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German and Mexican Hegemonic Constructions of Masculinities and Femininities in 19th Century and Its Relevance in Mexico's Twenty-First Century's *feminicidio* and *genocidio*

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Abstract. – Nineteenth-century European dualistic gender models and their relevance for the newly created nation-states are outlined. It is shown that there were close connections between the perceptions of the male and female body as well as sexuality and the sociological concepts of *verletzungsmächtig* (being capable of violation) and *verletzungsoffen* (being open to violation). The second part is dedicated to Mexico and how statesmen there adopted the European concepts of "nation" and the (national) "citizen" for their own ends. Symbolic figures such as Malinche, the Virgin of Guadalupe as well as the stereotypes of the Mexican *macho* and of the related *caudillo* were created and propagated in order to document Mexico's distinctiveness in comparison with Europe and the USA. The resulting clichéd gender relations provide the basis for contemporary struggles to uphold hegemony that utilize human bodies to send powerful messages to Mexican men and women. With reference to the responsibility of the state for sexualized and other forms of violence against women and indigenous peoples in Mexico as a vehicle to keep them subordinate and accepting of neoliberal exploitation of the resources in their territories, an intersection of *feminicidio* and *genocidio* is determined. *[Mexico, Virgen de Guadalupe, Malinche, sex/gender systems, sexualized and racialized violence, gender and nation]*

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> The denigration of working women as prostitutes is not merely an expression of class hostilities or patriarchal reentrenchments against women's incursions into the public sphere. Rather, it is also a symptom of the gender dynamics that sustain the reorganization of political and economic power in the denationalized space of the global periphery. … The moral discourse linking *obreras* [i.e., female workers] and prostitutes both masks the state's interest in sexualizing female labor and legitimates subaltern women's exclusion from the protected sphere of citizenship
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> (Schmidt Camacho 2005: 266).

Introduction

Since the beginning of the 1990s, an increasing number of dismembered bodies of murdered women have appeared in Mexico's border region with the United States. When considered alongside the massacres (in which bodies were also cut into pieces) and violent abductions in Mexican states that have high proportions of "rebellious" indigenous population groups such as Chiapas, where in 1997, 45 people including children and pregnant women were massacred while attending a prayer meeting, or in Guerrero, where a group of 43 male students from Ayotzinapa in Iguala were kidnapped while on a college trip in September 2014, it becomes evident that these tragic events have something in

common.[1] Considering feminist theories on sexualized violence and nation (building), I found the link in concepts of sexed bodies, gendered attributes of sexuality, ideal citizens, and violence as a means to secure social hierarchies and the exploitation of people, land, and other "resources" by transnational capitalist enterprises (cf. Hernández C. 2016: 23 ff., 190 ff.).[2]

In what follows, I outline nineteenth-century European dualistic gender models (of German-speaking regions, to be exact) and their relevance for the newly created nation-states. I will show that there were close connections between the perceptions of the male and female body as well as sexuality and the sociological concepts of *verletzungsmächtig* (being capable of violation) and *verletzungsoffen* (being open to violation). The second part is dedicated to Mexico and how statesmen there adopted the European concepts of "nation" and the (national) "citizen" for their own ends. Symbolic figures such as Malinche, the Virgin of Guadalupe, as well as the stereotypes of the Mexican *macho* and of the related *caudillo*, documented Mexico's distinctiveness in comparison with European countries and the USA. The resulting clichéd gender relations persist in contemporary culture and send powerful messages to Mexican men and women.

"Sexualized violence" is a concept defined by feminists that focuses on the patriarchal power relations and political relevance of this type of violence and views it not primarily as a form of aggressive sexuality but rather as an expression of power and aggression by sexual means (Seifert 1993: 86). It denotes any intentional assault and abuse aimed at the violation of the intimate parts of a person in order to humiliate them (Mischkowski 2004: 18). As a form of violence it is subject to the tension between emic and etic views: what is seen as violence (and thus also what is seen as sexualized violence) differs between societies, ethnic groups, classes, etc. On the other hand, to be able to make comparisons, it is necessary to find something that all forms have in common, as I outlined in an article concerning a feminist-anthropological analysis of violence:

> David Riches (1986; 1991) speaks of a representational understanding, where the differences in the concept are manifested [as a] a domain, where people reflect on and judge an act, a situation or a situated experience. This understanding hints at the universality of the term violence that makes cross-cultural comparison possible. The situational level relates to the here and now of an act, to the immediate perceptions and feelings of perpetrators and victims, when their understanding of the legitimacy of the act is likely to be contradictory. Whereas on the representational level, the probability of a consensus on the legitimacy of an act between all participants exists – perpetrator, victim and witnesses/observers – and thus it cannot be seen as violent (Zuckerhut 2011: 14).

Sexual violence as a violation of the private parts of a person (in order to humiliate them) hints specifically at the importance of the situational level of an act, as in this type of violence perceptions and feelings are central. But at the same time, the representational level – that is, the legitimacy of an act which varies historically and conceptually for all its participants – needs to be considered.

Although sexualized violence is not exclusively physical, as it also includes psychological, symbolic, verbal, and other forms of humiliation, it is closely related to concepts of the sexed (and gendered) body. If we define "body" in a phenomenological way, the animated body combines matter and mind (Haller 2005: 99), whereby matter itself is subject to interpretation and is relational (Moore 2011). The body is some kind of memory aid for people's basic convictions (Haller 2005: 99). Thus, bodies always consist of a web of symbols and cultural meanings which, because created by humans, are historical, that is, changeable (Hommen 2000: 580). Therefore, we always also have to consider the emic view of the body and its possibly sexualized as well as gendered forms and meanings. In what follows, I will look at some widespread perceptions of the (gendered and sexualized) body and the related representations (and legitimizations) of sexualized violence, primarily in the form of rape. I also consider important aspects of the hegemonic interpretation of the gendered body related to sexuality – in particular the "cultural marking of desire," according to Foucault (1978, cited by Mayer 2000: 4), and the related sexual desire and gendered being of an individual (Mayer 2000: 4) – in European and Mexican history.

1 Since 1993, more and more mutilated corpses of young women have been found, especially in and around the Mexican border town Juárez. The bodies indicate extreme forms of sexualized violence: the women were raped and in many cases their nipples were cut off, etc. (Livingston 2004: 59). Olivera and Futo (2006: 111) remind us that at the massacre in Acteal the women's breasts were also cut off, the wombs of the pregnant women were sliced, and the unborn babies cut out and thrown against the wall. – Forty-three students from the rural teacher-training college in Ayotzinapa, where poor, mostly indigenous people study, were abducted by the Mexican police in the county town of Iguala. Six were killed immediately and the maimed corpse of one of them was later found in the vicinity of the town (Huffschmid et al. 2015: 8). During the search for the Ayotzinapa students, who are still missing, mass graves were found containing the mortal remains of 150 other, as yet unidentified people (Huffschmid 2015: 61).

