates.³⁵

Within research itself there are without a doubt a few blindspots. Thoroughly exploring the history of soccer from the perspective of historical gender research would permit to get to the bottom of the enormous dichotomy in the dual gender system and the resulting (structural) homophobia. Quite apart from that it would certainly be worthwhile,

³¹ "Mit dem wir uns unzureichend beschäftigt haben." This quotation is taken from the flyer "Viele Farben – ein Spiel! Gegen die Diskriminierung von Homosexuellen im Fußball", published by the DFB in October 2009.

³² See www.werder.de/download/satzung.pdf; §2. Zweck des Vereins.

³³ The campaign's name is a reminder of English professional soccer player Justin Fashanu, who until 1990 was the only professional soccer player to have outed himself; he committed suicide in 1998.

³⁴ Tatjana Eggeling 2010, 26.

³⁵ See an article on: http://www.focus.de/sport/fussball/int_ligen/frankreich-schwuler-fussballer-aus-team-verbannt_aid_549823.html [1 Oct. 2010].

from a social scientific point of view, to follow current developments and efforts on the playing field, in the associations and clubs, and in the stands, and to document the effects. Some studies devoted to examining the unique fan culture in soccer have dealt with this question, though this has largely occurred incidentally.

Little is known about the situation of female homosexual athletes. So far there have hardly been any active players who have been prepared to cooperate for such a study.³⁶ The excellent research by Birgit Palzkill in the 1990s is one of the few studies internationally done in close cooperation with both current and former female players. Picking up on this thread and, quite apart from addressing the perspective of the fans, trying to get close to the perspective of active players as well, could be a point of departure for further research work.

Need for research:

To explore the processes of stabilization and perpetuation of gender based distinctions in recreational activities (informal normativity/ stereotypes).

To explore the history of soccer from the perspective of historical gender research to elucidate the thereby grounded dual gender system and the resulting (structural) homophobia.

To document the effects of the current non-discrimination campaigns in soccer, specifically on the playing field, in the associations and clubs, from a social scientific point of view.

To describe the situation of female soccer players.

³⁶ Ronny Blaschke 2008, 100.

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RUFUS SONA / THOMAS VIOLA RIESKE

Homophobic Others

A case study in the culturalization of homonegativity within social research*

This contribution discusses a study on attitudes towards homosexuality amongst Berlin youth that found negative attitudes towards homosexuality to correlate with migration background and (Muslim) religiosity. Situating the study within recent discourses around homophobia, migration, and religion, the authors discuss the study's design, the results' interpretation and their public discussion with respect to racist biases. They argue that the study's methodology and the public perspective on its results reproduce the stereotypical image of the "homophobic Muslim migrant" that needs to be challenged within research on and activism against homonegativity.

1. Introduction

The Berlin organization ABqueer e. V. offers education and counselling on issues concerning lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people. The authors work for ABqueer in a project called "teach out", conducting training and counselling for teachers and pedagogic staff. In our training sessions, participants often express uncertainties or reservations regarding the inclusion of LGBT issues in their work or how to counter homonegative¹ acts amongst staff or students. Frequently, participants articulate these reservations with respect to students and parents with a (Muslim) "migration background"², assuming that these students and their families are particularly hostile towards homosexuality and discussions about it. Such a perspective is most popular

* This contribution was originally written in English by the two researchers who both conduct training for educators in the project ABqueer (rev. by MG, corr. VL).

¹ While "homophobia" is the most popular term used in public debates and the media, we prefer the term *homonegativity* because it is more inclusive of the various forms of discrimination of homosexuality on an individual, collective, institutional and structural level. In this text, we use "homophobia" only when referring to public discourse. The study discussed in this paper uses the construct "negative attitudes towards homosexuality" which we will shorten to "homonegative attitudes".

² "Migration background" is our translation of the term "Migrationshintergrund" which is widely used in Germany. It was introduced as an alternative to the term "Ausländer" (foreigner) in order to be able to speak about a non-German past of a person without refusing this person the status "German" by calling them foreigner. Usually, however, talking about people with a "migration background" refers to immigrants from Turkey or Arab countries and their descendants. Hence, like the older term (which is still in use as well), it tends to denote ethno-cultural difference, while white immigrants from Scandinavian countries, for example, are not labelled as persons with a migration background. See also Noah Sow 2008, 243f.

amongst non-migrant pedagogues who work in institutions attended by a considerable amount of socially disadvantaged students who experience poverty and racism. Although this shows that a number of social factors both on the part of the pedagogues and on the part of their students are important to consider, discussions centre around the significance of Muslim religiosity or cultural differences between “the West” and Turkey or Arab countries.

The assumption that Muslims or migrants are more homonegative than non-Muslims or non-migrants also circulates within the German LGBT scene in Berlin and in the media across all political camps. It is articulated when for instance verbal or physical attacks against homosexuals are being reported and the victim says that the perpetrators appeared non-German to them. It has also been part of the public debate about German norms and values since at least 2006.³

A study conducted by Bernd Simon (in short: Simon-Study) and published in 2008 seems to validate this thesis.⁴ Comparing the responses of school pupils with Turkish, post-USSR or no migration background, Simon found that migrant youth presented stronger homonegative attitudes than non-migrant youth, and that a Turkish migration background and Muslim religiosity correlated particularly strongly with homonegative attitudes. Another positive correlate is called “acceptance of traditional norms of masculinity”. In light of the political significance of such research, we consider it highly important to take a closer look at how these findings were produced. We present an analysis of the study by situating it in its political context and discussing the methods used by Simon to gain his data, focusing on how the study constructs homonegativity and its origins. We will show that the study’s constructions of homonegativity, migration background and religiosity are simplistic and that their operationalizations contain a number of shortcomings. Furthermore, by discussing the interpretation of the results by the researcher and public media, we will show how the construct of homophobic Muslim migrants dominated the perspective in the evaluation of the data and foreclosed alternative possibilities.

In concluding, we will argue that the Simon-Study should not be used as proof of the thesis of a higher homonegativity amongst Muslim or migrant persons or communities. The knowledge⁵ produced by this study and its reception feeds into the racialization and culturalization of homonegativity. This in turn is likely to enhance social inequalities and result in potentially counterproductive effects in the struggle against

³ At that time the federal government of Baden-Württemberg launched guidelines for a citizenship test with questions designed to prove Muslim applicants guilty of discriminating against homosexuals and therefore not conforming with German norms and values.

⁴ See Bernd Simon 2008.

⁵ Editors' note: this sociological concept of knowledge does not imply truth, but only that it is held to be true.

homonegativity – in particular for migrant queers and queers of colour whose existence is widely being ignored by the public discourse as well as in the design of the study.

2. Political Context: Debates around Homophobia, Migration and Religion

Politics on homonegativity and migration or religion have been debated publicly and semi-publicly in Berlin for at least a decade now. For example, there has been an ongoing dispute since the late 1990s around a hotline for gay victims of violence, because it documents the ethnic background of perpetrators as assumed by the victims.⁶ In 2003, further discussions were triggered when the *Lesbian and Gay Federation in Germany* (LSVD) denounced homonegativity amongst migrants in a press release following an attack on the trolleys of *Gays and Lesbians in Turkey* (GLADT) during the 2003 Pride March in Berlin.⁷ Later that year, a Berlin gay and lesbian magazine attracted criticism for calling upon Turkish gays and lesbians to come out to their families by using the racist phrase “Türken raus”.⁸ Since then, numerous public events, workshops and conferences took place in Berlin and addressed issues of homo- and transphobia, migration, religion and racism.⁹

More broadly speaking, the theory of culture-driven differences in attitudes towards homosexuality and gender equality has been increasingly articulated in the last decade in many Western countries such as Canada, the USA, the UK, the Netherlands or Denmark. It is claimed that there is an inattention and tolerance in the West, particularly in the Left, towards violations of human rights regarding sexuality and gender when committed by migrants from Arab countries or Turkey. Multiculturalism is blamed for this shortcoming and an increased awareness of human rights violations and specific measures are called for. The suggested means include special educational programs, direct action or measures affecting the residency status.¹⁰ Gender and sexuality inequalities also appear in justifications for the “war on terror”.¹¹

⁶ For an early report on this debate see Barbara Bollwahn de Paez Casanova 1999. A particular problem is that the criteria used to determine such an ethnic background can only be racist ones, reproducing the practice of categorizing and racializing humans according to their looks or manners of speaking.

⁷ See Jennifer Petzen 2005 for a discussion of this and other events in that year.

⁸ The ambiguous phrase literally means “Turks out!” It can be read as a demand to come out of the closet, but had before been used as an order to get out of the country. See Autonomes Schwulenreferat des AStA FU Berlin (2003).

⁹ See, for example, the documentation of the first conference of Turkish gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transsexuals and transgenders in LSVD Berlin-Brandenburg 2004, and the documentation of a conference on homo- and transphobia in Senatsverwaltung 2009. This chronicle is not exhaustive. It would certainly be interesting to examine the development of these debates in greater detail.

¹⁰ In Germany, for example, it was proposed that migrants from countries where men are legally privileged over women should have to agree formally to the equality of men and women in order to maintain their residence status. Persons violating this

Within the debates around these issues, numerous objections have been raised (in particular by (LGBTQ) Muslim and migrant activists and organizations) against the thesis that Muslim people or those with a Turkish or Arab migration background are particularly homophobic as a result of their culture or religion:

- The understanding of Islam and the *Arab Kulturkreis*¹² as being traditionally homophobic is historically flawed. Firstly, scholarship has shown that homosexuality as linked to personal identity is typically European and did not exist until the late 19th century. Before, religious texts addressed and prohibited certain sexual practices such as anal intercourse rather than sexual desires or homosexual identities. A persecution of these acts barely took place due to the juridical demands within the Sharia that made it difficult to put someone on trial (four witnesses needed to be found). Also, there is a body of poetry in Islamic culture depicting same-sex sexuality or expressing same-sex desires. In fact, in the 19th and early 20th century, European travelers to Arab countries expressed irritation upon the lack of condemnation of homosexuality. The rise of homonegativity in countries influenced by Islam is linked to the import of the European concept of homosexuality and its legal persecution. This fact also veils the variety of interpretations of the Qur'an and the history of struggles around it. Hence, to depict Islam as a culture that is inherently homophobic and that has a history of persecuting homosexuality is an inaccurate account of Islam – one that feeds into those constructions presented by Islamic fundamentalists.¹³
- The image of Turkish and Arab people as determined by this notion of Islam is deterministic and reductionist. Arab and Turkish migrants are depicted as shaped only by one distinct set of cultural rules and as unable to reflect on them (unless aided by non-Muslim Europeans). In consequence, they are exposed to a life-long suspicion of a lack of civility, enlightenment, and secularization. Apart from the eurocentrism of this normative stance, this picture fails to acknowledge the diversity of religious and political positions held by persons with a Turkish or an Arab migration background. It also neglects the multiplicity of hybrid identities. Muslim, Turkish or Arab queers in particular are denied representation and yet another social group is constructed as heterosexual.¹⁴ A well-known exclusivity is thereby established: you are not supposed to be Muslim, Turkish or Arab *and* gay.¹⁵ Furthermore, how experiences of racism or economic disadvantages may affect religious affiliations or a disposition for violent behaviour, tend to be put aside in favour of culturalist explanations.

agreement were then to be deported. This proposal gained support as well as criticism from feminist and anti-racist activists and scholars. For discussion see Mark Terkessidis 2007 and Halina Bendkowski et al. 2007.

¹¹ Jin Haritaworn et al. 2007 and 2008: they argue that sexuality has replaced gender as a criterion for “modernity” and “civilization”. See also Jennifer Petzen 2005.

¹² Often used in this context, the German word “Kulturkreis” literally translates as *cultural circle* or *district*. The linkage of this word with group, crowd, to turn/rotate, to encircle/enclose might be worth investigating.

¹³ See Georg Klauda 2008.

¹⁴ Jin Haritaworn et al. 2007 and 2008.

¹⁵ An example is the title of the LSVD project “MILES”, an abbreviation of “Centre for Migrants, Lesbians and Gays”.

- The implicit or explicit construction of Germany or Europe as less homonegative, or characterized by a tradition of emancipation and tolerance, is marked by “social denial” and “historical amnesia”.¹⁶ It neglects the long history of persecution of same-sex acts and homosexuality in Europe and Christianity, the violent past of colonization by European states and the ongoing existence of homonegativity and other forms of violence. For example, it wasn’t until 2001 that in Germany same-sex partnerships were legally codified (and still not in the same way as partnerships between men and women are), not to mention the ongoing privileging and idealization of, for example, monogamous relationships within law and popular culture and the legal and medical practices around trans- and intersexuality.
- Homonegative acts by non-Muslim and non-migrant Germans are neglected and described differently. Germans appear as non-Muslim and without migration background, and as progressive and eager to fight discrimination. If Germans do take a stance against homosexuality, it gains less significant coverage in the media than the same acts by (alleged) migrants. It is presented rather as an individual specificity or as the result of belonging to a particular field, such as the religious right or male sports – we are not aware of any case in which homonegative behaviour from a German person was discussed as a result of their being German or as a result of homophobic traditions in Judeo-Christian secularized Europe.
- Earlier scholarship and political activism trying to analyze and understand homonegativity is neglected. Homonegativity must also be understood in light of (Western) norms of binary gender, (hetero)sexuality and hegemonic masculinity. Individualized accounts of homonegativity have long since been criticized as they neglect the ways in which homonegativity is inscribed in societal institutions and social structures and partly upheld by LGBT people themselves.¹⁷ The discourse on homophobic Arabs, Muslims and migrants promotes a rather simplistic view of the connections between gender, sexuality, culture and subjectivity. It dislocates homonegativity and patriarchy outside the West, respectively Western (white) bodies, while ignoring the contemporary forms in which these structures subsist in the West.

According to these criticisms, the discourse about Muslim and migrant homophobic will have negative effects on Muslim and migrant persons in Germany, as it creates stereotypical perceptions, legitimizes a restrictive regulation of migration and dehumanizes Muslim and migrant persons. It does, on the other hand, improve the position of those who adopt this stance, as it serves to prove the adherence to nationalistic values. Gay and lesbian activists presenting themselves as a means to civilize migrants gain privileges in a political context where calls for an integration of migrants according to a model of assimilation rather than democratic participation have become increasingly popular.¹⁸

¹⁶ Maria do Mar Castro Varela 2009, 14. See also Jin Haritaworn et al. 2007 and 2008.

¹⁷ See, for example, Barry D. Adam 1998.

¹⁸ See Alexander Zinn (quoted in LSVD Presseerklärung 2003) as an example. For a longer discussion of how white German mainstream gays and lesbians capitalize on their self-representation as capable of “taming the Muslim Other”, see Jennifer Petzen 2005.

These criticisms have been levelled against the LSVD on frequent occasions. The fact that the LSVD commissioned a study on factors related to homonegativity which identified migration background and religion as prominent factors can be understood as an attempt to validate the construct of homophobic migrants. The following analysis examines the extent to which the study has taken into account the criticisms mentioned.

3. *The design of the study*

The Simon-Study was commissioned as part of the pilot project "Homosexuality as an Issue in Migrant Families". 1'301 pupils at eleven Berlin secondary schools, aged 14 to 20, filled in questionnaires in 2006. The number of girls and boys participating in the study was about the same.

Simon tested the following hypotheses:

1. Adolescents with a migration background (from the former USSR and from Turkey) display a stronger homonegative attitude than adolescents without a migration background.
2. Religiosity and the acceptance of norms of traditional masculinity are generally positive correlates of a homonegative attitude.
3. Personal contacts with homosexuals are generally negative correlates of a homonegative attitude.
4. The connection between religiosity and a homonegative attitude is particularly significant among adolescents with a Turkish migration background.
5. Discrimination against migrants as perceived by youth with a migration background is a positive correlate with a homonegative attitude.
6. The amount of personal integration of these adolescents into German society is a negative correlate.¹⁹

Each variable was measured with one or several items (see below). Participants were requested to express their acceptance of an item by checking on a five-level scale from 0: "not correct" to 4: "absolutely correct".

The obtained data were taken to justify the following conclusions:

1. Adolescents with a migration background show a significantly stronger homonegative attitude than adolescents without a migration background.
2. There is significant evidence that religiosity and homonegativity are related. This evidence is significantly weaker among Christian youth without a migration background than among Muslim youth with a Turkish migration background.
3. In all groups of respondents²⁰, a higher acceptance of norms of traditional masculinity is related to a more homonegative attitude.

¹⁹ Bernd Simon (tr. R.S.) 2008, 89.

²⁰ The questionnaires were assigned to three groups: adolescents with Turkish background, adolescents with a migration background from a state of the former USSR and adolescents without migration background. See also paragraph 3.3 *Measuring the "migration background"*.

The three main constructs used in the study were “hostile attitudes towards homosexuality”, “religiosity” and “migration background”. In the following paragraphs, we will take a closer look at how they were operationalized.

3.1 *Measuring homonegative attitudes*

Focussing on “attitudes”, the study uses a social psychological approach, looking at homonegativity on the level of individuals. It defines a hostile attitude towards homosexuality as a tendency to react negatively towards homosexuals and homosexuality, and this on the level of affects, cognitions and behaviour.²¹ To measure this attitude, nine items are used, comprising reactions towards gays and lesbians and towards the political necessity of further measures against the discrimination against gays and lesbians:

- 1/2 “When two gay men/lesbian women kiss on the street, I find this repulsive.”²²
- 3/4 “If I knew that my neighbour was gay/lesbian, I would rather not be in contact with him/her.”
- 5/6 “Gays/Lesbians often think they are better.”
- 7 “If I had a child that was gay or lesbian, I would feel I had raised them wrong.”
- 8 “Society does enough for gays and lesbians.”
- 9 “Gays and Lesbians should have the same rights as heterosexual men and women.”

The responses to these items varied, in part significantly. For example, 47% of the respondents affirmed the first item, thereby expressing a homonegative attitude, while 68% of them affirmed the last item and thus expressed a stance against the legal discrimination of homosexuals. Male respondents were significantly more inclined to present homonegative responses than female respondents. The groups’ differences were also highly significant: respondents with a migration background clearly presented stronger negative views on homosexuals than respondents without migration background. The educational level of their parents could not be shown to be influential on the result.

For further discussion, we will take a closer look at the first two items measuring affective reactions towards a gay or lesbian kiss. Is it valid to conclude that someone affirming such a statement has a homonegative attitude? The respondents make a theoretical and conditional statement: if they observe a kiss between two persons of (apparently) the same sex and understand this kiss as romantic or sexual, they will feel repulsion. Whether or not this reaction is restricted to same-sex

²¹ Bernd Simon 2008, 88.

²² Bernd Simon 2008, 90f. (tr. T.V.R.). In the survey, some items were presented separately: one on gay men and one on lesbian women, drawn together here using a slash.

kisses or applies to any public display of sexuality or love, is not registered in the study. Whether or not this statement is actually true, i. e. to what extent the respondent, filling in the survey in a classroom at school, is capable and willing to envisage the situation and the emotion described in the item, is not registered either. The author does not take into account the possibility that respondents who would not be comfortable in the situation described reject this statement because they know that it is morally wrong to be against homosexuals or because “repulsive” does not describe their emotion adequately.²³

A further problem is the focus on explicitly negative reactions. More subtle and non-conscious forms of devaluing homosexuals (e. g. avoiding gay and lesbian culture) and forms of preferring or promoting heterosexuality (e. g. assuming that someone is looking for a partner of the opposite sex) are not measured. This also applies to the other items that are supposed to measure the attitudes towards homosexuals. With reference to item 7 on gay or lesbian children, we wonder whether it is legitimate to assume that a youth may be able to imagine the situation of having a child, let alone the situation of the child’s coming out as gay or lesbian. What if the respondent does not plan to have a child at all? What assumptions about their future might the respondents draw from such a question: that they will have a child, that it is normal to have a child and that it is normal to have this in mind as a youth?

The items on homonegative attitudes measure what we would call explicit homonegativity. We would argue, however, that homonegativity is a complex phenomenon with multiple and interdependent forms of expression and levels of operation. It is conceivable that the group differences stated by the study vanish if more subtle forms of devaluing homosexuality and privileging heterosexuality were measured (for example a preference for heterosexual networks). It would be interesting to test this, because it might show that overt homonegativity is linked to certain (lower) social positions; that some people cannot afford overt discrimination of homosexuals and thus resort to more subtle, yet highly effective strategies to gain and maintain privileges. In any case, conceptualizing homonegativity as a multidimensional phenomenon rather than restricting it to its most explicit forms would enable a discussion about how the symbolic privileging of heterosex-

²³ For these reasons, handbooks for survey construction advise against if-clauses and suggest to describe the situation and let the respondents choose between different smileys as a representation of their emotional reaction (we thank Sarah Huch for this information). This approach is still problematic for its lack of specificity concerning the reaction. A better solution might be to suggest a range of descriptions for the emotional reaction. This would also be less suggestive than Simon’s item, which does not allow for a complex and ambiguous reaction, such as being repulsed and attracted at the same time. Less suggestive still would be to let the respondents use their own words to describe their reaction. But this, of course, would require abandoning the aim of comparing groups the way Simon had been asked to do.

uality prevails in western cultures. This would open a space to discuss how various forms of homonegativity and hetero-privilege might be constitutive of each other, how for example homonegative violence is related to more subtle forms of promoting heterosexual love or the nuclear family as a cultural ideal.

Furthermore, the focus on explicit homonegativity leads to items the intentions of which can easily be guessed by respondents who have been trained to figure out and comply with social norms. Therefore, it might be argued that the group differences found at least partly represent differences in figuring out and complying with socially desired behaviour. They might also represent differences in perceiving and admitting negative reactions towards particular forms of homosexuality. The focus on homosexuals instead of homosexuality, for example, might represent a Western bias, as the concept of a “homosexual person” is part of the history of European knowledge production.²⁴

Alternatively, we might interpret the results as follows: youths in Germany excluded from the image of Germanness on the grounds of nationalism and racism have more reasons and fewer reservations to perceive and overtly express negative attitudes towards homosexuals than those youths whose national belonging is not questioned. By stating this we do not intend to legitimate attacks on homosexuals as a strategy in dealing with discrimination and social inequality or in countering Western imperialism – in fact, the study does not investigate the reasons for the correlations found, i. e. the manifold functions homonegativity as a strategy might have. Rather, we wish to provide a perspective which is different from the hegemonic understanding of homonegativity (see below) and overcomes the biases that found their way into this study. Anyway, in light of our methodological reservations, we would disagree with the claim that the study examined homonegativity in general. Rather, it concentrated on some aspects of homonegativity and partly operationalized these in ambiguous ways.

3.2 *Measuring religiosity*

Despite a huge body of research in the psychology and sociology of religion, the author does not define the construct “religiosity”.²⁵ Presumably, it refers to the extent to which the respondents’ attitudes are informed or influenced by the values and norms of a particular religion. It is measured through four items:

- (1) “Religion plays a big role in my life.”
- (2) “I am a religious person.”
- (3) “To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to one, true religion.”
- (4) “When science and religion conflict, one should follow the religion.”

²⁴ See Michel Foucault 1976.

²⁵ See, for example, Hans-Georg Ziebertz / William Kay 2006.

According to Simon, the results show

1. highly significant differences in the averages of the three groups' responses,
2. a correlation between religiosity and hostile attitudes towards homosexuals.

The correlation is strongest among respondents with a Turkish migration background. As 90% of them declared to be a member of a Muslim denomination, Simon concludes that "their (Islamic) religiosity seems [...] to contain a particularly homonegative element."²⁶ As mentioned above, this has been shown to be a problematic statement considering the multifaceted history and presence of Islam. In regard to the items, doubts once again arise as to whether this interpretation is appropriate. The first item could be affirmed by an atheist who has been and/or still is in contact with strongly catholic parents and has to deal with their positions. The third and the fourth item were taken from a religious fundamentalism scale.²⁷ As the four items had a high internal consistency, it is clear that they have a common core. However, this core should be labelled "explicit attachment to a religion" rather than simply "religiosity". It is doubtful that this core operationalizes the extent to which respondents are influenced by the values of a particular religion. These authors, for example, would score low in religiosity according to this survey, although Christian values are inevitably part of our value orientations, simply because they have become part of German culture in various ways.

Again, the result needs to be reformulated: people who are willing and capable to perceive themselves as religious or as influenced by a religion and to confirm this in a study are more likely capable and willing to express a negative stance towards homosexuality within a study. Thus, the data also allow for the following reading: from all respondents, those who categorize themselves as having a Turkish migration background are those most capable and willing to perceive their feelings and are the most honest and frank about these feelings. We do not wish to argue that the responses cannot possibly be interpreted as an attitude. However, it is clear again that the formulations of the items and the interpretation of the responses stand on shaky grounds and that the results are generalized in ways not justified by the data.

3.3 *Measuring the "migration background"*

The questionnaires were assigned to three groups:

- adolescents without migration background (oM),
- adolescents with migration background from a state of the former USSR (eU),
- adolescents with a Turkish migration background (tM).

The former USSR group comprized 200 adolescents.

²⁶ Bernd Simon 2008, 98.

²⁷ See Bob Altemeyer / Bruce Hunsberger 1992.

“Respondents assigned to the group with a migration background from a state of the former USSR were the ones who held a corresponding citizenship (possibly in addition to the German citizenship) *or* were born in one of these states *or* named exclusively one of these states when asked for their grand parents’ country of birth.”²⁸

Analogous criteria were applied to the group with a Turkish migration background, including 206 participants. The group constructed as “German without a migration background” comprized 516 adolescents, i. e. the ones

“who (according to their statements) held only the German citizenship *and* were born in Germany *and* did not have grand parents not born in Germany.”²⁹

The answers of 373 adolescents who could neither be assigned to the group without a migration background nor to one of the other two groups were therefore not taken into account. Part of this group are all those who hold German citizenship and a second one which is not Turkish nor former USSR and/or who are not born in Germany and/or who have grandparents who were born neither in Germany nor in Turkey nor in any former Soviet state.

The classification creates the impression that some Germans were more German than others. This understanding appeared in the reception of the study when *only those without a migration background* were classified as “German” and reduced to a collective of natives to whom all others are confronted as “foreigners” or “migrants”. Although generalizations may be unavoidable in a quantitative study, the labelling as “Turkish” or “from a state of the former USSR” erases the existing differences amongst those placed into these groups. For example, people labelled as Turkish include Sunnites, Alevites, other- and non-religious people, followers of the political Islam, Laïcists, right and left wing extremists, children of former “guest-workers” and children of political refugees.³⁰

As the authors of “Homophobia & Transphobia in a Society of Immigration” put it:

“To abstract persons of the most various self-identification seems especially absurd because it matters not only juridically whether someone came as ‘German resettlers from Eastern and Southern Europe’ or as a refugee to Germany. The access to the labour market and education, but also experiences of discrimination and racism are different. [...] To assume that everybody who is *somehow* concerned with Turkey or the USSR, would be *somehow identical*, is certainly part of the problem, but should not be declared a part of the solution.”³¹

²⁸ Bernd Simon (tr. R.S.) 2008, 90 (emph. in original).

²⁹ Bernd Simon (tr. R.S.) 2008, 90 (emph. in original).

³⁰ We thank Koray Yilmaz Günay for this suggestion. Most tellingly, Simon did not include the answers of two respondents who specified “Kurdistan” as their grandparents’ country of birth (Bernd Simon 2008, 90).

³¹ GADT 2009a, 12f. (tr. R.S., emph. in original).

As mentioned in the above quotation, socio-economic factors such as access to the labour market, educational opportunities or the risk of poverty play an important role when comparing the situation of Germans with and without migration background. However, the only factor the study measures in this dimension is the educational level of the respondents' parents, which is then declared to be statistically insignificant.³²

A positive example for considering cultural differences and the various reasons for and expressions of homonegativity was given by researchers of the University of Amsterdam. They examined homonegative attitudes focusing on a) how and under which conditions these attitudes result in verbal physical attacks and on b) the motives of the perpetrators of anti-gay violence. The researchers identified particular triggers for anti-gay violence: peer pressure and the need to present oneself as tough and masculine and/or the fear of becoming the object of gay men's sexual desire and therefore being judged as weak and feminine. Constructed with a range of methods (a survey at secondary schools, focus group interviews with young people who are likely to resort to anti-gay violence and case studies of 52 perpetrators)³³, the Amsterdam researchers' results differ remarkably from Simon's when it comes to explaining why Muslim boys of Moroccan origin are overrepresented amongst the perpetrators:

"Perpetrators of anti-gay violence are not inspired by religious beliefs. Those perpetrators who are Muslims have only a superficial knowledge of the Koran and rarely go to mosque. The motives of the Moroccan perpetrators are almost the same as those of the indigenous Dutch perpetrators. [...] Their overrepresentation is due to the street culture in which many Moroccan boys live."³⁴

In accordance with Simon, the authors name norms of masculinity for both groups as crucial for homonegativity. However, they add important dimensions neglected by Simon, such as opinions and emotions concerning sexuality and femininity, as well as socio-economic factors:

"Four aspects of homosexuality that particularly appear to arouse annoyance, disapproval and loathing are anal sex, feminine behaviour, the visibility of homosexuality and the fear of being hit on by a gay. [...] Apart from this, socio-economic factors play an important part. Perpetrators show a remarkably low level of education, are often unemployed, and belong to problematic families. Committing acts of anti-gay violence can be an effective way to gain respect and a masculine status for those who cannot do so legally."³⁵

Judging by the lines quoted it might seem that the Amsterdam study, unlike Simon's, deals only with the most extreme and violent forms of

³² See also Birgit Rommelspacher 2007, 2.

