tion where straight middle-class America found them enjoyable, even though the public was still very much homophobic.[24] Following this development the Village People started to withdraw from discussions of sexuality. They catered to both straights and gays but leaning heavily into the masculinity so they could be straight-passing.[25] That they were a music group under the control of corporations probably sparked this decision as soon as they became popular. Despite that, the Village People were an expression of Clone fashion that was purely based on looks, and not to challenge social norms or make a political standpoint.

Conclusion

The rise of the Clones marks an interesting question about perceived masculinity and the binary structure of gender. Homosexual men were commonly associated with softer behavior, because it was believed that liking men implied that they identified themselves with the feminine. This assumption presented the idea that if a person was attracted to one gender, their behavior had to mirror the opposite. Such a thought process was mainly rooted in the binary gender structure which was already rooted in society. By rejecting this stereotype, the Clones chose to embody their idea of masculinity. As a result, they created a hyper macho image based on what was universally considered butch by the general public. Vehemently distancing themselves from effeminacy created a form of butch drag. This development was rooted in what the masses valued as masculine traits.

Following the aftermath and impact of the Stonewall riots, the queer community could gradually explore their identity through fashion. Moving beyond the effeminate stereotype gay men had been associated with for so long proved difficult. Yet, by putting heavy emphasis on what the heteronormative considered masculine the Castro Clone challenged these social conventions. Even though they were bordering imitation of straight macho culture they indirectly challenged the binary understanding of gender. Every element of their outfit was purposely put together to communicate and to challenge. The Clone was for those who wanted to present themselves as male though and through. With their laced-up boots, leather jackets and Levi's 501s they made sure that they could not be mistaken for anything but a Macho Man.

NOTES

[1] Burke, "The New Homosexuality." 316.

[2] Clendinen and Nagourney, *Out For Good*. 27.

[3] Butler, *Gender Trouble*. 8.

[4] Butler. 9.

[5] Griffin, "Hegemonic Masculinity." 378–79.

[6] Edwards, "Expresss Yourself." 272.

[7] Stines, "Cloning Fashion." 131.

[8] Cole, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel*. 31.

[9] Loughery, *The Other Side of Silence*. 395.

[10] Cole, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel*. 83.

[11] Cole, "Macho Man." 128.

[12] Cole, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel*. 21.

[13] Cole, "Macho Man." 129.

[14] Stines, "Cloning Fashion." 136.

[15] Stines. 136.

[16] Stines. 137.

[17] Loughery, *The Other Side of Silence*. 393.

[18] Stines, "Cloning Fashion." 137.

[19] Altman, *The Homosexualization of America*. 14.

[20] Altman. 13.

[21] Hatcher, "What About Gay Bob?"

[22] Stines, "Cloning Fashion." 140.

[23] Midgley, "Macho Types Wanted." 104.

[24] Midgley. 105.

[25] Midgley. 111.

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JEWISH REACTIONS TO ANTISEMITISM IN PREWAR NORWAY

This essay historically contextualises Jewish responses to antisemitism in Norway prior to the Second World War. Which methods and strategies were employed to counter antisemitism? The essay provides background essential for studying Jewish reactions to society's acceptance, indifference, and rejection, with implications for the impact of antisemitism in postwar Norway.

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Strategies for defensive action against antisemitism

With the emergence of modern antisemitism in the 1880s in countries that had introduced Jewish emancipation, Jews as citizens formed organised defence against the new antisemitic movement and introduced methods for protecting their rights. In this regard, some of the eminent research has focused on Germany. Historian Stefanie Schüler–Springorum identifies six methods for self-defence against antisemitism applied in different dimensions. For example, individual self–defence was confrontive and could take physical form. The scholarly confrontation with antisemitism, by its documentation and analysis effectively laid the ground for what is today regarded as "antisemitism research".[1] The power of many, through self–organisation of those affected for the purpose of fighting back, validated the cause of the individual and proved effective in asserting the rights of the collective to external actors.