2 Bodies, sexuality, citizens, as well as violence are always at the same time gendered, classed, and racialized.

Gendered Conceptions of Sexuality in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century in Europe with Particular Reverence to German-Speaking Countries

The concept of the sexualized body resulted from the "accumulation by dispossession" of prevalent female bodies, sexuality, and reproduction (as well as production, land, work, knowledge, etc.) in the so-called "long sixteenth century" (1450–1640) in Europe, when and where the capitalist world system emerged (Wallerstein 2004: 100). Sheila Pelizzon (2002) labels this process as "gendering." Gendering, according to her, consists of three central aspects: (1) the relegation of women from the realm of economy to the private and domestic domain; (2) the devaluation of the activities and qualities of women; and, (3) the transfer of qualities defined as both female and inferior to everything exploitable, that is, nature, "savages," colonies, etc. Silvia Federici (2012) and others (e.g., Farge and Zemon Davis 1997) showed the violence that is employed in these acts of dispossession for constructing productive male (e.g., white, bourgeois, civilized, and European) and reproductive female domains (comprising, e.g., women and "underclasses"– including males and females – all over the world as well as all non-European regions and "nature"). There is a hierarchy between these two domains – the former always dominating the latter – as feminist as well as postcolonial and other studies[3] have critically assessed.

Dualistic views of gendered bodies leave their mark in sexualized violence against civilians, especially (but not only) those defined as "females," because "modern" forms of hegemonic Western masculinity (and corresponding femininity) "emerged at about the same time and place as modern [nation and] nationalism" (Nagel 1998: 249). It must, however, be underscored that there are always other, albeit marginalized and sometimes hidden, femininities and masculinities as well as other genders.

In Europe, there was a clear ideological distinction between two different, yet complementary, genders, at least from the end of the eighteenth century, essentially characterized by a defined mixture of biology and destiny (Zuckerhut 2016: 64 f.). Men were associated with the dominant, protecting, and providing position in the family, and women with the subordinate, mothering, and nursing (Gray 2000: 1 f.). Marriage, along with the life of a housewife, was glorified as the destiny of women (Hareven 1982: 84), albeit not all women, but specifically of the respectable white, European women (Amesberger, Auer, und Halbmayr 2004; Fuchs 2003, 2011).

Hand in hand with the creation of these honourable spouses and housewives, whose entire existence should concentrate on household duties and children, prostitution gained importance. Whereas decent housewives and mothers (at least in theory) had no active sexuality, prostitutes were characterized by an amoral active sexuality (Fuchs 2003: 24 ff.). The same was true for the "savage" women of other world regions as well as all marginalized people (including prostitutes) within Europe. Sexuality was a marker of morality and, thus, of the valuation of race and class (Fuchs 2003: 74 ff.).

Besides other concepts (of early feminists, European philosophers, etc.), the resulting view that there are differing male (cognitive) and female (natural) morals step by step became widely accepted (Fuchs 2003). Consequently, William Acton (1813 or 1814 – 1875), a British Victorian medical doctor, whose books (edited in 1857 and 1858) were very popular in English-speaking countries, was convinced that female sexuality was satisfied by giving birth and household activities (Knibiehler 1997: 387). Physicians of the nineteenth century concurred in conceding to reputable women only a secondary, derived sexuality that served male pleasure but comprised no autonomous desires. Female frigidity was constructed as a counterpart of male active sexuality. Aberrant active female sexuality – which included prostitution, abortion, transvestism, and even romantic friendship – was seen as male or "declassed" (Walkowitz 1997: 418). Moreover, the mere presence of women in public spaces raised suspicion, as this signalled their affinity to prostitutes. Working women with jobs outside the house were thus considered immoral by reputable citizens (Mohanram 2007: 38).

Already at this time, Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834), famous for his population theories, was propagating the benefits that civilized marriage, in his view, had for women as compared with the unregulated sexuality present in nature and among savages (Fuchs 2003: 74). The Swiss evolutionist Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887) took a similar view in his book "Das Mutterrecht" (The Matriarchy), written to counter the strong feminist tendencies of his time[4]: (white, bourgeois) women should appreciate the advantages of marriage, thus protecting them against "compulsive" males (Fuchs 2003: 75).

This "heterosexual disambiguation of genders" (*heterosexuelle Vereindeutigung der Geschlechter*),

3 E.g., Mirandé (1997: 9 ff.); Fuchs (2003); Cházaro (2011).

4 Davies (2010); Korotin (1992: 38); Zinser (1996: 110).

as Isabell Lorey (2006: 66) calls it, fitted well with the interests of the emerging nations in Europe and the related political interest in increasing birth rates and collecting reliable statistical data about the spread of diseases at this time (and was thus reinforced). Marriage and family are still key institutions, as up to the present in many nations birth determines citizenship. Because of this, some – but not all – women acquired as potential mothers of future citizens a state-building function (Lorey 2006: 66, 70 f.).

Thus, for example, in Germany, sexual violence in the form of rape outside of marriage committed against reputable women, became a crime against the German national community (Koch 2004: 46).[5] At the centre of governmental interest was the defence of the community's collective honour against perpetrators from outside (and not, as we see it today, a woman's right to self-determination). When an honourable citizen was accused, there was always the suspicion that the victim had made a false statement; whereas when men of lesser status, who were not considered citizens, as well as men from "outside", who were defined as foreigners, were denounced as rapists, they were very quickly convicted. Furthermore, to be defined as violation, the deed had to be directed against a woman's reproductive potential, so only penetration with the penis and ejaculation were seen as constituting rape and punished as such (Koch 2004: 46 f.).

The dichotomy between an active, compulsive male sexuality regulated by a cognitive morality (at least among the bourgeoisie) (Bischoff 2013: 209; Hommen 2000: 584 ff.) and a passive, suffering female sexuality is still reflected in theories based on the differentiation of men's and women's bodies, the former having the power to inflict injury (to be capable of violation – *verletzungsmächtig*) and the latter being exposed to injury (to be open to violation – *verletzungsoffen*) (Bereswill 2007, Hommen 2000).[6] Manuela Boatcă (2003) speaks of a resulting "cultural code of violence" that issues some kind of licence to men to be violent and associates women with non-violence.[7]

In accordance, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, criminalists (e.g., Wolfgang Mittermaier), doctors (e.g., Iwan Bloch), and lawyers (e.g., Max Thal) in the German Empire defined intercourse as struggle (Hommen 2000: 585). The English sexologist Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), whose books were controversial but in many respects revolutionary[8] and had many readers including in German-speaking countries, spoke critically of male sadism, of the pleasure of men in conquering women and inflicting pain on them (Bischoff 2013: 210; Hommen 2000: 85). The contemporary German historian Eva Bischoff (2013) referring to these and similar writings goes so far as to define white, bourgeois, heterosexual masculinity along a continuum of (ab)normality of being male, with cannibalistic impulses categorized as part of "those violent urges that constituted male sexuality" (207). She cites the German-Austrian psychiatrist and medical examiner Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), who according to her "believed that human sexuality was structured by the same visceral instincts" in his time "as was the case in pre-historical times" (207). Von Krafft-Ebing's "assumptions were widely accepted among medico-psychiatric and criminological experts" (207), and thus gained some importance in (and mirrored) public opinion. In accordance with the already presented theories of Malthus and Bachofen, Krafft-Ebing "stipulated that modern bourgeois morals and norms had evolved from savagery to modernity by an evolutionary process during which the male sex drive had been increasingly restrained, in other words, 'civilized'" (207). Thus, Bischoff (2013: 210) concludes:

> … instead of establishing a clear-cut binary distinction between normality and deviancy, between white or non-European, proletarian or bourgeois bodies, medico-psychiatric scholars outlined a continuum of male (ab)normality. Every individual was to be located on this scale according to his situation in life, his social background, and his biological heritage. Moreover, with violent, even sadistic impulses being an integral part of every man's *anachronistic body*, manly self-control and restraint became a crucial every-day practice. The willpower necessary to successfully exercise this form of self-governance was believed to be the prerogative of white, healthy, bourgeois men; in other words: to be the distinctive feature of hegemonic masculinity.