³³ Laurens Buijs 2009, 1.

³⁴ Laurens Buijs 2009, 3.

³⁵ Laurens Buijs 2009, 2f.

homonegativity and that it is therefore inadequate to compare them on the same level. On the other hand, the Dutch researchers report both a huge discrepancy between verbal statements and actions and an alarmingly small difference between “normal adolescents” and perpetrators:

“It is remarkable that the perpetrators do not reject homosexuality on all fronts. Indeed, in many cases the perpetrators declare not to hate gays at all and realize that homosexuality is a part of Dutch society. They reject homosexuality, however, on express conditions: gays should not openly show the four aspects of the behaviour mentioned above. The perpetrators tend to copy the prevailing gay-tolerant rhetoric of Dutch society, but do not refrain from all sorts of violence as soon as homosexuality comes close to them or if gay men do not fulfil their supposed obligations. [...] A remarkable result is that there is little difference in the ways in which the different groups that we examined (secondary school students, focus group youngsters and perpetrators) think about homosexuality. Apparently, gay tolerance among secondary school students is flimsy: many of them declare to accept homosexuality, but do not show as much tolerance when asked what they think of it when it comes close to them.”³⁶

These findings support our critique of the way homonegative attitudes are measured and interpreted in the Simon-study and once more show the validity of its results to be disputable.

3.4 Other findings

Besides the variables discussed, Simon examined further correlations³⁷ and found the other investigated hypotheses confirmed: Homonegative attitudes negatively correlated with contacts with homosexuals, i. e. the less personal contacts a respondent had with homosexual people, the more negative was their attitude towards homosexuals as presented in this study.³⁸ Amongst the groups with a migration background, the perception of discrimination³⁹ correlated positively with homonegativity, and the degree of integration⁴⁰ correlated negatively with homonega-

³⁶ Laurens Buijs 2009, 2.

³⁷ In the following, we do not discuss in detail two variables, namely *life satisfaction* and *gender role congruency*, which did not turn out to be of much explanative value. For an exception see Bernd Simon 2008, fn 40.

³⁸ This was not the case, though, for the group of respondents with a former USSR migration background. – In the discussion of the results, Simon calls this variable a “tendency to avoid homosexuals” (93), although the items merely asked the respondents to declare the number of contacts they have. Considering the discourse that gay and lesbian activists have been participating in during the last decade, it is not easy to figure out on whose side a tendency of avoidance might be located.

³⁹ Measured with the following items: “Germany rather takes care of ‘their own people’ than of foreigners or migrants and their children” and “In Germany, foreigners and migrants get discriminated against, whereas other minorities receive more recognition and support”. See Bernd Simon 2008, 91.

⁴⁰ Measured with five items (without justifying the different numbers of items for the different scales): “I have no problems living along the rules and values of German culture”, “I want to stay in Germany forever”, “I feel part of German society”, “Do you have many German friends” and “How much do you feel connected with Germans?” See Bernd Simon 2008, 91.

tivity. There was a difference for the two migrant groups, though: respondents with former USSR migration background were more likely to express negative views on homosexuals *the more they perceived discrimination against migrants* in Germany, while the respondents with a Turkish migration background were more likely to express homonegative views *the less they felt integrated* into German society. Simon assumes that this may be related to different stories of migration: the group with the former USSR-background has a higher percentage of youth who migrated themselves and thus experiences more discrimination, whereas the group with the Turkish background has a bigger proportion of youth born in Germany. However, considering that the respondents with a Turkish migration background scored more negative on both variables (i. e. appeared less integrated in German society and perceived more discrimination against migrants than the respondents with a former USSR migration background), it remains unclear why these groups show different correlations between these variables and homonegative attitudes. Also, the results may be caused by the way these variables were operationalized. The variable "Integration into German society" should, considering the items, rather be called "sense of belonging to and assimilation to German society/culture". The study displays an assimilationist concept of integration, i. e. one that considers the extent to which migrants become like what is imagined as German rather than how migrants are supported in negotiating different expectations and possibilities. This interpretation is supported by Simon's own result that the correlation between "integration into German society" and "life satisfaction" (respondents expressed more satisfaction with their lives the more they expressed belonging to/assimilation into German society) is statistically significant only for the respondents without migration background.⁴¹

Another variable that correlated with homonegative attitudes was "acceptance of traditional norms of masculinity".⁴² As with religiosity, this concept was not further defined and Simon does not make a theoretical reference to theories of masculinity or gender. The items were "If husband and wife both work, it is not okay if the woman earns more money than the man", "Nobody respects a man who speaks about his sorrows, fears and problems", "There are situations in which a man has to earn respect by way of his fists" and "A man not willing to counter insults with violence is a wimp". A further item ("Gender equality should not go as far as women not having respect for their men anymore") was not used in the analysis because it would have decreased the internal consistency of the scale.

⁴¹ Bernd Simon 2008, 94. One might interpret this finding as proof of the argument that integration in terms of assimilation is not satisfying for those assimilated. The researcher does not present a discussion of this.

⁴² Bernd Simon 2008, 93.

The examination of the correlations of this variable produced interesting results: While the respondents without migration background showed the weakest acceptance of traditional masculinity and those with a former USSR migration background the strongest, this was one of the most distinct factors related with homonegativity within the group *without* a migration background. Moreover, the correlation between these variables was strongest in this group. Using the logic that was applied by the researcher when interpreting the results regarding religiosity, we would have to conclude that the traditional norms of masculinity contain a particularly strong homonegative element amongst Germans without a migration background. However, this interpretation is not given in the study. This may be linked to the study's design, which was to test certain hypotheses, leading to an indifference towards further interesting results. Yet it is obvious again that the interpretation of the data is biased towards justifying the construct of "homophobic Muslim migrants".⁴³ This impression is amplified by the fact that the study did neither consider traditional norms of femininity as a relevant variable, nor the conditions under which certain concepts of masculinity are resorted to. As Jin Haritaworn argues, this evaluation

"disregards how people of colour, as well as many queers and trans-people who lack gender, class or race privilege, disproportionately have to defend themselves from violence, and are often pathologized and punished for this."⁴⁴

If all these variables are taken into account (together with religiosity), the group differences decrease considerably.⁴⁵ Moreover, some age differences become visible: the respondents labelled "with Turkish migration background" showed less homonegative attitudes the older they were, whereas for the other respondents the homonegative attitudes became stronger with higher age.⁴⁶ Without having examined this any further, Simon guesses that youths with strong homonegative attitudes may be influenced by societal mechanisms of correction; this would explain the age-related decline of the group with the strongest homonegative attitudes.⁴⁷

4. Reception

The one-page-summary of the study results, published on the internet by the LSVD and widely absorbed by an interested public, displays a

⁴³ A white non-Muslim gay activist once spelled out this rationale to Thomas Viola when, during a lesbian and gay street fair, he contentedly said that the study "verifies what we have always been saying".

⁴⁴ Haritaworn 2010, 141.

⁴⁵ Ibid. The differences between the two groups of migrant youth even become statistically insignificant, if these variables are taken into account.

⁴⁶ Bernd Simon 2008, 94.

⁴⁷ Bernd Simon 2008, 97.

chart with the percentages of five out of nine items measuring homonegative attitudes.⁴⁸ The group of respondents is divided into "German", "former USSR" and "Turkish" and subdivided into genders. The presentation is split into two parts headed "1. Prevalence of Homonegative Attitudes" and "2. Possible Reasons for Homonegative Attitudes". In both parts, the interpretation of the data emphasizes on several occasions the homonegative attitudes amongst adolescents with a migration background and amongst the ones labelled "Turkish" in particular.⁴⁹

This presentation entails a racialization of homonegativity on the one hand and of Germanness on the other: by putting "German" on a level with "no migrant background", the citizenship status of German grandchildren of Turkish immigrants was changed without any further consideration.⁵⁰ In addition, despite the chart compiled by the LSVD presenting gender differences, it is not mentioned in any way that in almost all groups of respondents male youths express stronger homonegative attitudes than females.⁵¹

The reception in the media focused on the migrant background of the youths as the main cause of homonegativity. Within this group, those from Muslim immigrant families are the centre of the criticism. The left-liberal newspaper "die taz" writes:

"Hostility against gays and lesbians is more pronounced amongst young migrants. But: the better integrated the less prejudiced."⁵²

The Berlin tabloid newspaper *B.Z.* headlines:

"Young Berlin migrants homophobic."⁵³

The regional public television broadcaster for Berlin and Brandenburg, RBB, reports:

"Gays are increasingly becoming the object of hatred. The perpetrators: primarily adolescents with Turkish and Arab migration background."⁵⁴

Another public broadcaster, the WDR (*Westdeutscher Rundfunk*), headlines:

"Homophobic migrants?"⁵⁵

⁴⁸ LSVD 2008.

⁴⁹ E.g. "Homophobic attitudes are much more prevalent amongst pupils with a migration background than in the German comparison group. They are particularly strong among male adolescents of Turkish origin." (LSVD 2008, 1).

⁵⁰ Andreas Hieronymus 2009, 35f. This alienation is actually perceived as such by the people labelled "Turkish": According to a study conducted in Hamburg, only 13% of the local Muslim population think they are being perceived as Germans while, according to their self-perception, 52% have a strong sense of belonging to Germany (ibid., 40).

⁵¹ See LSVD 2008.

⁵² Antje Lang-Lendorf (tr. R. S.) 2007.

⁵³ *B.Z.* online (tr. R. S.) 2007.

⁵⁴ Katrin Aue (tr. R. S.) 2008.

⁵⁵ Kerstin Fohrn 2007 (tr. R.S.). For a criticism of this programme, its construction of a "Muslim or gay binary" and the use of the term "migrant" as synonymous with Turks, Arabs and other "dark Muslims", see Noah Sow 2008, 244.

affirming the statement and denying the question mark with reference to the study's results presented in the following programme which is called "Cosmo TV. The integration programme of the WDR". It is clear in these cases that the terms *migrants*, *Turks* and *Arabs* function within a racist discourse that stigmatizes Muslims as intolerant, aggressive, violent and homophobic and portrays the German majority as liberal, progressive and civilized.⁵⁶

5. Conclusion

- The results of Simon's study are doubtful, as the study did not (always) measure what it claims to measure. Homonegativity is reduced to explicit forms, and the two variables that were found to have the strongest correlations with homonegative attitudes – religiosity and acceptance of traditional masculinity – were not theoretically well founded.
- A significant share of responses was not considered in the analysis, because they did not fall into Simon's categories, which display a homogenizing binary of "us" Germans and "them" foreigners.
- The study does not investigate the respondents' understanding and experience of homosexuals, religion or migration, yet it makes claims about the impact of these factors. Correlations are turned into causes, although the study did not investigate the latter. Religiosity and acceptance of traditional norms of masculinity are presented as characteristics located within individuals, without discussing the societal or historical conditions that might produce or validate them.
- A major deficit is the study's negligence of socio-economic factors, in particular of class and race privilege.⁵⁷ This is difficult to investigate because such factors may not be consciously experienced or explicitly told by respondents – it would require them to acknowledge painful experiences of powerlessness and violence. Yet, considering the voices that have pointed towards the relations between experiences of violence and own tendencies to resort to violence (while other strategies may be unavailable or not promising), such a perspective needs to be taken into account.
- In the public debate, a selective attention to the results gives the impression that all migrant youth had given more homonegative responses than all non-migrant youth – which is not supported by the data.
- The public discussion of Simon's study uses racialized stereotypes and serves nationalistic clichés. Average values are turned into a general suspicion that thwarts political and pedagogical work and leads to the repetition of racist discrimination.

Simon's study and the ways in which it is presented in public endorse – regardless of the researcher's or the LSVD's intentions – racist, cul-

⁵⁶ For a critique of the Berlin public debate about "the homophobic migrant" see also the article "Kreuzberg als Chiffre" by GLADT e. V. 2009b. For an analysis of a report by the German newspaper "Süddeutsche Zeitung" on Simon's findings, see Jin Haritaworn 2010.

⁵⁷ See Jin Haritaworn 2010.

turalist, islamophobic and nationalist discourses that deny the reality of racist and homonegative discrimination and social inequality in Germany. The methods are, as Haritaworn puts it, "categorically performative of the very "homophobic Muslim" subject which they claim to objectively describe".⁵⁸ Such knowledge (re)produces a dichotomy between a civilized, enlightened and tolerant Germany and corresponding (non-migrant, non-Muslim) German citizens on the one side and a violent, traditional and intolerant Islamic and Arab world with corresponding migrants (who are not LGBT) who appear to be the last obstacle on the way to sexual freedom. Ambiguities and multiple identities do not exist within this picture and rather get erased methodologically and rhetorically.⁵⁹

The study contributes to the improvement of the positions of some homosexuals by providing and securing privileges for those who are economically and culturally advantaged enough to access them and whose inclusion supports imperialist politics and the legitimization of social inequality. This way, politics are reduced to single issue politics, neglecting the complex interweaving of privileges and disadvantages and the interlocking and interdependency of social categories and relations of power, thus obstructing emancipatory projects.⁶⁰

Certainly, we need research into homonegativity that takes into account the meaning of cultural difference or that constructs ideal types for the sake of a differentiated understanding of the various forms homonegativity can take and of the manifold strategies that are needed to combat it. However, such research requires a self-critical analysis of contemporary gender and sexual regulations and an awareness of the political implications that some questions imply. As long as homogenization and reductions dominate, social hierarchies will remain.

⁵⁸ Jin Haritaworn 2010, 141.

⁵⁹ A further example of this is that the sexual orientation of the respondents was not taken into account in data collection and interpretation. This reproduces the ongoing invisibility of LGBT and queer lives at school.

⁶⁰ See Lisa Duggan 2003 and Jin Haritaworn et al. 2007 and 2008 for critiques of single issue politics.

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III

HUMANITIES

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Christian Homophobia Four Theological Discourses*

Based on the judgment that Christian homophobia is a structural sin, the study searches for its roots in the history of theology, using the discursive theory of hegemony of Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau as its methodology. Four long lasting theological discourses are held to be responsible for Christian homophobia: the archaic discourse of cultic purity, the apocalyptic discourse of the Sodom-eschatology, the scholastic discourse of natural law and the patristic discourse of Christian Platonism. Their most important counterpart is the modern discourse of liberal theology, which has prevailed in the Protestant churches of the Western world. Because each church shows its own constellation of these discourses, specific strategies of criticism must be developed.

1. Introduction

The societal emancipation of homo-, bi-, and transsexuals, which started with the 1969 Stonewall riots, faces decisive opposition from Christian churches in the present day, e. g. in the form of

- verbal attacks and diplomatic interventions against same-sex marriage and civil unions¹ by the Roman-Catholic Church,
- the "culture wars" against the neo-fundamentalists and the religious right in the USA,²
- the crucial division within the Anglican Church between homophobic, predominantly African, bishops and the *Episcopal Church* in the USA, which for the first time in history ordained an openly homosexual bishop in Gene Robinson,³
- the furious insults directed against homosexuals by Metropolitans of the Russian-Orthodox Church.⁴

All these issues point to an open moral-political antagonism between conservative Christians and the gay and lesbian movement.⁵ Christian

* This contribution was written in German, using the German translations of the sources. These sources and quotes are here replaced by standard English versions (thanks to Richard Schorlemmer), also listed in the bibliography, next to the German versions (in brackets). The text itself has been translated by Niklas Fischer (revised by MG and VL).

¹ See Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith 2002, no. 4; 2003.

² See Didi Herman 1997; Tina Fetner 2008; Cynthia Burack 2008.

³ See Andrew Linzey / Richard Kirker 2005; William Sachs 2009; Frank Kirkpatrick 2008.

⁴ See Michael Brinkschröder 2011.

homophobia has become a political issue for homosexuals, bisexuals, and transgenders in many parts of the planet.

This opposition also manifests itself in the attitudes of the believers. A Bielefeld study about group-based hostility toward others in eight European countries has shown that “the extent of religiosity negatively influences tolerance toward homosexuality.”⁶

Christian homophobia, however, exceeds the opinions of single believers. It exists in an institutionalized form in many churches. From a theological perspective, Christian homophobia is therefore to be conceived as a *structural sin*. It is a sin because homophobic and transphobic actions and utterances disregard the dignity of homo- or bisexual and transgendered persons as human beings. These are not less of a sin simply because the Church embraces such actions and utterances. For this reason, Christian homophobia constitutes a theological problem as well.

In regards to this problem, the question arises how institutionalized homophobia in the Churches can be dealt with. Homophobia has established itself in the churches not simply due to the existence of favorable power structures but also due to theological discourses legitimating homophobia.⁷

Many theological debates center around the question of what the Bible says about homosexuality. More precisely, what is at stake is the exact signification of the passages adversaries of “homosexuality” frequently cite as evidence for their position (Gen 19; Lev 18, 22 and 20, 13; Rom 1, 26f.; 1 Cor 6, 9f.; 1 Tim 1, 10). They treat the Bible as if the truth about the Christian faith could be accessed without further complications; however, the history of the reception of the story of Sodom in Gen 19, for example, accommodates a wide variety of interpretations of the sin of Sodom, as disparate as arrogance, breach of hospitality, excessive wealth, pederasty, sodomy, collective rape or illegitimate intercourse with angels. The many different interpretations of the same text show that just looking into the Bible according to Luther’s *sola scriptura* princi-

⁵ If the topic were religious homophobia in general, the list would have to be completed by fundamentalist Muslims who even defend death by hanging for sexual acts between men. This is an actual practice in some Islamic countries, particularly in Iran. See Hans-Joachim Mengel in this volume; Ali Mahdjoubi 2003; Ralph Ghadban 2004; Eva Gundermann / Thomas Kolb 2004. Georg Klauda (2008) distinguishes a traditional approach to sexuality between men in Islam and a more radical one. He finds the origins of the radical approach in the influence of Christian missionaries and colonial laws about sodomy in the age of colonialism on the one hand and on the other in the fundamentalist reaction of Islamic nations to globalization in the present age.

⁶ Andreas Zick et al. 2010, 12.

⁷ I will not engage more closely with the “Analytics of Power” within the structures of the Church, since the focus lies on the relevance of theology for Christian homophobia. See Michael Brinkschröder 2007, 43–55.

ple is not sufficient to fix the meaning of a biblical story. This also applies if we want to account for Christian homophobia.⁸

Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican theology therefore complements this *principle of scripture* with the *principle of tradition*.⁹ The concept of tradition forces the harmonization of the history of theology, the suppression of ruptures and discontinuities, and the subjugation of the “authentic” interpretation of tradition to the magisterium¹⁰ or similar institutions. In fact, the recourse to “tradition” might even facilitate the claim that the Christian faith has “always” denounced homosexual acts.

Scripture and tradition are basic principles of theological argumentation which both can be used to legitimate Christian homophobia in an abbreviated form. But under their surface they hide another level of theological reasoning. A genealogical-critical analysis of these homophobic traditions is therefore an important desideratum of research.

2. Methodology

Michel Foucault’s discourse analysis provides us with a method of seeing the disparate moments and discontinuities within these traditions. It allows for a sober and distanced analysis of the history of theology which also takes into account the power structures that install the “order of the discourse” in the first place. In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault defines the discursive formation as a disparate set of verbal and written utterances between whose thematic objects, modalities, terminologies, and argumentative strategies certain regularities may be described.¹¹ Such a concept of discourse, however, leaves ample room for the concrete methodology. One could, for example, examine the theological discourse of homophobia based on a selection of textual genres¹² or by following the rhetorical patterns and stereotypes which have been associated with same-sex sexuality in the history of theology.¹³

The critical development of Foucault’s theory of discourse by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau points in another direction. Mouffe

⁸ The history of the reception of the Bible does not provide a sufficient frame for my analysis either, because several subdisciplines of theology have developed over time.

⁹ The Anglican Church additionally includes the *principle of reason*.

¹⁰ The magisterium is the teaching authority in the Roman Catholic Church, which is embodied in the Bishops Inunion with the Pope. The executive organ of the magisterium is the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith.

¹¹ See Michel Foucault 1995, 41–58.

¹² Textual genres of theological texts are, for example, apologies, heresiologies, penitential books, handbooks for morality, canonical collections, Bible commentaries, documents of the magisterium etc.

¹³ Common associations are, for example, the sodomite as the other / stranger, sodomy as the mute sin, as the “sin that dare not speak its name”, sodomy in the sense of homosexuality as illness, as a criminal act, as heresy, as idolatry, as the worst sin, as the “sin that cries to Heaven”, as well as decadence, degeneration, being contrary to nature etc.

and Laclau understand discourse as a “structured totality” which has the “regularity of a system of structural positions.”¹⁴ Instead of viewing discourse as a set of scattered utterances they see it as a system of differences that requires borders which in turn stabilize these differences. It is impossible to fix the differences completely, because their borders and consequently the significations of the utterances are objects of permanent combat.¹⁵

Their theory hinges on the concept of *articulation* that ties in discourse analysis with the analysis of hegemonic structures.¹⁶ Each articulation does not only express something, but links it with one or several discourses. Through articulation, an isolated *element* – as Mouffe and Laclau call it – becomes a *moment* of a discourse. On a second level they ask which chains of equivalents and antagonisms put these (frame) discourses in relation to each other and which of them combine to constitute a hegemonic formation.¹⁷

Following Mouffe and Laclau’s line of thought, I will assume that different directions of systematic theology will articulate the element “same-sex sexuality” in specific ways. My claim is that four theological discourses have central relevance for Christian homophobia:

1. the archaic discourse of cultic purity,
2. the apocalyptic discourse of the Sodom-eschatology,
3. the discourse of natural law in scholastic moral theology,
4. the patristic discourse of Christian Platonism.

The changing configurations and articulations of these discourses in theology (exposed in paragraphs 3.1 to 3.4) effectively legitimate church-driven homophobia. However, their hegemony is no longer uncontested, as a fifth theological discourse forms a counter discourse to them:

5. the liberal discourse.

From this liberal discourse (paragraph 3.5) has arisen a new articulation of same-sex sexuality, which has prevailed in European Protestantism and also exerts influence in theological faculties of other churches. Gathering the varying pertinence and the connections between these five discourses then permits to delineate the different contours of Christian homophobia in various denominations (4). Finally, the analysis will allow the formulation of specific conclusions about how to deal with hegemonic homophobia in the Catholic Church (5).

3.1 *The archaic discourse of cultic purity*

The archaic discourse of purity is based on the prohibitions in Leviticus 18, 22 and 20, 13. They are part of the Holiness code, which was written

¹⁴ See Chantal Mouffe / Ernesto Laclau 1991, 155f.

¹⁵ See Chantal Mouffe / Ernesto Laclau 1991, 162.

¹⁶ See Chantal Mouffe / Ernesto Laclau 1991, 155–167.

¹⁷ See Chantal Mouffe / Ernesto Laclau 1991, 183–205.

post-exile around 400 BCE at a time when Jerusalem's population did not exceed 2'000 inhabitants. The Holiness code expresses cultic thinking: it formulates the requirements for the priests of sacrificial cults and applies these rules to the people in general – often in a gradual fashion.¹⁸ The priest has to be holy and free of any possible defilement when offering the sacrifice, which it is hoped God receives sympathetically (e. g. Lev 19, 5–8). Cultic purity demands, for example, that things that are supposed to be separate not be mixed. The Holiness code for example prescribes not to mix textile like wool and linen in the weaving of a garment; different kinds of seeds must not be sown on the same land acre and bodily fluids must not be mixed or reach a spot they are not supposed to reach.¹⁹

This cultic thinking is archaic insofar as during the contact with the sacred everything depends on the exterior, material procedure while the agents' intentions are insignificant. Consequences of sacrilege were imagined to be triggered automatically. The sentence of Leviticus 20, 13 that "a man lying with a man as he lieth with a woman" shall perish, must be understood within that cultic logic: not in the sense of capital punishment doled out by humans, but in the sense of an "electric shock" which will hit anyone who defies the positively sacred by bringing it into contact with the negatively sacred, the abomination.²⁰

The discourse of cultic purity held a dominant position in the early Middle Ages with their archaic tendencies. The Church historian Hubertus Lutterbach of Essen has proven that in penitential books from the 6th to the 12th century, which were heavily consulted by priests to learn the price of penance, male-to-male sexuality was seen above all as impurity.²¹ Any sort of impurity, including heterosexual intercourse, would disqualify the priest to handle the sacrifice "with pure hands" so that it "pleases God."²² In that case, his sacrifice would at best be useless to the community if not potentially harmful.

In his *Liber Gomorrianus*, written for pope Leo IX in 1049, Petrus Damiani chiefly argues with cultic purity, even when he criticizes the mild and contradictory penitences for intercourse between men in the penitentials.²³ His intention was to defrock priests who had defiled

¹⁸ See Michael Brinkschröder 2006, 258–275.

¹⁹ Lev 18, 23 treats sexual intercourse between women and animals; Lev 19, 19 prohibits crossbreeding between different animal species, the mixture of two different types of seed on one acre and the wearing of cloth that has been woven out of two different materials.

²⁰ See 2 Sam 6, 1–11.

²¹ See Hubertus Lutterbach 1999, 147–161. For sexuality between men or between women in early medieval penitentials see Lutterbach 1998; Pierre Payer 1983; Allen Frantzen 1996 and 1998.

²² See Arnold Angenendt 1993.

²³ See Peter Damian: *Liber Gomorrianus*. See Introduction to *Peter Damian* by Pierre Payer 1982, 1–24. For the classification within the discourse of cultic purity see Hubertus Lutterbach 1998, 295–298 and 305.

themselves with “sodomy”. Coining the abstract concept of “sodomia”,²⁴ Damiani defines it by four acts “against nature”: masturbation, mutual masturbation and male-to-male intercrural sex and anal penetration.²⁵

Throughout the Middle Ages, the discourse of cultic purity remained virulent. Martin Luther still feared the effects of *pollutio*,²⁶ but at the same time initiated its surpassing in the Protestant Church by criticizing the sacerdotal understanding of the priest’s office and by allowing priests to marry.²⁷

The thinking in terms of purity and holiness shaped the understanding of sodomy among the English Puritans and the Puritan pilgrims towards America in the 17th century. Therefore, the sodomy laws of the New England states Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire quoted verbatim Leviticus 20, 13. According to their absolute esteem of the Bible, the Puritans kept to the purity laws of the Old Testament that concerned matters of sexuality, although they tended to exempt sex in marriage from the traditional charge of impurity.²⁸

The Catholic Church put the cultic understanding of the priestly sacrifice into the background with the Second Vatican Council, such that today it is only to be found among traditionalistic followers of the Tridentine Mass. The discourse of cultic purity, therefore, does not play a central role any more for the motivation of homophobia in Western Christendom. In both Churches, however, fertile ground for the archaic discourse is prepared if the Lords’ Supper is considered to be a cultic sacrifice instead of a commemoration.²⁹

3.2 *The Apocalyptic Discourse of the Sodom-Eschatology*

The origin of the second discourse lies in the early Jewish apocalyptic discourse, predominantly in the apocryphal books of Henoch and testament literature rather than in the Apocalypse of John. The so-called myth of the Watcher of the first book of Henoch constitutes its narrative

²⁴ See Mark Jordan 1997. Petrus Damiani does not demand capital punishment for sodomy, as Jordan thinks (57), but states that in spite of the Bible’s demand of capital punishment, the clerical tradition following the Synod of Ancyra (today Ankara) of 314 has opted for a penitence of fifteen to twenty years. This, however, is a more severe punishment than the three to ten years formulated in the books of penitence. During the Carolingic reforms of the 8th century, some had already demanded an intensification of the punishment of sodomy by referring to the Synod of Ancyra.

²⁵ The cultic discourse in the *Liber Gommarianus* is accompanied by a demonologic moral discourse, which treats sodomy as a vice leading the trespasser into the grasp of Satan and into hell. The numerous metaphors of contagious disease, which dramatize the danger of sodomy, represent a middle position between discourses of purity and discourses of vice.

²⁶ See Martin Luther: Commentary on Rom. 1, 24; Hubertus Lutterbach 1998, 299f.

²⁷ The long-term effects concerning the acceptance of homosexual relationships are discussed by Paul Capetz 2002.

