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**Reclaiming the Pink
Triangle?
Examining the nature of
homo/bi/transphobia**



A global view of shifting homophobia...

- There are approximately **67 countries where same sex behaviour is a criminal offence.**
- African states, for example, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi have **had laws strengthened with support of main religious groups.**
- **41 jurisdictions criminalise private, consensual sexual activity between women** using laws against 'lesbianism', 'sexual relations with a person of the same sex' and 'gross indecency.'
- **14 countries criminalise gender identity and/or expression** using so-called 'cross-dressing', 'impersonation' and 'disguise' laws.
- **2 countries have laws against the 'propaganda'** of 'homosexuality,' such as Russia and Lithuania.
- **11 countries have death penalty:** At least 6 of these actively implement the death penalty – Iran, Northern Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Somalia and Yemen.
- **The death penalty is a legal possibility in** Afghanistan, Brunei, Mauritania, Pakistan, Qatar and UAE.

Groups: What do we mean by homophobia, biphobia and transphobia? Why are some people homo/bi/transphobic? Take notes

What is homophobia?

- First used by **George Weinberg in 1972**.
- Adopted to reflect **two things**:
 - 1) An **irrational fear** and;
 - 2) Discriminator's fears about **their own sexual feelings**.
- **Anderson (2009)** introduced the term 'homohysteria,' which are **heightened anxieties** triggered by an awareness of the existence of 'homosexuals' in a culture that considers homosexuality to be socially unacceptable.
- Shorter Oxford Dictionary, which defines homophobia as the fear or hatred of homosexuals and homosexuality (**Trumble, 2007**).
- There is considerable evidence that the **dictionary definition and corresponding academic use of the term** do not reflect the meanings conveyed by homophobic epithets in everyday life (**Fair, 2011**).
- Do these **really encapsulate** what homophobia is though? Is it more a **cultural prejudice? Confusing. Let's see a case study.**

Society and
the healthy
homosexual

Weinberg, George H., Dr.

Note: This is not the actual book cover

What is meant by 'genocide'?

- In 1949, the **'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide'** was passed by the United Nations. This convention established 'genocide' as an **international crime**, which signatory nations 'undertake to prevent and punish.'
- Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to **destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:**
 - (a) Killing members of the group;
 - (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
 - (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
 - (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
 - (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.
- **Patriarchal power and heteronormativity (Nellans, 2020)** mark the study of genocide to date, with an erasure of LGBTQI+ people from historical records.
- We need to 'queer' our knowledge of genocide as **'pink genocide.'** **How does genocide work?**

Stage 4
Organisation

Genocides are always planned. Regimes of hatred often train those who are to carry out the destruction of a people.

Stage 3
Dehumanisation

Those who are perceived as 'different' are treated with no form of human right or personal dignity. During the Rwandan genocide, Tutsis were referred to as 'cockroaches'; the Nazis referred to Jews as 'vermin'.

Stage 2
Symbolisation

This is a visual manifestation of hatred. Jews in Nazi occupied Europe were forced to wear yellow stars to show that they were 'different'.

Stage 1
Classification

The differences between people are not respected. There's a division of 'us' and 'them'. This can be carried out through the use of stereotypes, or excluding people who are perceived to be different.

Stage 8
Denial

The perpetrators or later generations deny the existence of any crime.

Stage 7
Extermination

The hate group murders their identified victims in a deliberate and systematic campaign of violence. Millions of lives have been destroyed or changed beyond recognition through genocide.

Stage 6
Preparation

Victims are identified based on their differences. At the beginning of the Cambodian genocide, the Khmer Rouge separated out those who lived in cities and did not work in the fields. Jews in Nazi Europe were forced to live in ghettos.

Stage 5
Polarisation

Propaganda begins to be spread by hate groups. The Nazis used the newspaper *Der Stürmer* to spread and incite messages of hate about Jewish people.

Before the Nazis...

- In 1933 there were about 130 gay bars in Berlin. The Tiergarten was a well known cruising ground as well as a place for either gender to pick up soldiers.
- Cabaret, notably Hanna Sturm, was all the rage at clubs such as the **Eldorado, the Owl and the Olivia.**
- **Magnus Hirschfeld** – the father of modern sexology. Burning of the books by fascist students.
- Hirschfeld repeatedly tried to reform Germany's laws, particularly the **notorious Paragraph 175.**
- This national law, enacted in 1871, stipulated that **“A male who indulges in criminally indecent activities with another male or allows himself to participate in such activities will be punished with jail.”**





Flourish to fear...

- In the 1920s, gay culture had flourished in Prussia, especially Berlin, which was **known as the 'homosexual capital of Europe'** and many LGBT people had come out of the closet.
- The tolerance shown to the LGBT community in Prussia was **often used by conservatives as an example of the 'depravity' and 'un-German' nature of Weimar culture.**
- In 1934 **Ernst Rohm was executed** by Hitler.
- A climate of fear took hold over the LGBT community, with **many lesbians getting married** to avoid being sent to the concentration camps.
- **The Great War had given Germans an idea of manliness into which gay men did not, in their eyes, fit.** They were seen as feminine, unfit to be soldiers, as well as cowardly and even unpatriotic because they did not 'create' children
- The Prussian police launched a series of raids to **shut down gay bars and Paragraph 175** was enforced with a new degree of strictness. Rounded up gay men. **'175ers'**
- Gay bars were **briefly allowed to open in 1936. Why?**
- **In 1937, the official SS newspaper, Das Schwarze Korps, estimated that there were two million homosexuals in Germany and called for their deaths.**
- **Paragraph 175a updated and made 10 acts illegal, including kissing, embracing and "having homosexual fantasies."**

A 'threat'...

- **Heinrich Himmler once said that 8% of men in Germany were gay, adding:** “If that’s how things remain, our nation will fall to pieces. Those who practise homosexuality deprive Germany of the children they owe her.”
- Gay men were said to **be carriers of a ‘degeneracy’ that weakened society and hindered population growth.**
- **Lesbianism** was not on the Nazi statute books: **‘Kinder, Küche, Kirche’ (children, kitchen, church)** was felt to be enough to keep ‘wayward women’ in line.
- **It is believed that of all gay men deported to camps, 60% died.** This compares with a figure of 41% for political prisoners who perished and 35% of Jehovah’s Witnesses.
- An ‘A’ was a symbol **which pre-dated the pink triangle and stood for arschfiker (arse-fucker).**
- In all, **50,000 gay men were officially sentenced and between 5,000 and 15,000 were sent to concentration camps.** About 100,000 were arrested in total.





