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The Schwules Museum Discourse: LGBT Representations

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

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Abstrakt v českém jazyce

Diplomová práce se zaměřuje na Schwules Museum (SMU), založené v roce 1984 v Berlíně v Německu. Cílem výzkumu je pochopit povahu tohoto "identitního" muzea, které vzniklo po roce 1970. V první kapitole představena relevantní literatura o muzeích, druhá kapitola pak sleduje historii queer v Německu za účelem identifikování faktorů, které přispěly k založení muzea. Závěrečná kapitola analyzuje muzejní diskurz. Abychom porozuměli, jak komunita z perspektivy dědictví zachází s komplexním vztahem k politice identity, je nutné prozkoumat formování těchto institucí. V tomto smyslu není diskurzivní analýza v tomto výzkumu jen o určitých zobrazeních a reprezentacích v konkrétním muzeu, které identifikuje a mění subjekty, ale také ukazuje dědictví jako politický zdroj, který je neustále reinterpretován a využíván komunitami v průběhu času. Prostřednictvím diskurzivní analýzy lze získat cenné pohledy na roli dědictví v současné společnosti.

Klíčová slova: Dědictví - Diskurz - The Schwules Museum - Identita - Skryté dědictví

Abstract in English

The investigation focuses on The Schwules Museum (SMU), founded in 1984 in Berlin, Germany. The research aims to understand the nature of these identitarian museums that emerged after the 1970s. To do so, the first chapter reviews relevant literature on museums, the second chapter traces the history of queer Germany to identify factors that contributed to the SMU's establishment. The final chapter analyzes the discourse of the SMU. In order to understand how the community, from a heritage perspective, deals with the complex relationship with identity politics, it is necessary to examine the formation of these institutions. In this sense, discourse analysis in this research is not just about showing certain practices of representation in a particular museum that identify and change subjects but also showcases heritage as a political resource that is constantly being re-signified and used by communities over time. Through the analysis of discourse, we can gain valuable insights into the role of heritage in contemporary society.

Keywords: Heritage- Discourse- The Schwules Museum- Identity- Clandestine Heritage

Résumé en Français

La recherche s'est concentrée sur le Schwules Museum (SMU), fondé en 1985 à Berlin, en Allemagne. La recherche vise à comprendre la nature de ces musées identitaires qui ont émergé après les années 1970. Pour ce faire, le premier chapitre passe en revue la littérature pertinente sur les musées, le deuxième chapitre retrace l'histoire de l'Allemagne queer pour identifier les facteurs ayant contribué à la création du SMU. Le dernier chapitre analyse le discours du SMU. Afin de comprendre comment la communauté, d'un point de vue patrimonial, traite la relation complexe avec les politiques identitaires, il est nécessaire d'examiner la formation de ces institutions. En ce sens, l'analyse du discours dans cette recherche ne consiste pas seulement à montrer certaines pratiques de représentation dans un musée particulier qui identifient et changent les sujets, mais aussi à mettre en valeur le patrimoine en tant que ressource politique qui est constamment re-signifiée et utilisée par les communautés au fil du temps. Grâce à l'analyse du discours, nous pouvons obtenir des informations précieuses sur le rôle du patrimoine dans la société contemporaine.

Mots-clés : Patrimoine- Discours- Le Schwules Museum- Identité- Patrimoine clandestin

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Introduction

During the emergence of modern states, museums arose with the purpose of representing the nation and showcasing the material culture we preserve as part of our heritage. This heritage assumes a political role as one of the state's mechanisms of unifying the nation, creating a collage of our collective memory. This collage displays an overlapping representation of memories encompassed in what we classify as our "material culture." The selected material culture presents itself within protected vitrines, narrating our history while revealing that this "history" is part of a power game where "culture" (Bennett, 1995) is employed as a social apparatus to control certain behaviors and reinforce the sense of an "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006).

This heritage not only illustrates our history but also highlights the influence and manipulation of our material culture by our perception of the world. Yet, from which perspective is this derived? This critical inquiry forms the foundation of the first chapter. The formation of modern museums offers a fertile ground for exploring how we represent our material culture, imbuing values that shape our national identities.

For instance, from a materialistic perspective, the museum is viewed as an instrument of state control, where ideology is infused into a material culture as a means of production and reproduction. Slavoj Žižek, in the film *The Pervert's Guide to Ideology* (2012), describes ideology as a discursive apparatus. He employs the movie *They Live (1988)* as an example, in which the protagonist can only perceive the ideology governing his life through the use of special "glasses." This example demonstrates that the culture we are immersed in limits our ability to respond to and comprehend alternative realities shaped by ideology. It underscores the notion that we cannot exist outside of an ideology unless we actively question our culture, just as we are always situated within a culture and consistently communicate through our cultural lens (Rita Von Hunty, 2022).

This approach (culture as ideology) is particularly effective when analyzing the emergence of modern states that exert control and impose narratives from a top-down perspective. For instance, using frameworks that are based on the Marxist perspective, we can examine the state's role in the production and reproduction of culture as a matter of production (labor) and

reproduction (culture in the sense of reproduction of values). In this analysis, I reference some authors rooted in Marxism, focusing on "culture" as a subject, as understanding this materiality is crucial to comprehending the process of value imposition.

I focus on frameworks that address culture without presupposing that all cultural production is based on a unitary master system, revealing the different layers and concepts of this production. Indeed, the emergence of alternative cultural expressions, such as the rise of the SMU, indicates that "culture" is actively being generated from counter perspectives. However, the discourse surrounding production and reproduction should not be solely examined through the lens of ideology. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay between the dominant culture (state) and subculture (SMU museum), the investigation approaches the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu. In doing so, it facilitates a deeper exploration of the complex relationship between these cultural forces and offers a broader perspective on the dynamics at play. Bourdieu (1997) introduces the concept of habitus in the capital game, providing an additional dimension to understanding "individuals" not as passive recipients of culture but as agents whose stratification also contributes to the construction of discourse.

From the point of view of Lefebvre's (1991, p.34) framework, the social space "works as a tool of the analysis of society." Consequently, the museum space functions as a social space that reveals how society organizes its knowledge and how this knowledge is manipulated. Through its arrangement, we can "see" the subject. This type of framework facilitates an approach to the subject by examining its various dimensions, emphasizing the significance of materiality.

However, it is not only materiality that matters when it comes to perceiving the invisible or what is hidden in the visible space of materiality. The immaterial aspect of heritage also plays a vital role in understanding what we cannot "see" but know exists, as the absence in that space benefits certain individuals while excluding others. In this regard, some authors, such as Tony Bennett, ground their theoretical framework in the work of Michel Foucault. To me, what is most intriguing is not the binary debate surrounding the conflict between materiality and immateriality frameworks, but rather the insights these approaches can offer in comprehending the role of museums.

This research investigates a particular dimension of LGBT heritage situated in a moment of transition of regimes. It explores the history of queer Germany clandestine spaces and the creation of the Schwules Museum (SMU) founded in 1985 in Berlin, Germany, as a form of identity politics proposed by the community. Its foundation represents a significant shift in museum general practices and discourse that is related back to the emergence of the social movements in the 1960s.

During this period, the emergence of new identities arose from an identity crisis related to the concept of the nation as a homogeneous "ethnic" group (Jones & Graves-Brown, 1996, p.2). These identity crises varied among nations in accordance with their unique historical contexts, but most shared a common feature: the project of European nations, premised on a stable national homogeneity, ended up exposing the underlying "ethno-nationalistic" discourse (Jones & Graves-Brown, 1996).

In Germany, the re-creation of the national identity in the aftermath of the Nazi regime hinged on the notion of "difference" (Bornemn, 1997). The country's division into East and West resulted in distinct modes of governance, with both sides striving to distance themselves from the Nazi period. In West Germany, the creation of a new German identity based on difference coincided with the emergence of social movements in the 1960s. The politics of memory, concerning the nation's "reconstruction" after the Holocaust, began to impact Germany towards the end of the 1970s with the proliferation of Holocaust biographies. Initially, the Holocaust narrative recognized the experiences of Jewish victims but omitted the persecution[1] of male homosexuals. This exclusion not only erased their narrative but also suggested that the persecution extended beyond the Nazi era, persisting since the emergence of the German state and after the Nazi regime.

The narratives that envelop the emergence of "new identities" and "production" tend to focus on periods of national crisis. In the case of the Second World War, usually in the West society attributes democracy and liberalism (philosophical) as important factors that influence this

[1] Harry Oosterhuis (1997, p.187) argues that during the Nazi Germany homosexuals were targeted for persecution. This was due to the National Socialist's racist ideology and belief in eugenics, as they saw homosexuality as a threat to population growth and the purity of the Aryan race. They believed that sexual behavior should prioritize procreation and the expansion of the population for the sake of the "Aryan" race's biological health. The persecution of homosexuals in the Third Reich was widespread and driven by these beliefs.

production. This line of reasoning holds merit, particularly when considering that the "production" of new identities often necessitates state institutionalization, classification, and recognition via identity and memory politics. Yet, it is crucial to ponder whether the legitimacy of identity relies solely upon the state's acknowledgment and endorsement of its governing apparatus.

In this context, the issue extends beyond mere state recognition through the implementation of identity politics aimed at incorporating these individuals. The prevailing cultural environment within a nation also holds significant influence. In this perspective, "culture" is an important factor. Consequently, if policies are instituted but their recognition only extends to providing legal protection without challenging the underlying heteronormative culture, a genuine sense of "belonging" remains unattained. Thus, it is important to emphasize that cultural transformation is a critical component in altering such realities and fostering a sense of "belonging" that transcends mere social protection and imbues a profound connection to the societal structure. Following this line of reasoning, my second question during the research was whether these identities existed independently of government "production" or legitimization:

Is it the state that constructs the 'other' through rejection, or does the 'other' forge its own identity by resisting the state's imposed homogeneous categorization?

I observed during my research that some interpretations attribute the "formation" of the LGBT movement's collective memory to the Stonewall event as a "myth" (Armstrong & Crage, 2006) in the late 1960s in the United States. This discourse emphasizes the role of liberalism (philosophy) during that period, which led to the community demanding their rights in public spaces. Previously confined to "clandestine" spaces, the community saught to emerge from the shadows and claim their place in the public sphere. This perspective suggests an "American Exceptionalism" (Lipset, 1996)[2] narrative in which this emergence was only possible and initiated in the United States. In other words, the "American exceptionalism" narrative in LGBT history tends to prioritize the Stonewall riots as the main catalyst for the modern LGBT rights movement.

[2] Check, For instance, the discussion on the "concept" in Ceaser, J. W. (2012). The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism. American Political Thought, 1(1), 3–28. https://doi.org/10.1086/664595

But, this discourse can be deconstructed by considering German queer history in terms of identity invention, group formation, and public space[3]. In Germany, homosexuality as an "identity"[4] was theorized and developed by certain groups towards the end of the 19th century. The clandestine bars catering to these groups reflected their class and gender stratification, serving as meeting places for individuals of various identities (gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender). It was in these spaces that the groundwork for group formation was laid.

The focus was not only on "homosexuality" but also "transsexuality". For example, in the Weimar Era, transsexuals could obtain a *Transvestitenschein*, which granted them government recognition. The Institute of Sexuality established in 1919 was not a clandestine meeting place hidden within the city's anonymity; instead, people engaged with and utilized it openly. This does not mean acceptance by the state since its penal code paragraph 175[5], since the creation of Germany, criminalizes male homosexuality. But it means that we have the first non-clandestine place in Berlin's cityscape history. As a result, this demonstrates that medicine as an institution of knowledge plays a significant role in this game but also reveals that the individual's capital plays an important role as a social actor. On one hand, this argument deconstructs the idea of possible determinism where material culture has completely agency but also includes that some social actors have agency, according to their capitals.

From this viewpoint, Berlin harbored spaces where certain individuals, through their work as a form of resistance, challenged the state's prevailing ideology and values otherwise reproduced throughout the urban landscape. This battle occurs in the public space if we consider the Institute of Sexuality as a social space applying the Lefebvre framework. In other words, the first vindication in the public space did not take place in the riots in the USA.

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[3] David James (2005:135) argued in his article, "Defining Identity via Homosexual Spaces: Locating the Male Homosexual in Weimar Berlin," that homosexuals in Weimar Germany were not only marginalized by the 175 Law, but also targeted based on the urban spaces they frequented in the city. Thus, we can see the space as a marginalized tool depending on the region. The civic rights, hence, are related with the space as well.

[4] For the discussion on the invention of homosexuality identity, see, for instance: Beachy, R. (2010). The German Invention of Homosexuality. *The Journal of Modern History*, *82*(4), 801–838. https://doi.org/10.1086/656077
Also in: Beachy, R. (2014). *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a modern identity*. Alfred a Knopf Incorporated.

[5] For instance, from May 15, 1871, until March 10, 1994, Paragraph 175 was part of the German Criminal Code. It made it a crime homosexuality act.

On one level, these events are not comparable in the sense of historical time and in the sense of group formation. But considering the social space and the clandestine space as variables in this equation, we can see that the first group aggregation in the public space for their rights was not the Stonewall riots.

Consequently, the second guiding question of Chapter 2 is:

At what point in history, considering the social space as a variable, was the first non-clandestine formation of the LGBT community in the public sphere established?

Indeed, when examining the democratic regime, it is evident that it creates opportunities for the expression of previously excluded individuals, with liberalism playing a crucial role in this process. However, this does not imply that the 1960s brought about "acceptance" and "tolerance" within the new democratic system, just as it did not in the Weimar regime. While these historical periods are distinct and not directly comparable, it is valuable to critique the North American narrative concerning the formation and articulation of these identities.

The decision to analyze the SMU discourse is driven by the desire to explore how this counterculture is produced and reproduced without state interference. In doing so, it becomes evident that the "other" forges its identity using heritage as a political resource. This suggests that identity policies should not only protect these individuals but should also utilize culture to shift societal values and provide a sense of belonging. As such, the strategy of employing "culture" as a social resource, often seen in the emergence of nation-states, is adopted by this community in 1985 with the creation of the SMU. What makes this case study particularly intriguing is the identification of similarities in adopting culture as a political resource while recognizing that this mechanism is implemented in a distinct manner in regards to the emergence of the modern states and the SMU creation.

Similar to the efforts of the homosexual community to forge its identity at the beginning of the 20th century, the museum displays a bottom-up trajectory, counteracting the state's top-down approach. This shift in control reconfigures the concept of a museum and highlights a rupture in the heritage narrative in terms of representation practices.

Established in 1985, the museum received its first state funding in 2009, almost three decades later. My discourse analysis is limited to this point, recognizing the need for a different type of examination after the funding, in which the museum's role and the community's representation intersect with the state. This museal institution stands as the second in the world established and the first in Europe to represent LGBT issues, offering representational space to this community. The Schwules Museum, along with other institutions emerging during this period, represents a novel phenomenon in the museological landscape. In other words, its establishment in the 1980s corresponds to a new museum typology based on marginalized identities and unofficial memories, set to "deconstruct"—as per Jacques Derrida's (1984) notionthe pre-established representations propagated by traditional museal institutions. This new typology serves as a counter-museum: not only does it symbolize a new typology, but it also signifies a break from the representation practices of traditional museal spaces.

In this regard, we arrive at the answer: as the community seeks to forge its identity without state interference, it turns to create its own heritage. My research, therefore, aimed to understand how this community represented itself autonomously. Additionally, I sought to deconstruct the notion of an "equal" community by emphasizing the power dynamics present in the representation process through discourse analysis. In this aspect, I may say that most of the research and the sources were related to the male homosexual community since they were targeted by the government. Lesbians, instead were not addressed in this law. On one hand, it is possible to see that in a patriarchal society, the invisibilization of the lesbian identity is evident since most of the sources on these historical periods (from German Nation State foundation to SMU creation) illustrates a lack of sources regarding Lesbians and transexuals.From one point of view, this lack also is related to the destruction of the Institute of Sexuality by the Nazis in 1933 but also reflects the male production in academia regarding sexuality after the Second World War.

Chapters Overview

Chapter One offers a critical examination of the literature surrounding the development of museums in connection with the emergence of modern states. This chapter investigates the functions and characteristics of these institutions in general, illustrating that cultural displays are far from impartial and are intimately connected to national identity and state ideologies. Through this inquiry, the underlying white, colonial, and patriarchal perspective is entrenched in traditional museum foundations. In other words: this chapter delves into the structure of museums, their symbolism, and the dynamics of cultural capital.

For example, the section titled *The Modern Museum Identity: The Patriarchal Reproduction* elucidates the formation of museums as a modern phenomenon governed by the nation. Tony Bennett's (1995) concept of the "exhibitionary complex" is the central idea in this section.

The subsequent section, *The Ritual*, offers an overview of the museum as a ritualistic space, as posited by Carol Duncan (1995). Within this space, practices of representation enable those in power to assert their version of "truth." As a complement to this section, *Ordering Social Fields: Where Are We Here?* explores the idea of viewing the museum as a manifestation of Pierre Bourdieu's "social fields" concept. This analysis investigates the multifaceted roles of museums as heterotopias and biopolitical spaces, exemplified by the case study of the prematurely terminated "Queermuseu - Cartographies of Difference in Brazilian Art" exhibition in Brazil.

Drawing on Bourdieu's social field theory, the chapter suggests that traditional museums reproduce hegemonic identities and state narratives, reinforcing heteronormative values. In doing so, the analysis underscores the dual nature of museums, highlighting their ability to both contest and perpetuate prevailing social hierarchies and power dynamics through representational practices

These two sections mutually support one another; the first introduces the subject matter of the displayed works, while the second explores the mechanisms through which this occurs. The final section *The Museum Closet: Unveiling Hidden Narratives* serves as an introduction to approach the SMU emergence.

Chapter two, titled *Identitarian Museums* traces the history of queer Germany to identify factors that contributed to the SMU's establishment. I use Jenkins' (1996) framework, which sheds light on social interaction and group self-image, is employed to demonstrate that constructing spaces like the SMU is one way to counteract the *denial paradox*. In addition, the chapter discusses the role that institutions of knowledge encompassing fields such as law and medicine, play in the process. These institutions impose the notion of "Order" through their categorizations, thereby potentially engendering feelings of denial and exclusion within specific social groups.

This chapter aims to unravel the paradoxical nature of queer spaces by examining them as sites for the emergence of a clandestine culture that later will become their heritage. By delving into these spaces, I can investigate the factors influencing the formation of the Schwules Museum (SMU). The exploration of these spaces is grounded in the spatial triad framework of Lefebvre (1991). This perspective enables us to perceive German queer history as a slow-moving process that drives historical change.

In doing so, I uncover the intricate interplay of factors that contribute to the emergence of the SMU. Furthermore, I analyze the pivotal exhibition that facilitated the museum's establishment just one year later. By situating this analysis within the context of community perspectives and institutional spaces, I look at the complex relationships at play in the formation of the SMU and the implications for understanding queer clandestine heritage.

In the last section *The SMU as a Diasporic Museum* the unique nature of such institutions is examined, distinguishing them from traditional museums. This analysis delves into the concept of transnational cultural identity as a form of diaspora, a fundamental idea within post-colonial studies. The emergence of transnational identity in environments that impose a heteronormative culture gives rise to a diasporic queer body, characterized by shared experiences of exclusion. As a result, a collective cultural identity of exclusion arises, transcending linguistic, cultural, and traditional boundaries. Institutions like the Schwules Museum exemplify this transatlantic community, as their exhibits embody identities that extend beyond a single territory and embrace a transnational cultural identity.

As a result, the museum's emergence challenges traditional boundaries and classifications by exhibiting the fluidity and interconnectedness of various cultures and identities. The museum showcases the shared experiences of exclusion, migration, and adaptation that diasporic communities face while transcending local, regional, and national affiliations. This type of diasporic museum can act as a *social space* for connecting individuals from different backgrounds through their shared histories and cultural ties.

The final chapter explores how the SMU crafted its discourse from 1985 until 2009, a period chosen because the museum began receiving government funding that year. As the study views the museum as a community institution free from government interference, discourse analysis is limited to pre-2009. The framework used was focused on the concept of "Cultural Memory" by Jan Assmann (1995) to illustrate one of the categories in which I organized the analysis. Second, the concept of Marianne Hirsch's (1997) "Postmemory" examines the institution as a post-memory producer. But as important, the work of Cathy Caruth (1996) on trauma illustrates the discourse of the SMU.

Guiding the analysis in this chapter are the following questions: How is identity constructed within the discourse? What kind of heritage is represented in the museum? These inquiries hold significance as they allow for an exploration of the institution's emergence as a process of heritagization within the community. Through this examination, it becomes possible to comprehend the mechanisms employed to represent this identity claim.

Justification

This research posits that the emergence of LGBT museums signifies a departure from conventional modes of representation and a shift toward more inclusive and diverse identity portrayals. It argues that the rise of LGBT museums in the 1970s aimed to incorporate these memories into public spaces while also utilizing heritage as a political resource for identity inclusion in national narratives. This process becomes apparent when examining the subjects addressed by these museums, such as LGBT rights, persecution, civil rights, and law reform, and contrasting them with national policies that historically excluded or marginalized LGBT individuals.

The Schwules Museum case study highlights a memory suppressed and subject-ed by the nation in the public sphere. The museum's creation indicates the community's awareness of this reality and their desire to leverage heritage as a political resource for identity and memory claims. Therefore, the museum's emergence can be seen as an attempt to inscribe these memories into the public sphere and assert the community's rights. However, identity representation within the museum may also be a source of conflict, further complicating the issue. Consequently, the museum as an institution constantly navigates positions of power due to its nature.

In this work, I look at how this community forms its cultural memory, and the changes in the discourse, and selects subjects for self-representation and stabilization of its self-image. Through this analysis, we gain insight into how the community appropriates heritage as a political resource and the negotiation processes that led to its expression.

The emergence of LGBT museums illuminates a novel phenomenon in museum history. This research investigates what makes queer museums so fascinating, why they signify a new generation of representation, and how they differ from other museum typologies. The Schwules Museum is particularly intriguing due to its transnational nature, representing not only regional and national heritage but also connecting with other cultures by encompassing identities that transcend geographical boundaries.

To comprehend how the community navigates the intricate relationship with identity politics within the heritage lens, it is crucial to examine the formation of these institutions. Discourse analysis in this research is not limited to unveiling specific representation practices of a particular museum; it also highlights heritage as a political resource constantly re-signified and utilized by communities over time.

Approaches to The Object

In terms of approaches to the object of study, the introductory texts of exhibitions at the Schwules Museum are considered primary sources, as they are produced by the institution

itself. These texts provide insight into the cultural indicators inscribed by the museum. Considering this perspective, the texts of the Schwules Museum are considered a subject of study.

There are several methods for examining museum discourse. This research explores the museum as a structure and representational social space. The narratives are the museum's voice and the cultural expression that represent the community's memory and identity in the public space. In addition, the exhibitions underscore the instances in which the institution wants to "speak"; that is, to communicate with the outside. In this research, the museum's exhibitions are the components that combine to form a structure; and the discourse is the consequence of a series of interactions that are produced in its social space.

Through analysis, it is possible to understand a portion of the museum's discourse. Post-structuralism indicates that the structure is not static, but rather includes ruptures and interrelationships with other structures. This inquiry, therefore, goes beyond a structuralist perspective and involves observing the museum as a moving structure. The discourse of the museum is conceived of as an ever-changing structure rather than a static framework. This theoretical framework is particularly relevant for this study, as it examines periods during which changes, and divisions occurred.

Methodology

The methodology draws from Michel Foucault's (1981) approach in the book "Order of Discourse." Foucault (1981, p.6), in his memorial lecture at College France in 1970, began his "discourse" by stating that he would prefer not to speak because there is pressure to talk. Considering this passage, it can be stated that the "pressure" is something we cannot see (invisible) but feel since each word that composes our discourse is "under surveillance," "selection," and "control" (Foucault, 1981:6). Hence, through the analysis of historical production it is possible to visualize the political context but also the type of terrain that makes possible the emergence of the discourse.

In addition, Foucault's discourse examines society as a construct comprising various characteristics, with society producing the context that enables discourse to exist. Viewing the museum as a mirror of society or a reflection of specific social groups' contexts, analyzing its exhibition texts provides fertile ground for understanding how this community constructs discourse about itself. Foucault's methodology intriguingly uncovers the invisible and hidden. At first, we can perceive how this community wishes to be "seen" by others. Simultaneously, it reveals how their discourse evolves over time, illustrating the community's understanding of itself throughout time and the construction of subjectivity within public spaces.