²⁸ See Richard Godbeer 2008, 84–91.

²⁹ The power of ideas of purity in nationalistic and populist statements about male-to-male intercourse must not be underestimated, either.

frame.³⁰ According to this account, 200 angels rebelled against God, left Heaven, and brought weapons and make-up to the human beings on earth. By sleeping with women they created a progeny of giants, which consumed all the goods nourishing the human race. As God heard the wailing of the people over this doom he sent out the archangels to combat the fallen angels. The archangels defeated the Watchers, threw them into the abyss and imprisoned them in the Tartaros. The flood exterminated the giants, even though some continued to exist in the form of bodyless demons.

A second example for a primeval, divine judgment is the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and sulfur (Genesis 18–19). The apocalyptic discourse draws on both of these primeval catastrophes as models to illustrate the eschatological Judgment of God. The shift from the primeval myth of Sodom to a Sodom-eschatology first surfaces in the *Book of Jubilees* written in the second century BCE.³¹ The next step of the development of Sodom-eschatology was the articulation of the sin of Sodom as same-sex intercourse (resp. pederasty) in the 1st century CE.³² At that time, many Jews considered same-sex practices as a cultural feature of the Roman occupation forces from whom they wanted to distinguish themselves.

The flood- and the Sodom-eschatology can also explain why Paul connected same-sex sexuality to God's Judgment of Wrath in his letter to the Romans (1, 26f.): men who burn with desire for other men represent, in the eyes of the apostle, a symptom of the coming Judgment of Wrath in the vein of Sodom. On the other hand, women who refrain from natural intercourse with their husbands correspond to the women who engaged in sexual actions with the Watcher angels.³³

Early Christian apologists of the second to third century CE (as e. g. Justin the Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras etc.) use the myth of the Watchers to undermine the status of the Greek Gods by depicting them as Watchers or demons. In their view, Zeus, notorious for his infidelity to his wife and, moreover, for his proclivity for pederasty, epitomizes the opposite of virtuous behaviour and Christian morality.³⁴ Motives from the Watcher's myth and the story of Sodom get mixed so that male-to-male intercourse comes to be seen as a potential cause of floods. In an

³⁰ See 1 Hen 6–16.

³¹ See Book of Jubilees 16,5f; 22,22; 36,10 and Testament Benjamin 9,1. The New Testament also uses the flood and Sodom as models for the eschatological Judgment of God. See Jude 6f.; 2 Pet 2,4–10a; Lc 17,26–29. According to the Sayings Source Q Jesus referred to the judgment of Sodom in order to surpass it by prophesying that those places which won't take up his messengers will be treated worse than Sodom in the final judgment (Lc 10,12 par Mt 10,15).

³² See Testament Benjamin 9,1; 2 Hen 10,1–6; Rom 1,26f.

³³ Important for the interpretation of Rom 1,26f. is the religious-historical comparison to the Testament Naphtali 3,1–4,1. See Michael Brinkschröder 2006, 505–537.

³⁴ See Aristides: Apology 8,4; 9,7–9; 13,8; 17,2; Justin: Apology I 21.25; II 12; Tatian: Address 8,3; 10,2; Theophilus: To Autolykus I 9.

allegorical interpretation of the Sodom story, Justin moulds this idea into a metaphysical antagonism of Sodomites threatening the Christian Logos who therefore takes revenge on them.³⁵

Another strand of the Sodom-eschatology locates the punishment of the offenders who have been found guilty of same-sex actions, in gruesome corners of hell in the afterlife where there will be “the unquenchable fire, the utmost darkness, the place where there will be howling and grinding of teeth, and where the worm never sleeps.”³⁶ Sodomites are among the earliest inhabitants of hell where they are tortured in most sadistic ways.

The pertinence of the Sodom-eschatology fades away with the Church Fathers of the fourth and fifth century CE. It is revived by the East Roman emperor Justinian who incorporates it in Roman law by the *Novellae* 77 and 141. The Christian emperor interprets two series of catastrophes including famines, earthquakes and the pest as well as military threats to the city of Constantinople before 542 and 559, the years of the edition of the laws, as signs of the wrath of God. He refers to the destruction of Sodom even though the destruction through heavenly fire differs from the occurrences in his city. He expected everyone who had committed an act contrary to nature to report his trespasses to the bishop and to do penitence for them. Anyone who failed to follow these instructions or who committed these acts more than once should receive the punishment of death in order to spare the city from the wrath of God by the extinction of those to be blamed. Justinian uses the myth of the destruction of Sodom both to interpret past catastrophes as divine punishment and to avert even worse future catastrophes inflicted by the wrath of God.³⁷

The Syrian apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius and the pseudo-capitularies of Benedict Levita continue the apocalyptic dramatization of male-to-male intercourse in the seventh and ninth century, respectively. But the reception of these pseudo-epigraphic texts did not happen until the high Middle Ages, at a time when the Sodom-eschatology reached

³⁵ See Justin: Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon 56; 57–60; 126–130. See also Clement of Alexandria: Paidagogos III 8: 43, 5–44, 4. These interpretations of the “Logos in Sodom” are continued in the Middle Ages in the legend of the dying of the Sodomites during Christmas, to be necessary for the Logos to incarnate and to begin his work of redemption (see Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller 1996, 255–258). – The Logos is not only articulated in apocalyptic discourse but also serves as an epitome of the world order, constituting the foundation of the stoic-scholastic concept of nature. Furthermore, Logos is the key notion in the establishment of the dogma, which operated primarily with the categories of Christian Platonism.

³⁶ Testament of Jacob 8, 3–5. See also the Slavonic Book of Henoch (= 2 Hen) 10, 1–6; the Testament of Isaac 9, 4–6; the Testament of Jacob 8, 3–7; 13, 3; Apocalypse of Peter (the Greek text of Akhmim) 32; Apocalypse of Paul 39; Acts of John 36.

³⁷ See Mischa Meier 2003, 592–599, who also argues for the datation of the first novella in 542 instead of 538. Of course Justinian’s main concern was to redirect questions of his own responsibility for the catastrophes to suitable scapegoats.

the peak of its influence.³⁸ It was the punishment of burning at the stake, first called for by Benedict Levita, that became the predominant method of dealing with sodomites in the Middle Ages. It was picked up in 1120 by the Synod of Nablus that justified its declarations by acute locust and mouse plagues, famines, and the attacks by the Saracens.³⁹

The representation of sodomy as heresy follows along the same lines of its representation as a danger to society and especially the church.⁴⁰ Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller (1996) has examined this discursive connection in detail with regard to the papal document “Vox in Rama” of 1233. In this text, pope Gregory IX constructs a phantasmal argument claiming the existence of a heretic sect in Germany that is supposed to practice sodomitic rituals.⁴¹ His call for the persecution of this sect marks the intersection of the crusades and the beginning of inquisition. His argument was prepared and extended by moral discourses of theologians.⁴²

During the Reformation it was Martin Luther and other Protestants who used the accusation of sodomy as verbal ammunition against the pope, the Curia, and the higher clergy.⁴³ After the Peace of Augsburg, this wave of Sodom discourse ebbed in Germany, but revived during the Thirty Years War⁴⁴ and to its end in Germany and France during the early period of the Enlightenment (ca. 1680).

In England, the Puritans held on to the idea of sodomy as a cause for natural disasters until around 1660.⁴⁵ But the Pilgrim Fathers brought Sodom-eschatology to the New World.

“Colonial leaders like William Bradford warned colonists that they would lose the New World unless they put an end to sodomy.”⁴⁶

In the USA, the puritanical traditions survive remarkably longer.⁴⁷ Neo-fundamentalists could immediately revitalize the discourse of the Sodom-eschatology as a reaction to the *Gay Liberation Movement*.⁴⁸ Only

³⁸ See Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller 1996, 225f. (for Pseudo-Methodius) and 83 (for Benedict Levita).

³⁹ See Klaus van Eickels 2009.

⁴⁰ In addition sodomy was seen as a crime against the majesty of God.

⁴¹ See Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller 1996, 1–190.

⁴² See Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller 1996, 191–329.

⁴³ See Helmut Puff 2003, 140–166. For sodomy as a sign for the apocalypse see *ibid.* 154f.

⁴⁴ See e. g. Samuel Baumgarten’s poem “Schwefel-Regen” (“rain of sulfur”) of 1648, attributing the outbreak of the Thirty Year’s War to the heirs of Sodom.

⁴⁵ See Thomas Beard’s *The Theatre of God’s Judgments* (first edition 1597; since the fourth edition revised by Thomas Taylor), ch. 34, quoted after Thomas Long 2006, 45.

⁴⁶ Wayne C. Bartee / Alice Fleetwood Bartee 1992, 37.

⁴⁷ See Michael Hochgeschwender 2007, 32–60.

⁴⁸ Its literal articulation is justified with the belief in the literal application of the word of the Bible. One of the most extreme consequences is drawn by the *Dominion-theology* of *Christian Reconstructionism* which aims to convert the USA into a theocracy by enforcing all Biblical laws, except for the cultic laws, including capital punishment for homosexuals, following Lev 20, 13. See Rousas Rushdoony 1973; Thomas Long 2006, 46.

two years after Stonewall, during a big prophecy conference in Jerusalem in 1971, did they condemn homosexuality as the cause for the near apocalypse, equal it with mass murder⁴⁹ and consider it as the cause for earthquakes, floods, and epidemics. Ever since Anita Bryant started her “*Save Our Children*” campaign in 1977, the apocalyptic discourse stimulated numerous homophobic campaigns of the *Religious Right*: the “*Moral Majority*” of Jerry Falwell and Timothy LaHaye in the 1980s and the “*Christian Coalition of America*” dedicated to the fight for *family values* in the 1990s. The Sodom-eschatology so dominated the ideology of neo-fundamentalists that their leaders Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson read the 9/11 attack of 2001 as God’s wrath against the USA for having accepted feminism and homosexuality.⁵⁰

3.3 *The Discourse of Natural Law in Scholastic Moral Theology*

The third discourse of Christian homophobia is based on the concept of natural law and mainly follows theological currents that refer back to Thomas Aquinas. It has known three influential phases: the high scholasticism of the 13th century, the Spanish Baroque scholasticism of the 16th and 17th century, and the neo-Scholasticism in between 1850 and the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). It constitutes one of the fundamental building blocks of catholic moral theology during the whole modern period.

The Biblical sources of the discourse of natural law are Paul’s letters to the Romans 1, 18–25 and 2, 14–16. In these passages, Paul argues that reason permits to infer the existence of a creator from the fact that there is creation. In addition, apart from the Bible’s commandments, there is a natural law dictating moral commandments to the pagans, written into their hearts. Between the two passages, the apostle underlines the counternatural quality of women leaving their husbands and men having intercourse with men in Rom 1, 26f. Consequently, this *topos* became part of the foundations of the Christian theory of natural law.

The ethics of natural law start with Plato and Aristotle, but it was Stoic philosophy that made the *secundum naturam vivere* the ideal of ethics. It is therefore no surprise to find moral arguments based on natural law as early as around 200 CE in the writings of the Christian theologians Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, both heavily influenced by Stoic thinking.⁵¹ Two centuries later, Augustine accomplished “the first decisive systematization of Christian natural law in the terms of Stoic and neoplatonic philosophy.”⁵² It was Thomas Aquinas, however,

⁴⁹ The Bible also qualifies murder as a “sin that cries to Heaven” (Gen 4, 10).

⁵⁰ See Thomas Long 2006, 42.

⁵¹ See Tertullian: *De corona militis* 6; Clement of Alexandria: *Paidagogos* II 10, 83–91.

⁵² Alexander Hollerbach 1973, 14. “After Augustine, the current of Christian natural law theory seemed to have disappeared for centuries. Still clearly recognizable in Isidore of Seville [around 600], who transmits its elements together with those of the

who coined its lasting form based on the reception of Aristotle in the 13th century. In the *Summa Theologiae*, Thomas subsumes same-sex intercourse in the category of sins against nature, which he in turn discusses as *lust* (the Latin term being *luxuria*: unchastity). For him, all forms of sexual lust which do not result in procreation are against nature: masturbation out of sheer lust, sexual intercourse with animals of another species, sexual intercourse of man with man or woman with woman (the “sodomitic” vice; following his reading of Rom 1, 26 f.) as well as sexual intercourse between man and woman using the “wrong” organs or in “despicable” positions.⁵³

The sin against nature is supposed to be more severe than other instances of unchastity because it is an “offense against God, the creator of Nature.”⁵⁴ Thomas refers to an argument in Augustine’s *Confessions* that deduces the order of creation not from empirically observable anthropological reality but from divine laws:

“Even if all peoples practiced them [abominations against nature], they would be equally criminally guilty before the divine law, which has not formed man to act in such a way. Misguided lust befouls nature and consequently violates the community between man and God.”⁵⁵

The theology of Thomas is a synthesis of Augustine and the rediscovered philosophy of Aristotle. Since Thomas adopts Augustine’s concept of nature which is embedded in a theology of revelation, Aristotle’s empirical conception of nature must remain neglected.⁵⁶

In contrast with this tendency, Thomas does indeed follow the footsteps of Aristotle in another passage of the *Summa*, when he considers the individual’s nature next to the nature of the species. He touches on this topic while discussing the question whether there can be unnatural lust. For in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle claims that some pleasures are “sick and unnatural”.⁵⁷ Thomas argues:

“For it happens to individuals that one of the natural qualities of its species is damaged such that an action otherwise unnatural for members of

Roman Stoic theory of natural law as transformator to later times, it only reappears [in the 12th century] with Hugh of St. Victor and with Gratian whose famous definition of natural law referring to ‘Law and Gospel’ would become determining for decretists.” (ibid., 15).

⁵³ Thomas Aquinas: *Summa* II-II q 154 a 11.

⁵⁴ Thomas Aquinas: *Summa* II-II q 154 a 12 ad 1.

⁵⁵ Thomas (ibid.) citing Augustine: *Confessiones* 3, 8, 15.

⁵⁶ Aristotle had already used the example of the sexual behaviour of hyenas to argue against Plato that homosexual behaviour does very well exist in the animal kingdom and, therefore, cannot be considered contrary to nature (Aristotle: *De gen. animalium* 757 a 2f.).

⁵⁷ See Aristotle NE 1148 b 25–1152 b 22 about the love of boys: “For these arise in some by nature and in others, as in those who have been the victims of lust from childhood, from habit. Now those in whom nature is the cause of such a state no one would call incontinent, any more than one would apply the epithet to women because of the passive part they play in copulation; nor would one apply it to those who are in a morbid condition as a result of habit.” (1148b29–35).

the species becomes natural to that individual, as is the nature of hot water to give off warmth. This is why that which is against the human nature both with regard to reason and to the conservation of the body, becomes natural for this individual due to corrupted nature.”

Thomas also explicitly applies this to the coitus between men.⁵⁸

The further career of the concept of individual nature was brought to a sudden end by the bishop of Paris who in 1277 condemned a thesis in which even the pathological aspects of Thomas’s formulations were absent:

“The sin against nature, i. e. the abuse of sexual intercourse, may go against the nature of the species, but not against the nature of the individual.”⁵⁹

This line of thought was not revived before 1864, when Karl Heinrich Ulrichs interpreted the love of the same sex as an individual, congenital and therefore natural quality.⁶⁰

Francisco de Vitoria is known as the founder of the School of Salamanca and the Spanish Baroque scholasticism. At the beginning of the 16th century, he replaced the commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard with Thomas’s *Summa* as the basic text in studies of theology. Critical research in the history of moral theology has shown that Baroque scholasticism did not blindly perpetuate Thomas’s theology but effectuated subtle theoretical shifts. Unlike Thomas, Baroque scholasticism extends the concept of natural law beyond the first principles of human nature to also include their consequences. While Thomas only considered self-preservation, the development of the self and the preservation of the species as “natural inclinations” and therefore belonging to the first principles of the *lex naturalis*, de Vitoria deduced a more concrete set of sins against nature, such as cannibalism, incest, idolatry, sodomy and shamelessness (nudity).⁶¹

The fact that in the 16th century some theologians tried to legitimize the Spanish war against the native population in America based on sins against nature, added political relevance to this legal-theological category. During the famous dispute of Valladolid in 1550, Gines de Sepulveda, for example, advocated this position while his adversary Bartolomé de las Casas simply negated the assumption that the natives were sodomites in order to undermine his opponents’ argument.⁶²

⁵⁸ Thomas Aquinas: *Summa* I-II q 31 a 7. This “corruption” (*corruptio*) does not only occur in the body in the form of a disease or some privation, but “also in the soul”, as some “find pleasure out of habit (*consuetudinem*) in cannibalism or in sexual intercourse with animals or with men” (ibid.). It is noticeable that Thomas only adapts from Aristotle the aspect of *corruptio* of natural human conditions, but neglects the statement that the love of boys can develop naturally.

⁵⁹ Thesis no. 166, quoted by Kurt Flasch 1989, 233.

⁶⁰ See Karl Heinrich Ulrichs 1864 (*Vindex*).

⁶¹ Francisco de Vitoria: *De indis prior; De indis posterior seu de iure belli*, 1539, in: de Vitoria: *Obras*, 641–1039 (quoted from Francisco Guerra 1971, 59–63).

⁶² See Lukas Sesoe 2007, 389–392.

Francisco de Vitoria in turn rejected sodomy as a legitimation for a just war by arguing that in that case, the king of France might also attack the Italians whom he obviously regarded as notorious sodomites.⁶³

Modern moral theology transformed Thomas' moral theology from a virtue ethics into a purely negative casuistic of sins. The transformation began around 1500 with Cajetan's commentary on Thomas and blossomed in the Jesuit school.⁶⁴ Even though the neo-Scholasticism of the 19th and 20th century decidedly tried to reach back to Thomas, it continued on this path. Concerning sodomy, the manuals of neo-Scholasticism only differ in their systematics and follow either the scheme of virtues and sins in Thomas (unchastity, *luxuria*) or the decalogue scheme of Alphonsus Liguori (6th and 9th commandment) or the catechism of Petrus Canisius classifying sodomy as a sin that cries to Heaven.⁶⁵

It remains a general feature of scholastic morality to always discuss sodomy as a sin of unchastity. The privileged position of chastity in scholastic moral discourse shows that the conception of nature, which constitutes its foundation, is not to be understood in a naturalistic way, but as conceived by a metaphysics of divine revelation.

4. *The Patristic Discourse of Christian Platonism*

The discourse of Christian Platonism claims to have unified Biblical revelation and Greek philosophy. It lays the foundations for the construction of Christian theology in the form of the dogma. Its precursors are Paul the apostle and the Jewish Hellenistic philosopher Philo of Alexandria, whose reception is predominantly Christian. The Christian school of Alexandria (above all, Origenes) and the great Church Fathers of late Antiquity (Ambrose, Hieronymus, and Augustine) established the hegemony of Christian Platonism – now in the guise of Neoplatonism – in the theological discourse in the Christian Church of the Roman Empire.

Plato himself is an ambiguous source concerning male-to-male sexuality. In the *Symposium*, his first dialogue on Eros, he concedes that pederasty as a bodily experience lays the foundation for the development of a sublime understanding of the good and beautiful. In the *Phaedrus* he calls physical sexual pederasty "contrary to nature" and in his late text "The Laws" he formulates a strategy to manipulate the public in order to lend pederasty the image of being against nature.⁶⁶ Christian Platonism dealt with this ambivalence in suppressing the importance of physical pederasty in Plato and replacing it with a platonic Eros conceived as

⁶³ Francisco de Vitoria: Fragmento, 6f.

⁶⁴ See Mark Jordan 2000, 60–72.

⁶⁵ See Herman van de Spijker 1968, 119–121 and 128–143.

⁶⁶ See Plato: *Symposium* 209 b, 211 b; *Phaedrus* 251 a; *Laws* 836 c – 842 a.

purely psychic attraction.⁶⁷ Jostein Børtnes (2000) has drawn attention to this kind of Christian reception of Plato's *Symposium* in a text of Gregory Thaumaturgos presenting his relationship with his teacher Origen and in Gregory of Nazianzus' funeral speech about his friendship with Basil the Great. In both cases, Eros becomes subliminally converted into the common veneration of the Logos.

Two concerns are constitutive in the discourse of Christian Platonism: the first calls for a clear gender dualism. Male and female sexual behaviour are disambiguated, naturalized, and put in line with the will of God, with the order of his creation. Christian Platonism sharply criticizes and pathologizes deviations from these gender norms in form of effeminate men or apparently masculine women. Pederasty and same-sex intercourse are primarily not accepted for their opposition to the "nature" of the genders.⁶⁸

The second particularity of Christian Platonism is the division of man into body and soul (Plato) or flesh and spirit (Paul). The material side is inferior to the mental side and considered less important in this discourse. This hierarchy allows for the spiritualization of Eros and to conceive love as an ascension from the physical to the mental. In neo-platonic mysticism, his ascension culminates in the *unio mystica* with God.⁶⁹

For this reason, Christian Platonism confines sexuality mainly to the realm of spirituality. Bridal mysticism knows three forms of spiritual marriage: the Church as the bride of Christ (Eph 5, 32), the soul as the bride of the Logos, generating the virtues as their children, and the Virgin Mary as the bride of God the Father or of the Holy Spirit. The Church Fathers of Antiquity and the Middle Ages firmly established the imaginary institution of bridal mysticism in numerous tracts about virginity and allegorical commentaries on the Song of Songs.⁷⁰

Conveyed in the works of Augustine, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Boethius, Christian Platonism dominated the theology of the 12th century. Alan of Lille's (1116–1202/3) "*De planctu Naturae*" is an influential and stylistically extraordinary example for the articulation of same-sex sexuality in this discourse.⁷¹ In this text, personified nature,

⁶⁷ Accordingly, the rediscovery of physical pederasty in Plato in the 19th century was an important contribution to the emergence of the modern discourse of homosexuality.

⁶⁸ The scholastic discourse of natural law and Christian Platonism articulate "nature" and "contrary to nature" differently. The first refers to the nature of the human species, the second to the gendered nature of man and woman.

⁶⁹ Plotinus, the founder of Neoplatonism (3rd century CE), reverses the order in letting the bodily unification between lovers "imitate" the unification of the soul with the One in the spiritual vision (Plotinus: *Enneads* VI 7, 34). See also Otto Langer 2003, 86–91.

⁷⁰ See Josef Schmid 1954; Friedrich Ohly 1958.

⁷¹ Alan of Lille: *Plaint*, especially 67–72, 133–139, 154–166. See also Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller 1996, 194–207 and Mark Jordan 1997, 67–91. Jordan decoded the artful

as a representative of God on earth, laments the deviancy of humans following a misguided Venus, misplacing male and female gender as well as active and passive roles, and the “natural unification of male and female gender”⁷² in favour of same-sex unification. Alan compares this behaviour with phenomena of grammatical irregularity: heteroclitic nouns, whose formation of gender is irregular; deponent verbs whose passive form expresses an active meaning; and wrong, “barbaric” combinations of subject and predicate, which symbolize carnal unification.

The scholastic reception of Aristotle temporarily diminished the importance of Platonism in theology until it became reactualized in the Florentine Renaissance in the 15th century. Christian Platonism (as well as Scholasticism) never played an important part in Evangelical churches, because Luther, in his dispute with Erasmus, rejected the authority of Plato (and Aristotle) in favor of the “*sola scriptura*” principle.⁷³

The Catholic Church reactivated Christian Platonism in the 20th century. Immediately after World War I, the Benedictine Odo Casel (1886–1948) revived the ancient idea of liturgy as a celebration of the mysteries within the Liturgical Movement.⁷⁴ It is probably due to him that the renewed liturgy of mass is penetrated by the spiritual sexuality of bridal mysticism that takes the form of a sublime symbolism.⁷⁵

Within the *Nouvelle Théologie*, which voiced itself in the late thirties in France and Belgium, it was mainly the Jesuits of Lyon-Fourvière (Henri de Lubac and his disciples Jean Daniélou and Hans Urs von Balthasar) who revived Christian Platonism. Their movement of *Ressourcement* propagated a return to the ancient sources and a disclosure of their differing positions in order to renew theology then dominated by neo-Scholasticism. By “sources” they did not refer to the Bible, however, but to the Church Fathers.⁷⁶ These developments took hold during the

polysemy of the “Lament of Nature” as a subversive critique of nature’s challenges, since these were put in perspective by numerous allusions to the homoerotic poetry of Antiquity. But there is no proof that the text was read in this manner in the Middle Ages.

⁷² Alan of Lille: *Plaint*, 157.

⁷³ See Jan Rohls 1997, 37f.

⁷⁴ See Odo Casel 1918.

⁷⁵ The carnal order of the gender dualism presupposed by Catholic liturgy became manifest in the reasons the Catholic Church advanced against the priesthood of women and homosexual men: a priest must be male and heterosexual because the liturgy symbolizes the act of procreation. See John Paul II 1994; Paul VI 1976 (“*Inter Insigniores*”); Congregation for Catholic Education 2005, no. 1; Congregation for Catholic Education 2008, note 12: “Christ needs priests who are mature, virile, capable of cultivating an authentic spiritual paternity.” (transl. from www.vatican.va) – At the same time, the doubling of the physical by spiritual sexuality generates a series of paradoxes and queer elements (e. g. the Church as the bride of Christ consists of men and women), which are tabooed in Christian Platonism and forced into latency such that their enjoyment remains unconscious.

⁷⁶ See Roger Aubert 1969, 49ff.

Second Vatican Council that literally pulverized the century-long hegemony of neo-Scholasticism in Catholic theology.

Soon after the Council it became apparent that the theological developments which had shaped its view such as the Liturgical Movement, the *Nouvelle Théologie* and even the Council theology itself, were not coherent discourses but the results of a coalition of theological modernism and renewed Christian Platonism. As soon as 1968, the union of the theologians of *Aggiornamento* and of *Ressourcement* came to an end. The Platonists enforced their sexual morals with the encyclicals *Humanae Vitae* (1968) and *Persona Humana* (1975) and, turning their backs to the movement of 1968, chose a markedly anti-modern direction.⁷⁷ With Karol Wojtyła and Joseph Ratzinger they succeeded in occupying key positions in the Church within the last 30 years that enabled them to marginalize the most pertinent developments in modern theology inspired by social sciences: advanced developments in sexual morality, the Latin American theology of liberation, feminist theology, and pluralistic theology of religion.⁷⁸ In particular, the intense discussion of the gay and lesbian movement by the Catholic Church shows the influence of Joseph Ratzinger.

5. *The Alternative Model: The Liberal Discourse of Theology*

The panorama of Christian theology and its struggle with the question of homosexuality would be incomplete if it only included homophobic discourses. Next to these stands the liberal discourse as an additional theological paradigm. It characteristically relies on the historical-critical methods of exegesis and of research on the history of the Church, which have developed since the 19th century. The historical perspective in the approach to the Bible and the Dogma rejects fundamentalist literalism and an unhistorical traditionalist pursuit of the Dogma. In addition, the liberal paradigm assimilates modern scientific developments and favours a strong individualism in ethics.⁷⁹

The established methods of historical-critical differentiation enable the liberal theological discourse to incorporate the conclusions of social constructivism. Starting in the 1970s, constructivism abandoned the predominant conception of a timeless essence of (homo)sexuality and instead historicized different forms of sexuality and sexual roles and embedded them in their social contexts. Theologians arguing from a historical-critical perspective concluded that “homosexuality” was a “modern Western cultural construct” which differed completely from

⁷⁷ The cleavage became evident with the end of collaboration in the board of directors of the international journal of theology “*Concilium*”, commonly founded in 1964. In 1972, Joseph Ratzinger, Henri de Lubac, Hans Urs von Balthasar, Walter Kasper, and Karl Lehmann founded the journal “*Communio*” (see John Allen 2002, 66f.).

⁷⁸ See John Allen 2002, 115–267; Hansjürgen Verweyen 2007, 114–125.

⁷⁹ See Friedrich Graf 1994, 69–94.

the ancient forms of same-sex intercourse condemned in the Bible.⁸⁰ The passages from the Bible cited in the beginning of this paper cannot therefore apply to the social and personal identities of present-day gays and lesbians. Instead the Biblical emphasis on love should be the yardstick, with the effect of morally welcoming homosexual love and partnerships. Of course, liberal discourse remains silent about sexual intercourse outside of love relationships.

The liberal discourse has asserted itself in most Protestant churches of Western Europe and Canada and in a few *mainline churches* in the USA with the result that lesbian and gay pastors are allowed to exert their office, to be elected by the parishes, and to live together with their partners in the parsonage. The Lutheran Church of Sweden recently installed the first openly lesbian bishop. The rapid pace of change in these churches is a remarkable phenomenon, despite the remaining conflicts between liberal and conservative or evangelical Protestants, which lead to church-internal compromises, especially in practical questions.

