

RECASTING THE POST-FASCIST MALE BODY: THE FILMS OF GERMANY'S FASSBINDER AND SPAIN'S ALMODÓVAR

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Abstract: This paper investigates the changing representation of the male body in the films of Germany's Rainer Werner Fassbinder and Spain's Pedro Almodóvar. Germany and Spain each experienced highly conservative (fascist) regimes that outlined proper behavior for all citizens in both the public and private realms. Once these conservative regimes ended, ideals for the male body had been removed and more liberal attitudes towards the body, sexuality, and representation were allowed. This paper investigates how the films of Fassbinder and Almodóvar successfully portray the changing role of the male body in their films.

Keywords: Pedro Almodóvar, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, film, fascism, male body, masculinity.

Two of the most influential directors of the post-fascist era in Europe are Germany's Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1945-1982) and Spain's Pedro Almodóvar (1951-). Each director created films in newly liberalized countries that repudiated the roles and ideologies previously constructed by fascist regimes. Germany's Nationalist Socialist (Nazi) Regime of 1933-1945 and Spain's Franquista Regime of 1939-1975 discarded the concept of liberal democracies that had been previously constructed under republican systems in the early twentieth-century.

These fascist regimes discredited the liberalization that had occurred in Europe after the First World War, and instead attempted to build a conservative and traditional society that would highlight all that was seen as pure and good in both German and Spanish cultures. Once these fascist regimes had been toppled, the German by war and the Spanish by the death of

its leader, both societies removed the yoke of conservatism and traditionalism and the silenced segments of the population of these countries were able to express their opposing opinions through politics and the arts. Through these means, especially cinema, German and Spanish cultures were able to create societies that allowed non-traditional images to be expressed.

One of the most important shifts that took place in this newly liberalized culture of the post-fascist era was the change of the representation of men in film. Men in German and Spanish film did not have to be portrayed in the fascist manner during the post-regime years. Thus, men did not have to be strong or overly masculine in the films of Fassbinder and Almodóvar like they did during fascist era. In fact, men did not have to be the center of these films; they could exist as secondary characters that women could act upon when necessary or desired. This paper will investigate this shift in the role of the representation of men and their bodies in German and Spanish societies in cinematic expression. First, this essay will explain certain aspects of the historical background of fascist regimes that will show the origins of this hyper-masculinity. Next, this essay will investigate the changing portrayal of men in the films of Rainer Fassbinder from the 1970s and 1980s. How are male bodies represented in Fassbinder's work? What does the shifting representation of these bodies mean for a liberalized German society? Finally, the paper will look at the way in which Almodóvar's films of the 1980s and 1990s redefined the Spanish male. How are men treated in Almodóvar's films? How do others, especially women, act upon the male body in a new Spanish culture? The vast majority of the academic literature that addresses the films of

Fassbinder and Almodóvar focuses mainly on the way in which women were portrayed in their movies. Women became the center of attention for these directors, yet male characters were also necessary to tell the full story. This paper will attempt to create a new way of looking at the films of these two successful directors in order to show the way how these secondary characters, men, have been represented in de-hyper-masculinized societies.

In order to examine these changing portrayals of the male body in post-fascist film, one must investigate a theoretical framework that outlines what is at stake when looking at and controlling the body. For the sake of this investigation, Michel Foucault's discussion of Panopticism offers an interesting way to look at the importance of controlling the body and the gaze upon the body. Foucault's discussion of the Panopticon begins with an explanation of J. Bentham's building that could be used to survey criminals without their knowledge¹.

This 'machine' is important to a discussion on male bodies in post-fascist film because it expresses the importance of surveillance and control over individuals. The male bodies in these films are frequently under the control of another individual or group of individuals, and the bodies are frequently surveyed to express either control or gratification. As Foucault discusses the relationship between power and Panopticism by stating, "Power has its principle not so much in the person as in certain distributions of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up"². According to this explanation, power does not come from a specific person, but it is used through a 'gaze' that can be controlled by anyone.