The discourse can flourish in many places. In any case, understanding these “places” is fundamental to grasping the nature of the power dynamics and surveillance they engender. For instance, to talk about a “subject” implies the environmental conditions that led to its development. Examining the subjects depicted in each period illuminates the unseen: how this community's social body presents itself. Furthermore, the displayed elements and subjects reveal meanings that allow us to understand the cultural expressions of this community.

The discourse analysis adopts a qualitative perspective, aiming to capture the social manifestations produced by this community according to various intersecting factors and contexts. In other words, the community's representation reveals the social environment, making it possible to explore their cultural expression. The cultural expressions presented by the subjects depict a process of identity externalization and internalization, with this new space serving as a “social space” and a “representational space” (Lefebre).

In this research, the methodology employs discourse analysis to examine the construction of homosexual identity and the strategies employed in its [re]presentation. By analyzing various texts, the relationship between cultural memory (Assmann, 1995) and individual memory is explored with respect to the role of trauma. This investigation provides insights into how the community processes and expresses trauma through heritage discourse, incorporating the concept of "post-memory" (Hirsch, 1987) to develop a collective memory. This approach situates the formation of identity within a historical context, rather than considering it a solely contemporary phenomenon.

Consequently, the museum is regarded as a social space (Lefebvre, 1901) dedicated to asserting claims of identity and memory. The discourse within this context not only exposes the production and reproduction of identity and memory claims but also highlights the power relations and hierarchies inherent in these processes. By considering the intersectional lenses of gender and class, this methodology further elucidates the complexities involved in constructing and maintaining identity within the community.

Prologue: The Museum Time

The museum's image is a reflection of the institution's discourse. This image is both strong and resistant to change while simultaneously fragile, as certain subjects, if displayed, could disrupt its equilibrium.

As one of the institutions responsible for showcasing our heritage, museums serve as a mirror of our culture. The process of representation within their spaces culminates in a narrative that encapsulates history, identity, and memory. As such, museums are deeply entwined in a power play that involves the manipulation of meaning and interpretation. As mirrors of society, museums strive to maintain a facade of stability, projecting a stable image. But this illusion is shattered when new elements challenge the established values within the space.

The museum's structure, imbued with tangible history and memory, embodies the relationship between "time" and "discourse." The legibility of its discourse, having acquired a historical body over time, represents a structure that can be perpetuated or contested. Time plays a pivotal role in this process, as it lends credibility to the discourse, shaping and reinforcing the institution's historical body. The practices that occur within this historical body reveal the manipulative nature of preserving the sacred values constructed in the heritage ritual. Ultimately, time serves to fortify the concept of truth beyond the confines of the historical body, shaping the museum's identity and its role in society.

In this perspective, museums as apparatuses encompass both discursive and non-discursive practices, which may be visible or invisible. They staged their “truths ”, presented to the audience, unveils knowledge, and reveals the continuity of the heritage system.

The portrayal of time in this setting embodies a legitimized memory and a tangible manifestation of what is considered truth. The truth performed on the museum's stage appears as a natural discourse for the audience, resembling more of a biological determination rather than a cultural construction—a Platonic journey toward a definitive understanding.

This truth assumes a material form, illustrating the logic of ordering the world, as the dialects of representation demonstrate how humans classify the world as an integral aspect of their material culture. Consequently, the audience consumes these truths, and in doing so, recognizes their belonging to this system and reality.

In the form of culture, these institutions convey the narrative about the "self" and the "other," displaying their history, similarities, differences, and boundaries. This symbolic narrative, initially presented from a unique masculine gaze in the development of museums, extends itself to encompass the physical body of society and transcends the limits of their walls.

In this chapter, I look at the multifaceted history of museums, tracing their development from the "traditional museum" to their diverse forms in the postmodern era. In doing so, I shed light on the gradual decentralization of power in museums over time, particularly as identitarian museums emerge. In addition, I explore how heritage serves as a political resource, not only employed by state discourse but also appropriated by communities as a means of resistance.

1 The Modern Museum Identity: The Patriarchal Reproduction

The modern public museum's identity often has its roots in the cabinets of curiosities or wunderkammers, which were private collections established between the 15th and 17th centuries. Notable examples include the Palazzo Medici[6] in Florence, established in 1440. These spaces were organized into various categories reflecting the owner's system of knowledge classification. They served as venues where knowledge was gathered, classified, and conserved, accessible only to select members of high society.

These cabinets of curiosities could be found in the rooms of princes, humanists, and wealthy individuals. Pomian (1986) discusses in *La Culture de La Curiosité* that there were hundreds of these cabinets throughout Europe, with various classifications ranging from "rarities of man" to "artificial things." The act of displaying such collections during this period was intimately connected to the representation of power as a microcosm. Pomian (1986, p.342) suggests that a cabinet represented the whole universe that can be seen in a single stroke, and the universe reduced, as it were, to the size of the eyes.

In this perspective, *Cabinets of Curiosity* were thus spaces designed to demonstrate the owner's power and knowledge. The configuration of the space, along with the objects contained within, served to define a particular individual(s) and their respective standing within the social hierarchy of the time. There are evident similarities between these early collections and the emergence of museums, particularly in their roles as spaces for collecting, classifying, and displaying objects. However, the identity of a museum also encompasses its diverse functions and historical context. In this light, the advent of the modern public museum sets itself apart from its antecedents in function based on its unique historical context.

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[6] Check, for instance, the history of Medici Palace written by Greenhill (1992) in the chapter *The first museum of Europe?* In: Greenhill, E. H. (1992). *The first museum of Europe? In:* Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge. Routledge.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, in her book *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992), discusses various aspects of museums concerning their function in relation to Curiosity Cabinets. She argues (1992, p.8) that constructing a linear historical narrative based solely on similarities in elements such as classification and display can lead to the concealment and exclusion of other "histories" because of the diverse functions that museums can assume beyond. In this perspective, this is due, in part, to the multitude of functions museums can serve beyond those shared with their predecessors.

As a result, the contemporary museum's identity is significantly influenced by its historical and social context. This means that the unique characteristics and organizational structures of each museum are often determined by the specific social and historical settings in which they exist. For example, the ways in which museums generate knowledge are reflective of the myriad forms that a "museum" can or has taken. While classification and display remain common features shared with cabinets of curiosity, the key difference lies in the methods of knowledge production and dissemination, which are shaped by their respective historical contexts.

As the modern state emerged, these collections manifest into a more "public" nature, opening their museums to a broader audience. The Ashmolean Museum, for instance, claims[7] to be the first modern museum, opening its doors in 1683. Similarly, the Louvre Museum in France opened to all social classes in 1793. The rise of the "public" museum diverges from its predecessors in providing a material culture accessible to the nation's citizens. In addition, the target audience shifted from exclusively high society members to the general population. That is, this change was accompanied by an alignment with the historical regime, as the institution became closely related to the nation. As a result, the material culture on display contributed to the public's memory and identity, becoming an integral part of their heritage.

In terms of function, traditional museums have played a crucial role in controlling and imposing values, as they provided a space where the nation-state could exert control and regulate social practices. The concept of "culture" was utilized as a social device[8] within

[7] For more details, check https://www.ashmolean.org/history-ashmolean

[8] See, for instance, the concept of "device" related to museum theory in the article: Mairesse, F., & Hurley, C. (2012). Eléments d'expologie: matériaux pour une théorie du dispositif muséal. MediaTropes, 3(2), 1-27

these institutions, shaping the public's understanding of their history and identity. Tony Bennett (1995) explores this idea in his book *The Birth of the Museum*:

“However, the museum's formation - whether understood as a developmental process or as an achieved form - cannot be adequately understood unless viewed in the light of a more general set of developments through which culture, in coming to be thought of as useful for governing, was fashioned as a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power” (Bennett 1995, p.19).

Moreover, culture is:

“It referred to the habits, morals, manners, and beliefs of the subordinate classes - was targeted as an object of government, as something in need of both transformation and regulation. This had clearly been viewed as a part of the proper concern of the State in earlier formulations of the functions of the police” (Bennett 1995, p.19).

In this sense, the modern museum was a *“dispositif”*[9] used not only to represent the material culture of the nation in which bio-regulate the “habits,” “morals,” “and beliefs,” but also is a vehicle in which culture means new forms of control and power.

Moreover, these spaces sustain relations related to “reproduction”:

“The advent of capitalism, and more particularly 'modern' neocapitalism, has rendered this state of affairs considerably more complex. Here three interrelated levels must be taken into account: (1) biological reproduction (the family) ; (2) the reproduction of labour power (the working class per se) ; and (3) the reproduction of the social relations of production - that is, of those relations which are constitutive of capitalism and which are increasingly (and increasingly effectively) sought and imposed as such. The role of space in this tripartite ordering of things will need to be examined in its specificity. To make things even more complicated, social space also contains specific representations of this double or triple interaction between the social relations of production and reproduction. Symbolic

[9] Concept coined by Michel Foucault (Foucault, 2000, p. 244).

representation serves to maintain these social relations in a state of coexistence and cohesion" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.33).

In this context, the nature of these institutions forms part of a process that supports the institutionalization of identities connected to the notion of reproduction, which in turn serves to maintain social relations and their "cohesion" with state ideology. As a result, public museums, which are open to all citizens, enable the state to exhibit and reinforce policies that perpetuate and maintain power structures tied to specific identities and memories.

Griselda Pollock (1988) explores this idea in her work, *Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity in Paris*, arguing that the experience of modernity can be understood through the lens of space. She posits (p.76) that modernity created a "modernist territory" intersecting with "spaces of masculinity," which catered to a class and gender-specific gaze. In this light, although the Louvre was open to all "citizens" regardless of gender, its space fostered a form of masculine production due to the preponderance of paintings that primarily portrayed women within a male controlling gaze.

As proposed by Bennett (1995, p.59), the use of culture to control and discipline the audience reflects a political project in which these spaces display an *exhibitionary complex*. The concept of "exhibitionary complex" is related to the idea of "discipline." Bennett's notion is based on Foucault's theory of the "prison" as a place of confinement[10] and discipline, where showcase technologies are used to control others (Bennett, 1995, p. 61). In this exhibitionary complex, according to Bennett, museums function to circulate different disciplines, ordering "things" and transforming them into "culture," thereby serving as a disciplinary apparatus.

Jennifer Tyburczy (2016), in her book *Sex Museums: The Politics and Performance of Display*, comments on Bennett's concept:

"Museums emerged as constitutive of the exhibitionary complex, a system devoted to making visible those bodies and objects that had previously been displayed in private settings (e.g., royal palaces) to a small coterie of elite individuals. The display is the hinge that distinguishes the exhibitionary complex from the disciplinary regime described by Foucault,

[10] On the confinement and discipline, see e.g., Foucault, M (1977). Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison. New York: Pantheon Books.

but ultimately both models encompass the construction and dissemination of power in distinct but historically synchronous institutions" (Tyburczy, 2016, p.7)".

In this sense, the museum's emergence represented: a complex institution rooted in the history of a patriarchal transmission and the transfer of objects of power from churches and cabinets of curiosities (Tyburczy, 2016). As we can see, the public museums represented a political project that perpetuated the patriarchal system in their creation. In other words: "The groups who got to define 'The Heritage' – and in a related sense, who possessed heritage – were mainly upper or upper-middle-class white people, particularly men" (Littler, 2016, p.91).

This patriarchal political system dated before the emergence of the modern state and museums; it "survived" and "maintained," as Pierre Bourdieu illustrates (2016, p. 46) in his book *Masculine Domination* since the "Neolithic period." In this regard, the museum's emergence as an institution that shares the nation's values illustrates not only a process of preservation of heritage but also denoted that the patriarchal system uses culture as a device to display it as the cultural heritage of the nation.

The heritagization of the patriarchal system can be examined through the lens of France and England, as both countries offer compelling examples. During the French Revolution, the royal collections were not destroyed but rather incorporated into public memory through the establishment of the Louvre Museum as a public institution. This transition from private to public heritage allowed the nation's citizens access to the collections, which in turn embodied a knowledge classification system deeply rooted in masculine domination. As a result, the regime change did not eradicate the system of domination but instead refined it for implementation and reproduction.

In this context, the reproduction of the patriarchal system within the emergence of nation-states encompasses the museum's "identity." The modern museum identity reflects its historical time and incorporates various systems of classification. Although each object once belonged to different forms of power and collection based on its historical context, these systems commonly possess a patriarchal gaze that has acquired new tools and forms of discipline.

Another such example is the creation of the Ashmolean Museum in 1682, following a donation by Elias Ashmole (1617-1692). Initially a private collection, it gained public significance and now aims to represent "the knowledge of humanity" and its importance to society (Ashmolean Museum, WEBSITE: history of the Ashmolean). Although originating as a private collection, the museum gained public interest by opening its doors to the audience as a mechanism to display the heritage of the "world," as stated by the museum.

Throughout its history, England has frequently organized and hosted numerous exhibitions as a means to showcase its technological advancements and power to both domestic and global audiences. A prime example of this is the Great Exhibition of 1851, which attracted an impressive six million visitors (Plumpe, 1979, p. 61). Similarly, France held the Exposition Universelle in 1889, proudly demonstrating its national prowess to over 32 million attendees (Plumpe, 1979, p. 6). These exhibitions illustrate forms of classification of knowledge and power.

In this regard, these exhibitions can be viewed as an extension of the Curiosity Cabinets, which previously served as a microcosm of an individual's power. In that context, these exhibitions took on a "macro" aspect, with the nation itself as the curator of this display of power. As tangible representations of "progress" and "development," these events effectively employed "culture" as an instrument for shaping national values. As Çelik & Kinney (1990, p. 28) argue, the articulation of power manifests through representation. Although France and England have distinct social contexts and geographical locations, they share a common approach to using culture as a source of power and hierarchical distinction. As a result, the utilization of "culture" as a "device" targets the audience as the primary focus.

As shown in Bennett's (1995) investigation, the State used the modern museum to establish policies to regulate social norms. These traditional spaces played an essential role in establishing a narrative to showcase and naturalize social norms displayed in the form of culture to their citizens. Moreover, this “exhibitionary complex” will encapsulate and display throughout the time "heterosexuality," “masculinity," and “whiteness” as the norms that represent society (Amy K. Levin, 2010, p.5)

In conclusion, both France and England, as examples, irrespective of the public or private nature of their museum collections' origins, demonstrate a process of control. This aspect

raises questions about the colonial past, as the creation and development of these museums incorporated objects from their former colonies. Consequently, the question arises: what would the nature of these objects be if they did not belong to the colonizing nations? The confinement of these objects within museum spaces, visible to visitors, reveals a colonial mechanism, regardless of the ongoing debate concerning the public or private nature of these collections during their emergence

1.1 The Ritual

The museum display process is one of the forms in which this mechanism of control happens since it is in the museum space its citizens have access to the museum ritual. Carol Duncan (1995), in her book *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums,* examines the role of art museums in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as showcases for ideals of nationalism, colonialism, and masculinity[11]. These institutions not only displayed artifacts and artwork but also functioned as ritual spaces, shaping behavior and defining individuals' positions within society:

"Museum control entails governing a community's representation, its core values and beliefs. It also involves determining individuals' relative standing within that community. Those adept at performing the museum ritual, responding to its various cues, have their identities (social, sexual, racial) validated and confirmed by the institution." (p. 425).

This raises the question: who is best equipped to embody the "truth" of the exhibitionary complex? If the complex propagates a masculine gaze, those in control not only present their own truth but also categorize others. In essence, museums are one of the institutions that participate as controllers and wield power over society's understanding of individuals' positions. As cultural showcases, museums foreground patriarchal dominance, promoting a vision of cultural heritage as both natural and truthful. This heritage encompasses history, memory, and a sense of unity for its people.

[11] More information about how they portray, check the following chapters of her book: “The Modern Art Museum: It’s A Man’s World,” and “From the Princely Gallery to the Public Art Museum: The Louvre Museum and the National Gallery, London”. See in: C. Duncan (1995). Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums, New York: Routledge.

Objects within these spaces carry specific discourses, often reinforcing the exclusion of alternative narratives. It is crucial to contextualize and question everyday objects that perpetuate certain gender and sexuality categories, rather than merely presenting them based on their functional descriptions. By failing to provide context, we allow these objects to "speak" for themselves, preserving and reinforcing a heteronormative culture, as Tony Boita (2020, p.114) contends regarding the dominance of heteronormativity in both material and immaterial culture and memory.

Traditional spaces exemplify how logocentric narratives, which Jacques Derrida (1973) deconstructed, represent a culture that operates on the basis of cis-heteronormativity as a social norm. Logocentrism refers to the philosophical desire for an absolute truth that can be expressed through stable and true meanings.

The preservation of artifacts ought to be scrutinized, rather than simply celebrating a materialistic and functional concern for the object itself. This seemingly neutral concern possesses another dimension: it perpetuates the reproduction and preservation of values and power relations for the future, in essence, colonization. It is intriguing to examine how the representation of these objects can reveal the values attributed to them and how the concept of the "exhibitionary complex" can demonstrate institutional powers and social control practices.

Ultimately, museum objects are embedded within a logic of "confinement" and "discipline," ordered within their representational framework. Traditional spaces, thus, exemplify how logocentric narratives represent a culture that operates on the basis of cis-heteronormativity as a social norm.

So, expanding on Duncan's analysis, the "museum ritual" not only reflects what the communities consider “truth” but also how certain museums convey a white, masculine perspective on the "other," reinforcing an underlying sense of superiority masked as progress. In this sense, the public consumption of culture relied on this white, masculine gaze, which normalized practices that sexualized and racialized the "other." As a result, the museum ritual in a patriarchal Eurocentric perspective is a form of control and imprisonment of the “other.”

Edward Said (1978, p.3) elucidates the concept of the “other,” outlining its construction within a discourse shaped by systematic discipline originating from the West. In this context, museums, as exhibitionary complexes founded on the systematic production of knowledge, embody state institutions that constrain the "other" within the collective imagination of citizens.

The suppression and fragmentation of the "other's" cultural systems and traditions are often linked to a form of control and confinement, giving rise to a repressive discourse that perpetuates power structures. For example, the closure of the Medicine Man gallery at the Wellcome Collection in London in 2022 exemplifies how certain museum practices still maintain a patriarchal, Eurocentric perspective.

The gallery's closure signified a narrative into the present day that perpetuated from the past, revealing that certain museums, as social institutions of representation, have a tendency to not only preserve their objects but also to maintain a discourse that upholds and sustains power dynamics through the lens of heritage. In a 2022 Twitter statement, the Wellcome Collection acknowledged that their exhibition practices resulted in:

“..a collection that told a global story of health and medicine in which disabled people, Black people, Indigenous peoples and people of colour were exoticised, marginalised and exploited – or even missed out altogether (Wellcome Collection, 2022).

Ludmilla Jordanova (1989) explores the roles of science, natural history, and medical museums in her chapter, "Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums." She discusses the museum's practices, stating:

"Two key concerns arise when examining the relationship between museums and knowledge. Firstly, science and medical museums, due to their strong connections with authoritative classification and validated knowledge, are particularly noteworthy. Natural history and science museums hold a central position in promoting 'society's most revered beliefs and values.' These institutions, by appealing to wider audiences and being less elitist than art galleries, can simultaneously convey 'facts' and 'values,' even though scientific and medical practitioners insist on maintaining a clear separation between the two." (p. 33).

Natural history museums serve as typologies that continue to embody contemporary notions of reproduction and progress. Bennett (2004) demonstrates how these institutions encapsulate and represent ideas of evolution and progress in a "sexist" manner, particularly following the first publication of Charles Darwin's On the Origin of Species (1859)[12]. Knowledge, presented as "fact" in the 19th century, was exhibited through a bourgeois gaze on progress, as Bennett (2004) points out. The museum, as a space containing knowledge—exemplified by Darwin's theory—plays a critical role in asserting that a fact is unequivocal and not merely one perspective on a subject. As such, a fact should be accepted without question.

Jordanova (1989, p.38) highlights how the representational practices of early modern museums functioned as "coercive" and how the knowledge portrayed in these institutions embodied the notions[13] of "progress and civilization." Consequently, it can be inferred that during the establishment of modern nation-states, these museal institutions reproduced identities based on a Eurocentric worldview. Moreover, the normative participation of these institutions in the civilizing process was crucial in constructing and sustaining a patriarchal white heterosexual system. But how can this be materialized in the space?

For instance, Donna Haraway (1985) examines the role of dioramas—a three-dimensional representational technique applied in natural museums—in her article *Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden*. She posits that dioramas aim to recreate a sense of realism, which, in turn, encourages museum visitors to perceive taxidermied species as representations of reality. By navigating through this narrative, visitors are led to believe that the meticulously crafted demonstration of a species is indeed "real." In this sense, the discourse created surrounding these “real” representations guide the public to believe in the narrative as something stable.

On the one hand, this method embodies a complex process through which humans externalize their expertise, constructing a world that enables the recreation of reality in the museum

[12] In the recent discussion about Social Darwinism regarding the inclusion of the word “evolutionism” on Darwin’s work, see e.g., https://jornal.usp.br/cultura/nova-edicao-de-a-origem-das-especies-traz-darwinmais-radical/

[13] On the idea of progress and museums, see e.g., Amy K, L (2010). Straight talk: evolution exhibitions and the reproduction of heterosexuality. In A. K. Levin (Ed.), Gender, Sexuality, and Museums (pp. 187–200). Routledge:
London.

space. On the other hand, it is crucial to consider the individuals or entities that shape the discourse surrounding this reality, as well as the underlying ideologies. That is to say, “relations of communication are always, inseparably, power relations which, in form and content, depend on the material or symbolic power accumulated by the agents (or institutions) involved in these relations” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167). For example, Amy K. Levin (2010) explores in her investigation the concept of natural history museums as a medium through which the discourse perpetuates a heterosexual way of life.

Norbert Elias (1994, p.25) shows that the "civilizing" process is associated with the homogenization of the population, creating a structure sharing a common culture (social norms). In this context, it can be argued that these traditional institutions were responsible for exhibiting this homogenization project, aligned with a national vision of shared "habits, morals, manners, and beliefs." From this standpoint, the emergence of these institutions followed a logic of representing individuals based on their "stage" of civilization, legitimizing their rituals and hierarchizing them within the museum's social framework.

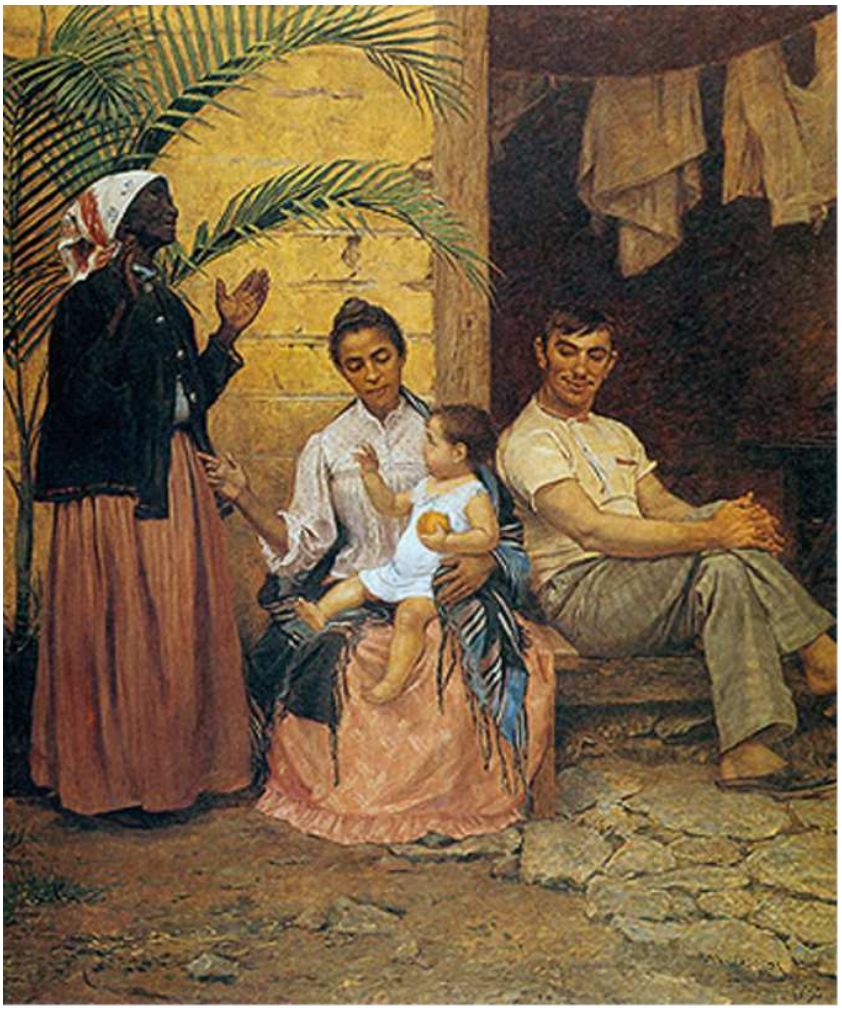
Beyond civilizing the community, these modern museums—following the consolidation of modern states—played a role in the colonization period. As vitrines, they exported a Eurocentric model to their former colonies. James Clifford (1988)[14], in his essay *Histories of the Tribal and the Modern*, illustrates how the portrayal of Western artists alongside "non-Western" artists in a notable exhibition at MoMA perpetuated the concept of what is considered "civilized." Another example is Franz Boas's (1986) critique[15], which questioned the organization of exhibitions that followed an evolutionist conception rooted in a Eurocentric perspective.