The legal battle against anti–Jewish discrimination, insults, and violence in Germany referred largely to the penal code against insulting religion and incitement to racial hatred. It utilised the legal measures which were in place to protect against anti–Jewish agitation and assert those boundaries which protected citizens.[2] Through education and advocacy, Jewish actors appealed to a non–Jewish public and tackled antisemitic attitudes which resulted in anti–Jewish hostility. Finally, the power of alliance with political comrades–in–arms outside the Jewish sphere recruited the support of the public and influential non–Jewish actors. In the words of historian Richard S. Levy: "Without the engagement of the larger society, there is no winning in the battle against antisemitism. […] Jews are reliant on the support of non–Jews who would listen to them, because only they are listened to".[3]

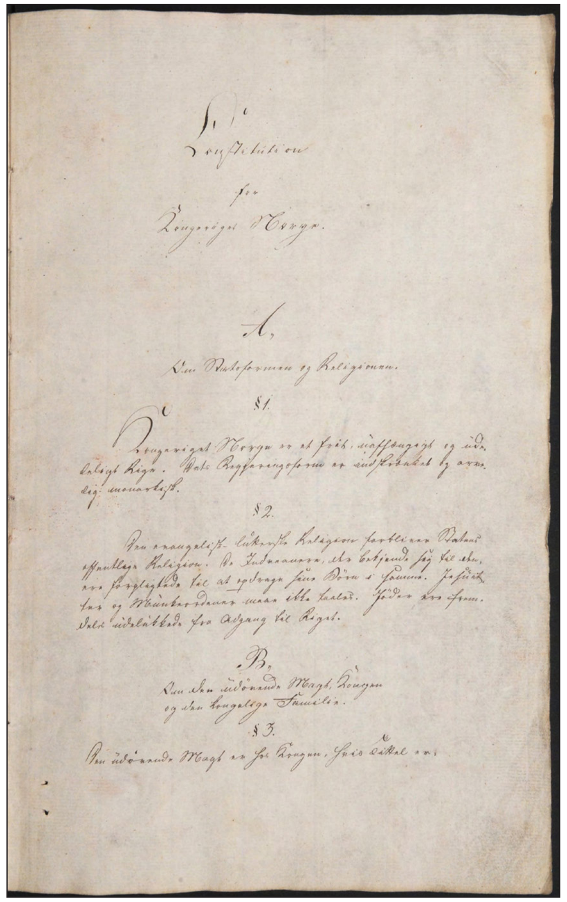
Levy explains that the reason Jews were historically reluctant to confront antisemitism was their lack of confidence in the sympathies of the masses of their fellow citizens. In 1880s Germany, Jewish associations strategised their defence to win the public's support.

However, they feared that by asking for special protection they admitted their difference from the larger society and thus contributed to their own negative image, of a self–interested group that needed protecting. The Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith (abbreviated *Centralverein*) asked for "no other protection than that afforded to all law–abiding citizens and committed itself to a public defence of Judaism, to a dignified assimilation, and to full participation in German life".[4]

Jews against the "Jewish clause" in the Norwegian constitution, 1814–1851

The earliest example of anti–Jewish discrimination in the modern history of Norway is the so–called "Jewish clause" in the Norwegian constitution of 1814 which banned Jews from the country until its repeal in 1851. The Norwegian constitution built upon principles of self–determination, popular sovereignty, separation of powers, and human rights, and was therefore considered at the time one of the most liberal and democratic constitutions in the world. Nevertheless, the radical exclusion of Jews in the constitution – together with Jesuits and monastic orders – stood in contrast with the traditional practice which was restrictive yet allowed for exceptions with issuing of travel and residence permits for Jews.[5]

Jews who wished to enter Norway had to convert. Meanwhile, a small number of Jewish converts settled in Norway, among them Heinrich Glogau in Bergen.[6] Glogau became engaged with the question of rights of Jews in Norway and the Christian majority's attitudes towards Jews. After the signing of the constitution, the Council of Burghers appealed to the City Magistrate in request to investigate whether the converted Christians in town were still Jewish or not, so they might be expelled from the country.[7] An anonymous letter followed in the newspaper *Bergens Adressecontoirs Efterretninger* against "baptised and unbaptised Jews", asking "why do they settle down and send gold and silver out of our country?"[8] Glogau reacted both against intolerance towards Jews in Norway and the exclusion of converted Christians. In a letter, he argued that converted Christians like himself, who were eligible for the same rights as any Norwegian–born, were not considered Norwegian because they were seen as Jews.[9] By using the example of §100 in the constitution which forbade defamation, Glogau warned against "ingrained prejudice, mixed with hate, evil, and slander".[10] Nevertheless, the absence of any response in the newspaper raises a question about the level of public involvement in the matter and what this could reveal about the prevailing landscape of tolerance in Norway at the time.



The first written page of the Norwegian constitution of 1814, including § 2, the "Jewish clause". Source: Stortingsarkivet. Norges Storting.