Sexualized violence in the form of rape was seen as a crime, committed by men who were incapable of self-control, for example, men of the lower classes and lower "races." In public opinion, as well as

5 Only in 1973, *Notzucht* was termed *Vergewaltigung* (rape) and became an offence against women's right to self-determination (Koch 2004: 46).

6 The terms *verletzungsoffen* and *verletzungsmächtig* were created by the German sociologist Heinrich Popitz (1986) (Dackweiler und Schäfer 2002: 11); the German historian and sociologist Theresa Wobbe (1993) applied them to gender (Hommen 2000: 591).

7 See also Forster (2007: 15 f.); Lenz (2007); and Schnabl (2007: 67).

8 His books were controversial (and revolutionary) because of his writings about homosexuality. Moreover, he also wrote about gender and transgender identity (Hommen 2000: 585, fn. 34; Jens 1996: 154; *New World Encyclopedia* n. d.).

in some approaches in sociobiology (e.g., Symons 1979; Thornhill and Palmer 2000), this was still reflected even at the end of the twentieth century in the so-called "sexual urge explanation" – according to which rape is caused by an uncontrollable sexual instinct of men and serves procreation (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009: 498; Seifert 1993: 86). Gutmann (2007) concludes that men are understood as "the housing for hormones out of control" (161) and labels this belief in men's "natural" hypersexuality "a totemic illusion" (29).

Nonetheless, the white, healthy, bourgeois male had to confine his "sadistic" desires to marriage, primarily with the aim of having children. Thus, there could be no rape within marriage. In Austria, rape within marriage and life partnership became punishable only in 1989, and it became a criminal offence prosecuted upon application by the victim in 2004. To casually satisfy their urges, bourgeois men in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were allowed to visit prostitutes (as some kind of "open secret" – everybody knew, but no one talked about). Nonetheless, sometimes, especially in cases of war – when "normal" social control was and still is suspended – according to this view it could and can happen that men's "natural bestial behavior" came and comes to the surface (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009: 498). To prevent such "recreational rape," as Cynthia Enloe (2000: 111) terms it, war brothels and prostitution rings were and are constructed around military bases (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009: 499 f.). During the Second World War many brothels, therefore, existed for the German SS (in concentration camps and at the frontline) as well as for ordinary soldiers (at the frontline), though they by no means inhibited sexualized cruelties committed by the German army first and foremost against those civilians who were defined as wretched (Amesberger, Auer, und Halbmayr 2004).

As we have seen above, femininity was (and in some respects still is) defined as being complementary to masculinity, and this includes being characterized by the vulnerability of the body (see also Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009: 499). In nineteenth-century Germany (and at other times and elsewhere too) it was thought that sexuality injured the female body, in particular at first sexual intercourse (Hommen 2000: 586). Besides this and in contrast to men, women always stood to lose their "sexual" honour. To keep this honour, married women, though having (or, more accurately, enduring) sexuality only to become mothers, had to live a completely blameless life without any extramarital sexual contacts. Unmarried women also had to conduct themselves in an exemplary manner; additionally, they had to be (asexual) virgins who knew nothing about sexuality (Hommen 2000: 587; Knibiehler 1997: 388). Only females and very young boys had this kind of "sexual" honour, wherefore older boys and men could not be raped in a juridical sense (Hommen 2000: 580). It was not until the end of the 1990s that raping a man became a punishable offence (Lenz 2007: 26).

The resulting purity of mainly female children and unmarried women who knew nothing about sexuality made their souls and bodies extremely vulnerable (Knibiehler 1997: 388). Suffering sexual violence would damage their soul and personality and very often lead to "moral perversity", a dangerous, contagious condition. Therefore, "affected" girls and women were very often expelled from the community (Hommen 2000: 590 ff.). Just like older boys and men, as noted above, "dirty," depraved women (and girls), for example, females who suffered sexual violence as well as women with an active sexuality – that is, "prostitutes" – could, according to this logic of them having no sexual honour, not be raped. In the rare cases in which one of them made an accusation no one believed them (Day 1994: 181).

Up to the present day a specific type of rape, which Cynthia Enloe (2000: 123) calls "National Security Rape," was and "is systematically used by governments and militaries to 'ensure what they thought [and think] to be national security' (Enloe 2000, 123)" (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009: 500). Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009: 500) specify that

> [t]his form of rape violently enacts many intersecting and mutually constitutive power relations, such as local patriarchy and nationalism. It is often used to punish, humiliate, torture, seemingly "subversive" women for threatening national security (and identity) through their perceived challenges to strictly defined notions of femininity and masculinity.

Of course, it is not this type of women that was and is associated with nation building, as "[o]nly pure and modest women … [could] reproduce the pure nation; without purity in biological reproduction the nation clearly cannot survive" (Mayer 2000: 7).

Gendered Conceptions of Sexuality in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century in Latin America with Particular Reverence to Mexico

Given this importance of (pure) women as "mothers of the nations" it is both surprising and unsurprising that in the time of its nation building starting in the nineteenth century, after Mexico became inde-

pendent from Spain, Malinche – "La Chingada,"[9] as she was labelled by the famous author Octavio Paz (1985) – was created as a symbol of (Mexican) national identity (Gutiérrez Chong 2008: 529; Muñiz 2015: 68).

It is surprising, as I will explain below, because Malinche in no way resembles the "pure" woman that represents European nationhood, and, moreover, because there was already a female figure, albeit dark-skinned, who met the requirements of a "mother of the nation" very well. Why this is not surprising will be considered in a later section of this article; however, prior to that the dark-skinned Virgin of Guadalupe, a national saint and closely related to the struggles for independence from Spain will be presented.

The Virgin of Guadalupe, an Early Symbol of New Spain's Distinctiveness

The French historian Jacques Lafaye (2006: 41) showed how a Catholic saint, the Virgin of Guadalupe, gained importance in the Mexican part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain in the seventeenth century. This was an era of growing tensions between the *gachupines* – that is, Spaniards who immigrated from the Iberian Peninsula to New Spain – and their descendants, the Creoles, who were born in the Spanish colony (Lafaye 2006: 301; Meade 2010: 43 ff.).

According to legend, the saint appeared to the *indio* Juan Diego four times on the hill of Tepeyac in December 1531 (Schmelz 2015: 678 f.). Being dark-skinned, speaking Nahuatl (the language of many locals), and having her sanctuary exactly where the precolonial earth deity Tonantzin has been worshipped, the Virgin provided opportunities to connect the indigenous population with the Catholic faith of the colonizers.[10] Her "invention" and popularization ought to have helped in eliminating pagan ideas and in strengthening Christian faith but was only partly successful (Rosati 2009: 82). More importantly, especially given our interest in nation-building and related female figures, the Virgin's appearance in New Spain qualified her as a significant marker of difference, which the Creoles used to differentiate themselves from the *gachupines* (who favored the also dark-skinned Lady of Guadalupe located in the peninsular region of Extremadura, Lafaye 2006: 301). According to Paz (2006), the Creoles saw Tonantzin-Guadalupe as their *verdadera madre* – their "true mother" (22) – and as representing the possibility of rooting themselves in the "New World."[11] Therefore, it is not surprising that her image appeared on the banner that lead Father Miguel Hidalgo "into battle at the outbreak of the [anti-colonial] independence struggle in 1808" (Meade 2010: 45).