These examples show how museums since the nineteenth century have participated in the validation of identities and their position in the social framework, as well as how these identities and their social norms were spread in the twentieth century during the colonization process.

[14] The exhibition at MoMA and criticized by Clifford (1988) whereas the other- non-western- is displayed category of difference (racialized).
[15] Cultural anthropologist who was the director of the American Museum of Natural History.

As a concrete example, the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes of Rio de Janeiro, founded in 1989, illustrates how whiteness and colonization were represented to the public. In this museum, there is an artwork by Modesto Broncos y Gómez (1852-1936). This artist was born in Spain but naturalized in Brazil. The artwork *"A redenção de Cam"* (Figure 1) was made when Modesto was a professor in 1936 at the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes (now known as the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro).

Figure 01



A Redenção de Cam. Modesto Broncos y Gómez (1852-1936)12.[16]

Authority control: Enciclopédia Itaú Cultural

The painting *"A Redenção de Cam"* (Redemption of Cam) playfully illustrates the generational whitening process encouraged by the Brazilian state during the post-abolition

[16] Image downloaded from website: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Reden%C3%A7%C3%A3o.jpg Retrieved April 12, 2022

slavery period. As Lilia Moritz Schwarcz (1993, p.2) describes, the artist reconstructs, through images, not only arguments but also perspectives of the time.

The black woman is faced with a brown daughter and a white granddaughter. The idea of whitening society was based on Gregor Mendel's (1822-1884) theory[17], where the state thought they would reach a white society if they mixed the individuals. The country is portrayed as a nation composed of mixed races, yet in transition. These races, undergoing an accelerated process of crossbreeding and purified through natural selection (or perhaps miraculously), suggest that Brazil would one day become white. As we can see, the painting becomes part of the Brazilian heritage as an object that illustrates how the production of knowledge and its preservation was linked with the idea of classification of the world from a colonialist perspective- or, as Ducan (1993) explicitly described as a ritual in which who control the museum representation controls the discourse. In this sense, the “coercive” nature of the museum, as described by Jordana (1989), display the “truth” about whiting process, which was displayed for the collective imaginary, at that time, as true and stable.

As a result, through the incorporation of such an object into a museum, it can be seen that: The state and political and economic elites were committed to a eugenic process in Brazil, promoting the arrival of European immigrants to replace the enslaved labor force and encouraging the miscegenation process to whiten society, as depicted in the painting.

This regard is an example of how Museums exhibit ideas of whiteness and colonization to their audiences in the form of art, culture, and scientific “fact”. The implications of a hegemonic identity, when chosen to represent a nation, resulting in the exclusion of specific identities that do not conform to the “requirements” of that structure. This equation also accounts for the "exclusion" and "non-institutionalization" of certain identities, while others are deemed "uncivilized" as they do not share the same beliefs, morals, and habits—a culture. And we see in this context how the Eurocentric point of view was exported beyond their borders in the form of culture.

[17] On the idea of civilization and sexuality based on Mendel’s theory, see e.g., Stepan, N.L., & Armus, D. (2004). Eugenia no Brasil: 1917-1940. Available here: https://books.scielo.org/id/7bzx4/pdf/hochman-9788575413111- 11.pdf

These modern institutions played a significant role in reproducing and legitimizing identities sanctioned by the state. They operated as a "mirror" to the establishment of official identities in constructing the nation's image, reflecting and exporting European models of civilization to their colonies through their display practices. This practice was further developed in the early 20th century with exhibitions related to evolutionist ideas that presented the "stages" of civilization from a taxonomic perspective, emphasizing European culture as an example of "development" and "progress."

1.2 Ordering Social Fields

Museums are unique institutions with distinct characteristics, as highlighted by Sharon Macdonald (1996). While scholars may differ in their interpretations of the functions of museums, the common themes in these theories revolve around "knowledge" and "classification." That is; museums, through their carefully curated exhibitions, construct meaning (knowledge) and classify the world.

Foucault's (1986, p.3) concept of the museum as a heterotopia emphasizes the organization of knowledge in a timeless space, that is: "... all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place". This perpetual organization suggests that museums order knowledge to maintain a consistent pattern, representing subjects, and presenting society as stable and fixed. In doing so, museums create a sense of equilibrium, even amidst potential disputes among the subjects represented within their space. Consequently, this perpetual organization and reproduction of knowledge contribute to the maintenance of a dialogical structure.

This maintenance relies on how museums construct an artificial reality (exhibition) to control and order knowledge, promoting stability or reproducing a stronger semblance of stability since we know the process. That is, stability remains in knowing the process in which we can identify the patterns to navigate it. This stability materialization in the form of exhibition enables visitors to be "transported" to other places and times, transforming museums into

what Robert Lumley (1988) termed "time machines." However, it is crucial to explore where these time machines lead individuals and their nature.

Kevin Hetherington (1996), in his article "The Utopies of Social Ordering - Stonehenge as a Museum Without Walls," posits that museums, as heterotopias, serve to showcase dominant representations and, in this context, the dominant actors. He suggests that:

“Heterotopia does not exist in the order of things but the ordering of things. They can be associated with both culturally marginal and central sites, associated with both transgressive outsiderness (see Hetherington, forthcoming) as well as 'carcéral' sites of social control and order. In both cases, however, heterotopia are sites in which all things displaced, marginal, rejected or ambivalent are engaged, and this engagement becomes the basis of an alternative mode of ordering that has the effect of offering a contrast to the dominant representations of social order.” (1996, p.159).

Expanding on Hetherington's argument, we can assert that heterotopias, occurring in both marginalized and central sites, serve to create contrast and represent the individuals/commnity. Traditional museums, as central sites, can effectively represent and reproduce heteronormative ways of life. The question then arises: how do museums accomplish this?

Museums possess both symbolic and material power to reproduce identities and display their positions within the social framework. They illustrate how these identities and their associated sexualities are ordered in the social structure, reinforcing certain values. As a result, in the heritage stance, they have a dialogical effect on identity representation, simultaneously presenting them as true and natural. From a Foucauldian perspective, this sense of truth[18] is derived from the production of knowledge through power. So, in museum spaces, the display of knowledge generates a sense of truth in the audience, validating the authenticity of the identities and sexualities represented. But how is this stage organized?

First, utilizing Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) Social Field theory, we can analyze the museum as a social field space of representation. Bourdieu posits that social fields consist of individuals

[18]See, e.g., D. Lorenzini ,What is a 'Regime of Truth'?", in: Le foucaldien, 1/1 (2015), DOI: 10.16995/lefou.2

and their dispositions and capital, often resembling a competitive "chess game."[19] As an institution born from the nation-state, the museum reflects the underlying dynamics of this game, signifying the power dynamics governing its operation. The museum functions as a social field because it is controlled by individuals engaging in this metaphorical chess game. Bourdieu (1997) contends that social fields typically preserve their form, as changes may occur, but the structure tends to resist.

Within this context, the museum space is a constructed "museal arena" that highlights conflicts and tensions, revealing individuals' dispositions within the museal framework. However, this raises questions about who has the right to participate and compete in this social field, irrespective of their standing.

Drawing a parallel with Pierre Bourdieu's social field theory (1993), the museum space is a constructed "museal arena" that embodies conflicts and tensions, reflecting the positioning of the individual (representation) within this framework. Traditional museums often perpetuate existing structures and forms, mirroring Bourdieu's theory, by upholding the binary heteronormative system that reverberates in their display practices. Consequently, the representation of LGBTQ issues within traditional museums subverts the logic of display or representation rules, generating a collective sense of conflict among a specific audience typically represented in such spaces.

For example, in 2017, Brazil witnessed a notable event in the media: the early closure of the exhibition "Queermuseu - Cartographies of Difference in Brazilian Art." Managed by Santander Cultural, a Brazilian bank company, the exhibition opened on August 17, 2017, only to close a month later due to criticism from religious groups. Curated by Gaudêncio Fidelis, the exhibition featured 270 works by 85 artists, aiming to address LGBT issues, highlight LGBTQ artists, and offer alternative perspectives on the Brazilian Colonial period through a queer lens—reinterpreting some traditional artworks. This queer perspective on "traditional" and "famous" Brazilian artworks sparked a backlash from religious groups who, as bank customers, mobilized on social media to shut down the exhibition (Satil Neves & Capote, 2018). Dominant heterosexual culture imposes numerous conflicts concerning the representation of individuals with differing habits and beliefs.

[19] This analogy of the social fields as a *chess game* is from Kim during a class on Bourdieu she was presenting.

In the Brazilian context, exhibitions related to LGBTQ themes are rarely displayed in museums, and the LGBTQ community remains largely underrepresented in various social spheres, such as the lack of gender issues education in schools(Satil Neves & Capote, 2018). The premature closure of the "Queermuseu - Cartographies of Difference in Brazilian Art" exhibition suggests that the institution failed to demonstrate social responsibility, appearing to prioritize the interests of certain communities over its own ethical obligations.

According to ICOM's Code of Ethics (2014), museums are responsible for preserving testimonies to "build and deepen" knowledge, a principle rooted in societal responsibility. Museums should facilitate access and interpretation of these testimonies, contributing to heritage understanding and promotion. One of their duties is to develop educational roles showcasing community heritage, with interaction and heritage promotion considered part of this responsibility:

“4.2 Interpretation of Exhibitions Museums should ensure that the information they present in displays and exhibitions is well-founded, accurate, and gives appropriate consideration to represented groups or beliefs (ICOM 2014, p.8)”

Furthermore, the social conduct code states that:

“8.18 Other Conflicts of Interest Should any other conflict of interest develop between an individual and the museum, the interests of the museum should prevail. (ICOM 2014, p.13)”.

In accordance with the code, museum exhibitions should respect the represented groups, prioritizing the interests of the museum. However, public museums, controlled by the State, are subject to political influence that may interfere with representation decisions. This raises the possibility that the government could have intervened to maintain the exhibition. However, the "interest of the museum" often reflects governmental interests, with representation aiming to display "represented groups and beliefs." In this context, the exhibition's cancellation invalidates the beliefs and representation of the LGBTQ community, erasing their presence in the public sphere—the "democratic" space representing society.

The "Queermuseu - Cartographies of Difference in Brazilian Art" exhibition serves as a case study to critically examine representation practices and social responsibility. The exhibition's marginalized theme pertains to an audience historically excluded from such spaces, suggesting they do not belong there. The government could have leveraged legislation to prevent the exhibition's closure, and the private company might have chosen to keep the exhibition, given their investment. However, both public and private spheres ultimately contributed to the exhibition's closure (Satil Neves & Capote, 2018).

We can see that museums, as heterotopias, possess the power to shape the social order by displaying dominant representations. In this particular case, the exhibition sought to challenge the prevailing heteronormative narratives by showcasing alternative perspectives on Brazilian art through a queer lens (Satil Neves & Capote, 2018). However, the closure of the exhibition demonstrates the power dynamics at play within museum spaces, where dominant groups may exert influence to suppress alternative representations, reinforcing existing social structures.

Therefore, museums, as heterotopias, have the potential to either uphold or challenge the dominant social order by showcasing specific representations. In the "Queermuseu" exhibition, the early closure revealed the underlying power dynamics that prioritized dominant heteronormative values over the representation of marginalized LGBTQ communities, creating heterotopias bio-reguated by consumption and the capital chess game.

Building on the analysis of museums as heterotopias, we can further examine the notion of a museum as a biopolitical space, as described by Tyburczy (2016). Tyburczy asserts that within the biopolitical museum:

“[...]sexual hegemony took shape as production and social reproduction merged through the performativity of sexual display. Museums provided recreational stages for the galvanization of “normal” sexual desire through the leisure activity of museumgoing as a complicated popular practice that engaged the conventions generally brought to activities associated with amusement.” (p.10)

Tyburczy's concept of the "biopolitical museum" evidently draws from Foucault's (1995) idea, as developed in his book *História da sexualidade I. A vontade do saber*. Intriguingly,

Tyburczy emphasizes the museum's role as a stage showcasing reproduction amid cultural consumption. The "biopolitical museum" operates as a space offering bioregulation, in the same vein as Foucault (2008, p. 431), whereby the discipline on display is continually exhibited and consumed as culture. Therefore, from this standpoint, the museum manifests as a self-regulating mechanism driven by the process of consumption.

In addition, the notion of the museum as a biopolitical space, as delineated by Tyburczy (2016), alludes to the museum as a social field serving as an arena for demonstrating reproduction while cultural consumption transpires. The "biopolitical museum" facilitates bioregulation through the repetitive presentation of disciplinary displays, which are consumed as culture. As a result, the museum embodies a mechanism that self-regulates via a process of consumption.

Applying this perspective to the QueerMuseu exhibition, we can observe the museum's dedication to a process of consumption that plays a crucial role in the capital game. The exhibition space, managed by the bank company Santander, was ultimately responsible for the show's closure due to pressure from its customers. This demonstrates how the interests of capital also play a fundamental role in the representation process (Satil Neves & Capote, 2018). However, the bank's customers are the museum's audience, which means that the debate over private versus public interests converges at the same point (Satil Neves & Capote, 2018).

This highlights that the institution prioritizes financial concerns (as a private institution) over the theme it initially proposed to address. The institution's actions reveal a favoritism towards the interests of capital rather than acknowledging its social responsibility. This reliance on capital exposes its vulnerability to the demands of conservative groups.

These two perspectives—heterotopias and biopolitical spaces—shed light on different aspects of museum structure. The central argument posits that museums not only represent the [re]production of hegemonic identities to ensure stability and hegemony but also reproduce state discourse, legitimizing identities and [re]producing the idea of heterosexuality. State knowledge configures and legitimizes individuals deemed worthy of belonging to a structure. In other words, reproduced identities encapsulate certain bodies while marginalizing others.

In the case of the QueerMuseu exhibition, both perspectives reveal the complex dynamics of museum spaces in shaping social norms and power structures. The early closure of the exhibition illustrates how museums can simultaneously uphold dominant heteronormative values and cave to the pressures of capital interests.

In this sense, the museum serves as a site showcasing continuity and reproduction to the audience. Social groups not represented within certain museums are denied the possibility of reproduction, leading to their symbolic genocide in the public eye. As a result, this understanding of museums as "devices" (Bennett, 1995) that controlled individuals' sexual citizenship from the 19th to the mid-20th century reveals their role in regulating modern sexuality. These institutions served as social apparatuses to control subjectivities and reinforce a heteronormative social field.

However, the question of "who can be represented in these representational fields?" also reveals the unseen. As illustrated, the collection represents a masculine gaze, showcasing the sexualization of women's bodies[20] and the process of racialization. But why do museums not represent same-sex love (masculine) to show that it was forbidden? I hypothesized that the depiction of same-sex love could disrupt the masculine gaze. Even if portrayed negatively, it shares something with the masculine gaze—individuals with different sexuality. The masculine gaze and its representation of itself (its truth) should remain intact with one sexuality. Any association with "others," even when sexuality is the point of difference, can lead to a disturbance in the truth and their image. Thus, this "other" should be denied and hidden. In other words, they should be put in the closet.

1.3 The Museum Closet: Unveiling Hidden Narratives

Investigating the interplay between identity construction and body representation can be explored through two omnipresent entities in human existence: the wardrobe and the closet. The wardrobe functions dually as a metaphor and tangible space, reflecting the ways we mold our bodies, and consequently, our identities. By curating items within it, we preserve facets of ourselves, reinforcing our selfhood. In contrast, by selecting an item from the wardrobe

[20] Duncan (1995) shows this in her last chapter The Modern Art Museum: It’s A Man’s World

allows us to devise narratives and present our meticulously crafted selves to the external world.

While wardrobes facilitate the disclosure of identity intricacies, not all of them arise from personal choices. Contrarily, the "closet" symbolizes that which must remain veiled, belonging to an individual yet deemed unsuitable for public display. As a symbolic and concrete construct, the closet conceals aspects of our identities perceived as taboo or unacceptable, frequently upholding a conservative discourse regarding what constitutes "natural."

Museums encompass both wardrobes and closets. The former alludes to storage spaces for heritage objects, while the "museum closet" delineates permissible and impermissible exhibits. Objects within collections metamorphose from mere "things" into participants in a power struggle, embodying history, identity, and memory. Although museums have historically mirrored societies and their cultural practices, it is crucial to interrogate which society is reflected, which culture is represented, and which narratives are perpetuated. When posing these questions, we must ponder whether the reflected image depicts institutionalized violence

Stuart Frost (2008, p.141) reveals in his article The Warren Cup: Secret Museums, Sexuality, and Society the creation of the "Cabinet of Obscene" at the Herculaneum Museum in 1823 (now the National Archaeological Museum of Naples) and the Museum Secretum, a room of artifacts segregated from the British Museum's collection due to their sexual content.

Frost (2008) explains that:

“Many sexually explicit classical artifacts were uncovered from the eighteenth century onwards as a consequence of archaeological digs at Pompeii and Herculaneum. These excavations revealed that sex was an integral part of everyday life in ancient Rome. However, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European society was troubled by the idea of displaying sexually frank objects like these to the general public or even acknowledging that the material existed. Stuart Frost.” (p.140).

Moreover, The *Museum Secretum:*

“In the 1840s and 1850s, other accessioned objects joined them in a secret museum or *Museum Secretum*. Only from 1939 onward were some objects released from the *Secretum* to the relevant curatorial departments. There were still restrictions. To view items, an applicant needed to provide a formal letter. The Director then assessed the applicant’s credentials and motives before access would be considered. The last deposits to the *Museum Secretum* were made in 1953.” (p.140).

These examples highlight how spaces designated for displaying artifacts, including those related to same-sex desire, were kept hidden despite their origins in the cradle of civilization. Analyzing these instances reveals that including certain social groups in museums has the potential to disrupt established structures.

Sedgwick (1985, p.1) proposes that "homosocial" forms of dominance are partially constituted by male bonds that are denied as erotic. This term refers to the social connections between individuals of the same sex, which demonstrate the social power mechanisms that support hegemonic masculinity. From this viewpoint, such concealed objects serve as a means to maintain the masculine hegemonic narrative of that time. Connell (1995, p.77) contends that hegemonic masculinity encompasses “the configuration of gender practices” that upholds “the legitimacy of patriarchy.”

In these cases, hegemonic masculinity was preserved through the subjugation of the “other” and the construction of the closet. This demonstrates that the mechanism of masculine hegemony also marginalizes certain forms of masculinity when it comes to defending the forces of heterosexual patriarchy.

Foucault (1986, p.2) delves into the history of places and their relationship with space, distinguishing between areas where "things had been forcibly displaced" and those where "things found their natural footing and stability." This distinction can be applied to the display of the material culture, which acts in ordering the “other” in the systematic narrative of the heritage discourse. In this perspective, the opposition between these spaces creates a dialogical effect, creating a closet representing the forcibly displaced and society embodying the natural footing.

This opposition implies that certain elements, such as sexual identities, behaviors, and social practices, are relegated to the closet because they do not conform to societal norms and expectations. In the museum, as an institution that represents society, this mechanism forces these elements into the closet to prevent the disruption and destabilization of the social order. The closet thus hides the "things" that society itself has produced.

For instance, Frost's (2008) investigation on the creation of the "Cabinet of Obscene" at the Herculaneum Museum in 1823 (now the National Archaeological Museum of Naples) and the "Museum Secretum" at the British Museum. Both spaces were designed to display forbidden artifacts with sexual content, reflecting society's discomfort with acknowledging or displaying objects related with the same-sex love from ancient Rome Culture. That is, in this exhibitionary complex, the “other” is hidden in the closet.

Finally, this closet opened in the 1970s with the emergence of LGBT museums after the museum boom in the 1960s, which can be linked to the growth of sexual rights movements and the formation of LGBTQ social groups. These museums, in general, use heritage as a political resource to order what was called *dis-order*, displaying the nation-state closet.

2 The Identitarian Museums

In museum history, conventional museums showcased their roles as systems of classification and representation, thereby creating a social hierarchy within the space where the discourse of "heritage" imposes order upon perceived disorder. By aligning with state discourse, these institutions displayed social fields and social practices while simultaneously excluding or confining those deemed as "disorderly." However, it is within the representation of the Other that such disorder emerges.

As the state rejects the Other, it concurrently banishes them from its institutions. Consequently, I might explore the heritage of an alternative museum—one dedicated to the Other. The Museum of the Other emerges as a counter-image to conventional museums, resonating as a unique phenomenon within the postmodern world.

The establishment of spaces dedicated to the LGBT community serves as a powerful platform for deconstructing "otherness" as a form of imposed-identity.

For instance, "otherness" can be understood as follows:

“Otherness terrifies. It has always terrified. For centuries, those who differed from generally accept ed standards in behaviour or physique terrified the European societies and were treated as freaks, monsters, or half-animals. Otherness invoked attitudes negative up to the extreme such as condemnation, prosecution, physical and psychological violence, enslavement, and even murder” (Kocój, 2013, p.273).

For example, the legal treatment of male homosexuality in Germany equated it with "bestiality," or sexual relations with animals. This categorization effectively dehumanized gay individuals by placing them on the same level as those engaging in sex with animals. By creating spaces for the LGBT community, members are able to resist and confront the

violence of such categorizations, narrating their own histories and memories without fear of persecution.

As a result, these spaces foster a curatorial project deeply rooted in the process of "deconstruction," as theorized by Derrida (1984). This approach allows for the gradual dismantling of traditional museum ideologies, paving the way for the emergence of an innovative and inclusive framework.

In this chapter, I delve into a phenomenon that I call "identitarian museums," which showcase memories and identities that have been suppressed and subjugated by the nation in the public sphere. The establishment of such museums signifies the community's intent to utilize heritage as a political tool for change. To illustrate this phenomenon, the research explores the history of Queer Germany, shedding light on the factors contributing to the Schwules Museum's creation.

2.1 The Social Order Politics

In 1871 the King of Prussia, *Wilhelm I*, became the emperor of Germany. In the same year, the constitution penal code was created based on the Prussian-inspired constitution. The Penal Code brought from the Prussian code the prohibition of sexual acts between men with the emergence of the German state. This law, Paragprah 175, was a mechanism of social order. It prohibited any “unnatural sex act committed between men,” resulting in imprisonment:

“An unnatural sex act committed between persons of the male sex or by humans with animals is punishable by imprisonment; the loss of civil rights might also be imposed” (Paragraph 175).

This confinement while serving as a means of control, is also a mechanism of rejection, as it is institutionalized. Consequently, the Other creation results in a divergence from the nation's identity.

Jenkins (1994) offers insight into this by discussing ethnicity as a social identity based on Barth's (1989) theory of inter-ethnic social relations and group boundaries. Jenkins emphasizes the importance of internal and external definitions of social groups and categories, as well as the boundaries between the “self” and the “other”. He says that:

“Finally, even if the boundaries of the self are, most of the time, stable and taken for granted, this is only true as long as it is true. When it is not, when the boundary between the self and others weakens or dissolves, the result is a range of more-or-less severe, and not uncommon, disruptions of self that in Western culture are conceptualized as psychiatric disorder (for one understanding of which, within a model that is analogous to the distinction between external and internal definition, see Laing 1971). To extend the logic of this last point, the boundaries of collective identity are also taken for granted until they are threatened.” (1994, p. 200)

Such mechanisms produce the "Other" as a disorder. One notable example is the classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* in 1952, a label that persisted until the World Health Organization (WHO) removed it in 1990. This demonstrates the power of official state categorization in transforming the other into a "dis"-order. In addition, Jenkins points out that boundaries between the self and the other are reliant on a system that requires validation from a dominant group. In this perspective, such validation is also invalidation by what is out of the categorization box. For instance, the implementation of Paragraph 175 was a tool that invalidated this social group resulting in a conflict with the group's self-image. As a result, the boundaries of the “self” (nation-state identity) and the “Other” (homosexual men) were considered corrupt, and transforming this Other is disorder.