In 1817, Glogau sent a letter to Christian Magnus Falsen, who was considered the father of the Constitution, requiring an explanation of the reasons for the "Jewish clause". Glogau referred not only to the ban on residency for Jews but the ban on safe passage through Norway altogether. He maintained: was it not humiliating enough that Jews were not allowed to live in Norway as citizens or to trade, but were banished from upon Norwegian ground, in the modern nineteenth century, while essentially no other country applied a similar prohibition?[11] The "Jewish clause" was a religious clause in that it only applied to people who did not forfeit their Jewish faith in favour of another, unprotected by the Constitution.[12] Yet, Falsen's open response to Glogau indicates that the clause was essentially anti–Jewish:

> He [the Jew] lives in a constant state of war with every nation which accepts him, and his religion makes it his duty to work for his nation's destruction. […] it [Norway] could, without doing injustice to anyone, include in its Constitution an article which perhaps would have been most beneficial to other countries as well.[13]

To this, Glogau responded that he found no sufficient reason to ban Jews in the constitution, albeit he respected and honored Norwegian law.[14] Glogau was an outspoken individual who confronted directly "the father of the Norwegian constitution", in the latter's own "constitution magazine". He was arguably able to confront Falsen from the legitimate position of a converted Christian. He did not have to risk his standing, but ultimately criticised the exclusion of people who willingly assimilated into Norway and embraced the nation's religion, yet regardless of their sacrifice were barred from integration because they were categorically seen differently as Jews.

The poet Henrik Wergeland – son of Nicolai Wergeland who was one of the authors of the Norwegian constitution and a staunch supporter of the "Jewish clause" – launched a campaign for its repeal.[15] In doing so, he had important allies. Since there were officially no Jews in Norway, Wergeland maintained correspondence with liberal Jews in Sweden and Germany, including Salomon Ludwig Steinheim and Gabriel Riesser in Hamburg.[16] German Jewish journals like *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* published and discussed many of Wergeland's works on the topic. Wergeland died in 1845 and never witnessed the repeal of the "Jewish clause". The fight against the clause was seen as a matter of principle in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in Europe.[17] The lawyer Riesser and the physician Steinheim, both activists for Jewish emancipation, provided him with useful information and advice to bring the case up in the Norwegian Parliament.[18]

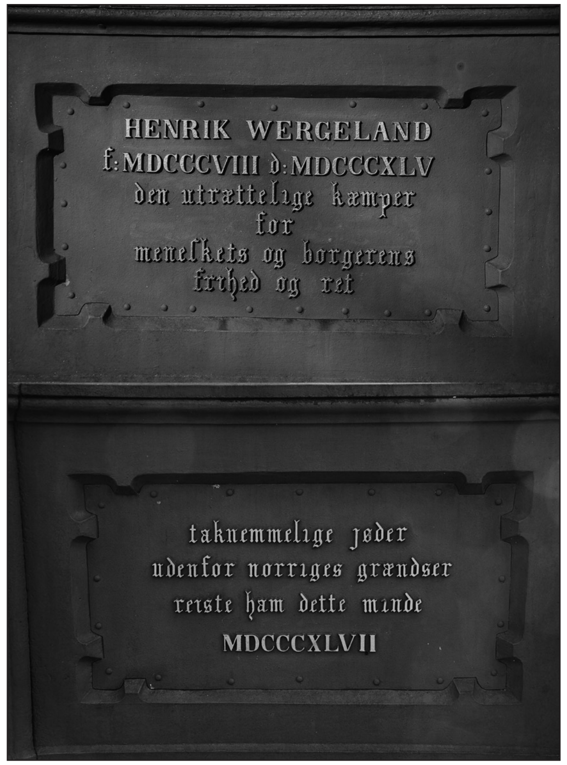
Jewish memorial at Henrik Wergelands grave. Photo by Jens Thorkel Thorkelsen. Source: Oslo Museum/Byhistorisk samling.

By the time of Wergeland's death Jews were able to apply for certain entry permits to Norway. In 1848, the German Jewish Talmudist and archaeologist Ephraim Moses Pinner applied for such a visa for a research trip. Pinner was academically engaged with Jewish emancipation in Europe. In one of his books, he included an open letter to the Norwegian Parliament regarding the "Jewish clause" where he criticised not only the ban but its relentless enforcement.[19] The purpose of Pinner's research trip was never specified in the forms. According to Frode Ulvund, he may have intended to travel to Norway to influence the outcome of the Parliamentary debate on the ban which took place in Oslo that summer. In any case, Pinner received a visa for the time after the debate would occur and this could be the reason he cancelled the trip.

