

Abstracts

Gabriele Kämper

Hart am Wind. Rechte Lektüren zwischen Untergang und Offensive

Around the publicist Götz Kubitschek, a network of the New Right emerged with the magazine and the blog Sezesion, the publishing house Antaios and the Institute for State Policy (IfS). It contributes significantly to the production of right-wing ideology, and canon formation. The essay follows the thesis that the rhetorical appeal to a successful gender order constitutes the affective foundation of right-wing reading. Gender policy has come at the center of right-wing ideologies, and gender inequality serves as a sort of blueprint for any propaganda of inequality. Self-designations, reading recommendations, gadgets with the intellectual ancestral gallery, in particular the Conservative Revolution, word fields and the publications of Antaios are the initially rather unobserved set pieces, in which the emotional approval of the ideological postulates in relation to gender orders, feminism and gender debates are created. Significant particles, such as linguistic imagery, key words or rhythms, form the emotive context that evokes consent. This shows the gender-codification of the right-wing literatures and their connection with inequality, demarcation strategies and anti-feminist ideologies.

Stefanie Mayer, Iztok Šori, Birgit Sauer und Edma Ajanović

Mann, Frau, Volk. Familienidylle, Heteronormativität und Femonationalismus im europäischen rechten Populismus

The article explores notions of gender in right-wing populist discourses from a comparative perspective. Our analysis shows the important role intersections of discursive strands, most notably the interlinkage of sexism, homophobia and (gendered) racism, play in European right-wing populism. We show how two assumingly contradicting strands of discourses, are interwoven in right-wing populist constructions of »the pure people«, which right-wing political actors mean to address. At these intersections »the people« becomes a biological and cultural entity while gender is instrumentalised to police the borders of this imagined community and enforce apartheid visions of society in terms of social, economic and cultural rights.

Andrea Zimmermann

»Wir sind das Volk« – emanzipatorische Politiken der Erinnerung im Theater der Gegenwart

By means of an analysis of two current theatre plays, this article traces the counter-narratives of the happily reunited »people« and asks what appears on the flip side of hegemonic remembrance of reunification. What are the continuous exclusions in the construc-

tion of »the people«? What is the reverse side of the folk figure brought about by gendering and racialization? To what extent are alternative collectives based on the non-hierarchical recognition of difference(s) being imagined by means of an emancipatory narrative memory policy? To address these questions, I bring the two theatrical texts, which from the perspective of women* inscribe complex and marginalized memories of reunification into a collective memory, into a transdisciplinary dialogue with gender theory considerations on the recognition of difference. In this way I show how, with regard to the history of Germany's »Wende« and »Wiedervereinigung«, the concept of »the people« is made visible in its ambivalences and opened up with different strategies for reworking.

Franziska Schutzbach

Dominante Männlichkeit und neo-reaktionäre Weltanschauungen in der Pick-Up-Szene

The article examines gender constructions in the so-called *Pick Up Artist* scene. Pick Up Artists form a self-help community where men learn how to »seduce« women. The scene is now active worldwide. In recent years it has been repeatedly argued that the proclaimed »seduction« techniques are anything but harmless but manipulative methods to the use of force. Women are reduced to the status of objects, while men are celebrated as »alphas«. Recently, especially in the US but to some extent in German-speaking countries as well it became clear that

there are many overlaps between the Pick-Up scene and new right-wing movements like Alt Right. It seems that *Picks* and their masculinist agenda are a place of radicalization for young men. The text analyzes some key texts from the US and German Pick-Up scene and asks which gender ideologies constitute the masculinist premises, and in what ways these can be the ground for right-wing world views.

Nikita Dhawan

Meinungsfreiheit, Hassrede und die Politiken der Zensur

Drawing on liberal, anarchist, Marxist, feminist, anti-racist, queer, postcolonial perspectives, this essay text seeks to engage with the following questions: Should one set limits to free speech and who should have the power to do so? If free speech should not be encumbered by legal or moral imperatives, how should vulnerable groups like racial, sexual and religious minorities respond to the injuries and power inequalities produced and perpetuated through hate speech? Should states intervene or should extra state actors negotiate the violent effects of hate speech? Beginning with a brief engagement with the philosophical principle of free speech, the text revisits the feminist debate on censorship with particular focus on the positions of Catherine MacKinnon and Judith Butler with regard to the role of the state. Here the following questions are raised: Is it legitimate to censor injurious speech acts? Should the state be expected to »protect« racial, sexual and religious minorities from hate speech?

Christopher Fritzsche und Juliane Lang

Backlash, neoreaktionäre Politiken oder Antifeminismus? Forschende Perspektiven auf aktuelle Debatten um Geschlecht

In the German academic debate, the terms »reactionary backlash«, »neo-reactionary politics« or »anti-genderism« represent competing analytical efforts to come to grips with the recent rise of opposition against feminist critique and feminist interventions in social power structures. By contrast, we argue for an analytical understanding of antifeminism and propose to draw on research on gender and right wing extremism for this purpose.

Keywords: Kategorien feministischer Theorie, Antifeminismus, neoreaktionäre Politiken

Patrick Wielowiejski

Identitäre Schwule und bedrohliche Queers. Zum Verhältnis von Homonationalismus und Anti-/G/enderismus im Nationalkonservatismus

Far-right parties and movements are often perceived as »homophobic«, an accusation that they themselves refute. Based on ethnographic data from the *Alternative für Deutschland* and texts by German national conservative authors, this article argues that the rejection of queerness and gender fluidity is less directed at homosexuality as such, but rather at liberal egalitarianism. While

»homonationalism« is a phenomenon mostly associated with liberalism, the (heteronormative) »gay-friendliness« of contemporary national conservatism is decidedly anti-liberal. Core elements of this anti-liberalism are anti-egalitarianism, essentialism, and an identitarian nationalism.

Christina Thürmer-Rohr

Befreiung – wer, von was, wohin?

The former luminosity of the concepts of liberation and emancipation has diminished. Many women* in Western countries claim emancipation as an individual benefit or self-evident right. We now tend to distance ourselves from the large-scale hopes of change and are confronted with a frayed feminism that can easily connect with racist and nationalist attitudes. Liberation is not yet identical with the will to freedom. Freedom is a new potential, a beginning with others that are present or remembered – a politics of change that dissolves from the typologies of the self as well as the stranger, that does not confuse the common with the similar and that liberates itself for resources that are shared and available to all. How can one speak about this situation without falling into stereotypes and self-righteousness, especially since neo-liberalism promises to guarantee the liberation of the individual self while at the same time concealing its activity?