State-sanctioned classifications serve to illustrate how institutions of knowledge can undermine the concept of "order." For example, both Law (through the criminalization of homosexuality) and Medicine (via the pathologization of certain behaviors or identities) exemplify how these institutions may foster feelings of denial and rejection among specific social groups. Despite this, these categorizations can also inadvertently provoke resistance, as Jenkins (1994, p.204) highlights the role of categorization in potentially reinforcing a social group and fostering a sense of “resistance” against such categorizations.

Michel Foucault (2012), in The Birth of the Clinic, discusses the “medical gaze” and its vital role in the history of medicine, where the body becomes an object of categorization. This process of objectification results in the separation of identity as a mechanism to classify the “self” and maintain its boundaries. Concurrently, it operates within a discourse that controls the "truth," contributing to the epistemic game that classifies the “other” as a “disorder.”

For example, during the 72nd World Health Assembly, the World Health Organization (WHO) removed the classification of transsexuality as a mental disorder. This decision significantly impacted the group's identity, affecting the internal self-definition and self-image of its members. In Jenkins' framework, this change reflects a transformation of external categorization, wherein the external category becomes more favorable and aligns with the group's self-definition. This shift, in turn, influences the identity of the group as a whole. In Foucault’s framework, this means that such categorization is made by the “doctor’s gaze” that has the control to sustain the “truth” about the “self”, which symbolizes what Jenkin (1994, p. 200) says: “Finally, even if the boundaries of the self are, most of the time, stable and taken for granted, this is only true as long as it is true.”

Moreover, Jenkins (1994, p.217) posits that when a social group refuses to accept the categorization process imposed upon them, the "rejected external definition is internalized, yet paradoxically, as the focal point of denial." This assertion gives rise to a pivotal inquiry: Is it the state that constructs the 'Other' through rejection, or does the 'Other' forge its own identity by resisting the state's imposed categorization?

The 'Other' leaves an indelible mark, materializing as a concealed legacy that endeavors to reassemble the self-image of the group which repudiates such classification. In this regard, we can observe the state's role in creating the 'Other,' while the resistance against such categorization leads these individuals to engage politically in the formation of their 'self.'

2.2 Queer Clandestine Heritage

The term "Queer" traces its origins to the Middle English word "quere," denoting strange or odd. “It became politically charged in the context of AIDS activism, sexual minority politics, and post-structuralist theories” (Kornak, 2015, p.15). The LGBTQ+ community has since reclaimed "Queer" as an umbrella term for non-heterosexual or non-cisgender individuals, illustrating the diachronic[21] evolution of language across history. "Clandestine" is rooted in the Latin verb "clandēre," which means to hide or conceal (Collins Dictionary).

Historically, the LGBTQ+ community has often been forced into secrecy and concealment since its queerness. By linking the concepts of "queer" and "clandestine.", we can see their relationship with heritage. Due to the categorization and rejection of queer identities by the state, individuals have navigated through hiding spaces and relationships to safeguard themselves and their communities.

For example, when homosexuality was prohibited or severely discriminated against, queer individuals sought clandestine meeting spaces and developed unique forms of communication to evade state surveillance. In this context, the relationship between "queer" and "clandestine" represents the historical struggle for LGBTQ+ rights and recognition, as well as the resilience of queer communities in the face of adversity.

Heritage encompasses both material and immaterial practices, bound together by a curated history and “collective memory” (Hall, 2005, p. 25) that shape an individual's identity. The public space in which heritage manifests is a process of social construction, as posited by Lefebvre (1991). He argues that space comprises various dimensions that are intrinsically linked to social production:

“... a product that is consumed as a commodity and as a productive resource in the social reproduction of labor power; a political instrument that facilitates forms of social control; … reproduction of property relations through legal and planning regimes which order space hierarchically; a set of ideological and symbolic superstructures; … a means of human reappropriation through the development of counter spaces forged through artistic expression and social resistance” (Lefebvre 1991; quoted in Butler 2009, 320).

[21] A concept introduced by Ferdinand de Saussure in his 1916 publication: Course in General Linguistics.

Consequently, public space sustains social power and order. The heritage that emerges within such spaces showcases the material culture of its citizens, stabilizing the community's self-image, as the elements that bind the community symbolize their "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006). This space is intertwined with the "symbolic superstructures" (Lefebvre, 1991) that create the image of the nation through its order. However, the “Other” that conflicts with this “order” is excluded from this public space, that is, individuals who do not fit into this "production" seek validation within clandestine spaces, where their material culture is produced.

2.3 Before The Nazi

By examining queer German history, we can apply Jenkins' argument to identify examples of the group's efforts to transform its self-image. Furthermore, we will draw on Lefebvre's (1991, p. 34) theoretical framework, in which he developed the conceptual "triad" (Spatial Practice, Representations of Space, and Representational Spaces) to analyze space production, as "social space serves as a tool for analyzing society." That is, we aim to understand the role of clandestine spaces in the "social production" of these individuals' identities.

Initially, we consider the establishment of Gemeinschaft der Eigenen (translated as "Community of the Specially Inclined") in 1903. This organization was co-founded by Adolf Brand (1874-1945) and Benedict Friedländer (1866-1908), both of whom were pivotal figures in the movement for LGBT rights in Germany (Tamagne, 2006). Subsequently, the founding of the Institute for Sexual Science in 1919 by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935) marked another significant milestone. Established in the public sphere, it became one of the first manifestations challenging the state-imposed "social production" ideology.

In other words, public spaces not only mirror social interactions but also accommodate institutions of control that encourage social production in line with the state's values. For example, legal institutions (related to law and medicine) within this social space deem homosexual practices forbidden. Consequently, the emergence of the Institute for Sexual

Science, advocating for the rights of homosexual men, appears as a counter-institution in opposition to the state's narrative.

Hirschfeld was an activist in the LGBT movement in his time. Both organizations advocated for civil rights from a scholarly standpoint of this rejected self-image:

“Germany was different. There, by the end of the 19th century, a strong homosexual community existed and organizations like the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee (WhK), under Magnus Hirschfeld, and the Gemeinschaft der Eigenen led by Adolf Brand, were forming to advocate the abolition of §175 of the Penal Code, under which “indecent acts” between men were punished with a five-year prison term” (Tamagne, 2006, p.16).

The establishment of both the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* and the *Institute for Sexual Science* exemplifies a distinctive form of resistance, as these institutions functioned as bastions of defiance against the state's oppressive categorization of Queer individuals. Jenkins (1994) asserts that such categorization can give rise to a social group distinguished by two principal attributes: "resistance" and the strengthening of ties among its members (p. 204). In this context, the founding of these organizations coalesces around a central objective: the repeal of §175 of the Penal Code. Consequently, this primary aim acts as a means through which the group endeavors to counteract the externally imposed categorization that is incongruous with the group's self-identification. The dismissal of such categorization, exemplified by the formation of these institutions, aimed at repealing §175, underscores the instability of group self-image.

In other words, this categorization generates an external image of the group that does not align with the members' internal image, and as a consequence, there is a corruption of the self-image. To alter this external image categorization, the group devises mechanisms to resist its exclusion from the national narrative. By engaging in this resistance, they strengthen the bonds within their community as the appearance of these institutions illustrates.

But, in a public space where communication is constrained and overseen by the state, how do these bonds materialize? In this aspect, the role of Magazines served as the medium through which this social group communicated and reinforced their connections. Magazines such as *The Special One* (Der Eigene) emerged as critical channels for communication and

reinforcement of these relationships. For instance, the newspaper Der Eigene founded by Adolf Brand:

“Brand founded the newspaper Der Eigene in 1896, but it lasted only for nine issues, then ran out of money. In 1898, Brand tried to start over, advertising the newspaper as “the first homosexual periodical in the world.” After seven issues, he was fined 200 marks by the County Court of Berlin on March 23, 1900. His partners, Hanns Heinz Ewers and Paul Lehmann, were fined 50 and 150 marks. A third attempt, in January 1903, led to a new conviction November 1903 and he spent two months in prison for immortality. Editor Max Spohr had to pay a fine of 150 marks. Publication recommenced, nonetheless, and Der Eigene became a landmark in homosexual history” (Tamagne, 2006, p.69).

In the 19th century, magazines such as *Der Eigene* played a pivotal role in reinforcing the bonds within the community, serving as an exemplar of community organization during that period. As a “landmark” of homosexual history, these magazines were the first register in German history of such articulation to discuss self-identification and its image. Consequently, we can observe a deliberate and nuanced exploration of homosexual identity construction and articulation throughout the 19th century.

These mediums were fundamental to strengthening the bonds as they convey information. But not only through written communication this articulation was made: there were the clandestine spaces of encounter. Frequently found in large cities, these venues provided anonymity and served as *milieux* for social interaction. In Germany, the appearance of such places increased during the Weimar Republic:

“The Weimar Republic—the name of the democratic government that was born in Germany after the disastrous First World War and the fall of the Kaiser’s regime in late 1918— became famous for its experimental modernism and its relative openness with regard to sexuality. The gay scenes of Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, and elsewhere contributed considerably to the country’s reputation for permissiveness” (Whisnant 2016, p.80).

These spaces function as milieux of recognition, where "recognition" denotes a form of social interaction in which the space plays an important role in bonding the group membership. In other words, these clandestine spaces function as realms of recognition, intertwining with the

group members' self-image. As sites of resistance, their existence symbolized the claim for identity. Reed (1996) characterized these spaces as queer, stating that "queer space is space in the process of, quite literally, taking place, of claiming territory (p.64)". In this sense, such spaces show the community claiming their identity in the territory, or, that is, claiming their rights in the public space.

Heritage, in its general and most intangible sense, encompasses the transmission of traditions, languages, and savoir-faire. Queer spaces—bars, nightclubs, and Institutes for Sexual Science—acted as landmarks of queer culture, fostering self-acceptance and symbolizing the community's heritage:

"In the lesbian and gay movement, to a much greater degree than in any comparable movement, the institutions of culture-building have been market-mediated: bars, discos, Introduction xvii special services, newspapers, magazines, phone lines, resorts, urban commercial districts. Nonmarket forms of association that have been central to other movements — churches, kinship, traditional residence — have been less available for queers" (Warner, 1993, p. xvii).

Berlin had male and female homosexual scenes proving that the strengthening of the community and their identities were articulated. For instance, in the male scene:

"Then there was a host of homosexual clubs and bars, each one with its own distinct character, clientele and ambiance. Some put on shows, others were simply places to flirt and hang out, where one could find a partner for a dance or a night. These bars were the foundation of ordinary Berlin homosexual life; some bore evocative names (like the café Amicitia), others were perfectly anonymous — only the informed customer would know what to expect inside. Many were tastefully decorated, with boudoir-like soft lighting and upholstered banquettes to facilitate dialogue and enable clients to become acquainted, with the utmost discretion" (Tamagne, 2006, p.34).

We can observe that the collective gay memories are linked to historical materials detailing urban–homosexual connections, such as Hirschfeld's 1919 institute and homosexual clubs in Berlin, where the city and the homosexual milieu were intertwined. In these spaces, the city

and the homosexual milieu were inextricably linked, reflecting varying levels of social organization that attested to the hierarchical nature of such groups:

“These clubs were preferred by homosexuals of the middle class, and above all they sought to preserve their reputation and avoid embarrassing scenes, touts, gigolos and too-conspicuous personalities. Along Siegesallee were a multitude of bars, like Zum kleinen Löwen, at 7 Skalizer Strasse, Windsbona-Kasino, Marien-Kasino, the café Amicitia, Palast-Europa, and Palast-Papagei. This was “Homosexual Row,” which led to the Brandenburg Gate. Conti-Kasino held theme evenings, a musical soirée on Tuesdays, an evening for the elite on Thursday, private parties on Saturdays. Kleist-Kasino, 14 Kleiststrasse, was frequented by the trade and banking clerks, lower-middle-class men who savored the furnishings, the cocktails and canapés” (Tamagne, 2006, p.36).

While the male scene was well-established and organized, the female scene also left its mark on Berlin's history:

“The German capital had a vast choice of lesbian establishments, around fifty of them, each striving to satisfy the demands of the clientele [...] The very chic “Chez ma belle-soeur” (“My sister-in-law’s”) was a women’s club located at 13 Marburger Strasse, but men were admitted, too. A 13-year-old bellboy greeted visitors. Frescoes on the walls endeavored to evoke Mytilene, and booths were shielded by curtains to mask the frolicking of the young women. It seems that this club was mostly a show place for the titillation of foreigners passing through town” (Tamagne, 2006, p.40).

This stratification underscores that collective identity formation extends beyond gay-focused magazines and media; it is also shaped by cultural practices taking place within these spaces. For example, Eleftheriadis (2018, p. 99) explores the construction of collective identity in queer spaces in the article "Not Yet Queer Enough: Constructing Identity through Culture." Eleftheriadis argues that this identity formation occurs not only on a “rational-critical level”, but also encompasses practical and cultural aspects. In this perspective, such venues facilitate the development of cultural practices and establish mediated boundaries that not only determine "who" is identified as part of an external/internal category but also contribute to processes of categorization based on individual habitus (see Chapter 01).

Bourdieu (1997, p. 82) conceptualizes habitus as a durable and continuous "system of dispositions" that is perpetuated through the practices of a social structure, governed by its underlying principles. In other words, while identities may present sexuality as a form of external/internal categorization, the group's structure and function are also influenced by the interplay of capital and habitus. Consequently, the emergence of queer spaces also reveals stratification based on gender and class distinctions in some cases.

In other words, these social spaces—referred to as queer spaces—cultivate distinct social structures that shape individual dispositions, with habitus operating as a classificatory mechanism. Consequently, these spaces unveil the intricate social dynamics and structures that pervade the community, concurrently accentuating the existence of power relations and hierarchical systems.

Nonetheless, the individuals in this "hierarchical" system, which favors individuals based on their habitus, risk their capital and disposition in this game by being in such spaces. That is, individuals may lose their standing in this social game, as such categorization could lead to the loss of their "civil rights" as outlined in paragraph 175 prior to the Nazi era, thus excluding them from the social game. From this perspective, it becomes evident that queer spaces reflect the social structure inherited from the broader societal framework (society), in which categories such as class and gender play significant roles. As a result, the idea of a horizontally structured group playing the same capital game can be deconstructed.

In this context, queer clandestine spaces foster the formation of social identities through interaction, engaging in a process of "social production" (Lefebvre, 1991). Within these spaces, heritage emerges, intertwining meanings and symbols associated with the social, political, and economic lives of individuals and groups. In this light, we can approach Lefebvre's "triad" to understand the role of space in the production of social identities and their control.

Lefebvre (1991, p.34) categorizes the spatial triad into three distinct classifications: *Spatial Practices*, *Representations of Space*, and *Representational Spaces*.

Spatial practices refer to the ways in which individuals engage with and use space, encompassing both production (work) and reproduction (family) aspects. These practices

foster continuity and social cohesion (Lefebvre, 1991). Intriguingly, in Germany prior to the Nazi era, an exception to the "clandestine" nature of queer spaces was the Institute for Sexual Science. Considering that public spaces and their associated spatial practices generally aligned with the state's ideology and values, the manner in which individuals engaged with these spaces often reflected the reproduction of the state's ideology.

Despite not conforming to the heteronormative expectations of public spaces, the Institute for Sexual Science exemplified spatial practices, as it involved individuals interacting with and using the space. From this perspective, within the city of Berlin, there existed a space where certain individuals engaged in production (through their work as a form of resistance) to challenge the state's prevailing ideology and values, which were otherwise reproduced throughout the urban fabric.

Representations of Space, the second category, are connected to the relations of production and the social order they enforce Lefebvre (1991). These encompass knowledge, signs, and codes that govern social interaction. A police station, for instance, represents a space that signifies the state's hierarchical structure and labor division, which "produces" social ideology by enforcing the state's values, such as prohibiting homosexual practices. In other words, through their labor (production), they maintain the social cohesion of the first category.

The third, Representational Spaces, encapsulates complex "symbolism" often associated with clandestine or underground aspects of social life. They may be coded or uncoded and reflect both cultural and personal values (Lefebvre, 1991). Queer spaces, such as bars, nightclubs, and the Institute for Sexual Science, exemplify representational spaces as they embody the cultural practices, values, and heritage of the LGBT community. As a result, the code meaning of being in a "clandestine" space reflects social identities being produced and reproduced in the space.

These spaces not only provided a physical location for social interaction but also symbolized the community's resilience and determination to assert their identity and rights. Thus, they challenge mainstream narratives and represent an alternative identity and subculture. Moreover, the hierarchical nature of social structures within queer spaces shows the intricate dynamics within the LGBT community. These spaces unveil how class and gender

distinctions (male and female space in Berlin), as well as power relations, impact the community's interactions and relationships. The presence of such hierarchies within the community indicates that their struggles were not solely external (against the state and society) but also internal, as they navigated their own social structures and identities.

As a result, queer clandestine spaces have the “agency” (Gell, 1998) to shape social interaction and produce identity. Considering Jenkins' notion of the "denial paradox," the feelings of exclusion and denial within these social groups warrant further investigation. Specifically, the question arises as to how these groups can overturn the sense of rejection manifested in the form of denial. By creating spaces in which to subvert this paradox and establish a sense of belonging, these social groups can effectively challenge and reframe the dynamics of rejection. These venues play a crucial role in transmitting memories, identities, and traditions, thereby preserving and sharing the intangible aspects of heritage while fostering a sense of belonging and enabling a clandestine cultural heritage.

Finally, what unites these individuals as a "group," however, is their resistance against categorization, situating them within a structure defined by social power relations. Simultaneously, regardless of individual capital and disposition, these "social queer clandestine" spaces face the shared challenge of constructing a social identity in opposition to the national one. This ultimately underscores the essence of these spaces: they contained counter-representations of the relations of production in an immaterial manner (ideology production) as reproduction.

2.4 Nazi Regime

However, the rise of the Nazi regime threatened these spaces with its focus on national revitalization through law and order, traditional values, and racial purity. This ideology, which encompassed anti-Semitism and the persecution of marginalized groups:

“The National Socialist regime's professed goal was to eradicate sexual behavior and not the "homosexual" per se, although the end result was often the same. Like other minorities,

“homosexuals”, who were deemed degenerate and unhealthy, could not be assimilated into the Aryan German ideal” (Micheler & Szobar, 2002, p.96).

This ideology led to the closure and destruction of queer spaces. For example, the Institute for Sexual Science was demolished along with its archives (Tamagne, 2006). In addition, in early 1933, the Nazi government imposed a ban on the publication of magazines such as "Freundschaftblatter."(Micheler & Szobar, 2002). These periodicals played a crucial role in facilitating communication and organizational efforts since they were “ [...]essential to the organizational efforts of associations of same-sex-desiring persons across Germany” (Micheler & Szobar, 2002, p.95).

In 1935, the revision of Paragraph 175 added three new parts, further showcasing the extent to which these spaces and the communities they represented were targeted and oppressed:

“175. A male who commits lewd and lascivious acts with another male or permits himself to be so abused for lewd and lascivious acts, shall be punished by imprisonment. In a case of a participant under 21 years of age at the time of the commission of the act, the court may, in especially slight cases, refrain from punishment” (paragraph 175).

“175a. Confinement in a penitentiary not to exceed ten years and, under extenuating circumstances, imprisonment for not less than three months shall be imposed: 1. Upon a male who, with force or with threat of imminent danger to life and limb, compels another male to commit lewd and lascivious acts with him or compels the other party to submit to abuse for lewd and lascivious acts; 2. Upon a male who, by abuse of a relationship of dependence upon him, in consequence of service, employment, or subordination, induces another male to commit lewd and lascivious acts with him or to submit to being abused for such acts; 3. Upon a male who being over 21 years of age induces another male under 21 years of age to commit lewd and lascivious acts with him or to submit to being abused for such acts; 4. Upon a male who professionally engages in lewd and lascivious acts with other men, or submits to such abuse by other men, or offers himself for lewd and lascivious acts with other men” (paragraph 175).

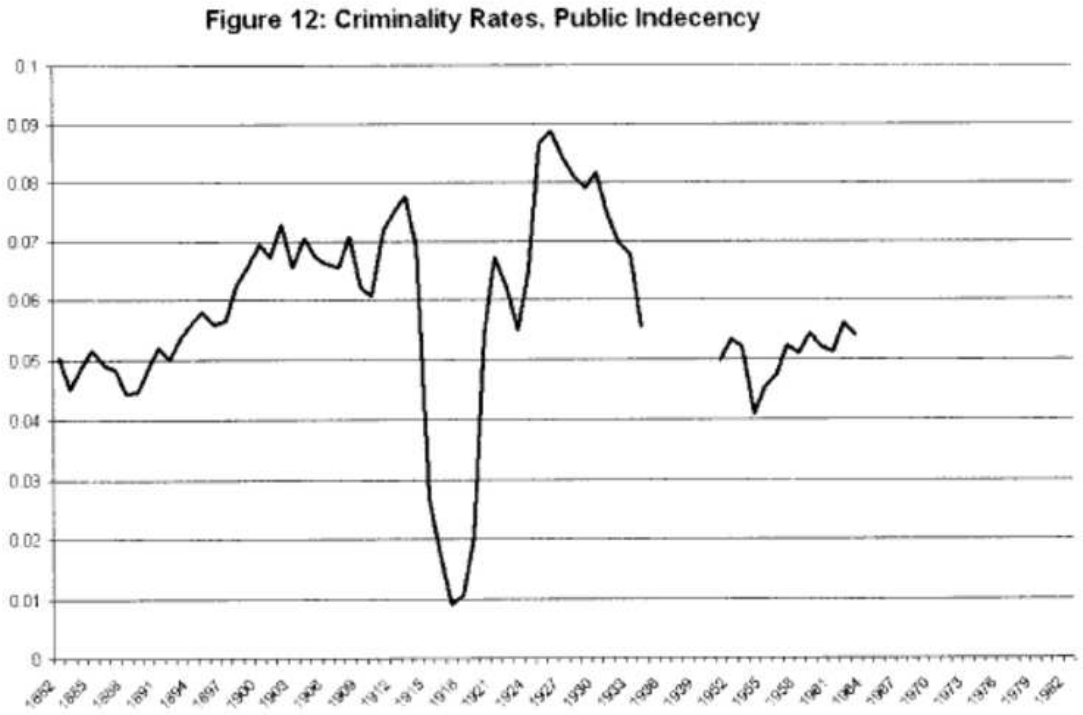
“175b. Lewd and lascivious acts contrary to nature between human beings and animals shall be punished by imprisonment; loss of civil rights may also be imposed” (paragraph 175).

In this perspective, the revision of Paragraph 175 and the establishment of these enclosures signified an effort to impede the transmission of queer heritage, as the avenues for such communication were either closed off or destroyed. Previously, these spaces were "clandestine," but the regime's nature allowed for a shift in this reality.

For instance, the Institute for Sexual Science was founded during the Weimar Republic. In this context, state control not only embodies the state's policies of rejecting and excluding queer individuals from the national narrative but also highlights how these individuals were perceived as a threat. That is, before the Nazi regime, queer individuals faced persecution, but during the Nazi era, new forms of control and policies intensified, indicating that the "rejection" was reinforced by an ideology aiming to “eradicate” (Micheler & Szobar, 2002) these individuals, rather than merely rejecting them.

For example, between 1935 and 1945, “approximately 100,000” men were arrested for homosexuality under Paragraph 175, with nearly “78,000” arrests occurring between 1936 and the onset of World War II in 1939 (Craig Kaczorowski, 2015, p.3). Furthermore, some studies emphasize that the suicide rate among homosexuals is higher than in the general population, and these rates are exacerbated by instances of social exclusion (Bagley & Tremblay, 1997; Plöderl & Tremblay, 2015).