In Western Protestantism, the four discourses of Christian homophobia were overcome, in my opinion, by four reasons most of which I have already briefly mentioned:

1. The archaic discourse of cultic purity became obsolete with the abolition of sacerdotal priesthood in favor of the pastor who, as a preacher, is first of all a servant of the word.
2. Christian Platonism and late medieval scholasticism were cut off from reformed theology by the principle of "*sola scriptura*", which gives exclusive validity to the Bible, as opposed to the Catholic approach of "scripture and tradition".
3. A regression to Biblical verbalism and (apocryphal) apocalyptic traditions was blocked by the establishment of historical-critical and religious-historical methods of exegesis since the 19th century, in favour of history and scientific rationality.
4. The ordination of women by Protestant churches in the 20th century, accepted with the help of the liberal discourse, constitutes a precedent that allowed for a similar treatment concerning gay and lesbian pastors.

6. *The Panorama of Discursive Constellations in the Churches*

The developments in Protestant churches demonstrate that Christianity and its churches are not a uniform and coherent homophobic block. Moreover, the distinction of the four homophobic theological discourses allows to point out differences in content and degree of homophobia between Christian churches, due to the connections between and the relative weight of each of the five discourses.

The homophobia of the Catholic Church leans on a theology that revitalizes Christian Platonism and relics of the neo-Scholastic natural

⁸⁰ See e. g. Wolfgang Stegemann 1998, 61–68.

law-theory, while apocalyptic and archaic discourses have been marginalized.⁸¹ The modern liberal discourse is quite influential in the Catholic Church of Western Europe – on the level of the parishes in its popular form, and on the level of academic theology, e. g. in the historical-critical exegesis, the history of dogma and in moral and pastoral theology. Platonism and natural law-theory have their most important bases not in the field of academic theology but in the hierarchy. For this reason the Vatican and often also bishops frequently and heavily attack progressive theological positions concerning homosexuality. As a result, liberal Catholic theologians rarely articulate their opinion about homosexuality officially.

The situation is completely different in evangelical and neo-fundamentalist Protestantism with its domination of the apocalyptic discourse that blames rights for gays and lesbians for the imminent end of the world. It is for this reason that neo-fundamentalists react to their emancipation with an amount of anger and relentlessness that are almost unbelievable for modern civilization.

Within the Anglican Church, antagonistic discourses are regionally determined. The African bishops are mainly influenced by the evangelical discourse and debate homosexuality in the context of the absolute application of Scripture.⁸² The predominant discourse in England and in the *Episcopal Church*, on the other hand, is liberal. Because both positions are firmly anchored in their respective regions, the conflict cannot be won by one of the two sides on the level of the Commonwealth.

The Russian-Orthodox Church, traditionally relying on the theological Platonism of the Church Fathers, is characterized by the reemergence of the apocalyptic discourse that informs the sharp criticism of homosexuality of the last years. A new articulation between these two discourses is to be observed in the Russian-Orthodox Church, where the liberal discourse's historical-critical methods have not yet taken hold.

7. *Implications for the Catholic Church*

I have argued so far that there is a plurality of theological discourses which each articulated and still articulates homosexuality in its special way. These discourses influence individual churches in completely different ways. In order to overcome existing homophobia in Christianity on the level of theology and clerical doctrine, these differences must be accounted for. The successful recipes in Protestantism cannot simply be transposed one-to-one to the Catholic Church where the idea of the lit-

⁸¹ However, a combination of apocalyptic hatred against homosexuals and cultic conceptions of purity characterize the "popular traditionalistic" authors of the successful internet page kreuz.net (see David Berger 2010, 210–224).

⁸² This includes, however secondary a thought, the impurity of homosexuality as a cause for the wrath of God.

eral revelation of the Bible is as irrelevant as the apocalyptic Sodom-eschatology.

For the Catholic Church, it is more important to overcome the dominating Platonism and the relics of the revelatory theology of natural law concerning sexuality in favor of the existing forms of the liberal-historical discourse.⁸³ Its success – maybe during the next pontificate or the one after the next –, mainly depends on the theological work that is to be achieved.

Ever since the beginning of the gay and lesbian movement, homosexuals themselves have developed liberal and even more radical approaches within theology, e. g. body theology, the theology of the flesh, gay liberation theology, lesbian feminist and queer theology. It is an open question to what extent they can contribute to the forthcoming developments and changes. Even if lesbian, gay and queer theologies occupy marginal positions within Catholic theology, it is up to them to motivate the liberal and academic mainstream to put the gay and lesbian question on the agenda instead of ignoring it for fear of the Pope.

The development of theological concepts and strategies that connect gay-lesbian-queer theology with the liberal discourse is therefore a task of central importance. In my opinion, this is a fitting moment to focus on the question of *human rights* of gays, lesbians, trans-, and bisexuals, i. e. the protection from *any type of* discrimination and the right to marry a person of the same gender. Pope Benedict XVI prioritizes natural law over human rights in his moral-political campaign against same-sex partnerships.⁸⁴ This relativization should challenge liberal theologians to defend the theological relevance of human rights. It is of great importance for the struggle against the sin of homophobia that they explicitly include the acceptance of human rights of gays, lesbians, trans- and bisexuals in the upcoming clarification of this fundamental question.

⁸³ Neo-Scholastic Thomism was followed in the 1970s by a separation of theoretical and practical reason, the so-called “Thomasian” interpretation of Thomas, which does not abandon the argumentation based on natural law, but radically reduces its field of influence. See Eberhard Schockenhoff 1996, 11–51 (on the aporias of natural law reasoning) and 143–233 (on a new interpretation of natural law in Thomas). Concerning the problem of inherently bad actions, Schockenhoff concludes: “Not all actions considered inherently bad in the past have to be interpreted as ethically prohibited under all circumstances, the criterion being strict incompatibility with human dignity [...] Using a narrow criterion of the inherently bad, it seems impossible, on this basis, to arrive at a complete ethical evaluation of masturbation, homosexuality, sterilization or at a clear distinction of ‘natural’ and ‘artificial’ methods for the prevention of conception.” (ibid., 231).

⁸⁴ Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith 2002. See Dag Endsjø 2010.

Need for research:

Reconstruct the discursive history of natural law and its effects on the moral valuation of same-sex intercourse.

Analyze the positions of the Church Fathers of the 4th and 5th century CE concerning same-sex relationships.

Analyze the Platonic Eros and the role of homoeroticism in the history of the reception of Plato's *Symposion*.

Collect and analyze rules against homoeroticism, e. g. in structures of disciplinary power in Christian monasteries.

Reconstruct the Burton line: homophobia in the history of Christian mission and colonization.

Document liberal theological movements (homosexual liberation theology, lesbian feminist and queer theology, theology of the flesh/body): its premises, persuasiveness of arguments against homophobia and political influence on current and dominant discourses in Christian churches.

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MICHAEL GRONEBERG

Reasons for Homophobia

Three types of explanation*

This contribution attempts to outline possible reasons for current homophobia. Three types of approaches are distinguished and discussed, including the further research necessitated. Apart from the inertia approach, which seems to reflect most popular beliefs, and the assumption of new forms of homophobia that in turn demand new theoretical and practical means, it is particularly important to take into account ancient heritage that is easily neglected by current research and which is responsible for a deeply entrenched construction of domesticating subjectivity. This kind of constitution of ourselves, still active in traditional masculinities, renders possible the constant reactivation of homophobia, as it rendered possible the past moral and legal repression of same-sex love and intercourse.

1. Three types of explanation

Why are lesbians, gays and transgenders politically persecuted? Why are homosexual acts criminalized in many countries? Why are supposedly gay men beaten to death? Why is there homophobic bullying in Western European schools while gay politicians and ministers are not a problem? Why do youths prefer suicide to a life as gay or lesbian? Why is being “homo” still a discovery for the child or adolescent that triggers a painful process of adaptation?

We live in a situation, in 2010, in which the first two phenomena, namely political prosecution and criminalization, have been overcome in large parts of the planet. All countries of the European Union and many others have decriminalized homosexuality, and what is more, they have committed themselves to the rights of lesbians and gays to state protection against discrimination and for the pursuit of happiness according to their sexuality (right to partnership etc.). On this background, two questions demand an answer: why have so many countries not yet followed this trend but have even gone so far as to form a coalition to defend their discrimination against homosexuals,¹ i. e. to maintain state or church homophobia? And why is there still homophobic violence at school and in the street, and homophobic discrimination at the work place in Europe and Canada, even though the official norms have turned from

* This text is originally written in English. It develops, in part, previously published material on masculinity (in particular Groneberg 2006a). The focus on the analysis of reasons for homophobia and the proposed tripartition are new.

¹ See Hans-Joachim Mengel in this volume.

prosecution to protection and respect? Humankind is the only species with generalized homophobic behaviour. Unlike same-sex intercourse and partnerships, homophobia is not a natural phenomenon and it causes a lot of harm. Therefore, it deserves to be explained.

The first major point of this contribution is that in trying to answer these questions there are three *types* of possible explanations, expressing three types of explanatory attitudes concerning homophobia:

1. The *inertia explanation* supposes that current homophobia is the after-effect of long lasting prosecution. The former legal, religious and moral norms are still partly active and will take time to be replaced. Within this approach, an emphasis is put on the identification of the elements that brought this long prosecution to an end (democracy, secularization, enlightenment etc.). Inversely, one may also identify the elements (practices, traditions, discourses) that prolong the process of liberalization or even threaten to put a stop to it.
2. The *new forms explanation* assumes that homophobia is not just a residue of former times, but that it is constantly created anew. It might even be a typically modern phenomenon, not existing at all before the introduction of the concept of homosexuality. Concretely, political interests and psychological dynamics are adduced to explain structural homophobia as well as punctual state repression and individual violence: sustaining male domination, disqualifying political enemies or venting (primarily male) aggression may be eternal causes for the renewal of homophobia. However, most of these explanations presuppose that homosexuality is already stigmatized. So, as correct as one or the other explanation may be, we have to look beyond.
3. The *basic configuration explanation* tries to move in this direction and decypher the basic structures in which the stigmatization of homosexuality is embedded. More precisely, deeply rooted elements may be discovered by a genealogical inquiry into the construction of present subjectivity, in particular of male subjectivity. These elements serve to explain the long prosecution in the past as well as actual forms of homophobia.

These three classes do not present exclusive explanations. Elements of each different type may be needed to give a more complete explanation of a certain phenomenon. For example, the sudden persecution of homosexuals by an African State may be explained by particular political interests (2nd kind), which argue in support of prosecution with well known religiously based discourses (relics of the past, i. e. 1st kind) or with cultural particularities of local ethics. These may in turn be demonstrated to be rather the heritage of anti-homosexual norms imported by the colonial powers (1st kind once again).

The distinction into the three classes of explanation has primarily two pragmatic purposes. First of all, the popular belief that homophobia is a relic of the past is a dangerous illusion that gives a false sense of security and encourages patient inactivity. It is important to take into account the other reasons in order to avoid unpleasant surprises such as

setbacks or even reversals. Secondly, while theologians, historians and political scientists are often concerned with the first type of explanation and social scientists with the second, adherents of the third kind are, in a way, treated like a step-child. Yet there may be fundamental elements in our self-construction, in particular in male subjectivity, which date back far and are still present, ever re-enacting homophobic attitudes. In order to deconstruct our subjectivity, we need to construct our genealogy, to understand, in other words, how we became what we are.

The different approaches are more or less related to different disciplinary perspectives. The first one comprises primarily historical science describing the past changes, political science explaining the mechanisms that brought down the repressive systems and led to liberalization, and theology, because it deals with ancient discourses that underpinned repression in the past. The popular *inertia explanation* rests on the assumption of overall moral, political and religious evolution, with some regressions perhaps. Historical research sustains or relativizes this assumption. Historical-critical readings of the fundamental “holy” texts argue against the actual discourses which try to uphold religious homophobia.

The second approach allows for a psychological perspective that investigates the development of the homophobic personality. It is also able to take into account new forms of normation and power exertion. There are possibly new power dynamics after European enlightenment, secularization and industrialization that necessitate new theoretical approaches in interpreting what is going on at present and what happened in the past. On the other hand, social sciences can abstract from historical hypotheses and shed new light on actual correlations and instrumentalizations of group identities. For example, sociological research has shown that homophobia is positively correlated with the following items:

- Not knowing a gay or lesbian person
- Being male
- Practicing in a religious community
- Among children: the younger, the more homophobic
- Among adults: the older, the more homophobic
- Traditional concepts of masculinity
- Economic uncertainty

Every item is to be understood as referring to the average and certainly not to every individual.

Finally, the discovery of homophobia-feeding elements in the actual construction of ourselves and of male subjectivity in particular is a genealogical task. As such, it is part of humanities, or more exactly interpretative sciences, touching on philosophy, historical sciences, gender and sexuality studies and theologies. The genealogies should certainly be both inspired and corroborated by social sciences in order to

avoid speculation. The next paragraph will motivate the proposed distinction by asking where homophobia comes from and by pursuing some possible answers.

2. *Following the question marks*

The first type of explanation takes for granted the repression of same-sex intercourse sometime in the past. It considers present homophobia to be a heritage of that repression, while presupposing an overall positive evolution towards more equality and justice. This model may and will be questioned, but if we admit that there is some truth to it, we need to know what exactly was responsible for the onset of change that led to the increasing acceptance of homosexuality – or rather, by including the parallel increase of equality between men and women to the decline of heteronormativity. Prominent candidates for discussion are, among others:

- enlightenment (the end of dogmatic thinking and self-subordination of the mind to a supposed higher truth)
- democracy (the decline of monarchic political structures)
- secularization (the end of the religious State)
- mass media and free press (the end of the knowledge monopoly by the state and clergy)
- non-scriptural media (the end of script culture and its male domination)
- women's emancipation (the beginning of the end of male hegemony)
- industrialization and mass societies (the inefficacy of pyramidal monarchic power structures)

If we take the inertia view, it is important to identify the real causes among the conceivable ones in order to cultivate the positive trends in this evolution and to combat retroactive elements. For example, there is a tendency to believe that if we pursue and extend enlightened thinking, democracy (including free press) and secularization (into the states, churches and ethnic groups that are still homophobic), then homophobia will finally disappear.²

In analyzing these elements, we have to be careful, however, not to identify the reasons too quickly. Some 19th century developments are in fact less due to a realization of enlightened discourses and to democratization than to the needs of industrialized mass societies.³ Michel Foucault has warned us not to succumb to all too easy explanations by following straightlining idealistic discourses, but to rather stay (or become) radically positivistic and sober when doing history and genealogy, i. e. whilst trying to reconstruct how we have come to where we are and how we have become who we are. As the French historian Paul Veyne has underlined, discourses – like the enlightened one – and prac-

² See the text of Rufus Sona and Thomas Rieske in this volume.

³ As Michel Foucault has shown, for example when he elaborated his new concept of power, following the diagnosed historical shift in power relations from the monarchic to the disciplinary form.

tices do not stand in a constant logical relation, they neither necessarily imply nor complement one another.⁴ One may (or may not) want to pursue ideals of enlightenment, but it is another matter whether and to what extent it was in fact that kind of thinking which had the emancipating effects. Moreover, the enlightened discourse was not liberal at all when it came to questions of sex and gender.⁵

Some observations seem to sustain the *inertia explanation*, e. g. the constant correlations between democratization and non-prosecution of homosexuality, the regression when democracy is reduced or abolished by dictatorships, or the correlation stated with an authoritarian attitude.⁶ And certain churches, not all and not in all of their parts, seem to be the main vessels of inertia by anachronistically pursuing and renewing discourses from the past.⁷ On the other hand, we have to consider the possibility that there are new forces that create current homophobia, which is perhaps not *just* a relic of some dark past. To which extent, for example, is the totalitarian, the fascist or the Stalinist persecution of homosexuals a heritage of old days, a turning back of the clock? The renewal of state homophobia rather seems to indicate an inherent political utility of suppressing homosexuality in generally repressive systems (at least in the Modern Age). We might not even want to speak of *renewal*, because of the implication that there be a causal link with the old repression, presupposing that the phenomena are comparable. But are they? Are the eugenic recommendations to prevent homosexuals from marrying⁸ or is their systematic killing in Nazi concentration camps comparable to any state prosecution of same-sex intercourse in pre-modern times? In order to account for the radical view that current homophobia is not a residue at all, but (at least in parts) something completely new, we might even want to call it the *new forms approach*.

These considerations lead to the question of how to detect possibly new forms of repression and discrimination and how to cope with them. Following Foucault's practice of cautious genealogy is one way. And

⁴ See Paul Veyne 1978.

⁵ See e. g. Immanuel Kant on the difference of beauty and sublimeness in relation to the two genders (*Observations on the sentiment of the beautiful and the sublime*, section 3, 1764), or his views on intercourse (*Metaphysik der Sitten*, Das Privatrecht, 1797) or Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) on the necessity of a gender-relative education.

⁶ See the above introduction to Social Sciences and Wilhelm Heitmeyer 2009, Andreas Zick/Beate Küpper 2009, Heitmeyer/Küpper/Zick 2010, Küpper/Zick 2010.

⁷ See Michael Brinkschröder's analysis in this volume. The question remains why the convictions carried by these discourses are adopted and spread by the religious leaders and readily accepted by the believers. Why do they look for reasons and arguments to justify their discrimination of homosexuality, and not for others leading to acceptance, which would be much more in concordance with the Christian message of love? There may be political reasons on the side of the hierarchy, like the preservation or extension of power, reasons and strategies that change over time and require ever new analyses.

⁸ Recommended by the Swiss psychiatrist Auguste Forel in 1905–1907 (“Die sexuelle Frage” / “La question sexuelle”); see Thierry Delessert 2006, 166.

social sciences can certainly establish surprising correlations. An example is the discovery that unlike other group-related discriminations (xenophobia, islamophobia or misogyny), homophobia arises in surprising similarity to anti-semitism with increasing economic uncertainty⁹, which seems to imply some amount of social envy. While the inertia thesis is in accordance with the fact that older people are (on average) more homophobic than younger adults (the earlier their socialization, the more homophobic), the contrary observation with regard to children does not sustain the inertia view: youths seem to be more homophobic (on average) the younger they are.¹⁰

But there is also reason to remain sceptical concerning the new forms, for most if not all of these results rely on a basis of already existing stigmatization and might inherit certain (e. g. religiously inspired) conceptual and theoretical structures and attitudes from the past. Most of the prosecution is not introduced and most of the violence does not occur on morally neutral ground. Homosexuality can only be politically instrumentalized to destroy political enemies if it is already established that homosexuals are a possible target. This leads us to the third approach, which asks how this basis has come about. Now the reader may wonder: if the new forms (and instrumentalizations) of homophobia are not possible without a pre-existing stigmatization of homosexuality, and if that stigmatization is a relic of the past, do we not return to the *inertia explanation*? Isn't the matter, homophobia understood as the repression and discrimination of same-sex sexuality, the same as the old one, only cast into new forms, with different kinds of normation, different discourses, different practices? Isn't some stigma living on from the past, just used in new ways to achieve possibly new ends?

This combination of inertia and renewal explanations is one possible way of understanding current homophobia, and it may again contain some truth, but certainly not all of it. There is an essentially new dimension to the third approach, assuming that the new forms do not just work with relics of past repression or pre-established stigma, but rely on something more fundamental, which was already responsible for the emergence of the past forms of repression and stigmatization. In other words, we have to dive through the past centuries of repression to resurface before the instauration of state-and-church repression in order to discover elements that first of all rendered the instauration possible. Only this genealogical work may uncover ancient elements that are still active and nourish old and new forms of homophobia (and, possibly, other forms of violence).¹¹

⁹ See Wilhelm Heitmeyer 2009; Andreas Zick / Beate Küpper 2009.

¹⁰ See the results of Marie Houzeau / Bill Ryan in this volume.

¹¹ I take it that this is exactly the shift in Foucault's theoretical approach between volumes one and two of his history of sexuality.

The assumption of the longevity of primordial elements is in part motivated by the fact that homophobia is somehow correlated with being male and with conventional masculinity. There are reasons to assume that male subjectivity, i. e. the construction¹² of what it is like to be a male human, is neither naturally given, nor freely composed by the actual social and political context, but in part determined by deeply incrustated, century-old, cultural determinants and may be traced back to the beginning of explicit self-reflection, description and construction of what “man” is by mythology, philosophy and scripture, or even to the beginning of the division of labour between woman and man. These elements of ourselves and of our construction of masculinity are related to a special construction of the male as the domesticating gender in the double sense of domesticating the unknown and dangerous outside world, including wild nature, and domesticating himself. The fact that this type of domesticating subjectivity is associated with the male is historically contingent, and not a natural determination. Women could (and do sometimes) adapt that concept to themselves. Consequently, what is at stake is more than only masculinity: it is our general conception of what we are and how we understand and construe ourselves.

There are alternative models of self-conception, of living together and of an exertion of power that allow for a reduction of discrimination and group-related or interiorized violence. Their description is a task for philosophy, in particular for ethics and political philosophy.¹³ Alternatives are important to counter renewals and new forms of repression in times of rising economic, political and spiritual uncertainty.

In the following paragraph, some major concrete explanations for homophobia will be discussed and located within the three categories. The goal is not to evaluate whether the explanations are true or not, but to present the spectrum of possible explanations (i. e. possible theories) in order to draw attention to them, as well as to ask what they leave unexplained.¹⁴

The final conclusion will be that there are two major basic primordial elements to be deconstructed, both essential to the past and, in application to males, to the still present concept of man: the nature-to-culture transformation paradigm and, within it, the superposition of the wild (to be domesticated) by the “homo” (to be dominated).

¹² This includes dominant widespread conceptions and representations of “the real man” – by the human male himself and by others, be they male or female.

¹³ Christian Funke’s text in this volume proposes a political approach; Michael Groneberg 2006 names some elements of an alternative, non domesticating, male subjectivity.

¹⁴ This landscape of questions and explanations will not go into the details of the touched on theories, which would rather be the goal of future research. For the present purpose, it will neither be necessary to mention all relevant literature. I will however indicate some.

3. Explanatory approaches

3.1 Inertia explanations

The simplest picture is that homosexuals have been persecuted for long, but now humanity has come to its senses. Some remains of homophobia may still live on, but this is just an inertia effect. Some old ideas and norms have not completely died out yet, people have simply too long been told that homosexuality is bad or a disease or perversion, or disgusting or a sin. This attitude will die away with time (just be patient), and with some efforts here and there to keep up the right overall direction in the development of human morality, including efforts to convince parents not to pass on homonegative attitudes or even explicit homophobic hate to their children.¹⁵

Usually, this picture is fleshed out by reference to European history: something has been going on for a couple of hundred years now, at least since the era of European enlightenment (18th century). Despite all backward leaps in special circumstances (like fascism or dictatorships), there is a trend that started with not burning sodomites anymore (in the 18th century) and by abolishing the death penalty for homosexual intercourse (from the end of the 18th century on), continued by attempts at the complete decriminalization of homosexuality (end of the 19th) that took a while but are now successful (in the secularized and enlightened world) and prolonged by the State-protection of sexual minorities through constitutions, laws and human rights (end of the 20th). At the same time homosexuality is becoming accepted and protected, in an interesting parallelism the equality of women and men is established. These two phenomena are each in themselves striking, for they terminate long periods of discrimination and male domination. They seem to be somehow linked and they deserve explanation, primarily in order to understand this development towards more equal and just societies and to further it.

This picture is especially motivated by the history of the criminal law and state-and-church prosecution of same-sex sexuality, which I call homophobia as well, even in the absence of the notion of homosexuality that was only introduced in the 19th century and took hold in the 20th.¹⁶

¹⁵ Even systematized and ideologically backed attempts to transmit homophobia to children within families, in schools and among religious communities are not excluded. Raphael Bak and Benjamin Kinkel in their contribution mention a *hidden curriculum*. Whether systematic or only occasional, this phenomenon would partially explain homophobic attitudes among the very young and their gradual reduction by lived reality, in particular by acquaintance with real homosexual persons.

¹⁶ One of the most important terms used for same-sex acts in legal discourse is sodomy. Sodomy has different meanings that depend on the time, but also the place of its use: 1. fornication "against nature" (medieval sense) 2. anal penetration (nineteenth century) 3. homosexuality (often restricted to males; nineteenth century) 4. bestiality (actual sense in some regions). The term derives from the biblical story about the city of Sodom (Gen. 19) where Lot hosted two angels under his roof. The

A long history of prosecution

Ancient Greece, the Roman Republic and other ancient societies knew no general laws against same-sex sexuality. (The well-known Jewish laws from the Leviticus are an exception.) Prosecution seems to have started in the Roman empire in the third century CE when male prostitution was first of all prohibited (by Philip the Arabian), followed by a series of laws in the fourth century, during the time of the East Roman Christian emperor Constantine and his sons who strived to protect family and, among others, incriminated passivity (behaving like a woman) in MTM intercourse.¹⁷ First only applied to prostitutes, but soon to any man, passive MTM sex was to be punished by burning at the end of the fourth century. In the mid sixth century, the East Roman Christian emperor Justinian declares same-sex acts as contrary to nature, to be punished by the capital sentence, independently of being a prostitute or of having the active or passive role.¹⁸

town's men demand to send them out in order to know, i. e. to rape them. Lot offers them his two virgin daughters instead, but they insist and try to enter the house by force, thus violating hospitality and confirming God's wrath towards the city, which he then destroys with rain of sulphur and fire. Hence, the first meaning of 'sodomy' was the violation of God's will by sexual behaviour. During the Roman empire and medieval times, permitted sexuality was reduced to marital and procreative intercourse; every other kind ended up being considered as sodomy. A Prussian legal text of 1743 discusses whether to consider as sodomite natural intercourse between persons of different confessions. The concept received another name in 1886 when Richard von Krafft-Ebing introduced the word 'perversion' (as pathology vs. 'perversity' as vice). He also distinguishes two kinds of 'sodomy': *bestiality*, denoting sexual activity with animals and *pederasty*, which is sodomy in a stricter sense, defined by Krafft-Ebing as anal penetration (*pedication* = buggery, from Latin *pedex*: arse), occurring as natural (*immisio penis in anum*) and artificial pedication (with sexual devices like dildos). As such independent of the sex and the species of the partner, pedication got primarily associated with male-to-male (MTM) sexuality. The modern sense of pederasty differs both from ancient Greek *paederastia* (gr. *pais*: young man, boy), denoting the relation between an adult and a young man during or after puberty, ranging from a sexual to a pedagogic or 'platonic' partnership, and from *paedophilia*, the erotic preference for children (girls or boys before puberty; applied only to persons over sixteen and if the age difference with the child is big enough). Apart from the terms 'sodomy' and 'pederasty' (legal and other texts), the nineteenth century also knew the term 'inversion' (medical texts) for same-sex sexuality and coined 'uranism' (Ulrichs 1864), 'homosexuality' (Kertbeny alias Benkert 1869) and 'contrary sexual feeling' (Westphal 1870). Since the 1920s, 'homosexuality' dominated, 'pederasty' was used for male sexual preference for young men (a francophone singularity is the abbreviation 'pédé' that became the popular, though still mostly derogative, equivalent to 'gay') and 'sodomy' was reduced to sex between distinct species. A different shift occurred in Arabic where the 'sin of Lut' meant the violation of boys; derivatives of 'lut' nowadays express homosexuality ('lutti': homosexual). See also Groneberg 2007.

¹⁷ The punishment by the sword for a "man coupling like a woman" (cum vir nubit in feminam: *Codex theodosianum*, IX, 7, 3 (4 Dec. 342)) was introduced by the sons of the Roman emperor Constantine in 342.

¹⁸ As Michael Brinkschröder describes in his contribution, the Christian emperor uses the people indulging in homosexual acts as scapegoats, following a series of disasters around 542 and 559, which are interpreted as signs of the wrath of God.

Germanic and other laws resisted this trend during different periods. Alarich's Wisigoth law of 505, widely applied up to the twelfth century (in Spain, France, England, Germany), introduced public burning for MTM intercourse. De facto, most convicts were only castrated and expelled. Many local laws did not punish sodomy, but the Church, referring to the patriarchs Augustine, Origenes and Hieronymus, treated it as blasphemy, also to be punished by burning. If the picture of the instauration of legal prosecution from the 4th to 6th century and its maintenance up to 18th century is approximately correct, the assumption of continuous prosecution has to be differentiated, however. John Boswell has argued, for instance, that Christianity has been indifferent to homosexuality until the end of the 12th century, before a general rise of intolerance set in.¹⁹

The penalization of sodomy did not end with the Reformation. The influential Carolina law of 1532 foresaw death for male and female homosexual fornication. An Austrian law of 1711 pursues with fire the "sodomite sin" between man and man, woman and woman, man and woman, or a person and an animal – for both, even for the animal. In 1769, the Austrian Empress Maria Theresia even adds masturbation as a third kind of fornication against nature next to pederasty and bestiality, to be punished by fire or sword in the case of ejaculation, otherwise by prison. Shortly after, in the late 18th century, most Christian countries abolished the death sentence on sodomy,²⁰ the anglophone world following a little later.²¹

The re-introduction of prosecution and killing of homosexuals is typical of fascist and communist systems (*Drittes Reich*, fascist Italy, USSR, Cuba). At the beginning of the third millennium, several Islamic countries still know and practice the death sentence on homosexual acts.²² These countries are mostly no democracies and restrict human rights including women's rights, free speech, press and religion. Hence, we observe that state repression of homosexuality was introduced in monarchic systems with a monotheistic foundation, occurs in generally repressive systems (no matter whether communist or fascist totalitarian

¹⁹ John Boswell 1980.