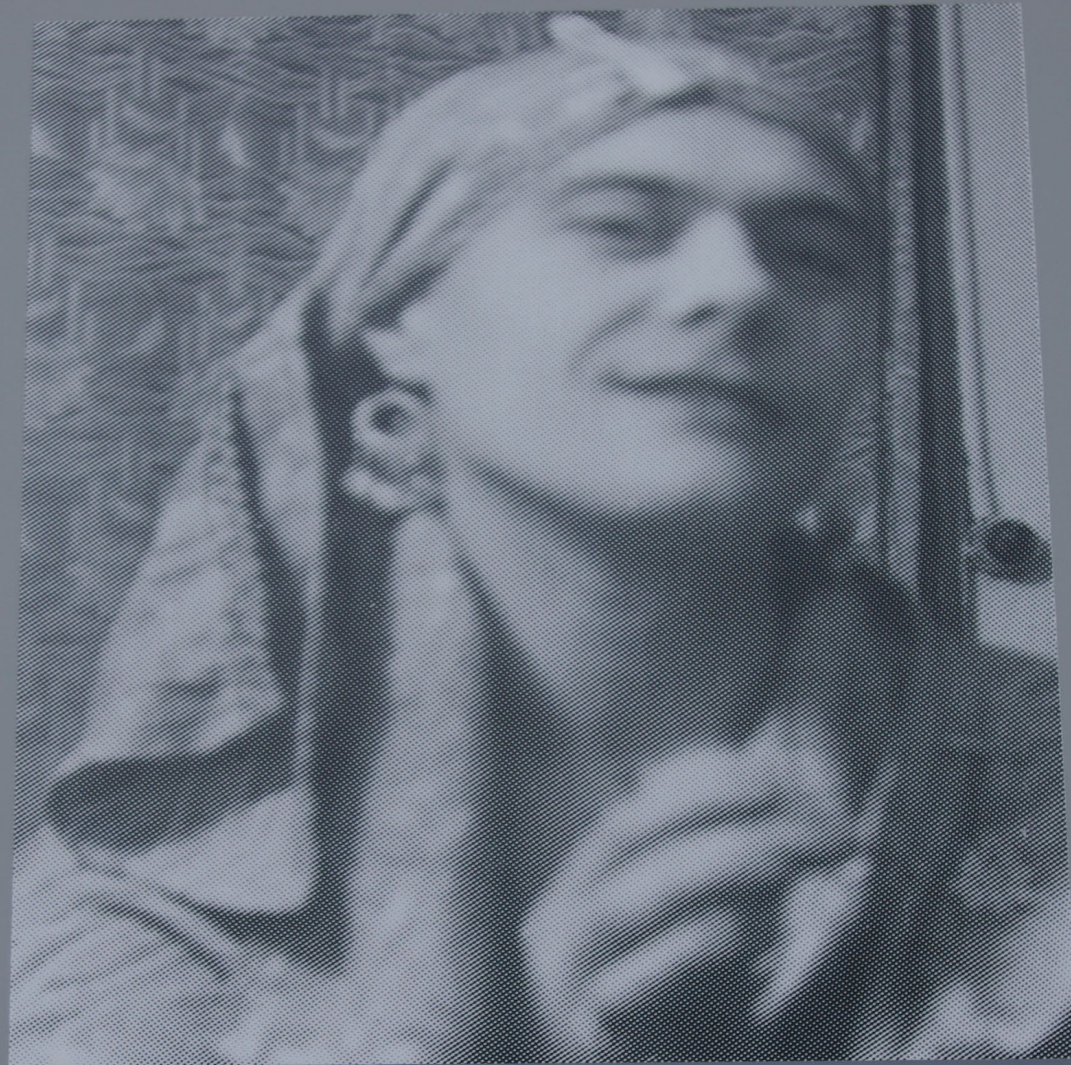
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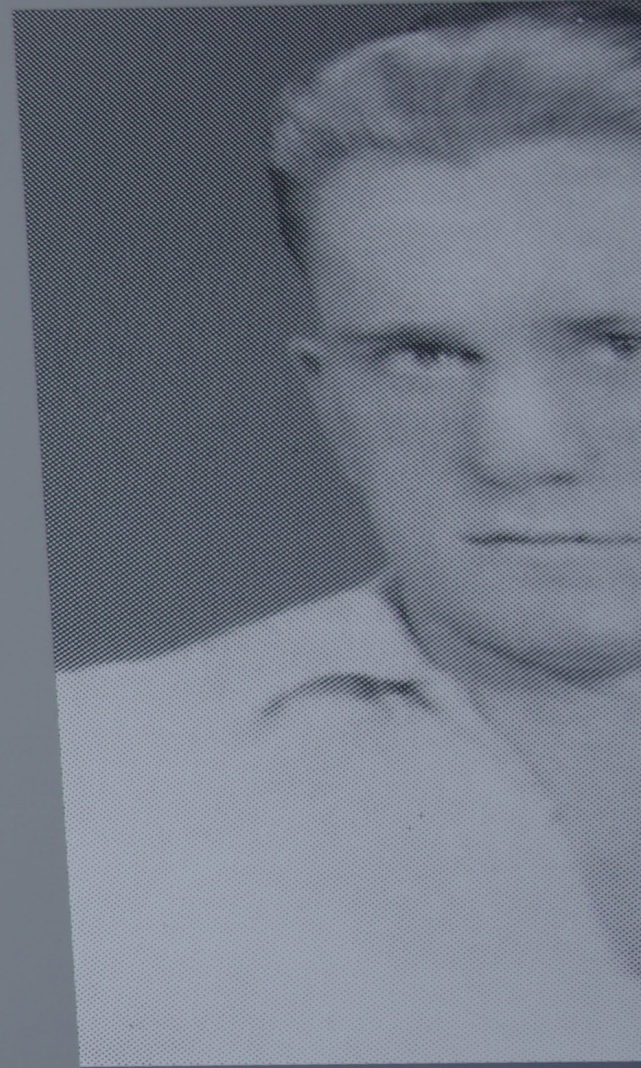
KLA



her (1898-1942)



Walter Richter (1907-1942)



Wasilij Okselenko (19

The extermination begins...

- The Third Reich also **forced Jewish women and lesbians to perform sex acts with men at German camp brothels in World War II.** Heinrich Himmler ordered that **pink triangles be forced to perform sex acts on female sex slaves.**
- **This proved to be psychologically damaging to both parties.** Gay men were ordered to perform these acts once a week as conversion therapy.
- Some gay men had their **testicles boiled off with hot water.** Survivor Pierre Seel said, “the Nazis stuck 25 centimetres of wood up my ass.”
- Additionally, gay men in forced labour camps routinely received more gruelling and dangerous work assignments than other non-Jewish inmates, under the **policy of ‘Extermination Through Work.’**
- SS soldiers also **were known to use gay men for target practice,** aiming their weapons at the pink triangles their human targets were forced to wear.
- “A homosexual was never permitted to have a position of responsibility, we couldn’t even speak with other prisoners - we were told we might try to seduce them. We were forbidden to approach [within] five metres of other blocks. Anyone caught doing so was whipped, with 15 to 20 strokes. We were to remain the damnedest of the damned, the camp’s ‘shitty queers’, condemned to liquidation” **(Anonymous).**

Examples of brutality...

- “Jews, homosexuals and gypsies, the yellow, pink and brown triangles, were the prisoners who suffered most frequently and most severely from the tortures and blows of the SS and the Capos. They were described as the scum of humanity, who had no right to live on German soil and should be exterminated ... **But the lowest of the low in this ‘scum’ were we, the men with the pink triangle.**”
- “Homosexual prisoners were forced to sleep in nightshirts and to hold their hands outside the covers. This was supposed to prevent masturbation. One prisoner recalled that “anyone caught without underwear or with their hands under the covers—and there were several checks each night—was taken outside, had several buckets of water dumped on them, and was made to stand that way for a good hour. Only a few survived, especially when there was a centimetre of ice on the windowpanes. **Bronchitis was prevalent as a result, and it was rare for a homosexual to come back alive from the hospital.**”
- **Pierre Seel** after his arrest he was sent to the concentration camp at Schirmeck. There, Seel stated that during a morning roll-call, the Nazi commander announced a public execution. A man was brought out, and Seel recognized his face. It was the face of his eighteen-year-old lover from Mulhouse. **Seel states that the SS guards then stripped the clothes off of his lover, placed a metal bucket over his head, and released trained German Shepherd dogs on him, which mauled him to death.**

Examples of brutality...

- Another witness to the suffering of gay men wrote about **'Project Pink'** in his camp. "The homosexuals were grouped into liquidation commandos and placed under triple camp discipline. **That meant less food, more work and stricter supervision.**"
- "They put him under a cold shower. It was a frosty, bitterly cold evening and he stood outside through the night. He was then tied to a post and placed under a lamp until he began to sweat [before being put] under a cold shower again. By morning, his breathing had become an audible rattle and he died" **(Anonymous)**.
- An effeminate young man was forced to dance in front of the SS men, who then **chained him by his hands and feet to a rack and lifted him on to a crossbeam in the guards' barracks where he was beaten.**
- When six youths were arrested for stealing coal and sent to a concentration camp, the young people **ended up sharing a barracks with gay inmates.**
- The SS were so shocked that they removed the thieves and executed them to 'save' their morality and innocence. **Death was better than sharing space with gay men.**