Figure 02



Criminality Rates, Public Indecency. Dickinson, E. R. (2007)

The chart demonstrates the impact of Paragraph 175 in Germany, with an intriguing pattern emerging during the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) (Dickinson, 2007). During this period, a decline in persecution is evident, reflecting the regime's "relative openness with regard to sexuality" (Whisnant 2016, p. 80). In contrast, the rise of the Nazi regime and the subsequent reform of Paragraph 175 led to an increase in persecution. Around 50,000 officially defined homosexuals were convicted and imprisoned, while an additional 5,000 to 15,000 were sent directly to concentration camps (Kaczorowski 2015, p. 3).

In this context, we can discern how the rejection of a collective self-image is strengthened following the Weimar regime, as it illuminates the emergence of novel forms of rejection as “eradication” with the revision of Paragraph 175. These rejections are no longer solely based on the deprivation of civil rights but extend to extermination by the increased number of persecutions. Furthermore, this perspective underscores the policies aimed at stopping the "relative openness" demonstrated by the decline in persecution during the Weimar Republic.

In concentration camps, prisoners were classified using various symbols and colors. Homosexual individuals were identified by a pink triangle (Rosa Winkel) and were commonly referred to as "the 175ers" in reference to their conviction under Paragraph 175 (Plant, 1986). Consequently:

“The death rate of homosexual prisoners in the Nazi concentration camps has been estimated to be as high as 60 percent--among the highest of non-Jewish prisoners. By 1945, with the end of World War II and the dissolution of the Nazi government, only about 4,000 homosexual prisoners in the camps had survived” (Craig Kaczorowski, 2015, p.3).

The annihilation of spaces that fostered belonging and facilitated communication within the queer community represented a systematic erasure of queer heritage and culture. This destruction targeted both their spatial practices, such as the Institute for Sexual Science, and representational spaces, like clandestine queer places. The deliberate dismantling of these spaces highlights the “real” and “symbolic” repression to maintain the state's cohesion by inhibiting the production and reproduction of queer culture within the social sphere.

“To make things even more complicated, social space also contains specific representations of this double or triple interaction between the social relations of production and reproduction. Symbolic representation serves to maintain these social relations in a state of coexistence and cohesion. It displays them while displacing them - and thus concealing them in symbolic fashion - with the help of, ano onto the backdrop of, nature.This is a symbolism which conceals more than it reveals, the more so since the relations of reproduction are divided into frontal, public, overt - and hence coded –relations on the one hand, and, on the other, covert, clandestine and repressed relations which, precisely because they are repressed, characterize transgressions related not so much to sex per se as to sexual pleasure, its preconditions and consequences” (Lefrebe, 1991, p.33).

Building upon the argument about the “symbolism of human relationships”, particularly in relation to reproduction and sexual pleasure, and how the Nazi regime sought to conceal and repress certain aspects of these relationships, it becomes evident that the closure and destruction of queer spaces were integral components of the Nazi ideology.

The destruction of spaces like the Institute for Sexual Science represents the idea of "repressed relationships," as these acts dismantled the *Spatial practices* and *Representational spac*es associated with the queer community. Consequently, by targeting queer spaces and communication channels, the regime aimed to disrupt the reproduction and continuity of queer culture and identity. For example, the expansion of Paragraph 175 and the increase in persecutions demonstrate the repression of specific relationships and the associated transgressions inherent in sexual practices between men. In this perspective, the Nazi regime's systematic erasure of queer culture and spaces, coupled with the revision of Paragraph 175, reveals the repression and division between "public" and "covert" relationships.

The attempt to erase these identities and the associated memories persisted even after the Second World War. In this aspect: how can this memory and identity be re-constructed and showcased?

2.5 Germany: 1950s to 1970s

Raphael Samuel (2012) describes the UK context during the 1950s and 1960s as a period of "collecting mania" in his work *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. This era was marked by an increase in commemorations, monuments, and museums. Samuel (2010) contends that this process led to a change in the understanding of historical periods and the reconstruction of grand historical narratives, focusing on the recent past rather than “ancient history”. As a result, social and environmental movements emerged, reflecting a shift in a historical narrative that favored a more "democratic," "feminine," and "domestic" approach to preserving the past (Samuel, 2010).

The 1950s and 1960s in Germany, however, followed a different trajectory. After the Nazi period, the “new” formed West Germany saw the return of "new political leaders who were veterans of moderate Weimar parties, disenfranchised after 1933 and returning to the political scene with relatively clean records" (Kansteiner, 1990, p. 108). However, this new West Germany led to incertitudes after the second world war:

“In the early years after World War II, there was not only widespread relief that a period of suffering had finally come to an end but also a degree of anguish in facing the uncertainties of the postwar world. Many victims of Nazi persecution were only now, on liberation, able to register the extent of their diminution and, in a still weakened state, to agonize over the loss of loved ones, the difficulties of the present, and the challenges of trying to make a new life. The anguish of those who survived Nazi persecution has been largely written out of the script of ‘Of German’ history: they become ‘survivors,’ ‘Jews’ who left for other shores, ‘communists who sought to institute a new dictatorship on the ruins of the old, or homosexuals, whose activities were still criminalized until the late 1960s” (Mary Fulbrook, 2015, p.37).

In this context, a "relativity" effect emerged, characterized by "silence" and an attempt to narrate German history after the Second World War (Kansteiner, 1990). In Germany, the emergence of a "democratic," "feminine," and "domestic" past only started to gain body in the 1970s. By the end of that decade, academics and historians turned to the study of “everyday life” as a type of framework to explore the history of Nazism (Kansteiner, 1990). This "domestic" approach to history utilized: oral history, microhistory, and working-class history methods, and was influenced by similar initiatives in other European countries and the United States (Kansteiner, 1990, p.120).

The silence of the 1950s gave way to a proliferation of Holocaust-related biographies in the 1980s, spurred by local history workshops that connected Germany to other countries in their approaches to history and memory. In this sense, these workshops played a crucial role in fostering the social movements that emerged in the 1960s and gained momentum in subsequent years: including the women's movement, and ecological movements (Kansteiner, year, p. 122). These developments paralleled the growth of social movements such as LGBT in the 1960s.

John Borneman (1997) delves into the intricacies of identity formation in post-World War II Germany in his article, *State, Territory, and Identity Formation in the Postwar Berlins, 1945-1989*. Borneman (1997, p. 46) contends that after the war, German identity could no longer be linked to a specific, secure territory due to the aftermath of the 'ethnic cleanup.' Between 1945 and 1949, Germanness was reimagined through policies that distanced the

nation from the Nazi movement and cultivated new identities distinct from the Nazis (Borneman, 1997, p. 46).

Post-war Germany (West and East) had to reinvent the notion of "Germanness." (Borneman, 1997). This process likely ignited identity crises stemming from the loss of identity. Consequently, the state-nation narratives on both sides employed various "strategies" to redefine "Germanness." Though distinct, their common goal was to distance themselves from Nazism. Nevertheless, these narratives were molded by a selective emphasis on particular experiences and events (Borneman, 1997).

Initially, the Holocaust narrative acknowledged the judges but omitted the persecution of homosexuals from its account. This exclusion not only erased their narrative but also implied that the persecution was not limited to the Nazi era but had persisted since the German state's emergence.

From this perspective, the potential for an identity crisis contributed to the emergence of social movements. Rather than signifying increased acceptance, this crisis can be viewed as the state's attempt to manage an identity crisis and implement memory politics to prevent the recurrence of Nazi-era events. However, this type of memory politics and acknowledgment wakes up those that are not chosen in this selective memory. Consequently, the gay liberation movement emerged as a counter-response to challenge this discourse:

“A shared memory of the Nazi persecution of homosexuals emerged in the 1970s in the politicized context of gay liberation. It first appeared several decades after the defeat of the Nazi regime, rather than immediately thereafter, for a number of reasons. First of all, immediately after the war, neither an unrestricted gay and lesbian press nor a large, organized gay and lesbian community might memorialize its persecution ex listed in either West Germany or the United States. The homophile groups that did exist were too small and too hidden from the public to foster a collective memory. Not until the late 1960s, in the wake of civil rights protests, antiwar demonstrations, and the second wave of feminism, did gays and lesbians begin to organize on a broad basis and push for radical changes in their legal and social status” (Jensen, 2002, p.321).

For example, the first LGBT parade in Germany occurred in Berlin in 1979:

“The year 1969 was also a turning point when it came to gay and lesbian politics. Gay student groups emerged in the universities. Young radicals, inspired by student activism and the news of the Stonewall Riots in New York City, found themselves energized. They founded a new gay liberation movement in the 1970s to champion gay pride, fight for gay rights, and build community infrastructure. A decade of demonstrations set the stage for the institutionalization of Christopher Street Day parades in Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, and other major German cities beginning in 1979” (Whisnant 2016, p. 251).

The emergence of the museum materialized half a decade following the initial articulation of the LGBT community. The growth of "community infrastructure" and organization is embodied in the Schwules Museum creation, where heritage discourse serves as a political resource.

Despite the international community's pursuit of justice for Hitler's victims at the Nuremberg Trials in 1946, neither the atrocities committed against homosexuals nor Paragraph 175 were addressed (Kaczorowski 2015). The investigation of homosexual prisoners in concentration camps was similarly excluded from Holocaust research, memorials, and museums. It wasn't until the 1980s that researchers began compiling the biographies of homosexual men detained by the Nazi regime (Kaczorowski 2015)

2.6 Politics of Memory: So, What Do You Remember?

The concept of "forgetting" in the context of identity formation is essential in defining a group's cultural identity. The creation of new identities hinges on the interplay between history and national identity, wherein the past is selectively "remembered," "forgotten," and "created" (Graves-Brown & Gamble, 2013, p.6). This dynamic highlights the significance of the past in forming new identities, as groups need to recall who they are and consequently exclude who they are not—forgetting, in other words.

In this sense, we can identify various ways in which certain identities are excluded. Paul Connerton (2008) delineates seven types of forgetting. I use two of them to see the attempted

erasure of gay identity in German history. As seen earlier, the homosexual community already showed an initial organized social structure at the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, this organization led to the establishment of the first institute of sexuality for advocating homosexual identity.

Repressive Erasure

The first type of forgetting:

“Forgetting as repressive erasure appears in its most brutal form, of course, in the history of totalitarian regimes, where, as in Milan Kundera’s often quoted words, ‘the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting’. But it long predates totalitarianism” (Connerton, 2008, p.60)

In this sense, repressive erasure involves the intentional erasure of specific memories to assert control. These memories manifest in the material culture of a community, where interactions contribute to spatial remembrance. As a result, the repressive erasure can take various forms and serve different objectives, such as power consolidation, historical narrative establishment, or promotion of a particular cultural identity (Connerton, 2008).

For example, the history of the Nazi period reveals the promotion of a specific identity that erasure those who did not fit into this construct concerning sex, race, and sexuality. In this sense, multiple facets of the Nazi regime are linked to repressive erasure:

Firstly, the closing and demolition of queer spaces, such as the Institute for Sexual Science, represent the obliteration of queer heritage and culture. This exclusion aligns with repressive erasure, as it involved the purposeful destruction of spaces of belonging and the cessation of queer heritage transmission. Moreover, such destruction impacted the studies regarding sexuality, therefore, in the construction of identity.

Secondly, the "revision" of Paragraph 175, which further criminalized homosexuality, illustrates the degree to which queer spaces and communities were targeted and erased. Consequently, the increased persecution during the Nazi regime, as evidenced by the chart and statistics provided, underscores the intensification of repressive erasure. The significant

surge in arrests, imprisonments, and concentration camp internments reveals the regime's resolve to eliminate queer individuals and their clandestine heritage.

The contrast between the relative “openness” of the Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazi regime underscores the transition from a less totalitarian environment to one marked by repressive erasure. The decrease in persecution during the Weimar Republic is consequently replaced by heightened repression and extermination under Nazi rule. As a result, the destruction of queer spaces, the revision of Paragraph 175, and the increase in persecution all exemplify the regime's endeavors to suppress and erase queer heritage and culture.

Prescriptive forgetting

The initial silence and "relativity effect" that emerged in Germany during the 1950s and 1960s, as the nation endeavored to distance itself from the Nazi era and forge a new democratic identity, can be viewed as a form of prescriptive forgetting that facilitated societal healing and reconstruction:

“What might be called prescriptive forgetting is distinct from this. Like erasure, it is precipitated by an act of state, but it differs from erasure because it is believed to be in the interests of all parties to the previous dispute and because it can therefore be acknowledged publicly” (Connerton, 2008, p.63-64).

From the silence of the 1950s to the production of Holocaust memories in the 1970s, we can observe this prescriptive forgetting. Consequently, the selective memory politics employed by the German state to dissociate itself from Nazism—focusing on specific experiences and events while disregarding others, such as the persecution of homosexuals—manifests another form of prescriptive forgetting.

Moreover, Germany experienced a "loss of identity," as explained by Bournamen (1997). Building upon the argument about the “loss of identity” and “cultivated new identities distinct from the Nazis” we can say that the loss needed a deliberate and acknowledged act of forgetting:

“The practice of prescriptive forgetting suggests that we should entertain doubts about our deeply held conviction that forgetting involves a loss. This conviction is found in our European and American background, even if it may not be held more widely. […] The emphasis here is not so much on the loss entailed in being unable to retain certain things as rather on the gain that accrues to those who know how to discard memories that serve no practicable purpose in the management of one’s current identity and ongoing purposes. Forgetting then becomes part of the process by which newly shared memories are constructed because a new set of memories are frequently accompanied by a set of tacitly shared silences” (Connerton, 2008, p.63-64).

The emergence of social movements, like the gay liberation movement, challenged the prevailing discourse and selective memory politics. These movements can be seen as a counter-response to prior prescriptive forgetting, as marginalized groups sought to reclaim their narratives and histories. The emergence of a shared memory of Nazi persecution of homosexuals coincided with the politicized context of gay liberation. The Schwules Museum, created several decades after the defeat of the Nazi regime, embodies the community's collective endeavor to establish an institution independent of state control and disseminate their erased history and experiences within the heritage context.

In other words, the establishment of the Schwules Museum symbolizes the community's collective effort to create an institution free from state control in response to the earlier prescriptive forgetting. In addition, The museum's creation displays its form to bridge the gap in identity and heritage. By preserving and disseminating the erased history and experiences of the LGBT community, the museum acts as a counterbalance to the state's selective memory politics.

Thus, the text demonstrates how forgetting certain aspects of the past and constructing new narratives is a crucial aspect of forming a new identity, as seen in the way post-war Germany had to create new narratives that excluded certain experiences and events, while the emergence of social movements and the creation of institutions like the Schwules Museum challenged this selective memory and facilitated the formation of a new shared identity.

2.7 The Museum and The USA

The emergence of the Schwules Museum can be traced back to a confluence of factors, including the identity crisis of the 1960s, the post-nation consolidation era, and the ascent of identity politics and social movements.

The museum's creation symbolizes the community's collective endeavor to establish an institution independent of state control. Its creation is fueled by identity and the aspiration to bridge this gap, disseminating the community's erased history and experiences within the heritage context.

Remarkably, the first location of the Schwules Museum in 1985 was in West Berlin. The relationships between the United States and West Berlin after the postwar narrowed to create a transnational economy:

“The entrenched metanarrative of Germany’s postwar foreign economic policy revolves around the rising trajectory of its economic capacity and gradual emergence as a joint manager of the transatlantic economy. That narrative, with significant caveats, was carried over into the post-unification period but also anticipated the emergence of a dominant, if not hegemonic, Germany in Europe and its unqualified status as America’s most important European partner. The primary source of postwar German leverage with the US was economic” (James Sperling, 2004, p.426).

This relation not only impacted the economy but also manifested in social and cultural relations. American culture permeated and influenced West Berlin in the aftermath of World War II. This connection between the US and West Berlin can be seen, for example, with the adoption of the *Pink triangle* by the US social movement in the 1970s, becoming a transnational emblem for the cause. For instance, Johann Neumann's 1972 book *Men with the Pink Triangle*, written by a survivor, helped raise awareness of the persecution of homosexual men in Nazi Germany. In the mid-1970s, the pink triangle evolved into a powerful symbol for the transatlantic gay rights movement:

“During the 1970s, gay activists transformed the pink triangle into the most powerful symbol of the transnational gay rights movement. And when American activists began using the pink triangle, they not only adopted a political logo from their West German counterparts; they also embraced a chapter of German history as their own. Thus, the pink triangle – as a political symbol and collection of memories – contributed to the establishment of a shared history to which the gay communities in the Federal Republic and the United States could refer. The specter of the Nazi past simultaneously provided historical roots for a transatlantic gay identity and empowered a transnational social movement for the rights of gay and lesbian citizens on both sides of the Atlantic” (W. Jake Newsome, 2016, p.3).

This preceded the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, suggesting a connection between these social movements. Furthermore, identity politics, which emerged alongside the liberation movements following the 1960s Civil Rights campaigns in the USA, likely played a significant role in shaping the movement and extending to the heritage discourse.

Interestingly, the period that started identity politics in the United States coincided with the rise of LGBTQ-related museums, which can be traced back to the 1970s (e.g., Stonewall National Museum & Archives, USA 1972; Schwules Museum, Germany 1985; Leather Archives and Museum, USA 1999; GLBT Historical Society & Museum, USA 2011; and Museu da Diversidade, Brazil, 2012). On the one hand, this phenomenon acknowledged the use of heritage as a political resource to establish the boundaries of this social group reject-ed and subject-ed by the nation-states. While scholarly accounts on gays and the Holocaust emerged in the 1970s, little is known about the emergence and consolidation of a public narrative on gay persecution under the Nazis (Arnaud Kurze, 2019). It raises important questions, including why a public voice for crimes against sexual minorities in World War II emerged only hesitantly (Arnaud Kurze, 2019).

In essence, these identity-driven institutions are molded by communities rather than nations. Heyes (2020) characterizes identity politics as political action and a conceptual framework originating from the shared experiences of social groups subjected to injustice. The emergence of museums dedicated to the LGBT community exemplifies this notion within the heritage sphere.

A noteworthy aspect of the SMU is its transcendent nature, existing beyond the confines of the nation-state. These museums embody a Trans-Atlantic community through their character. Generally, museums classify their heritage as local, regional, or national. Some, however, represent a "universal" value regarding the history and memory of our species as Homo sapiens. The Schwules Museum, for example, not only represents community, region, and memory but also connects with other cultures. Its content reflects experiences that belong not to a single territory but to a transnational community.

In conclusion, the genesis of LGBT museums epitomizes a post-modern phenomenon driven by the process of rupture with national control. These institutions embody new forms characterized by an identitarian feature of identity politics.

2.7 Schwules Museum: The Exhibition that Generated The Museum

In the contemporary world, museums can take on various forms and cater to diverse audiences. For example, identity politics began to shape museums in the United States during the 1970s, while post-World War II Europe started focusing on memory politics and utilizing heritage as a resource for identity revindication. This development extended beyond the physical memorials and monuments found throughout the European landscape, with a subsequent focus on responsibility and acknowledgment.

The proliferation of museums also reflected the growing demands of marginalized social groups for recognition and civil rights. In this sense, the appearance of museums dedicated to the LGBT community was a phenomenon associated with the presence of the identity politics movement. Interestingly, this phenomenon precede the "museum boom" of the 1960s, during which museums diversified in both form and content (Sharon Macdonald, 1998, p. 1)

The emergence of LGBT museums illustrates the community assuming control of the narrative surrounding their bodies and experiences, ultimately subverting the dominant discourse and dissolving the "denial paradox" within that space.

Consider, for instance, the establishment of the Schwules Museum in Berlin in 1985, which exemplifies these notions. The museum's creation was influenced by an exhibition titled "Eldorado – the History, Everyday Life, and Culture of Homosexual Women and Men 1850-1950," curated by three museum professionals from a traditional Berlin institution. This event led to the founding of the Friends of a Gay Museum association in Berlin, highlighting the community's determination to create a dedicated museum space.

Intriguingly, the exhibition's title, "Eldorado," (see picture number) refers to a renowned bar in Berlin, which was a prominent Weimar-era gay establishment:

“The trendiest and best-known nightclub was Eldorado, on Lutherstrasse; it was famed throughout Europe for its transvestite shows. But this club only very partially reflects the homosexual life of Berlin, of which it gave a brilliant sketch. It was enlarged and reopened in 1927 on Motzstrasse, at the corner of Kahlkreuthstrasse. It was a meeting point for artists, writers, actors and society men; heteros and homos, Berliners and foreigners met there” (Tamagne, 2006, p.38).

Figure 03

(Landesarchiv Berlin, 1993)[22]

Title: Homosexuellenlokal "Eldorado"

Year: 5. März 1933

This connection emphasizes the "uses of heritage" as a political resource for representing the community and illustrates the intertwined nature of the museum's heritage with these queer social spaces. The SMU museum not only serves as a nexus for tradition but also as a place for resistance.

While the conventional modern museum draws parallels to Greek temples, the SMU Museum in Berlin inherits its essence from sites of resistance. In other words, the traditional museum, emerging alongside modern states, aligns itself with the grandiosity of Greek temples, often overlooking the nuances of the material culture that it embodies. By contrast, the exhibition

[22] The picture depicts "[..] two members of the Berlin Order Police standing guard outside a local Nazi Sturmabteilung (SA) headquarters in March 1933. The windows are boarded up and lined with pro-Hitler posters and Nazi flags. Only weeks earlier, however, this building had hosted the Eldorado nightclub—a central location for Berlin's gay and transgender communities. The only visible remnant of the former venue is the banner above the front door, reading, Hier ist's Richtig or "Here it's right. (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.)"

that promoted the SMU creation worked as a "code of representational space," (Lefebvre 1991) for the community, by invoking the name of a queer clandestine space that was important in the collective memory.

The 1984 exhibition Eldorado: The History, Everyday Life, and Culture of Homosexual Women and Men in Berlin, 1850-1950, portrayed Berlin as a “safe space” for homosexuals seeking refuge from societal constraints and persecution. This idea was emphasized in the accompanying catalog, which highlighted the city's "anonymity" as a crucial factor in providing a safe space for this marginalized group (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1984). The 1987 exhibition 750 Warm Berliners for the City Anniversary (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1990) further emphasized the connection between the city's history and the history of homosexuality.

In this context, Max Weber's theory of the city (1922) is particularly pertinent. Weber posits that the sociological essence of a city is rooted in its culture of anonymity, driven by rationality rather than tradition. Although his analysis focuses on a specific time period, it supports the notion of the city as an anonymous space. This idea attracts not only homosexuals but also others deemed "deviant" by law, the church, medicine, and social disapproval (Robert Aldrich, 2004, p.1720). Crowds provide anonymity and, where homosexual acts remain illegal, a degree of safety (Robert Aldrich, 2004, p.1721). In the case of Berlin, anonymity is depicted as a positive attribute for the LGBTQ+ community. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that while metropolitan cities may not inherently offer increased security, their culture of anonymity can indeed foster refuge and solidarity:

“Cities have provided venues where men who have sex with men (and women who have sex with women) can meet: pubs and clubs, cafes and cabarets. In times of clandestine homosexuality, public baths and toilets, parks, and back streets were especially hospitable to trysts” (Robert Aldrich, 2004, p.1721).

This culture of anonymity suggests a decentralization of values and norms within the societal fabric. Durkheim (2014) argues that the shift from "organic solidarity" to "mechanical solidarity" indicates that such decentralization can lead to a decline in social cohesion. In "organic societies," laws are often based on preserving customs to ensure adherence and maintain societal unity. With the emergence of Germany as a nation-state, Paragraph 175

exemplifies a method by which social order could be maintained to prevent the disintegration of national cohesion.

The anonymity in large cities allows for the emergence of diverse groups, as it conceals the decentralization of values and norms. However, this phenomenon is also dependent on the prevailing political regime and its mechanisms of control. For example, German queer history prior to the Nazi regime portrays a more open "city" under the democratic government that emerged following the First World War and the collapse of the Kaiser's regime in late 1918, illustrating the significance of the ruling regime. Another instance is the establishment of the Institute of Sexual Science in 1919. In this light, the Schwules Museum's emergence in 1985 is also tied to the political climate in which it was situated – specifically, the western part of Berlin controlled by the West. Interestingly, the openness of a democratic system, despite prevailing heteronormative practices, is a contributing factor to the museum's creation.

In other words, examining the German historical context related to the number of homosexuals arrested, it is possible to visualize that the city's "relative openness" is connected to the type of regime that governs. This further highlights the intricate relationship between the anonymity of urban spaces, the political regime, and the experiences of marginalized communities.