This argument is important to the debates in this paper because it allows the explanation that the witnesses of the male body hold some power over it. Whether the power is held by the specific character either surveying or manipulating the character directly in the film, or whether it is held by those witnesses of the film, the male body does not maintain control over itself. It is the witnesses or manipulators that affect how the male body is understood. If it is seen as being normal that the male body can be manipulated or surveyed by anyone in society, then the rules for the male body are outlined by others. These films act as the

Panopticon, they are the machines that create and direct the gaze on the male body in a specific manner that has changed in the era after the fall of fascist regimes in Germany and Spain.

In order to understand the importance of these new representations of the male body in film, one must first investigate the fascist obsession with masculinity and the male body. Both German and Spanish fascism recognized a great deal of importance in the role of the male and his hyper-masculinity in society. The German fascist crisis of masculinity was based in the era following the First World War. After a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Allied Powers, Germany was obsessed with trying to return a masculine identity to the country³. German culture prior to the First World War defeat was based upon a strong male identity with a subordinate female position⁴. With the defeat and large loss of male life, approximately two million⁵, women had become the majority of the population, and traditional German men of power saw this as a direct attack upon what it meant to be German. Even the identity of the German nation had been feminized in the interwar era. The National Socialist Party in Germany of the 1920s and 1930s frequently portrayed the German Weimar Republic as a helpless woman being molested and attacked by non-Aryans, particularly Jews⁶. The Nazis promised that their new political movement would be able to return Germany to a strong and powerful country. Hyper-masculinity was one of the ways in which the Nazi Party was able to unify their regime. Germany wanted its masculinity back, and the Nazis said they could do it. In order to create a hyper-masculine German man, the Nazi Regime needed to remove those elements from society that were seen as weak, particularly homosexual males who were not willing to procreate and help to repopulate the German Nation.* In the Nazi era the male body was to be strong and masculine, but this era did not last long. The problem for this Nazi hyper-masculinity was the defeat of 1945.

The defeat at the hands of the Allied Forces made Germany destroy its connections with National Socialism, and therefore reconstruct its national identity, including the role of masculinity in society⁷. This post-1945 era was a time when Germans would have an "open and even 'honest' engagement with history, sexuality, and the body"⁸. Once again, after a military defeat, the question of German

masculinity was an important topic of discussion⁹. Post-war literature and art in Germany frequently tried to explain the existence of Nazism and its hyper-masculinity as not the norm of the German identity, but a tragic aberration that ruined the natural and historical route of Germany¹⁰. Germany spent the following decades trying to explain the actions of the Nationalist Socialists and its hyper-masculine desires.

Germany was not the only country to struggle with the issues of masculinity in the mid twentieth-century. Spain's identity had been tied to its monarchy for centuries, but with the fall of King Alfonso XIII in 1931, a liberal republic was installed that allowed women equal roles in society, including the right to the vote. Women also began to play important roles in politics such as Victoria Kent who spent time as the Director General of Prisons, Dolores Ibárruri, known as La Pasionaria, was the Head of the Spanish Communist Party and other women began to flex their political muscle in Spain.** Powerful women were a serious problem for those wishing to maintain conservative power in Spain. The liberal Second Republic of 1931-1936 offended a great deal of conservative Spaniards who clamored for the return of "Monarquía, Patria, y Religión" (Monarchy, Fatherland, and Religion)¹¹. This conservative and traditionalist element pushed for the return of a gender divide in Spain. In fact, just as in Germany, street violence by organized paramilitary units was one of the most powerful ways these conservative groups had to express their opposition to the Second Republic¹². Once the republican government was overthrown in 1939 following a three-year civil war, General Francisco Franco ruled the country under a form of fascist and Catholic nationalism that created a hierarchy based upon male and conservative elements¹³. The regime of Franco looked at the conservative elements of rural Spain in order to find those elements that could be used to create an 'authentic' Spain of the traditional past¹⁴. This authentic, conservative and traditional regime ruled Spain until the death of Franco in 1975.