²⁰ The Austrian Empire in 1787; Prussia in 1794. The complete decriminalization within the *Code Napoléon* of 1810 was implemented in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, most Swiss cantons, Belgium, Holland et al. (Magnus Hirschfeld 1914, 835ff.).

²¹ The last countries being England (1861), Scotland (1889) and Victoria (Australia), where the capital sentence was still applied in the 20th century in cases of "pederasty" with boys under fourteen (Magnus Hirschfeld 1914, 24). Sodomy in the sense of pedication was criminalized by many laws until the 20th century (e. g. in England, Ireland, Russia or Chile). Legal disputes centred on the applicability of the term to women and whether bouncing movements or ejaculation were necessary ingredients (ibid. 832ff.).

²² Iran, Mauritania, Sudan, Saudi-Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen and parts of Afghanistan and Nigeria (partially applied only to Muslims, subject to the Sharia). See also Hans-Joachim Mengel's text in this volume.

systems or dictatorships) and tends to be reduced and abolished by democratic constitutional states (*Rechtsstaaten*) upholding human rights and freedom of the press, of speech and of religion.

Doubts

Legal texts do not tell the whole story, they do not describe experienced reality. For example, we know that despite the mentioned tightening of the law on fornication against nature by Maria Theresia in 1769, the law had been hardly applied anymore during the whole 18th century (and mostly in rural cases of bestiality, not in cases of same-sex acts).²³ In any case, we observe a reduced application of these laws long before the French revolution, and even the reforms of the criminal laws that abolished the death sentence took place within the monarchies. One might argue that the monarchies have tried to maintain their threatened power by hardening the repression, but eventually had to give in and adapt their laws to social reality. The question remains due to which influence the social reality had changed. One favourite candidate is enlightenment, another is secularization, the separation of State and Church, which led to a legal system which is directed at allowing peaceful co-existence, not at implementing religiously founded ethics.

In any case, we may state that repression of homosexuality hasn't always existed. It is not a primordial state of humanity, nor is it natural, but rather something that was established. More precisely, the prosecution by law and religion can be traced back to late Antiquity. It occurred in centuries when the dominant social order was monarchic, backed by monotheistic religion.

Of course it must be considered to which extent the laws were applied. And even if they were applied, we do not know to which extent same-sex love and sex did nevertheless happen.²⁴ There are indications that same-sex love and tenderness, and even sex, is more possible, the more homosexual acts are generally supposed to be inexistent or the more homosexuality is silenced. We observe this in the world of football, which is supposed to be free of homosexuality and therefore admits MTM hugging etc.²⁵ The inverse is also true. The process of decriminalization of homosexuality in Europe was temporarily accompanied by its pathologization and much talk about perversion in the 19th century. This increasing discourse on sodomitic perversion has led to a decline of male-to-male tenderness, same-sex love etc., because they were now under the suspicion of proving a homosexual character. Men walking hand in hand in the streets, on the other hand, are not rare to observe in countries where homosexual acts are considered a crime. If the German scientist of sexuality Volkmar Sigusch is correct, even the

²³ See Susanne Hehenberger 2006.

²⁴ See Klaus van Eickels 2002, 25f., 348ff.

²⁵ See Josefine Paul in this volume.

last decades' positive or neutral talk about gays and lesbians results in a diminution of MTM physical contacts.²⁶ This leads to the question whether, while the official norms and values have changed for the better, the kind of normation might have shifted again, as in the 18th and 19th century, when criminalization based on theological discourse gave way to pathologization with a eugenic tendency. Today, all the official recriminations (by the law, morality, medicine, even by liberal theology) have disappeared. If homophobia and especially repression of MTM proximity, love, tenderness and sex still persist, is this really a residue of past times, due to religious non-liberal discourses and persisting superstition, or is there an unofficial normation of some new kind? Is it possible that the old legal and religious norms persist and resurge as social norms and values, e. g. as marks of tribal identity?

The past reasons for improvement

It remains to determine what it is exactly that is responsible for the beginning of change for the better. It is striking that there are not many researchers who even ask these questions, let alone try to answer them: What happened so that after millennia, women finally gain equality, and what happened so that after hundreds of years of intolerance, sexuality was liberalized?

Some explanations have been proposed concerning gender equality. According to Christina von Braun, the end of male domination is due to the end of script culture (*Schriftkultur*). There is some plausibility to this, because men had succeeded in reserving scripture to themselves, not only the establishment of fundamental texts (mythology, the holy texts, philosophy, laws etc.) but also their interpretation. Even the transmission in schools has for a long time been reserved to men. Texts, in particular those defining a culture (Homer for the Greeks; Augustus tried to establish one by Vergil's *Aeneis*; the Torah for the Jews; the Bible in Christianity; the Kuran for Islam etc.) were the most important means for the exertion and maintenance of power. They still have that role among religious people, but they no longer rest in a few, privileged, exclusively male hands. Von Braun claims that scripture has now been replaced by pictures, in particular by moving pictures. I am not sure whether this theory is valid, but surely the power of the texts and the appropriation of their production, interpretation and transmission by the male gender has served to maintain male domination. It is also within this tradition that same-sex intercourse has been condemned.

To this line of thought may be pertinent the observations of Michel Foucault about the construction of knowledge that is never free of interests, and the proposal of Arnoldas Zdanevicius to analyze, observe and change the ways "knowledge" about queers is construed and spread by

²⁶ See the last paragraph of Christian Funke's text in this volume for some detailed research results and literature.

the media, re-iterating prejudice and stigmatization, and to ask how queer knowledge can correct this. If von Braun is right, this is a question for the sciences of media.

A quite different approach is worked out by Nancy Fraser. According to her, feminism is on the retreat in the USA because the common ground, the consensus of a social democracy with just distribution of goods has been shaken during the last decades. Economic liberalism has the effect that women tend to seek help in the evangelical churches now, where their suffering finds consolation, rather than in feminism. She states a setback, which we know can happen, after the experiences of the 1930's in Germany and Italy and elsewhere. Falling back to a barbaric state is not impossible. For Fraser, we have to focus on questions of distribution of goods in order to stay on the right track. If she is right, our question is one for political economy.

Concerning homophobia, her point may also strengthen the proposal of Jacques Fortin, discussed by Christian Funke, that what is needed to continue the trend towards more social justice (gender equality and respect of sexual self-determination) is the re-inforcement of a civil society with committed citizens who take things in their own hands, a strengthening of the horizontal perspective of solidarity, just and equal co-existence, supported by social values, respect of private autonomy and a positive secular identification with universal values like human rights. If they are right, the topic is a matter for political philosophy.

These are only a few proposals to understand the elements that further gender equality and respect of sexual self-determination, and those who tend to reduce it. Unfortunately, most authors stick to one or the other view, and often their position is highly impregnated by their discipline, their school and their further background. A synthetic view, which then would have to be interdisciplinary, is lacking.

3.2 *Reasons for renewals and new forms*

Let us now consider some explanations of concrete and manifest homophobic violence.

3.2.1 *The angry aggressor explanation*

The simplest explanation for violence against homosexuals and transsexuals is that they become victims of ambient aggression because of their stigmatization. This explanation presupposes a certain degree of omnipresent aggression (in the population in general or particularly in young men), which is in principle undirected and needs an object to act upon. Gays and lesbians become victims like other people, like the elderly, the homeless, the handicapped or persons of a different colour, because belonging to that group of people or having that property is a weakness, be that weakness physically objective (high age, handicap) or due to a socially construed stigma (other colours, other sexuality). Let us call this *the basher explanation*. There is anger that seeks its way, may be

linked to economic or existential hardship, and certainly correlated with the gender and age of the violent subjects. A part of this anger strikes at those thought to be weak, those already stigmatized. It is acting out "the law of the strongest", even if the domination is only due to the situation (a gang facing an individual, the possession of clubs or knives). The violence against queers is distinguished by the fact that any violation of the heteronorm seems not only to attract but to provoke aggression. But there is also the known phenomenon of intentional gay-bashing: going out looking for gays at reputed places to beat up one or more of them – in a situation where the victim is surprised and usually helpless. Without wanting to go into the details: the angry basher explanation might be satisfactory when we deal with a certain action, but obviously it presupposes that being gay is something that renders you a possible victim in the first place.

The same mechanism may explain other kinds of homophobia, e. g. mobbing at the work place, especially if there is tension, if people have to fight in order to keep their job. Mobbing is also some kind of aggression, rather hidden, veiled, working behind one's back, not outspoken. It presupposes some consensus among the others to form a coalition against the victim. We know practically nothing about the amount of this kind of discrimination. Tools to detect and measure it must still be developed. What is certain is that lesbians, gays or trans persons know that they carry a stigma, if they are out, a green light to violence or other forms of discrimination. Being openly gay or lesbian or trans or intersex takes courage and may be turned into strength, but first of all it is a weakness to be reckoned with. It is a label, no matter whether its signification is grasped or not, that makes you one to be potentially picked on. As long as being gay or lesbian is stigmatized in this way, children in particular will be afraid, not only to be so, but to be called that name, because it makes you weak and gives others a reason to aggress you. On the background of the fact that children can be cruel and often amorally exercise the "law of the stronger", the recent public discourse about homosexual equality might just signal all the more that being gay or lesbian is a weakness: the claim to be respected as equal and normal implies that one is not generally considered equal or normal, and this is a weakness. In any case, what we hear from the schoolyards is sometimes in flagrant contradiction to the official political discourse and shift in morality. We certainly need more research in this respect, in order to understand the (psycho-linguistic) mechanisms that operate at school or on children generally.

No matter how pertinent the angry aggressor explanation is, what remains to be explained is not only why being gay, lesbian or transgressing the gender boundaries is stigmatized, but also why the bashers, those who apply open physical violence, are mostly males. The phenomenon of gay bashing is only part of the whole complex of masculine

violence related to sexuality, which is an established fact. Some try to explain or even justify this fact by the presence of hormones, in particular of testosterone and other androgenes that are supposed to render males aggressive. But it has been shown that women experience anger as often as men.²⁷ The difference lies in the way to deal with it. Women tend to verbalize and interiorize their anger, whereas men tend to exteriorize it physically. It is not the testosterone which is responsible for the way to act upon the feeling of anger, of dealing with one's own aggression. In that respect too, we have to recognize a certain conception of masculinity, which allows and even encourages acts of aggression by "real guys", whereas girls and women are not supposed to behave this way, and "homos" do not do so either – they do not fight, they rather kiss each other, no? One reason more to be tough: one avoids being labeled "gay".

Let us conclude that angry aggressor explanations presuppose and leave us with two unexplained phenomena. The open cause of the stigma of the victim groups leads us back to look for an explanation of the first type (stigma as a residue of past repression). The male majority of the bashers rather leads us to the third kind of explanation by basic configurations of masculinity and dominance.

3.2.2 *The denial explanation (internalized homophobia)*

In contradistinction to the basher explanation that operates without an inherent link between the kind of anger of the aggressor and the type of victim, the *denial explanation*, which is also psychological, assumes a certain psychological link between the aggressor's homophobia and his own sexuality. Imagine a boy who experiences homoerotic attraction and is not capable of admitting it to himself and others, because being gay is, so he feels, the worst that can happen to him. He internalizes the ambient homophobia and tries to neglect the felt attraction. The denial leads to the suppression of these parts in himself. At the same time, other boys who do still trigger his desire or even show interest in him, or who admit and live their homosexual attraction with others, unlike himself, render his denial fragile, menace it and may thus lead to violent counter-action with the tendency to hurt the others, or himself. To be more precise: if feelings are something the subject is aware of, and emotions and attractions have an objective part, the psychological explanation of repression (*Verdrängung, refoulement*) claims that in the end he does even not feel attraction any more, but directly experiences it as aversion or hatred, not realizing that what he hates there is his fear of his own homoerotic attraction, his being menaced by it. Not knowing how to deal with stigmatized attraction may provoke anger, which is turned outwards and projected on the one who triggers it, concretely or potentially.

²⁷ See e. g. Robin W. Simon / Leda E. Nath (2004).

A variant of the denial strategy may even explain why people who admit their homosexuality to themselves while keeping it secret in certain parts of their social surroundings because of supposed non-acceptance or negative sanctions (in their family, among friends, in the sports team, at the workplace, in the general public), sometimes act against others who live their homosexuality openly in the same surroundings, for this is experienced as a menace and casts into doubt the own decision and arrangement. There may also be envy that others succeed to live more freely than oneself. The homophobic violence or discrimination against others is in that case explained not by an internal hiding, but simply by hiding one's own homosexual tendencies from others. Hence, we may distinguish two kinds within this explanation for homophobic attitudes: internal and external denial – hiding homoerotic attraction from oneself and hiding it from others.

Again we must be careful not to apply this suspicion generally. In a certain case, the explanation may be correct, but there may be other reasons to not lose sight of. The explanation also clearly presupposes the stigmatization of homosexual attraction. On the other hand, it would certainly help to know how widespread this mechanism is, and to what extent it can explain gay bashing, for instance. To better understand the idea behind this mechanism and the applicability of the explanation, an important distinction has to be made.

The object of denial: homosexuality vs. homosexual attraction

We must be clear about some basic facts concerning the modern construction of the homosexual person. As has been established by science during the last decades and as is generally accepted now, homosexuality or, to be clearer: the homosexual person is an invention of the 19th century. Of course there were same-sex intercourse, love and desire throughout human history. But only the 19th century saw the construction of the dichotomy homo- vs. heterosexual in application to persons, which was and is, against all contrary knowledge, still dominant. The distinction homo vs. hetero is omnipresent, we permanently apply these categories when we meet people, even unconsciously, and most of us try to appear to belong to one of the two categories.²⁸ This either-or does not, however, correspond to reality.

Sigmund Freud claimed that there is a homosexual component in every individual (more on that later on). Even if we do not adhere to Freud's theory, the results of empirical studies like those of Kinsey are to be respected. There are others and newer ones, but I'll briefly present his scale of sexual orientation, because it allows to distinguish the concepts of sexual orientation, preference and identity and to explain why neither

²⁸ See Steven Derendinger 2006 on the linguistic strategies of men in Swiss Romandie performing straightness; see also the examples in Caroline Dayer's text (paragraphs 5–6) in this volume.

orientation nor preference nor self-identity are a choice, while social identity or life-style is. First of all, the Kinsey scale permits to represent the common fact that people are not just hetero- (K0) or homosexual (K6), but that there is a whole scale of attraction between, where K0 designates “exclusively heterosexual” and K6 “exclusively homosexual behaviour”.²⁹ If the sexual *orientation* of a person is defined by one of these categories, the *preference* for partners of the other sex (heterosexuality) covers the categories zero, one and two, the preference for partners of the same sex (homosexuality) K4 to K6. Bisexuality in the sense of equal amounts of homo- and heterosexual behaviour corresponds to category K3. Sexual orientation is thus more differentiated than sexual preference.

One of Kinsey's results, which was shocking at the time, because it shook the foundations of the hetero-homo dichotomy, was that only half of the interrogated persons (5'300 men, 5'940 women) had had no homosexual experiences in their whole life, which leaves an unknown number of persons who have felt some attraction without giving in to it. 37% of the male population had had homosexual sex up to orgasm some time in their life since puberty. This gives some credibility to the Freudian assumption that there are homosexual elements in everyone. But then, it suffices to read ancient literature in order to see that for a person to be attracted to both sexes is not surprising. The fact that homosexual experiences are so common for people with no exclusive orientation may also be the background on which many conclude that homosexuality is a choice. Whereas one might try to defend this for persons with a non-exclusive orientation,³⁰ it implies ignoring people with a clear preference. For the famous, or infamous, 5 to 10% who desire only the same sex, there is no choice.

According to several scientific studies, the sexual orientation is influenced genetically,³¹ which means that a person's amount of preference for one or the other sex is not up to the person, but congenital (inherited,

²⁹ Alfred Kinsey et al. 1948, 638.

³⁰ There are many ways to deal with this “bisexuality” in the larger sense, covering a whole range of solutions, e. g. life with a wife and having occasional affairs with men or a fixed lover, or living alone, or with two persons, or just stay with the loved one, no matter what his or her sex is. The definition of one's own identity varies accordingly and may be due to the contingencies of life, and depend on own decisions; see e. g. Fritz Klein / Thomas Schwartz 2001.

³¹ Genes never determine, but influence more or less the development of a certain kind of sexuality. Even Dean Hamer who “discovered” the gay gene only speaks of some influence of the genes, and is careful to say: on “some men” (1994, 211). Most studies show a certain amount of disposition, not to homo- or heterosexuality, but to being located somewhere on a scale between. If our biology influences, or even determines our orientation, this explains why of some identical twins, both become homosexual (they cannot otherwise; Kinsey would class them K6), while others (with K2, for example) display bisexual behaviour and may finally choose different lifestyles and identify differently (for more details and literature see Groneberg 2006a, 11–18).

innate). This corresponds to surveys showing that most gays think they were born gay (lesbians a little less),³² although the unchangeability of the orientation might also be due to early childhood fixation. The sexual identity, on the other hand, refers to a certain chosen lifestyle. A girl may be definitely lesbian from birth or childhood on, but will not identify as lesbian, or as a woman-loving woman, or as loving this girl, before she has had the corresponding experience, maybe with 6, maybe with 13, maybe with 30. So she may be lesbian without knowing it for a while. Even when she feels the attraction to another girl and realizes the absence of an attraction to boys, it may take a while until she confronts herself with being "that". She may even doubt and look for other explanations, and only when she finally accepts being interested in girls, her self-identification is terminated. Each person is confronted with her sexual orientation as something given, be it exclusive or open. Only the lived social identity is a matter of choice and the social identity may still differ from the psychological self-identification, which is no free choice either, but a process of self-discovery. Only for those with an open orientation the choice of a social identity as lesbian or as hetero or as bi or as neither may be a free one.³³ Some of the exclusively homosexual persons (who self-identify as homosexual) choose to stay hidden and live "in the closet" or have even no sexual life at all, or they manage to live a heterosexual life without happiness. These persons do not have a social identity that corresponds to their orientation and psychological identity, and this is usually a cause of suffering. Others choose to come out claiming their right to live according to their orientation and what they are.

These facts are of highest importance for the denial approach. For this approach does not state that among the 5–10% of homosexual persons, those who dare not live their sexuality become homophobic. It rather refers to those among the majority of the population who do not dare admit their homoerotic attractions. If the denial approach is taken to explain homophobia not as hidden and repressed (pure) homosexuality, but as repressed homoerotic attraction, which may more or less be experienced by everyone, its applicability is considerably larger.

Whether the denial explanation is adequate only in a restricted number of special cases, or whether it can play a major role in explaining homonegative attitudes, mobbing at the work place or gay bashing, I do not know. But it is obvious again that denial cannot explain concrete homophobic attitudes without presupposing structural homophobia or stigma. For without social or institutional discrimination of homosexuality, there would be no reason for individual denial.

³² See Groneberg 2006a, 11; referring to Simon LeVay 1996.

³³ Free as to the sex of the other, not necessarily as to the individual. Falling in love with a person is not always a free choice.

On the background of omnipresent same-sex attraction, the denial, which presupposes pre-existing stigma, could also explain the higher amount of homophobia of younger children in school. For the younger they are, the less they have dealt with their homoerotic components and may be frightened by it, while older children have found ways to cope with it, to integrate it in their lives, to ignore or to deny it – or discovered that they can live with their heterosexual side only, such that the homosexual attractions felt in younger days are not perceived as dangerous any more. In other words: the more the dangerous feelings are managed, the less need there is to be afraid of them or be hostile to who triggers them.

But the reason for denial might not only be the fear to become a victim of violence, if one is held to be lesbian or gay. It also has to do with the concept of masculinity. For a man being tender or emotionally close to another man casts into doubt that man's masculinity. This is less the case for tenderness or emotional proximity between women. By adding the consideration that being gay not only weakens a person's status, but in particular weakens the status of "being a man", the denial thesis might explain the higher amount of homophobia among males and among those who defend a conventional concept of masculinity – because there is even more reason for fear: not only to become the target of aggression, but also to lose one's privileged status linked to masculinity. So again we are left with something to explain: the pre-existing stigmatization on the one hand (perhaps inertia), and the link with masculinity on the other (primordial construction).

3.2.3 *Construction of cultural identity*

Rejection of homosexuality may have other than psychological explanations. The next discussed reasons are of a political order and might explain the stigmatization without presupposing other kinds of homophobia. As has been shown in particular with the famous Leviticus passage of the Old Testament (Lv 18.3, 20.13 and 24–29), the exclusion of homosexual intercourse belonged to a strategy of Jewish identity construction, i. e. of setting the Jewish people off against the surrounding peoples, where homosexual intercourse was omnipresent.³⁴ That identity construction, to be observed in 6th century BCE exile or after the return of the Jews to Palestine in the 5th, did not exclusively use sexuality. Other marks of identity have survived until today, such as circumcision, the refusal to eat pork, observance of the Sabbath etc. Christian dogma had for some time obviously forgotten this function of the interdiction "to lie with a man as you lie with a woman" and universalized it into a general condemnation of homosexual acts.³⁵

³⁴ See Jean-Jacques Aubert 2006, 112. See also Klaus van Eickels (2009) on the attribution of homosexuality to the saracens during the crusades.

³⁵ See also Michael Brinkschröder in this volume on interpretations of Leviticus.

The instauration and instrumentalization of anti-homosexuality for the political purpose of dividing and ruling, or of gathering people under a pretended cultural identity, is still present today and continually to be observed, e. g. in states with a history of European colonialism trying to construe a cultural identity by rejecting elements of the former colonial powers, e. g. arguing that homosexuality did not exist “in our culture” before the Europeans imported it. It is often not seen that it was these European powers that first of all introduced the *prosecution* of homosexual acts, which did not exist before. Most cultures know some forms and rituals for same-sex relationships, but without implying that the involved persons are homosexual, without this kind of social identity, which is indeed European.

The reactions of the Arabic and Muslim world have to be understood in the same line, presently feeling humiliated by the West. Far from not knowing same-sex relations covering love, sex and partnership, but without any homosexual identities, they first of all refuse the Western concept and identity of homosexuality and consequently, the claim to lesbian and gay rights. Like the Bible, the Kuran contains a message of love and peace. If nowadays Islamic countries are the only ones to punish homosexual acts by death, this is not necessarily due to the religion, but to a certain reading of the Kuran in a generally repressive context. The Kuran also lends itself to liberal readings. Those countries are typically not democracies. As stated above, we have to be careful in identifying the components of the inertia type that maintain homophobia.

The globalization of Western sexual identities is a difficult and controversial topic. Even among Western scientists, there is no consensus whether the globalization of these identities is a necessary step in order to claim rights for the concerned persons (as Hans-Joachim Mengel presupposes in his contribution) or whether this is to be seen as a new kind of colonization and lack of respect for the local forms of living same-sex sexuality. Certainly, the homosexual identity is a basis to link protection to. It serves those whose orientation is exclusive. It has the negative effect, however, of forcing all the others who are not exclusive and who live that non-exclusiveness unproblematically, into the either-or dichotomy. It seems important for the matter of homophobia to take into account some understandable reluctance of cultures that are or feel threatened by foreign domination to accept the dominator's world-view. African, Arab and Muslim people are probably a lot less homophobic (in the sense of condemning same-sex attraction and intercourse) than they seem by only judging the utterances of their actual governments and religious leaders, or generally by judging their refusal to accept the homo-hetero distinction implied by LGBT rights.

Each diagnosis of the reasons of repression and stigmatization of same-sex love in a country or in a group of people, like migrants, re-

quires a differentiated analysis of all these factors.³⁶ In addition, the other major types of political instrumentalization of homophobia, namely creating scapegoats, getting rid of political opponents, or establishing obedience mechanisms have to be taken into account too.

3.2.4 *The scapegoat explanation*

Identifiable groups of a population have always been used as scapegoats to detract the attention from political failures or weaknesses of those in power, or to blame innocents for natural catastrophes. The political advantage is double: attention to the leaders' faults or incapacities is diverted and inconvenient groups are silenced. In this case, the groups, mostly minorities, do not necessarily have to be pre-established as potential victims. The stigmatization of a social group may even have its roots in some such blaming for what is going wrong in a country. The Christians were blamed for the great fire of Rome as soon as 64 C. E. Jewish history is full of such events of being declared scapegoats. Actual examples are abundant. Any religious or ethnic identity may be used to create new persecutions.

Christianity and Islam have favoured this mechanism with a certain interpretation of the story of Sodom: God's wrath is said to come upon those who tolerate sinners among them, called "sodomites" in Christianity, "lutti" in Arabic. It still needed to be said who the sodomites were, because the Bible itself does not specify homosexual intercourse as the sin of the inhabitants of Sodom who embarrassed Lot. In any case, the Christian Emperor Justinian seems to have applied the scapegoat strategy in Constantinople in the mid 6th century, blaming those who indulged in "counternatural" sex as provoking the wrath of God.³⁷

3.2.5 *A submission-and-profit strategy*

Applying the scapegoat strategy to homosexual activities may prove to have another political advantage, because they exist always and everywhere. Thus, prohibiting them creates many offences of the respective law, which in turn forces many offenders to buy themselves out of pun-

³⁶ See Rufus Sona and Thomas Rieske in this volume for further considerations relativizing the supposed homophobia among migrants from Islamic countries, and Michael Brinkschröder and Hans-Joachim Mengel in this volume on the influence of certain homophobic Christian discourses in African countries.

³⁷ *Justiniani Novella 77* of 542 (datation according to Mischa Meier 2003, 592–599, see also Brinkschröder in this volume, paragraph 3.2) provides for the capital sentence for acting on lust "contrary to nature": "*Ut non luxurietur contra naturam*" (caput I: "[...] ipsi naturae contraria agunt [...] ultimis subdere suppliciiis"). Two decades later, in his novella 141 from 559 Justinian feels compelled to come back to the "luxury against nature", interpreting it clearly as something that even animals would not do and that would attract the wrath of God: (*Edictum Iustiniani ad Constantinopolitanos de luxuriantibus contra naturam*, caput I: "Itaque omnes timori dei intenti abstinere debent impia et nefaria actione, quae ne a brutis quidem animalibus invenitur commissa; [...] acerbiores sibi poenas arcessituros esse"). See also Eva Cantarella 2006, 101; on Justinian's attitude and the quoted legislation see Eva Cantarella 1991, 263–270.

ishment, by money, by favours or by silence, which leads to more general obedience and submission and, at the same time, more income for the rulers.³⁸

3.2.6 *Social envy*

The scapegoat strategy works even better if the target group is disliked by the majority, or if distrust and dislike are politically favoured. The history of the persecution of Jews need not be detailed. Dislike or mistrust may have many reasons: the "others" may only be unfamiliar in their habits, strange and new, or hold convictions contrary to one's own or even worship other gods, or the same one but in a different religion. The present conflicts between the "European enlightened" and migrant conceptions of gender roles and sexuality are one example for conflict, but here the migrants are those who are generally in a minor social and economic position. Another, even more dangerous reason for dislike, as the Jewish history shows, is social envy, i. e. if the group is said to profit more than the majority. Social envy may turn to hostility, if the group is blamed for general poverty or malaise. This kind of hostility in turn is highly dangerous, for it may be instrumentalized by political powers not only to distract from one's own problems (the scapegoat strategy), but also to take advantage of that group by higher taxes or even confiscation of their goods.

A long-term study of 2009 on group-focused enmity in Germany delivered the result that during the last years of increasing economic uncertainty due to the financial crisis, group-related enmities have nevertheless been declining (in comparison to 2008 and to 2002), apart from antisemitism and, in surprising parallel, homophobia.³⁹ Jews and homosexuals are apparently considered to have high income, such that the mechanism of social envy may hold. This possible reason is newly detected and must be observed, in other countries and over time. In itself a social reason (or excuse) for dislike or discrimination, it may be politically instrumentalized. Like the other political strategies, this social cause does not necessarily presuppose pre-existing stigmatization, but is rather able to create it and is therefore properly new.

3.2.7 *New forms of power*

Michel Foucault has drawn attention to the fact that the ways of power exertion have changed radically since the 18th century, from the monarchic, pyramidal suppression to the disciplinary form that less re-

³⁸ Pier Paolo Pasolini has nicely illustrated this in *The Friar's tale* (*Canterbury tales*, 1972), where one of two men caught in pedication can buy himself out, while the other, who cannot, is sentenced to death and burned.