2.8 The SMU as a Diasporic Museum

“Diaspora" traditionally signifies the dispersion and displacement of communities sharing cultural roots. While historically used to describe the forced displacement of specific communities, such as the Jewish Diaspora, contemporary discussions have broadened the concept to encompass displacement and immigration within transnational territories. Robin Cohen (1997, p.128) connects diaspora to “transnational spaces”.

In the Birmingham framework, the concept gained another dimension when Stuart Hall (1996) focused on the terms “Cultural” Identity and “Representation”. In his article, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" (1996), Stuart Hall investigates the concepts of cultural identity and representation to comprehend the diasporic experience. Hall posits that identity is an ongoing

production, perpetually evolving, and shaped within the context of representation rather than external to it (1996, p.2002). As such, identity is not a static entity but an ever-changing construct influenced by context, space, and cultural references.

Hall argues that the representation of cultural identity relies on the "position of enunciation." In other words, discourses surrounding specific cultural identities always originate from a particular vantage point that embodies both context and power dynamics. Consequently, hegemonic discourses, especially those produced by Western culture, can be perceived as external impositions. This perspective leads Hall to challenge the essentialist view of cultural identity, arguing that its purported "truth" is superficial and contingent upon the narrator's identity. Instead, Hall advocates for uncovering hidden narratives that can better illuminate and embody the experiences inherent in cultural identity formation.

Diaspora, therefore, is characterized by the phenomenon of migration in a transnational space where identity is never complete but changing and being reinvented in a cultural process. Hence, one can observe that from a homogenous perspective and "fixed" position of identity, the term "diaspora" is displaced to a fluid construction that is constantly being involved as the cultural process takes place. Moreover, diaspora can assume a form of experience/identity that connects individuals due to their shared experience in contrast with the heteronormative national identity.

Meg Wesling (2008, p.32) explores in her essay "Why Queer Diaspora?" the maintenance of traditional gender roles at both national and international levels and highlights the role of "transnational capitalism" and "nationalist discourses" in creating "queer" individuals. In other words, she argues that “national and transnational” relationships of production encapsulate gender roles within a heteronormative national narrative.

In this perspective, such individuals face challenges from both their nation's expectations and those of other countries, leading to the formation of a "disarticulated body" disconnected from sexual and national norms:

“[…] the queer diasporic body is doubly disarticulated from the stasis of sexual and national normativity; likewise, he (gendered male) is doubly privileged as the site for interrogating the assimilative function of heteronormativity and national identity (Wesling, 2008, p.34)”.

For instance, an LGBT individual who immigrates from Germany to the United States may encounter discrimination stemming from both their home country's cultural and social norms and American society. In this context, the "disarticulated" body emerges in any setting that fosters a heteronormative culture, giving rise to a diasporic queer body that shares the experience of exclusion. That is to say, the shared experience of exclusion unites the queer diasporic community, whose cultural identity transcends language, culture, and tradition.

In this perspective, queer individuals face challenges from both their own nation's expectations and those of other countries. These challenges lead to the formation of a "disarticulated body" that is disconnected from sexual national norms and heteronormative culture. For example, an LGBT person who immigrates from Germany to the United States may experience discrimination stemming from both their home country's cultural and social norms and American society's. This shared experience of exclusion gives rise to a diasporic queer body that transcends language, culture, and tradition.

However, it is important to consider that queerness should not be viewed solely as a "diasporic category" that disrupts "categories of nation, home, and family," as argued by Wesling (2008, p.36). Queer desires remain connected to these categories, and there is no guarantee that they will inherently challenge these norms.

This connection to categories creates a paradox in terms of belonging, which can be seen in the representation of LGBT individuals in museums:

“The traditional museum displays attributes related to LGBT individuals as they are tied to the larger community, forming a link between them. At the same time, this will generate conflict in terms of belonging and connection; in other words, a feeling of being within and without in the representation practices” (Satil, 2022, p.100).

The emergence of LGBT museums in the 1970s offers an example of the representation of this diasporic community, transcending local, regional, and national classifications. This cultural identity, forged by a shared sense of rejection from national identities, disrupts conventional narratives and creates a community self-image.

These museums represent a Trans-Atlantic community due to their nature. Overall, museums can classify their heritage in terms of local, regional, and national. In addition, there are some museums that represent a “universal” value in terms of history and memory. The Schwules Museum represents the community region and memory but also connects with other cultures by the fact that its content represents identities that do not belong to a single territory but to a transnational cultural identity.

For instance, the pink triangle became a symbol of "transnational" to the LGBT community in the 1970s, connecting Germany and the United States' social movements. That is, what united them as a transnational community even though language, culture, and tradition were different: their cultural identity. In this sense, their cultural identity is connected to this feeling of rejection from national identity.

In addition, the role of anonymity-as highlighted in the SMU first exhibition-within urban environments and the impact of capitalism on identity formation also influence the queer diasporic experience. The city's (as a mechanic etc I need to write more) decentralized nature allows for easier navigation of disrupted bodies, despite state policies regulating sexuality. In addition, the economic systems of countries like the USA and West Germany facilitate the mobility and consumption of symbols appropriated by social movements in both countries.

In conclusion, the concept of diaspora has evolved to encompass fluid constructions of identity shaped by representation and cultural influences. The queer diasporic experience reflects this fluidity, with cultural identity transcending traditional boundaries and connecting individuals through shared experiences of exclusion and disruption. The emergence of LGBT museums illustrates the complexities of the queer diaspora and its relationship to broader societal structures.

2.9 Final Consideration

The early emergence of queer spaces in Berlin, dating back to the 19th century, signifies a cultural evolution. As scholars continue to articulate and investigate these identities, it becomes evident that the establishment of the SMU museum is a continuity of this queer history. Drawing from Fernand Braudel's (1958) concept of "longue durée," we can see the

museum's reflection as a manifestation of the enduring transformation of queer spaces over time.

By examining the underlying social (queer spaces), political (identity politics, change of regime), and other factors that have influenced Germany's development over time, it becomes possible to adopt a "longue durée" perspective on queer history. This understanding reveals that the formation of the SMU museum is part of a slow-moving process that drives historical changes and exposes the intricate interplay between these factors that contribute to the museum's emergence. In this context, the chapter's focus on various patterns in the history of queer Germany demonstrates that the museum's formation is also aligned with a broader narrative from the past, which underscores the driving forces of historical change and the realization of the museum.

3 Discourse Analysis

Benedict Anderson (2006) says that a nation is conceived as a community through a sense of horizontality, connecting its inhabitants despite existing inequalities. Similarly, LGBT Museums—comprised of the representation of individuals with diverse backgrounds and resources—foster a sense of horizontality within the community, as they embody the collective identity and memory that bind its members.

This horizontal dimension embodies the shared memory and identity that unites the community. Consequently, LGBT Museums serve as spaces for the formation of collective identity, where individuals find common ground through shared memories and experiences. Moreover, it reveals a process of transforming “subculutre”[23] in “culture” in the heritage stance. Framing the museum as a mirror of society or as a reflection of the context of specific social groups, the analysis of exhibition texts offers fertile ground for understanding how this community constructs a discourse about themselves. In this regard, I look at the role of heritage as a mechanism for integrating identity and memory, contributing to the establishment and consolidation of this “imagined community”.

Yet, how does this community construct a narrative that facilitates the process of self-identification? Michel Foucault (1981), in his book Order of Discourse, asserts that societies are constructed through various characteristics, with social groups producing the context enabling discourse to emerge.

On the one hand, the emergence of traditional museums had an impact on the production of identity controlled by the state (see Chapter 01). From this perspective, narratives about the "other" that exclude the other's participation result in a counter-discourse that confines and invisibly the "other's" history and identity, abstracting the "Other" in the process.

This discourse, exemplified by the emergence of the SMU, demonstrates the community's reclaiming of control over its narrative, thereby assuming agency[24] in the representation of its

[23] Fine & Kleinman (1979, p.2) define subculture as a "membership category in which the criterion for belonging is structural or network-based," and as a result, it is "treated as a subsociety."
[24] Gell, A., (1998), Art and Agency, an Anthropological Theory. Oxford: Clarendon Press

history and identity in the heritage stance. As the Other assumes control of its narrative, the process is inverted; however, this shift does not exclude the presence of power dynamics in their representational practices.

In this regard, SMU plays a crucial role in reclaiming control over its narrative through exhibitions that challenge the heteronormative identity often portrayed in traditional museums as an essentialist "truth" about the "self." As a counter-hegemonic institution, the SMU seeks to reverse the position of enunciation by narrating its history. For instance, by recounting the Holocaust's history, including the stories of marginalized identities, and presenting German history from the perspectives of those excluded from dominant discourses, the SMU subverts the hegemonic narrative.

In this Chapter, I examine the discourse of the SMU from 1985 until 2009 based on its curatorial texts, providing insight into the community narrative shaped by the community itself. The time frame of the analyses expanded until 2009 when the museum received its first public funding from the Berlin senate. From 1985 until 2008, there were 99 exhibitions.

3.1 Terms

In this research, I employ terms such as "queer" as an encompassing identifier for individuals whose identities diverge from heteronormative expectations. The acronym LGBT encompasses "lesbian" (women attracted sexually and romantically to other women), "gay" (men), "bisexual" (persons attracted to both genders), and "transsexual" (referring to individuals who alter their gender or sex through legal, corporeal, or social mechanisms). A "travesty" may have been assigned "male" at birth, but does not necessarily identify as a woman. The term "travesty" is often utilized in socio-economic contexts, particularly in certain Latin American countries, where it conveys class connotations.

The term "homosexual" was first coined in the late 19th century by Hungarian-German psychiatrist Karoly Maria Benkert (William et all, n.d.). It denotes individuals who experience sexual attraction to others of the same sex. The word is derived from the Greek terms "homo" and "sexualis," both of which mean "sex."(William et all, n.d.).

Prior to the introduction of the term "homosexual," various words and expressions were employed to describe same-sex attraction and behaviors. In ancient Greece and Rome, for example, the term "paiderastia" was used to characterize relationships between older men and younger boys:

“However, caution is necessary before taking anything for granted and making unwarranted assumptions: questioning the age of the partners in a sexual relationship does not, in relation to Antiquity, pose the same issues or problems as in present-day Western societies. It would be anachronistic to look for the relationships between age and sexuality that can be observed today in societies which are nowadays regarded as existing ‘before sexuality’” (Boehringer et al., 2005, p.24).

In summary, the term "homosexual" was first used by German psychiatrist Karoly Maria Benkert in the late 19th century. Before its coinage, a diverse range of words and phrases were employed to describe same-sex attraction and behaviors.

3.2 The First Exhibitions

The inaugural exhibition of The Schwules Museum (SMU), entitled *Yuck - 90 Years of Homopress (Igitt – 90 Jahre Homopresse)*, underscores the significance of magazines in chronicling the history and culture of the LGBTQ+ community. The exhibit text asserts:

Within these pages, you may find familiar content - a blend of rallying cries and erotica, at times uncomfortably intertwined. Yet, despite their ephemeral nature, these magazines are birthed each month anew by the tireless efforts of dedicated individuals. They document, describe, and propel the gay struggle forward, fueled by passion, amateurism, or professionalism, and often with little financial support. Such efforts deserve recognition, for it is these relentless individuals who record our collective history. Where else can one unearth such abundant information about gay life, dreams, hopes, and desires? The Association of Friends of a Gay Museum in Berlin seeks to celebrate the richness and diversity of gay journalism and the history of the German-language gay press through its first exhibition (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1985).

Magazines have played a crucial role in fortifying the connections within the LGBTQ+ community (see Chapter 02), particularly as the nation governs its communication channels. They have served as vital records of the community's "collective history," documenting shared knowledge, values, beliefs, and practices passed down through generations. This collective history is displayed as a “Cultural Memory.”

As Jan Assmann (1995, p.129) asserts, "Cultural memory has its fixed points; its horizon does not change with the passing of time. These fixed points are fated to the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural forms (rites, monuments) and institutional communication."

In this sense, SMU's first exhibition underlines the importance of such archives to constructing queer cultural memory. That is, the museum's first exhibition highlights the significance of magazines in preserving the community's collective history and embodying cultural memory. The museum safeguards and presents these magazines as a form of cultural memory which is an enduring element that shapes the community's identity and links its members to a collective shared past. According to Assmann (1995), one aspect of cultural memory is the storage of knowledge, which contributes to "the concretion of identity":

"The concretion of identity" or the relation to the group. Cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity. The objective manifestations of cultural memory are defined through a kind of identificatory determination in a positive ("We are this") or in a negative ("That's our opposite") sense (Assmann 1995, p.130).

These representational practices, grounded in the affirmation of "we are this," by illustrating their history based on magazine sources, reveal an instrumentalist approach to narrating history as a means of contextualizing identity. In this sense, the museum, as a ritual space (see Chapter 01), "[...] comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (Assmann 1995, p.132). As a result, the exhibition contributes to a process of stabilization and contextualization of the group's self-image (identity).

The first exhibition emphasizes the significance of magazines as a means of archiving the collective history of the LGBT community. In contrast, the second exhibition, titled "750 Warm Berliners for the City Anniversary (September 13, 1987 - December 13, 1987)," serves as an archeological investigation, inscribing the individuals who have contributed to Berlin's history:

750 Warm Berliners for the City Anniversary September 13, 1987 - December 13, 1987, While looking through our gay archive, we were amazed to discover that we had already collected 751 names. What could be more fitting than to join the Berlin anniversary celebration? Sources about gay Berliners don't date back to 1237, and we aren't mentioned in any documents, but our presence has been known since early history. The first traces from the 17th and 18th centuries appear in court records, followed by records from doctors treating mental illness and pamphlets by moralists. Same-sex lovers have always existed; the only difference was the name given to us, the "unnatural" ones (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1987).

The discourse centers on the narratives of the 17th and 18th centuries in court records, highlighting the "presence" of the gay identity, despite same-sex love being considered "unnatural." Interestingly, they assert this identity in "early" history, constructing a discourse in which public spaces are also composed of their identities.

“In the 17th and 18th centuries, Berlin served as the capital of Prussia. In 1871, Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, became Emperor of Germany and united the disparate German kingdoms into the federal state is known today as Germany. That same year, he established a constitution and penal code based on the Prussian model (Craig Kaczorowski, 2015, p.1)”.

The Prussian code featured a law prohibiting sexual contact between members of the same sex, punishable by one to four years in prison. This law was adopted without modification and incorporated into the newly formed German penal code as Paragraph 175 (Craig Kaczorowski, 2015, p.1).

Nonetheless:

[...] awareness of a gay identity that encompasses all aspects of life is likely an accomplishment of the 19th century. Our exhibition showcases earlier offenders whose lack

of understanding of their reprehensible actions caused court clerks to break into a cold sweat. It presents early pioneers of equal rights, remembers victims of the unfortunate and not yet entirely repealed Section 175, celebrates the newfound gay self-confidence, refuses to suppress pride in urnian cultural ways, and emphasizes the ordinary gay existence. On display are images and texts of urnians, same-sex lovers, warmists, gays, homophiles, and homosexuals from all walks of life, from high nobility to the gay murderer to the transvestite maid. The dangers and abysses of our time are not overlooked either. The exhibition aims to contribute to the realization of our dream of a gay museum here in Berlin. (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1987).

In this sense, the exhibition's discourse integrates the gay identity into the narrative by employing several strategies. From a historical lens, the text situates the gay identity within a broader historical context, connecting it to the 17th and 18th centuries, as well as to the formation of the German state in the 19th century. By doing so, it establishes the presence and relevance of the gay identity throughout history.

Second, the text employs a range of terms to describe the gay identity, such as "urnians," "same-sex lovers," "warmists," "gays," "homophiles," and "homosexuals." This diverse vocabulary not only showcases the various ways the gay identity has been labeled over time but also emphasizes the complexity and nuance of the identity itself.

Third, the text incorporates individuals from various backgrounds and social standings. This inclusivity reflects the wide-ranging experiences of the gay community and reinforces the idea that gay identity is not limited to a particular social class or background.

Fourth, by highlighting the victims of Section 175 and the pioneers of equal rights, the text acknowledges the persecution that the gay community has faced throughout history. At the same time, it also demonstrates the resilience of the community in advocating for its rights.

Fifth, the narrative accentuates both the everyday experiences of the gay community and the unique aspects of *“urnian”* culture. This balance serves to normalize the gay identity while also celebrating its distinctiveness as an identity.

Finally, through this “archaeology” discourse, the exhibition text weaves the gay identity into the narrative by placing it within a historical context, using a diverse vocabulary, incorporating various experiences, acknowledging persecution and resilience, and emphasizing both the ordinary and the extraordinary aspects of the community. As a result, through these strategies, the text introduces the gay identity as an essential element of the narrative, thereby contributing to integrating this cultural memory into the City Anniversary.

3.3 100 Years of Gay History

The Schwules Museum in Berlin hosted a significant exhibition titled "Goodbye to Berlin? 100 Years of the Gay Rights Movement (May 17, 1997 - August 17, 1997), which delved into the development and impact of the world's first homosexual self-organization, the "Scientific-Humanitarian Committee" (WHK). Established in Berlin in 1897, the WHK marked a turning point for the gay rights movement:

The exhibition 100 Years of the Gay Rights Movement is dedicated to the anniversary of the world's first homosexual self-organization, the "Scientific-Humanitarian Committee" (WhK), founded in Berlin in 1897, which was to become an international model. Already in the 19th century, there had been isolated and individual writers who criticized the persecution of homosexuals and the denial of emancipation. However, it was not until the spectacular conviction of the poet Oscar Wilde in England in 1895 that a new level of quality would be achieved with the WhK in Germany, organizing the "liberation struggle," influencing legislation and public opinion with the aim of achieving freedom and equality for gays. The exhibition illustrates the history of this self-organization and its successors, their struggles, progress, and setbacks. At the same time, the public discussion of homosexuality is to be portrayed. This includes not only the statements of doctors, psychiatrists, lawyers, the church, and police but especially the areas of art, literature, theater, and film (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1987).

The WhK's pivotal role in sparking the gay rights movement is not limited to its influence within Germany; it is also recognized as a symbol of the movement's transatlantic expansion. In this sense, the discourse narrates chronicled the establishment of similar organizations

across Europe, exploring the evolution of gay identity within a broader context. As a result, the exhibition served as a transnational narrative that connected the gay identity to a collective memory spanning beyond national borders:

For the first fifty years up to 1945, the German development of this social movement in its diverse manifestations will be the focus of the exhibition. Already in the imperial period, there were several groups. After the revolution of 1918/19, the gay rights movement became a mass phenomenon with friendship associations in almost all larger and smaller cities of the German Reich and a multitude of gay magazines and several publishers. No other country had seen such a development at the time. Only in Germany did a self-organized gay life flourish so abundantly. The only two foreign organizations that existed continuously for several years, since 1911 in the Netherlands and since 1913 in England, were offshoots of the German parent organization WhK. Attempts in Austria, the USA, and France to follow suit, establish groups and magazines, failed due to the societal restrictions of these countries. However, there was already a more or less tolerated gay subculture in almost all major cities of the world at that time, with meeting points, bars, and balls (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1987).

In addition to the international scope of the exhibition, the text also offers a critical examination of the various forces that have influenced the public perception of homosexuality over time. In other words, by presenting the viewpoints of doctors, psychiatrists, lawyers, the church, and the police, the exhibition explores the multifaceted nature of the discourse on homosexuality. By understanding in the text the inclusion of artistic and literary expressions further emphasizes the significance of cultural production in shaping public opinion and fostering change:

The topic of homosexuality could be addressed in these countries in literature and art, independent of an actual gay rights movement. Thus, England and France will be presented as examples in comparison to the special development in Germany. With the destruction of the gay rights movement by the Nazis in 1933, the particularly fruitful emancipation efforts in Germany came to an end. In Switzerland, the group founded in 1932 managed to survive until 1945 (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1987).

In the second part of the exhibition text, the focus shifts to the post-World War II era of gay self-organization in Western Europe and the United States. The SMU acknowledges the internationalization of the gay rights movement during this period, as Germany's role becomes just one of many equally significant contributions to the cause:

The second half of the exhibition is dedicated to the gay self-organization after the end of World War II in Western Europe, especially in the Netherlands, Scandinavia, England, France, Germany, and the United States. In contrast to the period before 1933, the German share in the now internationally oriented gay rights movement represents only one area among several equally important ones, according to their historical weight. The international networking of not only the individual groups but also the literary, artistic, and filmic representations are in the foreground here: The respective orientation towards foreign research results, for example, by Kinsey, who continued the research activities of Hirschfeld's former Institute for Sexology in America; the Dutch efforts to establish a powerful international umbrella organization in the 1950s and hold international congresses; the pioneering role of Scandinavia in legislation and the publication freedoms for erotic and pornographic works there since the 1960s (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1987).

By focusing on the international aspect of the gay rights movement, the exhibition highlights the exchange of ideas and strategies that have helped shape its evolution. This global perspective is further reinforced through the examination of literary, artistic, and filmic representations of homosexuality, demonstrating the cultural impact of the movement across diverse media forms.

By the end of the 1960s at the latest, England and the United States, with the Gay Liberation, became the worldwide model for a predominantly student-organized gay rights movement. Accordingly, the years from Stonewall to the present, the sexual freedoms of the 1970s, the specialization of the gay rights movement in the 1980s, and the fight against AIDS will primarily be presented in comparison with Germany, using these two countries as examples (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1987).

By presenting the development of the gay rights movement in Germany alongside the parallel developments in England and the United States, the exhibition text provides a nuanced understanding of the movement's growth and influence across different cultural and political

contexts. This comparative approach allows for a more comprehensive examination of the strategies, challenges, and achievements that have defined the gay rights movement in the latter half of the 20th century and beyond.

In conclusion, the Schwules Museum's exhibition on the *100 Years of the Gay Rights Movement* provides a comprehensive and transnational narrative that underscores the movement's historical significance, its struggles, and its achievements. Through its exploration of the diverse perspectives and experiences that have shaped the discourse on homosexuality over time, the exhibition contributes to an understanding of the gay rights movement's profound impact on society and the lives of individuals around the world.

3.4 The Queer History and Art

The SMU museum has an inclination toward the art scene. One significant exhibition held at the museum in 1990 was "Over the Sofa – Onto the Street! Art and Gay Culture in the AIDS Era" (February 24, 1990 – March 30, 1990), which featured the works of four American artists. This exhibition not only introduced the theme of HIV into the discourse but also addressed the stigmatization faced by the LGBTQ+ community during the AIDS crisis:

The Gay Museum wants to introduce four younger American artists under the title Homo-Art. All four artists live in New York, and they have in common that they are exemplary in their dedication to gay everyday life, fears, and desires, confronting them with the AIDS crisis and thus turning their reflection on gay life into a political issue. All four actively work with ACT. UP New York besides their artistic and livelihood-securing activities, and all four consider themselves AIDS activists. They all already have solo exhibitions to their credit: Donald Moffet counters porn videos with thought-provoking, pointed texts: everyday wisdom, philosophical allusions. His medium is slide transparency boxes. Felix Torres compiles data on gay history and creates sharply politicized commemorative images for the gay movement without denying their integral connection with general American politics. A subversive historiography. Medium: black framed image carriers with white writing and photo works with puzzle die-cutting. John Lyndell develops symbols/pictograms of gay self-understanding and picks up on pornographic phrases to question the tendency to reduce

oneself to clichés and the art context (in which his works are found again). Medium: enamel boxes, some with oil on cardboard inserts. David Wojnarowicz combines alienated images of our technologized civilization with erotic gay, lesbian, and heterosexual fantasies, thereby creating a sensitive balance between end-time mood and new beginnings or the status quo and what we have lost. Medium-sized photo works and collages (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1990).

A notable aspect of this exhibition was its acknowledgment of the influence of American politics in Germany. One of the artists, Felix Torres, focused on creating politicized commemorative images for the gay movement without denying their connection with American politics (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1990). This not only demonstrated the transnational nature of the LGBTQ+ rights movement but also emphasized the cultural and social impacts that the relationship between the United States and West Berlin had on their respective territories.

The "Over the Sofa – Onto the Street! Art and Gay Culture in the AIDS Era" exhibition at the SMU museum played an essential role in fostering dialogue about the challenges faced by the LGBTQ+ community during the AIDS crisis. It not only showcased the activism of the artists but also served as a platform for addressing the connections between politics, culture, and society in the context of the LGBTQ+ rights movement.