"The World Crisis and Us" – responses to antisemitism in interwar Norway

The Norwegian Supreme Court lawyer and writer Eivind Saxlund was a representative of "modern antisemitism", as he was strongly influenced by racial ideology in early twentieth-century Norway. In 1910, he published the antisemitic propaganda book *Jøder og Gojim* where he agitated against Jews as a threat to Norwegian society. Saxlund also engaged in the kosher slaughter controversies with articles in the Agrarian party's daily *Nationen* and the conservative *Aftenposten*.[20] In his history of Jewish people in Norway, Oskar Mendelsohn explains that the small Jewish community in the interwar years found itself in a disadvantaged position and could not do much to combat antisemitism except through open debate.[21] Moritz Rabinowitz, a Jewish businessman from Haugesund, was specifically targeted because he was an outspoken critic of Nazism and an activist against antisemitism. In the early 1920s, he confronted Saxlund in the local newspaper *Haugesunds Avis* regarding his claims relating to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.[22] He consistently challenged Saxlund and other antisemites in the local press and was featured in the major newspapers. In 1927, Rabinowitz sued Mikal Sylten from the antisemitic magazine *Nationalt Tidsskrift* which targeted him as a Jewish businessman. The two were confronted in court, however, Sylten was ultimately acquitted, and Rabinowitz lost the case.[23]

Prior to Hitler's rise to power, Rabinowitz predicted a devastating world war. From 1933, he engaged in an extensive struggle to spread information on the emergence of Nazism in Europe through lectures and press publications.[24] His series of articles "Verdenskrisen og vi" (The World Crisis and Us) was later published as a booklet where he attacked Nazism and antisemitism.[25] Rabinowitz contacted central political actors before it would be too late to act. He wrote to the Nazi party in Norway, Nasjonal Samling (NS), that they should not target Norwegian Jews because Jews were not Norway's enemy. Thereby, he exposed himself as the Jew who had "taken upon himself the task to combat antisemitism in Norway". Rabinowitz "felt morally obliged both as a Jew and a Norwegian citizen" to convey that his people should be seen as valuable citizens and a true part of Norwegian society.[26] Rabinowitz asked the Reich President Paul von Hindenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Neville Chamberlain to intervene on behalf of German Jews.[27]



Inscriptions from the base of the memorial at Wergelands grave. Front view (top): "Henrik Wergeland, the tireless fighter for man's and citizens' freedom and rights". Behind (bottom): "Grateful Jews outside the borders of Norway erected this memorial to him". Photo: Anne-Sophie Ofrim, Wikimedia Commons. Edited: Color grade.

Because of his active efforts as a Norwegian Jew, he was at the top of the lists of the Nazis when Germany invaded Norway in April 1940. He went into hiding but was eventually arrested and thereafter deported to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In 1942, Rabinowitz would have been stomped to death.[28]

Like Glogau a century earlier, Rabinowitz criticised hostility towards Norwegian Jews who established themselves as patriotic and law–abiding citizens but were nevertheless targeted because they were not truly considered Norwegian. In this way, combatting antisemitism as a form of exclusion had an integrationist function. From 1933 until the Second World War in 1939, the annual visit to Henrik Wergeland's grave on the Norwegian Constitution Day on 17. May – organised by the Jewish Youth Association (JUF) – became a platform for protest against antisemitism among Jews and non–Jews alike. Wergeland as a national figure also symbolised the Jewish community's integration in Norway. Wergeland's vision and efforts to include Jews functioned as a basis for forming Norwegian Jewish identifications, and a legal and ideological basis for integration into the Norwegian nation.[29] From 1937, the annual commemoration was officially broadcast as part of the television program of 17. May and JUF's speech was televised by the Norwegian Broadcasting Cooperation (NRK) to the whole country.[30]

From separatism on one end of the pole and assimilation on the other, emerged a modern integrationist approach.