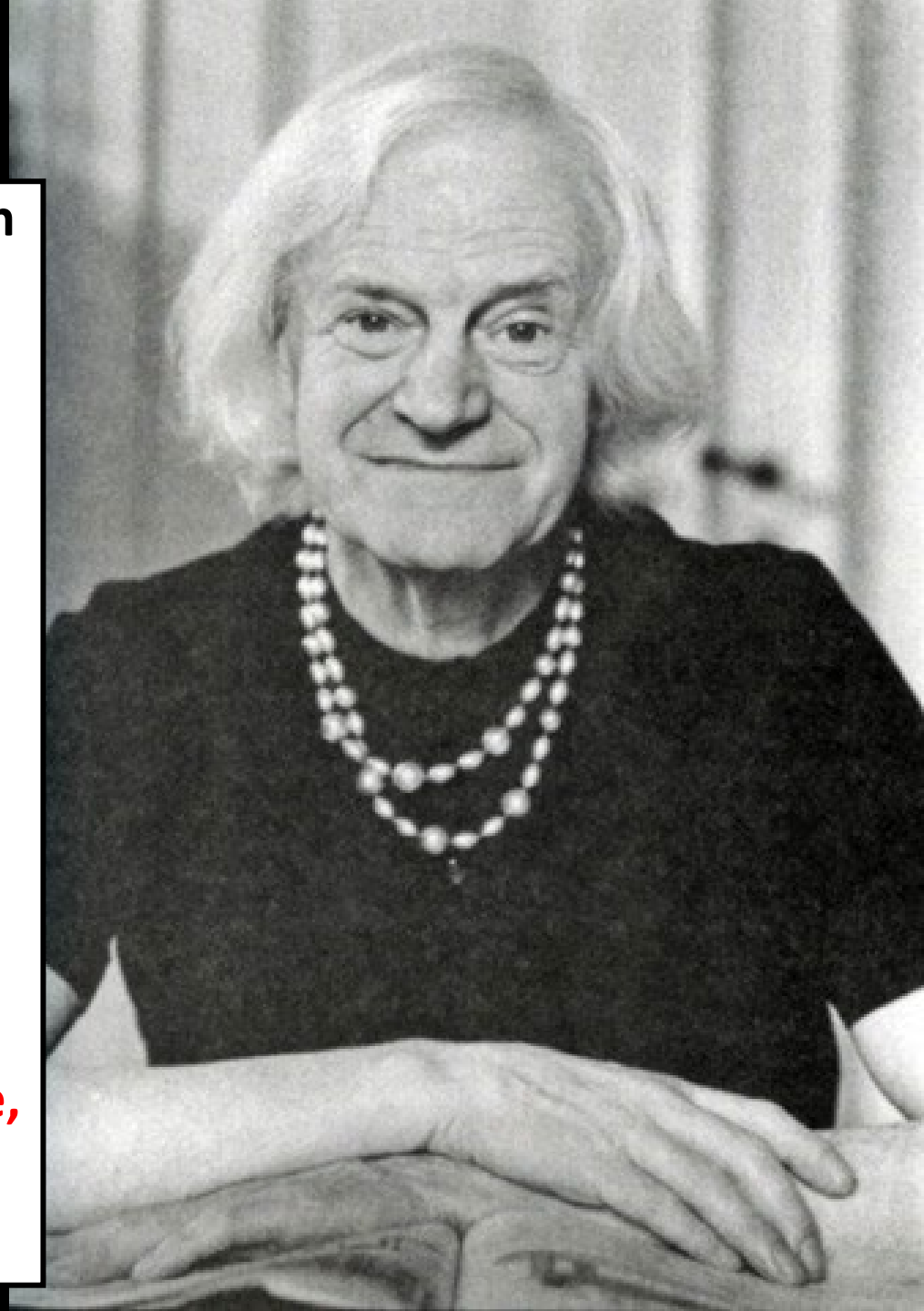
Experimentation...

- Dachau and Buchenwald were the principal centres of human experimentation on gay men by Nazi doctors, **who sought to find a 'medical cure' for homosexuality.** One Danish doctor, **Carl Vaernet,** joined the SS for the sole purpose of pursuing his research into 'curing' gay men.
- At Buchenwald, doctors **conducted hormonal experiments on twelve gay men.** They made incisions in their groin and implanted a metal tube that released testosterone over a prolonged period, as they believed **that a lack of testosterone was the cause of homosexuality.**
- Although some of the men claimed to have become heterosexual, the results are largely unreliable as many are assumed to have stated they were 'cured' in order to be released from the camp. **Those who did not show improvement were determined to be 'chronic' or 'incurable' homosexuals.**
- **Despite being arrested in May 1945, Vaernet somehow managed to convince the authorities that his treatment was important scientific research. He died a free man in Argentina in 1965.**



What about trans people?

- On November 11, 1933, the Hamburg City Administration asked the Head of Police to “**pay special attention to transvestites**” and to “**deliver them to the concentration camps.**”
- In 1938 the *Institute of Forensic Medicine* recommended that the, “**phenomena of transvestism**” be, “**exterminated from public life.**”
- For the most part Nazis **made little distinction** between transgender and cisgender queer men and women.
- Trans women who were sent to concentration camps **wore inverted pink triangles** along with cis men. Trans men wore **inverted black triangles** with cis women.
- Few trans men and cis lesbian women were sent to camps on the sole basis of their identity, **but if they were, they often were placed in camp brothels.**
- **Charlotte von Mahlsdorf** kept their memories alive.



Afterwards...

- The incriminating **Paragraph 175 remained in force** in East Germany until in 1967 and West Germany until 1969.
- Holocaust survivors who were gay men could be **re-imprisoned for 'repeat offences,' and were kept on the modern lists of 'sex offenders.'**
- Under the Allied Military Government of Germany, some gay men were forced to serve out their terms of imprisonment, **regardless of the time spent in concentration camps.**
- "I was already starting to censor my memories, and I became aware that, in spite of my expectations, in spite of all I had imagined, of the long-awaited joy of returning, the true Liberation, was for other people" (**Pierre Seel**)
- **Compensation was turned down to gay men as recently as 1982.**
- It was **not until 2002** that the German government apologized to the gay community.
- In 2005, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the **Holocaust which included the persecution of gay men.**