3.5 Reimagining the Gay Identity Through the Lens of the Renaissance

The essence of a museum often evokes the image of a temple dedicated to the Muses, linking it to its ancient origins and grounding it in the cradle of civilization. Indeed, some museums serve as guardians of the cultural heritage emanating from these roots.

The SUM, while embracing its contemporary heritage, also forges connections between homosexuality and ancient practices. The exhibition "The Lust of the Gods: Homosexuality and Art in the Italian Renaissance" (26th May 1993 - 29th August 1993) plays a crucial role in shaping this discourse:

For the first time, the Schwules Museum presents an art historical exhibition on the treatment of the topic of homosexuality in the Italian Renaissance. From this era, there are numerous works of art that approach the subject, not only by artists whose feelings were exclusively directed towards their own gender, such as Donatello, Botticelli, Michelangelo, and others, but also by artists like Raphael, Giulio Romano, Sodoma, Correggio, who according to the bisexual ideal of the time also dealt with boy love. The experience of antiquity in literature and art repeatedly prompted engagement with homosexuality and handling personal desires. Parallel to the Platonic Renaissance, the artistic representation began in the 15th century with Donatello's Bronze David and Filarete's historical quotations on the doors of St. Peter's in Rome. A recovery of ancient themes as independent works of art is evident in the works of Borticelli, Mantegna, and the young Michelangelo at the end of the century. Mostly, it is about Bacchanalia and dissolute satyrs. In the High Renaissance after 1500, there is an abundance of depictions of divine love affairs, which also include the beloved boys, Apollo's Hyacinth, Zeus's Ganymede, or Hercules's Hylas. The Neoplatonic philosophy of the Florentine humanists around Marsilio Ficino made it possible to represent sexuality as divine love, as love of the ancient gods and demigods, ennobled and depicted with all sensuality. The repressive current after the Council of Trent, as a reaction to the strengthening of Protestantism in Northern Europe, put a temporary end to this development. Iconoclasm and the burning of dissenters and books were the consequences. Medieval ascetic moral concepts of good and evil were set against the free spirit of the Renaissance. And yet, even now, some artists and patrons managed to represent and live homosexuality as ancient boy love. With Caravaggio's youthful images, a new peak is reached, which simultaneously concludes the development. It is only in the 20th century that it becomes possible again to represent homosexuality in such a variety as in the Italian Renaissance and to go beyond it. The exhibition deals with the social environment in Italy, with the different views on homosexuality expressed in literature, philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, art, and lifestyle culture. It is less about presenting originals than enlightening documentation. The exhibition and the parallel publication, "The Pleasure of the Gods - Homosexuality in Italian Art - From Donatello to Caravaggio" by rosa Winkel publishers, aim to initiate an overdue discussion about the taboo of homosexuality in art history (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1993).

In this context, the notion of "homosexuality" is traced to a time before the term's coinage in the modern era. The discourse strategy links this identity to ancient practices as a means of

legitimizing it in contemporary society. Consequently, previously hidden facets of history, once concealed in secret rooms of the British Museum and the Naples Museum, are unveiled (see Chapter 01).

In this sense, the exhibition text introduces the identity and historical context of homosexuality during the Italian Renaissance by showcasing the contributions of various artists, exploring the dynamic relationship between art and society, and connecting this identity with past narratives.

In other words, the text highlights the significance of various artists, both homosexual and bisexual, in shaping the discourse on homosexuality during the Renaissance. By mentioning prominent figures like Donatello, Botticelli, Michelangelo, Raphael, Giulio Romano, Sodoma, and Correggio, the text underscores their role in challenging the norms of their time and contributing to an understanding of human sexuality. In addition, the text contextualizes homosexuality within the broader landscape of Renaissance culture, encompassing literature, philosophy, theology, law, and lifestyle. This multifaceted approach, therefore, presents homosexuality as an integral aspect of the Renaissance identity rather than a mere side note or deviant behavior.

Nonetheless, such an approach adopts an anachronistic perspective, positioning sexuality as a defining feature of identity:

“Many researchers, mostly following Michel Foucault’s work, have shown that in Antiquity people did not consider themselves to be defined by such a thing as “sexuality”, and the sex of the person desired was not a criterion used to define and categorize a desiring subject. It was never thought that individuals, whether men or women, whatever their status (citizen, resident alien, foreigner, or slave), their origin or their social background, could be grouped under a single heading on the sole basis that they were attracted to persons of the opposite sex, or on the criterion of their attraction to persons of the same sex (Boehringer et al., 2005, p.25)”

In this regard, such discourses subtly underscore the notion that heteronormativity is a social construct, while simultaneously reflecting an anachronistic approach. This strategy shapes the discourse on homosexuality beyond the confines of "modern" times. By re-contextualizing

history, it challenges the traditional narrative that traditional museums have excluded or enclosed in the closet.

3.6 The Male Nude: Embracing the Greek Legacy

The genesis of the male nude as an artistic expression can be traced back to ancient Greece, where the phenomenon of the public "nudity-nudity was a costume" (Bonfante, 1989, p. 543). Consequently:

It was the Greeks who brought into our culture the ideal of male nudity as the highest kind of beauty. Greek art and athletics exalted the beauty of the youthful male athlete, whose figure provided the model for the hero or youthful god. The image of the nude young male, the kouros statue of early Greek art (contrasting with the clothed female, the kore), embodied the arete or glory of an aristocratic youth, who was kaloskagathos, 'beautiful and noble' (Bonfante, 1989, p. 544)

In the 19th century, German society is marked with a deep cultural interest in Greek antiquity and aesthetics. For instance, the German culture embraced "German Hellenism":

In this way, Greece played an important role in shaping a national identity defined by the growing awareness among Germans of a shared cultural heritage—one that owed a considerable debt to the legacy of Greek antiquity. Nowhere was this connection more obvious than in the Weimar Classicism of Goethe and Schiller, which represented the pinnacle of German literature and came to symbolize the redemptive power of German culture as a whole (Geary, 2014, para. 2)

This cultural shared heritage that shaped the national identity was explored in the discourse on homosexuality in the 19th century. For example, magazines such as *Der Eigene* discussed homosexuality by referencing same-sex love in Greek antiquity (Tamagne, 2006). One notable example is the 1923 magazine *Der Hellasbote* (Greek Messenger), founded by Hans Kahnert.

In this context, the Greek tradition provided a point of reference for modern homosexual practices and connected the male nude image to the community's identity. “The rise of gay consciousness since the 1960s has brought with it a revival of interest in the work of von Gloeden and his associates, and their work, once semi-clandestine, now circulates in mass-market editions (LUCIE-SMITH, 2003, p.44).”

The display of the male nude is evident in numerous exhibitions hosted by the Schwules Museum (SMU) in Berlin, such as “Male Nudes – Nude Photography 1970-1995 (1995)”, “Oh la la! – Nude Photography from France (1998)”, and “My Queer Eye 3 – International Artists Invited to the Gay Museum (2006)”, among others.

The permanent exhibition *Self-awareness and Persistence* (2004–2005) at SMU explored the evolution of male nudity:

Erotic desire and the longing for male nudity found fulfillment through all kinds of impulses. Reproductions of such images held in art collections and museums might be installed at home. From the early 19th century onwards there was a wide range of public displays with sparsely dressed or nude males who, initially modeling themselves on ancient times, engaged in swimming and other sports; increasingly, acrobats and other strongmen performed on the stage. This is a theme of its own and examples will be shown for different epochs. Earlier myths of a gay paradise stemmed from depictions of an alleged ideal world during Antiquity; from 1840 on, after discovering the blue grotto, the Isle of Capri was a centre of gay men’s attraction. The exhibition includes Ferdinand Flor’s painting of bathers in this very setting, as well as early photographs by Wilhelm von Gloeden. Around 1900 a rather liberal cult around nudity arose in Germany, which eventually also contributed to the fact that in the Weimar Republic era Berlin became a new ‘isle of the fortunate’. In the 1950s and 60s the Californian beaches with their musclemen represented the next mythical wave of ‘paradise regayned’(Berlin: Schwules Museum, 2005).

The Greek aesthetic has been entwined with German culture since the 19th century, influencing the discourse on homosexuality. The SMU, reflecting this cultural appropriation, exhibits various forms of male nude imagery. This aesthetic, validated by its classical origins,

aids in constructing a homosexual identity that encompasses not only sexuality but also physical form.

In conclusion, the Greek aesthetic of the male nude has played an instrumental role in shaping the identity of the homosexual men community. By integrating this legacy into their art and culture, Greece has had a significant impact on the development of the homosexual identity. Ultimately, the homosexual male identity asserts its shared cultural heritage with Greek antiquity. From this perspective, we observe the SMU not only associating its sexual practices with Greece in the heritage discourse but also [re]producing the physical embodiment of this identity. As a result, the self-image of the homosexual men community displayed at SMU encompasses a material representation of the identity that is legitimated by a historical period.

3.7 Exhibitions Categories

The SMU exhibitions, during the three decades, centered on two categories: *cultural memory*, which encompasses collective history, and *individual memories*. Though distinct, *individual memory* also embodies *cultural memory*, as it aims to represent the group's identity, fostering a sense of connection between the group and the individual on display.

The first category, *cultural memory*, sought to display the historical period interplayed with the gay identity in German History and beyond i.e. (the renaissance). In contrast, the second category, Individual Memories, emphasized the community's experiences by displaying in individual exhibitions specific life stories in the broader historical context.

The exhibitions presented an array of themes, all woven together through a narrative that integrated the subjects as vital constituents of the community's cultural fabric and historical past. By accentuating life, culture, and history, these exhibitions echoed the minority group's endeavors to safeguard their heritage in order to fortify their identity.

This emphasis on culture and history signified the construction of minority group memory from a heritage perspective. Furthermore, this memory within the museum was nurtured into

a process of heritage transmission. Typically, the concept of "heritage," as something inherited by individuals, follows a trajectory of transmitting values, customs, knowledge, and social practices. In turn, this process shapes their identity, resulting in its stability- or the "concretion of identity" (Assmann 1995).

In the case of the SMU, the community inherited these values through the process of representing their memories and practices, exhibiting a form of kinship that defies heteronormative conventions. Consequently, the community harnessed the museum as a platform for both the [re]production and preservation of its culture and history.

3.8 Cultural Memory and Individual Memories: The First Years

The exhibitions that addressed *cultural memory* are illustrated in the first column, while *individual memories* are in the second column. They are complementary as they attest to the community's memory transmission. As an example, see the chart below regarding 1985 until the 2000s:

Figure 4

Exhibitions addressing Individual memory, from 1985 until the 2000s:	
Exhibition Title	**Duration**
Vice, horror, ecstasy -Anita Berber	14. February 1988 – 13. March 1988
Wilfried Laule - paintings and drawings	14 July 1991 – 22 September 1991
Tribute to Conrad Veidt	26 May 1993 – 29 August 1993
Atrocities - Pictures by Rinaldo Hopf and Martin von Ostrowski	15 September 1993 – 17 October 1993
Life Stories 1 – Albrecht Becker	14 November 1993 – 3 January 1994
Life stories 2 - And all because of the boys: scout leader and concentration camp prisoner Heinz Dörmer	3 December 1994 – 14 May 1995
Life Stories 3 – Frankfurt, Basel, New York: Richard Plant	22 July 1996 – 1 December 1996
The most beautiful man in German cinema - homage to Adolf Wohlbrück	4 January 1997 – 15 March 1997
Remember me - remembering people and their lives	7 March 1998 – 24 May 1998
Life stories 4 - love, research, teaching: The art historian Christian Adolf Isermeyer	30 September 1998 – 3 January 1999
Norbert Heuler – Houseboys	31 July 1999 – 31 October 1999
Dance on the volcano - homage to Gustaf Gründgens	9 November 1999 – 11 March, 2000

From the year 2000s until 2009, see, for instance, the chart below:

Figure 5

Exhibitions addressing Cultural Memory, from 2000s until the 2009:	
Exhibition Title	**Duration**
Karl Heinrich Ulrichs - champion of gay emancipation	28. September 2000 – 19. November, 2000
Oscar Wilde: An homage on the 100th anniversary of his death	1. December 2000 – 26. February 2001
Public Enlightenment through Publishing Policy – Max Spohr (1850-1905): Publisher in Leipzig	7. April 2001 – 2. July 2001
Ronald M. Schernikau: poet, diva, communist	3. October 2001 – 18. November 2001
Marlene and the Third Sex: Homage on Marlene Dietrich's 100th Birthday	5. December 2001 – 15. April 2002
The literary salon at Richard Schultz	25. April 2002 – 29. July 2002
Factory of Feelings: Homage to Rainer Werner Fassbinder	29. May 2002 – 28. October 2002
Hans Anton, dancer	26. February 2003 – 26. May 2003
A magnificent late developer – Homage to O. E. Hasse	6. June 2003 – 15. September 2003
Homage to Michel Foucault marking the 20th anniversary of his death	16. June 2004 – 18. October 2004
Rinaldo Hopf: AMORE	7. November 2004 – 14. February 2005
Applause – a must! Homage to Thomas Mann	1. June 2005 – 5. August 2005
Elisabeth Leithäuser (1914-2004), journalist – biographies in the permanent exhibition No. 2	17. August 2005 – 27. November 2005
The Divine One – Homage to Greta Garbo on the occasion of her 100th birthday	14. September 2005 – 28. November 2005
The artist Eberhardt Brucks – Biographical display in the permanent exhibition	29. November 2005 – 5. April 2006
Heino Hilger: Make-up artist at the Berliner Ensemble theatre – Biographical display in the permanent exhibition	14. April 2006 – 18. September 2006
Visconti (November 2nd 1906 – March 17th 1976) – Homage in celebration of his hundredth birthday	7. December 2006 – 5. March 2007
Can love be a sin? – To Zarah Leander on her 100th birthday	16. March 2007 – 28. May 2007
Outsiders: Hans Mayer – Homage on his 100th birthday	16. March 2007 – 28. May 2007
Frenchy: Female impersonator, drag club owner, costumer	11. July 2007 – 31. December 2007
Gertrude and Alice: 100 Years, 100 Roses - 100th anniversary of the meeting of Gertrude Stein and her partner Alice B. Toklas in Paris	18. September 2007 – 31 October 2007
Rosa is retiring – Tribute to the 65th birthday of Rosa von Praunheim	25. November 2007 – 31. March 2008

Figure 6

Exhibitions addressing Cultural Memory, from 2000s until the 2009:	
Exhibition Title	**Duration**
The persecution of homosexual men in Berlin 1933-1945	26. March 2000 – 30. July 2000
Society for the Reform of Sexual Law and Berlin in the 1950s	14 July 2001 – 18 November 2001
"It could be a fever, because of me, because of you, because of love..." – A photographic approach towards life with HIV	7. November 2002 – 17. February 2003
Fuck Gender – Photos by Annette Frick 1995-2003	26. February 2003 – 26. May 2003
Self-awareness and persistence	6. December 2004 – 5. March 2005
Photos by Jim Karlheinz Weinberger	24. February 2005 – 16. May 2005
Are you man enough to be a woman! Photographs from the Sternweiler Collection 1940 – 1969	7. June 2007 – 3. September 2007
A Multi-Sided Talent: Costume Designer Paul Seltenhammer (1903-1987)	12. September 2007 – 12. November 2007
L-project: Lesbians in Berlin from 1970s to the present	22. August 2008 – 7. December 2008

Exhibitions Categorization

The former category focused on presenting historical, contextual, and cultural aspects of homosexuality in German history, while the latter category emphasized the community's experiences by incorporating specific life stories into the historical narratives. Both categories utilized sources such as journals, magazines, historical documents, and personal archives to create a cohesive narrative that established the community's history and memory. The historical narratives provided a foundation for the community's history, while individual memories memorialized the community's experiences within this history.

For example, the exhibition *History of § 175 – Criminal Law Against Homosexuals* (May 17, 1990 – June 7, 1990) notes:

“History of § 175 – Criminal Law Against Homosexuals May 17, 1990 – June 7, 1990. The aim of the exhibition is to revive the discussion about § 175. After the GDR has repealed its related criminal provisions without replacement, it seems to be time for § 175, the "disgrace of the century," as Kurt Hiller called it, to finally disappear. The exhibition attempts to confront the history of § 175 with the history of those affected. Not only are the various efforts, petitions, reform proposals, tightening measures, and ultimately also the liberalization of criminal law against homosexuals in the last two centuries traced, but also the impact of each legal situation on homosexuals. How is their life restricted by legal stigmatization? What freedoms exist? Photos, documents, magazines, caricatures, books, leaflets, posters, and headline lists document this dark chapter in German legal history. It was not until 1969 that § 175, which had been tightened by the Nazis in 1935, was reformed. Since then, it has been easier for homosexuals to live their homosexuality. However, the special legal treatment has still not been abolished. § 175 still threatens all gay men with punishment who have sexual relations with men under the age of 18. The public prosecutor's office is obliged to pursue these offenses even without a complaint. The special treatment of gay men in the question of the age of protection must finally be eliminated. A uniform age of protection for both genders would eliminate a part of discrimination. The demand for the complete repeal of § 175 must be understood as an entry point into the discussion on the reform of the entire sexual criminal law(Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1990).”

This exhibition regards Paragraph 175 and its history, narrating a historical context in which the gay identity was subjected to law; that is, the exhibition text connects the history of § 175 to the history of those affected. By doing so, the discourse highlights the importance of understanding the personal impact of these laws, as well as the political and legal landscape. This connection is reinforced by the use of various sources, such as "photos, documents, magazines, caricatures, books, leaflets, posters, and headline lists," which serve as tangible evidence of the experiences of the homosexual community during this period.

By contrast, individual exhibitions highlight specific persons who contribute to the cultural memory. An example of this is the "Life Stories 2 - And all because of the Boys: Scout

Leader and Concentration Camp Prisoner Heinz Dörmer" exhibition (December 3, 1994 – May 14, 1995), which chronicled the experiences of a homosexual man incarcerated in concentration camps during the Nazi regime.

From this perspective, we can see that some exhibitions interplay to produce a general memory and focused on the same subject, generating a process in which the audience has access to the collective cultural memory of the community. In other words, some exhibitions intersect, creating a mosaic that grants audiences access to the collective cultural memory of the community. By interweaving historical narratives with individual exhibitions, these exhibitions foster an understanding of the past and its continuing impact on the present. In conclusion, the museum discourse and its type of exhibition (collective or individual) introduce the identity and historical context of the homosexual community through an interplay of collective and individual narratives.

3.9 Individual Memories (Biographies)

In this category, the museum curates solo exhibitions celebrating significant individuals in the LGBT collective memory. These exhibitions, aptly titled "solo shows" and "life story shows," emphasize the contributions of prominent figures in Germany's LGBT history. For instance, the 1988 exhibition *Vice, Horror, Ecstasy - Anita Berber*, recounts the life of a celebrated dancer and film star:

“In the first gay feature film, Richard Oswald's Different from the Others, she appeared alongside Conrad Veidt, Reinhold Schünzel, and Magnus Hirschfeld. At night, she would roam the bars and transvestite venues of the new West with her entourage” (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1988).

The exhibition's discourse not only showcases Anita Berber but also accentuates her connection to Magnus Hirschfeld and her presence in homosexual spaces within West Berlin. Through this lens, the exhibition interweaves her figure into the cultural fabric of the community, illustrating her ties to Hirschfeld and queer spaces. Consequently, these exhibitions initiate a process of "collage," situating these influential figures within the

cultural memory by presenting their lives and reinforcing the elements - both individuals and spaces - to which their identity belongs. Similarly, the exhibition *Tribute to Conrad Veidt* (May 26, 1993 – August 29, 1993) celebrates the actor Conrad Veidt.

The museum in 1993 open a new series of exhibitions called “Life Stories,”:

“The museum turns to the biographies of ordinary homosexuals in a new exhibition series. Once a year, their private and public lives, including their work and love lives, will be displayed in reports, interviews, photos, letters, and documents and published in a book series. Only from a detailed understanding of individual life contexts can a collective history of homosexuals be reconstructed” (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1993).

The first exhibition is about Albrecht Becker's life, titled *Life Stories 1 – Albrecht Becker* (November 14, 1993 – January 3, 1994). The narrative of displaying “ordinary” homosexuals reveals that “ordinary” in the sense of an individual, but its context is related to Paragraph 175:

“In 1935, he was arrested for violating § 175 and sentenced to three years in prison. Albrecht Becker's memories are supported and completed by the preserved interrogation transcripts” (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1994).

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This type of strategy integrates and displays for the audience that the one “who” arrested was an “ordinary” individual as the audience, creating a narrative that the main target public can relate to the experience of violating Paragraph 175. Another significative show was "Life Stories 2 - And all Because of the Boys: Scout Leader and Concentration Camp Prisoner Heinz Dörmer" exhibition (December 3, 1994 – May 14, 1995), which narrates the experience of imprisonment of a man during the Nazi period.

The study of Holocaust narratives began to flourish in the 1970s as survivors shared their harrowing experiences under the oppressive Nazi regime. Yet for a significant period, the anguish faced by homosexual prisoners in concentration camps remained largely unaddressed in Holocaust research, memorials, and museums (Kaczorowski, 2015). In this regard, the Schwules Museum (SMU) steps in to fill this void in historical accounts by curating biographies of these marginalized individuals. Since its establishment in 1985, SMU has

predominantly focused on exhibitions related to cultural memory up until the early 2000s. However, a shift occurred as the museum emphasized biographical narratives in its exhibitions post-2000.

This transformation can be traced back to a confluence of factors, such as the German government's belated recognition of homosexuals as Holocaust victims during the 1990s, followed by the subsequent removal of homosexuality from the list of classified disorders. These events, both direct and indirect, illustrate the enduring stigma associated with homosexuality, which in turn shaped the development of later biographies of these individuals. It is important to note that not all biographies published between 1985 and 2009 were of individuals who were imprisoned in concentration camps. In fact, there were 2 from 12, which indicates that Holocaust memory comprises a small percentage. A potential explanation for this discrepancy may be found in the fact that during the Nazi era, it is estimated that 65% of Holocaust homosexual victims died (Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.).

These factors, in conjunction with the growing recognition of civil rights for the LGBTQ+ community, such as marriage equality, contributed to a gradual acceptance of these previously suppressed memories within public spaces. As a result, the SMU has emerged as a pivotal institution in generating and preserving these invaluable narratives, shedding light on an often overlooked aspect of Holocaust history.

3.10 Traumatic Memories: Persecution, Censorship, and Commemoration

In its early years, the narrative focused on traumatic memories, predominantly emphasizing persecution and censorship. This recurring theme can be observed in various exhibitions. For instance, in 1990 (History of Section 175 - Criminal Law Against Homosexuals), 1991 (Pictures, Photos, and Documents from 100 Years of Gay History), 1997 (Goodbye to Berlin? 100 years of the Gay movement), and 2000 (The Persecution of Homosexual Men in Berlin 1933-1945). These exhibitions, along with personal accounts, showcase collective and individual traumatic events experienced by the homosexual community.

Traumatic memories encompass events that have profoundly affected a social group and are preserved and commemorated collectively. Within the Schwules Museum Berlin (SUM), these memories are honored through exhibitions that address both individual and historical events. Michel Pollak's (1989) work, "Memory, Forgetting, Silence," highlights the presence of dominant and subordinate memories, distinguished by a divide between official memory and marginalized memories marked by silence, untold experiences, and resentment. This dichotomy is manifested in the relationship between the dominant state, civil society, and minority groups. Consequently, the SUM serves as a platform for discussing and raising awareness about the experiences and struggles of a marginalized group.

The museum's 99 exhibitions span a variety of content, from individual stories to collective experiences of the homosexual community, emphasizing the importance of exploring and constructing collective memory. This thematic repetition aids in processing trauma and reflects the ongoing battle for equality and the pursuit of civil rights.

The Concept of "Postmemory"

Marianne Hirsch's (1997) concept of "post-memory" is used to explain the role of the SMU in the first period as a producer of memory. For instance, in 1988 the exhibition “Remember me - remembering people and their lives*”* (Remember me – Erinnerung an Menschen und ihr Leben) can show us how the museum understand and frame memory:

“Memory bridges temporal and sometimes spatial distances; memories fuel our most private thoughts and also form the collective, political, and social fabric. Memory depends on our own efforts and is not just a residue of the past but an activity, a transportation into the present, and a creative act. A beam of light is directed at something, and something specific is highlighted from the vast array of past and forgotten events. Remember me sheds light on aspects of memory, rituals of remembrance, and forms of commemoration” (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1988).