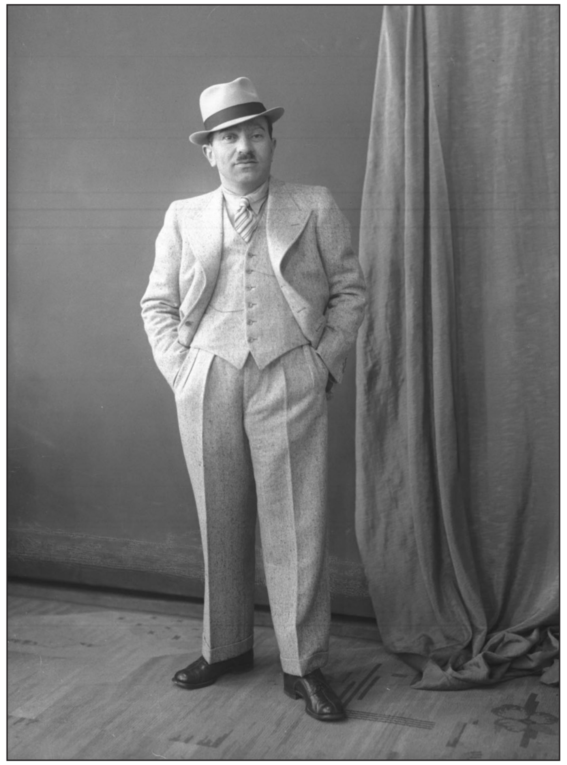
A 'low–profile tradition'?

Regarding the Jewish community in Oslo prior to the Second World War, historian Vibeke K. Banik explains the "low–profile tradition" as an integrationist function. The older generation feared assimilation among the younger generation which adopted a local identity.[31] Thus, on the one hand, attempts to integrate could be interpreted as a form of assimilation. On the other hand, the evolvement of identifications could also function as a preservation of tradition. From separatism on one end of the pole and assimilation on the other, emerged a modern integrationist approach. Moses Mendelssohn, who is considered the father of Jewish Enlightenment coined it thus: "Be a cosmopolitan man in the street and a Jew at home". Those who defined their Judaism as a set of beliefs sought to show that apart from their faith, they shared the same liberal values as their peers. Hence, they maintained that the difference between Jews and Christians was not essential, and the legal and social differences between Jews and Christians could not be defined by their religious factors. This marked a process of acculturation. Largely in Germany but also in other countries in Western Europe, Enlightened Jews (Maskilim) were to integrate into the local culture while valuing their Jewish belonging within their own close circle.[32]

Historian Marta Gjernes presents the geographical and socio–economic placement of the earliest Jewish community in Norway in the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, Jewish individuals responded directly against antisemitism in the press when they believed discrimination against them was enacted on a stereotypical rather than a personal basis because they were seen as Jews. On the other hand, most of them took a non–provocative approach.[33] Thus, a member of the Jewish community wrote in the magazine *Israelitten* in 1916: "But when the subject is a Jew, then not only the accused is criticised but all Jewish people as one. […] Therefore, we should be doubly careful in our behavior, and not provide material for the antisemitic propaganda".[34]

The sense of collective responsibility, where one's actions affect others, is central to Norwegian Jewish community consciousness. In her book on her family's deportation and exile during the Second World War, sociologist Irene Levin describes how Jewish individuals during the early twentieth century in Norway protected the community by looking out for their own behaviour. She argues that they were expected to contribute to the reputation of the community as individuals by not drawing negative attention.[35] Thus, a question arises: has the "low–profile tradition" meant not to draw attention as a Jew, or has it meant not to respond against hostility and discrimination as a Jew? In the example in *Israelitten*, it is evident that Jews knew they were being stigmatised, so their counter strategy was to prove others wrong, by acting differently from the stereotype of a Jew. In this way, Gjernes shows that the older Jewish community made efforts to embrace the incoming Jewish population so that they might integrate faster and not become noticeable in their difference.[36]

Nevertheless, a "low–profile tradition" hardly applied to the entire Jewish community. There were surely various incentives for integration and for adopting "local" traditions and identifications, apart from assimilation out of fear. This example of a "low–profile tradition" does, however, illustrate that the Jewish community understood the relationship between distinctive Jewish belonging and criticism of society. Therefore, Gjernes argues that the community undertook a cautious integrationist approach which she defines as "integration through prosperity" – proving belonging in society by focusing on common grounds and the positive aspects of integration. By establishing oneself socially and economically in Norway, one contributed to society as a Norwegian. Gjernes explains that sometimes, integrating into a new country meant adopting new approaches and moving away from the community.[37] This in itself may not indicate a "low–profile tradition". Nevertheless, Gjernes identifies an important tendency in understanding the cultural and social premises for reacting against antisemitism. There may be an overlap between keeping one's head down visibly as a Jew and keeping one's head down when threatened or harmed for being a Jew.



Portrait of Moritz Rabinowitz. Photo by Margit Petersen, 1936. Source: Haugalandmuseet/Karmsund folkemuseum fotosamling.

The sense of collective responsibility, where one's actions affect others, is central to Norwegian Jewish community consciousness.