"One of the ten best books of the year."
—Richard Hall, in *The Advocate*

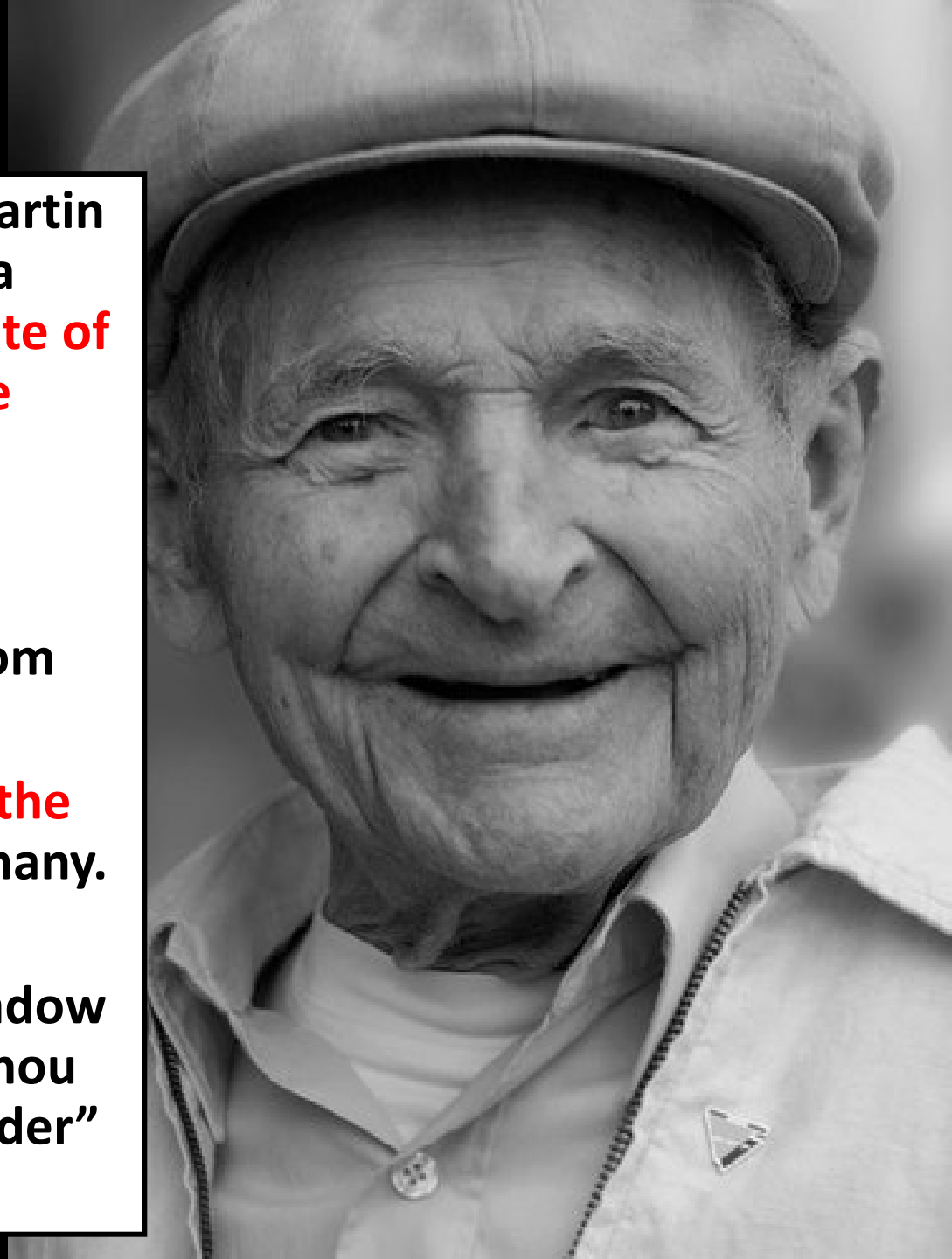
The Men with the Pink Triangle

Heinz Heger

The true, life-and-death story of homosexual prisoners in the Nazi concentration camps

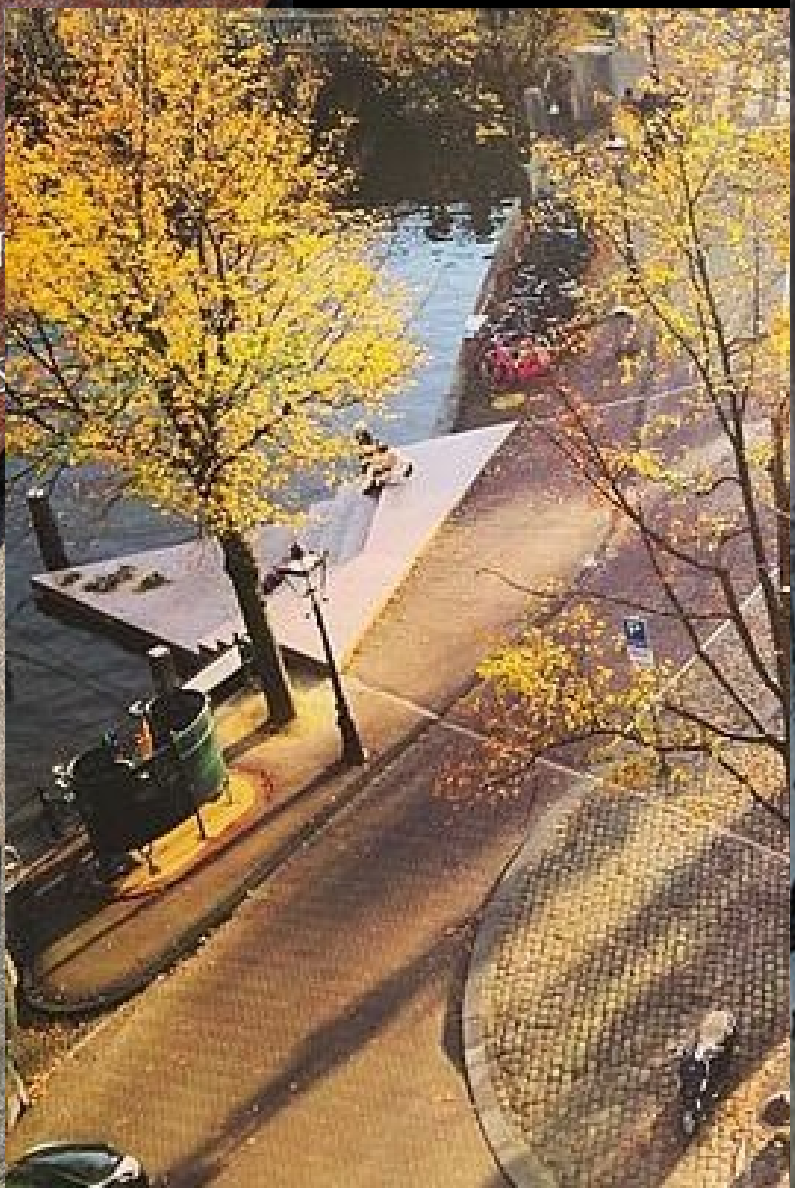
To think about...

- An article in The Independent in 2001 reported: “Martin Gilbert's recent book, *Never Again*, purports to be ‘a comprehensive account of the holocaust.’ **Yet the fate of non-Jews merits only one two-page chapter and the mass murder of homosexuals is accorded a single sentence.**”
- **There was no ‘Oscar Schindler’ for gay men.** No one seemed to have even considered hiding gay men from the clutches of the SS and the Gestapo.
- **Last known gay man, Rudolf Brazda died in 2011 at the age of 98.** He was born in what is now eastern Germany. Brazda spent three years in Buchenwald.
- “Three commandments have emerged from the shadow of the Holocaust. Thou shalt not be a perpetrator, thou shalt not be a victim and thou shalt not be a bystander” **(Yehuda Bauer).**



TOTGESCHLAG
TOTGESCHWIEG
DEN
HOMOSEXUELLEN OPFER
DES
NATIONALSOZIALISMUS

DER "ROSA WINKEL" WAR DAS ZEICHEN,
MIT DEM DIE NATIONALSOZIALISTEN
HOMOSEXUELLE IN DEN KONZEN-
TRATIONSLAGERN IN DIFFAMIERENDER
WEISE KENNZEICHNETEN.
AB JANUAR 1933 WURDEN FAST
ALLE RUND UM DEN NOLLENDORFPLATZ
VERTEILTEN HOMOSEXUELLEN LOKALE
VON DEN NATIONALSOZIALISTEN
GESCHLOSSEN ODER ZUR ANLEGUNG
VON "ROSA LISTEN" (HOMOSEXUELLEN-
KARTEN) DURCH RAZIEN MISSBRACHT.



PARAGRAPH 175

By ROB EPSTEIN and JEFFREY FRIEDMAN

DIRECTING AWARD
DOCUMENTARY COMPETITION SUNDANCE 2000



TOLLING PICTURES
www.tolling.com

films
transit

A bit of background to the purge...