Following Franco's death, Spain underwent a major transition, controlled by left-leaning politicians, that attempted to remove the stringent controls of Franco and create a new Spain. One of the most active locations for the removal of these Franquista elements in Spain was in the city of Madrid. The capital city was

home to an unorganized group of youth culture called Movida during the 1980s¹⁵. This unorganized movement was a way for Madrid's new cultural experimentations to occur. Like many other artists, Pedro Almodóvar used Movida as a manner to express and discuss ideas that had been banned under the Franco regime¹⁶. This movement used the ideas of both men and women to create a new identity for Spain, one that would reduce the importance of the traditional and conservative masculinity of the Franco era. Both Germany and Spain experienced the ideology of strong masculine cultures and the need for strong male representations in their countries. Once these regimes ended, however, German and Spanish cultures attempted to find new ways to portray men and their bodies in their societies.

In order to see these cultural shifts in action, one should next turn his/her attention to the more influential anti-establishment directors of Germany and Spain. Rainer Werner Fassbinder had a quite impressive career for a filmmaker who died at the age of thirty-seven in 1982. His numerous plays and films of the 1970s and early 1980s dealt with various themes, including women in German society, the problems of the Nazi regime, and the trouble of 'otherness' in the new Germany. While his films most often dealt with larger issues in German society, the main focus of the majority of his films was the women being portrayed¹⁷.

He was frequently credited as being a director similar to those who created the 'women's films' of the 1940s and 1950s in Hollywood. Even though the focus of his films was the women in them, the male characters and their bodies offer a powerful location to develop a discussion of how men were being portrayed to a mass audience in the liberalizing Germany of the 1970s and 1980s. This section of the paper will deal with new ways in which men were shown on screen by analyzing the Fassbinder films: *Faustrecht der Freiheit* (Fox and His Friends) from 1974, *In einem Jahr 13 Monden* (In the Year of 13 Moons) from 1978, and *Querelle* from 1982. Each of these films portrays male characters (or characters who were once male) losing their personal power and being acted upon by other people. Even when lead characters are male, it does not mean that they are free to act in whichever manner they wish. The hyper-masculine and powerful role of the German male had been replaced with something else, and this section will show this

change to the German male body and the possibilities of the embodiment of male agency.

Fox and His Friends tells the story of a young, gay man named Franz, who wins the local lottery, allowing him to live in any manner he chooses. The problem for Franz is, however, that his newly found wealth makes him the envy of others who he considers friends and does not give him independence that he had wanted. These friends do all they can to take advantage of Franz, both financially and physically. He is no longer acting in the manner in which he chooses, but he has become an object that is acted upon by those he once trusted, including his former lover. This film tells a story of voyeurism and control. Franz is constantly being watched by those around him to see what he is doing with his wealth in order to try to change his decisions. As some queer theorists have explained, Franz is turned into an animal, a fox from traditional British fox hunting. He is “pursued by the rich, cheated, abused, then thrown away”¹⁸.

His person has become the location for the twisted entertainment for others, just as a fox would be in a systematic hunt. Franz’s body is constantly under the surveillance of those around him¹⁹. Just as the bodies of females were constantly under the surveillance of males in the hyper-masculine era of the Third Reich, Franz’s body and actions are always watched. He has been emasculated by those around him and made to play the role of a female²⁰. His body was made the possession of others. The only way for Franz to gain back control of his body in the film is to commit suicide, yet he chooses to do so in a subway station entrance, and his body is ignored by many. In death his body had been “thrown away” by society²¹. These actions can be related to the history of modern Germany. The creation of the Third Reich can be seen as the winning of the lottery for Germany. The Nazi regime was supposed to be a way for Germany to regain control over itself by creating new opportunities. The problem for Germany, like for Franz, was that the successes that had been expected from the Nazi Regime were terminated with German defeat in the Second World War. The new opportunities that Germans and Franz believed they would receive never came to fruition. Everything that was supposed to better the lives of the German people and Franz wound up destroying them in the end. The body of Franz and the body of Germany were attacked and scarred, weakening

both, and finally destroying them. Under the Nazi regime, the fall of the Party would be seen as unthinkable, just as the abuse of the male body. Once democracy and liberalization began in Germany, the Nazi Party and the male body could be abused and destroyed without a second thought.