Concluding remarks

Long before Jews were officially allowed to enter Norway, liberal Jews in Germany and the neighboring Scandinavian countries created important alliances to lobby for the inclusion of Jews under the Norwegian constitution – collaborating with Henrik Wergeland and appealing directly to the Norwegian Constituent Assembly and Parliament. Individual Jewish actors like

Heinrich Glogau and Moritz Rabinowitz maintained that Norwegian Jews should be seen and treated as Norwegian. People who successfully integrated into Norwegian society, who made sacrifices to be able to embrace Norwegian identity and showed a good sense of citizenship, should not be abandoned, and targeted in their homeland due to traditional prejudice, because they were not seen as Norwegian. In this way, the fight against anti–Jewish hostility as a form of exclusion had an integrationist function, maintaining social acceptance and a sense of belonging. Researchers like Marta Gjernes, Vibeke K. Banik, and Oskar Mendelsohn contextualise the fight against antisemitism in the "low–profile tradition" that existed in the community as self–preservation. A fruitful avenue for research would be to explore the extent to which a "low–profile tradition" remained functional in the postwar period, to discuss various incentives for integration among Norwegian Jews.

NOTERS

1 Schüler–Springorum (2017) p. 250.

2 Ibid p. 255f.

3 Levy. (2021) p. 242.

4 Ibid pp. 235–237, quote p. 237.

5 Hoffmann (2020) p. 158.

6 Mendelsohn (1969) p. 31.

7 Ulvund (2014) pp. 134, 148.

8 *Bergens Adressecontoirs Efterretninger* 17.12.1814 in Ulvund (2014) p. 149. «[…] hvorfor de tilsjakkre sig og udsende af Landet vort Guld og Sølv».

9 *Bergens Adressecontoirs Efterretninger* 24.12.1814. Glogau's letter is dated 22.12.1814. He argued that converted Christians like himself, who fulfilled the residence requirements and were eligible to the same rights as any Norwegian–born, were not considered Norwegian because they were seen as Jews.

10 «skaffe mig Ret imod ingroede Fordomme, blandede med Avind, Ondskab og Bagvaskelse».

11 Ulvund (2014) p. 177.

12 Berulfsen (1958) p. 134.

13 Abrahamsen (1968) p. 81.

14 Ulvund (2014) p. 180.

15 Hoffmann (2020) p. 158.

16 Hoffmann (2016) p. 16.

17 Ibid.

18 Mendelsohn (1969) p. 73.

19 Ulvund (2016) pp. 165–168.

20 Snildal (2014), pp. 56, 59; Mendelsohn (1987) pp. 496–504. On Saxlund and the reception of his book: Christensen (1998).

21 Mendelsohn (1969) p. 634.

22 Ibid p. 569. On the promoters of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*: Ringdal (2018).

23 Sylten's world view was based on völkich–racism and conspiracism. On Sylten and *Nationalt Tidsskrift*: Brattelid (2004); Vestbø (2011) pp. 87–97; on Moritz Rabinowitz: Sebak (2008).

24 Ottosen (1994) p. 32.

25 Moritz Rabinowitz. *Verdenskrisen og vi* (Haugesund, independent publishing, 1933).

26 Vestbø (2011) p. 148. «Jeg har fått i opdrag å bekjempe antisemitismen i Norge og jeg föler mig moralsk forpliktet til som jöde og norsk statsborger».

27 Ibid pp. 139, 153, 169, respectively.

28 Vestbø (2011) p. 209.

29 Hoffmann (2013) see p. 249; Sirevåg (2010) p. 69. «de norske jødenes identitetsskapende opprinnelsesmyte og det rettslige og ideologiske grunnlaget for deres integrasjon i det norske nasjon».

30 Sirevåg (2010) p. 74.

31 Banik (2016) pp. 153–172.

32 Rürup. (2016); Troy (2018) p. xxxvi.

33 Gjernes (2007) pp. 172–182, 219–226, 232–235.

34 *Israelitten* 1917 Nr. 5 in Gjernes (2007) p. 178. «men er vedkommende er jøde, da kritiseres ikke bare gjerningsmanden, men alle jøder under et. […] Derfor bør vi være dobbelt forsiktige i vor opførsel, og ikke gi stof til den antisemittiske propaganda».

35 Levin. (2021) p. 21, reflecting on a conversation with Solveig Levin. See also p. 175.

36 Gjernes (2007) pp. 179–180.

37 Ibid pp. 223–234.

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