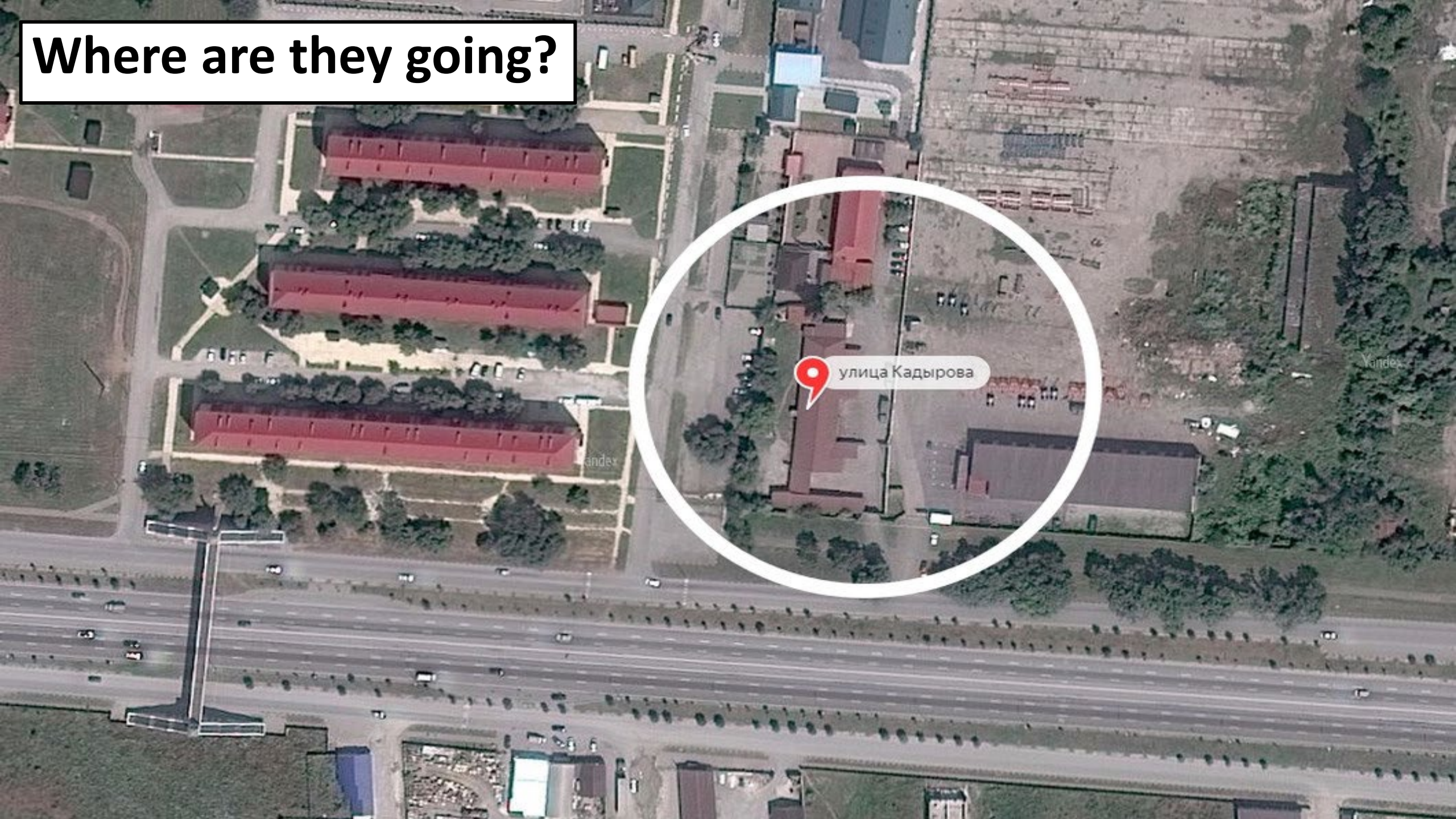
- Many of **Russia's LGBT laws apply in Chechnya**, which is a part of the Russian Federation.
- Chechnya is a semi-autonomous republic within Russia's borders, with its own legal code. In Chechnya, as in other regions of southern Russia, Russian President Vladimir Putin **"has empowered local leaders to enforce their interpretation of traditional values, partly in an effort to co-opt religious extremism, which has largely been driven underground."**
- Although homosexuality was legalized in Russia in 1993, in **1996 Chechnya adopted sharia law**.
- Article 148 of the Chechen Penal Code made **all sodomy punishable by caning after the first two offences and punishable by execution after the third offence**, although the death penalty in Chechnya has not been carried out since 1999.
- Although Chechnya returned to direct Russian rule in 2000, it retains some autonomy, and the current Head of the Chechen Republic, Ramzan Kadyrov, **"has brought Islam to the fore of Chechnya's daily life, and gay people who reveal their sexuality are often discriminated against and shunned by their families."**
- A spokesperson for **Russian President Vladimir Putin endorsed Chechen leaders' claims** that anti-gay persecution is not occurring in the republic.

Chechnya...

- Chechnya has become increasingly conservative under the leadership of President Akhmad Kadyrov **and his son Ramzan Kadyrov, who is the head of the Chechen Republic.**
- Since March 2017, a violent crackdown on the LGBTQI+ community **led to the abduction and detention of gay and bisexual men, who were beaten and tortured.**
- **At least three, and reportedly as many as 20, were killed.** The precise number of those detained and killed is unknown.
- An activist for the Russian LGBT Network stated that **people are sometimes released from prisons due to the authorities knowing that they would be killed by their family.**
- Kadyrov has even argued that there are **no gay people in Chechnya** and that even if there are any, then "take them to Canada, praise Allah, to cleanse the blood."



Where are they going?



Chechnya...

- Reports in 2017 verified by the Russian LGBT Network, gay men were held at a secret prison in Argun, described in many sources as a concentration camp, where they were subjected to violence and torture.
- Chechen men who were detained in multiple detention centres report being beaten and tortured with electric shocks.
- “They turn the knob, electric current hits you, and you start shaking,” one former detainee, who remained anonymous, said. “And they keep turning the hellish machine, and the pain is just insane, you scream, and scream, and you no longer know who you are. Finally, you faint, it all goes dark, but when you come to your senses, they start all over again.”
- “And once they’re done with you and you get your bearings, you hear other inmates screaming, and the sounds of torture are just there all day, and at some point, you start losing your mind.”
- On 11 January 2019, it was reported that another 'gay purge' had begun in the country in December 2018, with several gay men and now women being detained.
- The Russian LGBT Network believes that around 40 persons were detained and more killed.
- In May 2019, Human Rights Watch reported that Chechnya police have renewed its crackdown on LGBT people. Allegedly, police have started using unlawful detentions, beatings, and humiliation of men they presume to be gay or bisexual.

they are lying and the person who says he was here is also lying.

8 STAGES OF GENOCIDE

1. Classification
2. Symbolization
3. Dehumanization
4. Organization
5. Polarization
6. Preparation
7. Extermination
8. Denial

“You cannot arrest or repress people who just don’t exist in the republic. If there were such people in Chechnya, the law-enforcement organs wouldn’t need to have anything to do with them because their relatives would send them somewhere from which there is no returning” (Ramzan)

Groups: Why do homophobia, biphobia and transphobia continue to exist? What societal mechanisms continue to support them? Think about the case studies we just looked at

\$1.99

What is queer theory?

- We queer things when **we resist the 'regimes of the normal,'** which are the normative ideals of aspiring to be normal in identity, behaviour, appearance and relationships (**Warner, 1999**).
- This leads to **inflexibility and inability to change. It also rejects possibilities.**
- It also **demonstrates that things are contextual** and based on geography, culture and history.
- It examines the **power relations underlying identities and categories.**
- Queer theory is **multi-disciplinary and pulls from all disciplines.**
- **Rich's (1980) 'compulsory heterosexuality'** - Rewards for those who invest in it and gain privilege, and those who deviate from it are **punished**. It is a form of **power and coercion**.
- She argues that **if it were so 'natural' then it would not need to work so hard to manifest itself in all institutions,** and it would not be **threatened** by other alternatives to it.
- **Wittig's (1978) 'straight mind'** points out that obligatory relationships between men and women and the institution of heterosexuality **are so embedded they are invisible, and as it is linked to gender and sexuality when we think of 'woman' we think of 'straight woman.'**