The film *In the Year of 13 Moons* (1978) also offers a great deal to the discussion of the representation of the male body in a new Germany. *In the Year of 13 Moons* portrays the final five days of a transsexual’s life. The film tells the story of a man named Erwin, who never identifies himself as homosexual, yet he falls in love with another man, Christian. Since neither man considers himself to be homosexual, Christian believes that the only way he could love Erwin would be if he undergoes a sex change operation and becomes Elvira.

Erwin reluctantly undergoes the surgery, yet he never fully identifies as a woman. More seriously, Christian still cannot see Elvira as a real woman, and says he cannot love her. After this rejection, the mutilated Elvira tries to live again as Erwin, but the damage had already been done to the body, and the return to male is not possible. Erwin’s body can never return to what it once was. The changes that had occurred to his physical form made it impossible for Erwin to live the way he wanted. This severe change of body and rejection of the man she loves forces Erwin/Elvira to commit suicide.

In the Year of 13 Moons is filled with violence against the body of a man reluctantly transformed into a woman. The film opens with Elvira being beaten by a group of Czech guest workers for not being feminine enough, but at the same time, he/she can never be masculine enough either²². The body of Erwin/Elvira has been manipulated and transformed, just as the body of the German nation was reshaped after WWII. Germany was like Erwin, forced to make a serious change to itself after it was ordered to do so. Erwin was promised that he would be loved and cared for after his surgery, just as the Allies promised to care for a suffering Germany. While the Allies’ assistance for Germany was much more beneficial than that given to Erwin, Germany and Elvira were both made less masculine as well as under the control of another. As Thomas Elsaesser writes: “Choosing the most extreme form that human society and culture know of suspending identity, irrespective of faith, nationality and ethnicity,

namely the one attached to gender and sexual difference, Fassbinder shows a man who decides to open up to the play of intensity and contradiction, of passion and hurt, not his memories, nor his prospects, but something all together more fundamentally involved in the tragedies of the history he is investigating, namely masculinity, as the bedrock of patriarchy, but also the fascist body"²³.

The body of Erwin/Elvira shifts most importantly because of the gender change, just as Germany's most important shift occurred from the hyper-masculinity of the fascist body that was created during the Third Reich to a new identity that many did see as being emasculating. As with Germany, the change of: Erwin/Elvira's body, or rather, the way his/her body gradually reveals itself as the site of impossibilities, at once 'embodying' irresolvable antinomies and transcending them, becoming a vehicle for temporal shifts and virtualities of existence capable of putting the past in touch with the future²⁴.

This body of Erwin/Elvira contains both elements of the past, the male and masculine, with elements of a possible future, the female and feminine, just as Germany would still contain elements of its past even though it was to have a different future. The election of Germany's first female Chancellor, Angela Merkel, in 2005 shows the shift away for the hyper-masculine in modern Germany. The worry of this uncertain future drove Erwin/Elvira to commit suicide, but Germany was able to survive and rebuild itself. Erwin/Elvira was abandoned by those who were supposed to love him/her, while Germany (particularly the Western portion) benefited greatly from the attention and supervision of its occupiers.

The final film of Rainer Fassbinder's life was *Querelle* (1982). This film was an interpretation of Jean Genet's novel *Querelle de Brest* from 1953. Fassbinder adapted the Genet novel in a manner that would tell the story of a sailor, Querelle, who struggles with his homosexual identity while on leave from his naval duties²⁵. Querelle only recognizes and accepts his homosexual identity after years of struggling with the idea. Querelle and the other characters of the film encompass both the masculine and feminine identities. Each man in the film can be both the penetrator and the one being penetrated²⁶. Each man's body is also the object

of discussion by others. Even the most intimate places on the male body are discussed quite openly by the characters of the film. As Al LaValley writes: "In *Querelle*, the dignified Lieutenant Seblon scrawls his desire for boys with large cocks on urinal walls and carries Querelle past the sign when he conquers him; and Madame Lysaine delivers a lengthy discourse on the superiority of Querelle's cock to that of his brother, her earlier lover whom Querelle briefly displaces. And the *mise-en-scene* features huge battlements in the shape of penises"²⁷.