³⁹ Wilhelm Heitmeyer 2009. In comparison to 2008, but also to 2002, sexist and racist statements are on the decline (both clearly), as well as statements of enmity against strangers (clearly), Muslims (slightly), handicapped (slightly), homeless (slightly) and permanently unemployed persons (slightly) (summary of the press conference by Simone Rafael, 4 Dec. 2009).

presses actions than it does interfere positively in every corner of society and even forms the individual mind and subjectivity (the disciplinary power).⁴⁰ Concerning sexuality, he has shown that instead of seeing only an end of the dark days of repression, we have to take account of the systematization of the governance of sexual behaviour (with the help of administrative rules and medicine), which succeeded in introducing the desired management of sexuality, including the repression of homosexual parts, in the individual subject. In a second step, he added the element of population management (biopower) to the disciplinary aspect. The shift to bourgeois sexual morality that put sexuality under the index of procreation with healthy descendents had less to do with enlightened discourse than with the governance of masses and eventually the reproduction of the nations' body (*Volkskörper*) that led to eugenics (*Zuchtwahl*). In this setting of biopolitics, the homophobic person appears as a typically modern phenomenon, part of the matrix (Foucault's *dispositif*) of sexuality with its dichotomy of homo- and heterosexual persons.

Following this line of thought, it is evident that potentially new forms of power have to be diagnosed, in which homophobia (and other discriminations) may find its place. In pushing Foucault's analysis further, Gilles Deleuze has proposed another shift since the Second World War, from a disciplinary society that rather locked away in special institutions, to a society of absolute control and privatization (care at home; imprisonment at home), where complete surveillance marks the behaviour of each person and replaces the institutions (like prisons, hospitals etc.), which become ever less profitable.⁴¹ To conclude, we not only need an analysis of the instrumentalization of existing discrimination for political purposes, but of its creation by new mechanisms of power exertion or governance.

3.2.8 Maintenance of male domination

Masculinity is the last of the new forms of homophobia or of the forms of its renewal here discussed. It will be the bridge to the third kind of explanatory attitude of ancient configurating elements. There are two types of indication that homophobia has something to do with masculinity. First of all, men or boys are on average more homophobic than women or girls. Secondly, homophobia seems to correlate with conventional concepts of masculinity. The latter usually include a certain idea of role distribution between women and men in general, and between husband and wife in particular.

⁴⁰ Elaborated in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975) and the first volume of his *History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge* (1976). An example is the establishing of prison as the primary punishment institution, which is not due to enlightened discourse, as many think, but to the needs of the industrialized mass society.

⁴¹ Gilles Deleuze 1990.

The relation of male domination over women and the subordination of homosexual masculinity has been stated by the Australian sociologist Raewyn (formerly Robert) Connell, one of the global leaders in masculinity research. Homophobia here appears as an element of an ongoing dynamism to maintain and justify male domination over women, primarily by associating homosexuality with femininity. Let us have a closer look at this relation.

Connell's reflections on masculinity are centred around her concept of *hegemonic masculinity* that has acquired some prominence in masculinity studies.⁴² Inspired by feminist theories and Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as

"the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women."⁴³

The guiding idea is that hegemonic masculinity sets itself off against women and thereby internally differentiates different kinds of masculinity in one and the same movement. These two delimitations appear to be essentially linked. By definition, a masculinity is hegemonic if it assures male domination over women. The acquired hegemony is not static, but dynamic, it constantly has to be defended and justified. As Connell underlines, we have to assume not one hegemonic masculinity, but a plurality of masculinities that compete for hegemony.⁴⁴ The winner in the race is the type of masculinity that succeeds in maintaining and justifying male domination. The hegemonic masculinity is a temporary solution, the bases of which may erode, followed by other solutions that "construct a new hegemony".

The visible bearers of hegemonic masculinity are not always the most powerful men, they may be film actors or fantasy figures. And the hegemonic masculinity is not the obviously repressive one, not the one that submits and exerts violence:

"It is the successful claim to authority, more than direct violence, that is the mark of hegemony (though violence often underpins or supports authority)."⁴⁵

The hegemonic masculinity establishes itself through practices that ensure male domination, while in this process three other kinds of masculinities are differentiated: the complicit, the marginalized and the subordinate ones. Complicit (with the hegemonic project of male domination) are the masculinities of those many men who do not really exert patriarchal power over women, who do not fight at the front of patriarchy, who even pactise with women, but nevertheless "benefit from the patri-

⁴² See e. g. *Gender and Power* 1987 and the basic work *Masculinities* of 1995.

⁴³ Raewyn Connell 1995, 77.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; see also her "Masculinity, Violence and War" of 1985.

⁴⁵ Raewyn Connell 1995, 77.

archal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women".⁴⁶ This also creates a marginalization of the masculinities of certain classes (the proletarian one) or ethnic groups which exist in the edges of society. Finally, the paradigmatic example of subordinate masculinity is the homosexual:

"Gay masculinity is the most conspicuous, but it is not the only subordinated masculinity. Some heterosexual men and boys too are expelled from the circle of legitimacy. The process is marked by a rich vocabulary of abuse: wimp, milkson, nerd, turkey, sissy [...] Here too the symbolic blurring with femininity is obvious."⁴⁷

Connell adduces an important explanatory element for the subordination of homosexuality. Even in the absence of justification of its repression by moral or other norms, by the church, the state or medicine, the attempts at maintaining and justifying male domination over women lead to an automatic subordination of "feminized" men, of men who are, to state it otherwise, too much on the side of women. This subordination is not necessarily achieved by the men of hegemonic masculinity, who may not even intend it, but it is a result of the process.

This link might be an explanation of the reduction of homophobia with increasing real-life gender equality. For as research has shown, men living in equal partnerships with women easily develop an egalitarian concept of the gender relation, and with it, of masculinity. The conventional concept rather survives in contexts where women do not play an equal role.⁴⁸ In turn, homophobic attitudes correlate with conventional concepts of masculinity.

Connell's observation of an inherent link between the process of male hegemony and an internal power-arrangement of types of masculinity is an important step in understanding the mechanisms of male domination. However, the observed link between male domination and *homophobia* seems not to be a necessary one, as a look at ancient cultures demonstrates. Ancient Athens was highly patriarchic without repressing same-sex intercourse, the same holds for the Roman Republic and many other societies. And there is another open question: Why does the intention to be a "real man" lead to the suppression of homoerotic elements in oneself and to the discrimination of lesbians and gays? The link between male domination over women and the subordination of *certain* masculinities does not explain why homosexual masculinity is among them. Neither does it explain why lesbians are discriminated as homosexuals, nor why masculine gays are. In other words: The link between homosexuality and being put on the side of women is not clear and needs further explanation. We do not see yet which element in modern dominating masculinity is responsible for the subordination of homo-

⁴⁶ Raewyn Connell 1995, 79.

⁴⁷ Raewyn Connell 1995, 79.

⁴⁸ See Michael Meuser 1998; Holger Brandes 2002, 111–133.

sexuality. The association of homosexuality with femininity is not a natural fact, as ancient cultures attest. It is a cultural and rather modern fact, widely presupposed at the end of the 19th century, even by the gay sex researchers who supposed the existence of a “female soul” in the body of a homosexual man.⁴⁹ But even this assumption was not only immediately contradicted by Freud, but had been decades before.⁵⁰ Is it still true in our societies, more than 100 years after these discussions, that homosexuality is associated with femininity?

But let us get to the crucial point. The problem seems to be that Connell takes a restricted historical perspective. She investigates modern masculinities since the discovery of the New World and traces some constant aspects through the centuries. The conquistadores and the cowboys are men at the frontier of wilderness, the outback, the limits of civilization. We know that gender distinction was reinforced by medicine and by esthetics in the 18th century with its construction of the female as the beautiful gender, and the male as sublime, due to his confrontation with the overwhelming infinity “out there”. But why is this masculinity incompatible, in modern times, with same-sex sexuality? The patriarchal societies of pre-Christian Rome and Greece, as well as most of the ancient cultures, knew same-sex sex as something ordinary and far from being unethical in general. Male domination does *not* necessitate the subordination of homosexuality.

We could at the most argue that masculinity was associated with being the active part, the penetrator, which excludes being “known” by another man like a woman is. This topic was abundantly exploited by the Greek comedy writers like Aristophanes, and it was one of the first things penalized by the Roman laws (as stated above). So we could say that masculinity implied the penetrator, and was somehow problematized by being the penetrated. But for a long time, that did not exclude high state functions (other than selling one's favours), but was, at the limit, reason for ridicule. Homosexual desire may even be construed as utmost manliness, and it has been done so from Aristophanes' speech in Plato's *Symposium*⁵¹ to the community of *Die Eigenen*⁵² at the beginning of

⁴⁹ *Anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa* is the subtitle of Karl-Heinz Ulrichs' *Memnon* of 1868; see also Magnus Hirschfeld's works. Sigmund Freud, to the contrary, heavily criticized this assumption of a “female brain” in a homosexual man. He prominently argued against the natural determination of the sexual orientation of a person by her gender (1905, 42; fn of 1910/1915). More details on these discussions in Groneberg 2008, 110–116.

⁵⁰ Ulrichs had assumed male homosexuality to represent a female desire, expressed also by the female character and habits of the homosexuals (*Inclusa* 1864, §12). Only one year later, he had to correct this position and concede that there are homosexuals with virile character, preferring the “active”, i. e. penetrating parts in sex etc. (*Formatrix* 1865, §89).

⁵¹ Plato, *Symposium*, 192a.

⁵² A community of homosexual adorators of virile masculinity (opposed to sissyness and Magnus Hirschfelds “intersex“-approach), founded by Adolf Brand and Benedict

the 20th century who considered homosexual love as the utmost sign of virility. In actual media coverage of gay prides, the elements of hyper-masculinity are evident.

In any case, the thesis that male domination creates a penetrating type of masculinity that subordinates the penetrated ones (which is only partially true in Antiquity) does not explain the modern subordination of *homosexuality*, i. e. of gays, whether they have themselves pedicated or not, and of lesbians.

Connell forged her analysis on the background of the anglo-saxon world, which has been more reluctant than “continental” Christian states to engage in the process of liberalization.⁵³ For parts of Europe it may be doubted that the process of defending male domination still subordinates homosexuality, even where male domination still exists. And being the penetrated one is certainly not considered a sign of weakness any more in public discourse, neither by homosexuals nor by women. This is certainly an improvement of the actual dichotomy of hetero- and homosexuality, in comparison with the ancient guiding dichotomy of having the active or passive role.

If in addition we take into account the rather popular denial thesis saying that homophobic violence may be due to the fear of one's own homosexual impulses, homophobia is prone to be once more interpreted as cowardice, and cowardice is traditionally not an attribute of manliness – quite the opposite. Rather there is another masculinity on its way: one which is able to have a strong woman at its side, or even looks for one, and which is able to confront its own homoerotic impulses without repressing it (in the sense of *verdrängen*).

Probably the question of why, in modern times, male dominance is linked with the suppression of homosexual elements needs to remain unanswered by Connell's theory, because she founds the latter on the analysis of modern times only. It remains to be investigated whether or not there is a core to the construction of masculinity in general, underlying all types, composed by elements that might have been set up long ago and that are still omnipresent to an extent that even renders them invisible. Connell seems to underestimate elements of a concept of masculinity that is present across all masculinities.

It might be necessary to get rid of these elements, inherited in part from the Antiquity, to get away from the permanent renewal of male homophobia. This is analogous to the necessity (following Michael Brinkschröder) to cut off elements of ancient discourses in order to get away from religious homophobia.

Friedländer in 1903. Brand's magazine “Der Eigene” existed from 1896 to the suppression by the Nazis in 1932. See also Benedict Friedländer 1904.

⁵³ See above note 16. The United Kingdom still prosecuted positive portrayals of homosexuality at the beginning of the millennium, an exception in Western Europe.

3.3 *Elements in our selves: domination, domestication and masculinity*

3.3.1 *The element of control*

Delving back into Antiquity to deconstruct our homophobic, or generally repressive selves, is not a new enterprise. Between Nietzsche and Derrida, a long list of authors have done so in different ways. My main inspiration in this respect is Michel Foucault, underpinned by Isaiah Berlin. As mentioned previously, Foucault's attention first centred on the 18th century and the changes that happened there. He questioned the approaches of the historical sciences and detected new power mechanisms which actively configurate our subjectivity (the disciplinary power) and the emerging management of the masses of human lives (the biopower) picking up where monarchic repression left off. After this diagnosis, and after having all his life examined modern times and in particular the break from the 18th to the 19th century, he felt compelled to turn his attention to Antiquity. The reason for this was his impression that we, as subjects, are constituted in a certain way that was initiated far back, further even than Christianity. The narrower question was how we came to focus so much attention on our "sexuality", as if that were *the* moral topic, and he identified elements in practices and discourses of taking care of oneself, in particular of one's desires, since classical Athens. He identified self-control as one major element of the subjectivity which then began to be constituted. Only he who is able to govern himself is also able to govern others. In addition, it allows access to truth.

In order to govern myself, I evidently have to split: there is one part of me that governs another. A duality (at least) has to be introduced in the human subject: intellect versus desires and drives. The second essential element is a person's identification with the "higher" part, with his intellect or mind (it is not the intellect that has to be domesticated by the self, as some Buddhist images express it, but the intellect is declared to *be* the self – I am my mind – having to domesticate everything else). Only by acting according to his mind does a person act freely. A man who is directed by his desires, is a slave to his passions. As Isaiah Berlin has pointed out, this opens the door to political repression. For who knows what is good for the mind? Who has access to truth? Those among the governing class who have the leisure to think about it, namely philosophers and politicians. Discussions about the recently (since the 1950's) rediscovered ancient virtue ethics remain silent on one important aspect: the reflections about the good life and how to reach happiness, apparently an innocent private undertaking, are essentially only one side of a coin, which, on the other side, reveals the imposition of the results on the whole of society, on the masses. The virtues a noble man may voluntarily strive for have to be imposed on those who do not have the leisure to reflect much. Laws are dry and cannot achieve this completely. This is why we need stories, myths, religion. Religion, with

its mythologies and allegories, working with imagination and emotions, can transmit to the masses what only few people can comprehend by philosophizing, including the control of their passions and desires.⁵⁴

Foucault identified the tight relation of the governance of oneself and of others, which at the same time gives access to truth, as present in ancient thought and practices. It seems to me that this association goes even further back and was responsible for the formation of a specifically male subjectivity. Greek philosophy is the moment when a primordial element of the self-definition of man is conceptualized.

Unfortunately, Foucault's analysis is mostly silent about the gender issue. His reconstruction of male subjectivity sometimes appears to be one of subjectivity in general. What is missing is a reflection on what is typically masculine in male desire, or, in other words, the gender difference in the construction and hermeneutics of the desiring subject (this is where Connell comes into play).

3.3.2 *The transformation of nature into culture*

Control or government (of others or of oneself) can take two distinct forms: repression and transformation. It is essential to understand that it is the latter that will dominate over the first (as Christianity triumphs over Stoicism in late Antiquity; the domestication of sexuality over its castration in the Middle Ages; and sublimation over repression, *Verdrängung*, in Freud's theory). As already exposed in more detail elsewhere,⁵⁵ transformation is a fundamental element for humankind, and may even define it: the transformation of wild and potentially dangerous nature into culture (in the sense of cultivating cattle and cereals) is at the basis of human civilization. Transformation of natural powers into energy is the form this basic principle has taken nowadays.

Transformation contains two elements: the maintenance of the force and its appropriation. The force to be used is crude and wild (wild cereals, the bull) and must be controlled, educated, governed, dominated. The crude force is not suppressed or we would gain nothing from it. It has to be maintained, but stripped of its dangerous wildness and rendered a peaceful servant. This is domestication, whereas domination may entail both submission and repression. The paradigmatic image for this primordial process is the domestication of the dangerous bull which, by castration, is turned into a tame ox and can be put under the yoke to draw the plough.⁵⁶ The domestication of the wild bull sym-

⁵⁴ A prominent position of the Arabic philosopher al-Fârâbî (10th century CE; see his *On the Perfect State*).

⁵⁵ Groneberg 2006.

⁵⁶ It lives on into the cult of Mithras until the middle of the first millennium: Christina von Braun 2001, 130. A roman relief of the 2nd century CE shows Mithras overpowering a bull. At the same time a scorpion is cutting off the bull's testicles, while an ear of corn, symbol of culture, springs from its phallus. See Groneberg 2006, 24. The domination part is still present today in the archaic rites of bull-fights or rodeos, but they lack the image of transformation.

bolizes not only human reign (that might be repressive), but the transformation of reluctant and dangerous wild nature into culture, i. e. into goods that assure human survival and supremacy. The transformation principle is basic to humankind and makes reference to its reign over (the rest of) nature through human intelligence.

Similarly, those who want to govern other humans are construed in the same way: they must have a strong nature that is transformed into something useful for their community. Desires and impulses of anger must be domesticated. The transformation principle is interiorized, primarily in those who govern. It is fixed by philosophy, religion and generally by scripture. In this context, males were already dominant, and they reinforced their domination by inscribing the transformation principle into their own subjectivity. Hence, masculinity became structured along the nature-culture dichotomy: the real man (always thought to be dominant, over others and over women) has to display a strong, wild, dangerous nature, and the capacity to control and domesticate it. These are the two elements that constitute domesticating masculinity: dangerous nature and control.

Compared to the bull, the male human has a mind that enables him to control the strength of his wild and dangerous nature. Castration, the annihilation of the sexual drive, has been considered an option in the fight against desire and lust in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, but it was rejected. Rulers and men are ideally characterized by the virtue of self-control. There is no considerable self-control if there is nothing considerable to control.⁵⁷

The belief that this conception of masculinity is still active is motivated by observations about actual masculinity (to be corroborated further). To name only two examples: science did find a gay, but not a lesbian gene. Interestingly, most studies about the genetic influence on sexuality show a higher genetic influence in men than in women. (I do not take these studies as truth, but as documents which attest gender distinctions). So according to biological research, men seem to be more determined by nature than women.⁵⁸ This contradicts the traditional association of women with nature, men with the mind or culture. But this contradiction is resolved if we remind ourselves that men have never been conceived as having no nature, but as having a strong nature to be transformed – by their mind – into culture. To get some output, there must be input.

Another example is the recent discussion about the blue pills. Whereas it is no problem in reducing male sexuality to the erectile function, a similar discussion on women immediately led to protest and to the demand to rather look for social or communicative problems in fe-

⁵⁷ See Klaus van Eickels 2006.

⁵⁸ See Michael Groneberg 2006.

male relations.⁵⁹ The male has never *only* been characterized by intellect and culture, but also as being able to create culture on the basis of a strong nature. Why else should men, more than women, tend to be proud of having an animal sexuality, to be a real bull in bed etc.?

3.3.3 *The topological gender distinction*

In addition, the ruling or dominating subject (for the ruled subjects need only follow orders from the outside, e. g. men's orders to women) is essentially conceived as capable of a double movement: up and out. Up to the heaven of ideas (Plato's gesture), of truth (symbolized by the book), he will be construed as nearer to God;⁶⁰ out across the border, confronting the unknown, the limitless, the infinite, the wilderness (the sword), he will be construed as sublime. His own strength and wildness will remain the essential part of him, in order to subdue the wild beasts and monsters outside.⁶¹ In both directions, woman is constrained: there is something between her and God above: her husband. As a sign of that She has to wear a veil. There is something between her and the world outside: her husband. He has to give her permission to leave the house, and as a sign of it she does not go into the house by herself in the first place, but is carried there by him.

Man also appropriates woman's most proper power: he invents his own way of being pregnant and giving birth. It is a higher kind of birth, of mental children such as works of art, books or laws.⁶² For over 2'000 years, men will be the guardians of scripture and transmission of knowledge, those who write, who interpret and who teach, those who occupy and jealously defend the upper realm: the world of mind.

I hold that the topological is the basic gender difference: woman is conceived as static, conceived as being anchored at a spot, at home; man is conceived as a vector, as dynamic, outward-going, transcending and transgressing. This topological gender difference is still present in the 20th century. Women are still restricted in their mobility, in comparison to men. Three examples: Naomi Wolf described the experience of girls in the 1970's in sexually freed California. They are restricted in their movement around town as soon as they reach a certain age and become prey to male sexual harassment.⁶³ In consequence, they become dependent on protective boyfriends who take them out in their cars.

Some decades before, Simone de Beauvoir describes her childhood impression of her father as follows:

⁵⁹ See Alain Giami / Brenda Spencer 2006.

⁶⁰ This setting even has repercussions on the ancient construction of rationality and the intellect, diagnosed to be a male concept by feminist scientists. This should less concern the realm of logic than epistemology, where dualism finds its utmost expression in the theory of illumination, as opposed to empiricism.

⁶¹ See Walter Erhart 1997.

⁶² Platon, Symposium, 206ff.

⁶³ Naomi Wolf 1997, 29–34.

“Usually, he works outside and it is through him that the house communicates with the rest of the world: he is the incarnation of that world of adventure, immense, difficult and wonderful; he is transcendence, he is God.”⁶⁴

These two reductions of female mobility might be explained by the increased sexual vulnerability of girls in comparison to boys, and by the classic role distribution of the man acting in the public sphere and the woman taking care of home and family (which confirms my point). However, the role distribution is encrusted even more deeply, and concerns boys and girls long before they are ever confronted with sexuality or a profession: parents tend to encourage boys more than girls to explore the outside world and especially fathers are often concerned about the masculinity of their sons if they are not enough explorative, aggressive and adventurous.⁶⁵ The topological gender difference plays less in discourse than in practices, where we are largely blind to what we do.

3.3.4 *The object of domestication: from the wild to the homo*

Christianity perfects the described male appropriation of the procreative power by its teaching that man is not drawn from woman, but woman from man.⁶⁶ Birth and generation are invested with a new sense: carnal procreation is secondary compared to the incarnation of the word, a purely male affair.⁶⁷ Christian Metaphysics is gendering in yet another respect: it applies the existing male dominance to diverse ontological and psychological entities. The mind and eternity become male, perception and time female. That way, the clear hierarchy is transferred to these entities. The woman thereby becomes the symbol of the body, of sensuality, of the terrestrial. She also possesses a mind, as the male has a body, but hers is occupied with earthly things, because of her body, and usually succumbs to them (*the fall*). Man, on the other hand, has the capacity to domesticate sensuality, sexuality, desires, in short: the female elements in himself.⁶⁸ Hostility against sensuality becomes stronger during the first centuries CE. There is a shift from domestication to domination. Not only within Christianity, but broadly, in different systems of thought (Stoa, Gnosis, Neoplatonism). The (ancient) pursuit of happiness is transformed, with fading hope to find it on this earth, into a pur-

⁶⁴ “Habituellement il travaille dehors et c’est à travers lui que la maison communique avec le reste du monde: il est l’incarnation de ce monde aventureux, immense, difficile et merveilleux; il est la transcendance, il est Dieu”. Transl. MG, en original: Simone de Beauvoir 2001 (orig. 1949), vol. II, ch.I, *enfance*, 39.

⁶⁵ See the last paragraph of Marie Houzeau / Bill Ryan in this volume.

⁶⁶ Paul, I Cor 11.8.

⁶⁷ The French social scientist Sylviane Agacinski (2005) reconstructs in detail the ancient Christian construction of the genders, of male domination and of sexuality from Paul to Augustine (354–430).

⁶⁸ The sexualization of Christian metaphysics is described in detail in Sylviane Agacinski 2005.

suit of the happiness beyond,⁶⁹ reinforcing the subordination of woman as a symbol of sensuality, and of everything erotic and sensual, including all non-procreative sex for the sake of pleasure only. In that frame of thought, homosexual intercourse finds no place. That which at Plato's time might be the object of discussion and jokes,⁷⁰ and remains unproblematic within Neoplatonism (at least up to the third century CE)⁷¹ will be perceived as a more and more dangerous temptation and will finally be forbidden. The theological treatment of the flesh, based primarily on Christian receptions of Neoplatonism, will take some time to implement itself in reality, but it is not by chance that the East Roman emperors who introduced laws against same-sex intercourse, like Constantine and Justinian, were Christian, and the introduction might not have been possible without this ideological background.

The modern association of homosexuality and femininity, which is striking in the texts of the first scientists of sex in the late 19th century,⁷² seems therefore to be less of a historical reason for the subordination of homosexuality than a historical effect of a long, official repression of homosexuality, which is part of the repression of sexuality in general. In that line of thought, today's homophobia is partially a relic of the Christian construction of the male subject, where the term "Christian" includes the influence of Greek philosophy during the first centuries CE. The homophobic elements within Christian discourses that are still active today are indeed mostly taken from Greek philosophy and stem from certain selected readings of Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics.⁷³ Catholic homophobia especially relies on Christian Platonism. Greek philosophy in turn reflects the interiorization of the transformation principle into the dominant male subject.

This structure remains present until today.⁷⁴ It is striking that somewhere on its way, the wild part to be domesticated has been joined, superposed, if not replaced by the homosexual part. Sigmund Freud has expressed this in a lucid way in his doctrine of sublimation that describes how the energy of the drive (*Trieb*) is transformed into the pro-

⁶⁹ See Friedrich Nietzsche's analysis "Wie die 'wahre Welt' endlich zur Fabel wurde" (How the 'true world' has finally become a myth), in his *Götzendämmerung (Twilight of the gods)* of 1888.

⁷⁰ Plato, *Symposium* 192a.

⁷¹ Porphyry describes (2nd half of the 3rd century CE) in his *Life of Plotinus* (15) how the matter was once discussed among them whether a pupil, "for the sake of advancing in the study of virtue should submit himself to carnal intercourse with his master, if the master desired it". The discussion had been initiated by the rhetorician Diophanes, who defended Alcibiades' readiness to sleep with Socrates, described in Plato's *Symposium*, on these lines. Plotinus is said to have rejected this position fiercely, probably because of the reduction of love to commerce, which is exactly what Plato rejected. There is no indication that the homosexuality of the relation was at stake.

⁷² See Karl-Heinz Ulrichs, *Vindex*, 1864, §10.

⁷³ See also Michael Brinkschröder in this volume.

⁷⁴ See Alain Giami / Brenda Spencer 2006 etc.

duction of cultural values. Freud exemplifies this with Leonardo da Vinci,⁷⁵ who did not *repress* his drive, but *sublimated* it. Repression would just make it come out in other areas, unwanted, distorted and dangerous once again. Freud's sublimation theory thus shows the same structure as the transformation principle that turns the wild into something useful that can stay in or around the house. The only (and decisive) difference: According to Freud, Leonardo did not sublimate his aggressive drives, but his same-sex attraction. This analysis of the case is interesting not because it is true (this is not the question), but because it reflects to perfection the longevity of the transformation principle, which is evidently active around 1900, and the shift to the transformation of the homosexual parts. At that time at least, the homosexual part is largely considered sick (not by Freud, for him it is beneficial if sublimated, at worst neurotic if repressed), violent aggressivity on the other hand has not necessarily to be domesticated, but is rather tolerated, for example, if it is part of the general submission of women – it has its place in the house.⁷⁶

It is interesting that what is justified and cherished by Freud is not the sublimation or other transformation of potentially violent aggression in order to create a peaceful society. What has to be transformed are the homoerotic tendencies. This typically modern view is striking, and it requires explanation as to where it comes from. The elements have already been stated. The interiorization of the transformation principle did not leave unchanged what had to be transformed: since the Greeks, objects of transformation were rather the desires than aggression or anger. This has to do with the utility of the own aggression in dominating others, and of the aggression of the male population when it is used in war. Domesticating masculinity has been shown to have two sides: wild force and the possibility of control. Depending on the historical context, it was rather the one or the other that was useful, economically, politically, and thus encouraged or cultivated. Masculinity during the Roman republic until the first century BCE has been one of submission and violation, in accordance with the conquering attitude. This is the side of the bull, of the fierce force. It shifted to domestication in the empire, when internal stabilization was needed more⁷⁷ and everyone was submitted to the emperor.⁷⁸ This is the side of the ox, of the tamed force, useful at home.

Some hundred years later, a gradual repression by the law of non-procreative intercourse, including same-sex intercourse, was instated,

⁷⁵ See Sigmund Freud 1910.

⁷⁶ Richard von Krafft-Ebing in his famous *Psychopathia sexualis* (1886, 72–74) explains that it is normal that the man is sometimes violent against his wife. He declares his sexuality to be rather sadistic, whereas hers is rather masochistic by nature. Homosexuality, on the other hand, is declared a perversion, no matter how consensual it may be.

⁷⁷ See Eva Cantarella 2006; Paul Veyne 1968, 1985.