The Virgin of Guadalupe as a symbol of New Spain's (notably Creoles') sovereignty thus hints at the conjunction of Spanish/European and specific New World features, albeit as virgin and mother she conforms to (Spanish/Creole) elite standards of femininity much more than does Malinche, "La Chingada", whose relevance will be examined next.

Malinche, "La Chingada", as Mexican "Mother of the (Mestizian) Nation"

Whereas Tonantzin-Guadalupe was primarily co-opted by Creole elites, Malinche gained importance as an emblem of *mestizaje*, the mixture of European and indigenous population groups (and ideas) that prevailed in the newly built Mexican nation after the Revolution (1910–1920) (Bonfil Batalla 2009: 110 ff.).[12] The promotion of "La Chingada" as "mother of the nation" is not surprising in the sense that it allowed the definition of a specific Mexican (mixed) identity related to, but different from, being European.

Malinche, or "Marina," as she was called by the Spaniards, was an "Aztec" noblewoman who was sold into slavery to the site Xicalango (Campeche) by her mother. From Xicalango she came to Potonchan in Tabasco, a Mayan-speaking community. When the Spanish conqueror Hernán Cortés arrived there in 1519, she was given to him as a present, together with 19 other women. Because she spoke Nahuatl and Mayan and learned Spanish very quickly, besides becoming Cortés' mistress she also became his *lengua* – his interpreter – and secretary (Glantz 2006). The conqueror and eyewitness Bernal Díaz

9 "Chingada" derives from the verb *chingar* (to fuck) and can be very loosely translated as "fucked." In the words of the Mexican sociologist Alfredo Mirandé (1997: 2) "[c]hingar is an aggressive form of sexual intercourse with numerous connotations of power."

10 Lafaye (2006: 288 f., 304 f.); Mirandé (1997: 58); Rosati (2009: 82).

11 Bonfil Batalla (2009: 44, 95); Macías-González and Rubenstein (2012: 8); Meade (2010: 44 f.).

12 The second figure related to *mestizaje* was (and still is) Gonzalo Guerrero, a Spanish castaway, who was stranded on the Yucatecan coast in 1511 and captured by local Maya. He married a Maya woman and their children (like those of Malinche and Cortés) were/are seen as the first *mestiz@s*. Similar to Malinche, who is termed the "mother of *mestizaje*," Gonzalo Guerrero was recognized as "father of *mestizaje*" and model for the newly emerging society after the Mexican Revolution (Gunsenheimer 2015: 520 f., fn. 1).

del Castillo and others spoke of her as a "gift from god." Muñoz Camargo (writing between 1579 and 1586) associated her talent for languages and fine speech with her role as a Christian missionary, and Cervantes de Salazar (also in the sixteenth century) ascribed to her a "prophetic spirit" (Leitner 2001: 236; 2009: 68 f.). The Spaniards praised her for her status as a "big *cacique*" (headman/headwoman) and her open mind. They never reduced her to her beauty and physical characteristics as happened later in Mexican history (Leitner 2009: 55). They respected her for her ability to translate and mediate between the seemingly totally different cultures. Indigenous people, according to Bernal Díaz del Castillo, named Cortés "Capitán Malinche" (Leitner 2009: 41 f.), thus associating him with his *lengua*. They thus also hinted at her capacities as an interpreter. Furthermore, Margo Glantz (n. d.: 23 f.) cites the sixteenth-century Mestizian chronicler Hernando Alvarado Tezozomoc who praised Malinche's ability "to cut the language." Accordingly, Glantz associates Malinche's second name, Tenepal, with "strong lips" and "easiness of the word" (Leitner 2001: 233). All this shows that the Malinche of the sixteenth century was a very active person who had strong personality and a sharp tongue, able to "penetrate" (Leitner 2001: 233 f.). On no account, therefore, did she resemble the raped, passive woman who was later presented by Octavio Paz (and others) as "mother" of the Mexican nation in the twentieth century:

> [the] *Chingada* is the violated Mother … Her passivity is abject: she does not resist violence, but is an inert heap of bones, blood and dust. Her taint is constitutional and resides … in her sex. This passivity, open to the outside world, causes her to lose her identity: she is the *Chingada*. She loses her name; she is no one; she disappears into nothingness; she is Nothingness. And yet she is the cruel incarnation of the feminine condition (Paz 1985: 85 f.).

Although this transformation of Malinche from the appreciated *lengua* and interpreter to a sexualized (female) being had already started at the end of the sixteenth century (Leitner 2009: 59 f.), it was not before the nineteenth century that she was morally condemned as a traitor (Leitner 2001: 231). In novels of that time she was portrayed as an immoral and egoistic vamp (Leitner 2009: 114 ff.). In the anonymous text "Xicoténcatl," published in 1826, she was presented as a dangerous, weak, and corrupt figure, as a prostitute who helped to subjugate her Indian fellows (Leitner 2005: 65). The Mexican historian Manuel Orozco y Berra (1816–1881) emphasized that Cortés only loved Malinche as "India" and thus added (or emphasized) a racial – or rather racist – component to the picture, which was typical for the nineteenth century: European (male) superiority was contrasted with indigenous (female) and sexualized inferiority (Leitner 2009: 132).

In accordance with this view Donald Cordry (1907–1978), a collector of Mexican masks in the twentieth century, stated: "Malinche was the Indian woman who served as Cortes' interpreter and who became his mistress. She is viewed as the betrayer of her country and as a woman whose uncontrollable sexual passion destroyed the Indian nations" (cited by Harris 1996: 150).[13]

In 1942, Rubén Salazar Mallén introduced the term "Malinche Complex" for what was considered a characteristic trait of the Mexican, something lying dormant in the nation's subconscious, closely related to the indigenous culture. He argued that it was inferiority, which defined the indigenous peoples of ancient Mexico with respect to the Spanish culture, and that Malinche's children – the Mexican (male) mestizos – would be ashamed of the betrayal by and the rape of their mother. Therefore, Mexican men would deny their female side (Rostas 1996: 218).[14] According to the Austrian Romance philologist Claudia Leitner, this "complex" was one of the secret sources of Octavio Paz's "El laberinto de la soledad" (Leitner 2001: 226 ff.), in which Malinche appears as a pathological figure, as a symptom of collective suffering. The conquest is turned into rape, personified in "La Malinche" (Alonso 2005: 48; Leitner 2001: 229 f.).

To sum up: on the one side we have the Malinche of Cordry – a Malinche with an active, prostitute-like sexuality (Harris 1996: 150); on the other side we have the raped and passive Malinche of Salazar Mallén and Paz (Leitner 2001: 226 ff.). Both are betrayers of their people and at the same time the "mother" of the Mexican nation. Both resemble an inferior femininity, different from the bourgeois womanhood. The resulting types of raced and sexualized genders (and gender relations), typical of the official Mexican view of nationhood, are also reflected in the nationalist, (post-)revolutionary murals such as that painted by José Clemente Orozco between 1923 and 1926 in the famous National Preparatory School of Mexico City (Lang 2002: 131). It shows the naked but nevertheless seated couple of Cortés and Malinche, while an indigenous man lies on the floor (Alonso 2005: 48). The conquered

13 Malinche is also a prominent figure in some indigenous dances. Masks are an essential feature in these performances (Zuckerhut 2016: 213 ff.). Therefore, Cordry as collector of masks is interested in the meanings of Malinche.