The very private locations of the male body are no longer hidden, but they are discussed quite readily by the characters of the film. Following the fall of the Nazi Regime, the people of Germany were free to discuss the hidden secrets, such as the concentration camps where millions were killed. Secrets locations were now topics of conversation. Querelle, like the other two films mentioned above, deals frequently with issues of the male body. The body is shown as being in a state of change in many films, just as Germany was in a state of change in the post-fascist era. While these films were not direct attacks against the fascist regime and its meanings, the ideas expressed in them come from the understanding of what Nazi hyper-masculinity was like and how it was finally undermined after the Second World War.

The films of Pedro Almodóvar similarly deal with the questions of masculinity and the male body in a new era. While Fassbinder seems to make more direct connections with Germany's past in his films, Almodóvar deals in a world where he denies the Franco past, yet he is still affected by it. Almodóvar once said that his Spain of the 1980s was "como si Franco nunca hubiera existido"²⁸ although his films do a great deal for breaking the hyper-masculine ideal of fascist and conservative Spain²⁹. Whereas Fassbinder's films are best described independently to show the differing descriptions of the male body and its meaning for a changing Germany, Almodóvar's films should be discussed more thematically, showing the connections that can be made in the ways in which the male body has been portrayed onscreen as a way to show the changing rules of masculinity. Almodóvar has frequently been described as a director of women, an identity he both disbelieves and dislikes³⁰. The fact that many see him as a director of women is interesting because it will allow the viewers of

his films to see how he deals with men, who had previously been at the top of Spain's hierarchy, yet had now been placed on equal footing with women under the new constitutional monarchy of 1975 and the first free, post-fascist national elections in 1977. The victory of the Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD) helped to usher in an era of promised equality to all Spaniards.

The first overarching theme of Almodóvar's work that can be discussed in relationship to the male body is the function and operation of voyeurism in his films. Like in Fassbinder's *Fox and His Friends*, men are frequently watched without their knowledge in the works of Almodóvar. No longer does the male have the power to watch and control the female as in the Franco era of Spain, but women and homosexuals can choose how to view other bodies in the society around them. His 1982 film *Laberinto de pasiones* (Labyrinth of Passions) is full of voyeurs of the male body. The film opens with a young man, Riza, and a young woman, Sexilia, walking separately down the streets of Madrid, taking time to gaze at the crotches of the men who pass by, frequently staring at the same men. Straight men are no longer the actors, yet they have become those who are acted upon by individuals who would have previously been viewed as 'others'³¹. Almodóvar's 1986 film, *Matador*, contains numerous images of male students performing exercises at their school to learn to be toreros. As Paul Julian Smith writes: "The dwelling of the camera on the young [male] students' bodies is significant, moreover, because it raises two questions infrequent in film theory. The first is that of male exhibitionism (which is, of course, clinically far more frequent than female)... The second question is that of female, heterosexual fetishism.... It thus seems possible to fetishize the male body as a partial and passive object of an active, desiring to look is only possible by positioning a gay, male observer, whose point of view is obliquely related to a dominant regime of visibility"³².

The male body could now be sexualized and fetishized in manners that were previously not allowed in the traditional and conservatively Catholic Spain of Franco. Voyeurism was one way to show the concept of sexual liberation in the Spain of Almodóvar, but the issue is also raised in the 1999 film *Todo sobre mi madre* (All About My Mother) in a non-sexual depiction. Manuela, the main character of the film, is a transplant nurse at a Madrid hospital.