⁷⁸ See Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 3, ch. III.2.

favoured by a certain anti-sexual conception of the ideal man spread by Christian theology. The laws only helped anchor this conception in general morality, and even after the recent abolishment of these laws, this element rests anchored in male subjectivity. It was even reinforced and systematized, as Michel Foucault has shown, and it has been defended as valuable by psychoanalysis. Man is now less conceived as transforming his potentially aggressive drives into something we can live with – that is actually the privilege of woman who is not supposed to act out her anger physically –, but as transforming his homosexual attraction into culture. This deviation from the original transformation principle is probably due to the political utility of a violent potential, and to the supposed inutility of non-procreating homosexuals. Man is therefore rather construed as repressing or sublimating his homoerotic dimension, and if that renders him even more aggressive, it just reinforces this configuration of dominating masculinity.

There is reason to believe that male sexual desire is still conceived within the primordial frame of the transformation of wild nature. But the wild part has been joined by the “homo” part. With an interesting difference: wildness is not considered a weakness, but rather a sign of dominant masculinity, therefore wildness has to be domesticated, cultivated, not repressed. Same-sex attraction on the other hand, has been made a sign of weakness and lack of masculinity, that does better not show at all. In reality (thinking of the schoolyards now, not of Freud's ideal) it does not have to be domesticated, but repressed, completely silenced. If Freud is right, it then re-surfaces elsewhere, distorted, maybe violent. What is real is the repression of homosexual elements, as if *they* were dangerous, and the construction of man as containing a wild and dangerous force that can and has to be domesticated by him – in solitude, in sublime confrontation with his beast within.⁷⁹ If this is the basic pattern of the concept of masculinity (which is the conventional modern concept of domesticating masculinity), it explains that erotic aggressivity is expected of man, as well as his ability to control it and that this might cause problems, if the presupposed capacity of control is absent, such that the aggression finds way in male sexual violence, including male homophobia.

After decades of feminism, woman has finally left behind her the reduction to nature and sensuality. It seems that the male human is still, anachronistically, conceived (also by women) within the dichotomy of nature and culture. What is the alternative? Woman has undone her “natural” attributes and established herself rather as a communicative and social being. Man still has to reconstruct himself in order to be fit for the actual and future world without much “up” or “out”, a secularized world with no outbacks, without anymore discovering of new parts of

⁷⁹ For more details see Michael Groneberg 2006; see also Walter Erhart 1997.

the planet and privileged access to the intellect, truth and God. It is time to undo with the anachronistic nature-culture transformation principle and stop conceiving of one's sexuality as something dangerous. This of course implies a general conception of sexuality as something positive and beneficial instead of menacing and dirty. To say it with Nietzsche:⁸⁰ stop giving the lion and become the child. A child playing who, in playing with others, has to see and negotiate with them what and how they play together – such that the deal is not a solitary one within the subject, between the domesticating mind and wild desire (to be tamed), but one between the child's playful desires and the others who are on the same level, partners and not objects. No doubt many men rather perceive themselves like this. This is not the conventional notion however, but, hopefully, the future one.

4. Conclusion

To summarize, explaining homophobia is a complex matter. Taking together all the elements described, we obtain the following picture: the existing stigma, prejudice, devaluation of homosexuality is due to a long process, in which we can discern three steps:

1. The first step is the constitution of domesticating subjectivity by the internalization of the fundamental principle of humankind, which is the transformation of wild nature into culture. This leads to a domestication of desires and aggressivity in general. The dominant (free) subjects apply it to themselves and impose it generally on their (subdued) subjects. This primordial mechanism is reflected in theory by Greek philosophy.
2. In a second step (since late Antiquity), homosexual attraction is integrated into the desires to be transformed because of increasing hostility and official repression of non-procreative sexuality in general. New, political reasons (scapegoating, submission strategies etc. have helped here).
3. In a third step (since around 1800), the repression of desires is systematized and inserted in individual subjectivity by the introduction of the dichotomy of hetero- and homosexual persons.

This may only be part of the explanation of structural homophobia. New steps in this process are not excluded, neither are renewals of already existing stigma:

1. Politics: the existing prejudice, stigma and devaluation is politically instrumentalized (scapegoating, submission strategies, identity construction etc.)
2. New sources for social stigmatization: Social envy, tribal identity construction etc.

Individual homophobia is explicable on this background through a variety of alternative (but combinable) reasons:

⁸⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra*, 29–31.

1. Fear of weakness: the existing prejudice, devaluation and stigma are reasons to fear one's own homosexual attraction, because to show it means to be "that", rendering one weak and vulnerable.
2. Fear of unmanliness: the fear of becoming a victim is often aggravated in males by the transformative concept of masculinity that now excludes homoerotic attraction as unmanly.
3. Establishing dominance: The dangerous nature part of dominating subjectivity is put to the fore in submitting weaker or stigmatized others (homosexuals and transgenders, for male youths: women / girls).
4. Random aggression: homophobic aggression may also be due simply to the fact that homosexual people and transgenders are stigmatized. They are therefore predestined to be victims of random aggression.

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CHRISTIAN FUNKE

Non-discrimination as a value of citizenship

An analysis to expose Jacques Fortin's philosophy*

This essay asks whether the ascription of citizenship enables a contingent form of coexistence in a pluralistic society. Its topic is neither the analysis nor the description of homophobia but the question of how to cope with it in a political manner. In this line of argumentation, Jacques Fortin's remarkable technique of claiming civil rights (the "recourse to the law") and its conditions of success are analyzed. His remarks are interpreted on the background of an argument for equal treatment that follows John Rawls' liberal theory. It is argued that the recognition of citizenship rights enables a good form of coexistence in a pluralistic society, whereas any politics of identity as a fashion of civil action have to be rejected.

1. Introduction

How to cope with behaviour and emotions that pertain to one's sexuality? This essay deals with this question by proclaiming an ethical and political attitude addressing homophobia that is appropriate because it claims respect and recognition: the ascription of citizenship. Jacques Fortin inspires my considerations on this topic.¹ It seemed beneficial to me to expose his remarks based on his wide experiences in sensitization-work. In my opinion, they are representative of a serious attempt to establish social peace, or are at least advisable and of an ideal value. The technique of the recourse to the law (orig. *le rappel à la loi*) and its presuppositions, especially the idea of citizenship, seem to advise, in a liberal manner, an ethical attitude which is appropriate to cope with deficits of respect.

According to Fortin, the focus of discussions on topics that concern sexuality and in particular homosexuality needs to be relocated, in particular in the context of sensitization-work. Not homosexuality itself but homophobia is and should be the topic, which means that neither the sexual act nor the erotic disposition need to be the objects of such discussions, but rather discrimination and oppression. He rightly warns against widespread tendencies to discuss homosexuality etiologically (reflecting the causes of homosexuality) or teleologically (reflecting the ends of sexuality). These tendencies are discriminating, for they treat the individuals in discussion as explanatory objects and consider them as variations or even violations of an alleged norm. Instead of indulging in

* This contribution was originally written in English (revised by MG, corrected by MG and VL).

¹ See Jacques Fortin in this book.

these pseudo-academic debates, the participants in a dialogue should rather discuss the conditions of coexistence. What has to be evoked in such dialogue is the awareness of the latent social violence named homophobia that obstructs a good and dignified life for members of the community. The broad spectrum of homophobic phenomena – self-hate and despair (cf. the correlation between suicide and sexual orientation among adolescents under 25)², cases of bodily harm, injury and even murder, (and the lesser violent but no less oppressive cases of) abuse and bullying, silent bans, obstacles, stigmatizations, (misty) moral reservations, not to speak of the invisible side, of emotions and mobbing – these facts stand in opposition to a principle of good coexistence: non-discrimination. To attain this goal, equality and the autonomy of each individual must be invoked. In other words, the universality of civil rights must be reaffirmed. Sensitizing people to homophobia means raising consciousness of factual inequalities and confronting it with the right to live a good self-determined life. Considered in this manner, Fortin's advice for sensitization-work exemplifies a legal and ethical discourse on what is desirable for all. The invoked idea of citizenship is used to evoke reflections on the actual social violence by paying particular attention to equality. From the standpoint of equal rights, the violent tendencies (be they manifest or latent) must lead to serious indignation.

The goal of such a shifted (ethical) discourse, to be obtained among all participants, is awareness and recognition of a bundle of rights, e. g. the right of bodily integrity, the right to express one's sexuality fully or the right to pursue happiness, which together define what we call citizenship rights. Fortin argues on the basis of an idea rich in tradition. The idea of citizenship (*citoyenneté*, *Bürgerschaftlichkeit*) stresses societal principles and claims rights and duties that do not merely result from the fact of having a certain nationality (*nationalité*, *Staatsbürgerschaft* in the sense of *Staatsangehörigkeit*). Civil rights are anchored in social relations, they cannot be guaranteed by the state-authority only, but are sustained by what we call civil society.

In the case of sensitization-work for homophobia, the task is to initialize such social relations, e. g. in seminars or courses at schools. The recognition of these rights is a process of moral relevance. Another aspect of sensitization-work is thus to convince others in this regard, and as a technique to achieve this, Fortin proposes the so-called "recourse to the law". This performative technique of argumentation urges us to perceive the victims of homophobia as persons with an equal legal status. It demands the ascription of citizenship to gays, lesbians, bisexual persons and transgenders. The proposal to recognize the citizenship status of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgenders shows the political

² Cited in Jacques Fortin, in this book, footnote 2.

dimension of Fortin's remarks; it brings the interaction on a serious level by reminding the legal status of citizenship backed by the state. In doing so, however, this technique claims what it is assuming. Specifically, it assumes a twofold understanding of the legal status: in the light of the positive law of the state and in the light of human rights. At first glance, gays, lesbians and transgenders have now nearly reached equal legal status in the "Western World", i. e. in the Americas, Japan, Australia and Europe, and certainly in France, which is Fortin's point of reference. In fact, changing the positive law to attain an equal status for gays, lesbians and transgenders *de jure* is not Fortin's concern. He takes it for granted that this is achieved. Instead, he is concerned with the socially based recognition of gays, lesbians and transgenders as citizens. This process cannot be provided by law or the state authority, but only by citizens themselves. That is what he depicts as the aim of the recourse to the law. Both the human rights and the positive state law are the ethical and legal basis of this technique. It is used not as a lamentation, but as a claim that is to be initiated by citizens. The status of citizenship is ascertained by demanding the access to rights which any citizen is entitled to. The addressee of such claims is first and foremost the fellow citizen, not the politician. Given the fact that there is a general lack of political culture, i. e. of debates of social issues face-to-face, these recommendations are remarkable since they ask to publicly claim recognition of citizenship rights and tend to focus on the ethical conditions of coexistence.

According to Fortin this political attitude results in a custom, which has become apparent in the last decades: gays, lesbians and transgenders are not excluded from debates over gays, lesbians and transgenders. This changed custom represents an impact of political culture due to the continuous assurance of citizenship: the recognition as individuals with equal rights. It is a small step for minority groups to enter the democratic processes, if recognized as equal citizens, since the recognition of citizenship rights is a starting point to participate in government. The recognition of citizenship is therefore a basic condition for participation in the political process.

My concern is to clarify the sense of this political attitude further. For this purpose I will first make a historical incursion into the German and the French notions of citizenship in order to clarify this central notion (2). I will proceed with a reflection on the conditions of success of the recourse to the law at a basic social scale, i. e. the interaction of individuals (3), and try to consider its effects on coexistence in a pluralistic society (4).

2. Analogies between the German and the French understanding of citizenship

An adequate approval of Fortin's remarks, especially from a perspective outside of France, requires understanding the notion of citizenship (*citoyenneté*) with historical sensibility, for its sense is rather peculiar.

2.1 *The vertical sense of citizenship*

The German counterpart of this notion (*Staatsbürgerschaft*), for instance, does not fully capture its sense: it usually designates the legal relation between the state and the citizens (*Staatsangehörigkeit*). This vertical interpretation focuses on the political and legal subjection of individuals from the perspective of the state. It is probably the most common interpretation of citizenship in Germany. The legal order of the Federal Republic of Germany considers this relation in at least three dimensions. First, the German constitution defines basic rights (*Grundrechte*) and liberties (*Freiheitsrechte*) and defence rights (*Abwehrrechte*). These rights can be asserted against the public authority, i. e. the collectivity of legislation, executive power and jurisdiction. Second, the Private Law defines legal relations among legally equated natural persons, e. g. marriage or contracts of sale. In doing so, the principle of private autonomy is applied, i. e. the possibility to enter in legal relationships of one's own volition. Third, the Public Law regulates legal relations between the public authority and the subjects of private law. Citizenship is thus a legal status entailing basic rights, the liberty to act of one's own volition, and a set of enforceable claims relating persons to agents of state. This legal status depends on the legal order, for only the continuity of the latter guarantees this status and the rights implied by it. Citizenship – as the legally guaranteed status – correlates with the sovereignty of the state.

2.2 *The horizontal sense of citizenship*

By contrast, yet another notion of citizenship is visibly virulent in German discourse. During the last decades, the German Republic's task of welfare was partly adopted by civil associations. In particular, tasks in the sector of public welfare in the wider sense (comprising the care for homeless people, prison inmates, drug addicts, children etc.) were substituted by civil society action. Models of corporatism, e. g. the public-private-partnership model, were supported and approved by the government. The so-called "third sector", the civil society, became a model of special interest and appraisal on the sides of both politicians and businessmen. And even civil society action in politics – taken as a concern for the public welfare in the narrower sense – has increased notably in the last years. Examples are the many associations that yearly organize a gay pride, or the associations for volunteers' sensitization-work in schools (see the description of SchLAU-NRW in this volume). It is remarkable that traditional models of political action in labour unions or parties have been supplemented by associations ("gemeinnützige Vereine" are the German legal form of cooperative action in the public interest) and that this particular form of political engagement has gained collective approval.

The idea of civil society action is linked with a peculiar notion of citizenship that can hardly be compared to the vertical notion of the

state-citizen-relation. By contrast, this horizontal notion implies that the individuals take responsibility for their commitment, which is essentially voluntarily motivated and is (in the majority of cases) directed at the public welfare. The horizontal notion gathers ideas of community, solidarity and public interest. Moreover, it evokes awareness of individual political relevance and of voluntary commitment for the commonwealth. In a word, this notion refers to an individual-community-relation. There is no specific word for this notion in German, its sense is expressed for instance by “Bürgerschaft”, “Bürgergesellschaft”, “politischer Bürger” or “Zivilgesellschaft”. This variety of words has its reasons in several political traditions that have in part been forgotten. Anyway, the idea of citizenship here in question is not something external to the German tradition (as some people believe, e. g. an import from the USA), but a social idea that had a “historical break”.

2.3 *The history of the notions of citizenship*

In contrast to the vertical notion – whose historical roots lay in century-old reflections on (political) subjection, on the distribution of privileges and the chances in and conditions of participating in lordship or government –, the horizontal notion, expressing horizontal cooperation, is younger and arose historically in times of social reforms in the late 18th century. The German discourse adopted the French example of overcoming social mismatch and formed the idea of proactive citizens who advocate social reform. Yet the specific political circumstances in the 1830s, and later on in the ideological camps of communists and national socialists, virtually in a state of civil war, usurped the sense of this notion and recompressed it with political radicalism. Accordingly, the sense of this concept, including such notions as solidarity, commonwealth and respect, migrated linguistically into the meaning of “comrade” (*Genosse, Volksgenosse*)³ and was prominently reserved and conserved by socialist camps. With this in mind, it is remarkable, though not surprising, that the idea of civil society, i. e. including proactive citizenship, was revived in Germany after the end of the Cold War and that by that time most of the spontaneously formed political activities were left-wing initiatives.

By contrast, both concepts mentioned were more distinctively born in mind in the French discourse, due to its higher historical continuity. The legal classifications of the vertical notion belong to the concept of “nationality” (*nationalité, Staatsangehörigkeit*). In an almost clear opposition to it, the horizontal community-related notion is present in the sense of “citizenship” (*citoyenneté*). This social idea is to some extent

³ For the linguistic usage of “Bürger” (citizen, *citoyen*) and “Bürgerschaft” (citizenship, *citoyenneté*) in Germany (1200–1978), including its roots in early Christianity, the Roman Empire and Greek political thinking, see Manfred Riedel 1978. Concerning the migration of the sense of citizenship in the semantic field of “comrade” see *ibid.*, 723.

coupled with the concept of unalienable rights due to humanity (human rights). The birth hour of this idea lies in the historic revolutionary years in the late 18th century and its wide spreading was due to the social misery in this time. More precisely, the social mismatch was manifest in the class-based social order. Outfitted with the idea of equality, the moving initiative called "the revolution" worked to dissolve exclusive privileges and rights, which were ascribed to the social classes composed of the clerics, the nobles and the (property owning) city-inhabitants (the so-called "bourgeois"). Although not clerical or noble, the last class, which had been called "citizens" until that time, held certain exceptional rights, which differ from rights of all other people not privileged. Aware of this factual, asymmetrical distribution of rights and added to the experience of calamity and hardship, the idea of equality was expressed in the claim for universal and unalienable rights. Thus the ideas of equality and universality are concepts that contrasted with the traditional social order. This order, which assigned rights to classes, was to be substituted by a social order which assigned rights to concrete humans, i. e. equally. The bearer of those rights, the concrete human, was called the "citoyen" and became the concept of this equally based social order. The idea of equality was later on enriched with the notion of self-legislation, not to be understood individualistically, but democratically: the community was to participate in government. Accordingly, the notion of "citoyenneté" encompasses a likewise republican ideal, complemented by universally applicable rights and duties.

The German reception of this notion of citizenship in the aftermath of the French Revolution⁴ explains the several analogies between "Staatsbürgerschaft" and "citoyenneté", which can be found in debates on public interest, associational organization and the awareness of the individual's political relevance. These notions were not forgotten in France. In the present-day third republic, "citoyenneté" is a cultural source of integration. The canon of rights, values and maxims going along with that notion is used to fight discrimination, i. e. unjustified, unequal treatment. Cases of unequal treatment are met by reminding the equality of men and the cultural wealth of French society.

3. *The recourse to the law*

3.1 *Reconstruction of Fortin's position*

Jacques Fortin's use of the idea of *citoyenneté* in the fight against homophobia is an admonition of the liberal idea of equality and a statement of serious indignation on this behalf. His repeatedly stated point is, in a word: "there are citizens who are victims of social violence, of both physical and of structural violence".

⁴ For the German reception see Manfred Riedel 1978.

Shifting the common practices of perceiving persons

Yet to raise awareness of factual inequalities, misery and anguish of people suffering from homophobia in an emotional manner is not the intrinsic aim of his action. For some people, an emotional appeal will be convincing. But the aim of sensitizing to the life situation of gays, lesbians and transgenders under the topic of homophobia is not to raise charity or sympathy for them. To regard these effects as the aim of sensitization work would be misleading, as the achieved awareness would miss the aim of shifting the discussion to a political level. The emotions evoked must therefore be founded in a political attitude that can be called respect in showing solidarity. Otherwise, charity and sympathy for gays, lesbians and transgenders would be formulated from an asymmetrical point of view. Such an asymmetry cannot be justified without excluding gay, lesbians and transgenders from certain social resources, e. g. the recognition of self-determination, integrity or trustworthiness, and therefore by treating them unequally.⁵ The aim of the technique to remind the status of citizenship is rather the intersubjective recognition of a symmetrical starting point of discussion, such that any degradation must be refused forthwith. To coin it in the general terms of modern ethical thinking: it is a usually shared assumption that autonomous individuals must have equally distributed chances to justify their demands. To start an ethical discussion implies the symmetry of starting conditions, i. e. the equality of the citizens. The most substantial concern of the recourse to the law is therefore the assurance of reciprocal awareness of equality. This is a matter of principle. It demands primarily to modify the practice of perceiving the fellow citizens. The widespread classification of people under the index of the dichotomies of homo- and heterosexuality and male-female (i. e. heteronormativity) must be shifted into perceiving persons as citizens living their gender and sexuality freely and lawfully. By perceiving others as different, we treat our fellows as variations or violations of a norm. This notion blocks the view on certain characteristics like individuality, subjectivity and private autonomy. Instead of seeing individuals, the fellow citizens are perceived from a normative perspective as perverse, objects of drive, mutants, sinners, etc. By contrast, perceiving fellows as citizens under the index of citizenship rights founds a notion of personality that includes private autonomy. In this perception, the fellow human is one of

⁵ The maxim to have sympathy with gays, lesbians and transgenders is for example the attitude, which certain opinions in the Roman Catholic Church encourage. The still valid guidance concerning homosexuality is that certain homosexuals "must certainly be treated with understanding and sustained in the hope of overcoming their personal difficulties and their inability to fit into society" (cf. Sacred Congregation For The Doctrine of Faith (1975), ch. VIII). Although gays, lesbians and transgenders should thereby not be treated badly in the popular sense of the word, they are outspokenly excluded from resources which are held to be compliant with the plan of well-being and salvation.

us when it comes to his rights. Any claim that pertains to sexuality is, as a result, refracted into the political sphere – in the sphere of equally distributed individual rights and obligations. Thus shifted, the conditions of coexistence can be discussed without discussing the difference of people. Consequently, sexuality and its repression are not valuated morally or emotionally, but rather under the heading of ethical liberty. Broadly speaking, citizenship rights are not about the essence or nature of mankind, they are about contingent conditions of coexistence.⁶ The argumentation founded on citizenship rights does not commit me to a certain way of living; it rather commits me to recognizing the private autonomy of my fellows. In other words, the recognition of citizenship commits us to recognizing a bundle of rights that is born by every citizen.

The recourse to the law is a performative technique that shall initiate a change in peoples' minds in order to reach a level for discussion in which the reciprocal recognition as citizens is prevalent. The point of this proposition is its distinctive social feature. Since recognition is none of those things that can be granted individually, it must be shaped through dialogue. In any such dialogue, the addressees must be convinced to change their attitude in terms of perceiving the others. Claiming equally distributed rights pragmatically refers to both another authority (the state law) and to an ideal state that is desirable for all (because of the characteristics of private autonomy gathered by the idea of civil rights, as I will expose below).

3.2 Critique

In sum, the recourse to the law is a political technique of recognition, which initiates a dialogue on social rules, if it is successful. Unfortunately, Fortin does not mention the conditions of success. He only frames the attitude and the technique to stand up for citizenship rights when fighting homophobia in a dialogical setting (e. g. in meetings, courses or even in the street). Should it be the case that he relies on the goodwill of others? It seems so. His approach was developed through work with small groups of persons who usually propagate their experience to others. He thus relies on the dispersal of the idea of citizenship.

The social relevance of the recourse to the law

But crucially important to keep in mind is the magnitude of this work with regard to society. The proposal of recognition formulated in those meetings handles a topic concerning a basic feature of democratic and liberal societies. Solidarity, respect and the orientation towards the common welfare are features the state authority itself cannot assure. Its duty is to protect its citizens and therefore it can impose standards of

⁶ Contingency means here that there is not one necessary way of coexistence implied, e. g. by a certain positively defined concept of man.

treatment and encourage civil behaviour. But despite all its power to protect by inflicting penalties for violent behaviour, and to thereby enable private autonomy, only its citizens can assure its ethical substance. Fair conditions of coexistence correlate with the citizens' willingness to enter into dialogue about it. The recourse to the law, used to address single persons, calls for negotiation processes about the recognition of persons as citizens. These negotiations can fail; there is no guarantee for success. Furthermore, liberty is not a durable property, and progress in terms of liberality is not automatically assured. This is another aspect of the contingency of coexistence produced by stressing citizenship rights: the conditions of coexistence (and of socio-political existence as well) are changeable and fragile. Therefore, the steady reaffirmation of liberty is required in two dimensions: retaining the state from ruling privacy and demanding personal rights to be respected by other persons. The reference to citizenship rights figures in the latter dimension.

The value of the recourse to the law

To address homophobia with the recourse to the law, e. g. in workshops, therefore means to remind both civil rights and the positive law in order to justify claims that intend to diminish the social violence on the one hand and, correlated with it, to assure the equality of the life-situation of gays, lesbians and transgenders on the other. The recourse to the law is not a technique to solve conflicts of high violence instantaneously. It rather constitutes the first step in the direction of a formation of opinions concerning contact and social interaction in general, applying the ideas of moral and legal equality to gays, lesbians and transgenders by highlighting the social status of each person, conceived as a citizen (*Mitbürger*).⁷ For example, the claim is to reach common acceptance for the proposition that sexuality in any form is a matter of private autonomy. In this case, private autonomy needs to be reminded. As a consequence, every citizen has the right to find full expression of her or his sexuality, because she or he bears private autonomy (and she or he has the right to be unsure about his or her sexuality) limited only by the autonomy of other citizens.⁸ Private autonomy is in this case a principle of coexistence

⁷ It seems to me that there is no German word for expressing the highlighted vertical notion of citizen or *citoyen* today. Words like "Kamerad" or "Genosse" indeed evoke notions of solidarity or public welfare, but are linked with particular non-liberal political attitudes and are thus contrary to the outlined French notion. At least the word "Mitbürger", translating fellow citizen, seems to cover the notion without evoking any radical political membership.

⁸ To ascribe private autonomy to all members of society in order to define a fair basis for coexistence involves the cultivation of rules of treatment as follows: A criterion for a serious attempt at equal treatment is that it gathers the situation of all. Liberty then defines an area of action, which is limited by the equal rights of other people (classically formulated for instance in the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* 1789). Concisely put by Johann Gottlieb Fichte: "In any case I must recognize the external being as being free, i. e. I must limit my freedom through the notion of the possibility of his freedom." ("Ich muß das freie Wesen außer mir in allen Fällen an-

and because it is desirable for all, the full expression of one's sexuality has to be accepted. It rules the reciprocal rights of people by defining a core of permitted attitudes: cases of rape or of child-abuse are examples of diminishing the autonomy of others.

The discrepancy between civil rights and positive state law

If I am not mistaken, the recourse to the law implies a complex problem resulting from the possible discrepancy between positive law and civil rights. Although state laws of the Western countries cover basic rights today, which are essentially inspired by European enlightenment and are often identified with human rights, these rights are not spelled out for every group of society that is the subject of possible discrimination. Covered by state law, these basic rights commonly resemble principles of general conduct and of juridical procedures (at least they are often interpreted as such). Concerning our example, the right to complete expression of one's sexuality is not part of the law canon. But even if the positive law does not list these rights, it is therefore neither senseless nor pointless to propose that they do. For example, the European Court of Human Rights is concerned with the problem of an abstract formulation of those basics and urges to render the basic rights more precise.⁹ So do some political attempts to establish international agreement.

Besides this, the civil society is able to push further the specification of the abstract law principles, since the process of making positive law follows social facts and pressures, instead of the reverse. Broadly speaking, there is sufficient evidence that concrete social contentions lead to the realization of social equality. The feminist movement is a good example of this. In this line of argument, the technique of the recourse to the law provides confidence, for it requires the civil society to reaffirmate the status of citizenship. A vision of the future concerning the social based recognition and the legal non-discrimination of gays, lesbians and transgenders shared in many quarters is: the work of disseminators, e. g. in schools or universities, will effect grassroot-directed social movements that would be powerful enough to have an effect on the government, which should adapt the law accordingly. This vision is plausible, but it implies a problem of justification. How to justify the claim of equal treatment without taking refuge to the state law itself and therefore to the authority of public power?

Fortin's remarks imply the same problem: to what instances does the recourse to the law refer? Does it refer to the positive state law and thereby to all the rights which are ascribed to all and only its citizens? Or

erkennen als solches, d. h. meine Freiheit durch den Begriff der Möglichkeit seiner Freiheit beschränken.“; Fichte 1966 (orig. 1796), 319 (transl. C. F.).

⁹ For the attempts in international law see the essay of Hans-Joachim Mengel in this book. The decisions of the European Court of Human Rights concerning non-heterosexuality are documented in JusAmandi, the periodical of the law committee of Lambda Austria, <http://www.rklambda.at/JusAmandi/index.htm>.

does it refer to human rights as an informal codex of moral intuitions regarding basic rights of human individuals? In my mind the technique of reminding the equal status of citizens refers to both instances. Fortin's concept seems to be a hybrid. He refers to the rights given by state law on the one hand. And on the other hand, he refers to societal principles that must be reaffirmed through civil society action. But, if the positive state law does not define a certain right, how can a fellow person be convinced to follow my claim for recognition of this right?

Is Fortin's proposal traditionalist?