14 More about this way of "making genders unambiguous" (Lorey 2006: 66) and its political context see below.

"Indian" obviously does not belong to the national citizenry and is not recognized as "father of the nation" (Alonso 2005: 49, 54; Gutiérrez Chong 2008: 530).[15] Besides, there is no place for Black Mexicans, neither female nor male.

The reason why the indigenous, "dirty," "infected," and thus "morally perverse" Malinche was chosen as a symbol (and mother) of the nation and not (exclusively) the Virgin of Guadalupe, who resembles the "pure" white woman of European nationhood, can be seen in the "victory" of the liberal model of mixture – of *mestizaje* – over conservative Spencerian trends towards purity (including theories of whitening the population by encouraging immigration from Europe, notably by the dictator Porfirio Díaz who lived from 1830 to 1915, and, with short interruptions, was in power from 1876 to 1911).[16] Furthermore, the adoption of Malinche can be seen as a late national statement against Anglo-American racism and imperialism (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 12).[17] The Americans legitimated their war against Mexico (1846–1848) with reference to the inferiority of the Mexican people, an inferiority which was said to result from Mexico's racial "mixture". The colored Mexican woman was constructed as a threat to Anglo-American purity, as a dissolute temptress, causing the demise of the (American) nation (Macías-González 2012). After the Revolution, which lasted from 1910 to 1920 and had brought *mestiz@s* into power and defeated Porfirio Díaz, who had propagated the idea of the "white" Mexican citizen, Mexican nationalists reversed this line of argumentation. Now the Mexican (Mestizian) nation in their opinion was superior to the old, rotten European and American systems, precisely because of the mixture of European (male and rational) and indigenous (female and cultural/spiritual) elements[18]

The Combination of Female Chastity and Motherhood via Recourse to the Virgin of Guadalupe

Albeit through a colored, morally objectionable woman, the dualistic gender models of nineteenth-century Europe together with nationalism (and the nation-state) had found their way to Mexico (Agostoni 2002; Garza 2012: 84). The daughters of Malinche, in spite of the many women acting differently and in opposition to this model (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 11 f.), were subsequently characterized by the same passivity as European (white and pure) women.[19] Similar to them, they were primarily valued as mothers (of the nation as well as of future citizens).[20]

The equation of women with mothers in Mexico gained all the more importance as the population (particularly that of men) declined massively as a result of fighting during independence and the Revolution. At the same time, the new nation urgently needed a young labor force for its rapidly expanding economy. Therefore, the Mexican government pursued pro-natal politics vigorously until the 1970s (Gutmann 2007: 102 ff.). The German sociologist Miriam Lang cites an article from the major Mexican journal *El Universal* on the occasion of Mother's Day in 1971, which presented the ideal Mexican woman as a selfless mother (Lang 2002: 133), although (and thus resembling Malinche) not as wife.[21] Similar to Europe, in Mexico sexual innocence and virginity among girls and young women were also an ideal, at least for the governing elites, but they resonated with the lower classes as well (Lang 2002: 135).[22] Up to a criminal law reform in

15 Obviously, the "fathers" (as members of the superior gender) are always Europeans (as members of the superior "race"): the above-mentioned Gonzalo Guerrero as well as Hernán Cortés originated from the Iberian Peninsula.

16 Alonso (2005: 41); Cházaro (2011: 14 ff.); Macías-González and Rubenstein (2012: 12); Meade (2010: 153).

17 Initially, by Porfirio Díaz and his counsellors, the *científicos*, lacking manliness was blamed as the reason for the "defeat." This resulted in an ideal of exaggerated masculinity, propagated by the elites.

18 Macías-González (2012); Gutiérrez Chong (2008: 537); Wentzell (2015: 653).

19 Paz (1976: 33); Kulis et al. (2008); Englander, Yáñez, and Barney (2012: 69).

20 Alonso (2005: 44); Buffington (2012: 173); Chant (2003: 9); Cházaro and Kersey (2005); Cerón Hernández (2013: 362); Schmidt Camacho (2005: 264); Wentzell (2015: 653).

21 The relevance of motherhood for Mexican women is also stated by Bejarano (2002) (and others). The accompanying broad acceptance of women as single parents is shown by Pankonien (2011). Chant (2003: 9) points to the ideological differences between the Euro-American and the Latin American feminisms, because of the *positive* connotation of motherhood in Latin America.

22 To be sure, the predecessor of this ideal of femininity was in colonial times (albeit with other implications). Upper-class Spanish and Creole families had (and still have) a great interest in securing their heritage exclusively for legitimate descendants and, accordingly, in the "purity of the blood" (*limpieza de sangre*). Therefore, since colonial times in many Latin American countries there has been a rigorous control of the sexuality of their female members. Elite women have to stay virgins until marriage; before and afterwards their contact with "foreign" males is restricted (Smith 1995; Stolcke 2002: 194; Potthast 2003: 82 ff.), although some of them find

1991, a prerequisite for accepting the rape of underage women as a crime was their chastity and modesty (Lang 2002: 169 f.).[23]

Yet, it was only in Europe that marriage was the predominant component of the good reputation of an adult woman, to a lesser extent along with asexuality (Pankonien 2011: 62). For a larger part of the population elsewhere it was obviously more important to have children than to have a legal spouse (Melhuus 1996).[24] At least in the Mexican middle and under classes, for many women it was sufficient to be a mother and not to live alone (i.e., without a man guarding their virtue and protecting them against the sexual advances of other men).[25] There was (and is) much more acceptance of customary marriage, that is, a not legally sanctioned or churched marriage, than in many parts of the German-speaking countries of Europe.[26] Furthermore, there was a difference between the respectability of a single mother and that of a single woman (Melhuus 1998: 364). Therefore, to become a mother, a (single) woman, if necessary, might even adopt the children of relatives (Melhuus 1996: 245). As a means to deal with the resulting contradiction between chastity and motherhood, the Norwegian anthropologist Marit Melhuus (1996, 1998) hints at the importance of the self-identification of women with the Virgin of Guadalupe as a virgin, but most notably as a suffering mother:[27]

> … the link which works to bridge this ambivalence of decent and indecent and also represents the shared experience between women and the virgin is suffering – or more precisely – the suffering inherent in motherhood. In a metaphorical transformation, "virginity" comes to be "like the virgin" by virtue of the suffering they have in common (Melhuus 1998: 365).

In the same way the Virgin suffered, when giving birth to her son Jesus and later on when she lost him because of his crucifixion, women as mothers would suffer for their children and for having children (although *not for* but rather *because of* their husbands, which is another important difference to European womanhood, which is much more directed towards a woman's spouse). Ruiz (2004: 90) cites a midwife from Soconusco who bewailed that many women she was working with referred to sexual relations with a man as "cuando hace uso de mí" ("when he

ways to have sexual relations outside of marriage. As long as they are not made public, women's extramarital contacts and even out-of-wedlock births are tolerated by many families (Potthast 2003: 93 ff.). Thus, in fact, the "honor/shame complex was [rather] an ideology, not a reality" (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 7; see also Buffington 2012: 176). With regard to indigenous women, one has to consider the fact that in many parts of Latin America – in the Mexican state Hidalgo until the 1970s – as part of the bourgeois double standards for elite men, Creole as well as Mestizian "landowners" could demand sexual services from them (Azaola 1999). In addition, they often were and still are victims of rape and other forms of (sexualized) violence, which are frequently not sanctioned by law (Berlanga Gayón 2015; Chant and Craske 2003: 132 ff.; Smith 1995; Stolcke 2002).