There she conducts interviews with the relatives of individuals in order to obtain their organs for transplant use. The twist for Manuela is that a car later strikes her son and she is forced to decide whether or not to allow his organs to be removed. After she gives her approval, she illegally obtains the recipients name and secretly watches him in the hospital. Her voyeurism does not come from sexual appetite, but it comes from a need to remember the past, a theme that can be connected to those Spaniards who still had difficulty in letting go of the past. The body has become a representation of Spain's past. As Ernesto R. Acevedo-Muñoz writes, "the human body itself becomes a site for exchanges and rearrangements in the process of being reconstituted"³³. The watching of the body had become synonymous with the watching of the changing Spain.

Voyeurism was not the only change that was occurring to the representation of the male body in Spanish film. The male body also began to be manipulated and controlled. Just as the male body is being watched, it is also being told what to do by someone else, particularly a woman or a homosexual. Almodóvar's 1987 film *La ley del deseo* (The Law of Desire) opens with a young man sitting on a bed, obviously aware that he is being filmed. A male voice off-screen orders the young man to undress, then to masturbate. The young man follows all the commands given to him, including to ask to be penetrated and finally to ejaculate at a specific moment. The other male in the room is sexually dominating the young man in order to produce a homosexual pornographic moment. The audience of *The Law of Desire* will soon learn though, that the pornographic film has already been shot and there is a bald, fat man dubbing the film into Spanish³⁴. The important issue with this scene is the fact that anyone in the new Spain could participate in the control of another person's body, particularly those of men. Control over the body in Spain was now available to anyone who was willing to take it and use it. The male body was no longer only subject to the control of the fascist state in Spain and Nazi Germany after their collapses. Those who had been previously identified as subversives, powerful women and homosexuals, could manipulate and dominate the male body in new ways that would have previously been seen as unallowable.

A final discussion of men and the new identity of Spain is the concept of the changing form of

the male body in the films of Almodóvar. This change can be seen most clearly in the usage of transsexuals in film. The Law of Desire includes a character named Tina, who was born a boy, yet after repeated sexual assaults by men, including her father and her priest, had a sex change operation. In this scenario, two of the conservative pillars of Franco's Spain, patriarchy and the Church, drove a man to change his identity to that of a woman. Transsexuals also present a very important discussion about truth versus artificiality in a culture³⁵. When a police officer accuses Tina of not being a real woman, she punches him so hard that he falls to the ground. Even though she sees herself as a real woman; the society around her still did not, yet she was able to do something about it. The culture of a new Madrid allowed Tina, and others like her, to take action. The transsexual Agrado in *All About My Mother* also spends a great deal of time discussing the role of transsexuals in the new Spain. Agrado is a character of truth in the film because her body had been surgically altered³⁶. She shows that authenticity can be found in something that has been radically changed, such as Spain. Even though she was not born a woman, "Agrado offers her transsexual character as 'authentic' because her 'feelings' are real, disparaging the 'transvestite' action of deception"³⁷. Something that has been changed can be authentic if the person feels it is correct. Her body is now authentic, just as the new Spain can be authentic since it has found its true self, or at least the possibility of what could be true.

The goal of this paper was to explain the ways that the representation of the male body has changed in Germany and Spain through the films of Rainer Werner Fassbinder and Pedro Almodóvar. While the fascist past of each country was not solely responsible for this radical de-hyper-masculinization in Germany and Spain, the strong connection between the cult of masculinity and fascism cannot be denied. In the era after the fall of fascism and the time for reconciliation, new identities and representations were constructed for men in order to remove elements from the conservative and fascist past. Fassbinder and Almodóvar did not create weak men incapable of surviving in a changing society, but they showed the various other representations of men that had been either ignored or attacked under the previous conservative regimes. The new roles given to men became more inclusive and allowed men to take on new roles in society, just as these films