The text emphasizes how societal power structures and ideologies affect people's memories and sense of self. The discourse highlights the societal expectations and norms surrounding memory. As a result:

“Homosexuals implementing their own ideas of individual lifestyle always occurs within a collective context. To identify as gay, it was necessary to preserve one's own moments of memory, search for one's own data, trace one's own lines of tradition, and thus construct one's own history, a history of gay people. Gays (like women and black people before them) had to define themselves based on their specific commonality (for gays, their sexuality), associate with one another, and form a group to demand social acceptance. One's own feelings and experiences are intricately linked with the social and political organization of society. Remembering one's own history and life, and finding one's place in relation to history, is a moment of self-invention. Everyone can create their own images. Everyone works on their own memory, on the myth of their life” (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1988).

Therefore, we can see a discourse that assumes the position that the community needs to forge its own memories and stories in the face of exclusion from society. In this sense, Hirsch defines post-memory as a form of memory that is transmitted through the experiences of others who have been affected by a traumatic event (Hirsch, 1987). In the context of the exhibition, post-memory is manifested through the display of photographs, documents, and other materials that transmit memories of traumatic events related to the LGBTQ+ community. These types of displays allow the audience who may not have experienced the events firsthand to connect with the memories and emotions of those who did.

Cathy Caruth (1996:11) posits in her work "Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, History" that trauma is not just a singular event, but an ongoing process that is continually remembered and experienced in various contexts. In this sense, the trauma experienced by the homosexual community is not only individual in nature but is also shared collectively. The exhibitions in the first period reflect this understanding of trauma as a collective experience, as they serve as a space for the representation of collective memories and experiences of the community.

"Now-Memory" and the Ongoing Struggle for Equality

The exhibitions in the first period functioned not only as a space for post-memory but also as a space of "now-memory." I use the term "now-memory" to refer to an environment where the community can control their present, as the traumatic events of the past continue to

impact their daily lives and the ongoing struggle for equality. For example, the exhibition "The History of § 175, in 1990, which called for the repeal of Section 175 without replacement, served as an introduction to the discussion on the reform of the entire sexual criminal law (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1990). This exhibition highlights not only the process of facing past trauma but also its reality in the present, as the community continues to fight for their rights in that period.

Hence, the first period of exhibitions at the Schwules Museum Berlin serves as a testament to the importance placed on exploring and constructing a collective memory of the traumatic experiences of the homosexual community. The repetition of themes related to persecution and censorship highlights the ongoing struggle for equality and the fight for civil rights. The exhibitions serve as a means of processing the trauma experienced by the community and provide a space for the representation of both post-memory and now-memory.

3.11 Incorporating “Queer” as an Identity

Historically, the term "queer" referred to strange or peculiar things, but over time it became a term for LGBTQ+ individuals. It wasn't until the 1980s and 1990s that LGBTQ+ activists and scholars reclaimed the term as a means of challenging prevailing social norms surrounding gender and sexuality:

“At roughly the same time, the term queer theory began to circulate and quickly gained momentum within academic circles. The film theorist Teresa de Lauretis coined the term at a University of California, Santa Cruz, conference about lesbian and gay sexualities in February 1990. The conference proceedings were later collected in a 1991 special issue of Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies” (Miller, n.d., p.1).

The acceptance of "queer" as an identity label was significantly influenced by the development of queer theory in academia during the 1990s. This can be seen in the exhibition text “Fuck Gender – Photos by Annette Frick” (February 2003 – May 2003), the first time that the term is addressed in the museum discourse:

It is a savvy project that acknowledges the apparent paradox that one puts on a mask, a disguise, not to hide oneself but to allow for the expression of one's identity. By donning a mask, a wig, or a dress, Frick's protagonists fabricate new identities. Since those in Frick's world are some of the most innovative personalities from Berlin's past and present cultural landscape, the new identities documented by these photos suggest something of the city's radical cultural possibilities. In many cases Frick's photos are the only existing documents of an event that otherwise remains in the form of memories or stories passed on by the participants. Her photos therefore have a unique historical value. It is a testament to Frick's skill and craft, however, that her photos retain something of the freshness and spontaneity of the environment in which she shot them. As an essential documentarian of Berlin's underground scene, Frick has become as well a trusted participant in it. Her photos therefore reveal a kind of intimate, insider perspective on the raw fabulousness of queer life. (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 2003)

The text highlights the work of Frick in "fabricating new identities." At the same time, the text introduces the word "queer" in reference to "life." The term "queer" was also used in the exhibition Rinaldo Hopf: AMORE (November 2004 – February 2005) to describe the photographer's work:

For the many years that I have known Rinaldo's work, he has continuously endeavored to catalogue, define, chronicle, those members of the queer community whose impact on our world has been so great whether they be the members The White Rose secret society, or even barely camouflaged self-portraits of the Golden Hans series (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 2005).

Both exhibitions employed the term to address a specific community and type of culture, reflecting the museum's alignment with the study of gender and sexuality:

From its earliest iterations, queer theory challenged norms that reproduced inequalities and, at its best, sought to understand how sexuality intersected with gender, race, class, and other social identities to maintain social hierarchies. In fact, de Lauretis used the term queer to create critical distance from lesbian and gay studies. Lesbian and gay studies courses began to appear in the 1970s, and programs slowly emerged in the 1980s" (Miller, n.d., p.1).

This evolution is evident in the exhibitions held at the Schwules Museum, which initially focused on sexuality-related to male and female bodies without discussing gender, race, and other aspects of identity and its intersections. The museum's adoption of "queer" in the early 2000s highlights the influence of queer theory and the LGBTQ+ movement's organization. The term's appropriation by the community reveals a diachronic evolution of language, imbuing it with political meaning.

“The change in vocabulary that happened around the time of the Stonewall riots had an immense impact on the movement of sexual minorities. The old term “homosexual” was considered to be too formal and too strongly connected to discourses that considered homosexuality to be a medical condition. The new term “gay” was a call to come out and be active politically. This change in terminology was also a sign of a deeper change in selfidentification, in the role and perception of the community, and in political consciousness that was informed by knowledges available during this time”(Jacek Kornak, 2015, p.45).

The influence of the Stonewall riots in the United States also underscores the transatlantic nature of the LGBTQ+ community in Germany. Both symbols, like the pink triangle, and language changes in exhibition texts reflect this connection. Consequently, the community's articulation through symbols, codes, and vocabulary continues to evolve, showcasing the ever-shifting landscape of queer identity.

3.12 Categorization Process

Within this context, the role of museum discourse in curatorial texts transcends the mere establishment of historical timelines and transmission of memory. It extends to the categorization of individual sexuality, fostering self-identification. Collective memory frequently mirrors shared experiences or identities among groups defined by factors such as race, gender, or region. In museum discourse, these narratives find their basis in a common ground of identity and sexuality.

The construction of history and culture can be correlated with the stages delineated by Brubaker and Cooper (2000): identification and categorization, self-understanding and social

location, and commonality, connectedness, and groupness. The first stage pertains to individual identification through social relationships and membership in groups with shared attributes. The second stage centers on personal comprehension of one's identity and place in the world. The third stage concerns collective identities, with the first two stages considering weaker ties and "groupness" as the most potent form of identification.

Exhibition representations showcase attributes identifiable by the community, fostering a sense of belonging among individuals who share similar categorical features. Furthermore, the discourse situates these memories within a space addressing shared community issues, offering a sense of how this identity fits into a specific context, namely, "a person's sense of who they are and where they fit in the world" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 20-21). Ultimately, these exhibitions facilitate individual identification and connections to others, engendering commonality, connectedness, and groupness.

Regarding external categorization, exhibitions centered on identity, particularly those focusing on homosexuality, function as external categorization processes. The placement of sexuality as a defining feature for these individuals is exemplified by exhibitions such as "The Most Beautiful Man in German Cinema - Homage to Adolf Wohlbrück" (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1990), celebrating the 100th birthday of boulevard actor Adolf Wohlbrück, who maintained discretion around his homosexuality. Another exhibition, "Homage to Hubsi - The Actor Hubert von Meyerinck" (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1990), emphasizes that despite his homosexuality, Meyerinck was relegated to minor supporting roles in films and had to suppress his true self on camera. The exhibition "Gunter Puttrich-Reignard Signs Five Poems" (Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1990) spotlights deaf artist Gunter Puttrich-Reignard, a founding member and president of the "Verkehrte Hörlose" since 1992. Yet another example is the 2004 exhibition “Homage to Michel Foucault marking the 20th anniversary of his death”, which underscored Foucault's scholarly contributions while highlighting his sexuality.

In this sense, all of these exhibitions demonstrate the common process of displaying these individuals and their sexuality. Consequently, audiences can cultivate a sense of commonality, and within their cultural memory, this results in identification with these individuals based on shared sexuality as a unifying attribute.

3.13 Representativeness

The dominant discourse can be understood as the predominant themes and subjects addressed in exhibitions, serving to shape the collective memory. It is important to recognize and understand the power dynamics at play in the creation and implementation of dominant discourse, as it has the potential to shape our perspectives toward certain groups and events.

The name "*Schwules"* means "homosexuality" in English. According to the definition provided by Cohler and Hammack (2004:215), homosexuality refers to the romantic or sexual attraction to individuals of the same gender, encompassing both male and female individuals. However, during the early period of the museum, the representation of the homosexual community was not done in a generic manner but rather as a specific reference to homosexual men. This can be seen in exhibitions such as "Life Story," "Homonage," and photographers, where most of the subjects depicted were male. This bias towards male representation can be attributed to the fact that most of the curators during this period were male, resulting in a male-centric curatorial viewpoint.

The focus on male representation in the early period of the museum can be explained by the fact that themes related to loss of citizenship, persecution, and criminalization were primarily associated with men. For example, the exhibition "The Persecution of Homosexual Men in Berlin 1933-1945" explored the persecution of gay men in Berlin during the Nazi regime and their experience in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. This mode of memory construction excludes women from the discourse for a certain period, raising questions about the hierarchization of gay and lesbian representation in the SMU museum and whether it is a result of the dominant collective memory and practices surrounding the holocaust or a male gaze hierarchy.

The issue of male representation in museums, particularly traditional museums, is related to the critique of the *male gaze*[25]. Most exhibitions present their narratives through a male gaze, reinforcing hierarchies and reproducing power relations. However, the SMU differs in this aspect as it represents the experiences of the male homosexual community rather than

[25] For more information on "Male Gaze", check, for instance: Snow, E. (1989). Theorizing the Male Gaze: Some Problems. *Representations*, *25*, 30–41. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928465

objectifying women. Nevertheless, the underrepresentation of women, with a higher number of exhibitions related to male homosexuality compared to female homosexuality, results in their invisibility and raises questions about the museum's origins as a male homosexual museum focused on male experiences rather than a homosexual museum.

The first individual exhibition dedicated to a lesbian, "Vice, Horror, Ecstasy - Anita Berber," took place in 1988, but it was only in 2002 that the museum organized another show centered on lesbian identity as a solo show, titled "Marlene and the Third Sex: Homage on Marlene Dietrich's 100th Birthday."

A shift toward more equitable representation emerged in 2005, 2007, and 2008 with exhibitions such as The Divine One – Homage to Greta Garbo on the occasion of her 100th birthday; Gertrude and Alice: 100 Years, 100 Roses," celebrating the 100th anniversary of the meeting between Gertrude Stein and her partner, Alice B. Toklas, in Paris; and "The L-Project: Lesbians in Berlin from the 1970s to the Present."

In conclusion, the issue of representation in the SMU pertains to its name, which is defined as a homosexual museum but contributes to the invisibility of lesbians by using its generic term. This collective memory is a result of memory practices and laws targeting homosexual men. There is not a male gaze on women subjects related to objectification, but rather a dominant memory hierarchization that omits lesbian women's experiences in their first years.

4 Conclusion

The case study of the Schwules Museum (SMU) illuminates a memory suppressed and marginalized by the nation within the public sphere. The museum's emergence highlights the community's awareness of this reality and their aspiration to employ heritage as a political instrument for change. As such, the museum's emergence can be perceived as an effort to inscribe these memories and identities into the public domain, with LGBT museums functioning as spaces for the formation of collective identity. While the traditional museum emergence represents the heritagization of patriarchal culture (see Chapter 1), the SMU assumes a contrasting form.

My investigation aimed to understand the ways in which the German LGBT community represents itself through the emergence of the SMU. A notable example is the history of the Holocaust, in which the official German state discourse formerly excluded narratives involving homosexuals. Through its biographical exhibitions, the museum serves as a conduit linking individual and collective memories. It operates not only as a space fostering belonging but also as a space that employs heritage as a political resource, representing the collective memory before and after the Holocaust. This includes the persecution of homosexuals, who were targeted even before the Nazi era. The dialectic between the "wardrobe" and the "closet" (see Chapter 1) reveals discourses and narratives previously excluded from Germany's national narrative from the 1980s to the 2000s, exposing the “closet” nature of the German nation-state during that period.

The role of the SMU has been instrumental in reconciling history and memory, integrating individual and collective memories into public history. The construction of these narratives represents a significant sphere of political contestation, embodied in the SMU's emergence. For instance, such reconciliation can be perceived as "legitimized" when the museum began receiving government funding in 2009. This development signifies the initiation of recognition for the institution as part of the national narrative. Thus, the museum serves as a space that influences national politics by facilitating the circulation of "stories" about the LGBT community.

Both intangible and tangible heritage assume the role of power sources when they transform into symbols and identity claims. For example, the SMU heritage discourse involves presenting history from the perspective of the “self” instead of the "other," attributing new meanings to heritage. In doing so, a counter-narrative emerges to construct the “self” that once was considered “other”. The employment of heritage for identity claims significantly impacts a group's identity, influencing the internal self-definition and self-image of its members within a space that fosters a sense of belonging. Within Jenkins' framework, this alteration signifies a transformation of external categorization, whereby the external category becomes increasingly favorable and aligns with the group's self-definition. Consequently, this shift affects the identity of the group as a whole, facilitating the subversion of the denial paradox (refer to Chapter 2).

Moreover, I explored the clandestine heritage spaces that allowed this community to come form as a group membership. These clandestine social spaces were targeted for closure or destruction by the Nazi regime, signifying the regime's intent to annihilate the community's "subculture."

Fine & Kleinman (1979, p.2) define subculture as a "membership category in which the criterion for belonging is structural or network-based," and as a result, it is "treated as a subsociety." In this context, "structural" refers to the manner in which specific spaces suppress the "belonging" of certain communities. Consequently, these communities, which do not fit within the confines of such social spaces, seek out or establish alternative spaces where their sense of belonging can be re-established. In this sense, clandestine social spaces served this purpose.

In the case of the SMU, I observe that the community appropriates a particular form of structural institution (the museum), which was an institution used to "legitimate" identities and collective memories in the emergence of the modern states (see Chapter 01). This suggests that the "subculture" generated and perpetuated within these clandestine social spaces, despite being erased during the Nazi era, resurfaces in heritage spaces following the regime's collapse. Here, the public display of subculture takes on a political dimension, as it seeks to assert the community's rights within the public sphere. As such, the representation of "subculture" becomes a means of claiming legitimacy within the broader structural social space.

This effort to gain recognition eventually caught the attention of the state in 2009 when the museum received its first funding. This financial support can be interpreted as the state's interest, from a heritage standpoint, in transforming the community's "subculture" into "culture" and redefining the "other" as the "self."

Through discourse analysis, it becomes evident that the control of heritage is vital to the LGBT community's cultural identity, acting as a source of power. In this context, the SMU shapes the community's cultural identity by constructing a narrative that positions these identities within the broader historical narrative. According to this logic, the answer to the question "*Is it the state that constructs the 'Other' through rejection or does the 'Other' forge its own identity by resisting the state's imposed homogeneous categorization*?" reveals a process in the heritage stance where the "other" forges its own identity. As a result, these identities are formed around a discourse that calls for the control of their political identity. Specifically, through exhibitions that emphasize the trauma and control exerted by the state, the museum asserts in its narrative the need to control these identities. This, in turn, signifies the regulation of the community's expression.

Relations of Power and Representation

Another question I sought to answer was, "What is the museum's closet?" Although the museum creates a process of "horizontality," meaning the attempt to showcase elements that connect the community, this does not imply that "horizontality" is devoid of power relations. As we saw in Chapter 1 (the museum space as a social field) and Chapter 2 (the stratification of the clandestine spaces), the community is not immune to such power relations. On one hand, the process of creating a sense of horizontality through exhibitions is important because it stabilizes the community's image, offers them a representational space in which the sense of belonging can be reached, and uses its discourse to legitimize the "subculture" as "culture." On the other hand, this process of selection and display also creates, in the production (the construction of a collective narrative) and reproduction (displaying this to the general public), stereotypes in society's general imaginary. For instance, exhibitions related to male nudity and gay pornography may create a stereotype that does not apply to all individuals within the community because there are many more variables apart from sexuality that shape their identity.

An important observation concerns the way in which the community's memories are hierarchized. The name of the museum is linked to "homosexuality," which, at the time, aggregated a binary view between the categories of "man" and "woman." Between the years 1985 and 2009, for example, there was a greater emphasis on exhibiting male homosexual identity in individual exhibitions, prioritizing the representation of male homosexuality while leaving aside the representation of lesbian memories. This contributes to the narrative of exclusion of lesbians as it relegates them to a secondary layer. Therefore, the museum has a closet in its representation process, which regards the intersectionality in its representativeness.

Additionally, it is essential to acknowledge that the system of representation contributes to the exclusion of certain attributes of collective memory and identity. While it is true that any representational system inevitably involves exclusion due to selection, the context of historical periods must be taken into account. German queer history can be divided into three periods: pre-Nazi regime, during the Nazi regime, and post-Nazi regime. Before the Nazi regime, persecution due to same-sex acts between men led to the formation of a subculture with structures illustrating their membership. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, this subculture was stratified by gender and class. Thus, individuals persecuted by the law shared attributes with the nation regarding their position in society. Advocacy for homosexuality was primarily centered on males, resulting in an "identity" controlled by a male narrative. Consequently, this identity construction reflects the exclusion of individuals from the national narrative that also reproduces a male gaze, underlining the beneficiaries of patriarchal culture.

During the Nazi regime, not only was there legal persecution, but also attempts at annihilation, rendering gender distinctions irrelevant within the patriarchal system. In the post-Nazi era, the SMU focuses on reconstructing this memory, primarily concentrating on male homosexuality. However, this power hierarchy generates a discourse that relates to the reproduction of a narrative concerning collective memory construction and identity creation from the pre-Nazi period, where male privileges influenced the selection process, leading to exclusion. Thus, although they do not directly contribute to the "objectification" of women through the male gaze, the museum's discourse maintains the marginalized positions of lesbian, bisexual, and transgender identities in the representational process from 1985 to 2009.

Transatlantic hegemonic narrative and exclusion

German queer history provides valuable context for the development of the LGBT movement, demonstrating that its emergence was not solely rooted in the United States. By examining the Weimar Era in Germany and the 1960s in the United States, we gain a deeper understanding of LGBT history by considering multiple perspectives and national contexts.

The prevalence of American exceptionalism in shaping narratives about the LGBT movement can be attributed to factors such as the widespread influence of American culture and media, the historical context of the Cold War, and the political hegemony of the United States. These elements contribute to the emphasis on American-led developments in LGBT history.

For instance, Armstrong & Crage (2006) argue in their article "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth" that the Stonewall riots became the core of gay collective memory, while other significant events were overlooked. They claim that Stonewall was not the first instance of gay liberation, but its mythic status overshadowed other events: “Other events, however, failed to achieve the mythic stature of Stonewall and indeed have been virtually forgotten” (Armstrong & Crage, p. 725). In this context, we can see the global influence of American culture and media led to the amplification of events like Stonewall, while other narratives and experiences were excluded.

For instance, McChesney (1999, p.2) in Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times, says that the role of the media has become a “significant anti-democratic force in the United States and, to varying degrees, worldwide”. Consequently, the hegemony of the United States amplifies certain narratives and experiences, such as those surrounding the Stonewall riots, while obscuring others. Nelles (1997, p.755) observes that for Lipset, exceptionalism is a "double-edged sword," presenting both positive and negative aspects. In the context of LGBT collective memory, this means that while media attention provides visibility to the movement, it also fosters the influence of national identity and self-perception, promoting American-led narratives and excluding others in an attempt to unify the movement since we can see connection ans relations of the SUM with the United States (solo exhibitions dedicated to american artists).

The amplification of American narratives relies on the political context and hegemony of the United States after the Second World War, as well as its presence in West Germany. This includes the incorporation of the pink triangle into American movements, which later became part of the collective memory of the LGBT movement. The legitimization and hegemony of these narratives demonstrate the power dynamics at play in shaping collective memory. The United States' role during the Cold War era and its impact on international relations and value promotion contribute to this process.

As a result, the prominence of the American exceptionalism narrative can be partly attributed to the simplification of complex histories and the tendency to focus on easily identifiable moments or events as turning points. The Stonewall riots, for example, are often treated as the singular starting point of the LGBT rights movement, despite being part of a larger historical context that includes developments in other countries such as Germany.

Furthermore, the global interconnectedness of the LGBT rights movement is evident in how developments in one country can inspire or influence movements in another. This is illustrated by the early exhibitions of American artists at the SMU and the adoption of the pink triangle in the United States.

Constructing Identity and Colonization

The Greek aesthetic of the male nude has played a crucial role in shaping the identity of the homosexual male community. By embracing this classical heritage in art and culture, the impact of ancient Greece has significantly contributed to the development of the homosexual identity. The SMU exemplifies this connection, with exhibitions related to "classical art" during the 1980s emphasizing the discourse that generates and perpetuates this bodily identity. However, examples of production and reproduction within gay culture extend beyond "classical" art.

The homosexual identity, for instance, began its construction in the early 20th century when Germans referenced ancient Greek society. Exhibitions related to antiquity at the museum present this "identity" by seeking its foundations in the past. As a result, the museum's narrative portrays same-sex practices not as a "contemporary" phenomenon but as a practice

originating from the dawn of civilization. In this context, the strategy bears resemblance to modern public museums that present humanity's material culture as a constructed part of national identity, informed by the past. On one hand, the construction of homosexual identity parallels the development of German national identity. Greece played a pivotal role in shaping German national identity and culture (Geary, 2014), and the term "homosexual," coined by Hungarian-German psychiatrist Karoly Maria Benkert, is derived from the Greek terms "homo" and "sexualis," both meaning "sex" (William et al., n.d.). In this regard, there are similarities and exclusions: while the construction of German national identity in the 19th-20th centuries explored its connections to Greece, it simultaneously put in the closet the aspects that homosexual identity exposed.

Viewing this through the lens of decolonization, we can examine the colonial perspective that helps establish a homosexuality identity while its consumption process reproduces stereotypes that exclude those who do not share the same attributes. This perspective allows us to observe how the male homosexual body is reproduced and consumed within the cultural sphere.

For example, the production and stereotyping of the male homosexual identity are products of social relations that also exist in selection and display processes. Exhibitions promoted by the Tom of Finland Foundation exemplify the connection between Germany and the United States and the evolution of gay culture in the late 20th century. Snaith (2003, p. 77) discusses the role of Tom's drawings in the masculinization of homosexuality, creating a "utopian" and "idealized male body." In this context, we can see how this culture was consumed by both countries, forming a "transatlantic" narrative that shapes the male homosexual identity while simultaneously excluding other bodies. This exclusion stems from the identification process related to images of masculinity and national visions. The museum, as a producer of memory and a space that shapes identity, participates in the reproduction of community stereotypes.

In conclusion, the Schwules Museum Berlin plays a critical role in constructing and preserving the collective memory of the German LGBTQ+ community, particularly in relation to traumatic experiences and the ongoing fight for equality. By providing a space for both post-memory (Hirsch, 1987) and now-memory, the museum enables the representation

of individual and collective experiences, giving voice to narratives that have been historically marginalized.

This enables the LGBTQ+ community to assert their identity and utilize heritage as a political resource, contributing to a more inclusive national narrative. The museum's exhibitions not only reveal the traumatic past experienced by the homosexual community but also demonstrate the resilience and agency of this community in their struggle for equality. By promoting the understanding of the collective trauma as an ongoing process rather than a singular event, the museum encourages engagement with the past, present, and future of the LGBTQ+ community.

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Appendixes

List of figures