23 For variations in the penal codes between the Mexican federal states see Szasz y Salas (2008). According to Haney (2012: 240) it was only in 2006 that the state of Chihuahua was among the first to approve the "Ley Estatal de Derecho de las Mujeres a una Vida Libre de Violencia" (The State Law on the Right of Women to a Life Free from Violence), "making illegal crimes of physical, sexual, emotional, and patrimonial violence, regardless of women's 'moral condition'" (240). But, like with other laws, there is a "persistent gap between 'laws on the books' and 'laws in action'" (Walsh and Menjívar 2016: 587). See also Haney (2012: 246 f.).

24 In contrast, in many regions of German-speaking countries having children outside of marriage was still proscribed in the 1980s and even in the 1990s. For example, when my first daughter was born "illegitimate" in 1980, although I lived in Vienna, the "liberal" Austrian capital, a social worker came to my house for a compliance visit. As a social democrat she was very open-minded for the time and she asked, if we – my (male) partner and I – would mind being presented at an event organized by her party as "an unmarried, but happy family". My second daughter, born in 1994 and also "illegitimate", was called a "bastard" at the end of the 1990s by a relative from my father's side of the family, an older man who, being a member of the working class, lived in the countryside. He made this statement within the context of a normal conversation, that is, not as an emotional expression, for example while in a rage.

25 Melhuus (1996: 245; 1998: 364–367); Potthast (2003: 108 ff., 215 ff., 400 ff.).

26 For this phenomenon among the indigenous population (*maseualmej*) of the district of Cuetzalan see Zuckerhut (2016: 248 ff., 347 ff.). I also observed this during my field studies for Cuetzaltecan *mestiz@s* as well as for *mestiz@s* from other parts of Mexico. I carried out field studies in Mexico in 1992, as well as almost annually between 2003 and 2015. – *Maseualmej* as well as middle- and working-class *mestiz@s* (even in 1992) were pleased to hear that I was a mother, despite being told that I was not married. See also Meade (2010: 99 f.), who sees as one reason for the frequency of this phenomenon in Mexico the high costs of marriage. Poor people simply cannot afford it.

27 Melhuus perceived this on the basis of her field studies in a rural community located in the *sierras* west of Mexico City. I could not find this identification with the Virgin of Guadalupe among the indigenous women of Cuetzalan. For them the Virgin is not the most important saint but rather just one among others. For the identification of women with the Virgin of Guadalupe as virgin and mother at the same time in other parts of Mexico, besides the "classical" text of Evelyn Stevens (1973), see Livingston (2004: 67). Chant (2003: 9 f.), on the other hand, in some way considers the associated concept of *marianism* as a kind of invention of Western feminists, interpreting motherhood as diktat by the Catholic Church. *Marianism* would be a compensation for *machism*, which was the foundation of Latin American women's subordination.

makes use of me", translation P. Z.). Even at the beginning of the 1990s, many women still considered sexuality primarily as a means to achieve motherhood and not as something sensual (Figueroa Perea and Rivera Reyes 1997: 153 f.; Chant and Craske 2003: 144)[28] (albeit 57% of the interviewed women in the study conducted by Figueroa Perea and Rivera Reyes [1997: 155] valued sexual relations positively).

The National Myth of the Compulsive (Active and Penetrating) Sexuality of Mexican Males

Similar to nineteenth-century Europe, sexual harassment by some men (of the leading elites) was and in some contexts still is presented as a "normal" form of courtship (Chant and Craske 2003: 141–146; Lang 2002: 175). And as is the case in Europe, rape was and sometimes still is presented as caused by the sexual urges of men, which especially in the case of lower-class men (including indigenous males) are released when they lose self-control, that is, by drinking too much alcohol.[29]

Nonetheless, the construction of hegemonic Mexican masculinity, in which the male body is capable of violation (which is manifested very clearly in the already mentioned text by Octavio Paz [1985]), is not a reflection solely of European models but was in a specific way created and reinforced by the multiple and painful processes of nation-building (accompanied by a strong tendency to prescribed the heterosexuality at the expense of homosocial intimacy – Buffington 2012: 160).[30]

After independence from Spain in 1821, there was a strong political and cultural regionalism (Alonso 2005: 41; Héau Lambert y Giménez 2004: 630 f.) and, thus, a segmentation of violence. Violence was exercized by many different actors, that is, not only by governmental ones but also by local elites, political groups, ethnic groups, etc. (Kruijt 2015; Riekenberg 2003: 124). Regional (mostly male) *caudillos* – "the m[e]n on horseback" (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 12) – emerged (Waldmann 2001: 29).[31] Their reputation in many cases was much better than that of the official representatives of the emerging and unstable state, which was perceived as repressive (Héau Lambert y Giménez 2004: 631). *Caudillos* were especially esteemed as having "defeated the less manly Spaniards" (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 12). By making reference to these local heroes and especially – and in spite of the rejection of the Spaniards as "less manly" – to colonial elite ideals about honour and respect, "[g]radually Mexico took on a masculine persona" (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 12). The association of more or less masculinity with military victory or defeat gained in importance. Notably, the already mentioned dictator Porfirio Díaz was convinced that insufficient manliness had caused the loss of half the nation's territory to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century as well as the subsequent French occupation in the years 1862 to 1867 (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 8 f.). As a consequence, Porfirian elites were eager to construct the Mexican in accordance with their image of the supposedly superior citizen (i.e., of their version of the favored European Frenchman[32]) as white, hardworking, and modern, but especially as male. Subsequently they "marginalized people whose behavior and appearance mixed aspects of both genders" (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 9), including indigenous as well as Black males and females of all ethnic groups.

Macías-González and Rubenstein (2012: 9) hence detect a close connection between Mexican nation-building and male homophobia (see also Macías-González 2012: 42 ff.). This conjunction becomes increasingly apparent in the fact that even the opponents of Porfirianism (and its construct of a "white" Mexican citizen), that is, revolutionary leaders like Pancho Villa (1878–1923) or Emiliano Zapata (1879–1919), also used and manipulated the resulting heterosexual and heteronormative "masculinist ideology." Exaggerated manliness should make up for the lower-class and ethnic status of themselves and their followers who were predominantly (Mestizian) peasants and indigenous people. Thus, fitting in well with the "new political, cultural, and economic circumstances," the ideology of Mexican hypermasculinity was also transferred into the post-Revolutionary period (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 10 f.).

28 Hussain et al. (2015: 74) also point to the connection between *marianism* and the conviction that "sex is for procreation and not for pleasure."

29 Buffington (2012: 169, 185 ff.); Lang (2002: 190); Wentzell (2015: 653).

30 Interestingly, Mexico already in 1871, long before Germany and Austria, acknowledged in law that not only females but also males could be raped (Szasz y Salas 2008: 195).

31 Mexican *caudillos* are local, mostly informal chiefs who attract and keep their followers with a mixture of persuasion in the form of promises of support, leadership in (successful) military actions and raids as well as by open violence and cruelty against opponents.