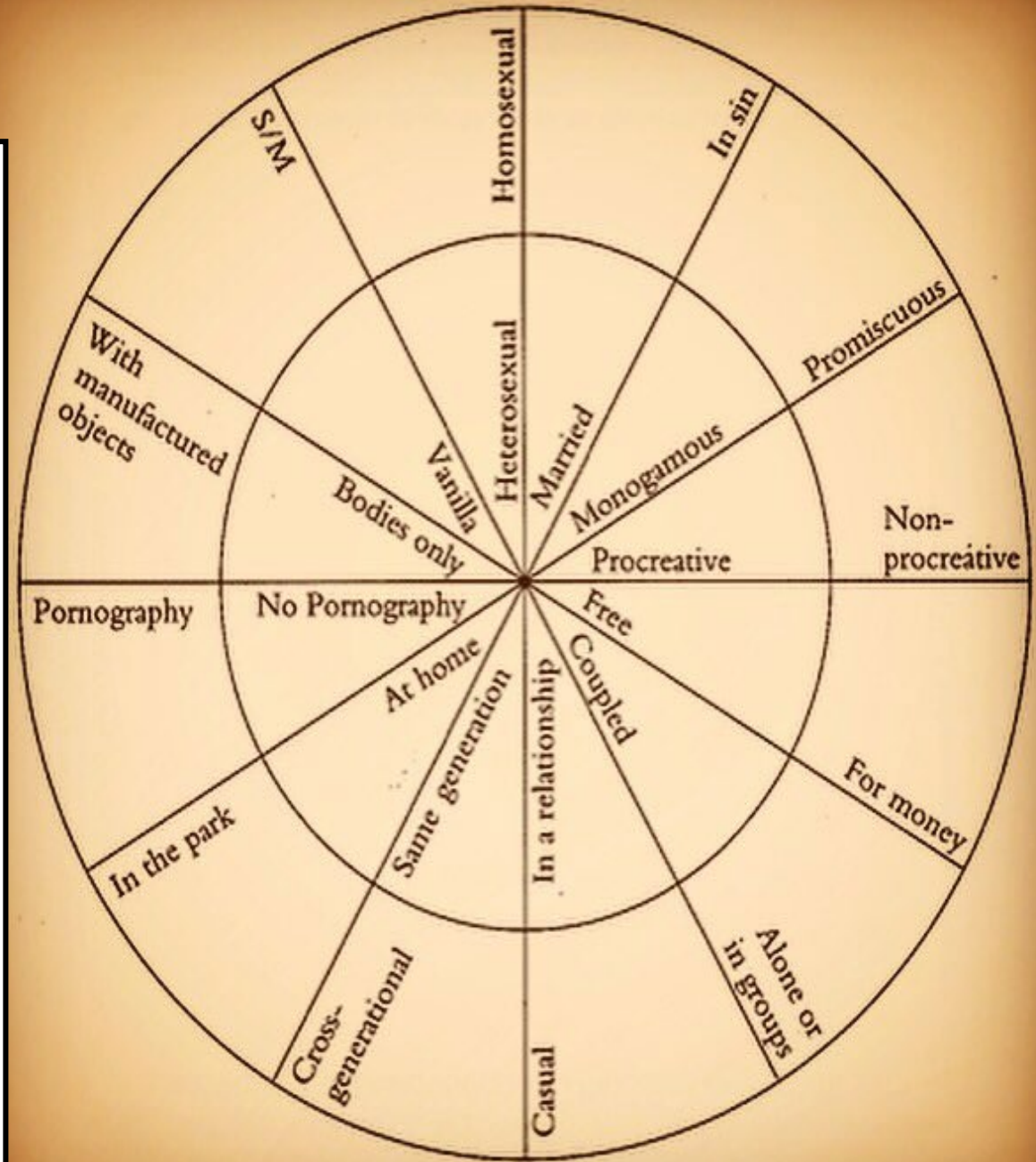
heteronormative

adj. • het·ero·nor·ma·tive • \,hē-tə-rō-'nōr-mə-tiv\

of, relating to, or based on the attitude that heterosexuality is the only normal and natural expression of sexuality

Gayle Rubin (1984)

- Argued that **six ideologies work to constrain us regards sex:**
 1. Sexual **essentialism**;
 2. **Sex negativity** ('porn causes sexual violence,' sex is sin, and so on);
 3. Excessive **importance placed on sexual behaviour** (compared to that of others, such as drug use or eating behaviours);
 4. The **sex hierarchy**;
 5. The '**domino theory of sexual peril**';
 6. The lack of a **concept of benign sexual variation**.
- The **sex hierarchy** ('charmed circle')...



Rubin (1984)

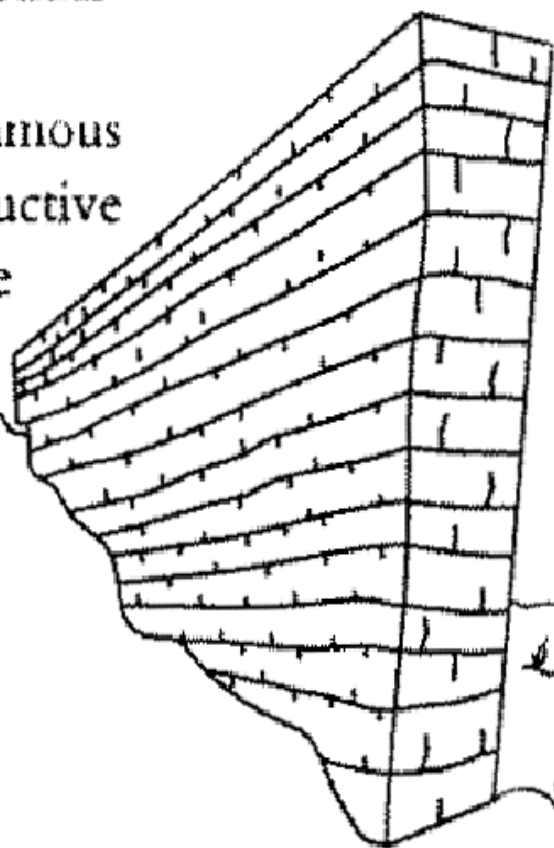
- The **'domino theory of sexual peril'** (Rubin, 1984).
- People reinforce this line between 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' sex, **believing it to stand at a point of order and chaos.**
- What will happen if those **lines are taken away? Sexual peril!**
- **Rubin's (1984) work emphasises the dangers inherent in assimilationist gay rights and other assimilationist movements** (such as sex negative feminism = porn bad).
- **Groups outside of the charmed circle will continue to be criminalised, marginalised, and pathologised.**
- This 'sex hierarchy' needs to be undone and **Rubin (1984) argues for a 'benign sexual variation' instead.**
- This has an **emphasis on** mutual consideration, the quality of the pleasures that they provide, the recognition of different (not hierarchical) types of sexuality and sex.



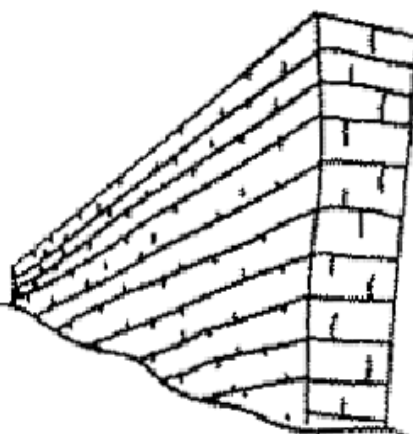
“Good” sex:

Normal, Natural, Healthy, Holy
Heterosexual
Married
Monogamous
Reproductive
At home

“The Line”



Major area of contest
Unmarried heterosexual couples
Promiscuous Heterosexuals
Masturbation



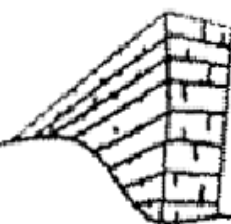
Long-term, stable lesbian and
gay male couples

Lesbians in the bar
Promiscuous gay men at
the baths or in the park

“Bad” sex:

Abnormal, Unnatural,
Sick, Sinful, “Way Out”

Transvestites
Transsexuals
Fetishists
Sadomasochists
For money
Cross-generational



Best

Worst

Chrononormativity =
dominant “tempo” of life events,
often tied to gender and sexuality

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dominant “tempo” of life events,
often tied to gender and sexuality

HOW TO SET UP THE GAME CODE

1. Start up the TV and use the remote button on the remote
2. Press the button on the remote
3. Use the remote to select the code
4. Press the button on the remote
5. Press the button on the remote
6. Press the button on the remote

TV System

Heteronormative temporality...

Perfect Life

- **Queering time.** Heteronormative life narratives are marked by a particular set of **milestones**, namely:
- Birth, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, marriage, reproduction, parenthood, anniversaries, retirement and death. **Gender reveal parties are growing in strength...trans? Intersex?**
- “These are agencies of family, heterosexuality and reproduction” (**Halberstam, 2005: 1**).
- In Western (and some other) cultures, **a person is thought to be successful at life if they pass through each stage at an appropriate speed.**
- For women, **reproductive temporality is ruled by a biological clock** causing additional pressure.

- Graduate High School
- Graduate College
- Get Married
- Graduate from Grad School
- Have Baby
- Begin Career
- Buy House
- Send Child to College
- Retire Comfortably
- See the World
- Die Surrounded by Friends and Family

Gender taboo theory: a better explanation of it?