allowed new roles for women. Not all men were subjects of voyeurism, nor were they all objectified, nor were all their bodies changed, but there now existed the chance that these things could occur to the male body in Germany and Spain. At the same time, the actions that occurred to these male bodies were also metaphors to what had happened to the actually countries of Spain and Germany themselves. This paper did not intend to prove that these films of Fassbinder and Almodóvar were specifically responsible for change in Spanish and German culture following the fall of fascism in each (particularly since they were made decades after the fall of the regimes), but it does try to show the way in which connections could be made about how each nation began to understand and represent itself onscreen. In a greater scale, this project of the representation of the male body in post-fascist regimes could be expanded to look at various countries, such as Italy, Portugal, Argentina, or others. Also, an expanded version of this project could look more in depth at other directors and their portrayals of the male body. The representation of the male body is both influenced by the past of a society and its understanding of what it means to be a man, as well as by how the contemporary society is willing to believe the role of the male and his body.

NOTES

¹ Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York, Vintage Books, 1995, 200. A more detailed explanation of how the Panopticon works and what it means for prison usage can be found in Chapter 3, "Panopticism".

² *Ibid.*, 202.

³ Herzog, Dagmar, *Sex After Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2005, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵ Sherman, Dennis; Salisbury, Joyce (eds.), *The West in the World: A Mid-Length Narrative History Renaissance to Present, Updated Edition*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 2006, 752.

⁶ Herzog, Dagmar, *Sex...*, op. cit., 19.

* For a discussion of the Nazi Regime's treatment of homosexual males, their bodies, and their roles in society, please see Günter Grau's *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Germany, 1933-45*. Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn, 1995.

⁷ Elsaesser, Thomas, *Fassbinder's Germany: History Identity Subject*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1996, 134.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁹ Herzog, Dagmar, *Sex...*, op. cit., 86-87.

¹⁰ Watson, Wallace Steadman, *Understanding Rainer Werner Fassbinder: Film as Private and Public Art*. Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1996, 25.

** For a greater discussion on the changing roles of women in Spanish politics during the Second Republic, please see Shirley Mangini's *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995.

¹¹ Payne, Stanley G., *Fascism in Spain, 1923-1977*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1999, 29.

¹² *Ibid.*, 86.

¹³ Ellwood, Sheelagh M., *Spanish Fascism in the Franco Era: Falange Española de las JONS, 1936-76*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1987, 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁵ Vernon, Kathleen M; Morris, Barbara (eds.), *Post-Franco, Postmodern: The Films of Pedro Almodóvar*. Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1995, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁷ Watson, Wallace Steadman, *Understanding....*, op. cit., 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁹ Elsaesser, Thomas, *Fassbinder's Germany....*, op. cit., 200.

²⁰ LaValley, Al, "The Gay Liberation of Rainer Werner Fassbinder: Male Subjectivity, Male Bodies, Male Lovers". *New German Critique*, 63 (1994), 112.

²¹ Elsaesser, Thomas, *Fassbinder's Germany....*, op. cit., 126.

²² Watson, Wallace Steadman, *Understanding....*, op. cit., 176.

²³ Elsaesser, Thomas, *Fassbinder's Germany....*, op. cit., 208-209.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.

²⁵ Watson, Wallace Steadman, *Understading....*, op. cit., 256-257.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 259.

²⁷ LaValley, Al, "The Gay...", op. cit., 127.

²⁸ Colmeiro, José F, *Memoria Histórica e Identidad Cultural: De la postguerra a la postmodernidad*. Barcelona, Anthropos Editorial, 2005, 150.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

³⁰ Smith, Paul Julian, *Desire Unlimited: The Cinema of Pedro Almodóvar*. London, Verso, 1994, 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

³² *Ibid.*, 73.

³³ Acevedo-Muñoz, Ernesto R., "The Body and Spain: Pedro Almodóvar's *All About My Mother*". *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 21 (2004), 27.

³⁴ Arroyo, José, "La ley del deseo: A Gay Seduction", in *Popular European Cinema*, London, Routledge, 1992, 38.

³⁵ Smith, Paul Julian, *Desire....*, op. cit., 87.

³⁶ Acevedo-Muñoz, Ernesto R., "The Body...", op. cit., 30.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.