32 France was the preferred model of the new nation for many Latin American, including Mexican, politicians (Braig and Baur 2006: 62 f.); Ingenschay 2005: 78; Janik 1994: 65; Meade 2010: 49).

The resulting stereotype is characterized not only as being capable of violation but also as closed, invulnerable, hard, and especially as not penetrable (Melhuus 1996: 233, 240; 1998: 359; Mirandé 1997: 40 ff.). In the words of Octavio Paz (1985: 29 ff.),

> the ideal of manliness is never to "crock", never to back down. Those who "open themselves up" are cowards. Unlike other people, we believe that opening oneself up is a weakness or a betrayal. The Mexican can bend, can bow humbly, can even stoop, but he cannot back down, that is, he cannot allow the outside world to penetrate his privacy. … Women are inferior beings because, in submitting, they open themselves up. …
>
> [T]he Mexican *macho* – the male – is a hermetic being, closed up in himself, capable of guarding both himself and whatever has been confided to him. Manliness is judged according to one's invulnerability to enemy arms or the impacts of the outside world.

Although created by the postcolonial and adapted by the (post)revolutionary urban elites as part of a national myth, this ideal of masculinity – that is, being closed, not penetrable, and superior to women – had and still has an effect on how Mexican men see themselves (Rostas 1996: 214). Nonetheless, it was criticized by urban elite intellectuals in the twentieth century, for example, by Octavio Paz (1976) himself as well as by Oscar Lewis (1963), who both linked this type of masculinity to working-class urban men (often referred to as *pelados*) and reckoned it to be an obstacle to development and progress in Mexico (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 13).[33] Thus, Octavio Paz, a member of the Mexican intellectual elite, like European bourgeois elite, associated men who were not able to control their urges with primitivism and backwardness.

According to this ideology, the Mexican *macho* has an active sexuality – he is the one who penetrates (Paz 1976: 67). Ivonne Szasz (1998, cited by Chant and Craske 2003: 142) and others (Chant and Craske 2003: 142) go as far as to refer to the male phallus as the visible site of a man's active sexuality. It would be "overt and 'on show'," "[i]nfused with the symbolism of courage, pride, power, and strength … being conceived as separate from body, and as possessing its own will" (Chant and Craske 2003: 142). Consequently, even health care specialists in twentyfirst century Oaxaca are convinced "that men are in some sense 'controlled' by their sexualities" (Gutmann 2007: 7), and consider a "lack" of (hetero)sexual desire as pathology. Inhorn and Wentzell (2011), among others, showed the problems that result from these gender representations, especially for older and other Mexican males who are unable to meet these expectations. Mirandé (1997) revealed the different meanings the term *macho* can have and warns against a monolithic view of Latin American masculinities (see also, among others, Wentzell 2015: 653 f.). And Macías-González and Rubenstein (2012: 14 f.) recall the different and opposing Mexican masculinities and other genders, including drag queens and male sex workers.

Nonetheless, according to the hegemonic national gender mythology, resulting from the Porfirian "heterosexual disambiguation of genders" (Lorey 2006: 66) and subsequent historical events, Mexican maleness is associated with active penetration. The opposite – being penetrated – marks the transformation of a man from a heterosexual male to femininity and homosexuality (Paz 1976: 5; Prieur 1996: 93 f.). "[T]he true man penetrates, the homosexual is penetrated," Melhuus (1998: 356) thus summarizes a differentiation made by Roger Bartra in his book on Mexican national identity (1992).[34]

With reference to this ideal and at the same time reinforcing it, Mexican *corridos* – a type of broadside ballads – and films (Macías-González and Rubenstein 2012: 13 f.), especially those narrating the Mexican Revolution, represent the *caudillo* as a typical *macho*, admittedly aggressive (and violent), but a just person, defending the honour of his followers. He is sexually potent and repeatedly tries to conquer women (Héau Lambert y Giménez 2004: 632 f.). Today in many *corridos*, *narcos* – drug dealers – in fact take the position of the *caudillo* (Mackenbach y Maihold 2015: 14). They appear as noble desperados who feel responsible for their dependents and spend their riches on the poor and sponsor schools, community halls, etc. (Eßer 2004: 573 f.).

Besides this nobility, due to the ideology of the *caudillo-macho*-logic, the "conquering"– possibly rape – of women appears as some kind of "normal" expression of a man's active sexuality, of his masculinity (Chant and Craske 2003: 141 f.). Again, Octavio Paz puts this gradual transition from "nor-

33 Oscar Lewis is an American, i.e., not a member of the Mexican elites. Although in his book "Five Families" (1975) not only Mexican working-class (and marginalized) men are described by this type of masculinity, the implication is the same, albeit less in terms of classism and rather in terms of an (albeit unintentionally) racist modernism.

34 Gutmann (2007: 77–79) reports the conviction of medics, psychologists, and social workers in Oaxaca that most "Mexican men have sex with other men. They just don't like to admit it." He also reminds us that Mexican men, if they in fact were to have "sex with other men," as long as they were not penetrated would still consider themselves as heterosexual (85).

mal courtship" and sex to rape and violence into words: "The Mexican conceives of love as combat and conquest. It is not so much an attempt to penetrate reality by means of the body as it is to violate it" (1985: 42). And, in his famous essay "Sons of La Malinche" he writes: "In effect, every woman – even when she gives herself willingly – is torn open by the man, is the *Chingada*" (Paz 1985: 80).

Sexualized violence in the form of rape seems to be at the basis of men's "normal" sexuality, a sexuality that is equated with "uncontrollable urges" (Gutmann 2007: 141). Of course, this "model" "devolves into something of a caricature" (Lancaster 1997: 196) and even if we accept it as hegemonic in postrevolutionary Mexico, it surely never guided the attitudes of all Mexicans (Gutmann 2006). In this regard Mirandé (1997: 67) recalls another, gender-positive connotation of *macho* which, like the one mentioned above, is also found in film and music:

> Rather than focusing on violence and male dominance, this second view associates macho qualities with the evolution of a distinct code of ethics.
>
> *Un hombre que es macho* is not hypermasculine or aggressive, and he does not disrespect or denigrate women. Machos, according to the positive view, adhere to a code of ethics that stresses humility, honor, respect of oneself and others, and courage. What may be most significant in this second view is that being "macho" is not manifested by such outward qualities as physical strength and virility but by such inner qualities as personal integrity, commitment, loyalty, and, most importantly, strength of character.

This type of *macho*, similar to the (post)revolutionary *caudillo-macho*, stands up "against class and racial oppression and the exploitation of the poor by the rich" (Mirandé 1997: 67), but in contrast to the latter does not conceive rape as a normal expression of a man's sexuality. Besides this, like in Europe also in Mexico the dominant gender images were altered, not least because of the Mexican feminists' many and busy activities (Antrobus 2004: 41 ff.; Gutiérrez Castañeda 2002).