- The **grounding of homophobia in complex gender taboos** offers an explanation for why definitions, meanings and theory relating to homophobia **seem to have been so uncertain for so long**.
- Particularly when the **focus has been on sexuality at the expense of not fully unpacking the other meanings inherent in homophobic discourses** (Kimmel, 1994, O'Connor, 1995, Froyum, 2007, Pascoe, 2007, Falomir-Pichastor and Mugny, 2009 and McCormack, 2012)
- Homophobia is a prejudice about sexual orientation, **but not solely, or perhaps even principally so**.
- “Look far to find gender lurking in plain sight: the distinguishing feature of homosexuality is not sexual practice, which is extremely diverse, but, by definition, that the participants in homosexual practice are of the same sex (gender)” (Plummer, 2014: 6-7).
- **Plummer (2014)** calls this the **‘gender taboo’ theory of homophobia**. **Gender transgression**, rather than sexual practice per se, is the **necessary pre-requisite for homophobia**, even in situations where homophobia is directly triggered by homosexuality.
- To think of this in terms of gender means that, “masculine taboos and male social power makes much more sense and explains why homosexuality has been such a hot button issue for so long” (Plummer, 2005: 218-232).
- **How does this work?** Relevant to trans people!

Gender taboo theory...

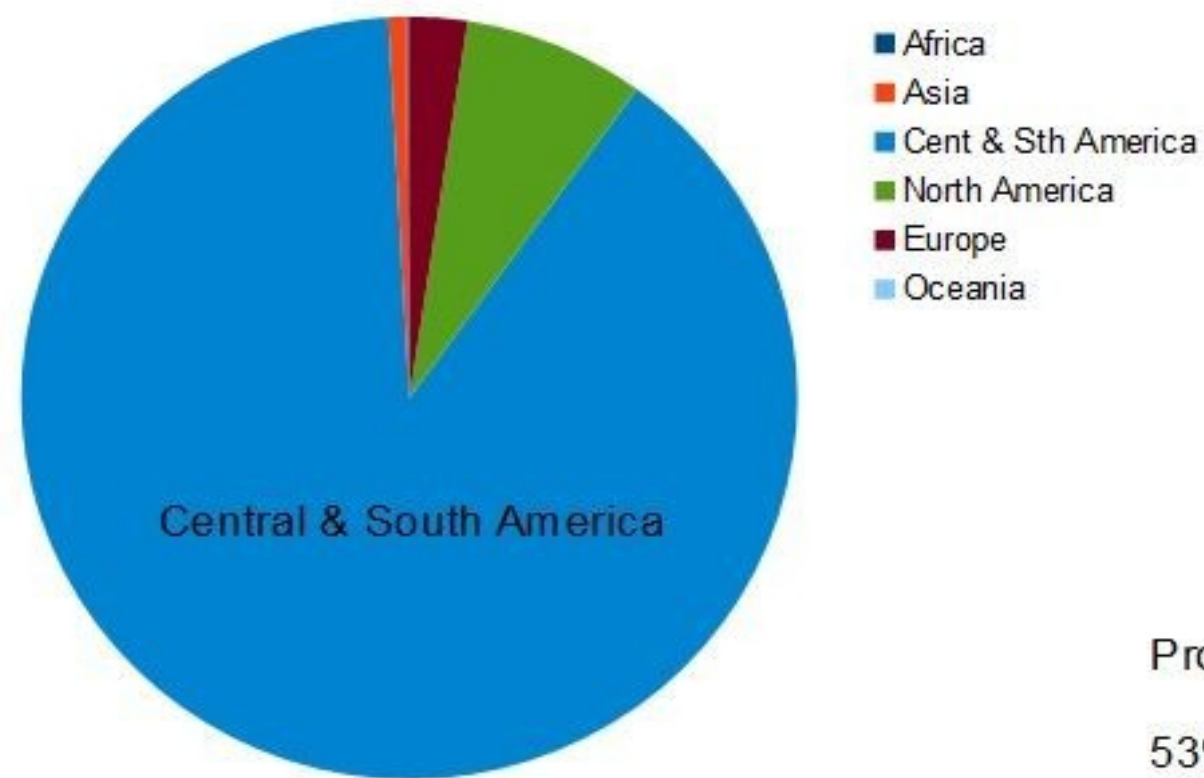
- Contemporary **homophobia plays an important role in policing manhood (Plummer, 2001)**. It does this by **drawing attention to gender taboos, and thereby defines the boundaries of acceptable masculinity, including the sexual boundaries**.
- “Transgressing those boundaries entails encroaching the domain of the male other and threatens to align the transgressor with the sibilant, mincing, pale, effete, soft, pansy, sissy, passive, homosexual, taboo male other” **(Plummer, 2014: 7)**.
- But for homophobia to **police masculinity effectively, it must have teeth**. This is where the **depth of feeling comes in**: the passion, and the murderous fury directed against those who break ranks with dominant masculinity **(Berrill, 1992; Herek & Berrill, 1992)**.
- Modern homophobia can be **understood as a system of punishment for crimes against manhood, and sometimes that punishment entails murder (Plummer, 2005)**.
- Homophobia shares **many similarities with misogyny, but with a key distinction that misogyny demarcates the inter-gender divide between men and women, whereas homophobia demarcates an intra-gender divide between real men and suspect men (Plummer, 2014)**.

Shifting gender...

- Shifting **gender relations** have resulted in:
 1. **A retreat to the physical male body** because it offered a more secure reference point for differentiating gender identity.
 2. **The re-emergence of hard masculinity as a performative physical aspect** of the passage to manhood, and;
 3. **The rekindling of homophobia to target males who do not embody hard, physical masculinity**, notably those who are studious, gentle, soft, effete, effeminate and, on some occasions, queer.
- **Iran:** These measures include surgical correction of gender incongruity in order to transform potential same sex scenarios into a configuration **that appears to preserve heterosexual gender relations**.
- The death penalty for **same sex practice where gender relations are transgressed** (Najmabadi, 2011).



Comparison of transgender murders worldwide



In 2016	Transgender Murders	Inhabitants	Murder Rate (per 10 million)
	M*	P	(M/P)*10 mill
World	317	7481826075	0.42
Africa	1	1216000000	0.01
Asia	20	4436000000	0.05
Cent & Sth America	258	469261485	5.50
North America	27	579000000	0.47
Europe	11	741447158	0.15
Oceania	0	40117432	0.00