The problem of justifying an ethical claim, i. e. to claim a certain kind of behaviour or attitude (which is not ruled by positive state law) – in our case the recognition of a bundle of rights of persons who do not conform to heteronormativity – is a problem well known and often discussed in moral and political philosophy. It is a serious problem and indeed of genuine practical relevance: on what grounds do you claim a behaviour when going beyond the positive law? Or less metaphorically: what are the appropriate principles to demand a certain behaviour, apart from the recourse to the positive law? These questions substantially involve the claim here discussed for equal treatment, since on the one hand, law can't prescribe respect and recognition, and on the other hand, there are some claims, e. g. the right to express one's sexuality fully, which are not precisely covered by law. In this respect, Fortin's remarks live on the notion of "citoyenneté" that is understandable and powerful in French discourse. That makes him – to make a long story short – a traditionalist. His arguments appeal to our conscience and to an ideal and sublime conception of equality. To refer to custom and tradition in an attempt to justify a claim is a well known and often taken line of argumentation in ethics. But this kind of argumentation commonly lacks a living support: persons arguing this way may only repeat what they often heard or saw without ever having discussed it. And when they do so, they may act and demand things conforming to custom without grasping the inner persuasiveness of the principles that underlie the customs. A serious argument for equal treatment of any discriminated group takes more than to merely refer to an idea of equality, even if it is well established.

3.3 A philosophical argument

The idea of a universally desirable state of coexistence has been brought into play above. I am not sure whether Fortin himself would argue in that way, but I am sure that an argument for equal treatment can be based on this idea. In the following, I will outline a certain interpretation of societal liberty: in order to attain recognition, the notion must be invoked that individual autonomy is desirable for everyone (including the right to express one's sexuality fully within the boundaries of the fellows' individual autonomy). To live in a community based on liberty, in which everyone is enabled to develop all aspects of his personality

through mutual recognition of their individual autonomy – within the boundaries of the others' autonomy – is an image everybody can understand and agree to – if they are required to imagine that their social position in this community is suspended. The crucial point is that I vote for a society without knowing my social position in it. This line of argumentation drawn by John Rawls¹⁰ – surely a highly developed product of the ethical mind – summons its persuasiveness from outlining a utopian starting point. On this score, the participants in our dialogue concerned with the conditions of coexistence are to be put in a position to vote for a state or a society under the condition that they know nothing about the specific social status they will have in it, e. g. their job, their sex, their religion, their skin colour ... and of course their sexuality. The outcome is assessable: only very few persons will vote for a state in which they will possibly be subjects of discrimination. On the contrary, positions allocated in terms of equal chances and equal rights – and even a stretched understanding of private autonomy, including the right to the full expression of one's sexuality – will appear more favorable for everyone. This quasi-utopian technique that puts a "veil of ignorance" over the discussion on the conditions of coexistence should complement the recourse to the law in order to avoid the exsanguinous traditionalism that I accuse Fortin of, for the sake of highlighting the specifically liberal idea of how to achieve more justice. This scenario of discussing a future state of society based on the ignorance of individual social positions bears a specific non-individualistic aspect. Whenever a person commits herself to an equal legal status for everyone in this hypothetical scenario, she is simultaneously obliged to ascribe this status to others in the actual situation. Otherwise she would vote for an unfair social order, and the burden of proof would consequently fall on her side, which means that she would have to justify this unfair order.

To put a veil over one's own position in a future social order has the remarkable effect that the persons participating in dialogue refrain from arguing from their actual social position. These individual affiliations are suspended, for everyone in dialogue is urged to deliberate about social principles. This dialogue does not lose sight of individual wishes for a good and valuable life, even if the mere egoistic perspective is suspended. Those individual preferences are discussed under the index of a fair social order that is based on principles and which works towards almost complete non-discrimination in all aspects of life. The principle of the equal distribution of rights, founded in the status of everyone's citizenship, is one of those. After reflecting the social statuses and positions one can possibly have, the participating persons will discover their adherence to the aims that claim equality. The participants are forced to distance themselves from their social positions and their dominance.

¹⁰ Cf. John Rawls 1975, see § 24 for the "veil of ignorance" referred to here.

According to Rawls' liberal theory, they will demand the recognition of equal rights even if they stay in the same social position. This means that the person recognizes the other as an individual qualified to demand equality.

Having the status of being an individual qualified to demand equality means to be seen as a partner for discussing coexistence; it is therefore of genuine political relevance. It is very important to see that this status is a product of social relations and not a status accorded by law or the state. The state is only the framework within which such processes of recognition occur. The positive law guides and penalizes only the behaviour of citizens (and non-citizens). The recognition as a partner for discussing coexistence, as equal in terms of symmetrical chances to demand something, is rather an ethical process. This process must therefore be analyzed by taking into account a person's reference to other persons.

3.4 *A matter of ascription*

"Ascription" I call the psychological act of referring to another person, which includes the attribution of negatively or positively estimated social roles.¹¹ This process of fundamental importance structures social perception and enables the classification of individuals into groups.¹² Ascriptions are part of human behaviour which applies prejudices, stereotypes and even customary norms. To perceive the fellow humans through ascribed attributes means that the fellow person is seen *as* someone (member of a certain class of people). Moreover, the attribution has a general effect on the behaviour: the person who is classified as someone is treated in a certain way related to the class and to the estimation of the class. The social process of stigmatization, for instance, manifests itself both in the rejection of a person or her behaviour by the one who is ascribing and in the suffering of the person who is the object of such an ascription.¹³

There is an essential discrepancy between descriptive and ascriptive attributes of a fellow person. This distinction derives from the opposition of natural facts and social facts. In general terms, social facts are cultural products, constituted in their existence, worth and validity by people. Examples are social roles, e. g. masculinity. By contrast, natural facts are states of affairs whose existence depends on "nature" only, e. g. biological evolution.¹⁴ It is fair to say that a person's specific sexual

¹¹ This definition of ascription is borrowed from the American sociological tradition, in particular from the line of Ralph Linton, Kingsley Davis and Talcott Parsons. For details see Theodore Kemper 1974. For present attempts to declare institutionalized ascription as a basic feature of discrimination, see Susanne Boshammer 2008, 237.

¹² See Dagmar Schiek 2000, 31ff.

¹³ See Caroline Dayer in this book.

¹⁴ The theory of natural facts and social facts is discussed in "social ontology". For further reading see John Searle 1995, 31ff.; 1999, 111ff. and Oliver Scholz 2008.

preference is as fixed as her eye colour and thus a natural fact. Ascriptive attributes are social facts; their "reality" depends on actual ascriptions by persons. This is not to say that these ascriptions are a matter of individual choice, which often they are not, since ascriptions are, at least in part, culturally driven and thus collectively shared and applied. In their actions, persons are usually less guided by descriptive facts than by what they ascribe to their fellows by their "own" attributions, i. e. by their particular interpretations, cognitive schemas, frames or scripts.¹⁵ The definition of a situation and the perception of other persons in it derive from these interpretations and ascriptions. The so-called Thomas-theorem sums up this point:

"If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."¹⁶

For example, if people think that someone is a pervert, then the treatment of him as a pervert will be as real as any natural fact. Yet the definition of a situation and the perception of other people in it are alterable, for people are able to change their beliefs and change the social reality thereby.

Being a partner for discussing coexistence

My status of being a partner for discussing coexistence, identified above with the status of being recognized as a citizen, therefore depends on the ascriptions of other persons to me. Ascription does not differ from recognition in regard to this social effect. But a fellow person is not necessary to my awareness of my own integrity, since the ascription of citizenship can be done by myself, i. e. by self-ascription or self-referentially. The point is that the recognition by my fellows gives something more to me: I am enabled to act on my own volition without facing hindrances from them. The intersubjective recognition of me as a person will allow liberty of my actions. Furthermore, to be intersubjectively recognized as a citizen, living my sexuality means that the responses to my sexual behaviour of the persons who recognize me will no longer tend to eliminate a deviation from the norm. The conceded autonomy results in their respecting my behaviour. In general, the intersubjective recognition of equality enables us to discuss coexistence, e. g. to build conventions or agreements. Fortin's remarks on the best practice to achieve a political dialogue are thus a comment on intersubjective recognition. Its effect is changed behaviour, if successful: my sexuality is no longer seen as illegal or deviant. The recourse to the law thus has the effect, on a basic social level, i. e. between individuals, that prevalent social beliefs including prejudices, stereotypes or customary norms be-

¹⁵ This line of argument was prominently worked out by the sociological school of ethnomethodology, whose aim is to explain social interaction as the interpretation of signs. For further reading see: Heinz Abels 2004. Hartmut Esser (1999, 75f., 415f.; 2000, 54ff; 2001, 291ff.) holds a theory of social action and social change based on assumptions on socially driven interpretations of the world.

¹⁶ Dorothy S. Thomas / William I. Thomas 1928, 572.

come dissipated. They are, in a word, substituted with intersubjective recognition under the topic of equality.

The social reality of a person's status is based on the perception and ascription of others. But it is only half of the truth to focus only intersubjective recognition. In addition, the social reality of a person's status depends on the validity of governmental institutions. These institutions install rules of general conduct and protect their citizens, also on the basis of their gender and sexuality (if such rights are implemented). Indeed, my private autonomy depends on the existence of the state, especially on its external sovereignty and its internal legitimacy. This dependency is the point of the citizen-state-relation, i. e. of the vertical notion of citizenship. The status of being a citizen means to bear rights I would not bear if the state order were dissolved. But this special status that is of juridical nature, formulating an ideal, must not be confused with the status of being recognized as a citizen by fellow persons, which constitutes social reality. After legal equality is achieved and inscribed in the laws of the state, this latter status is still a matter to be claimed, being an effect of negotiations.

The recognition of citizenship that Fortin demands for reasons of good coexistence and equal distribution of chances is a social status distinct from the status ascribed by the state. Through being recognized as a citizen by state law, I am perceived as a person permitted to demand basic rights. Being accepted as a citizen in the horizontal sense means being accepted as a partner for discussing coexistence. This recognition is the condition of access to saying "we". Instead, the ascription of the state-given rights only gives notions of "I" or "he" or "she". In other words, the idea of citizenship implied by the recourse to the law can lead to discussions on coexistence without legal institutions, the state law being left out insofar as it does not contribute to recognition. The ascription of citizenship in this sense is an ascription to a concrete person, not to the abstract person of law. Only if I am considered as a partner and not only as person of difference, I can find my position recognized in social relations, so that "we" are enabled to discuss. On that basis it is fair to say that the recognition as a fellow citizen results therefore in contingent and respectful forms of coexistence.

4. Citizenship and non-discrimination in pluralistic societies

4.1 Non-essentialism

The convincing technique of asking what is desirable for all, which puts forth that if an equal status is desirable, then it must be accorded universally, is a recommendable line of argument. But again, it is nevertheless possible that someone – or even the majority – will not accept this proposition, for one reason or another. Irrationality or ignorance, antipathy or even group affiliations and its enforcements are well known obstacles to this conviction. Moreover, the widespread absence of any

political attitude may be detrimental to demanding civil rights through dialogue. The reader's personal experience may testify that it often lacks individual attitudes to discuss quarrels of respect interpersonally, i. e. from fellow to fellow, face to face in public.¹⁷ Instead, negotiations of public interest and debates about ethical topics are still held through traditional forms of exertion of influence, e. g. by parties, the press or panels of experts. But this must not be a reason for scepticism. Perhaps civil action will have a more serious role in politics in the future. Again, it is neither senseless nor pointless to refer to myself as a citizen and to carry this understanding of myself into the public, united with the demand that my rights due to this status be recognized. As I already mentioned, Fortin's remarks envisage a contingent form of coexistence. The contingent feature of his philosophy means that it is in the political sphere that homophobia needs to be discussed; that is not a matter of the nature or essence of mankind, of society or of sexuality. The stable idea in his argumentation is that citizenship gathers the notion of equality and therefore non-discrimination. But he is far from asserting that this is something stable or invariant. The status of recognition is never assured. It is always to be acquired or re-affirmed.

4.2 *Respect*

The idea of citizenship is appropriate to justify a certain concept of respect, suitable for the current situation of society, the characteristics of which are rightly subsumed under the notion of pluralism. There is a variety of roadmaps and outlines of what can be called a good and valuable life. There are also numerous social conflicts that come along with this plurality, which may be deemed discriminatory. I hold that the recourse to the law enables the production of a basis for dialogue between the manifold ways of life, including awareness-raising of the persistent social violence of homophobia. The category of "citizen" facilitates the separation between private autonomy and homogeneity while allowing nonetheless to preclude random discrimination. Analogously to the legal definition, the category itself is not defined by concrete characteristics such as sex, sexual orientation, skin colour, healthiness, monthly income, capacity, faculty and the like. The definition of "citizen" is – deliberately – abstract. The ascribed status of "citizenship" can deal with heterogenic ethical orientations under the index of private autonomy. If I perceive my fellow as a citizen, then I am committed to recognizing this person's private autonomy. For the sake of the existence of pluralis-

¹⁷ Robert Putnam (2000) prominently criticized the lack of social capital and the ongoing social separation in terms of egoistic individuality. Although Putnam refers to the American society, his results can be applied to European societies because of the structurally identical socio-economic conditions. Arnoldas Zdanevičius' analyses in this book suggest that social capital as the "substance" of civil engagement correlates with economic conditions via e. g. the amount of time one can spend apart from assuring one's material subsistence.

tic societies it is important to keep in mind that the variety of ways of life in pluralistic societies depends on a common consensus about individuality both in terms of taking responsibility for one's actions and in sketching the outline of a good life. The recognition of one's private autonomy is a vital nerve of pluralism, since only it can assure plurality.

In ascribing the status of citizenship, I do not prescribe a certain way of life. I rather prescribe equality in chances and therefore non-discrimination. Reciprocal ascriptions of citizenship span a political realm in which proposals about coexistence can be addressed. The principle of equality marks the limits of this realm; any claim that questions private integrity in terms of morality or autonomy is refracted into the discussion of coexistence. Thus the participants must together find contingent arrangements of a common life; they are committed to toleration and respectful ways to find such arrangements, even under the condition of mutual dislike. This political praxis is valuable for pluralistic societies since it unites people without estimating one way of life as the best.

Asocial individualism?

At first glance, this suggestion for a general political attitude seems to strengthen individualism. It seems to propagate an asocial attitude, since any individualism leads to the dissipation of social relations and social capital by favouring individual preferences over corporate preferences. But the individualistic factor of private autonomy is just one aspect of this political idea, assuring the exclusion of attempts to impose a homogenous conduct for all. Moreover, the concrete social feature of this idea is the specific political dialogue that is demanded. The fellows are not perceived as others (e. g. strangers, foreigners, perverts), but as equal with regard to all aspects of life. The fellow person is mediated by the notion of citizenship as one of us, confronted with the same social conditions and comparable with ourselves in terms of wishes, needs, sexuality etc. To define a universal way to obtain happiness is pretentious. The aim of ethical arrangements should be to establish conditions under which everyone can be happy, instead of (re)establishing normative standards that prescribe a certain way of life (as is the case with heteronormativity).

4.3 The conditions of existence of pluralistic societies

Pluralistic societies can only exist with a consensus about a contingent form of coexistence, founded on the mutual recognition of private autonomy, commonly called "respect". Such a consensus must come with the mutual commitment that the common structure of the political and social life should be ruled by norms which can be accepted by all citizens similarly and which do not give advantages to one special community. Against this background, attempts to ascribe special rights to groups (including gays, lesbians and transgenders) on the basis of their relation to the majoritarian society deplete the substance of plu-

ralism. The idea of universal equality is reduced to absurdity if group-rights are propagated and the idea of citizenship threatens to become a mishmash of privileges.¹⁸

In general, agendas concerning group-rights are politics of identity. Claiming such group-rights rather fixes the differences between groups in public awareness and risks perpetuating traditional reservations. There are immeasurable unintended effects, including the perpetuation of common prejudices, of politics relying on difference and identity. For example, studies have shown that homosexual experiences of boys in Germany has declined over the last decades.¹⁹ Volkmar Sigusch explains this decline with increasing public debates on homosexuality and the fear of boys to be perceived as "gay".²⁰ If this diagnosis is correct (one should perhaps add the stereotyped link of "AIDS" to "gays" to partially explain the decline), then identity driven politics has affected the sexual behaviour of the young. Broadly speaking, every group-identity is associated with positive or negative attitudes in public awareness, and these ascriptions may have unintended effects. Arnoldas Zdanevičius for instance describes a social nexus with detrimental effects for lesbians, gays and transgenders in Lithuania by using concepts of common and institutionalized regimes of knowledge.²¹ These regimes hinder recognition and integration, since they perpetuate stereotypes and other negative ascriptions.

There will be social exclusions as long as the diversity of fellows is perceived under the index of difference, i. e. with notions of group-identity, and as long as the political civil action for legal non-discrimination remains under the label of group-rights. Shifting the perceptions of group differences will only be successful if a concrete idea of general equal rights and non-discrimination is adopted. Civil actions that are set up to tackle the problem of discrimination (and even of distribution and integration) should carry their claims into the public realm by formulating them on the basis of equal rights for everyone. The Coming Out strategy of many queer associations, including the imperative of visibility, should therefore come with self-ascription of citizenship and the claim of recognition. Its justification is a social order desirable for every-

¹⁸ See Jürgen Mackert 2006, ch. 6, 125 *passim* for an exposition of this attempt and further reading.

¹⁹ Between 1970 and 1990, the homosexual experiences of 14–17 year-old boys in Germany declined from 18% to 2% of those stating these experiences. A significant decline of heterosexual experiences was not indicated in the same period and the percentage of girls having same-sex experiences remained constantly at 6% (Gunter Schmidt 1993, 3, 35f.). A second survey on the same topic indicates that the percentage of boys stating "narrow physical experiences" with other boys dropped from 10% in 1980 to 5% in 1996. By contrast, the percentage of girls climbed from 8% in 2001 to 13% in 2005 (Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung (Federal Centre of Health Education) 2006, 84).

²⁰ See Volkmar Sigusch 1998.

²¹ See Arnoldas Zdanevičius in this book.

one regardless of differences. This also means that the orientation towards public welfare must be cultivated. Overcoming differences is not just a state task (although a legally based non-discrimination catalogue is necessary), but one of social discussions. It needs a common, but ethically neutral, political culture to construct contingent forms of coexistence in order to maintain a pluralistic society. As I have tried to present in detail, the recourse to the law is an epitome of such a political culture.

5. Conclusion

Fortin's advice for school-interventions can be translated into a political attitude that is advisable especially in the context of a pluralistic society. The recourse to the law allows to evoke reciprocally recognized private autonomy and to found contingent forms of coexistence based on respect. This political attitude is directed at fair conditions of equal coexistence. Its topic is social order and it insists on non-discrimination. This attitude entails complementing any vertical understanding of citizenship (for instance the most common German understanding) with a horizontal notion, striving for a future social order that exercises respect and aims for common welfare. Homophobia must be discussed on the background of ethical liberty, which is desirable universally. It is a technique that initiates social relations without perpetuating group differences. Sexuality and its oppressions are not estimated morally or emotionally, but rather perceived politically. Fortin's approach is of high value, since the state authority cannot insure such dialogues. It can only impose standards of treatment and encourage civil behaviour. Civil associations working for non-discrimination may therefore invoke the public authority, whereas the public authority has to sustain these associations because of its duty to protect its citizens.

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IV

ANNEX

Abbreviations

BCE	Before the Common Era
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (Library of the Fathers of Church)
CE	Common Era (equivalent to AD)
Cf.	compare with (“confer”)
corr.	corrected
DFB	German Football Federation (German abbreviation)
e. g.	for example (“exempli gratia”)
EU	European Union
e. V.	Registered association (German abbreviation)
GLBT	Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgender
GRIS	Groupe de Recherche et d’Intervention Sociale de Montréal
i. e.	that is (“id est”)
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
LGB	Lesbian Gay Bisexual
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender
LGBTI	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Intersexual
LSVD	The Lesbian and Gay Federation in Germany
MG	Michael Groneberg
MP	Member of Parliament
MTM	Male to Male
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NRW	North Rhine-Westphalia (Nordrhein-Westfalen), a German Land
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Order of Friars Minor), Franciscan friar
QQ	Questions (“quaestiones”); paragraphs in mediaeval academic texts, e. g. QQ 2–5 = quaestiones 2–5
SchLAu	Gay & Lesbian Awareness Project (“Schwul-Lesbische Aufklärung”)
SOGI	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UP	University Press
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
v./ vs.	in contrast to (“versus”); against (in legal use)
VL	Vincent Laughery

Useful Addresses

International

- AMADEO ANTONIO FOUNDATION. It provides the findings of the study on group-forced enmity in Europe: <http://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/aktuelles/europaeische-zustaende/>.
- AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL: information on Human Rights and the situation of LGBT in diverse countries (*Breaking the silence, Sexual Identity and Prosecution*): <http://www.amnesty.org>.
- COMBATTRE L'HOMOPHOBIE: a brochure (in French) for people working in education, published by the Ministry for the French-speaking community in Belgium: www.scribd.com/doc/18698/Combating-Homophobia-Frenchlanguage-brochure-for-people-working-in-education.
- GALE: learning community focusing on education about lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) issues. Goals: identify, enhance and share educational expertise; <http://www.lgbt-education.info/>.
- IGLYO, International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Youth and Student Organization: <http://www.iglyo.com>.
- ILGA-EUROPE, European region of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersexual Association (<http://www.ilga.org>): <http://www.ilga-europe.org>.
- PRIDE EDUCATION NETWORK, formerly named GALE BC (British Columbia), network of educators for diversity education: www.pridenet.ca.
- TRANSGENDER EUROPE (TGEU): <http://www.tgeu.org/>.
- TRIANGLE (*Transfer of Information to Combat Discrimination Against Gays and Lesbians in Europe*) provides the manual "Different in More Ways Than One", containing guidance for teenagers on their way to identity, sexuality and respect. Elaborated by a European project-team, available in Dutch, English, French, German and Italian: <http://www.diversity-in-europe.org/>.

Canada

- BRITISH COLUMBIA GAY AND LESBIAN EDUCATORS: www.galebc.org/.
- CANADIAN RAINBOW HEALTH COALITION HEALTH INFORMATION FOR GLBT CANADIANS: <http://rainbowhealth.ca/>.
- ÉGALE, Canadian Federal Lobby for GLBT Rights: <http://www.egale.ca/index.asp?lang=F&menu=1&item=0>.
- GRIS MONTRÉAL, Offering outreach in schools: www.gris.ca/2009/index.php.
- RAINBOW HEALTH ONTARIO: www.rainbowhealthontario.ca/home.cfm; health information.

France

- ACT UP PARIS: articles sur l'homophobie sur <http://www.actupparis.org>.
- "Being gay, feeling gay", video by Bruno Pommier and Gabriel Girard, used in awareness-raising days by LGBTI-Training, to be ordered at BrunoPom@wanadoo.fr.
- HALDE: site officielle française de l'Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations et pour l'Égalité: <http://www.halde.fr>.
- MAG jeunes LGBT: site des jeunes gais, lesbiennes, bi et trans, with a section on school interventions (also in English): <http://www.mag-paris.fr>.
- SOS HOMOPHOBIE: Association française de lutte contre la lesbophobie, gayphobie, biphobie et transphobie: <http://www.sos-homophobie.org>.
- UNIVERSITY OF HOMOSEXUALITY (*Universités d'Été Euroméditerranéennes des Homosexualités*, UEEH): www.ueeh.net.

Germany

- ABQUEER e.V., non-governmental educational institution based in Berlin, offering training and counselling on the issues of diversity, gender and sexual identity: Sanderstr. 15, D-12047 Berlin; www.abqueer.de.
- AMADEO ANTONIO FOUNDATION. INITIATIVES FOR CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIC CULTURE (*Amadeo Antonio Stiftung. Initiativen für Zivilgesellschaft und demokratische Kultur*): www.amadeo-antonio-stiftung.de/eng.
- AUTONOMES SCHWULENREFERAT DES ASTA DER UNIVERSITÄT MÜNSTER (Gay Union of the students' union executive committee of the University of Münster): www.schwulenreferat.de.ms (in German).
- BERLIN STATE AUTHORITY FOR EQUALITY – AGAINST DISCRIMINATION (*Landesstelle für Gleichbehandlung – gegen Diskriminierung*): Oranienstr. 106, 10969 Berlin; <http://www.berlin.de/lb/ads/>.
- FEDERATION OF GAY STUDENT UNIONS IN GERMANY: www.schwulenreferate.org (in German).
- FEDERAL ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AGENCY (*Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes*): www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de; the Federal Republic of Germany's monitoring agency for compliance with non-discrimination issues and laws.
- GLADT e.V. (GAYS AND LESBIANS FROM TURKEY/ *Gays und Lesbians aus der Türkei*): Kluckstr. 11, 10785 Berlin; www.gladt.de.
- KOMBI (*Kommunikation und Bildung*), non-governmental educational institution based in Berlin, offering training and counselling on the issues of diversity, gender and sexual identity: Kluckstr. 11, 10785 Berlin, www.kombi-berlin.de (in German).
- LESMIGRAS, anti-discrimination work area of the lesbian counseling center, *Lesbenberatung e.V.*: Berlin Kulmer Str. 20a, 10783 Berlin; www.lesmigras.de (in German).

- LSVD (Lesbian and Gay Federation in Germany / *Lesben- und Schwulenverband in Deutschland*): www.lsvd.de.
- MANEO, anti-violence campaign for gays and bisexuals in Berlin: www.maneo-toleranzkampagne.de (in German).
- REGIONAL COORDINATION OF ANTI-VIOLENCE-PROGRAMMES FOR LESBIANS AND GAYS IN NRW (Anti-Gewalt-Arbeit für Lesben und Schwule in NRW); List of current publications: www.vielfalt-statt-gewalt.de/informationen/litlinks.html#publikationen (only in German).
- RUBICON e. V., information center for lesbian and gays: www.rubicon-koeln.de/ (in German).
- SCHLAU NRW (Gay and Lesbian Awareness Project in North Rhine-Westphalia / *Schulwul Lesbische Aufklärung in Nordrhein-Westfalen*), umbrella organization of currently eleven local groups in as many cities that work against homophobia and discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity at the local schools: www.schlau-nrw.de (in German).
- SCHOOL WITHOUT HOMOPHOBIA – SCHOOL OF DIVERSITY (*Schule ohne Homophobie – Schule der Vielfalt*), campaign against homophobia in school environment, by the Regional Coordination of Anti-violence-programmes for Lesbians and Gays in NRW in cooperation with SchLAu NRW: www.schule-der-vielfalt.de (in German).
- SOZIALWERK FÜR SCHWULE UND LESBEN e. V., umbrella organization for youth projects and information center (Rubicon): www.sozialwerk-koeln.de (in German).
- TRANSINTERQUEER e.V., non-governmental organization that provides information on trans- and intersexuality and homosexuality: Urbanstr. 171b, 10961 Berlin; www.transinterqueer.org (in German).

Lithuania

- ATVIRI. LT, internet portal for LGBT Equality and against homophobia in Lithuania: www.atviri.lt
- LITHUANIAN GAY LEAGUE: www.lgl.lt.
- OFFICE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES OMBUDSPERSON, governmental institution with responsibility for the supervision and implementation of the Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men and Law of Equal Treatment in Lithuania: www.lygybe.lt/
- TOLERANT YOUTH ASSOCIATION (*Tolerantiško Jaunimo Asociacija*, TJA): www.tja.lt/ (in Lithuanian; Facebook-Site in English).

Poland

- CAMPAIGN AGAINST HOMOPHOBIA (*Kampania Przeciw Homofobii*, KPH): world.kph.org.pl.
- LAMBDA KRAKÓW, non-governmental organization enforcing education courses on tolerance: www.lambda-krakow.org.

Switzerland

- 360°. GAY, LESBIAN, BI AND TRANS MAGAZINE OF SWISS ROMANDY (*Le Magazine Gay, Lesbien, Bi et Trans de Suisse Romandi*): www.360.ch/ (in French).
- ALPAGAI, queer organization in the canton Valais: www.alpagai.ch (in French)
- DIALOGAI, gay organization in Geneva: www.dialogai.ch.
- GROUPE C+H (*Chrétien-ne-s et Homosexuel-le-s/* christian and homosexual), organization that brings together Christian homosexual people: www.cplush.ch/ (in French).
- GENEVAN FEDERATION OF LGBT ASSOCIATIONS (*Fédération Genevoise des Associations LGBT*): www.federationlgbt-geneve.ch/ (in French).
- HAPPYGAYS, queer organization in the canton Neuchâtel: www.happygays.ch (in French).
- LESBIAN FEDERATION IN SITZERLAND (*Lesbenorganisation Schweiz, LOS*): www.los.ch/ (in German, Italian and French).
- LESTIME (Lesbian Association of Geneva/ *Communauté Lesbienne de Genève*): www.lestime.ch/ (in French).
- PINKCROSS, non-governmental umbrella organization of gay men in Switzerland: www.pinkcross.ch.
- SARIGAI, queer organization in the canton Fribourg: www.sarigai.ch (in French and German).
- THINK OUT, campaign to provide contact between university and high school students in Geneva: www.think-out.ch/ (in French).
- TOTEM. JEUNE LGBT, youth centre guided and provided by the Genevan Federation of LGBT Associations: www.totemjeunes.ch (in French).
- VOGAY, queer organization in the canton Vaud: www.vogay.ch (in French).

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