Sexualized Violence and Murder, *feminicidio* and *genocidio* as Means to Create and Maintain Gendered, Ethnic, and Class Hierarchies and thereby (National) "Security"

Notwithstanding the above, the ideology of the "classical" aggressive, hypersexual, and hypermasculinist *caudillo-macho* in some contexts still persists. In his urge to conquer women, this type of man by definition always runs the risk of injuring the masculinity of another man by penetrating his domain. One reason for the continued existence of this exaggerated image of manliness is its strategic usefulness in situations of intra- (and inter)national conflicts, in the form of a specific type of (national) security rape (Enloe 2000: 123) or (national) security murder. By conquering and especially by raping women (and often subsequently killing them), as well as by injuring and cutting women's bodies into pieces (as happens, e.g., at the Mexican-American border but also in other parts of Mexico),[35] male *caudillos* as well as *narcos*, paramilitary men, etc. may send a message in accordance with the *caudillo-macho*-ideology to their enemies in order to humiliate them. They thus document that their enemies are weak (i.e., not *macho* enough) and have no power, as they are not even able to defend the honour, security, and even the lives of their minions, especially their wives, sisters, and daughters (Riekenberg 2003: 86, 92–94; Ruiz 2004: 89). This "narration of violence" (Riekenberg 2003) allocates the female body a specific role in male rituals of power. The criminals "write" their messages on them (Huffschmid 2006: 81 f.; Zuckerhut 2011: 21).

However, the sexualized injuring and cutting of women's bodies is not just a message to other men but also to women. Berlanga (2015: 55) and others (e.g., Livingston 2004: 71; Schmidt Camacho 2005: 273) consider it as a warning to women not to challenge gender norms. But it is also a warning not to challenge ethnic and class distinctions, as poor (mostly indigenous) young men share the tragic fate of their female counterparts (Berlanga 2015: 56). On top of that, in order to legitimize the mistreatment and assassination of the victims of violence, they are in many cases even denigrated (and with reference to a law reform from 2008 also convicted[36])

35 Concerning murders with the corpses of the victims cut into pieces, see footnote 1.

There are very interesting theories that link the murders of the women in Juárez with their status as *maquila*-workers. Working in US-owned plants would represent a betrayal even worse than that of prostitutes, selling their bodies to foreigners (Livingston 2004: 65). *Malinchism* is the term for Mexican women who have sexual relations with an Anglo-American. See also Schmidt Camacho (2005).

36 The penal reform (Reforma Constitucional en Materia de Justicia Penal y Seguridad Pública) of 2008 and the subsequent laws to "secure" national security amplified police powers by means of the extension of the number of offences for which there can be preventive arrest, for which it is sufficient simply to assert the probability of a contribution to criminal activities, even without evidence (Hernàndez Castillo 2013: 301 ff.; Hernández Castillo, Sieder, y Sierra 2013: 30). Many poor people, often analphabets, not having the financial means to pay a lawyer are not only arrested but also sentenced (Hernàndez Castillo 2013: 308 ff.).

as prostitutes, criminals, and drug dealers.[37] Thereby, in an act of "secondary victimization" (Röhrs 2005: 158) they are defined as "subversive," not deserving the rights of Mexican citizens.[38]

This (national) security violence (including rape and murder), being targeted at nonconformist and/or poor women as well as indigenous females and males alike, cannot simply be conceptualized as *feminicidio*, as stated by Mexican feminists (e.g., Lagarde 2006), but it must also be seen as *genocidio*. Summarizing Marcela Lagarde's definition of *feminicidio*, Teresa Incháustegui Romero and María de la Paz López Barajas (2011) mention the following as its characteristics: (1) conduct that injures the integrity of women; (2) killings of women because of their gender; (3) misogyny; (4) the responsibility of the state; and (5) impunity. If we replace women and gender with indigenous people, and misogyny with racism, all these features pertain to the threats to which many indigenous Mexicans are exposed. The aim is not to extinguish females and indigenous people altogether (as suggested by *femicide* and *genocide*) but to remind them to stay in their subordinate position and especially not to oppose governmental policy. Therefore, *feminicidio* combined with *genocidio* appears preeminently in districts with notable indigenous movements that oppose the exploitation of local natural resources by transnational enterprises, as, e.g., in Chiapas (where transnational companies with the aid of the Mexican government are appropriating water, as well as the tropical landscape combined with archaeological sites for the noble "ecotourism project" Agua Azul [Rocheleau 2015]), in Guerrero (with its gold deposits), and in Oaxaca (with its deposits of gold and silver). There, sexualized violence, very often conducted by members of the army or the police,[39] is a means for sexist, racist, and classist repression (Hernández Castillo 2013: 326) and serving economic interests (Hernández Castillo 2016: 22 ff., 190 ff.). To emphasize the responsibility of the Mexican government, Aída Rosalva Hernández Castillo (2013) coined the term "neoliberal penal state" (*neoliberal estado penal*).

Concluding Summary

What is considered as sexualized violence (such as rape, as exemplified here) and its implicit meanings shift with transformations of body concepts as well as gendered and sexual denotations of the body. I have showed that despite many resemblances (related to the importance of dualistic gender concepts for nation-building processes in the nineteenth century) there are important differences in the hegemonic constructions of masculinities and femininities between Europe and Mexico. In both cases we have a dualistic model with an active and penetrating male and a passive and suffering female. But Mexican males are not only "capable of violation" they are also closed, invulnerable, hard, and, especially, not penetrable. Albeit that in some contexts a "sexual urge" as a reason for rape is allocated to the social under classes, especially to indigenous men, Mexican elite males very often define(d) themselves as *machos*, always ready to conquer women. The moral necessity of controlling oneself seems to have been stronger for European bourgeois males, as hypermasculinity was not valued as a positive national characteristic of men, whereas in Mexico it was.

European as well as Mexican women were defined as mothers. Whereas for the European women marriage was a prerequisite for socially accepted motherhood, this was and is not the case for Mexican women of the middle and under classes. European (bourgeois) women had to live a blameless life (an ideal that was adopted by people of other social strata). Mexican (*mestiza*) women keep their purity by suffering for their children (and, thus, identify themselves with the Virgin of Guadalupe).

Both in Europe and in Mexico, the hegemonic gender models changed and are changing, of course – though in some contexts some aspects of the nineteenth-century model (and in Mexico also of the twentieth century, postrevolutionary *caudillo-macho* model) reappear (and are used). Mexican and European men are not or are no longer afraid of showing their "female" sides; Mexican and European women live an active sexuality, are professionals, etc. Other forms of sexualities and of genders are more and more accepted, at least, among urban intellectual elites. (To be sure, these different gender models always existed, but now, entering from the margins of the societies, they are gaining importance in their mainstreams as well. In Mexico there are regions, for example, Juchitán and other Zapotec communities, where a third and a fourth gender were socially accepted already in precolonial times [Stephen 2002: 46–48]. But especially in military and, as we have defined them here, "national securi-

37 Bejarano (2002: 129); Livingston (2004: 63, 66); Schmidt Camacho (2005: 275).

38 For similar instances of "secondary victimizations" in the past (as well as in the present) in Mexico, see Karl (2014: 23, 421 ff.).

39 Huffschmid et al. (2015: 10 f.); Karl (2014: 422, 440); Stephen (2016: 164 f.); Wilson (2014: 9 f.).

ty" contexts, the "old" concepts retain or regain importance. This manifests in situations in which (female) bodies are used as means of communication (between males but also as a message from males to females).

With reference to the responsibility of the state for sexualized and other forms of violence against women and indigenous peoples in Mexico as a vehicle to keep them subordinate and the accepting of neoliberal exploitation of the resources in their territories (e.g., the Mexican version of national security rape and murder), I determined an intersection of *feminicidio* and *genocidio*. Others (e.g., Hernández Castillo 2013) criticize this kind of politics as an expression of a "neoliberal penal state." It would be an important project for the future to determine in which further ways neoliberal political trends rest upon sexualized and racialized violence.

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