**Number of transgender murders recorded in 2016 by TransRespect.org*

Profession was recorded for 102 of the above murder victims

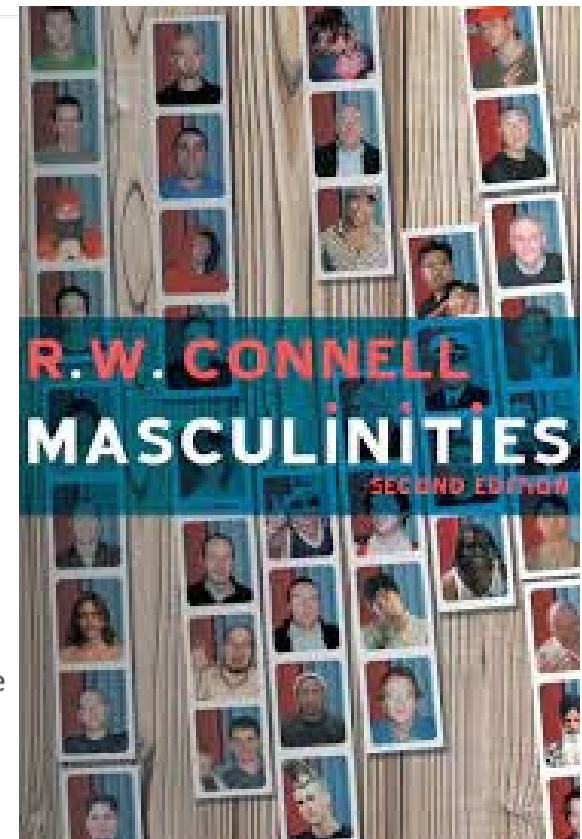
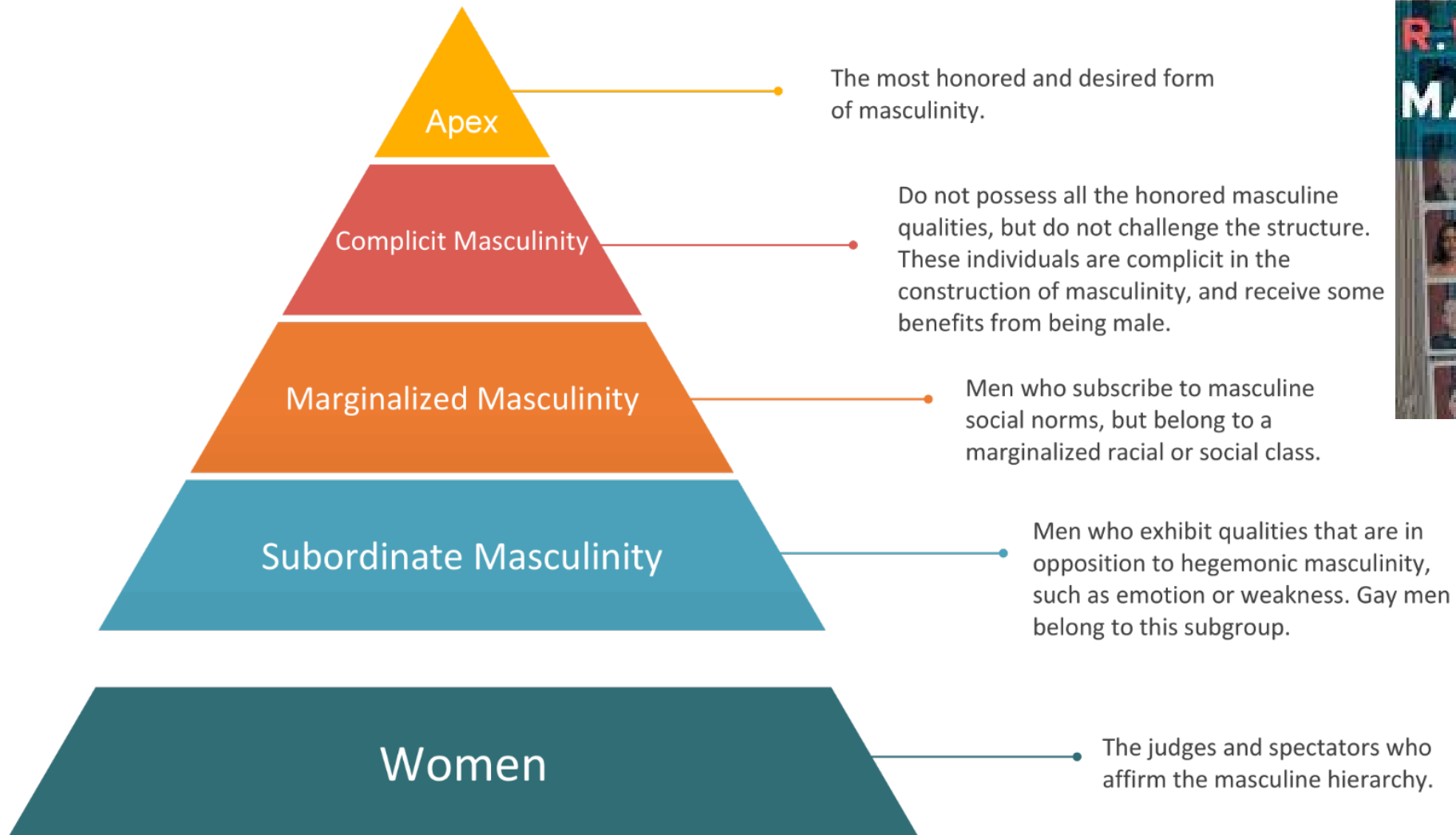
53% of these were recorded as Sex workers.

Vast majority of transgender murders occur in Central & South America

Three stages of gender taboo theory...

- **Homophobia is underwritten by gender taboos** and that shifting levels of homophobia are related to shifting gender arrangements, there would **appear to be at least three broad patterns of response to the prospect that gender conventions might change:**
 1. **Rejection** is characterised by a **steadfast refusal to countenance any deviation from orthodox gender arrangements**. The consequences for people who transgress gender codes can be uncompromising, including in some places, the death penalty for homosexuality.
 2. **Reaction** is characterized by a **reactionary response to shifting gender conventions**. **McCormack and Anderson (2014) would locate homohysteria here**. In the Caribbean **Plummer (2014)** found this reaction was characterised by a retreat to the safe ground of the physical male body, **valorisation of hard masculinity, and rekindling of homophobia** against non-conforming males (only some of whom are ever destined to be gay or bi).
 3. **Accommodation** occurs in circumstances where the **status and roles of both men and women are shifting and there is sufficient social space, stability, security and personal resources for men to accommodate those changes and to rework a more inclusive masculinity (Anderson, 2009)**. Such changes can entail a de-conflation that unlinks gender taboos from homosexual stereotypes and therefore also a separation of masculinity from obligatory homophobia
- Homophobia is **therefore socially constructed and is not hard-wired (Plummer, 2014)**.

Hegemonic Masculinity



The role of political homophobia...

- **Weiss and Bosia (2013)** argue that political homophobia has become a **'core instrument of governance'** in the contemporary world.
- Deployed in **postcolonial states and post-Communist states**. It has a range of merits:
 1. **Deflects attention** from wider economic and social restructuring (see Nigeria and Uganda);
 2. **Reacts** to queer mobilisation and pre-empts it;
 3. **Raises the specter of same-sex marriage to reaffirm and assert** 'traditional family values' as the bedrock of national unity against sexual Others.
- In Iran, the execution of same-gender people can be seen as **a sign of national and 'sexual sovereignty'** by the Islamist regime and **affirmation of the centrality of traditional roles** (Weeks, 2016).



Other forms of homo/bi/transphobia...

- **Institutional and state-sponsored homo/bi/transphobia.** This has started to be tackled at the global level? UN SOGI Independent Expert and Yogyakarta Principles.
- **Religious homo/bi/transphobia.** Thought there is space to contest this from queer religious people?
- **Medicalisation of queer people.** This is shifting and denounced by the WHO, but this is not reflected in every nation state.
- Homophobia can be viewed as a **method of protection of male masculinity (Chodorow, 1999).**
- **Social homo/biphobia.** Homophobia as a form of distance and reaffirmation of their role as heterosexual in a heteronormative culture. Posit violent opposition to 'the Other' to establish identity and gain status validation.
- **'Cold homophobia'** – anchored in a political concern for national sovereignty and intersecting with concerns about religion, cultural authenticity and anti-globalisation (see Russia)
- **'Hot homophobia'** – rooted in tradition or religion (Iran and Uganda) (Mertel, 2018)
- **Internalised homophobia:** Negative stereotypes, beliefs, stigma, and prejudice about homo/bisexuality that a person with same-sex attraction turns inward on themselves, whether or not they identify as LGBT (**Herek, 2004**).

The rise of global flows...

- “Global flows are reshaping the context and meanings of intimacy and the erotic, and opening up in new ways the historical imagination” (Weeks, 2016: 97).
- “Flows of goods and services and sexual consumerism; flows of people seeking love, sex and friendship, fleeing poverty, war or persecution, being trafficked, seeking new opportunities; flows of sexually transmitted infections, especially of HIV/AIDS; flows of pornography...flows of sexual tourists seeking pleasure” (Weeks, 1996: 97-98).
- Flows of conferences, workshops, campaigns, seminars, academics and international organisations are also part of this.
- Whilst these globalising flows affect all parts of the world, they are unevenly felt by individuals, groups, states and regions as they are affected by huge disparities of power and inequalities, especially against SOGIESC people worldwide.
- These real-world differences are simultaneously the source of what Plummer (2015) calls the greatest joys and the deepest miseries of human life.
- **Joys:** exploring the multiplicities of sexual possibilities which brings pleasure to millions.
- **Miseries:** we have to live with the potential for perpetual conflicts and violence over differences.
- **Globalisation allows us to transcend** tradition and its limits, but it gives rise for **oppositional movements** and yet also **claims for sexual and human rights and social justice.**